

VOICE AND CASE PHENOMENA IN LITHUANIAN MORPHOSYNTAX

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Dedicated to my grandmother...
Vilgelminai Pošiūnaitei Kačinskienei

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ABSTRACT

VOICE AND CASE PHENOMENA IN LITHUANIAN MORPHOSYNTAX

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Julie Anne Legate

This dissertation provides new empirical discoveries with consequences both for how case is assigned and the range of possible types of cases. In this dissertation, I explore the relationship between Voice, case and subjecthood through the lens of Lithuanian, a Baltic language. Evidence from the active existential construction shows that the structural accusative case can be assigned in the absence of a higher c-commanding nominal. Specifically, I demonstrate that Lithuanian exhibits an active existential Voice – a Voice which assigns accusative case to a grammatical object and is realized by active morphology, but whose external argument is not syntactically projected. This finding counterexamples Burzio’s (1986) Generalization, its alternative versions (e.g., Kratzer 1994, 1996; Legate 2014) and related theories such as Dependent Case Theory (Marantz 1991; Woolford 2003; McFadden 2004; Bobaljik 2008; Preminger 2014). I demonstrate that accusative case assignment is a property of a functional head independent of the projection of a specifier, and propose 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.

The properties of Voice are also examined by contrasting two constructions: the *-ma/-ta* impersonal and the canonical passive. I argue that while both constructions overlap morphologically, they are syntactically distinct. Although the Lithuanian impersonal patterns with the Ukrainian *-no/-to* passive in allowing an auxiliary, it behaves like an active Voice with a null projected initiator – a pattern found in the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal and other impersonals crosslinguistically (Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002; Lavine 2005; Blevins 2003; Lavine 2013; McCloskey 2007; Legate 2014). I show that the Lithuanian passive lacks a syntactically realized initiator and selects for a type of Voice without a specifier (in line with Bruening 2013; Legate 2014; i.a. contra Collins 2005).

Empirical work on case has established a distinction between two cases, structural vs. non-structural (Chomsky 1981, 1986; Woolford 2006; Pesetsky and Torrego 2011; i.a.). My dissertation challenges this dichotomy by identifying a type of case, namely *marked structural*, that falls between these categories depending on the syntactic environment it is realized in. Normally, non-structural cases (inherent, inert, lexical) are all assigned along with a θ -role. I demonstrate that marked structural case is like structural case in not being assigned thematically. Rather, it is assigned by a thematic Voice head (for a similar approach in Icelandic see Schäfer 2008; E.F. Sigurðsson 2017). However, this case also behaves like inherent case in that it must be obligatorily assigned and its assignment is insensitive to the featural makeup of the thematic VoiceP e.g., active vs. passive. This dissertation contributes to Case Theory by showing that there exist mixed cases like marked structural case, which constitute an intermediate step between structural case and non-structural case.

Lastly, this dissertation provides important insights for subjecthood theories by identifying two types of non-nominative subjects in the language. Non-nominative subjects are normally assigned non-structural case lexically determined by a specific class of predicates (Zaenen et al. 1985; Sigurðsson 2002, 2004; i.a.). I demonstrate that non-nominative sub-

jects can vary in terms of their case assignment and do not constitute a homogeneous class. I establish a number of syntactic tests for subjecthood in the language. Using these tests, I show that the genitive subject of the evidential construction behaves like a canonical nominative subject and is assigned structural case by a functional head. In contrast, 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. The contrast between the two non-nominative subjects provides independent evidence for the separation of syntactic case from its morphological form (for a syntactic approach to case see Vergnaud 1977/2008; Chomsky 1981, 1995; Legate 2008).

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ABBREVIATIONS

- 1 - first person
- 2 - second person
- 3 - third person
- ACC - accusative
- ACT - active
- ADV - adverb
- AGN - agent noun
- AGR - non-agreeing
- AUT - autonomous
- AUX - auxiliary
- CAUS - causative
- COMP - comparative
- CVB - converb
- DAT - dative
- DECL - declarative mood
- DEF - definite
- DFLT - default
- DISTR - distributor
- EXPL - expletive
- F - feminine
- FIN - finite
- FUT - future
- GEN - genitive
- GEN.H - high genitive
- GEN.L - low genitive

HAB - habitual aspect
ILL - illative
IMP - implicit argument
IMPERS - impersonal
IMPR - imperative
INF - infinitive
INS - instrumental
IRR - irrealis
LOC - locative
M - masculine
N - neuter
NEG - negation
NOM - nominative
PL - plural
PFV- perfective aspect
PPP - past passive participle
PPRP - present passive participle
PROG - progressive
PRS - present
PST -past
RFL - reflexive
SG - singular
VOC - vocative

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Overview

In this dissertation, I explore the relationship between Voice, case and subjecthood through the lens of Lithuanian, a Baltic language.¹ Lithuanian is a morphologically rich language consisting of seven different cases in total, and thus provides a good testing ground for this type of topic. Within recent years, research on Voice (e.g., passive vs. active) phenomena has increased significantly. Specifically, it has been proposed that VoiceP is a functional projection that is distinct and separate from *v*P: VoiceP introduces an external θ -role, whereas *v*P introduces causative semantics (Pylkkänen 1999, 2008; Schäfer 2008; Harley 2013; Legate 2014; Alexiadou et al. 2015; i.a.). VoiceP has also been argued to be the locus of accusative case assignment (Legate 2014). My research builds on these claims and aims to provide a better understanding of how Voice impacts the assignment of case, both structural and inherent, and what implications this interaction has for Case Theory. I also examine the relationship between subjecthood and case focusing on the subjecthood properties of non-nominative subjects. To address this avenue of research, I have collected and tested the data that consists of different types of Voice related phenomena in Lithuanian that have been barely (or not at all) discussed in the literature. More broadly, this dissertation consists of three main research questions, which I review below.

In Chapter 2, I examine how thematic Voice interacts with the assignment of structural accusative case. This question is theoretically significant because it can inform us about

¹This dissertation has been updated on July 21, 2020. This is the final version to be used for reference.

the locus of accusative case assignment and the conditions that are sufficient or necessary for the accusative case to be assigned to the theme. Different versions of Burzio's (1986) generalization have been proposed. For some, the assignment of accusative case is interpreted as dependent on the assignment of structural nominative (Marantz 1991; Woolford 2003; McFadden 2004; Preminger 2014). For others, ϕ -features, i.e., a weak implicit argument, in SpecVoiceP is sufficient for accusative to be assigned (Legate 2014). What all these theories have in common is that the structural accusative case is dependent on the presence of a syntactically projected external argument. This dissertation challenges these views.

I examine two types of impersonals in Lithuanian, the active existential and the *-ma/-ta* impersonal, and contrast them with the passive. These impersonals are non-passive constructions that have an accusative object but lack an overt subject. I demonstrate that despite the fact that both constructions have an accusative object, the status of the implicit external argument in both constructions is different. Specifically, I show that the *-ma/-ta* impersonal has a projected implicit argument (a common pattern of impersonals crosslinguistically, see Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002; Blevins 2003; Lavine 2005, 2013; McCloskey 2007; Legate 2014), while the active existential construction lacks it. The active existential has a type of VoiceP that assigns structural accusative case in the absence of a syntactically projected implicit argument in SpecVoiceP. Building on these findings, I refine our understanding of the structural accusative case assignment by proposing that the availability of accusative case is independent of the presence of a thematic subject. Therefore, Burzio's generalization is not a linguistic universal, but a typological statement at best. Lastly, the passive construction is demonstrated to pattern like the active existential in that it also lacks a projected implicit agent (in line with Bruening 2013; Legate 2014; Alexiadou et al. 2015; i.a. contra Collins 2005). However, unlike the active existential, the passive blocks the assignment of accusative case. Thus, while the assignment of accusative case need not be restricted by a certain hierarchical relation between two DPs, it can, however, vary according to the type of a thematic Voice head a construction has.

In Chapter 3, I analyze structural vs. non-structural case dichotomy. There is a tra-

dition in the literature to divide case into structural vs. non-structural (Chomsky 1981, 1986; Woolford 2006; Pesetsky and Torrego 2011; i.a). I demonstrate that this dichotomy can break down posing interesting challenges to Case Theory. I show that the dative case assigned to an object of *help*-class predicates behaves like a mixed case, which I term *marked structural*. This case patterns either like a structural or like a nonstructural case depending on the syntactic environment it is realized in (in line with Anderson 2013, 2015; Sigurðsson et al. 2018). For example, in passives, the dative object can be retained, and thus qualifies as a non-structural case, or it can be optionally advanced to a nominative subject, which is a characteristic behavior of structural case. The identification of this type of case raises important questions such as: what are the boundaries between structural and inherent case; why and how does the dichotomy between the two break down? I address these questions in this chapter.

Careful investigation of structural vs. non-structural case diagnostics reveals that marked structural dative behaves like a structural because it is assigned by a thematic Voice head just like structural accusative. Nevertheless, it also behaves like non-structural case in that it needs to be obligatorily assigned regardless of whether the thematic Voice is passive or active. I propose that marked structural case is an intermediate step between structural and non-structural case. This study also contributes to Voice typology by showing that in addition to structural accusative, the thematic Voice head can also assign other types of structural cases (also see Schäfer 2008; E.F Sigurðsson 2017 for this type of approach).

The marked structural dative is contrasted with the dative of an indirect object, which exhibits the properties of inherent inert dative (in the sense of McGinnis 1998) that is syntactically inactive, invisible for A-movement. The distribution of datives discussed in this chapter presents a new typological pattern, which has not been introduced in the crosslinguistic classification of datives proposed by Alexiadou et al. (2014a). In Alexiadou et al.'s (2014a) classification, there are three groups of languages: (i) ditransitive indirect object datives alternate with structural nominative in passives, but monotransitive direct object datives do not; (ii) both indirect object and monotransitive direct object datives alternate

with nominative; (iii) datives generally never alternate. The grammar of Lithuanian speakers presented here introduces a fourth group: indirect object datives do not alternate with nominative in the passive, but direct object datives do.

In Chapter 4, I discuss the interaction between subjecthood and case. Two types of non-nominative subjects are discussed: the genitive subject of the evidential construction, and the dative subject of *lack*-class predicates. Crosslinguistically, we see that non-nominative subjects are assigned non-structural case (Zaenen et al. 1985; Sigurðsson 2002, 2004; i.a.). However, I demonstrate that non-nominative subjects vary in their case assignment: they do not constitute a homogeneous class in the language. I establish a number of syntactic tests to identify a grammatical subject in Lithuanian. The genitive subject of the evidential patterns like a canonical subject in a number of respects e.g., binding of the subject oriented anaphor and agreement. I also argue that it is assigned structural genitive case by a functional head, namely Evid(ential)P located between a non-finite T and a thematic VoiceP. In contrast, the dative subject of the *lack*-class construction exhibits only a limited subset of properties e.g., it can bind the subject-oriented anaphor, but it cannot be PRO. The dative is demonstrated to behave like a non-structural case assigned by a lexical verb. The presence of two distinct non-nominative subjects provides evidence for separating syntactic case from its morphological form.

Lastly, this study contributes to the syntax of evidential constructions. I provide evidence for Blain and Dáchaine's (2006) proposal that EvidP may be generated in lower clausal positions rather than being a part of a CP domain. Evidential constructions in Lithuanian bear passive morphology, but building on the existing literature (Blevins 2003; Geniušienė 2006; Lavine 2006, 2010b; Spraunienė et al. 2015; Legate et al. to appear), I argue that the evidential does not require the suppression of an initiator, unlike the passive. The evidential can be formed not only with transitives, but also with unaccusatives and passives. It is a type of construction whose highest argument, either a thematic subject of transitives/unergatives or a thematic object of unaccusatives, is realized as a grammatical subject marked with a structural genitive case.

All in all, the goal of my dissertation is to introduce a model of Case Theory that can explain and predict the problematic patterns presented here.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical foundation of the dissertation is based on assumptions from minimalist syntax (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2013) and Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993; Harley and Noyer 1999; Halle 1997; Embick and Marantz 2008; among many others). I assume that the locus of the derivation is syntax. At Spell-Out, the derivation is sent to phonetic interpretation at PF (phonological form) and semantic interpretation at LF (logical form) as illustrated in (1).

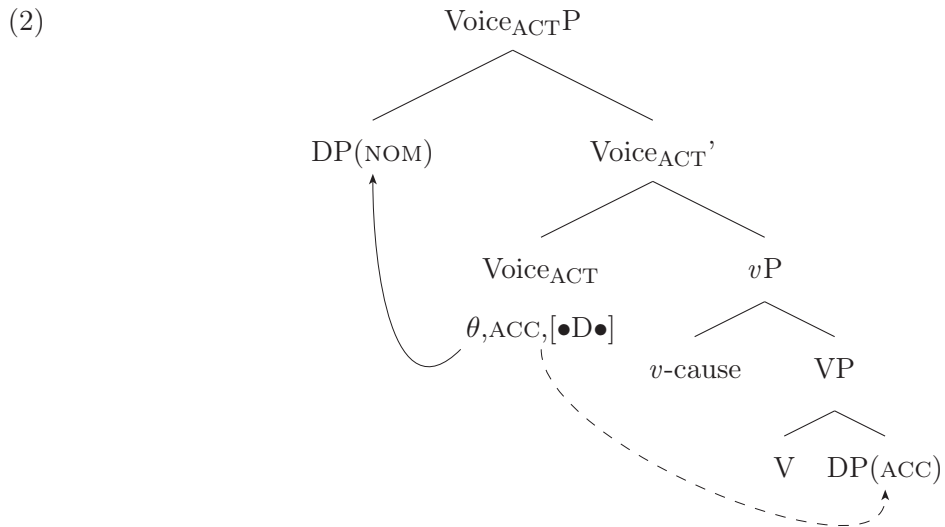


As far as case assignment goes, there are two approaches. For some, case is syntactic, computed abstractly in the derivation (Vergnaud 1977/2008; Chomsky 1981, 1995; Legate 2008; i.a). Specifically, abstract Case is determined syntactically and then realized in the Morphological Component (at the PF branch). Two types of abstract Case features can be distinguished: i) structural case assigned under closest c-command to a DP by a functional head, ii) inherent case assigned to a DP thematically. For others, case is purely morphological, determined post-syntactically, at the PF branch (Marantz 1991; McFadden 2004; Bobaljik 2008; i.a.). In this dissertation, I argue that case is syntactic.

Following recent work on Voice phenomena (e.g., active vs. passive) (Pylkkänen 1999, 2008; Schäfer 2008; Harley 2013; Legate 2014; Alexiadou et al. 2015; i.a.), I assume that VoiceP and *v*-cause are two separate projections: the former introduces an external argument θ -role, whereas the latter is associated with causative semantics as sketched in (2). I also adopt the idea that this Voice head, also known as thematic Voice (the term from

Alexiadou et al. 2015), is the locus of structural accusative case assignment.

Building on the basic Voice typology proposed in Alexiadou et al. 2015, and Legate et al. (to appear), I propose that the basic structure for an active transitive sentence in Lithuanian is as follows. The active Voice head, $\text{Voice}_{\text{ACT}}$, is a type of thematic Voice head which assigns an external θ -role, encoded by the θ feature in (2) (the assignment is presented by the solid arrow), which presents the derivation of (3). The active transitive construction requires a specifier to be merged in SpecVoiceP , thus I assume that the Voice head bears the $[\bullet\text{D}\bullet]$ (Müller 2010), which encodes this requirement. Lastly, this active thematic Voice head assigns accusative case to the theme, which is presented here by ACC feature on the Voice head (the assignment is illustrated by the dashed arrow).



- (3) Marij-a sulauž-ė pieštuk-ą.
 Marija-NOM break-PST.3 pencil-ACC
 ‘Marija broke a pencil.’

1.3 Basic Facts about Lithuanian

Lithuanian is an official language of the Republic of Lithuania which is situated in the North East of Europe. This language belongs to a Baltic language family. There are two remaining Baltic languages in the world, Latvian and Lithuanian. Other Baltic languages like Old

Prussian or Latgalian are already extinct. Lithuanian is officially spoken by approximately 2.9 million people.

Lithuanian has seven different cases as illustrated here in Table 1.1 with the singular masculine noun *berniukas* ‘boy’ and the singular masculine adjective *geras* ‘good’. Case marking is realized on nouns, pronouns, adjectives as well as participles, which can be active and passive.

Case	Noun	Adjective
	berniukas - boy	geras - good
NOM	berniuk-as	ger-as
ACC	berniuk-ą	ger-ą
GEN	berniuk-o	ger-o
DAT	berniuk-ui	ger-am
INS	berniuk-u	ger-u
LOC	berniuk-è	ger-ame
VOC	berniùk-e	ger-as

Table 1.1: Lithuanian cases

A noun normally agrees with an adjective in number, gender, and case as indicated in (4). While Lithuanian lacks definite/indefinite articles, it may use other means to express definiteness, e.g., demonstrative pronouns or adjectives marked with the definite suffix *-ji(s)*, as in (5).

- (4) a. ger-as berniuk-as
good-NOM.M.SG boy-NOM.M.SG
‘a/the good boy’
- b. ger-a mergait-è
good-NOM.F.SG girl-NOM.F.SG
‘a/the good girl’
- (5) a. t-a ger-a mergait-è
that-NOM.F.SG good-NOM.F.SG girl-NOM.F.SG
‘that good girl’
- b. ger-o-ji mergait-è
good-NOM.F.SG-DEF girl-NOM.F.SG

‘the good girl’

Lithuanian is an SVO language as in (6), though its word order is rather flexible, governed by information structure. As noted by Ambrazas et al. (1997), in Lithuanian, old information of a sentence, precedes new information (for a detailed discussion see sub-section 2.2.3.2.4). In transitive clauses, a thematic subject can be marked with nominative and a grammatical object often bears accusative case. The subject agrees with the verb in number and person as in (6a). The verb does not show the distinction between singular and plural with 3rd person subjects as in (6b).

- (6) a. Aš myli-u Jon-ą.
I.NOM love-PRS.1SG Jonas-ACC
‘I love Jonas.’
- b. Ji/jie myl-i Marij-ą.
she.NOM/they.NOM love-PRS.3 Marija-ACC
‘She/they love(s) Marija.’

Apart from a regular NOM-ACC pattern, a number of distinct case combinations can be found in the language. Verbs may take arguments marked with various cases including genitive, dative or instrumental as in (7). The same goes for the highest argument in the clause, it does not have to be marked with nominative e.g., some stative verbs can take dative experiencers as in (8).

- (7) a. Aš iešk-au tav-ęs.
I.NOM look-PRS.1SG you-GEN
‘I am looking for you.’
- b. Aš padėj-au tau.
I.NOM help-PST.1SG you.DAT
‘I helped you.’
- c. Aš pasitiki-u tav-imi.
I.NOM trust-PRS.1SG you-INS
‘I trust you.’

- (8) a. Man patink-a muzik-a.
me.DAT like-PRS.3 music-NOM
'I like music.'
- b. Man skaud-a galv-ą.
me.DAT ache-PRS.3 head-ACC
'I have a headache.'

Overall, Lithuanian provides a good testing ground for case and Voice as it has a number of interesting case configurations that have not been discussed in the literature much. With this background in mind, I now proceed to the investigation of the first topic which is the relationship between a thematic Voice and structural accusative case.

Chapter 2

Voice, Structural Case and Implicit Arguments

2.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the syntactic structure of a type of Voice that introduces an external argument θ -role, which is also known as thematic Voice. In particular, I examine how the structure of a thematic Voice interacts with the assignment of structural accusative case. The assignment of structural accusative is typically tied to Burzio's Generalization (1986, 178) stating that 'verbs that assign a θ -role to the subject can assign accusative case to an object.' Over the years, different versions of Burzio's Generalization have been proposed. For example, according to Dependent Case theory (Marantz 1991; Woolford 2003; McFadden 2004; Preminger 2014), the assignment of accusative case is dependent on a c-commanding DP with structural case. In other versions of Burzio's Generalization, ϕ -features, i.e., the weak implicit argument, in SpecVoiceP is sufficient for accusative to be assigned (Legate 2014). What these theories have in common is that structural accusative case is dependent on the presence of a syntactically projected external argument, be it implicit or overt. In this chapter, I challenge this view and provide counterevidence to Burzio's Generalization. Specifically, I demonstrate that while accusative case must be assigned by the thematic Voice, the assignment of accusative case by Voice may vary independently from the selection of its specifier. I support this claim by empirical findings from Lithuanian impersonal constructions.

Impersonal constructions have attracted much attention in the literature (Cinque 1988;

Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002; Blevins 2003; Egerland 2003b; Lavine 2005, 2013; McCloskey 2007; Legate 2014; Sigurðsson 2017, i.a.). They typically share some properties with transitive constructions e.g., the presence of an accusative grammatical object. Nevertheless, unlike transitive constructions, impersonals often lack an overt initiator¹ (see Malchukov and Siewierska 2011 for the typology of impersonals). The initiator also has a generic, indefinite reading. Examples of such impersonal constructions are provided below from Irish and Polish.

Irish Impersonal

- (9) Buaileadh aríst iad/*siad.
 beat.PST.IMPERS again them/they
 ‘They were beaten again.’ (Stenson 1989, 827)

Polish Impersonal

- (10) Znalezio-no niemowlę w koszu.
 found-N baby.ACC in basket
 ‘They found a baby in the basket.’ (Lavine 2005, 23)

In this chapter, I investigate two Lithuanian impersonal constructions and compare them with the canonical passive. The two impersonals are presented in (11) and (12). I refer to (11) as the *active existential* (henceforth AE) and (12) as the *ma/ta impersonal*. These two constructions resemble Polish and Irish impersonals in that they also have an accusative theme argument and an initiator is not overtly present. The initiator is interpreted as the indefinite ‘someone’ in the AE in (11). In the *ma/ta* impersonal (12), it is interpreted as the generic, indefinite ‘one.’ The two impersonal constructions exhibit different morphology: the verb takes 3rd person active morphology in the AE whereas in the *ma/ta* impersonal, it appears in the non-agreeing neuter passive participle ending in *-ma/-ta*.

Active Existential

¹Following Ramchand 2008; Bruening 2013; Legate 2014 and others, I use the term ‘initiator’ to refer to external argument θ -roles such as an agent, a natural force or a causer. The instances that I discuss the most in this chapter involve the agent θ -role.

- (11) Vali-ų/*Vali-us kvieči-a į dekanat-ą.
 Valius-ACC/Valius-NOM invite-PRS.3 to dean's.office-ACC
 'Someone is inviting Valius to the dean's office.'

(Adapted from Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, 251)

ma/ta Impersonal

- (12) (Yra) rašo-m-a laišk-a/*laišk-as.
 be.PRS.3 write-PPRP-[-AGR] letter-ACC/letter-NOM

'One writes a letter.'

(Adapted from Ambrazas et al. 1997, 661)

The *ma/ta* impersonal morphologically overlaps with the canonical passive in (13). As reported by Ambrazas et al. 1997, 661, in the passive, the non-agreeing form can occur with the nominative theme, or the theme can optionally agree with the participle in number, gender and case. Due to partially overlapping morphology, the passive and the *ma/ta* impersonal have been confused in the descriptive literature (see e.g., Ambrazas et al. 1997; Geniušienė 2006; Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016). I demonstrate that these constructions are syntactically distinct and provide a theoretical analysis of each (for a related discussion of passives vs. impersonals also see Spraunienė et al. 2015).

Passive

- (13) Laišk-as yra rašo-m-a / rašo-m-as (tėv-o).
 letter-NOM.M.SG be.PRS.3 write-PPRP-[-AGR] / write-PPRP-NOM.M.SG father-GEN
 'The letter is being written by (the father).'

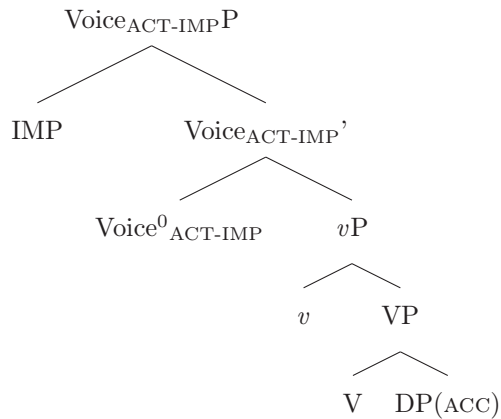
(Adapted from Ambrazas et al. 1997, 661)

The main focus of this chapter is to examine whether the *ma/ta* impersonal, the AE and the passive have a syntactically projected implicit argument in the specifier of a thematic VoiceP, and how the presence/absence of the implicit argument influences the ability of a Voice head to assign structural accusative case to the theme. I demonstrate that the two impersonals and the passive have a thematic Voice head, which introduces an initiator θ -role, but differ in the (non)-projection of the implicit initiator and the assignment of structural accusative case.

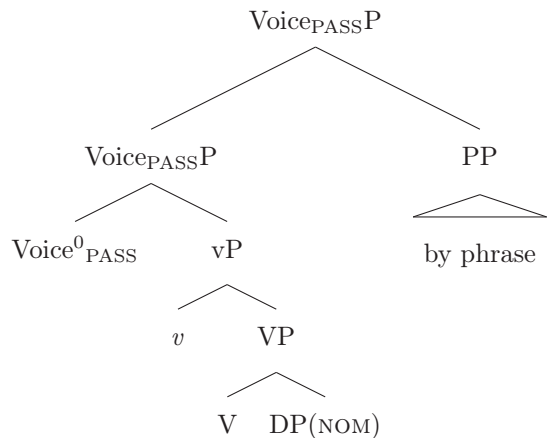
There is an on-going debate about whether implicit arguments are projected in the syn-

tax or not (Williams 1987; Bhatt and Pancheva 2006; Bruening 2013; Legate 2014; i.a.). This study contributes to this debate in important ways. I argue that despite passive morphology, the *ma/ta* impersonal is an active transitive construction with a projected null impersonal initiator and an accusative grammatical object – a common property of impersonals cross-linguistically (Blevins 2003; Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002; Lavine 2005, 2013; McCloskey 2007; Legate 2014). The *ma/ta* impersonal has a type thematic Voice, which assigns structural accusative case to the theme argument, and an implicit argument in its specifier. In contrast, it is demonstrated that the Lithuanian passive demotes an external argument and lacks a syntactically realized initiator (in line with Bruening 2013; Legate 2014; Alexiadou et al. 2015; i.a. contra Collins 2005). Its thematic VoiceP does not select for a specifier and does not assign structural accusative to the thematic object. The structure of these two constructions is introduced below where the Voice_{ACT-IMP} stands for the active *ma/ta* impersonal and Voice_{PASS} stands for the passive Voice.

(14) *ma/ta Impersonal*



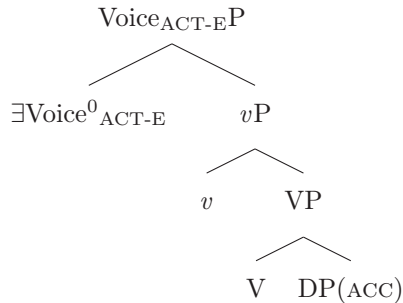
(15) *Passive*



I argue that the AE is an intermediate construction between the *ma/ta* impersonal and the passive. Even though the AE is marked with active morphology and has an accusative grammatical object, it behaves like the passive in that it has no projected implicit external argument in its thematic Voice represented here by Voice_{ACT-E}. I further argue that its external argument variable is existentially bound the existential operator (\exists). Thus, the AE has a type of thematic VoiceP that assigns structural accusative case in the absence of a

syntactically projected implicit argument in SpecVoiceP as in (16).

(16) *Active Existential*



The AE is a violation of Burzio’s (1986) Generalization and its later versions (Marantz 1991; Woolford 2003; McFadden 2004; Legate 2014; i.a.). I propose a revised version of Burzio’s generalization and argue that the thematic Voice head has its own choice whether to assign accusative. Specifically, I argue that while accusative case must be assigned by a thematic Voice, the assignment of accusative case by Voice may vary independently from the selection of a specifier. This study suggests that Burzio’s Generalization is not a linguistic universal (for other studies that have questioned the validity of Burzio’s Generalization also see Haider 1985, 2000; Haegeman 1986; Harley 1995; Woolford 1993, 1997, 2003; Mahajan 2000; Lavine 2005; Schäfer 2012; i.a.), but rather a typological tendency.

This chapter is organized as follows. In sub-section 2.2, I explore the *ma/ta* impersonal and contrast it with the passive. I provide extensive argumentation showing that despite the apparent morphological overlap, the *ma/ta* impersonal and the passive are syntactically distinct constructions. In sub-section 2.2.5, the properties of the impersonal pronoun of the *ma/ta* impersonal are also analyzed demonstrating that it is a bare N which lacks inherently specified number and gender features as well as case. This finding supports the existing proposals of impersonal pronouns across languages that treat them as defective (Egerland 2003b; Hoekstra 2010; Ackema and Neeleman 2018; Fenger 2018; i.a.). In sub-section 2.3, I examine the properties of AE and demonstrate that structural accusative case can be assigned in the absence of the syntactically realized implicit initiator.

2.2 *ma/ta* Impersonal, Passive and Impersonal Pronouns

I begin the investigation of the properties of a thematic VoiceP and implicit impersonal pronouns by contrasting two constructions: the *ma/ta* impersonal in (17) and the passive in (18).² Both constructions allow neuter passive morphology and thus overlap morphologically, but, as I will argue here, are syntactically different (also see Spraunienė et al. 2015 for a related discussion). I show that the construction in (17) is an active impersonal with a projected implicit initiator whereas the construction in (18) is a passive, which lacks a syntactically realized implicit initiator.

- (17) (Yra) rašo-m-a laišk-a.
 be.PRS.3 write-PPRP-[-AGR] letter-ACC
 ‘One writes a letter.’ *Lithuanian ma/ta Impersonal*
(Adapted from Ambrazas et al. 1997, 661)

- (18) Laišk-as (yra) rašo-m-a / rašo-m-as (tėv-o).
 letter-NOM.M.SG be.PRS.3 write-PPRP-[-AGR] / write-PPRP-NOM.M.SG father-GEN
 ‘A letter is being written (by the father).’ *Lithuanian Passive*
(Adapted from Ambrazas et al. 1997, 661)

The impersonal (17) is related to the Polish (19) and Ukrainian (20) *-no/-to* construction with an accusative theme. The Polish construction is an impersonal active, whereas the Ukrainian construction is a passive with an accusative grammatical object (Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002; Lavine 2005, 2013; Legate 2014).³ The Polish and the Ukrainian constructions also differ in the presence of the auxiliary: the Polish lacks it, while the Ukrainian does not. Although the Lithuanian *ma/ta* impersonal patterns with the Ukrainian one in allowing an auxiliary, it patterns with the Polish in exhibiting an implicit subject argument, thereby demonstrating that these two properties are dissociable (contra Lavine 2005). The juxtaposition of the Lithuanian impersonal and Ukrainian passive demonstrates that the passive does not have to be morphologically different from the

²This case study is based on Šereikaitė’s (2020) paper that has been recently submitted to a journal.

³For a discussion of the historical divergence of these constructions also see Lavine (2017).

impersonal (contra Haspelmath 1990).

- (19) Znalazio-no niemowlę w koszu
find-N baby.ACC in basket
‘They found a baby in the basket.’ *Polish Impersonal*
- (20) Nemovlja bulo znajde-no u košyku.
baby.ACC be.PST find-N in basket
‘A baby was found in the basket.’ *Ukrainian Passive*
(Lavine 2005, 76)

The second half of this study examines the properties of the implicit impersonal pronoun in the *-ma/-ta* impersonal. Impersonal pronouns across different languages have been argued to lack the functional layers typically present in a DP (Rivero 2000; Egerland 2003b; Hoekstra 2010; Ackema and Neeleman 2018; Fenger 2018; Hall 2019). The investigation of the impersonal pronoun in Lithuanian confirms the small size type. The pronoun of the *ma/ta* impersonal is a bare N which lacks a full set of specified ϕ -features for number and gender values in the syntax. The pronoun enters the derivation with an interpretable valued ϕ -feature that is valued to human by the impersonal Voice head via agreement (in line with McCloskey 2007, Legate et al. to appear), which correctly captures the restriction that the impersonal pronoun can only refer to humans. Fenger (2018) argues that some impersonal pronouns lack case given that they are restricted to nominative environments and nominative case has been argued to be non-case. The Lithuanian pronoun provides striking evidence for the lack of case. The pronoun can trigger agreement, but agreement fails when the pronoun needs to agree in case. Interestingly, the caseless impersonal pronoun behaves differently from an overt nominative DP showing that at least in Lithuanian nominative cannot be treated as non-case.

This section is organized as follows. Sub-section 2.2.1 introduces typological characteristics of passives and impersonals. Sub-section 2.2.2 demonstrates that the accusative theme of the impersonal behaves like a grammatical object of a transitive construction, whereas the nominative theme of the passive is a grammatical subject. Sub-section 2.2.3 shows that

while both constructions have a thematic Voice head introducing an external argument θ -role, the impersonal has a projected implicit initiator while the passive lacks it. Sub-section 2.2.4 argues that the impersonal is a type of an active VoiceP whose specifier is filled by a null impersonal pronoun. Following McCloskey 2007 and Legate et al. to appear, I suggest that the impersonal pronoun, just like *pro*, is licensed via agreement and the pronoun agrees with the Voice head in Spec-head configuration. Sub-section 2.2.5 demonstrates that the impersonal pronoun is defective: it has no inherent ϕ -features in the syntax and is caseless. Sub-section 2.2.6 concludes. The data presented in the paper comes from my consultants as well as the Lithuanian corpus (<http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/>) and online search.

2.2.1 Typological Background

In order to evaluate differences between passives and impersonals, I first review main typological properties of both constructions. Even though the passive and the impersonal look alike on the surface, I show that typologically they differ in a number of properties including the interpretation of an initiator and the case marking of the theme. In general, Lithuanian passives have received considerable attention in the literature (see Blevins 2003 for passives vs. impersonals, Geniušienė 2006 for statal vs. actional passives; Lavine 2006, Wiemer 2006, Spraunienė et al. 2015, Legate et al. to appear for passives vs. evidentials; Anderson 2015, Sigurðsson et al. 2018 for oblique passives). The *ma/ta* impersonal, on the other hand, has been barely discussed (for a brief discussion, see Geniušienė 2006; also see Spraunienė et al. 2015; Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016). Thus, one of the goals of this sub-section is also to fill in this gap and flesh out main typological characteristics of the *ma/ta* impersonal.

2.2.1.1 Passives

In a canonical passive construction, the theme is promoted to the nominative grammatical subject, and the thematic subject is demoted to the genitive PP adjunct as in (21). Lithuanian passives can be divided into two groups according to their agreement properties: agreeing and non-agreeing ones. Agreeing passives are constructions like (21b). The theme

agrees with a passive participle, marked with *-m* (present) / *-t* (past) suffix, in number, gender and case.⁴ In the non-agreeing passive (21c), the participle takes neuter non-agreeing morphology, the suffix *-a*, which I gloss here as [-AGR].⁵ In discourse neutral situations, the theme occurs clause-initially. Both types of passives allow a finite auxiliary, which is optional in the present tense, but obligatory in the past tense. The optional *by*-phrase occurs neutrally after the participle or between the auxiliary and the participle as illustrated below.

- (21) a. Motin-a raš-o laišk-a.
 mother-NOM write-PRS.3 letter-ACC
 ‘The mother is writing the letter.’
- b. Laišk-as (yra) (motin-os) rašo-m-as (motin-os).
 letter-NOM.M.SG be.PRS.3 mother-GEN write-PPRP-NOM.M.SG mother-GEN
 ‘The letter is being written (by the mother).’ *Agreeing Passive*
- c. Laišk-as (yra) (motin-os) rašo-m-a (motin-os).
 letter-NOM.M.SG be.PRS.3 mother-GEN write-PPRP-[-AGR] mother-GEN
 ‘The letter is being written (by the mother).’ *Non-Agreeing Passive*

Ambrazas et al. (1997, 277) point out that agreeing forms of the passive participle with a nominative theme subject are more common in Standard Lithuanian than non-agreeing forms. Indeed a number of my consultants (8 consultants from Kaunas region) prefer the agreeing form and judge the non-agreeing form as unnatural to them. I have found 3 consultants from Radviliškis region who judged the non-agreeing form as natural to them (judgment reported in (21c)). A number of non-agreeing passives can also be found in the literature and online (22-25) (also see Appendix A for additional examples).

- (22) Pavasari rugi-ai buv-o sėja-m-a.
 spring rye-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3 sow-PPRP-[-AGR]
 ‘In the spring, the rye was sown.’ (Ambrazas et al. 1997, 280)

⁴The suffix *-m* stands for a present passive participle, thus glossed here PPRP, and the suffix *-t* stands for a past passive participle, and is glossed as PPP.

⁵The non-agreeing passive participle is homophonous with an agreeing feminine singular passive participle form. However, the two forms differ in stress: the final suffix *-a* of the neuter participle is not stressed, while the feminine form has a stressed ending e.g. *dirb-t-a* - work-PPP-[-AGR], *dirb-t-à* - work-PPP-NOM.F.SG.

- (23) Regiono departament-e buv-o pastaty-t-a nauji nuotekų valymo
 region department-LOC be-PST.3 build-PPP-[-AGR] new wastewater cleaning
 įrengini-ai.
 installations-NOM.M.PL

‘In the regional department, new waste water treatment plants were built.’⁶

- (24) Perka-m-a grūd-ai.
 buy-PPRP-[-AGR] grain-NOM.M.PL

‘Grain is being bought.’

(Ambrasas et al. 1997, 661)

- (25) Visi šie daikt-ai buv-o ras-t-a archeolog-ų
 all these items-NOM.M.PL be.PST.3 find-PPP-[-AGR] archaeologists-GEN
 piliakalnių kasimo metu.
 hill.fort digging time

‘All these items were found during the excavation of the hill fort by archaeologists.’⁷

Furthermore, the non-agreeing passive morphology is obligatory in passives where the theme is marked with the neuter gender e.g., like the neuter pronoun *niekas* ‘nothing’ in (26).

- (26) Niekas nėra parduo-t-a.
 nothing.N NEG.be.PRS.3 sell-PPP-[-AGR]

‘Nothing is sold.’

(Ambrasas et al. 1997, 280)

Non-agreeing passive participles also occur in passives where the theme retains its case. For instance, with genitive of indefinite quantity (also known as partitive genitive) indicating an indefinite amount of something (27b), the theme retains its genitive case in the passive and the participle shows the non-agreeing morphology. The same pattern can be observed with the dative object which retains its case under passivization as in (28b) (for discussion of these passives see Chapter 3, also see Ambrasas et al. 1997, 279-284; Sawicki 2004 for additional discussion of neuter passive participles).

- (27) a. Jon-as padėj-o gėli-ų prie paminklo.
 Jonas-NOM lay-PST.3 flowers-GEN near monument

⁶<http://klrd.am.lt/VI/files/> Accessed on 08-21-2019.

⁷Adapted from <https://vaa.ju.com/lietuva/gedimino-kalne-rastos-revoliucijos-tyrinetojai-tai-vienas-is-prasmingiausiu-darbu/> Accessed on 08-21-2019.

‘Jonas laid some flowers near the monument.’

- b. Prie paminklo buv-o padė-t-a gėli-ų.
near monument be-PST.3 lay-PPP-[-AGR] flowers-GEN
‘Some flowers were laid near the monument.’ (Ambrazas et al. 1997, 280)

- (28) a. Ji atstovauj-a kit-ai partij-ai.
she.NOM represents-PRS.3 another-DAT party-DAT
‘She represents another party.’

- b. Kit-ai partij-ai yra (jos) atstovauja-m-a.
another-DAT party-DAT be.PRS.3 her.GEN represent-PPRP-[-AGR]
‘Another party is being represented by her.’

(Adapted from Ambrazas et al. 1997, 661-662)

2.2.1.2 *ma/ta* impersonal

The *ma/ta* impersonal occurs with the non-agreeing neuter passive participle form (29).⁸ Unlike the theme of the passive, the theme of the impersonal has accusative case and neutrally follows the participle. The initiator is interpreted as non-specific indefinite ‘one’ (Geniušienė 2006) and is not expressed overtly. Adding an indefinite *by*-phrase yields ungrammaticality as in (30).

- (29) Rašo-m-a laišk-ą.
write-PPRP-[-AGR] letter-ACC
‘One writes a letter.’ (Adapted from Ambrazas et al. 1997, 661)

- (30) Rašo-m-a laišk-ą (*kažkien-o).
write-PPRP-[-AGR] letter-ACC someone-GEN
‘Lit. One writes a letter by someone.’

It is ungrammatical to form the impersonal with predicates whose initiator is a non-human animate referent (Wiemer 2006). The initiator is restricted to human referents, which is a typical property of impersonal pronouns crosslinguistically (e.g., Cinque 1988; Egerland 2003a,b; i.a.).

⁸Crosslinguistically, it is not uncommon for impersonals to bear passive morphology, see e.g., Malchukov and Siewierska 2011.

- (31) *Kiem-e loja-m-a / čirškia-m-a
 yard-LOC bark-PPRP-[-AGR] / chirp-PPRP-[-AGR]
 ‘One is barking/chirping in the yard.’ (Adapted from Wiemer 2006, 300)

However, this restriction does not apply to passives. The demoted initiator realized as a genitive PP adjunct can be an animate non-human referent e.g., sparrows as in (32).

- (32) Ankščiau čia dažnai buv-o čirškia-m-a žvirbli-ų.
 previously here often be-PST.3 chirp-PPRP-[-AGR] sparrows-GEN
 ‘Formerly it was often being chirped by sparrows here.’ (Wiemer 2006, 300)

It has been claimed that the *ma/ta* impersonal construction with an accusative theme is ‘rare’ (Geniušienė 2006; Spraunienė et al. 2015; Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016). The construction is not used in colloquial, spoken language by the speakers of Modern Lithuanian. However, this impersonal occurs in formal written discourse such as news reports, instructions, manuals, etc. Attested instances follow (also see Appendix B for additional examples).

- (33) Didžiaus-ia vyr-ų klaid-a laiki-au girtuoklyst-ę: čia
 greatest-INS men-GEN mistake-INS consider-PST.1SG binge.drinking-ACC here
praranda-m-a ir **vyriškum-ą** ir **žmoniškum-ą**.
 lose-PPRP-[-AGR] and manliness-ACC and humanness-ACC
 ‘I consider drinking to be men’s worst weakness: this is where one loses both manliness and humanity.’ (Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, 122)
- (34) ...muša-m-a vaik-ą tada, kai ne-žino-m-a, kas dary-ti
 beat-PPRP-[-AGR] child-ACC then when NEG-know-PPRP-[-AGR] what.NOM do-INF
 ‘One beats a child when one does not know what to do.’ (Geniušienė 2006, 45)

- (35) **Griki-us** **sėja-m-a** kai dirv-a įšyl-a 7-80C.
 buckwheats-ACC sow-PPRP-[-AGR] when soil-NOM get.warm-PRS.3 7-80C
 ‘One sows buckwheats when the soil warms up to 7-80 C.’⁹

- (36) Čia ir dirba-m-a, ir žaidžia-m-a su vaik-ais,
 Here and work-PPRP-[-AGR], and play-PPRP-[-AGR] with children-INS,
skaito-m-a **knyg-as**.
 read-PPRP-[-AGR] books-ACC

⁹<http://tekstynas.vdu.lt> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

‘Here one works, and plays with children, and reads books.’¹⁰

The attested examples of the impersonal often occur without an auxiliary. Most instances include the present participle (though see sub-section 2.2.5.1 for examples with the past participle). An auxiliary in the present tense is optional across various constructions (e.g., passives (21b-21c)). It could be that the auxiliary in the impersonal is omitted because it occurs with the present participle. Indeed, adding the auxiliary to this construction does not yield ungrammaticality (37).

- (37) Didžiaus-ia vyr-ų klaid-a laiki-au girtuoklyst-ę: čia
greatest-INS men.GEN mistake-INS consider-PST.1SG binge.drinking-ACC here
yra praranda-m-a ir vyriškum-ą ir žmoniškum-ą.
be.PRS.3 lose-PPRP-[-AGR] and manliness-ACC and humanity-ACC
‘I consider drinking to be men’s worst weakness: this is where both manliness and
humanity are lost.’

The auxiliary is obligatory in past tense in the passive, (38). The *ma/ta* impersonal also requires the auxiliary in the past tense, (39). Therefore, the impersonal just like the passive permits an auxiliary, which is optional and often omitted in the present tense, but obligatory in the past. In this respect, the Lithuanian impersonal patterns like the Ukrainian *no/to* construction which also includes an auxiliary as in (20), repeated here in (40).

- (38) Laišk-as *(**buv-o**) rašo-m-as vakar tėv-o.
letter-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 write-PPRP-NOM.M.SG yesterday father-GEN
‘The letter was being written yesterday by the father.’
- (39) Taip pat vakar renginio metu *(**buv-o**) žaidžia-m-a įvairi-us
also yesterday event time be-PST.3 play-PPRP-[-AGR] various-ACC
žaidim-us, atlieka-m-os estafet-ės.
games-ACC, perform-PPRP-NOM.F.PL relay-races-NOM.F.PL
‘In addition, some people were playing games, and relay-races were performed yes-
terday during the event.’¹¹

¹⁰<https://www.domuslumina.lt/lt/patarimai/medines-zaliuzes/medines-zaliuzes-tobulas-sprendimas-svetainei/> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

¹¹http://www.gargzdaivb.lt/lt/index2.php?option=com_contentdo_pdf=1id=96 Accessed on 11/20/2018.

- (40) Nemovlja bulo znajde-no u košyku.
 baby.ACC be.PST find-N in basket
 ‘A baby was found in the basket.’

Ukrainian Passive

All in all, the impersonal overlaps with the passive in terms of the presence of the auxiliary and the passive participle.¹² Nevertheless, the two constructions differ in the case properties of the theme and well as the characteristics of the initiator. The theme is accusative in the impersonal, but nominative in the passive. The initiator of the impersonal is indefinite, restricted to human referents, and it cannot be expressed in a *by*-phrase. The initiator of the passive is realized as a *by*-phrase and it can be non-human. The availability of the *by*-phrase allows us to easily distinguish between the two constructions, henceforth I will use *by*-phrases to distinguish the constructions below.

2.2.2 Properties of Theme Argument

This section investigates the properties of the theme of the two constructions. I demonstrate that the theme of the impersonal bearing structural accusative case behaves like a grammatical object of a transitive. Thus, despite passive morphology that appears on the lexical verb, the theme of the impersonal remains the grammatical accusative object. In contrast, the theme of the passive is promoted to a nominative grammatical subject and lacks the properties associated with an object.

2.2.2.1 Agreement and Case

We have already seen the first difference between the two themes comes from agreement and case. The thematic object of the impersonal does not trigger agreement on a participle as in (41). However, the theme of the passive can trigger subject agreement as in (42) (for

¹² In addition to the *ma/ta* impersonal and the passive, Lithuanian has the evidential construction which also bears passive morphology, 12. Nevertheless, a number of researchers have demonstrated that the evidential is not a passive construction (for discussion see Geniušienė 2006; Lavine 2006, 2010b; Spraunienė et al. 2015; Legate et al. to appear; see Chapter 4 for further discussion).

(i) Ing-os nuramin-t-a vaik-as.
 Inga-GEN calm.down-PPP-[-AGR] child-NOM
 ‘Inga must have calmed the child down.’

(Ambrazas et al. 1997, 207)

some speakers the agreement is obligatory as discussed in sub-section 2.2.1.1). The ability of the theme of the passive to agree with the participle suggests that the theme patterns like a grammatical subject, which is not the case with the theme of the impersonal. The agreement properties of the theme provides us an additional means to disambiguate between the two constructions, and the examples of the passive will be presented with the agreeing participle.

- (41) (Yra) rašo-m-a / *rašo-m-as / *rašo-m-ą
 be.PRS.3 write-PPRP-[-AGR] / write-PPRP-NOM.M.SG / write-PPRP-ACC.M.SG
 laišk-ą
 letter-ACC.M.SG
 ‘One writes a letter.’ *Impersonal*
- (42) Laišk-as (yra) rašo-m-a / rašo-m-as tėv-o.
 Letter-NOM.M.SG be.PRS.3 write-PPRP-[-AGR] / write-PPRP-NOM.M.SG father-GEN
 ‘A letter is being written by the father.’ *Passive*

The grammatical object of an active transitive is marked with a structural accusative case as in (43). The theme of the impersonal shows the same pattern in that it also bears accusative. However, the theme of the passive advances to nominative. Hence, the impersonal licenses the assignment of accusative case to the theme, like the active transitive, while the passive blocks it.

- (43) Motin-a raš-o laišk-ą.
 mother-NOM write-PST.3 letter-ACC
 ‘The mother is writing a letter.’ *Active*
- (44) Rašo-m-a laišk-ą/*laišk-as.
 write-PPRP-[-AGR] letter-ACC/letter-NOM
 Lit. ‘One writes a letter.’ *Impersonal*
- (45) Laišk-as / *laišk-ą (yra) rašo-m-as motin-os.
 letter-NOM / letter-ACC be.PRS.3 write-PPRP-NOM.M.SG mother-GEN
 ‘A letter is being written by the mother.’ *Passive*

An additional argument that the theme of the impersonal bears structural accusative

is based on the genitive of negation. When a transitive verb is negated, the grammatical object appears with genitive case, cf. (46a-46b).

- (46) a. Darbinink-ai naudoj-a šias medžiag-as/*šių medžiag-ų.
 employees-NOM use-PRS.3 these substances-ACC/*these substances-GEN
 ‘The employees use these substances.’
- b. Darbinink-ai ne-naudoj-a šių medžiag-ų/*šias medžiag-as.
 employees-NOM NEG-use-PRS.3 these substances-GEN/*these substances-ACC
 ‘The employees do not use these substances.’

If the theme of the impersonal is a grammatical object, we would expect it to become genitive when its predicate is negated. This prediction is borne out: the theme is marked with genitive (47).

- (47) Mūsų įmon-ėje ne-buv-o naudoja-m-a šių medžiag-ų / *šias
 our company-LOC NEG-be-PST.3 use-PPRP-[-AGR] these materials-GEN / these
 medžiag-as saugumo sumetimais.
 materials-ACC safety reasons
 ‘One did not use these substances in our company due to safety reasons.’ *Impersonal*

In contrast, the theme of the passive is not affected by the genitive of negation (48-49). The examples below include the theme in a clause initial position, which is a position where the grammatical subject occurs, as well as a post-verbal position where the grammatical object surfaces. Regardless of the position, the theme bears nominative. The unavailability of genitive indicates that the theme is not a grammatical object. If it were, we would expect the theme to bear genitive.¹³

¹³ One could hypothesize that the reason why the genitive theme is ungrammatical in (48-49) may be due to morphological marking: the language may not allow two genitive nominals, namely a genitive theme and a genitive *by*-phrase, to co-occur together in a single instance. However, there is independent evidence in the language showing that it is not the case. In evidentials of passives (see fn 12 for evidentials), two genitive DPs are present. The grammatical theme subject *vaiko* ‘child’ and the genitive *by*-phrase ‘*Ingos*’ (41). Therefore, the genitive theme in (48-49) is ungrammatical due to syntactic reasons rather than morphological.

(i) Vaik-o bū-t-a nuramin-t-o Ing-os
 child-GEN.M.SG be-PPP-[-AGR] calm.down-PPP-GEN.M.SG Inga-GEN
 ‘The child must have been calmed down by Inga.’

Evidential of Passive

- (48) Šios medžiag-os / *šių medžiag-ų ne-buv-o naudoja-m-os
 these materials-NOM.F.PL / these materials-GEN NEG-be-PST.3 use-PPRP-NOM.F.PL
 darbinink-ų saugumo sumetimais.
 employees-GEN safety reasons
 ‘These substances were not used by the employees due to safety reasons.’ *Passive*
- (49) Darbinink-ų ne-buv-o naudoja-m-os šios medžiag-os /
 employees-GEN NEG-be-PST.3 use-PPRP-NOM.F.PL these materials-NOM.F.PL /
 *šių medžiag-ų saugumo sumetimais.
 these materials-GEN safety reasons
 ‘These substances were not used by the employees due to safety reasons.’ *Passive*

The theme subject of unaccusatives also cannot be marked with genitive of negation, (50). This constitutes additional evidence that genitive of negation cannot be applied to a grammatical theme subject.¹⁴ The contrast between the theme of the impersonal and that of passives and unaccusatives indicates that the theme of the impersonal does not share the same property with a grammatical theme subject, and instead it behaves like a grammatical object.

- (50) Jon-as/*Jon-o ne-numir-ė.
 Jonas-NOM/Jonas-GEN NEG-die-PST.3
 ‘Jonas didn’t die.’ *Unaccusatives*

Facts from genitive of negation also suggest that the accusative theme of the impersonal bears structural case. Genitive of negation cannot be applied to objects marked with a non-structural case e.g., the object of *serve*, which bears inherent dative, is not compatible with genitive (51). As a result, the difference between the theme of the impersonal in (47) and the theme with non-structural case (51) can be treated as evidence that the theme of the impersonal bears structural case.

- (51) Jon-as ne-tarnav-o žmon-ėms/*žmoni-ų.
 Jonas-NOM NEG-serve-PST.3 people-DAT/people-GEN

¹⁴Lithuanian genitive of negation cannot be treated as an unaccusativity test as it was suggested for Russian in Pesetsky 1982. The Russian genitive of negation can be applied to the subject of unaccusatives, but it cannot affect the subject of unergatives. However, this is not the case in Lithuanian given that the theme of passives and unaccusatives cannot be realized with genitive. Instead, the genitive of negation tracks a grammatical thematic object with structural accusative case (see Sigurðsson and Šereikaitė 2020 for discussion, also see Arkadiev (2016) for additional discussion).

‘Jonas did not serve people.’

2.2.2.2 Binding

The distinction between the two themes is also reflected in binding. The nominative grammatical subject of an active transitive binds the subject-oriented anaphor *savo* ‘self’¹⁵ and it is ungrammatical for the subject to bind the anti-subject-oriented pronoun *jo* ‘his’ (52). The object cannot bind the subject-oriented anaphor *savo*, but it does bind the pronoun *ju* (53).

- (52) **Domant-as_i** rūšiav-o tarnautoj-us pagal **sav-o_i**/*j-o_i
Domantas-NOM divide-PST.3 employees-ACC according.to self-GEN/his-GEN
įsitikinimus.
beliefs
‘Domantas_i divided employees according to his_i own beliefs.’

- (53) Domant-as rūšiav-o **tarnautoj-us_i** pagal **j-u_i**/*sav-o_i
Domantas-NOM divide-PST.3 employees-ACC according.to their-GEN/self-GEN
įsitikinimus.
beliefs
‘Domantas divided employees_i according to their_i beliefs.’ (Timberlake 1982, 515)

In (54), the theme of the impersonal cannot be the antecedent of the subject-oriented anaphor and, in this respect, it does not resemble a grammatical subject. The theme binds the anti-subject-oriented pronoun, and therefore patterns identically to a grammatical object.

- (54) Kasmēt rūšiuoja-m-a **darbinink-us_i** pagal **j-u_i**/*sav-o_i
every.year divide-PPRP-[-AGR] employees-ACC according.to their-GEN/self-GEN
įsitikinimus.
beliefs
‘Every year one divides employees_i according to their_i beliefs.’ *Impersonal*

If the theme argument is fronted, the theme still binds the non-reflexive form (55). This type of behavior of the theme is parallel to that of the topicalized object of an active, which

¹⁵See Legate et al. to appear for arguments showing that ‘savo’ is not a logophor.

also binds the non-reflexive form, (56). Hence, when the theme of the impersonal occurs clause initially, it patterns as if it has undergone A-bar movement to a higher position above a TP.

- (55) **Darbinink-us_i** rūšiuoja-m-a pagal **j-ų_i**/*sav-o_i įsitikinimus.
 employees-ACC divide-PPRP-[-AGR] according.to their-GEN/own-GEN beliefs
 ‘It is employees that one divides according to their beliefs.’ *Impersonal*

- (56) **Darbinink-us_i** Domant-as rūšiav-o pagal **j-ų_i**/*sav-o_i įsitikinimus.
 employees-ACC Domantas-NOM divide-PST.3 according.to their-GEN/self-GEN beliefs
 ‘It was the employees_i that Domantas divided according to their_i beliefs.’ *Active*

In passives, the theme binds both the subject-oriented anaphor and the non-reflexive form.¹⁶ Its ability to bind *savo* suggests that the theme has become a grammatical subject,

(57). This type of binding relation is not possible in the impersonal, which leads to a conclusion that the theme of the impersonal is not promoted to a subject position.

- (57) **Darbuotoj-ai** buv-o rūšiuoja-m-i pagal
 employees-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3 divide-PPRP-NOM.M.PL according.to

¹⁶ One might hypothesize that the theme grammatical subject of passives is able to bind the pronoun like *ju* in (57) may be because it is base-generated in the lower position, namely as a complement of VP, and this may be enough to license this binding relation. Nevertheless, this generalization does not hold for theme subjects of unaccusative verbs as in (i) where the subject can only bind *savo*.

- (i) Artist-as_i nu-krit-o sav-o_i/*j-o_i pasirodym-o metu.
 artist-NOM PFV-fall-PST.3 self-GEN/his-GEN performance-GEN time

‘The artist fell down during his own performance.’

Further investigation reveals that the binding relation between the theme and the anti-subject-oriented pronoun is also sensitive to agreement. For instance, when the subject of the passive is a 1st person pronoun that shows full agreement with the auxiliary, i.e., it agrees with it in person and number, the binding of the personal pronoun for some speakers is not possible (out of 8 speakers, only 3 speakers allowed binding of *mano*), as in (ii). The agreement disfavours the binding of this pronoun when the theme is promoted to a subject position. Hence, I hypothesize that the binding relation between the theme and the personal pronoun in (57) may be influenced by its lower position along with the lack of agreement. The theme in (57) is a 3rd person subject. The 3rd person subject agrees with the auxiliary in person and does not show agreement in number, unlike the subject in (ii).

- (ii) Aš_i buv-au nominuo-t-as gyventoj-ų į Šlovės muziej-ų dėl
 I.NOM be-PST.1SG nominate-PPP-NOM.M.SG residents-GEN to ‘Fame’ museum-ACC because.of
 sav-o_i/%man-o_i pasiekimų.
 self-GEN/me-GEN achievements.

‘I was nominated to the ‘Fame’ museum by the residents because of my own achievements.’

sav- \mathbf{o}_i /j- Ψ_i įsitikinimus.
 self-GEN/their-GEN/ beliefs

‘The employees_i were divided according to their_i beliefs.’

Passive

2.2.2.3 Interim Summary

The themes of the two constructions differ in terms of their grammatical function. The theme of the impersonal bears structural accusative case and exhibits a prototypical behavior of the grammatical object of a transitive construction in that it takes genitive of negation, binds the anti-subject-oriented pronoun, and does not show agreement with the participle. In contrast, the theme of the passive does not behave like a grammatical object; instead, it is promoted to a subject position, which is a typical property of a canonical passive. This is evidenced by the theme’s ability to bind the subject-oriented anaphor and agree with the predicate. The impersonal disallows its theme to be promoted to subject, whereas the passive does not have this restriction.

The Lithuanian impersonal shares a syntactic property in common with the Polish *no/to* construction (58) and the Ukrainian construction (59). Just like the theme of the *ma/ta* impersonal, the accusative theme of the Polish and Ukrainian constructions also functions like a grammatical object (Sobin 1985; Billings and Maling 1995; Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002; Lavine 2005; Legate 2014; i.a.). However, the presence of the accusative theme does not rule out the possibility that these constructions are not passives. The Ukrainian construction with the accusative theme allows a *by*-phrase, and patterns like a passive, (59), whereas the Polish construction has been identified as an active transitive with a projected initiator.¹⁷

(58) Znaleziono niemowlę w koszu.
 found.N baby.ACC in basket

‘They found a baby in the basket.’ (Lavine 2005, 23)

Polish Impersonal

¹⁷Also see Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002; Maling 2006; Eythórsson 2008; Jónsson 2009; Legate 2014 for a discussion of the Icelandic passive, which also permits an accusative theme and a *by*-phrase, as in (i).

(i) ?það var skoðað bílinn af bifvélavirkjanum.
 EXPL was inspected car.ACC.DEF by car.mechanic.DEF

‘The car was inspected by the car mechanic.’ (Legate 2014, 89)

Icelandic

- (59) Cerkvu bulo zbudovano Lesevym.
 church.ACC.F be.PST build.N Lesiv.INS
 ‘The church was built by Lesiv.’ (Sobin 1985, 658) *Ukrainian Passive*

2.2.3 Thematic VoiceP and Implicit Arguments

In this section, I demonstrate that while both, the impersonal and the passive, have the thematic VoiceP that introduces an external θ -role and share same morphology, the two constructions differ in terms of the status of an implicit initiator.

The study of implicit arguments has a long history. Even though implicit arguments have been extensively examined in the literature, there is still an on-going debate about whether they are projected in the syntax or not. For instance, Collins (2005) argues that English short passives (i.e., passives without a *by*-phrase) have a projected implicit agent, whereas Bruening (2013) argues that the implicit agent is not represented syntactically in these constructions. Thus, where and how implicit arguments are represented in the derivation remains an open question. A part of the problem is that there is disagreement on what diagnostics can actually be used to capture the syntactic representation of implicit arguments, and the data itself sometimes is highly controversial (e.g., see Alexiadou et al. 2015 for discussion). For instance, control into purpose clauses as in (60) has been taken as a diagnostic that could signal the presence of an implicit argument (Manzini 1983).

- (60) The boat was sunk [PRO to collect insurance money]. (Manzini 1983)

However, Williams (1985) provides an example in (61) with a purpose clause that occurs in a sentence that clearly lacks an external argument. Examples like (61) show that purpose clauses in fact do not need their controller to be syntactically projected (see also Bhatt and Pancheva 2006; Landau 2010, 2013 for discussion).

- (61) Grass is green [in order to promote photosynthesis]. (Williams 1985)

This study contributes to this debate. I establish a number of syntactic tests to determine whether an argument is syntactically represented in the syntax or not. I show that

the implicit initiator is syntactically projected in the *ma/ta* impersonal, but not in the passive. Therefore, the Lithuanian impersonal is not a passive construction: it patterns like an active transitive construction – a pattern found in the Polish impersonal and other impersonals cross-linguistically (Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002; Blevins 2003; Lavine 2005; McCloskey 2007; Legate 2014). In contrast, the passive requires the suppression of an external argument and its thematic VoiceP lacks a projected initiator (in line with Bruening 2013; Alexiadou et al. 2015; contra Collins 2005; Landau 2010).

2.2.3.1 Presence of a thematic VoiceP

If the impersonal has an external argument, then it should have a projection that introduces an initiator θ -role. Here I follow Kratzer (1996); Pylkkänen (2008); Schäfer (2008); Harley (2013); Legate (2014) and subsequent work, and assume that a thematic Voice head introduces the external argument θ -role (see Section 1.2 for discussion). The presence of thematic VoiceP is signaled by material that points to an agentive reading such as instruments or agent-oriented adverbials (Bruening 2013; Alexiadou et al. 2015). The impersonal permits agent-oriented adverbials such as *intentionally* (62) or *unwillingly* (63) that refer to an initiator.

- (62) Ne-nuostabu, kad jūs-ų darb-e tyčia naudoja-m-a
 NEG-surprising that your-GEN work-LOC intentionally use-PPRP-[-AGR]
 įvairi-as diagram-as dėl kuri-ų padidėj-a auditorij-os
 various-ACC diagrams-ACC because.of which-GEN increase-PRS.3 auditorium-GEN
 susidomėjim-as...
 interest-NOM
 ‘It is not surprising that at your work one is using various diagrams intentionally due
 to which the interest of the auditorium increases.’ *Impersonal*

- (63) Čia ir dirba-m-a, ir žaidžia-m-a su vaik-ais, ir
 here and work-PPRP-[-AGR], and play-PPRP-[-AGR] with children-INS, and
 nori-ai skaito-m-a knyg-as.
 willing-ADV read-PPRP-[-AGR] books-ACC
 ‘Here one works, and plays with children, and willingly reads books.’ *Impersonal*

Similarly, agent-oriented adverbials are also possible with passives as in (64-65).

- (64) Ne-nuostabu, kad jūs-ų darbe įvairi-os diagram-os
 NEG-wonderful, that your-GEN work-LOC various-NOM.F.PL diagrams-NOM.F.PL
 yra naudoja-m-os tyčia.
 be-PRS.3 use-PPRP-NOM.F.PL intentionally
 ‘It is not surprising that at your work various diagrams are used on purpose.’ *Passive*

- (65) Čia knyg-os buv-o skaito-m-os nori-ai.
 here books-NOM.F.PL be-PRS.3 read-PPRP-NOM.F.PL willing-ADV
 ‘Here books were read willingly.’ *Passive*

Instruments referring to the type of tools the initiator has used are licit in the *ma/ta* impersonal. A parallel pattern can be observed in the passive where the instruments are permitted as well.

- (66) Aidėj-o šūksni-ai ir juok-as, buv-o ne tik
 echo-PST.3 scream-NOM and laugh-NOM, be-PST.3 not only
 sportuoja-m-a, bet ir žaidžia-m-a žaidi-mus su kauliuk-ais
 play.sports-PPRP-[-AGR] but and play-PPRP-[-AGR] games-ACC with dice-INS
 ir spalvot-ais balion-ais.
 and colourful-INS balloons-INS
 ‘Screams and laugh were echoing, people were not only playing sports, but also playing
 games with dice and colorful balloons.’¹⁸ *Impersonal*

- (67) Žaidim-ai buv-o žaidžia-m-i su kauliuk-ais ir spalvot-ais
 games-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3 play-PPRP-NOM.M.PL with dice-INS and colorful-INS
 balion-ais
 balloons-INS
 ‘The games were played with dice and colorful balloons.’ *Passive*

To sum up, both types of constructions pattern in the same manner in that they both permit agent-oriented adverbials and instruments. The availability of these elements indicates that both constructions contain a thematic VoiceP projection that introduces an external argument θ -role.

¹⁸ Adapted from <http://www.radviliskisvsb.lt/visuomenes-sveikata/visuomenes-sveikatos-stiprinimas/6366-6366> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

2.2.3.2 Projection of Implicit argument

The *ma/ta* impersonal has an accusative grammatical object and a thematic VoiceP associated with an external argument. The passive also has the agentive VoiceP, but its theme, unlike that of the impersonal, is a grammatical subject. I establish a number of syntactic tests to determine whether an argument is syntactically represented in the syntax or not. I argue that the initiator is syntactically projected in the impersonal, but not in the passive.

2.2.3.2.1 Binding

The first argument for the presence of the implicit argument in the impersonal comes from binding of the subject-oriented anaphor ‘savo.’ Landau (2010) argues that syntactically projected implicit arguments with a D feature bind reflexive anaphors. The unpronounced agent of the *ma/ta* impersonal binds the subject-oriented reflexive possessive anaphor *savo*, as exemplified below in (68-69), indicating that the implicit argument is syntactically projected.

- (68) Dažnai IMP_i rašo-m-a laišk-us pagal sav-o_i sukurt-as
often write-PPRP-[-AGR] letters-ACC according self-GEN created-ACC
taisykl-es.
rules-ACC
‘One often writes letters according to one’s own created rules.’ *Impersonal*
- (69) Dažnai IMP_i praranda-m-a žmogiškum-ą dėl sav-o_i kalt-ės.
often lose-PPRP-[-AGR] humanness-ACC because.of self-GEN fault-GEN
‘One often loses humanness because of one’s own fault.’ *Impersonal*

In contrast, the demoted agent of the passive does not show this type of behavior. It cannot bind the subject-oriented anaphor, suggesting that the agent is not syntactically projected.¹⁹

¹⁹Note that there is variation regarding the judgments for binding by overt *by*-phrases in passives. For Lavine’s (2006; 2010a) consultants, the *by*-phrase in the passive binds the anti-subject-oriented pronoun form *jo* as in (i), whereas Spraunienė et al’s (2015) consultants allow the *by*-phrase to bind the reflexive form *savo*. Our consultants whose judgment is reported in (70) share their grammaticality judgment with the former group and do not permit the reflexive form to be bound by the *by*-phrase.

- (70) Šiame fabrik-e darbuotoj-ai (yra) rūšiuoja-m-i
 this.LOC factory-LOC employees-NOM.M.PL be.PRS.3 divide-PPRP-NOM.M.PL
 pagal (*sav-o_i įsitikinim-us).
 according.to self-GEN beliefs-ACC
 ‘In this factory, the employees are being divided according to his beliefs.’ [according
 to agent’s beliefs] *Passive*

The second argument comes from binding a reflexive non-possessive pronoun. The possessive reflexive form *savo* has a non-possessive reflexive counterparts like *sau* ‘self.DAT’ or *savęs* ‘self.GEN’ (for a full paradigm of these reflexives see Ambrazas et al. 1997, 192, also see Spraunienė et al. 2015). These elements differ from *savo* in that they function like independent arguments rather than modifiers of a DP. Nevertheless, non-possessive reflexives pattern like *savo* in that they are also subject-oriented anaphors (see Appendix C). If the initiator of the impersonal is syntactically present, then it should be able to bind the non-possessive subject-oriented anaphor. This prediction is borne out. In the impersonal, the non-possessive anaphor is bound by the initiator as reported in Spraunienė et al. 2015. The examples are provided with the accusative anaphor *save* in a grammatical object position, (71), as well as the dative form *sau* in an adjunct position (72).

- (71) Bet jei IMP_i myli-m-a sav-e_i tik per kūdik-į, tai koks
 but if love-PPRP-[-AGR] self-ACC only through baby-ACC, then what
 gal-i bū-ti laisvas laik-as nuo kūdik-io?
 can-PRS.3 be-INF free time-NOM from baby-GEN
 ‘But if one loves oneself only just via one’s own baby, then what free time can be
 apart from the baby?’ (Internet example reported in Spraunienė et al. 2015, 351)
Impersonal

- (72) Dažnai IMP_i praranda-m-a žmogiškum-ą dėl sau_i nežinom-ų
 often lose-PPRP-[-AGR] humanness-ACC because.of self.DAT unknown-GEN
-
- (i) Darbuotoj-ai (yra) rūšiuoja-m-i Domant-o_i pagal
 employees-NOM.M.PL be.PRS.3 divide-PPRP-NOM.M.PL Domantas-GEN according.to
 j-o_i/*sav-o_i įsitikinim-us.
 his-GEN/self-GEN beliefs-ACC
 ‘The employees are divided by Domantas_i according to his_i beliefs.’

priežasči-ų, be joki-o rimt-o pagrind-o.
 reasons-GEN without any-GEN serious-GEN base-GEN

‘One_i often loses humanness for reasons that are unknown to oneself_i, without any serious basis.’ *Impersonal*

In the passive, the theme does not retain its accusative case, and thus we cannot use the accusative form *save* ‘self.ACC’ for this test. Instead, I use the dative reflexive form *sau*, which can occur in an indirect object position. In (73), the grammatical subject of ‘give’ binds the indirect object *sau*. In the passive with a theme subject, the reflexive dative form referring to the agent of ‘give’ is prohibited (74). The anaphor requires a syntactically projected binder. Given that the reflexive form is ruled out, it can be suggested that the agent of the passive is not syntactically realized. This behavior can also be seen in (75) where the anaphor is in an adjunct position.

(73) Žaidim-o met-u krepšinink-ai_i dav-ė sau_i visišk-ą
 game-GEN time-INS, basketball.players-NOM give-PST.3 self.DAT absolute-ACC
 laisv-ę.
 freedom-ACC
 ‘During the game, the basketball players_i gave themselves_i absolute freedom.’

(74) *Žaidim-o met-u visišk-a laisv-ė buv-o
 game-GEN time-INS, absolute-NOM.F.SG freedom-NOM.F.SG be-PST.3
 duo-t-à sau_i.
 give-PPRP-NOM.F.SG self.DAT
 ‘During the game, the absolute freedom was given to oneself_i.’ *Passive*

(75) ??Žmogišku-mas buv-o praras-t-as dėl sau_i
 humanness-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 lose-PPRP-NOM.M.SG because.of self.DAT
 nežinom-ų priežasči-ų.
 unknown-GEN reasons-GEN
 ‘The humanness was lost for reasons that are unknown to oneself_i.’ *Passive*

The behavior of the implicit initiator is replicated with anaphors that are not subject oriented, namely the reciprocal *vienas kitą* ‘each other.’²⁰ In an active transitive, the reciprocal is bound by a nominative thematic subject, (76). This is also the case with the *ma/ta*

²⁰The first element of the reciprocal *vienas* ‘one’ inflects for number and gender. However, its case remains nominative regardless of the pronoun’s syntactic position in a clause (see Section 2.2.5.2 for more details).

impersonal where the accusative reciprocal in the object position is being controlled by the initiator suggesting that it is syntactically represented in the structure (77).

(76) Kai kur-ie žmon-ės_i myl-i vien-as kit-a_i.
 some-NOM.M.PL people-NOM.M.PL love-PRS.3 one-NOM.M.SG other-ACC.M.SG
 ‘Some people love each other.’ *Active*

(77) Mylè-ki-me poezij-a, kaip IMP_i myli-m-a vien-as
 love-IMP-1PL poetry-ACC as love-PPRP-[-AGR] one-NOM.M.SG
 kit-a_i.
 other-ACC.M.SG
 ‘Let us all love poetry in a way one loves each other.’²¹ *Impersonal*

Promoting the reciprocal theme to a subject position in the passive results in ungrammaticality, (78). This means that the initiator, which can be a potential binder in this construction, is not syntactically present.

Context : Individuals may influence each other in various situations.

(78) *Vien-as kit-as yra veikia-m-as.
 one-NOM.M.SG other-NOM.M.SG be.PRS.3 influence-PPRP-NOM.M.SG
 Lit. ‘Each other are being influenced.’ *Passive*

To summarize, the initiator of the impersonal can establish a binding relation with subject-oriented anaphors. The initiator behaves as if it is syntactically projected and functions like a grammatical subject. The projection of the initiator is also confirmed by its ability to bind reciprocals. Nevertheless, the initiator of the passive fails to bind anaphors meaning that it behaves as if it is not projected.

2.2.3.2.2 *By*-phrase

Another difference between the impersonal and the passive comes from *by*-phrases. Recall from sub-section 2.2.1 that impersonals do not allow *by*-phrases whereas passives do. It has been argued that implicit arguments in impersonals saturate an external argument position, and thus count as a syntactic argument (see e.g., Lavine 2005; Legate 2014). If the implicit

²¹<http://mairioniomuziejus.lt/lt/renginiai/poezijos-ir-muzikos-vakaras-1865> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

argument is syntactically projected in the external argument position, then no *by*-phrase introducing an external argument should be possible, which is true, (79). In contrast, the *by*-phrase is allowed in the passive (80) meaning that it lacks the implicit argument that saturates the external argument variable.

(79) (Yra) rašo-m-a laik-ą *kažkien-o.
 be.PRS.3 write-PPRP-[-AGR] letter-ACC someone-GEN
 Lit. ‘One writes a letter by someone.’ *Impersonal*

(80) Laišk-as (yra) kažkien-o rašo-m-as .
 Letter-NOM.M.SG be.PRS.3 someone-GEN write-PPRP-NOM.M.SG
 ‘A letter is being written by someone.’ *Passive*

2.2.3.2.3 Non-passivizable Verbs

Another difference that distinguishes the impersonal from the passive is its compatibility with non-passivizable verbs. A projected implicit argument may function as a theme argument of unaccusatives in an active impersonal, as has been demonstrated in Lavine 2005; Maling 2006, 2010. In contrast, passives require the suppression of an initiator and have been shown to be incompatible with unaccusatives. Unaccusatives like ‘die’ (81) or copular verbs like ‘be’ and ‘become’ (82)-(83) are attested in the impersonal (also see Spraunienė et al. 2015). Thus, the impersonal does not require the demotion of an external argument. It functions like an active impersonal with a syntactically present implicit argument, which can be a theme.

(81) Dažniausiai (yra) **miršta-m-a** nuo šird-ies ir kraujagysli-ų
 mostly be.PRS.3 die-PPRP-[-AGR] from heart-GEN and blood-vessels-GEN
 lig-ų.
 disease-GEN.
 ‘Mostly one often dies from heart and blood-vessel diseases.’ *Impersonal*

(82) Strazdan-os pasidar-o ryškesnės, kai dažn-iau **būna-m-a** saul-ėje.
 freckles-NOM become-PRS.3 clearer, when often-COMP be-PPRP-[-AGR] sun-LOC
 ‘Freckles become clearer when one stays in the sun more often.’²² *Impersonal*

²²Adapted from <https://www.delfi.lt/gyvenimas/grozisirsveikata> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

- (83) Bank-o akcinink-ais **tampa-m-a** įstatym-ų nustatyta
 bank-GEN investors-INS.M.PL become-PPRP-[-AGR] laws-GEN determined-INS
 tvarka.
 order-INS
 ‘One becomes a bank investor by operation of law.’²³ *Impersonal*

Passivization of unaccusatives and copular predicates is not possible, (84)-(86).²⁴ Hence, the passive does not pattern like an active impersonal with a projected implicit argument. The passive demotes a thematic subject of transitives and cannot be applied to predicates that lack an initiator.

- (84) *Nuo grip-o buv-o **miršta-m-a** žmoni-ų kiekvienais metais.
 from flu-GEN be-PST.3 die-PPRP-[-AGR] people-GEN every year
 Lit. ‘It was died by people from flu every year.’ *Passive*

- (85) *Strazdan-os pasidar-o ryškesnės, kai dažn-iau **būna-m-a**
 freckles-NOM become-PRS.3 clear, when often-COMP be-PPRP-[-AGR]
 žmon-ių saulėj-e.
 people-GEN sun-LOC
 Lit. ‘Freckles become clearer when it is been by people in the sun.’ *Passive*

- (86) *Šiais metais buv-o **tap-t-a** student-u Jon-o.
 this year be-PST.3 become-PPRP-[-AGR] student-INS.SG.M Jonas-GEN
 Lit. ‘This year it was become a student by Jonas.’ *Passive*

In additional to regular unaccusative verbs, Lithuanian also has a class of stative-like verbs *stigti* - ‘to lack’ or *užtekti* ‘to have enough’. These predicates occur with a dative possessor and a genitive theme object, (87). The dative possessor is a quirky subject as seen by fact that it can bind the subject-oriented anaphor *savo* (see Chapter 4 for further argumentation). The impersonal can be formed with these predicates, (88). The implicit

²³www.tekstynas.vdu.lt Accessed on 09-03-2019

²⁴Note that unergatives can undergo passivization as demonstrated in Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, and a number of attested examples of passives with unergatives exist, (24). Thus, constructions with unergatives may be ambiguous between the impersonal and the passive and are not included in this sub-section.

(i) Dažnai buv-o dirba-m-a žmoni-ų be tinkamo tam darbui pasiruošimo.
 often be-PST.3 work-PPRP-[-AGR] people-GEN without appropriate that work preparation
 ‘It was often worked by people without having an appropriate training for that job.’

<http://www.epaveldas.lt> Accessed on 11/20/2018

argument of the impersonal functions like a dative subject and binds *savo*. The impersonal pronoun is not limited to a nominative grammatical subject position, be it an initiator or a theme, but may also occur as a quirky subject.

- (87) Jon- ui_i stig-o tikėjim-o sav- o_i jėgom-is.
Jonas-DAT lack-PST.3 belief-GEN self-GEN strength-INS
'Jonas lacked belief in his strength.'
- (88) Gal net simboliška, kad Lietuv-os tapatyb-ės ženkl-o konkurs-e
maybe even symbolic that Lithuania-GEN identity-GEN sign-GEN contest-LOC
IMP $_i$ stinga-m-a idėj-ų ir tikėjim-o sav- o_i jėgom-is.
lack-PPRP-[AGR] ideas-GEN and belief-GEN self-GEN strength-INS
'Maybe this is even symbolic that one lacks ideas and belief in oneself in the competition of the sign of Lithuanian identity.'²⁵

It is ungrammatical to form passives with these predicates regardless of whether the theme is genitive or nominative. This is another indication that the application of passive is limited to verbs with a thematic subject.

- (89) *Konkurs-e tikėjim-as perg-al-e buv-o stinga-m-as
competition-LOC belief-NOM.M.SG victory-INS be-PST.3 lack-PPRP-NOM.M.SG
student-ų.
students-GEN
'In the competition, belief in victory was lacked by the students.'
- (90) *Konkurs-e tikėjim-o perg-al-e buv-o stinga-m-a student-ų.
competition-LOC belief-GEN victory-INS be-PST.3 lack-PPRP-[-AGR] students-GEN
'In the competition, belief in victory was lacked by the students.'

2.2.3.2.4 Word Order

The impersonal and the passive differ from each other in terms of word order. Word order in Lithuanian may vary depending on the 'communicative intention' (see Mathiassen 1996, 236-242, Ambrazas et al. 1997, 690-692 for word order facts). As far as the information structure goes, a sentence is known to consist of two parts: THEME and RHEME (Halliday

²⁵Adapted from <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/padovanok-lietuvai-vizija-vadamkus-valstybes-vizija-galima-ir-issvajoti.d?id=14628830> Accessed on 10-01-2020

1967, 1973, ia.). It contains old or given information which serves as a departure point for the speaker, known as the THEME²⁶ or Topic of a sentence. It may also include new information, known as the RHEME. As noted by Ambrazas et al. (1997), in Lithuanian, old information, thus the THEME of a sentence, precedes new information, the RHEME.

In instances that intend to report new information about what happened and are discourse neutral i.e., nothing is presupposed between the speaker and the hearer, the basic pattern is SVO where the initiator proceeds the verb and the theme argument follows it. These principles apply to constructions with an overt grammatical subject (91) and those with an implicit projected subject, e.g., 3rd person pro-drop contexts (92). To facilitate the pro-drop context and to construct minimal pairs with the overt subject and the null subject, the word order facts are presented below in ‘that’-clauses. The context is set up in such a way that it presents the hearer with new information.

Context: Students are usually never invited to the dean’s office. But surprisingly, yesterday one student received an invitation to the dean’s office and my friend is telling me about it.

- (91) Marij-a man sak-è, kad vakar kažk-as pakviet-è vien-ą
 Marija-NOM me.DAT say-PST.3 that yesterday someone-NOM invite-PST.3 one-ACC
 student-ą į dekanat-ą.
 student-ACC to dean’s.office-ACC
 ‘Marija told me that yesterday someone invited one student to the dean’s office.’
 (initiator-verb-theme)

- (92) Pavaduotoj-as_i man sak-è, kad vakar pro_i pakviet-è vien-ą
 assistant.director-NOM me.DAT say-PST.3 that yesterday invite-PST.3 one-ACC
 student-ą į dekanat-ą.
 student-ACC to dean’s.office-ACC
 ‘The assistant director_i told me that he_i has invited one student to the dean’s office.’
 (initiator-verb-theme)

The *ma/ta* impersonal shows the same pattern as a pro-drop construction with a fully

²⁶I use small caps for the THEME denoting the topic of the sentence as opposed to the theme that refers to the θ -role.

projected implicit argument. In the impersonal, the theme follows the verb rather than precedes it (93).

- (93) Dažnai IMP sako-m-a, kad IMP praranda-m-a žmogiškum-ą dėl
 often say-PPRP-[-AGR] that lose-PPRP-[-AGR] humanness-ACC because
 sav-o kalt-ės.
 self-GEN fault-GEN
 ‘Often it is said that one loses humanness due to one’s own fault.’
 (initiator-verb-theme)

While the theme grammatical object in constructions with a projected external argument comes after the verb, in the passive the pattern is opposite. The initiator has been demoted and is not projected. The theme argument has become a grammatical subject and precedes the verb as in (94). The communicative intention of the passive construction is to express the information about an affected entity, thus a theme argument, with an initiator being less relevant. Therefore, the starting point of the passive sentence, the Topic/THEME, in discourse neutral instances is the theme argument. Due to the fact that the information structure in Lithuanian is THEME/Topic-RHEME order, we see that in (94) the theme argument occurs clause initially because it is the Topic of the sentence.²⁷

- (94) Jon-as man sak-ė, kad vakar vien-as student-as buv-o
 Jonas-NOM me.DAT say-PST.3 that yesterday one-NOM student-NOM be-PST.3
 pakvies-t-as į dekanatą.
 invite-PPP-NOM.M.SG to dean’s.office-ACC
 ‘Jonas told me that yesterday one student was invited to the dean’s office.’
 (theme-verb)

²⁷As an *LI* anonymous reviewer points out, the fact that a sentence initial position is filled with a DP in the data presented here is reminiscent of V2 (verb-second) effects (see Haider and Prinzhorn 1989; Wechsler 1991, i.a.). While V2 effects can be observed here, there are cases where OSV and SOV word orders as well as VSO and VOS are possible (see e.g., Ambrazas et al. 1997, 693-699). The V2 principle also does not hold true for unaccusatives. If the subject of an unaccusative is indefinite, the basic word order is VS (see Gillon and Armoskaite 2015). These word order patterns suggests that Lithuanian cannot be treated as a well-behaved V2 language.

2.2.3.2.5 Predication

The last piece of evidence for the projection of the impersonal pronoun is based on nonverbal predication, both its compatibility with nonverbal predicates and triggering of agreement on these predicates.²⁸ Copular-like predicates can occur with a nominal predicate as illustrated here with *tapti* ‘become’. The subject agrees with the nominal in gender and number (95).

- (95) a. Berniuk-as tap-o student-u.
 boy-NOM.M.SG become-PST.3 student-INS.M.SG
 ‘The boy became a student.’
- b. Mergin-a tap-o student-e.
 girl-NOM.F.SG become-PST.3 student-INS.F.SG
 ‘The girl became a student.’

The initiator of the impersonal shows agreement with a nominal predicate. The nominal predicate can be either masculine or feminine depending on the referential gender of the subject. If the group of people that the speaker is referring to consists only of women, then the nominal form is feminine (96). It is generally the case that a woman can become a nun within 7 years, thus the example in (96) is generalizing over female individuals. The same statement can apply to male individuals who want to become monks and in those cases the nominal is masculine (97). As for the number feature, both singular and plural combinations are possible (for discussion of ϕ -features see 2.2.5.2). Thus, the initiator can trigger agreement on a nominal predicate resulting in various ϕ -feature combinations.

- (96) Moter-ų vienuolyn-e, vienuol-e/vienuol-ėmis tampa-m-a per
 women-GEN convent-LOC nun-INS.F.SG/nuns-INS.F.PL become-PPRP-[-AGR] within
 7 metų.
 7 years
 ‘In a convent, one becomes a nun within 7 years.’
- (97) Vyr-ų vienuolyn-e, vienuol-iu/vienuol-iais tampa-m-a
 men-GEN convent-LOC monk-INS.M.SG/monks-INS.M.PL become-PPRP-[-AGR]

²⁸One common test often used for predication is depictives. Nevertheless, the *ma/ta* impersonal does not license depictives (for discussion of why this type of predication relation fails see Section 2.2.5.4).

per 7 metus.
within 7 years

‘In a monastery, one becomes a monk within 7 years.’

2.2.3.3 Interim Summary

The detailed investigation of the passive and the impersonal has revealed that despite the fact that these constructions share the *ma/ta* participial morphology, both constructions differ in terms of whether the implicit external argument is projected or not. The implicit initiator of the *ma/ta* impersonal binds subject-oriented anaphors and reciprocals, and it can trigger agreement, thereby behaving like a projected argument. The fact that the implicit pronoun binds subject-oriented anaphors and triggers agreement indicate that it functions like a grammatical subject. In contrast, the implicit initiator of the passive cannot function as an antecedent of anaphors, and thus exhibits the behavior of a non-projected initiator.

The impersonal disallows the *by*-phrase, whereas the passive permits it. I take it as evidence that the external argument variable in the impersonal is saturated by the projected initiator subject. The passive lacks the projected initiator, and thereby *by*-phrases are allowed. The availability of unaccusative verbs in the impersonal suggests that the impersonal does not require the suppression of an external argument. The projected impersonal pronoun can be not only a thematic subject of transitives, but also a theme of unaccusatives or a quirky subject of statives. The passive is not compatible with unaccusatives meaning that it requires the demotion of an initiator and is limited to verbs with a thematic subject. These facts are summarized in Table 2.1.

	Impersonal	Passive
Type of Initiator	only human	human and non-human
Binding of ‘savo’	yes	no
Binding of ‘sau’	yes	no
Binding of ‘each other’	yes	no
By-phrase	no	yes
Unaccusative verbs	yes	no
Word Order	initiator-V	theme-V
Predication	yes	N/A

Table 2.1: The behavior of the initiator in impersonals and passives

Given these findings, we see that the Lithuanian impersonal is an active construction with a projected grammatical subject. This construction is syntactically akin to the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal, which also contains a projected implicit subject and allows the assignment of structural accusative (Lavine 2005, 2013; Legate 2014; ia.). Despite being an active impersonal, the Lithuanian *ma/ta* also patterns like the Ukrainian *-no/-to* passive with the accusative theme in permitting an auxiliary (see sub-section 2.2.1 and 2.2.4.4 for further discussion and comparison). This pattern indicates that the presence of the auxiliary and the projection of the implicit initiator are two dissociable properties, unlike was suggested by Lavine (2005).

2.2.4 Analysis of Impersonals and Passives

In this sub-section, I propose a syntactic analysis to capture the grammatical properties of the impersonal and the passive. However, before I do that, a note on main theoretical assumptions is in order.

2.2.4.1 VoiceP vs. v-cause

As mentioned in sub-section 1.2, I assume that a thematic Voice and *v*-cause are two separate projections (Kratzer 1996; Pytkänen 1999, 2008; Schäfer 2008; Harley 2013; Legate 2014; Alexiadou et al. 2015; i.a.). I build my analysis of the passive and the impersonal on this proposal and provide evidence that these two projections are distinct in Lithuanian.

Lithuanian has a suffix *-in* which causativizes non-causative inchoative verbs as exemplified in (98) with *auginti* ‘to grow’ (see Arkadiev and Pakerys 2015; Pakerys 2016 for discussion of Lithuanian causatives).

- (98) a. Marij-a aug-in-o rož-es.
 Marija-NOM grow-CAUS-PST.3 roses-ACC
 ‘Marija were growing roses.’ *Causative*
- b. Rož-ès aug-(*in)-o.
 Roses-NOM grow-CAUS-PST.3
 ‘Roses were growing.’ *Inchoative*

Both the passive in (99-100) and the impersonal (101-102) allow causative morphology. The causative morpheme is adjacent to the root and the *-m/-t* suffix appears outside this morpheme. This indicates that the causative morphology is embedded deeper within structure, namely *vP*, and participial morphology associated with Voice originates outside it. Furthermore, observe that the presence of *v*-cause does not require the presence of a syntactically projected external argument as *v*-cause is permitted environment which lack an external argument e.g., the passive as in (99) and (100).

- (99) Rož-ès yra aug-*(in)-am-os tėv-o.
 roses-NOM.F.PL be.PRS.3 grow-CAUS-PPRP-NOM.F.PL father-GEN
 ‘Roses are being grown by the father.’ *Passive*
- (100) Šiais laikais vaik-ai yra aug-*(in)-am-i tėv-ų
 these times children-NOM.M.PL be.PST.3 grow-CAUS-PPRP-NOM.M.PL parents-GEN
 kitaip.
 differently.’
 ‘Nowadays children are being brought by parents differently.’ *Passive*
- (101) Rož-ès dažniausiai yra aug-*(in)-am-a saulėtoje, nuo vėjo
 roses-ACC often be.PRS.3 grow-CAUS-PPRP-[-AGR] sunny, from wind
 apsaugotoje vietoje.
 safe place
 ‘One often grows roses in a sunny and windproof place.’ *Impersonal*
- (102) Tačiau yra ir pavyzdži-ų, kai santyki-ai peraug-a į
 However, be.PRS.3 also example-GEN when relationships-NOM overgrow-PRS.3 to

meil-ė, darniai gyvena-m-a ir aug-*(in)-am-a
 love-ACC, harmoniously live-PPRP-[-AGR] and grow-CAUS-PPRP-[-AGR]
 vaik-us.
 children-ACC

‘However, there are examples when relationship grows into love, when one lives in harmony and brings up children.’²⁹ *Impersonal*

Legate (2014) demonstrates that in long passives with restructuring (see Wurmbrand 2001 for an overview of restructuring phenomenon), a truncated embedded *vP* contains *v*-cause, but no VoiceP is present providing evidence for the separation of *v*-cause from VoiceP. This prediction holds true for Lithuanian as well. Lithuanian verbs like *bandyti* ‘try’ can function like restructuring predicates in that they permit a long-distance passive as in (103b).³⁰ In this passive, the theme argument of ‘grow’ raises to SpecTP position in the matrix clause and becomes a grammatical subject. It is assigned nominative case and shows agreement with the passive participle in the matrix clause. The important part about this passive is that suppressing the agent of the matrix clause effects the case assignment of the theme in the to-infinitive. This can be taken as evidence that restructuring infinitives lack a case assigner that assigns accusative to the theme suggesting that this infinitive lacks a full clausal structure (e.g., projections like T or C). I refer the reader to Šereikaitė (2016a) for additional arguments showing that the complement of ‘try’ is a *vP*.

- (103) a. Jon-as band-ė [aug-in-ti šiuos augal-us mišk-e].
 Jonas-NOM try-PST.3 grow-CAUS-INF these plants-ACC forest-LOC.
 ‘Jonas tried to grow these plants in the forest.’
- b. Šie augal-ai; buv-o Jon-o bando-m-i
 these plants-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3 Jonas-GEN try-PPRP-NOM.M.PL

²⁹<https://www.zmones.lt/> (Accessed on 04-22-2019)

³⁰‘try’ can also function like a non-restructuring verb i.e., thus it may be ambiguous. This is supported by its ability to form the impersonal passive where the matrix verb is passivized, but the complement of a to-infinitive clause remains unaffected by passivization. This suggests that ‘try’ can also select for a non-restructuring infinitive that may be bigger than *vP* and have a head which assigns accusative case.

- (i) Marij-os buv-o bando-m-a [aug-in-ti šiuos augal-us mišk-e].
 Marija-GEN be-PST.3 try-PPRP-[-AGR] grow-CAUS-INF these plants-ACC forest-LOC
 ‘It was tried by Marija to grow these plants in the forest.’ *Impersonal Passive*

aug-in-ti t_i mišk-e.
 [grow-CAUS-INF forest-LOC]

‘These plants were tried to grow in the forest by Jonas.’ *Long Distance Passive*

The complement of the long-distance passive permits a *v*-cause (103b), but prohibits participial *-m/-t* morphology (104), suggesting that passive morphology is associated with a higher head above a *v*P. To put it differently, the complement of ‘try’ cannot embed a passive. Given that the complement has no external argument but involves a *v*-cause, it can be argued that *v*-cause does not introduce an external argument or assign accusative case, rather it is purely responsible for the causation. In other words, the complement does not include Voice head, which introduces an external argument (103b).

(104) ??/*Šie augal-ai_i buv-o Jon-o bando-m-i [bū-ti
 these plants-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3 Jonas-GEN try-PPRP-NOM.M.PL be-INF
 aug-in-am-i t_i mišk-e].
 grow-CAUS-PPRP-[-AGR] forest-LOC

‘These plants were tried to grow in the forest by Jonas.’ *Long Distance Passive*

Based on the properties of the Lithuanian transitive impersonal construction in (105), Lavine (2016) proposes that *v*-cause head assigns accusative case in Lithuanian (for a similar approach on the Russian transitive impersonal see Lavine and Baby (2019)). Lavine argues that this construction includes a non-volitional Causer, namely a Natural Force, which is not syntactically projected. Under his analysis, the *v*-cause assigns accusative case to the theme independently from the absence of a causer. If *v*-cause assigns accusative case rather than Voice, we should expect to retain accusative case on the theme in the passive since under passivization *v*-cause is retained. However, this prediction is not borne out. The transitive impersonal can be passivized and its theme becomes nominative (106). Crucially, accusative case cannot be realized on the theme under passivization. Therefore, I suggest that *v*-cause cannot be the locus of accusative case assignment here.

(105) Važuoj-a-nt nelyg-iu kel-iu, keleivi-us smarki-ai krat-ė.
 traveling-PRS-ACT.PTCP uneven-INS road-INS, travelers-ACC heavy-ADV jolt-PST.3

‘While traveling on an uneven road, the travelers were heavily jolted.’

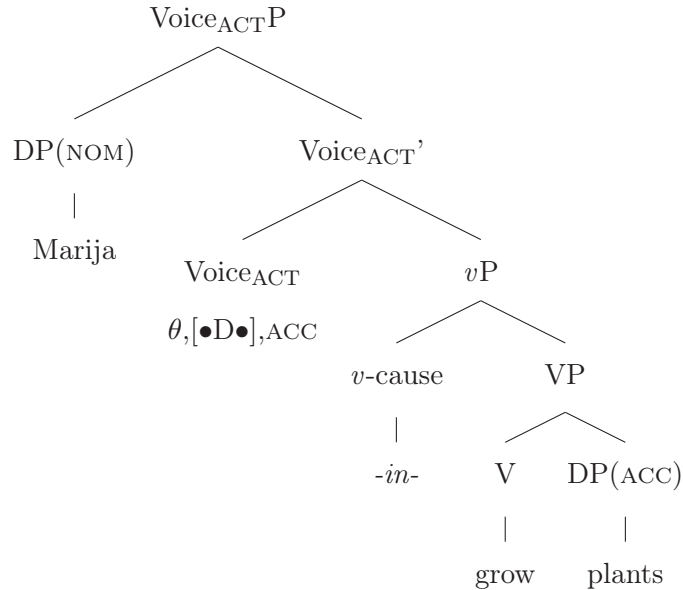
(Holvoet and Judžentis 2005, 163 as quoted in Lavine 2016)

- (106) a. Lėktuv-e keleivi-ai buv-o smarki-ai krato-m-i
plane-LOC travelers-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3 heavy-ADV jolt-PPRP-NOM.M.PL
pakilusi-o vėj-o.
risen-GEN wind-GEN
‘On the plane, the travelers were heavily jolted by the risen wind.’
- b. *Lėktuv-e keleivi-us buv-o smarki-ai krato-m-a pakilusi-o
plane-LOC travelers-ACC.M.PL be heavy-ADV jolt-PPRP-[-AGR] risen-GEN
vėj-o.
wind-GEN
‘On the plane, the travelers were heavily jolted by the risen wind.’

To summarize, I conclude that a thematic Voice and *v*-cause are two separate projections in Lithuanian. Thus, the active transitive (107) with the causative morpheme *-in-* will have the structure in (108). Recall from sub-section 1.2 that in my system Voice head can bundle with various features which yields different Voice typologies. The active transitive has a thematic Voice head, Voice_{ACT}, which introduces an external θ -role encoded by θ . The construction also has an external argument, which is generated as a specifier of the Voice head. To capture that, I use the [•D•] feature (Müller 2010) on the Voice head, which encodes the head’s requirement to have a DP specifier. The Voice head bears an accusative case feature which is assigned to an object. The *v*-cause originates below Voice, it hosts the causative morpheme *-in* and encodes causative semantics.

- (107) Marij-a aug-in-o augal-us.
Marija-NOM grow-CAUS-PST.3 plants-ACC
‘Marija grew plants.’

(108)



2.2.4.2 Impersonal

With this background in mind, we can now come back to the analysis of the impersonal. I use different feature combinations on a Voice head to derive the differences between the impersonal and the passive. I propose that the impersonal in Lithuanian is a type of an active Voice, which licenses an impersonal pronoun. The first piece of evidence for treating the impersonal as a type of Voice comes from the absence of impersonals of passives. While impersonals with transitives or unaccusatives are grammatical, forming an impersonal of a passive yields ungrammaticality as in (109). The example in (109) introduces the structure expected if the impersonal of a passive were possible. The theme is a grammatical subject expressed as a null impersonal pronoun and the lexical verb is marked with passive morphology. As a passive, it includes a finite ‘be’ auxiliary, an auxiliary ‘be’ participle and its initiator is realized as a genitive *by*-phrase.³¹ The complementary distribution between

³¹Lithuanian does not have a morphological constraint disallowing double passive morphology. Lithuanian evidentials are marked with passive morphology (see fn 12), and yet they can be passivized which results in passive morphology realized on both an auxiliary and a lexical verb (see fn 13 for data and further discussion). Therefore, the ungrammaticality of (109) does not arise due to a morphological constraint, rather there must be a syntactic issue. Forming an impersonal of a passive without double passive morphology is also ungrammatical, (i).

- (i) *Kalėjim-e IMP yra muša-m-a sargybini-ų
 jail-LOC be.PRS.3 beat-PPRP-[-AGR] guards-GEN
 ‘In jail, one is often being beaten by guards.’

the passive voice and the impersonal in Lithuanian can be captured if the passive and the impersonal are two distinct flavors of Voice.

- (109) *Kalėjim-e IMP yra būna-m-a muša-m-a sargybini-ų
 jail-LOC be.PRS.3 be-PPRP-[-AGR] beat-PPRP-[-AGR] guards-GEN
 ‘In jail, one is often being beaten by guards.’ *Impersonal of passive*

The second argument for treating the impersonal as a type of Voice is based on the absence of impersonals with a null implicit argument realized as a grammatical object of a transitive. If the head that licenses an impersonal pronoun is base-generated below the thematic Voice head, then the theme grammatical object should be realized as a null impersonal pronoun. However, this results in ungrammaticality as in (110). The null impersonal pronoun needs to be the highest available argument in the structure, as exemplified by the ungrammaticality of (110) as well as (111), an instance where both the thematic subject and the thematic object are realized as implicit pronouns.

- (110) *Kalėjim-e sargybini-ai yra dažnai muša-m-a IMP.
 jail-LOC guards-NOM be.PRS.3 often beat-PPRP-[-AGR]
 ‘In jail, guards often beat one.’

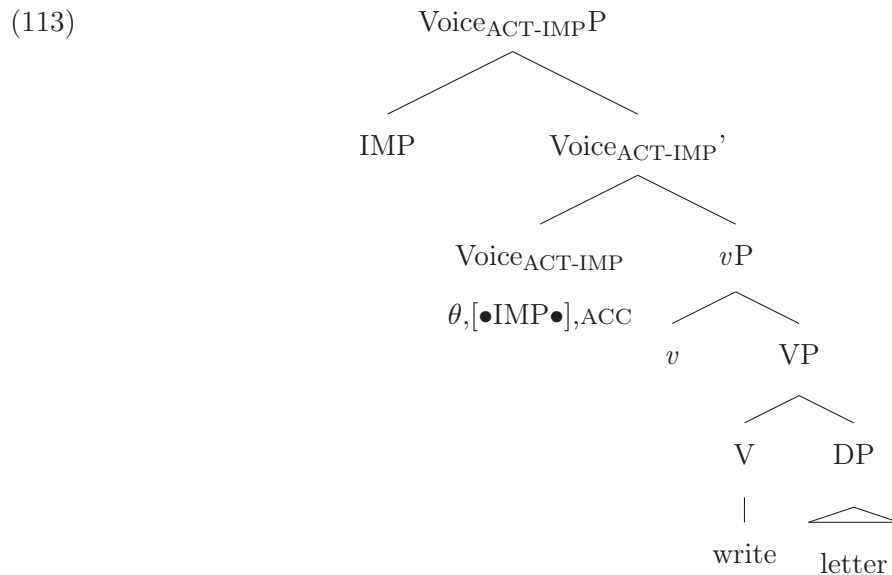
- (111) *Kalėjim-e IMP yra dažnai muša-m-a IMP.
 jail-LOC be.PRS.3 often beat-PPRP-[-AGR]
 ‘In jail, one often beats one.’

All in all, the impersonal cannot be a projection that originates above a Voice head because it cannot be stacked on the top of the passive Voice. The impersonal projection also cannot be introduced below the Voice head, because then it should be possible to have an impersonal pronoun functioning as the theme grammatical object of a transitive. Putting these two arguments together, I propose that the impersonal itself is an active VoiceP.

I term the thematic Voice head of the impersonal as Voice_{ACT-IMP} as in (113), which introduces the derivation of (112). As argued in Section 2.2.3.1, the transitive impersonal construction has a thematic Voice which introduces an external argument, encoded by θ

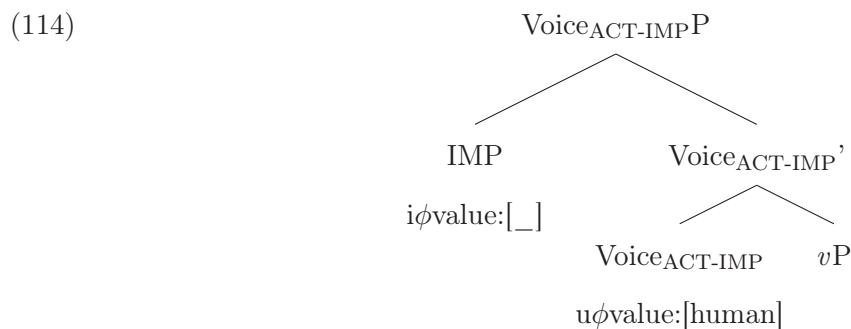
in the tree. The impersonal does not include the demotion of an initiator like the passive. In contrast, it has a projected null impersonal pronoun, which originates as an external argument in a transitive clause. Thus, the initiator θ -role is saturated by merging the null impersonal initiator in the specifier of the VoiceP. The Voice head thereby selects an impersonal pronoun to be merged in its specifier, which is encoded by the [\bullet IMP \bullet] feature. The Voice head assigns accusative case to a grammatical object.

- (112) (yra) rašo-m-a laišk-a.
 be.PRS.3 write-PPRP-[-AGR] letter-ACC
 ‘One writes a letter.’



As for the impersonal pronoun, I follow McCloskey 2007 and Legate et al. to appear, in assuming that it needs to be licensed in the same way that null pronouns like *pro* are licensed in *pro*-drop languages and that licensing takes place through agreement (for licensing approaches to *pro* see e.g., Rizzi 1982; McCloskey and Hale 1984, i.a.). Two types of features are involved in agreement: interpretable features, which contribute to a semantic interpretation, and valued features, which are inherent to a lexical item (Pesetsky and Torrego 2007). I follow Legate et al. to appear and suggest that the impersonal pronoun enters the derivation bearing an interpretable, but unvalued ϕ -feature as in (114) (the derivational features are

excluded here for ease of exposition).³² I propose that in order for this feature to be valued, the impersonal pronoun needs to act as a probe.³³ It probes down the tree and finds the impersonal Voice head. This Voice head bears the uninterpretable valued ϕ -feature [human] (Legate et al. to appear). The pronoun then agrees with the Voice head in a specifier-head configuration (Chomsky 1986, 1993; Chung 1998). Specifically, the pronoun’s interpretable unvalued feature is valued to [human] by the Voice head bearing the uninterpretable valued feature.³⁴ As a result, the uninterpretable feature of the Voice head is deleted.



Impersonals of unaccusatives with the theme impersonal pronoun also contain a type of an active impersonal Voice head, which I term Voice_{UNACC-IMP}, (115).³⁵ This Voice differs from the Voice_{ACT-IMP} in that it is non-thematic: it lacks an external θ -role (see Alexiadou et al. 2015 for discussion of non-thematic Voice). This Voice head also does not assign accusative case. However, the head requires its specifier to be filled by the impersonal pronoun encoded by the [•IMP•] feature. The impersonal pronoun merged as a complement of the verb raises to SpecVoiceP to satisfy this requirement. The impersonal pronoun is licensed by the Voice head through agreement in the same manner as in (114).

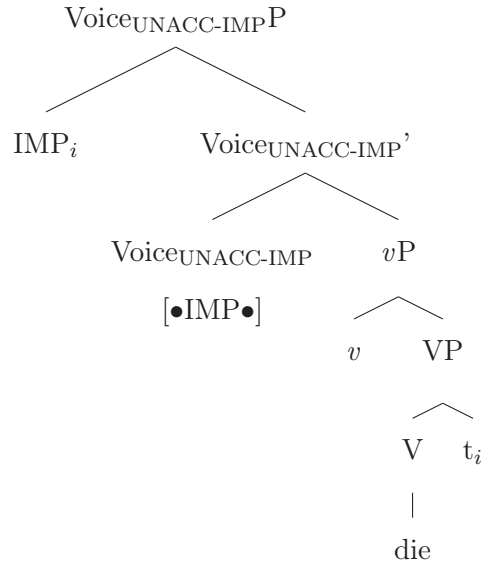
³²Anticipating the discussion in Section 2.2.5, the impersonal pronoun will be analyzed as a bare N whose gender, number and person features are syntactically unspecified. This N is the only N that does not occur within a DP in the language (see Gillon and Armoskaite 2015, Šereikaitė 2019 showing that Lithuanian nominals have a DP layer).

³³The idea that the specifier can act as a probe it proposed for expletive *there* by Chomsky 2000. The expletive carries an uninterpretable person feature, and thus acts as a probe when merged in SpecTP. It then checks its feature against T head.

³⁴See Cinque 1988; Egerland 2003b; Malamud 2012; Rezac and Jouitteau 2016 arguing that impersonal pronouns bear a human feature.

³⁵I assume that the same type of Voice_{UNACC-IMP} projection will be present in impersonals with a quirky subject as in (88), which are unaccusative constructions.

(115)

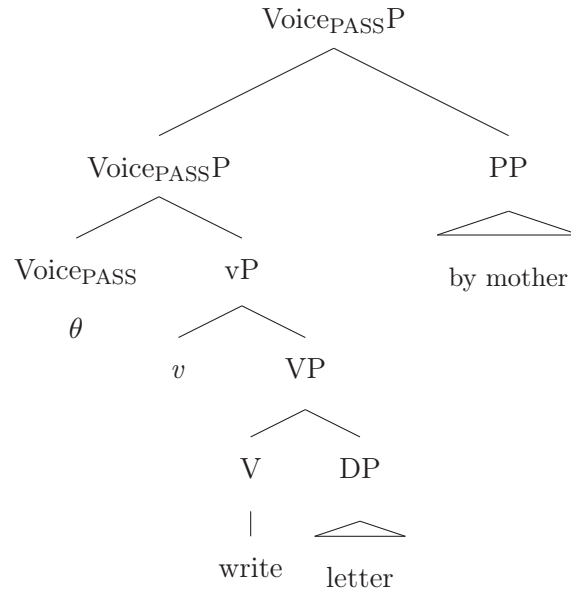


2.2.4.3 Passives

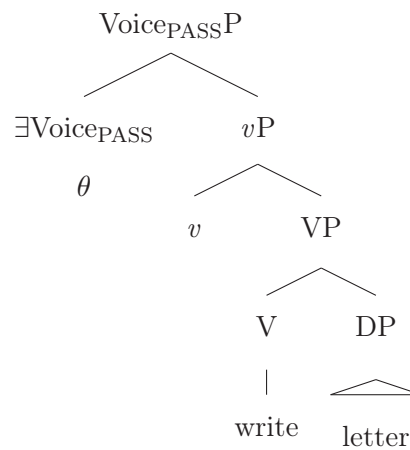
As far as passives are concerned, no implicit external argument is syntactically present in the structure meaning that, unlike impersonals, passives do include the demotion of an initiator. Passives are restricted to predicates with a thematic subject and they are not possible with unaccusatives with a thematic object. Therefore, the structure of the passive is limited to a thematic Voice head, which I term $\text{Voice}_{\text{PASS}}$. This Voice head has no specifier given that the initiator is not syntactically present. Passives, unlike active transitive constructions, do not assign accusative case in Lithuanian, thus the accusative case feature is also absent from the structure. The thematic passive Voice introduces an external argument θ -role that needs to be saturated. Unlike impersonals, passives allow optional *by*-phrases, thus the external argument slot can be saturated by a *by*-phrase, (117). In the case of the short passive that lacks a *by*-phrase, I follow the literature (e.g., Roberts 1987; Williams 1987 and for more recent discussion see Bruening 2013; Legate 2014; Bruening and Tran 2015; E F. Sigurðsson 2017; Schäfer 2017; ia.) in assuming that the external argument position is existentially bound at LF (presented with \exists) as in (118). Lastly, the theme argument of the passive receives nominative case from T and becomes the grammatical subject.

- (116) Laišk-as (yra) rašo-m-as (motin-os).
 letter-NOM.M.SG be.PRS.3 write-PPRP-NOM.M.SG mother-GEN
 ‘The letter is (being) written by the mother.’

- (117) *Passives with by-phrase*



- (118) *Short Passives*



2.2.4.4 -m/-t suffix as AspP

Having introduced the structure of the passive and the impersonal, one may wonder where passive morphology, namely the *-m/-t* suffix, is located in the structure of these constructions. I now discuss this question here. I first identify the position of the *-m/-t* participle, and then discuss its function. Lavine (2005) proposes that the *-no/-to* affix in Polish is

base-generated in an Aux(iliary)P, while in Ukrainian this affix originates inside vP. While the Lithuanian *-m/-t* suffix is cognate with the Polish and Ukrainian participial morpheme, I argue that the Lithuanian suffix carries aspectual properties, and thereby is located in an Asp(ectual)P above vP. This type of analysis is in line with various proposals which treat passive morphology as aspectual (see e.g., Embick 2004; Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2008; Alexiadou et al. 2015; i.a).

2.2.4.4.1 AuxP

The *-m/-t* suffix in Lithuanian does not function like an auxiliary element. While the Lithuanian impersonal patterns with the Polish impersonal in lacking the properties of the passive, both constructions differ in terms of an auxiliary. The Polish impersonal does not permit a finite auxiliary and the *-no/-to* suffix is attached to the lexical verb as shown in (119). The unavailability of the auxiliary in Polish has been taken as evidence for treating *-no/-to* as an auxiliary element (Lavine 2005) or an instantiation of tense (Lavine 2013).

- (119) (*Zostało) wsadzo-no cudzoziemca do więzienia.
 be.PST placed-N foreigner.ACC to prison
 ‘They placed a foreigner in prison.’ *Polish Impersonal*
(Lavine 2013, 197)

The Lithuanian impersonal and the passive, on the other hand, permit an auxiliary, as in (120)-(121). Hence, both constructions in this respect pattern like the Ukrainian passive, which is also compatible with the auxiliary as illustrated in (122). (120)-(121) indicate that the *-m/-t* morpheme attaches to the participle and cannot be stacked on the top of the auxiliary indicating that this affix is base-generated lower than AuxP in both the impersonal and the passive.

- (120) *Lithuanian Impersonal*
- a. (Yra) skaito-m-a laišk-a.
 be.PRS.3 read-PPRP-[-AGR] letter-ACC
 ‘One reads a letter.’

- b. *būna-m-a skaito-m-a laišk-ą.
 be-PPRP-[-AGR] read-PPRP-[-AGR] letter-ACC
 ‘One reads a letter.’

(121) *Lithuanian Passive*

- a. Laišk-as (yra) skaito-m-as tėv-o.
 letter-NOM.M.SG be.PRS.3 read-PPRP-NOM.M.SG father-GEN
 ‘A letter is being read by the father.’
- b. *Laišk-as būna-m-a skaito-m-as tėv-o.
 letter-NOM.M.SG be-PPRP-[-AGR] read-PPRP-NOM.M.SG father-GEN
 ‘A letter is being read by the father.’

- (122) Nemovlja bulo znajde-no u košyku.
 Baby.ACC be.PST.3 find-N in basket
 ‘A baby was found in the basket.’

Ukrainian Passive

(Lavine, 2005:76)

2.2.4.4.2 Outer Aspect and Inner Aspect

I further test the position of the *-m/-t* suffix with respect to outer and inner aspect. Lithuanian has habitual iterative aspect marked with the suffix *-dav* as in (123) (for an overview see Sakurai 2015 and references therein, also see Pakerys 2017). This suffix has a fixed meaning suggesting that it is a type of outer aspect as opposed to the inner aspect, which originates inside a vP and in certain cases adds an idiomatic meaning to a verb (see Arkadiev 2011, Korostenskienė 2017, Šereikaitė 2018 for Lithuanian outer vs. inner aspect distinction, see Svenonius 2004a for this distinction in Slavic).

- (123) Aš rašy-**dav**-au laišk-us.
 I.NOM write-HAB-PST.1SG letters-ACC
 ‘I used to write letters.’

The suffix *-dav* attaches only to the auxiliary and is never realized on the participle, indicating that *-m/-t* appears lower than the habitual aspect. A number of examples of the impersonal can be found with the habitual past suffix *-dav*, (124-126).

- (124) Nuo maro bū-**dav**-o miršta-(***dav**)-m-a greitai ir kraupiai.
 from plague be-HAB-PST.3 die-HAB-PPRP-[-AGR] quickly and terribly
 ‘People used to die from plague quickly and horribly.’³⁶ *Impersonal*
- (125) Garbės nari-ais bū-**dav**-o tampa-(***dav**)-m-a iki gyvos
 honour members-INS.M.PL be-HAB-PST.3 become-HAB-PPRP-[-AGR] until
 galvos.
 life.time
 ‘People used to become honorary members for the lifetime.’³⁷ *Impersonal*
- (126) Senovėje bū-**dav**-o rašo-(***dav**)-m-a laišk-us dažn-iau.
 past be-HAB-PST.3 write-HAB-PPRP-[-AGR] letters-ACC often-COMP
 ‘In the past, people used to write letters more often.’ *Impersonal*

The passive displays the same behavior as the impersonal. The habitual past suffix *-dav* can only be attached to the auxiliary as demonstrated below.

- (127) Laišk-ai bū-**dav**-o rašo-(***dav**)-m-i motin-os.
 letters-NOM.M.PL be-HAB-PST.3 write-HAB-PPRP-NOM.M.PL mother-GEN
 ‘Letters used to be written by the mother.’ *Passive*
- (128) Velykiniai kiaušini-ai bū-**dav**-o dažo-(***dav**)-m-i vaik-ų.
 Easter eggs-NOM.M.PL be-HAB-PST.3 paint-HAB-PPRP-NOM.M.PL children-GEN
 ‘Easter eggs used to be painted by children.’ *Passive*

Lithuanian has a number of so-called lexical prefixes e.g., *nu-*, *iš-*, *pa-*, etc. These prefixes originate inside a *vP*, add a perfective meaning to the verb and often affect the argument structure of the verb in various ways (for an overview of these prefixes in Lithuanian see Korostenskienė 2017; Šereikaitė 2018 and in Slavic languages see Babko-Malaya 1999; Svenonius 2004b, 2008, i.a.). These lexical prefixes belong to what is known in the Slavic literature as Inner Aspect. The *-m/-t* suffix is not in a complementary distribution with the perfective prefix *nu-* as illustrated with the *ma/ta* impersonal (129) and the passive (130). The suffix therefore occupies a different position than the lexical prefix situated inside *vP*.

³⁶<https://www.medguru.lt/sveika-gyvensena/ligos-ir-bukles/maras—kokia-tikimybe-juodaja-mirtimi-susirgti-siais-laikais/> Accessed on 12-03-2018

³⁷Adapted from <http://www.studijos.lt/nepatvirtinti-rasto-darbai/referatas/8351/?page> Accessed on 12-03-2018.

- (129) Dažniausiai yra **nu-krenta-m-a** nuo kopėči-ų atliekant įvairius
 often be.PRS.3 PFV-fall-PPRP-[-AGR] from ladder-GEN performing various
 darbus dideliame aukštyje.
 jobs high height

‘One often falls down the ladder when performing different tasks at the great height.’³⁸

Impersonal

- (130) Laišk-ai buv-o tėv-o **nu-neša-m-i** į paštą.
 letters-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3 father-GEN PFV-carry-PPRP-NOM.M.PL to post.office

‘These letters have been brought to the post office by the father.’ *Passive*

To sum up, it was demonstrated that the *-m-/t* affix is not an auxiliary element in Lithuanian in contrast to the cognate *-no/-to* affix in the Polish impersonal, which may be realized in the AuxP (Lavine 2005). The *-m-/t* suffix originates below the AuxP and the outer habitual iterative aspect, it is also not a part of the inner aspect.

2.2.4.4.3 Aspectual Head

Even though the *-m-/t* affix is not directly linked to inner or outer aspect projections found in the language, it is still associated with different aspectual readings, as noted by Geniušienė (2006). However, before I flesh out these readings, a brief overview of the literature on different types of participles and how their meanings are related to aspect is in order here.

There is a tradition in the literature to divide passive participles into verbal and adjectival: the former is argued to be built in the syntax and the latter is built in the lexicon (Wasow 1977; Levin and Rappaport 1986; Horvath and Siloni 2008; i.a.). However, an alternative analysis has been proposed for this distinction (Embick 2004; Bruening 2012; McIntyre 2012; Alexiadou et al. 2015). Embick (2004), following Kratzer (2001), argues that in fact there are three types of participles: eventive, stative and resultative, and all of them are built in the syntax.³⁹ According to Embick (2004), eventive participles form verbal passives with an eventive reading (131a-i). The resultative passive⁴⁰ as in (131a-ii) and the stative passive as

³⁸<https://vdocuments.mx/1370-s-garbincius-automobiliu-web-prote.html> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

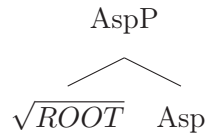
³⁹Also see Anagnostopoulou 2003a; Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2008 for a similar distinction found with Greek *-menos* and *-tos* participles, also Alexiadou et al. 2015 on Greek, English and German passive participles and references therein for further discussion.

⁴⁰Further sub-division can be made within resultative participles: target state participles denoting re-

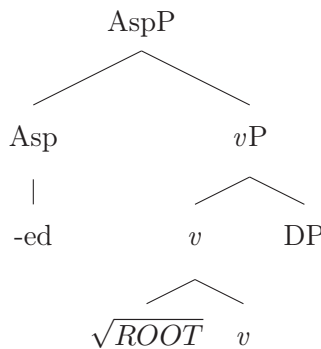
in (131b) are of the adjectival type: the former denotes a state that is the result of a prior event and the latter is a pure state that does not involve the implication of an event. To encode these differences, Asp(ectual)P, where the participial morphology is located, is used. Since stative passives do not involve an event, AspP attaches to the root (132). Resultative passives involve a prior event, and thus, AspP is merged with a *v*P where *v* is assumed to bring about an event (133). Verbal passives are different from resultatives in that the former allows a *by*-phrase and is associated with an agentive interpretation which, in Embick’s account, is captured by the feature [AG] on *v*.

- (131) a. The door was opened.
 (i) Someone opened the door.
 (ii) The door was in a state of having become open.
 b. The door is open. (Embick 2004, 356)

(132) Stative



(133) Resultative



With this background in mind, we can now come back to our discussion of the *-m/-t* suffix. Geniušienė (2006), and Kibort and Maskaliūnienė (2016) observe that the *-m* suffix is associated with imperfective aspect and denotes an ongoing action, whereas the *-t* suffix is related to perfective aspect and refers to a prior event. Indeed observe that these aspect-

 versible states and resultant state participles with a non-reversible state interpretation (see Kratzer 2001; Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2008).

tual readings are associated with different participle forms. The Lithuanian passive can be eventive in that it can denote an event. When the passive participle is formed with the *-m* suffix, the passive can express an action in progress (134). It cannot denote a completed action as adverbials of temporal extent e.g., ‘in a couple of seconds’, are not licit.

- (134) Dur-ys buv-o atidaro-m-os Petr-o (*per kelias
door-NOM.F.SG be-PST.3 open-PPRP-NOM.F.SG Petras-GEN within couple
sekundes).
seconds
‘The door was being opened by Petras (*within a couple of seconds).’

The participle formed with the *-t* suffix is ambiguous between three different readings (Jakulienė 1968; Geniušienė 2006; Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016). It can denote: a simple action that happened in the past, thus a verbal/eventive passive as in (135), the resultative reading referring to the result of a prior action as in (136-i) and a stative reading (136-ii). The stative meaning can also be expressed by an adjective as in (137).

- (135) Dur-ys buv-o Marij-os atidary-t-os per kelias sekundes.
door-NOM.F.SG be-PST.3 Marija-GEN open-PPP-NOM.F.SG within couple seconds
‘The door was opened by Marija within a couple of seconds.’

- (136) Įėj-ęs pamači-au, kad dur-ys buv-o
enter-PST.ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG see-PST.1SG that door-NOM.F.SG be-PST.3
atidary-t-os
open-PPP-NOM.F.SG
(i) ‘Having entered, I saw that the door was opened.’
(ii) ‘Having entered, I saw that the door was open.’

(Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, 12)

- (137) Dur-ys buv-o atdar-os (*Petr-o).
Door-NOM.F.SG be-PST.3 open-NOM.F.SG Petras-GEN
‘The door was (half) open (*by Petras).’

Given the availability of these readings, we see that different aspectual interpretations are associated with different participles. I take these findings to suggest that the *-m/-t* suffix

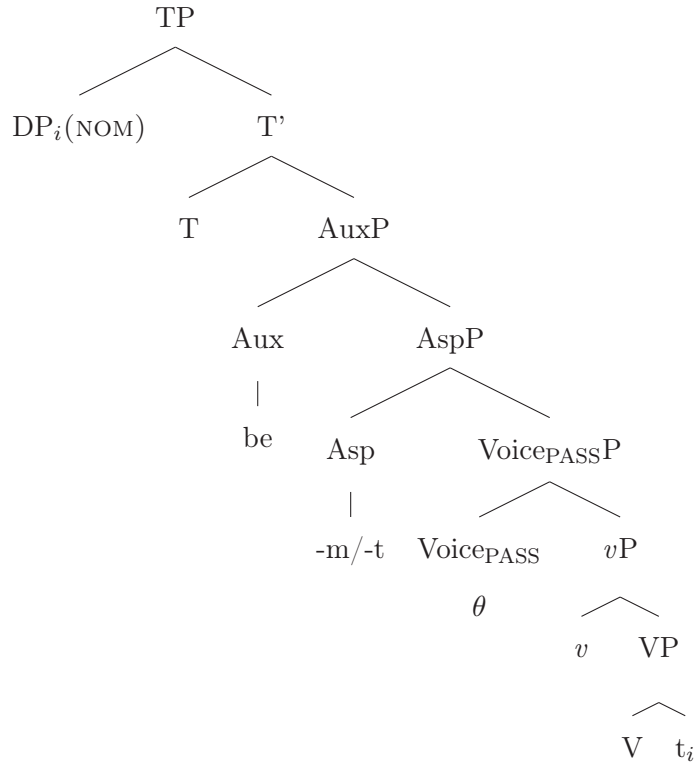
is a type of an aspectual morpheme located in the AspP, just like the English *-ed* participial suffix.⁴¹ Thus, Lithuanian provides additional evidence for at least a three-way distinction between passive participles widely discussed in the literature. I will not attempt to provide an analysis for each of these constructions and account for how exactly this aspectual head interacts with different readings outlined here. The focus of this chapter is verbal passives, which denote an event and include an agentive reading, thus the examples of interest are those in (134) and (135). I propose that in these passives, the aspectual head hosting the *-m/-t* suffix is base-generated in the ApsP above the passive Voice head as illustrated in (138). The ApsP is located below the AuxP. The theme argument receives its nominative case from T and moves to SpecTP position.

⁴¹By proposing that the *-m/-t* suffix originates in the AspP in the passive, I do not assume that this holds true for the evidential construction whose predicate is also marked with the *-m/-t* suffix (see section 4.2 for discussion). The *-m/-t* suffix in the evidential functions as an evidential marker, which can also be attached to the auxiliary, unlike what we have seen with the passive and the impersonal in (120). Lavine (2010b; 2013) argues that in the evidential construction this suffix is a v-Voice head. Legate et al. (2019) suggest that this suffix is the evidential head that originates above a Voice head.

- (i) Vaik-o bū-t-a nuramin-t-o Ing-os
 child-GEN.M.SG be-PPP-[-AGR] calm.down-PPP-GEN.M.SG Inga-GEN
 ‘The child must have been calmed down by Inga.’

Evidential of Passive

(138) *Lithuanian Passive*



The *ma/ta* impersonal can occur with different types of participles, which are also associated with different aspectual readings. When the impersonal occurs with the present passive participle marked with the *-m-* affix associated with imperfective aspect, it denotes a generic statement about people (139). Instances with the passive participle with the *-t-* affix are also attested. In those cases, the impersonal has a so-called arbitrary reading: the null pronoun refers to ‘some people’ and the impersonal denotes a specific event in the past (for an explicit discussion of these readings see sub-section 2.2.5.1). Given that these suffixes are associated with different aspectual readings in the *ma/ta* impersonal, I suggest that the structure of the impersonal also includes AspP head above Voice where the *-m/-t* suffix is located.

(139) Lietuv-oje tampa-m-a student-u sulaukus 18.
 Lithuania-LOC become-PPRP-[-AGR] student-INS.M.SG turning 18.
 ‘In Lithuania, one becomes a student when one is 18.’

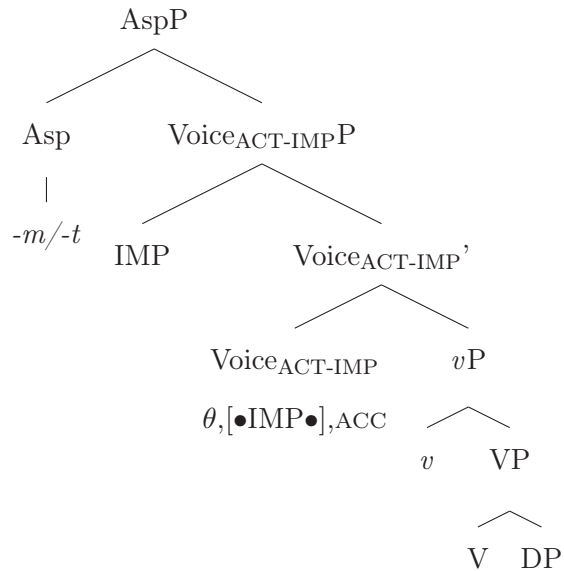
(140) Šiais metais jau du kartus buv-o tap-t-a vicečempion-ais
 this year already two times be-PST.3 become-PPP-[-AGR] champions-INS.M.PL

kovoje dėl taurės.

fight for cup

‘This year some people have already become champions twice in the fight for the cup.’⁴²

(141) *ma/ta Impersonal*



To sum up, I have argued that the impersonal is a type of an active Voice head which has a projected implicit argument in its specifier while the passive lacks a projected initiator in SpecVoiceP and its external argument θ -role is saturated by the *by*-phrase or is existentially bound at LF. I have further argued that the impersonal pronoun of the *ma/t* impersonal is licensed by the Voice head through agreement and its ϕ -feature is valued as human. Lastly, I have also proposed that neuter non-agreeing morphology in both constructions is not an auxiliary element as has been proposed for the Polish impersonal by Lavine (2005), but it is an aspectual head located in AspP above VoiceP. The next sub-section discusses the ϕ -features of the impersonal pronoun of the *ma/ta* impersonal construction.

2.2.5 Structure of the Implicit Pronoun

The aim of this sub-section is to explicitly flesh out the structure of the implicit argument and examine how this structure is related to different readings available for the implicit

⁴²Adapted from <https://lt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakalniai>, accessed on 09-29-2019

argument. Crosslinguistically, two types of impersonal pronouns can be found: some are deficient and enter the derivation completely lacking ϕ -features (e.g., Dutch *men*), while others contain some functional structure (e.g., English *one*) (Rivero 2000; Egerland 2003b; Hoekstra 2010; Ackema and Neeleman 2018; Fenger 2018; Hall 2019; i.a.). These groups of pronouns have been linked to different types of readings: deficient pronouns allow both generic and arbitrary readings, whereas pronouns with ϕ -features permit only a generic reading (Fenger 2018; Ackema and Neeleman 2018). The Lithuanian impersonal pronoun supports this typology in important ways. I demonstrate that this pronoun can have both generic and arbitrary readings meaning that it should function like a deficient pronoun. This prediction is indeed borne out. Specifically, I show that the impersonal pronoun is a type of a bare N, which lacks the functional layers of a full DP and has no inherent ϕ -features for number, gender and person values in the syntax. However, the pronoun enters the derivation with an interpretable unvalued ϕ -feature that is valued to human by the Voice head. Interestingly, the impersonal pronoun is also demonstrated to lack case which provides important insights for Case Theory.

2.2.5.1 Interpretation of the Impersonal Pronoun

Impersonal pronouns across languages, e.g., English *one* or Swedish *man*, can have different interpretations (Cinque 1988; Egerland 2003b,a; Sigurðsson and Egerland 2009; Fenger 2018; Ackema and Neeleman 2018; Hall 2019; i.a.). I follow Egerland 2003b; 2003a and make a distinction between two types of readings: generic and arbitrary.⁴³ The generic reading refers to people in general and is similar to the English generic *you* or *one*. This reading may include both the speaker and the hearer, and, as observed by Cinque (1988), is incompatible with specific time reference. The *ma/ta* impersonal can have a generic reading. The sentence in (142) introduces a generic statement about people who stay in the sun, which may include both the speaker and the hearer. (143) introduces a general restriction that holds true for the people who live in Lithuania. However, this statement includes the speaker and the

⁴³The generic and arbitrary readings here roughly stand for what Cinque (1988) calls quasi-universal and quasi-existential.

hearer only if they are from Lithuania. Thus, the impersonal pronoun permits an optionally inclusive generic reading, the type of reading that optionally includes the speaker.

- (142) Strazdan-os pasidar-o ryšk-esn-ės, kai dažn-iau IMP
 freckles-NOM become-PRS.3 clear-COM-NOM.F.PL, when often-COMP
 būna-m-a saul-ėje.
 be-PPRP-[-AGR] sun-LOC
 ‘Freckles become more clear when one stays in the sun more often.’ *Generic*

- (143) Lietuv-oje IMP tampa-m-a student-u sulaukus 18.
 Lithuania-LOC become-PPRP-[-AGR] student-INS.M.SG turning 18.
 ‘In Lithuania, one becomes a student when one turns 18.’ *Generic*

An arbitrary reading introduces ‘some people’, unspecified ‘they’ or ‘someone’ and it excludes the speaker and the hearer. In contrast to a generic interpretation, this type of reading can occur with specific time reference (Cinque 1988). The *ma/ta* construction exhibits an arbitrary reading as can be seen in (144-145) which include a specific time reference i.e., last year or today.⁴⁴

- (144) Mūs-ų bendruomen-ė yra aktyv-i sport-e. Šiais metais
 our-GEN community-NOM.F.SG be.PRS.3 active-NOM.F.SG sport-LOC. This year
 jau du kartus IMP buv-o tap-t-a vicečempion-ais
 already two times be.PST.3 become-PPP-[-AGR] champions-INS.M.PL
 kov-oje dėl taur-ės.
 fight-LOC for cup-GEN
 ‘Our community is active in sports. This year some people have already become

⁴⁴Hall 2019 shows that the impersonal pronoun *man* in Multicultural London English can have a definite personal interpretation (for a discussion of this reading also see Sigurðsson and Egerland 2009). The pronoun of the *ma/ta* impersonal is akin to *man* in that it can also be used in definite specific contexts, specifically in pro-drop instances as in (i). Definite 3rd person pro-drop subjects in Lithuanian are distinct from impersonal indefinite subjects in that the former needs to be controlled by a linguistic antecedent, whereas the latter does not. Therefore, pro-drop instances require a different type of analysis and I leave these instances for future research.

- (i) Tada atrodė, kad puolime belg-as tap-s ta dominuojančia jėga, kurios
 then seemed that forwards Belgian-NOM become-FUT.3 that dominating force, which
 Mančesterio ekip-os; sirgali-ai ne-mat-ė nuo tada kai 2013-aisiais *pro*_i buv-o
 Manchester team-GEN fans-NOM NEG-see-PST.3 since then when 2013 be-PRS.3
 tap-t-a šalies čempionais.
 become-PPP-[-AGR] country champions.

‘Then it seemed that the Belgian player will become a dominating power as a forward player, which the fans of Manchester team hasn’t seen since they (the team) became the country champions in 2013.’ (attested example)

champions twice in the fight for the cup.’⁴⁵

Arbitrary

- (145) Šiandiena auditorij-oje vir-ė varakin-is Institut-o gyvenim-as.
today lecture.rooms-LOC boil-PST.3 evening-NOM institute-GEN life-NOM
Vienur IMP buv-o žaidžia-m-a įvairi-us žaidim-us, kitur
one.place be-PST.3 play-PPRP-[-AGR] various-ACC games-ACC, elsewhere
skambina-m-a pianin-u.
play-PPRP-[-AGR] piano-INS

‘Today lecture rooms were boiling with the institute’s evening life. Some people were playing various games, others were playing piano.’

(adapted from Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, 253)

Arbitrary

It is noteworthy that the aspectual specification of a clause may restrict the availability of arbitrary and generic readings. D’Alessandro and Alexiadou (2002), and D’Alessandro (2007) observe that imperfective aspect is linked to a generic reading, whereas perfective aspect triggers an arbitrary interpretation. The *ma/ta* impersonal displays this pattern providing additional evidence for the interpretation of impersonals being sensitive to aspect.

As far as an arbitrary reading of the impersonal goes, both passive participle forms are possible with this reading. (144) above occurs with the perfective form as it denotes an action that took place in the past. The example in (145) takes the imperfective form as the example involves an on-going activity. The generic reading is compatible with the participle bearing the *-m* suffix, thus the type of form that is imperfective (146-147). In contrast, the perfective form is infelicitous in this context. Thus, unlike an arbitrary interpretation, a generic interpretation disfavors the perfective aspect.

- (146) Viduramžiais elget-omis buv-o dažniausiai tampa-**m**-a /
middle.ages beggars-INS.M.PL be-PST.3 often become-PPRP-[-AGR] /
#tap-**t**-a dėl neturto.
become-PPP-[-AGR] because.of poverty

‘In the Middle ages, one used to become a beggar due to poverty.’

Generic

- (147) Senovėje tėv-ais buv-o tampa-**m**-a / #tap-**t**-a
past parents-INS.M.PL be-PST.3 become-PPRP-[-AGR] / become-PPP-[-AGR]

⁴⁵Adapted from <https://lt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakalniai>, accessed on 09-29-2019

daug ankščiau
much earlier

In the past, one used to become a parent much earlier.'

Generic

Some restrictions regarding the interpretation of the impersonal pronoun and its syntactic position in a clause have been observed. Cinque (1988) and Egerland (2003b) argue that the grammatical subject of unaccusatives or passives can only have a generic reading. However, Fenger (2018) shows that this generalization does not hold true for Swedish and Dutch (see also Ackema and Neeleman 2018, 129-130 for discussion). The *ma/ta* impersonal provides additional evidence for Fenger's observation showing that both generic and arbitrary readings are available with unaccusative verbs. To illustrate that I use the unaccusative verb *become* here. This predicate is possible with the generic reading as (148), and the arbitrary reading referring to some people as in (144), here in (149), and (150).

- (148) Lietuv-oje tampa-m-a student-u sulaukus 18.
Lithuania-LOC become-PPRP-[-AGR] student-INS.M.SG turning 18.

'In Lithuania, one becomes a student when one is 18.'

Generic

- (149) Šiais metais jau du kartus buv-o tap-t-a vicečempion-ais
this year already two times be.PST.3 become-PPP-[-AGR] champions-INS.M.PL
kovoje dėl taurės.
fight for cup

'This year some people have already become champions twice in the fight for the cup.'

Arbitrary

- (150) Pagal sužalojim-ų pobūd-į ekspert-ai nustat-ė, kad IMP
According.to injuries-GEN nature-ACC experts-NOM determine-PST.3 that
buv-o kris-t-a ant nugaros.
be-PST.3 fall-PPP-[-AGR] on back

'According to the nature of the injuries, the experts concluded that someone fell on their back.' [*Context.* Experts are trying to determine the nature of the injuries of an unknown victim.]

Arbitrary

Generic and arbitrary readings have been encoded through different feature compositions of impersonal pronouns. Fenger (2018) distinguishes two types of impersonal pro-

nouns: English-type pronouns like *one* and Dutch-type pronouns like *men*, see Table 2.2. The first group of pronouns can only have a generic inclusive reading and occurs in various case positions. The second group has both generic and ‘existential’ readings (in our terms arbitrary), and it is only restricted to nominative case positions. Building on Egerland (2003b), Hoekstra (2010), Ackema and Neeleman (2018), Fenger derives this dichotomy using different structures. The English type pronoun has unspecified ϕ -features, which act as a free-choice operator (also see Ackema and Neeleman 2018). The presence of these features restricts the impersonal to a generic reading because the possible choice for ϕ -features is the speaker and the addressee. The Dutch-type pronoun does not have the layer of unspecified ϕ -features, it is a bare N, and therefore is compatible with both generic and ‘episodic’ (arbitrary) readings.

	English <i>one</i> type pronoun	Dutch <i>men</i> type pronoun
Structure	$\begin{array}{c} \phi \\ \wedge \\ \phi \quad N \end{array}$	N
Readings	Generic	Generic, Arbitrary
Case	Occurs in multiple case positions	Restricted to nominative case

Table 2.2: Properties of Impersonal pronouns

Given that the subject of the *ma/ta* impersonal permits two types of readings, the generic and the arbitrary one, we predict that this pronoun should belong to a class of Dutch type pronouns and it should also lack unspecified ϕ -features. This prediction is tested in the next sub-section.

2.2.5.2 Features of Impersonal Pronoun

This sub-section examines the feature composition of the impersonal pronoun focusing on its number, gender, person and case.

2.2.5.2.1 Number

The impersonal pronoun can be interpreted as a plural pronoun. Plural modifiers like *together* refer to two or more individuals, and therefore signal semantic plurality. The antecedents of *together* are plural DPs, like *we*, (151), or collective nouns like ‘team’, which semantically are plural, but inflect like singular nouns, (152). In contrast, singular DPs cannot antecede *together*, (153).

(151) Mes buv-o-me kartu visą dieną.
 we.NOM.1PL be-PST-1PL together all day
 ‘We were together all day.’

(152) Komand-a buv-o kartu visą dieną.
 team-NOM.F.SG be-PST.3 together all day
 ‘The team was together all day.’

(153) #Student-as buv-o kartu visą dieną.
 student-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 together all day
 ‘The student was together all day.’

The impersonal pronoun patterns like a plural DP in that it can be an antecedent of *together* regardless of whether the impersonal bears a generic or arbitrary reading, (154-155).

(154) Kai IMP būna-m-a kartu visą dieną, konfliktai neišvengiami.
 when be-PPRP-[-AGR] together all day conflicts inevitable
 ‘When people are together all day, conflicts are inevitable.’⁴⁶ *Generic*

(155) Šiandiena auditorij-oje vir-ė varakin-is Institut-o gyvenim-as.
 today lecture.rooms-LOC boil-PST.3 evening-NOM institute-GEN life-NOM
 IMP kartu buv-o ne tik žaidžia-m-a įvair-ius žaidim-us, bet
 together be-PST.3 not only play-PPRP-[-AGR] various-ACC games-ACC, but
 ir skambina-m-a pianin-u.
 also play-PPRP-[-AGR] piano-INS
 ‘Today lecture rooms were boiling with the institute’s evening life. Some people were not only playing games together, but also playing piano. *Arbitrary*

⁴⁶<https://www.alfa.lt/straipsnis/15177910/kunigas-dvareckas-aptunkame-kaledomis-o-sirdis-tai-lieka-alkana> Accessed on 11-07-2019

Another indication that the impersonal pronoun is compatible with plurality comes from the distributive preposition *po*. The preposition *po* roughly means ‘each’ (glossed here as DISTR) (see Anderson 2013, 2015, see 3.4.4 for further discussion). It assigns accusative case to its complement and imposes a distributive reading: its complement is distributed over a certain argument in a sentence e.g., the subject *we* in (156). The distributor can be applied to DPs that are plural.⁴⁷ However, singular DPs are not compatible with this preposition (157).

- (156) Virtuv-ėje mes buv-o-me po vien-ą ir galėj-o-me turė-ti
 kitchen-LOC we.NOM.1PL be-PST-1.PL DISTR alone-ACC and can-PST.1.PL have-INF
 tik vien-ą pagalbinink-ą.
 only one-ACC helper-ACC
 ‘Only one of us a time was in the kitchen and we were allowed to have only one helper.’⁴⁸

- (157) #Virtuv-ėje student-as buv-o po vien-ą ir galėj-o turė-ti tik
 kitchen-LOC student-NOM be-PST.3 DISTR alone-ACC and can-PST.3 have-INF only
 vien-ą pagalbinink-ą.
 one-ACC helper-ACC
 ‘Only one of student at a time was in the kitchen and was allowed to have only one helper.’

This distributor is felicitous in the *ma/ta* impersonal, (158). The preposition encodes a distributive reading over the impersonal pronoun: individuals can be in a ward one at a time. In order for this interpretation to obtain, the impersonal pronoun has to permit a plural interpretation. The arbitrary reading is also available as in (159).

⁴⁷One may wonder whether the preposition *po* is compatible with collective nouns, which are semantically plural, but syntactically trigger singular agreement on predicates as in (47). Most speakers do not permit *po* with collective nouns (out of 8 speakers, only 3 speakers judged (47) as grammatical).

- i) Komand-a yra atsaking-a/*atsaking-os už pralaimėjim-ą
 team-NOM.F.SG be.PRS.3 responsible-NOM.F.SG/responsible-NOM.F.PL for defeat-ACC
 ‘The team is responsible for the defeat.
- ii) %Po rungtynių, komand-a laimėtus priz-us pasidalin-o po vien-ą.
 after game team-NOM.F.SG won prizes-ACC divide-PST.3 DISTR alone-ACC
 ‘After the game, the team divided the prizes they won one each.’

⁴⁸Adapted from <https://www.ve.lt/naujienos/visuomene/svietimas/dailes-zinios-padedakurti-sedevrus-lekstese-1616039/> and accessed on 09-29-2019.

- (158) Palat-oje paprastai IMP būna-m-a po vien-ą.
 ward-LOC usually be-PPRP-[-AGR] DISTR alone-ACC
 Lit. ‘In a ward, one is usually there one at a time.’ *Generic*
- (159) Vienur buv-o skambina-m-a pianin-u, kitur IMP žaidžia-m-a
 one.place be-PST.3 play-PPRP-[-AGR] piano-INS elsewhere play-PPRP-[-AGR]
 įvairi-us žaidim-us po vien-ą ir po du.
 various-ACC games-ACC DISTR alone-ACC and DISTR two.ACC
 ‘Some people were playing piano; others were playing games either one at a time or
 two at a time.’ *Arbitrary*

The pronoun’s compatibility with plurality is further confirmed by its ability to bind reciprocals. Lithuanian reciprocals inflect for singular and plural yielding different interpretations: singular forms refer to two individuals (160), whereas plural forms denote more than two individuals (161). Reciprocals need to be bound by a plural DP, the binder cannot be a singular DP, (162).⁴⁹

- (160) [Jon-as ir Marij-a]_i mylėj-o vien-as kit-ą_i /
 Jonas-NOM and Marija-NOM love-PST.3 one-NOM.M.SG other-ACC.M.SG /
 #vien-i kit-us_i.
 one-NOM.M.PL other-ACC.M.PL
 ‘Jonas and Marija loved each other.’ (there exist two individuals and they loved each other)
- (161) Jie_i mylėj-o vien-i kit-us_i .
 They.NOM love-PST.3 one-NOM.M.PL other-ACC.M.PL
 ‘They loved each other.’ (there exist more than two individuals and they loved each other)

⁴⁹Speakers’ judgements vary whether collective nouns can bind reciprocals (see also fn 47 for a similar pattern). The majority of my consultants do not allow binding at all (5 out of 8), whereas others allow singular or plural reciprocals (2 speakers allow both singular and plural reciprocals, whereas 1 allows only singular), judgements reported in (i).

(i) %Nelaimės atveju komitet-as iš karto informuoj-a vien-as kit-ą /
 accident case committee-NOM immediately inform-PRS.3 one-NOM.M.SG other-ACC.M.SG /
 vien-i kit-us.
 one-NOM.M.PL other-ACC.M.PL
 ‘In the case of an accident, the committee immediately informs each other.’ (two or more than two members)

- (162) *Jis_i mylėj-o vien-as kit-a_i/vien-i
 He.NOM love-PST.3 one-NOM.M.SG other-ACC.M.SG/one-NOM.M.PL
 kit-us_i.
 other-ACC.M.PL
 Lit. ‘He loved each other.’

Both forms of reciprocals are felicitous in the impersonal. Typically, a marriage consists of two people, and a singular form of the reciprocal, which denotes two individuals, is used in (165). In (164), the plural form is felicitous in the context which is not restricted to two individuals in that more than two people can become a work tool for each other. The examples provided below have a generic reading.

- (163) Toks nuomonių išsiskyrim-as atspind-i <...> dar pakankamai gajas
 such opinions divergence-NOM reflect-PRS.3 still pretty ongoing
 nuostat-as, kad po santuok-os IMP_i **tampa-m-a** **vien-as**
 provisions-NOM that after marriage-GEN become-PPRP-[-AGR] one-NOM.M.SG
kit-o_i nuosavyb-e.
 other-GEN.M.SG property-INS
 ‘Such diverging opinions are reflected in <...> pretty prominent provisions that after marriage one becomes each other’s property.’⁵⁰ *Generic*

- (164) Nesikalbant, slepiant problemas, tik augina-m-os vienišum-o,
 not-taking, hiding problems, only grow-PPRP-NOM.F.PL loneliness-GEN,
 uždarum-o sien-os, IMP_i **tampa-m-a** **vien-i**
 reticence-GEN walls-NOM.F.PL, become-PPRP-[-AGR] one-NOM.M.PL
kit-iems_i tik ‘darbo įrankiais’.
 other-DAT.M.PL just work tools
 ‘When people don’t talk, hide problems, the walls of loneliness and reticence are being developed, one becomes just like a work tool for each other.’⁵¹ *Generic*

Examples with an arbitrary interpretation are also grammatical. The impersonal pronoun can antecede both types of reciprocals.

- (165) Čia IMP_i buv-o mylė-t-a ne tik sav-o žem-ę, bet ir
 here be-PST.3 love-PPP-[-AGR] not only self-GEN land-ACC but and

⁵⁰<https://vb.vdu.lt> Accessed on 09-10-2019

⁵¹<http://manokarjera.cv.lt/Default4.aspx?ArticleId=ecc77716-0464-4978-a63f-cd4b940ef501> Accessed on 09-10-2019

vien-as kit-a/vien-i kit-us.
 one-NOM.M.SG other-ACC.M.SG/ one-NOM.M.PL other-ACC.M.PL

‘Here some people used to love not only their land, but also each other.’ (either two individuals or more than two) *Arbitrary*

Crosslinguistically, the impersonal pronoun’s ability to bind reciprocals has been taken as evidence that this pronoun is semantically plural (Hoekstra 2010; Ackema and Neeleman 2018). However, Hall (2019) argues that the availability of reciprocals may not necessarily point to semantic plurality. Bare NPs in Mandarin Chinese can be number neutral in that they can be interpreted either as singular or as plural entities. Hall (2019) shows that these number neutral expressions bind reciprocals. Therefore, the binding of reciprocals does not rule out the possibility that the impersonal pronoun is singular. Reciprocals in Lithuanian do require a plural antecedent meaning that the impersonal pronoun can be plural. The question remains whether the impersonal pronoun can also be singular. I discuss this option below.

To examine a singular interpretation of the pronoun, nominal predicates in copular constructions are used. In copular sentences, the grammatical subject agrees with the nominal predicate in number and gender as observed in (95), repeated here in (166).⁵²

(166) Mergin-a tap-o student-e.
 girl-NOM.F.SG become-PST.3 student-INS.F.SG
 ‘A girl became a student.’

The impersonal can also appear with nominal predicates. Both singular and plural forms are attested with a generic interpretation, (167-168). These facts can be taken as evidence that syntactically the impersonal pronoun is compatible with both singular and plural forms.

⁵²Collective nouns like *komitetas* ‘committee’ can occur either with singular or plural nominal predicates in copular sentences, (52). Therefore, these nouns do not need to syntactically agree with a nominal predicate. Non-nominal predicates do not exhibit this pattern in that they require syntactic agreement with a collective noun; see fn 47.

(i) Šis komitet-as tap-o didžiausiu mūsų prieš-u / didžiausiais mūsų
 this committee-NOM.M.SG become-PST.3 biggest our enemy-INS.M.SG / biggest our
 prieš-ais.
 enemies-INS.M.PL
 ‘The committee became our biggest enemy.’

- (167) Valstybės pilieči-u IMP tampa-m-a tik gimus.
country citizen-INS.M.SG become-PPRP-[-AGR] only born
‘One becomes a citizen of their country immediately after birth.’⁵³ *Generic*
- (168) Lietuv-os pilieči-ais IMP tampa-m-a tik nuo 16 metų.
Lithuania-GEN citizens-INS.M.PL become-PPRP-[-AGR] only from 16 years
‘One becomes a Lithuanian citizen only at the age of 16.’⁵⁴ *Generic*

For the arbitrary reading, both singular and plural forms are available, but they yield different interpretations. The plural form is used if the subject refers to ‘some people’ (169). The predicate is singular if it refers to one single individual, namely *someone*, (170). The grammaticality of (170) indicates that the impersonal pronoun can have a singular interpretation and is not inherently plural. In other words, it is flexible with regards to its number.

- (169) Šiais metais jau du kartus IMP buv-o tap-t-a
this year already two times be-PST.3 become-PPP-[-AGR]
vicečempion-ais kovoje dėl taurės.
champions-INS.M.PL fight for cup
‘This year some people have already become champions twice in the fight for the cup.’
Arbitrary
- (170) Šiais metais jau du kartus IMP buv-o tap-t-a
this year already two times be.PST.3 become-PPP-[-AGR]
vicečempion-u kovoje dėl taurės.
champions-INS.M.SG fight for cup
‘This year someone has already become a champion twice in the fight for the cup.’
Arbitrary

2.2.5.2.2 Interim Summary and Number Neutrality

Results from the availability of the nominal expressions like *together*, the preposition *po* and binding of *each other* indicate that the impersonal pronoun can have a plural interpreta-

⁵³<https://www.ikimokyklinis.lt/index.php/straipsniai/specialistams/pilietiskumo-ugdymas-ikimokykliniame-amziuje/17259> Accessed on 11/05/2018.

⁵⁴<https://www.tv3.lt/naujiena/249578/www.kaledos.borjomi.lt> Accessed on 11/05/2018

tion.⁵⁵ Evidence from copular constructions suggests that the impersonal pronoun can refer to one or more individuals (see Table 2.3 for a summary). What I conclude from these facts is that the impersonal pronoun can be either plural or singular. This pronoun is not purely restricted to a plural interpretation or a singular interpretation. On the contrary, the pronoun is flexible, both singular and plural entities are parts of the denotation of the impersonal pronoun. To capture this behavior, I suggest that this pronoun is number neutral as has been proposed for impersonal pronouns in Hall 2019. Number neutral expressions denote one or more entities, thus can have either a singular or plural interpretation (Sauerland 2003; Sauerland et al. 2005; Zweig 2009; Pereltsvaig 2013; Görgülü 2018).⁵⁶

	DP SG	DP PL	IMP
<i>together</i>	*	ok	ok
preposition <i>po</i>	*	ok	ok
binding <i>each other</i>	*	ok	ok
SG nominal predicate	ok	*	ok
PL nominal predicate	*	ok	ok

Table 2.3: Number of Impersonal Pronoun

Nominals with a number-neutral reading are generally attested in Lithuanian. Morphologically plural nominals are not exclusively interpreted as pluralities. In (171a), the plural nominal *children* has a reading where it can refer to either one or more children, and it is possible to answer this question using a singular form as in (171b).

- (171) a. Q: Ar tur-i vaik-ų?
if have-PRS.2SG children-GEN.M.PL
‘Do you have children?’ (one or more)
- b. A: Taip, vien-ą.
yes, one-ACC

⁵⁵Another test used for plurality is collective predicates like *to gather*, whose subjects denote plural DPs. While Lithuanian does have these predicates e.g., *susirinkti* ‘to gather’, *būriuotis* ‘to gather’, I was not able to use them because they can be passivized meaning that instances with these verbs are ambiguous between impersonals and passives.

⁵⁶Number neutral expressions are sometimes called inclusive plurals e.g., see Sauerland 2003; Sauerland et al. 2005. The two notions are often used interchangeably in the literature e.g., see Pereltsvaig 2013; Görgülü 2018.

‘Yes, one.’

Further support for the existence of number neutrality comes from nominal expressions like *animal cloning* in (172). These expressions include the plural nominal *gyvūnų* ‘animals’, which displays a number-neutral reading in that it can refer to one single entity or more than one (also see Pereltsvaig 2013, 302 for the same type of behavior in Russian). Note that DPs marked with singular lack the number-neutral interpretation.

- (172) a. *gyvūn-ų* *klovan-im-as*
 animals-GEN.PL cloning-NMLZ-NOM
 ‘animal cloning’ (one animal or more)
- b. *gyvūn-o* *klovan-im-as*
 animal-GEN.SG cloning-NMLZ-NOM
 ‘cloning of an animal/the animal’ (only one)

Generally, it is argued that number neutral expressions are not specified for number feature, and therefore lack Num(ber)P, which hosts this feature (e.g., see Pereltsvaig 2013). I follow this line of work and propose that the impersonal pronoun is a number neutral pronoun, which is underspecified for a number feature in the syntax and its structure does not include NumP.

2.2.5.2.3 Gender

The next thing to consider is gender. The masculine form is used with generic statements which refer to people in general and include both males and females, (173). The feminine form is not felicitous in this reading since it can only denote female individuals. Masculine is the default gender in the language (Holvoet and Semėnienė 2006; Bruno 2012; Adamson and Šereikaitė 2019). The impersonal pronoun is assigned default gender in cases like (173): it refers to a mixed-gender groups, which is one of the environments where the unmarked gender form occurs (see Adamson and Šereikaitė 2019 for discussion).⁵⁷

⁵⁷Note that there exist nominals in copular sentences with a grammatical gender e.g., *auka* - ‘victim’ which inflects for feminine gender. The grammatical gender of these nominals do not reflect the referential gender of a subject. For instance, in (i), the feminine noun *victim* can refer to a male individual. Therefore,

- (173) Lietuv-oje IMP tampa-m-a student-u / #student-e
 Lithuania-LOC become-PPRP-[-AGR] student-INS.M.SG / student-INS.F.SG
 sulaukus 18.
 turning 18.
 ‘In Lithuania, one (including men and women) becomes a student when one turns 18.’

In a right context, the impersonal pronoun can be either masculine or feminine depending on the referential gender of a subject. Recall the examples in (96) and (97), repeated in (174-175). If the group of people that the speaker is referring to consists only of women, then the nominal form is feminine as in (174) and if that group consists of men, then nominals with masculine gender are possible. These examples have a generic reading.

- (174) Moterų vienuolyn-e, vienuol-e tampa-m-a per 7 metus.
 women convent-LOC nun-INS.F.SG become-PPRP-[-AGR] within 7 years
 ‘In a convent, one becomes a nun within 7 years.’ *Generic*
- (175) Vyrų vienuolyn-e, vienuol-iu tampa-m-a per 7 metus.
 men convent-LOC monk-INS.M.SG become-PPRP-[-AGR] within 7 years
 ‘In a monastery, one becomes a monk within 7 years.’ *Generic*

The arbitrary reading yields the same results. Both feminine and masculine forms are possible depending on the referential gender of the subject. The form is feminine when the subject ‘someone’ refers to a female individual that has become a champion in a women championship (176), or the form is masculine if the subject refers to a male individual as in (177).

the *ma/ta* impersonal constructions with these types of nominals as in (ii) cannot be taken as evidence for feminine being the gender of the impersonal subject.

- (i) Berniuk-as tap-o nusikaltim-o auk-a.
 boy-NOM.M.SG become-PPRP-[-AGR] crime-GEN victim-INS.F.SG
 ‘A boy became a crime victim.’
- (ii) Dažnai IMP tampa-m-a nusikaltim-o auk-a.
 often become-PPRP-[-AGR] crime-GEN victim-INS.F.SG
 ‘One (both men and women) often becomes a crime victim.’

- (176) Šiais metais jau du kartus buv-o tap-t-a vicečempion-e
 this year already two times be-PST.3 become-PPP-[-AGR] champion-INS.F.SG
 kovoje dėl taurės moterų lengvosios atletikos čempionate.
 fight for cup women track-and-field athletics championship
 ‘This year someone (female individual) has already become a champion twice in the
 fight for the cup in the women championship of track-and-field athletics.’ *Arbitrary*
- (177) Šiais metais jau du kartus buv-o tap-t-a vicečempion-u
 this year already two times be-PST.3 become-PPP-[-AGR] champion-INS.M.SG
 kovoje dėl taurės vyrų lengvosios atletikos čempionate.
 fight for cup men track-and-field athletics championship
 ‘This year someone (male individual) has already become a champion twice in the
 fight for the cup in the men championship of track-and-field athletics.’ *Arbitrary*

To sum up, the impersonal pronoun is neutral about gender in that it is compatible with both masculine and feminine. This can be taken as evidence that the pronoun has no gender specification; it lacks a syntactically present gender feature.

2.2.5.2.4 Person

I now turn to the person feature. The impersonal pronoun refers to people in general including the speaker and the hearer meaning that it can have a 1st, 2nd or 3rd person interpretation as in (178). Therefore, the impersonal pronoun can be treated as underspecified for person.

- (178) Lietuvoj-e IMP tampa-m-a student-u sulaukus 18.
 Lithuania-LOC become-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] student-INS.M.SG turning 18.
 ‘In Lithuania, one becomes a student when one turns 18.’

If the person feature were specified, we would expect to see the reflection of that feature through agreement. The impersonal has an auxiliary, which bears 3rd person morphology. The auxiliary marked with 1st or 2nd person agreement is ruled out in this construction (179). This can be explained if the person feature is underspecified. There is no inherent person feature and subsequently the auxiliary occurs with 3rd person morphology, which is default.

- (179) Ši-oje šal-yje dažniausiai IMP yra / *esu / *esi
 tjis-LOC country-LOC mostly be.PRS.3 / be.PRS.1SG / be.PRS.2SG
 miršta-m-a nuo šird-ies ir kraujagysli-ų lig-ų.
 die-PPRP-[-AGR] from heart-GEN and blood-vessel-GEN disease-GEN
 ‘In this country, mostly one often dies from heart and blood-vessel diseases.’

2.2.5.3 Interim Summary and Agreement

The impersonal bears generic and arbitrary readings, which is a common property of featurally deficient impersonal pronouns across various languages. In previous sub-sections, I have examined whether the pronoun of the impersonal is different from a fully-fledged DP. It was demonstrated that the impersonal pronoun is compatible with any number, gender or person combination meaning that it does not have inherently specified ϕ -features for these values in the syntax. I have provided evidence for treating the impersonal pronoun as a number neutral expression, which is captured by the impersonal lacking NumP projection where number features originate. Given the pronoun’s compatibility with any person and gender features, I propose that the impersonal pronoun is underspecified for these features. Putting these findings together, I propose that the impersonal pronoun is not a full DP, but rather it is a bare N as suggested for Dutch type impersonal pronouns lacking a ϕ -layer (Fenger 2018). In my system, N enters the derivation with the interpretable unvalued ϕ -feature (180), which is valued to human by the impersonal Voice head as was argued in sub-section 2.2.4.2.⁵⁸ This captures the fact that the impersonal pronoun is restricted to human referents. The lack of ϕ -features also accounts for the default 3rd person agreement on the auxiliary of the impersonal.

- (180) N
 i ϕ value:[_]

⁵⁸Given that the impersonal lacks a full set of specified ϕ -features in the syntax, the interpretation of the impersonal is not restricted and the impersonal allows for generic and arbitrary interpretations. There exist various ways to derive these readings. The generic reading can be captured by using a generic operator [GEN], which binds the impersonal pronoun (e.g., Chierchia 1995; Egerland 2003b; Moltmann 2006; Sigurðsson and Egerland 2009; Ackema and Neeleman 2018). The arbitrary reading can be encoded through binding by an existential operator (e.g., Ackema and Neeleman 2018). My analysis of the impersonal pronoun is compatible with various implementations of these approaches.

2.2.5.4 Lack of Case

Various studies have suggested that some impersonal pronouns have case (for Polish and Romance languages see Rivero 2000; for English *one*-type pronouns see Fenger 2018). In contrast, defective impersonal pronouns like the Dutch *men* (Fenger 2018) have been argued to lack case in that they can only occur in nominative case environments, and nominative has been suggested to be a non-case. I contrast the behavior of the impersonal pronoun with that of the nominative overt subject. Evidence from a variety of predicative forms indicates that the implicit pronoun behaves like a type of nominal which is not marked for case. However, the nominative overt subject patterns like a case-marked DP. This contrast indicates that the impersonal pronoun is deficient in not only lacking specified ϕ -features, but also case further supporting the typological landscape of defective impersonal pronouns. This study also demonstrates that nominative case cannot be treated as non-case at least in Lithuanian (for non-case accounts see e.g., Preminger 2014; Kornfilt and Preminger 2015).

2.2.5.4.1 Preference for Instrumental Case

A difference between a nominative subject and an impersonal pronoun subject is reflected in copular-like constructions. Verbs like *pasirodyti* ‘to appear’ or *jaustis* ‘to feel’ take an adjectival predicate, and the subject agrees with the predicate in number, gender and case. Alternatively, the predicate can bear instrumental case, which is a type of case assigned independently of the grammatical subject, (181).⁵⁹

- (181) Jon-as jaut-ė-si laiming-as / laiming-u.
Jonas-NOM.M.SG feel-PST.3-RFL happy-NOM.M.SG / happy-INS.M.SG
‘Jonas felt happy.’

If the understood subject of the impersonal had nominative case, we would expect a nominative predicate to be grammatical. However, the nominative predicate is ruled out and only the instrumental form is permitted (182). This suggests that, unlike the overt

⁵⁹Copular constructions in Slavic languages like Polish or Russian allow instrumental predicates as well. For discussion and the realization of this case see Matushansky 2000; Pereltsvaig 2007; Citko 2008; ia.

subject, the implicit subject of the impersonal is only compatible with a predicate that does not need to agree with it in case, namely the predicate with instrumental.

- (182) Kai patiria-m-as džiaugs-mas, jaučia-m-a-si
 when experience-PPRP-NOM.M.SG happiness-NOM.M.SG feel-PPRP-[-AGR]-RFL
 laiming-u / *laiming-as, emocinis intelekt-as būna aukštesnis.
 happy-INS.M.SG / happy-NOM.M.SG emotional intellect-NOM be higher
 ‘When happiness is experienced, one feels happy and the emotional intellect becomes higher.’⁶⁰

2.2.5.4.2 Active Participles and Depictives

Further support for the impersonal pronoun’s incompatibility with predicates that require agreement in case comes from active participles. Lithuanian active participles can occur in adjunct clauses and appear in either agreeing or non-agreeing forms (see Ambrazas et al. 1997, 363; Arkadiev 2012, 2017 for a full paradigm). The nominative subject of transitives can optionally agree with the active participle in number, gender and case, or the participle can occur in the non-agreeing form, (183).

- (183) Jon-as_i pavog-ė rakt-us [prieš PRO_i išei-dam-as /
 Jonas-NOM.M.SG steal-PST.3 keys-ACC before leave-CVB-NOM.M.SG /
 išein-a-nt iš nam-ų].
 leave-PRS-ACT.PTCP from house-GEN.
 ‘Jonas stole the keys before leaving the house.’

The impersonal pronoun shows a distinct behavior. The pronoun can control into an adjunct, but only the non-agreeing active participle is available (184). The agreeing form is ungrammatical. The subject of the impersonal is compatible with any number and gender feature as facts from copular constructions indicate. Therefore, there should be no problem for it to license the agreeing form as far as these features are concerned, and yet the agreement fails. The only other feature that is needed for this type of agreement is case. Thus, the ungrammaticality of the agreeing form must stem from case.

⁶⁰Adapted from <http://www.marsc.lt/programos/emocinio-intelekto-lavinimas-per-komunikavimo-metodus-svietimo-istaigo>, Accessed on 11/10/2018.

- (184) IMP_i šias giem-es dažniausiai gieda-m-a mišių pabaigoje [prieš
 these.ACC hymns-ACC mostly sing-PPRP-[-AGR] mass ending before
 PRO_i išein-a-nt / *išei-dam-as iš bažnyči-os].
 leave-PRS-ACT.PTCP / leave-CVB-NOM.M.SG from church-GEN
 ‘One often sings these hymns at the end of the mass before leaving the church.’

Impersonal

To explain this peculiar behavior of the impersonal pronoun, two hypotheses can be proposed: the impersonal pronoun may lack nominative case, thus can be marked with a different type of case, or it lacks case in general. The former hypothesis is less plausible given that the impersonal subject can be a subject of transitives or unaccusatives meaning that it is not restricted to a particular θ -position, and therefore it cannot be marked with inherent case in environments like (184). The latter hypothesis, on the other hand, is more plausible because if the impersonal pronoun lacks case, then it should not be compatible with any type of agreeing form regardless of what type of case it bears.

Facts from depictives provide further support for the absence of case. A thematic nominative subject can be the controller of a depictive, and it must agree with it in number, gender, and case as in (185) (see Timberlake 1988 and Holvoet 2008 for discussion of Lithuanian depictives).

- (185) Jon-as_i vaik-us sumuš-ė girt-as_i.
 Jonas-NOM.M.SG children-ACC beat-PST.3 drunk-NOM.M.SG
 ‘Jonas_i beat the children drunk_i.’

The implicit subject of the impersonal does not allow a depictive be it nominative, dative, genitive or any other case as exemplified in (186). The language does not have a non-agreeing form of a depictive (in contrast to active participles) or the type of a depictive that gets its case assigned independently from the subject.⁶¹ For a depictive to be grammatical, the

⁶¹Timberlake (1988) reports that Lithuanian depictives take instrumental case. However, instrumental marking is no longer productive in the language. My consultants judge instances like (i) as ungrammatical.

- (i) *Aš jį pažinoj-au jaun-u.
 I.NOM him.ACC know-PST.1SG young-INS.M.SG
 ‘I got to know him (when I was) young.’

(Adapted from Timberlake 1988, 185)

subject must agree with it in case. However, the pronoun fails to license the depictive regardless of the type of case. These findings indicate that the impersonal bears neither nominative nor non-nominative case, and therefore I conclude that it lacks case.

- (186) Įtaria-m-a, kad IMP vaik-us_i dažniausiai muša-m-a
 allege-PPRP-[-AGR] that children-ACC often beat-PPRP-[-AGR]
 *girt-as_i / *girt-am_i / *girt-o_i...
 drunk-NOM.M.SG / drunk-DAT.M.SG / drunk-GEN.M.SG
 ‘It is alleged that one often beats children drunk.’ *Impersonal*

The lack of case may also explain why the impersonal is necessarily marked with the neuter non-agreeing passive participle form rather than the agreeing one, recall our example from (41) repeated here in (187). The agreeing passive participle typically agrees with a thematic subject in not only ϕ -features, but also in case. However, the impersonal is not compatible with a form that requires agreement in case which would explain why the agreeing passive participle is ungrammatical. The neuter participle, on the other hand, does not have this requirement.

- (187) (Yra) rašo-m-a / *rašo-m-as / *rašo-m-ą
 be.PRS.3 write-PPRP-[-AGR] / write-PPRP-NOM.M.SG / write-PPRP-ACC.M.SG...
 laišk-ą.
 letter-ACC
 ‘One writes a letter.’ *Impersonal*

Table 2.4 provides a summary of facts discussed in this sub-section. I have made a distinction between the nominative overt subject and the impersonal pronoun subject, which differ from each other in terms of case. The impersonal pronoun can occur with the type of predicates that do not require agreement in case: copular predicates marked with instrumental and non-agreeing active participles. When a predicative element requires agreement in case, the agreement relationship between the implicit argument and that element fails as was the case with depictives. In contrast, the nominative subject is compatible with predicative forms that require agreement in case, and therefore nominative DPs do bear case.

	NOM Subject	IMP
Agreeing Active Participles	ok	*
Depictives	ok	*
Agrees in case with copular predicate	ok	*
Non-agreeing Active Participles	ok	ok
Non-agreeing Passive Participles	ok	ok
Allows INS case with copular predicate	ok	ok

Table 2.4: Case properties of Nominative Subject and Impersonal Pronoun

These observations provide important insights for Case Theory. First, some studies treat nominative case as non-case (e.g., Preminger 2014; Kornfilt and Preminger 2015). However, we have observed that a nominal without case does not behave the same as a nominal marked with nominative, therefore they should be treated differently. Second, the size of a nominal seems to play a role in whether a nominal bears case or not. Originally, Case Filter (Chomsky 1981) states that every NP argument must have case. Nominals, which are defective and smaller in their size than regular arguments, do not follow this requirement as evidenced by impersonal pronouns which are bare Ns and lack case. Lastly, according to Dependent Case Theory (Marantz 1991; Woolford 2003; McFadden 2004; Preminger 2014; ia.) the assignment of structural accusative case is dependent on higher DP that does not bear lexical case. The impersonal construction shows us that smaller nominals, which lack case, can also count for this algorithm. In other words, a bare N, which lacks case and occurs in a thematic subject position, is enough for the theme grammatical subject to receive accusative case.

2.2.6 Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that the impersonal and the passive are two distinct constructions. The impersonal is an active construction with a projected implicit initiator whereas the passive lacks a syntactically realized implicit agent. I have demonstrated that the impersonal can be applied to a wider range of predicates than the passive. The impersonal can be formed with transitives and unaccusatives meaning that the null implicit pronoun can

be realized either as a thematic subject or a theme grammatical subject. In contrast, the passive is restricted to predicates with a thematic subject. Thus, one of the main contributions of this paper was to show that the Lithuanian passive supports the theory of passives in which the passive is viewed as involving the suppression of an initiator (Bruening 2013; Legate 2014; Alexiadou et al. 2015). On the other hand, this study challenges the type of theory of passives whereby the initiator is not suppressed, but is syntactically realized in a thematic subject position as proposed by Collins (2005).

This study has also expanded the typology of Voice showing that the impersonal construction is a type of an active VoiceP, which comes in two flavors. The impersonal Voice can be thematic, introducing an external argument θ -role, or it can be a non-thematic, unaccusative type which is not associated with an external argument. In both cases, the impersonal Voice head licenses the impersonal subject in its specifier via agreement. While some impersonal pronouns across languages can appear as grammatical objects (see e.g., Fenger 2018), the Lithuanian impersonal is interesting in that it only targets the highest accessible nominal – a thematic or grammatical subject. Further research should investigate impersonal pronouns occurring as grammatical subjects and how these pronouns would be licensed in the type of system proposed in this paper.

I have also related the Lithuanian *ma/ta* impersonal with the Polish and Ukrainian constructions. Interestingly, the Lithuanian construction exhibits properties common to both the Polish impersonal and the Ukrainian passive. The Lithuanian impersonal syntactically behaves like the Polish impersonal in having a null subject and an accusative grammatical object. However, morphologically, the Lithuanian impersonal patterns with the Ukrainian passive: both constructions exhibit a finite auxiliary and neuter non-agreeing morphology on a lexical verb. Haspelmath (1990, 27) claims that ‘passive without passive morphology do not exist.’ However, the existing configurations of Voice and passive morphology in Slavic and Baltic suggest that passives do not have to be morphologically distinct from non-passive constructions.

Lastly, I have examined the structure of the impersonal pronoun. The pronoun pro-

vides an additional support to the existing typology of impersonal pronouns in showing that impersonal pronouns with two readings, generic and arbitrary, are syntactically deficient. The impersonal pronoun is compatible with any number, gender and person combination meaning that its features are not specified in the syntax. I have proposed that the impersonal pronoun is a bare N with an interpretable valued feature that is valued to human. Evidence from agreement patterns with various types of predicates has demonstrated that the impersonal pronoun lacks case, which provides important consequence for Case Theory.

2.3 Active Existential

I now turn to the investigation of the second type of impersonal construction - *active existential* (AE). Recall our example in (11), repeated here in (188).⁶² This construction has an accusative theme, but lacks an overt nominative subject. The agent is interpreted as unknown, indefinite ‘someone’. The verb shows 3rd person active morphology.⁶³

Active Existential

- (188) Vali-ų/*Vali-us kvieči-a į dekanat-ą
 Valius-ACC/Valius-NOM invite-PRS.3 to dean’s.office-ACC
 ‘Someone is inviting Valius to the dean’s office.’ (adapted from Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, 251)

The main question that I have been pursuing in this chapter is whether impersonal constructions have an implicit argument, and how the the presence/absence of the implicit argument influences the accusative case assignment on the theme. Based on the evidence from AE, I argue that the structural accusative case can be assigned in the absence of a higher c-commanding nominal. This finding counterexamples Burzio’s (1986) Generalization, its alternative versions (e.g., Legate 2014) and related theories such as Dependent Case Theory (Marantz 1991; Woolford 2003; McFadden 2004; Preminger 2014) whereby the

⁶²This case study is based on Šereikaitė’s (to appear) paper, which has been accepted to *Linguistic Inquiry*.

⁶³There is variation regarding the translation of this construction. Ambrazas et al. (1997:600) translate these sentences as active constructions, whereas in Kibort and Maskaliūnienė (2016) these are translated sometimes as passives. I will follow the former line of work and translate them as active. Nevertheless, neither translation is accurate enough because English does not have the active existential construction. Therefore, nothing should be concluded from the choice of translation used in this paper.

assignment of accusative is dependent on a higher DP with structural case.

I demonstrate that the implicit external argument is not projected in the AE despite the presence of a thematic grammatical object with structural accusative case. Thus, I argue that Lithuanian exhibits an active existential Voice - a Voice that assigns accusative case and is realized by active morphology, but whose external argument variable is bound at the level of Voice⁰ by the existential operator. I revise Burzio's Generalization by proposing that while accusative case must be assigned by a Voice that introduces an external θ -role, each Voice head is free to bundle with an accusative case feature regardless of the selection of a specifier. This study provides important insights about conditions that govern the assignment of structural accusative case, suggesting that Burzio's Generalization is not a linguistic universal (for other studies that have questioned the validity of Burzio's Generalization also see Haider 1985, 2000; Haegeman 1986; Harley 1995; Mahajan 2000; Woolford 1993, 1997, 2003; Schäfer 2012), but a typological tendency where the licensing of structural accusative case is often linked to the presence of the nominative initiator (for a brief overview of various typological tendencies see Woolford 2003 and references therein).

This sub-section is organized as follows. Sub-section 2.3.1 distinguishes between the AE on the one hand and 3rd person pro-drop sentences and other types of impersonals on the other hand. These constructions overlap morphosyntactically, but are distinct. The central argumentation is presented in sub-sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3. I demonstrate that the theme argument of the AE bears structural accusative case and behaves like an object of an active transitive. Then, I show that while the AE has an external-argument-introducing projection, a VoiceP, there is no syntactically realized argument in a thematic subject position, SpecVoiceP. Finally, in sub-section 2.3.4, I provide an analysis of the AE in Section 5. I explain the lack of the external argument in SpecVoice by proposing that the external argument variable is bound at the level of the Voice head. I argue that the existential operator, which binds the initiator variable, is built into the active existential Voice head lexically rather than being introduced by Existential Closure (Heim 1982), which applies at LF. I further discuss what theoretical consequences this analysis has for Case Theory.

2.3.1 Typology of the Active Existential and Other Impersonals

Before we proceed to the investigation of the syntactic structure of the AE, I first review may typological features of this construction. I also distinguish the AE from from 3rd person pro-drop instances and other types of impersonals, which seem identical on the surface, but exhibit different properties.

It is noteworthy that Lithuanian belongs to a group of what are known as partial null-subject languages (for discussion on partial null subject languages see Holmberg 2005, 2010; Holmberg, Nayudu, and Sheehan 2009). Its 1st and 2nd person definite subject pronouns are optionally null as exemplified in (189). The information about the subject can be recovered from the agreement morphology on the verb, which inflects for tense, person and number.⁶⁴

- (189) a. (Aš) kvieči-au Vali-ų 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.'
- b. (Tu) kviet-ei Vali-ų į dekanat-ą.
you.NOM invite-PST.2SG Valius-ACC to dean's.office-ACC
'You were inviting/invited Valius to the dean's office.'

However, Lithuanian verbs do not show a distinction between singular and plural with 3rd person subjects as in (190). The lack of a number distinction may restrict the optionality of 3rd person definite null subjects as they can only be null under certain circumstances. A 3rd person subject cannot be null, (190), unless it has a previously mentioned linguistic antecedent, e.g., as in (191-192). In (191), the optional subject in the embedded clause refers back to the antecedent in the matrix clause. In the question-answer pair in (192), the referent is presented in the previous utterance.

⁶⁴However, the verb does not show the distinction between singular and plural with 3rd person subjects as in (i).

- (i) Jis/ji/jie kviet-ė Vali-ų į dekanat-ą.
he.NOM/she.NOM/they.NOM invite-PST.3 Valius-ACC to dean's.office-ACC
'He/she/they was/were inviting/invited Valius to the dean's office.'

(190) *(Jis/ji/jie) kviet-ė Vali-ų į dekanat-ę.
 he.NOM/she.NOM/they.NOM invite-PST.3 Valius-ACC to dean's.office-ACC
 'He/she/they was/were inviting/invited Valius to the dean's office.'

(191) 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 his mother a house.'

(192) a. Ką veiki-a Vali-us_i?
 What.ACC do-PRS.3 Valius-NOM
 'What is Valius doing?'

b. (Jis_i) raš-o laišk-ą.
 he.NOM write-PRS.3 letter-ACC
 'He is writing a letter.'

Constructions with 3rd person active verbal morphology have no overt subject in situations where the agent is interpreted as indefinite pronoun 'someone' or 'some people'. These are instances of the AE, which crucially are different from 3rd person pro-drop cases whose subject, as discussed above, is definite and can be null only under certain circumstances. The active existential is compatible with unergative verbs (193-194), transitive predicates with an accusative theme as in (195-197).

(193) Lyg šaud-ė dien-ą mišk-e.
 as.if shoot-PST.3 day-ACC forest-LOC
 'It seems that (someone) fired shots in the woods during the day.' (Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, 248)

(194) Auditorij-oje vir-ė varakin-is Institut-o gyvenim-as. Vienur
 lecture.rooms-LOC boil-PST.3 evening-NOM institute-GEN life-NOM one.place
 skambin-o pianin-u, kitur dainav-o
 play-PST.3 piano-INS elsewhere sing-PST.3
 'Lecture rooms were boiling with the institute's evening life. Some people were playing piano, others were singing.' (adapted from Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, 253)

(195) Vali-ų kvieči-a 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)

(196) Mane baisi-ai apgav-o.
me.ACC bad-ADC deceive-PST.3
‘Someone deceived me badly.’

(197) Vakar mus apvog-ė vidury baltos dienos.
yesterday us.ACC deceive-PST.3 middle white day
‘Someone robbed us in the middle of the day yesterday.’

Predicates that take an accusative theme and a dative maleficiary are also possible (198-200).⁶⁵ Ditransitive predicates are also compatible with the AE as can be observed in (201).

(198) Jam pavog-ė arkl-į.
he.DAT steal-PST.3 horse-ACC
‘Someone stole a horse from him.’

(Ambrasas et al. 1997, 600)

(199) Marij-ai ištryp-ė darž-ą.
Marija-DAT trample-PST.3 garden-ACC
‘Someone trampled on Marija’s garden.’

(200) Neseniai man pradūr-ė padang-ą.
recently me.DAT puncture-PST.3 tire-ACC
‘Recently, someone punctured a tire for me.’

(201) Marij-ai atsiunt-ė anonimin-į laišk-ą.
Marija-DAT send-PST.3 anonymous-ACC letter-ACC
‘Someone has sent Marija an anonymous letter.’

Nevertheless, unaccusative predicates are not available in this construction as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of predicates like *die* and *fall* in (240-241).⁶⁶

⁶⁵Note that not all speakers accept dative maleficiary construction, independently of the active existential. These speakers use a PP complement instead, which also permits the active existential as illustrated in (i).

(i) Vakar iš Marij-os pavog-ė arkl-į.
yesterday from Marija-GEN steal-PST.3 horse-ACC
‘Someone stole a horse from Marija yesterday.’

⁶⁶Unaccusative verbs can be found in traditional Lithuanian proverbs, which include an indefinite subject interpretation, as noted by Paulauskienė (1971); see (i). Thus these instances are similar to the AE. Nev-

- (202) *Per žin-ias mes sužinoj-o-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 the flu.’
- (203) *Kambar-yje buv-o daug krauj-o. Toks jausm-as lyg nukrit-o ir
 room-LOC be-PST.3 a.lot blood-GEN such feeling-NOM as.if fall-PST.3 and
 mir-ė čia.
 die-PST.3 here
 ‘There was a lot of blood in the room. It feels as if someone fell and died here.’

Pragmatically, the active existential is similar to passives without a *by*-phrase in that it is used when the initiator is indefinite, not known to the hearer, and the emphasis is placed on the theme and the action expressed by a verb (see Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, 247-269 for a comparative overview of pragmatic functions of the active existential and the passive).

In Kibort and Maskaliūnienė (2016), it is reported that the agent of impersonal constructions including instances of the active existential is restricted to +human agents. Nevertheless, we can find instances of the active existential with -human animate subjects. The examples below are illustrated with predicates such as *bite* (204) and *tear apart* (205), which in this context are interpreted as having non-human agents.⁶⁷

Context: a nurse is asking a patient at the hospital about what happened. The patient responds:

ertheless, the grammaticality judgments of the two constructions are robust: proverbs with unaccusatives are grammatical, while the AE with unaccusatives is not. These sayings seem to be fossilized expressions in the language, and therefore I do not treat them as counter-evidence to the observation that the active existential excludes unaccusative verbs.

- (i) Numir-ė - ne-be-atsikel-s, nuvež-ė - ne-be-parei-s.
 die-PST.3 - NEG-BE-wake.up-FUT.3, brought-PRS.3 - NEG-BE-come.back-FUT.3
 Lit. ‘If someone died, that someone is not gonna wake up, if someone brought someone, that someone is not coming back.’

⁶⁷No overt subject is necessary in constructions with verbs of smell like *kvepėti* - to smell, *smirdėti* - to stink, *dvelkti* - to smell illustrated in (i). Nevertheless, I take these constructions to be counterparts of the English construction ‘*It smells here*’, and thus they should have a different analysis from the AE.

- (i) Čia maloni-ai kvepi-a.
 Here pleasing-ADV smell-PRS.3
 ‘It smells pleasant here.’

(204) Man atrod-o, kad mane su-kandžioj-o.
 me.DAT appear-PRS.3 that me.ACC PFV-bite-PST.3
 ‘It appears to me that something bit me (all over).’ (could be mosquitoes, bed bugs)

(205) Atsikël-ęs anksti, ūkinink-as pastebėj-o, kad
 waking.up-PST.ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG early farmer-NOM.M.SG realize-PST.3 that
 jam sudrask-ė avis.
 him.DAT tear-PST.3 sheep.ACC
 ‘After waking up early, the farmer realized that something had torn apart the sheep
 on him.’ (could be wolves, bears, foxes, etc.)

Instances involving inanimate causers can also be found. The following example provided by the *LI* reviewer can have an interpretation whereby the causer of the event may be ‘fate’ (206).⁶⁸ Furthermore, instances involving a natural force are also available (207), as noted by the reviewer and also discussed in Lavine (2016).

(206) Man su-dauž-ė šird-į.
 me.DAT PFV-break-PST.3 heart-ACC
 ‘Something/someone broke my heart.’ (e.g., fate/person)

(207) Keleivi-us smarki-ai krat-ė.
 travelers-ACC heavy-ADV jolt-PST.3
 ‘Something/someone heavily jolted the travelers.’ (e.g., a person/wind).

(Adapted from Lavine 2016, 123)

Thus, the AE differs from the *ma/ta* impersonal construction discussed in the previous sub-section in that the former construction does allow its initiator to be interpreted as a non-human. The unavailability of non-human initiators in the *ma/ta* impersonal is illustrated in (31), and repeated here in (208).

(208) *Kiem-e loja-m-a / bliuana-m-a
 yard-LOC bark-PPRP-[-AGR] / bleat-PPRP-[-AGR]
 Lit. ‘There is barking/bleating in the yard.’ *ma/ta impersonal*

⁶⁸I thank an anonymous LI reviewer for bringing this to my attention. The example in (206) is provided by the reviewer.

In addition to the AE, there are other types of impersonal sentences that have no surface subjects and also occur with active 3rd person verbal morphology. These are the cases in which the agent is being interpreted as generic, *visi* ‘all (people)’, *žmonės* ‘people’. Examples are provided in (209-210).

- (209) ...Visur myluoj-a, glost-o, o ji iš talk-os
 everywhere caress-PRS.3 stroke-PRS.3 but she.NOM from collective.help-GEN
 vej-a...
 turn.away-PRS.3
 ‘[People] everywhere show endearment and care, but she turns [one] away from col-
 lective work...’ (adapted from Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, 248)

- (210) Čia (žmon-ės) dirb-a.
 here people-NOM work-PRS.3
 ‘People work/are working here.’ (Geniušienė 2006, 40)

Impersonals with the agent being interpreted as institutional ‘they’ referring to, for example, military/police (211-212) or doctors (213) can also be found. Importantly, unlike the AE, the impersonals presented in (209-213) are restricted to +human agents.

- (211) Jei mane ra-s, su-šaudy-s, - pasak-ė Mara Landau.
 if me.ACC find-FUT.3, PFV-shoot-FUT.3 say-PST.3 Mara Landau
 ‘‘If they find me, they’ll shoot me,’’ said Mara Landau.’
 (Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, 255)

- (212) Kar-as, brolyt-i!- tar-ė Chmieliausk-as. Bombardav-o Kaun-a!
 war-NOM bother-VOC say-PST.3 Chmieliauskas-NOM shell-PST.3 Kaunas-ACC
 ‘‘It was a war, brother!’’, said Chmieliauskas. They shelled/have shelled Kaunas.’
 (adapted from Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, 256)

- (213) Jon-a išraš-ė iš ligonin-ės.
 Jonas-ACC discharge-PST.3 from hospital-GEN
 ‘They discharged Jonas from the hospital.’

With this background in mind, we can now turn to a detailed investigation of the active existential. In the rest of the chapter, all examples will be based on a context where the initiator is interpreted as an indefinite, non-specific entity which is a hallmark of the active existential.⁶⁹ 3rd person pro-drop contexts and other types of impersonals will be set aside, unless otherwise indicated.

2.3.2 Presence of Grammatical Object

I begin the investigation of the AE by identifying the grammatical status of its accusative theme argument. The grammatical object of an active transitive construction with a nominative thematic subject typically bears accusative case as exemplified in (214).

- (214) Motin-a kvieči-a Vali-ų.
 father-NOM invite-PRS.3 Valius-ACC
 ‘The mother is inviting Valius.’

The theme argument of the AE also bears accusative case, and in this way, patterns like the grammatical object of a transitive. In this section, I provide additional evidence showing that the theme argument of the AE is a structural object of a transitive construction. Two of the tests presented, the genitive of negation and binding, were applied to the *ma/ta* impersonal, the passive and the active transitive in sub-section 2.2.2, I refer the reader to that sub-section for the data and more details regarding the nature of these diagnostics.

2.3.2.1 Genitive of Negation

The first piece of evidence comes from genitive of negation. Recall that when a verb is negated, the grammatical object bearing structural accusative case appears with genitive case (see sub-section 2.2.2.1). The theme of the AE also becomes genitive in the presence of the negation (215), and thus behaves like the object of the transitive.

- (215) Vali-aus/*Vali-ų ne-kvieči-a į dekanat-ą
 Valius-GEN/Valius-ACC NEG-invite-PRS.3 to dean’s.office-ACC

⁶⁹For discussion of Lithuanian indefinite expressions, see Gillon and Armoskaite 2015, and see Eng 1991; Diesing 1992; Haspelmath 2001; i.a. for discussion of indefinites and the notion of (non)-specificity.

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

2.3.2.2 Binding

Just like the active object of transitives (see sub-section 2.2.2.2), the theme of the AE binds the non-reflexive form and prohibits the subject-oriented anaphor *savo* (216).

- (216) Vali- υ_i kvieči-a į dekanat-ą dėl j-o $_i$ /*sav-o $_i$ prast- υ
 Valius-ACC invite-PST.3 to dean’s.office-ACC because his-GEN/self-GEN bad-GEN
 pažymi- υ .
 grades-GEN
 ‘Someone is inviting Valius $_i$ to the dean’s office because of his $_i$ bad grades.’

2.3.2.3 Case Transmission to PRO

The last argument comes from case transmission to PRO (see Landau 2008 for related discussion on case transmission facts in Russian, also see Vaikšnoraitė 2015 for a discussion of the control facts in Lithuanian). In object control cases, the object permits optional case transmission. The case of PRO can be either accusative, hence transmitted from the case of the matrix object, or it can bear dative case; this is illustrated by the agreement properties of the emphatic pronoun *pats* ‘self’ (217).

- (217) Jon-as įtikin-o Marij-ą $_i$ [PRO $_i$ griž-ti rytoj namo
 Jonas-NOM convince-PST.3 Marija-ACC return-INF tomorrow home
 pač-ia $_i$ /pač-iai $_i$].
 self-ACC/self-DAT
 ‘Jonas convinced Marija to return home tomorrow by herself.’

However, case transmission is obligatory for subject control as in (218) with PRO prohibiting dative, but allowing nominative case.

- (218) Marij-a $_i$ norėj-o [PRO $_i$ griž-ti rytoj namo pat-i $_i$ /*pači-ai $_i$].
 Marija-NOM want-PST.3 return-INF tomorrow home self-NOM/self-DAT
 ‘Marija wanted to return home tomorrow by herself.’

In the AE, we can see that the theme optionally transmits its case to PRO as indicated by the grammaticality of accusative and dative case on the pronoun *pats* ‘self’ (219). This

behavior provides additional evidence that the theme patterns like the grammatical object of a transitive.

- (219) Val-i_i kviet-ė į dekanat-ą [PRO_i atvyk-ti rytoj
 Valius-ACC invite-PST.3 to dean's.office-ACC arrive-INF tomorrow
 pat-i_i/pači-am_i].
 self-ACC/self-DAT
 ‘Someone invited Valius_i to come to the dean’s office tomorrow by himself.’

It is notable that the grammatical subject of the passive requires obligatory case transmission to PRO showing a typical behavior of a grammatical subject (220), which is distinct from the behavior of the theme of the active existential.

- (220) Marij-a_i buv-o įtikin-t-a [PRO_i grįž-ti
 Marija-NOM.F.SG be-PST.3 convince-PST.PASS.PTCP-NOM.F.SG return-INF
 rytoj namo pat-i_i/*pači-ai_i].
 tomorrow home self-NOM/self-DAT
 ‘Marija was convinced to return home tomorrow by herself.’

2.3.2.4 Interim Summary

To sum up, the examination of the theme argument in the AE has revealed that this theme bears structural accusative case and exhibits a characteristic behavior of a grammatical object of an active transitive construction. The properties of the theme of the passive, the active transitive and the AE are summarized in Table 2.5. The theme of the AE does not behave like a grammatical thematic subject of a passive in that it is not promoted to a subject position, SpecTP. Furthermore, it lacks other properties associated with a subject like obligatory case transmission or binding of a subject-oriented anaphor. In contrast, it was demonstrated that the theme in the AE undergoes A-bar movement and exhibits the behavior of a grammatical object of transitives in binding the anti-subject-oriented personal pronoun, undergoing genitive of negation, and allowing optional case transmission to PRO. If Burzio’s Generalization and/or its later versions are correct, then the presence of a structural accusative object in the active existential predicts that the construction should have a projected external argument. I investigate this prediction in the next section.

	ACC Theme of AE	ACC Theme of transitive	NOM Theme of passives
GEN of Negation	✓	✓	*
Binding of anti-subject-oriented anaphor	✓	✓	*
Optional case transmission to PRO	✓	✓	*

Table 2.5: Behavior of the theme argument across constructions

2.3.3 Voice without projected implicit argument

This section examines the Voice properties of the AE and addresses the question whether this construction has a projected implicit argument. In sub-section 2.2.3, I have argued that the *ma/ta* impersonal has a thematic Voice head, which introduces an external argument θ -role and whose specifier is filled by a projected implicit pronoun. The Voice head of the *ma/ta* impersonal also assigns accusative case to the theme. In this sub-section, I demonstrate that the accusative case assigned by the thematic Voice head does not require its specifier to be filled in order for accusative case to be assigned. I argued that the AE just like the *ma/ta* impersonal bears the thematic Voice head, but it lacks a projected implicit argument. Despite the non-projection of the impersonal pronoun, this Voice head still assigns structural accusative case to the theme grammatical object presenting a challenge to Burzio’s generalization and its later versions (Marantz 1991; Woolford 2003; McFadden 2004; Preminger 2014; ia.).

I first examine whether the AE has a thematic Voice head which introduces an external argument θ -role. The external-argument-oriented abverbials modifying the agent of the action, such as ‘intentionally’ or ‘unwillingly’, are licit in this construction as indicated in (221-222).

- (221) Man atrod-o, kad Marij-a tyčia kvieči-a į
me.DAT appear-PRS.3, that Marija-ACC intentionally invite-PRS.3 to
dekanat-a.
dean’s.office-ACC

‘It appears to me that someone is inviting Marija to the dean’s office intentionally.’

[Context: *Marija is afraid of the dean and everyone at the university knows about it.*

One day Marija receives an anonymous letter in which he is being invited to the dean's office. It seems like someone has intentionally invited Marija to the dean's office.]

- (222) Suprantam-as dalyk-as, kad apie t-ą vagyst-ę nenori-ai
 understandable-NOM thing-NOM that about that-ACC robbery-ACC unwilling-ADV
 kalbėj-o ne tik London-e, bet ir vis-oje Anglij-oje.
 talk-PST.3 not only London-LOC but and whole-LOC England-LOC
 ‘It is an understandable thing that some people talked about this robbery unwillingly
 not only in London, but also in all of England.’ (adapted from Paulauskienė 1971,
 50)

The active existential is also compatible with instruments. The instruments here point to certain tools that the agent used, e.g., a cannon (223) or a hole punch (224), to perform an action.

- (223) 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 woods during the day with cannons.’
- (224) Taigi visa kontor-a šnek-a, kad pavaduotoj-ą užmuš-ė su
 so all office-NOM talk-PRS.3 that assistant.director-ACC kill-PST.3 with
 skylamuši-u.
 whole.punch-INS
 ‘So the entire office is saying that someone killed the assistant director with a hole
 punch.’ ⁷⁰
- (225) Vali-ui išdaužė nam-ų lang-ą su tušči-u buteli-u.
 Valius-DAT break-PST.3 house-GEN window-ACC with empty-INS bottle-INS
 ‘Someone broke the window of Valius’ house with an empty bottle.’

To conclude, it can be seen that modifiers of the agentive Voice, namely agent-related adverbials and instruments, are licensed in the active existential. I take this as evidence for the presence of the thematic VoiceP layer in the structure.

Having identified the presence of VoiceP, we can now proceed to the investigation of whether the implicit argument is syntactically projected in the structure. The presence

⁷⁰<http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/tekstynas/search.all> The example was accessed on 06-13-2018

of a grammatical object with structural accusative case has often been taken as evidence for the projected implicit argument. However, I demonstrate that this may not necessarily be the case. I provide ten arguments showing that the active existential lacks a syntactically projected implicit argument. This finding suggests that the licensing of structural accusative case is dissociable from the presence/absence of the external argument, contradicting Burzio’s Generalization. To illustrate the lack of the implicit argument, I apply a battery of tests that I have established in subsection 2.2.3.2 where I have compared the *ma/ta* impersonal with the passive. Recall that the passive lacks the implicit argument whereas the *ma/ta* impersonal has a fully projected argument. The AE in this respect then patterns like the passive.

2.3.3.1 Binding

Similarly to the agent of the passive, the agent of the AE cannot bind the subject-oriented reflexive *savo* as illustrated below with unergative predicates (226), transitives with the accusative object (227) and the dative maleficiary (228). Thus, the initiator of the AE patterns like a syntactically unprojected implicit argument in this respect.

- (226) *Lyg šaud-ė dien-ą mišk-e su sav-o_i ginkl-u.
 as.if shoot-PST.3 day-ACC forest-LOC with self-GEN gun-INS
 ‘It seems that someone_i fired shots in the woods during the day with his_i own gun.’
- (227) ??/*Vali-ų kvieči-a 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.’ [*Context: Valius receives an anonymous letter with the address of an office where he is being invited.*]
- (228) *Marij-ai ištryp-ė darž-ą su sav-o_i bat-ais.
 Marija-DAT trample-PST.3 garden-ACC with self-GEN shoes-INS
 ‘Someone_i trampled on Marija’s garden with his_i own shoes.’

The second argument comes from binding a reflexive non-possessive pronoun. Applying this test to the AE, it can be seen that the agent also fails to bind the reflexive *sau*. This is the type of behavior that we expect if the agent is not syntactically present in the structure.

- (229) *Marija_i apgav-o dēl sau_i nauding-ų priežasči-ų.
 Marija-ACC deceive-PST.3 because self.DAT beneficial-GEN reasons-GEN.
 ‘Someone_i deceived Marija due to the reasons that were beneficial for him_i.’
- (230) *Vali-ui pavog-ė automobil-į dēl sau_i nauding-ų priežasči-ų.
 Valius.DAT steal-PST.3 car-ACC because self.DAT beneficial-GEN reasons-GEN
 ‘Someone_i stole a car from Valius due to the reasons that were beneficial for him_i.’

The third argument is based on binding of the reciprocal *vienas kitą* ‘each other’. If the initiator of the AE is present in the structure, we would expect it to be able to bind the reciprocal *vienas kitą*. Nevertheless, the initiator’s attempt to bind the reciprocal ends in a failure as illustrated below.

- (231) *Vienas kit-ą kviet-ė į sveči-us.
 one other-ACC.M.SG invite-PST.3 to guests-ACC
 ‘Some people invited each other to come over.’
- (232) *Vienas kit-am vog-ė maist-ą iš parduotuvi-ų.
 one other-DAT.M.SG steal-PST.3 food-ACC from shops-GEN
 ‘Some people stole food for each other from shops.’

Up to this point, we used binding facts to test the possibility as to whether the initiator in the AE is projected in subject position, and it was revealed that the AE lacks a projected subject. We can now use other binding diagnostics to test the possibility whether this initiator is projected in other positions. Specifically, I use the anti-subject-oriented pronoun below demonstrating that the existential initiator does not appear in the syntax at all.

The fourth argument for the lack of the projection of the initiator is built on the initiator’s inability to bind the anti-subject oriented personal pronoun in the active existential. Recall from sub-section 2.2.2.2 that the personal pronoun may be bound by a grammatical object as in (233).

- (233) Kažk-as rūšiav-o tarnautoj-us_i pagal j-ų_i įsitikinimus.
 someone-NOM divide-PST.3 employees-ACC according.to their-GEN beliefs
 ‘Someone divided employees_i according to their_i beliefs.’

This personal pronoun can also be bound by an overt adjunct, e.g., the agent-oriented

comitative (234) or the *by*-phrase as in (235).

- (234) Domant-as tarnautoj-us rūšiav-o kartu su Marij-a_i pagal
Domantas-NOM employees-ACC divide-PST.3 together with Marija-INS according.to
j-os_i įsitikinimus.
her-GEN beliefs
'Domantas divided the employees together with Marija_i according to her_i beliefs.'

- (235) Darbuotoj-ai (yra) rūšiuoja-m-i Domant-o_i pagal
employees-NOM.M.PL be.PRS.3 divide-PPRP-NOM.M.PL Domantas-GEN according.to
j-o_i įsitikinim-us.
his-GEN beliefs-ACC
'The employees are divided by Domantas_i according to his_i beliefs.'

If the overt initiator in the passive is not projected, it should not be able to bind the anti-subject oriented anaphor. All my consultants agree that the anti-subject oriented pronoun can refer to someone else that is not the initiator, thus the reading in (236-i). However, speakers' judgments vary whether the anti-subject oriented pronoun can refer to the null initiator of the passive, 7 speakers (out of 12) do not allow the personal pronoun to be co-referential with the initiator, which is expected if the initiator is not projected. Nevertheless, 5 speakers allow *jo* to be bound by the null initiator, the reading presented in (236-ii). Thus, the latter group of speakers allows an initiator that has not been syntactically introduced, to be admitted into the context for coreference.⁷¹ Generally, it has been observed that speakers may adjust the context of utterance in such a way that it would allow them to accommodate the presupposed information, which is a type of phenomenon known as accommodation (see Beaver and Zeevat 2007; Von Stechow 2008; i.a.). I hypothesize that the acceptability of the reading in (236-ii) may stem from the fact that these speakers could be more freely accommodating, and therefore they allow the pronoun to refer to the initiator in these situations.

⁷¹Observe that this is also possible in English passives as in (i). The anaphoric expression here can identify an initiator referent that has not been mentioned previously. For discussion on the licensing of these types of anaphoric expressions see Yule 1982; Geurts 2011; Gerrig, Horton, and Stent 2011; ia.

(i) Maxine was kidnapped but *they* didn't hurt her. (Bolinger 1977 as quoted in Geurts 2011)

(236) Darbuotoj-ai (yra) rūšiuoja-m-i pagal jo_i
 employees-NOM.M.PL be.PRS.3 divide-PPRP-NOM.M.PL according his-GEN
 įsitikinim-us.
 beliefs-ACC

‘The employees are divided according to his beliefs.’

(i) According to someone else’s beliefs that is not initiator.

(ii) %According to the initiator’s beliefs

In the active existential, the personal pronoun cannot refer to the initiator of the clause; however, it can refer to someone else who is not the initiator of the action. Thus, the anti-subject-oriented pronoun cannot be bound by the initiator of the active existential, which can be treated as another argument for the non-projection of the initiator in this construction. Specifically, this argument rules out the possibility that this initiator is projected in the adjunct position.

(237) Lyg šaud-ė dien-ą mišk-e su j-o_i ginkl-ais.
 as.if shoot-PST.3 day-ACC forest-LOC with his-GEN guns-INS

(i) *‘It seems that someone_i fired shots in the wood during the day with his_i own guns.’

(ii) ‘It seems that someone fired shots in the woods during the day with his guns.’

[not initiator’s guns]

(238) Val-ių kvieč-ia į j-o_i biur-ą.
 Valius-ACC invite-PRS.3 to his-GEN office-ACC

(i) *‘Someone_i is inviting Valius to his_i own office.’

(ii) ‘Someone is inviting Valius to his office.’ [not the initiator’s office]

(239) Marij-ai iš-tryp-ė darž-ą su j-o_i bat-ais.
 Marija-DAT PFV-trample-PST.3 garden-ACC with his-GEN shoes-INS

(i) *‘Someone_i trampled on Marija’s garden with his_i own shoes.’

(ii) ‘Someone trampled on Marija’s garden with his_i shoes.’ [not the initiator’s shoes]

2.3.3.2 Unaccusative verbs

The fourth argument comes from nonagentive (unaccusative) verbs. The AE patterns like the passive: it can only be applied to predicates with a thematic subject (i.e., unergatives and transitives, for examples see (193-201)). Unaccusatives are banned from the active existential (240-241) showing that the active existential behaves like the passive in requiring the suppression of the initiator, rather than like the impersonal in syntactically encoding the presence of a null argument.

(240) *Per žin-ias mes sužinoj-o-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 the flu.'

(241) *Kambar-yje buv-o daug krauj-o. Toks jausm-as lyg nukrit-o ir
room-LOC be-PST.3 a.lot blood-GEN such feeling-NOM as.if fall-PST.3 and
mir-ė čia.
die-PST.3 here
'There was a lot of blood in the room. It feels as if someone fell and died here.'

To sum up, I have shown that there is a syntactic difference between the *ma/ta* impersonal on the one hand, and the AE and the passive on the other. The implicit argument of the *ma/ta* impersonal participates in binding and licenses unaccusative verbs suggesting that it patterns like a projected initiator (see sub-section 2.2.3.2). In contrast, the initiator of the AE lacks these features and shows similarities to the unprojected initiator of the passive: it does not antecede pronouns and is incompatible with unaccusative verbs.

	Initiator of AE	Initiator of Passive	Initiator of <i>ma/ta</i> Impersonal
Binding of subject-oriented anaphor	*	*	✓
Binding of non-possessive reflexive	*	*	✓
Binding of reciprocal	*	*	✓
Binding of anti-subject-oriented anaphor	*	∅	N/A
Unaccusative verbs	*	*	✓

Table 2.6: Behavior of Initiators across different constructions

Further argumentation for the absence of the implicit argument in the AE comes from comparing its initiator with the indefinite overt subject form *kažkas* ‘someone’ of an active transitive. The agents of both constructions have the same interpretation, and yet, as I argue below, they show opposite behaviors. The indefinite overt *kažkas* ‘someone’ shows the behavior of a fully projected argument that functions as a grammatical subject whereas the non-overt agent of the AE shows a complete absence of these features.

2.3.3.3 Depictives

Thus, the sixth argument for the absence of a syntactic agent in the AE comes from depictives (for a discussion on Lithuanian depictives see Timberlake 1988 and Holvoet 2008). The indefinite overt subject licenses depictives which agree with it in number, gender and case. The examples are illustrated below with transitive clauses.

- (242) a. *Kažk-as_i pa-kviet-ė Marij-ą į vakarėl-į*
 someone-NOM.M.SG PFV-invite-PST.3 Marija-ACC to party-ACC
išgėr-ęs_i.
 drunk-PST.ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG
 ‘Someone_i invited Marija to the party drunk_i.’
- b. *Kažk-as_i man iš-tryp-ė darž-ą*
 someone-NOM.M.SG me.DAT PFV-trample-PST.3 garden-ACC
išgėr-ęs_i.
 drunk-PST.ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG
 ‘Someone_i trampled on my garden drunk_i.’ [*Context: in the garden I have found a lot of beer cans and the footprints of someone who trampled the garden. The*]

ground looked weird, uneven as if a drunk person had been walking on it.]

It is ungrammatical for the depictive to predicate over the initiator of the passive as demonstrated below. Hence, in constructions that lack a projected initiator, such as passives, depictives are not possible. Note that the depictive is marked with a genitive DP here since the *by*-phrase introducing the initiator in Lithuanian is realized with genitive case. The alternative case agreement does not allow the depictive to predicate over the initiator either, examples are not included.

- (243) Marij-a buv-o pa-kvies-t-a į vakarėl-į
 Marija-NOM.F.SG be-PST.3 PFV-invite-PPP-NOM.F.SG to party-ACC
 *išgėrus-io_i.
 drunk-PST.ACT.PTCP.GEN.M.SG
 ‘Marija was invited to the party by a drunk person.’

- (244) Man buv-o iš-tryp-t-as darž-as
 me.DAT be-PST.3 PFV-trample-PPP-NOM.M.SG garden-NOM.M.SG
 *išgėrus-io_i.
 drunk-PST.ACT.PTCP.GEN.M.SG
 ‘The garden was trampled on me by a drunk person.’

If the initiator of the AE is not projected, it should not be able to control a depictive because depictives can only be licensed by a DP that is projected in the syntax. This prediction is borne out. The indefinite initiator of the AE cannot be a controller of depictives, thus patterning like the unprojected initiator of the passive and showing the opposite behavior to the overt projected subject *kažkas*. Again, alternative case agreement does not improve the predication, examples not included.

- (245) a. Vali-ų pa-kviet-ė į vakarėl-į *išgėr-ęs_i.
 Valius-ACC PFV-invite-PST.3 to party-ACC drunk-PST.ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG
 ‘Someone_i invited Valius to the party drunk_i.’
- b. Man iš-tryp-ė darž-ą *išgėr-ęs_i.
 me.DAT PFV-trample-PST.3 garden-ACC drunk-PST.ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG
 ‘Someone_i trampled on my garden drunk_i.’

2.3.3.4 Agreement

The seventh argument concerns agreement. The overt grammatical subject *kažkas* ‘someone’ may trigger grammatical subject agreement on a predicate, whereas the initiator of the AE may not. This property is illustrated by using the agreeing active participle found in the perfective evidential construction (see Ambrazas et al. 1997, 262-266, Lavine 2010b, 121 for discussion).⁷² This construction encodes reported speech or hearsay. It exhibits an auxiliary and an active participle which shows agreement with the grammatical subject. The overt indefinite subject *kažkas* can agree with the participle in number, gender and case as in (246) or occur with the neuter non-agreeing form of the active participle (term from Ambrazas et al. 1997:335).

- (246) Girdėj-au, kažk-as buv-o pakviet-ęs /
 hear-PST.1SG someone-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 invite-PST.ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG /
 pakviet-ę Vali-ų į vakarėl-į.
 invite-PST.ACT.PTCP.N Valius-ACC to party-ACC
 ‘I heard that someone had invited Valius to the party.’

In contrast, there is no agreement between the initiator of the AE and the participle. Only the non-agreeing form is available in the AE (247). It can be argued that the initiator is not projected in this construction, and as a result the participle has nothing to agree with, taking the non-agreeing neuter form, which is the default.

- (247) Gridėj-au, Vali-ų buv-o pakviet-ę /
 hear-PST.1SG Valius-ACC be-PST.3 invite-PST.ACT.PTCP.N /
 *pakviet-ęs į vakarėl-į.
 invite-PST.ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG to party-ACC
 ‘I heard that someone had invited Valius to the party.’

⁷²It is noteworthy that the default agreement in an active clause is 3rd person active morphology. Thus, the morphology of default agreement is identical to grammatical subject agreement triggered by a 3rd person subject. Due to this overlap, the agreement facts from an active construction are not used for this test. Instead, I use the perfective evidential environment, which does not show this type of syncretism.

2.3.3.5 Control into Adjuncts

A further distinction between the two initiators comes from control into participial adjunct clauses, non-obligatory control. Lithuanian has two types of active participles that can appear in these clauses: agreeing and non-agreeing ones (see Ambrazas et al. 1997:363, Arkadiev 2012, 2017 for a full paradigm of these participial forms). The indefinite matrix subject *kažkas* may control into the adjunct, and by doing so it may also trigger agreement on the participle or the participle can occur in the non-agreeing form as shown below.

- (248) *Kažk-as_i* *man* *pavog-ė* *rakt-us* [*prieš* *PRO_i*
 someone-NOM.M.SG me.DAT steal-PST.3 keys-ACC before
išei-dam-as / *išein-a-nt* *iš* *nam-ų*].
 leave-CVB-NOM.M.SG / leave-PRS-ACT.PTCP from house-GEN
 ‘Someone stole the keys from me before leaving the house.’

In constructions that lack a projected implicit argument like passives, the initiator may control into the adjunct, but it cannot trigger agreement on the participle, which otherwise is possible if the agent is projected.⁷³ Hence, only the non-agreeing participle is available in the adjunct if the matrix clause is passive (249).

- (249) *Rakt-ai* *buv-o* *pavog-t-i* [*prieš* *PRO_i* *išein-a-nt* /
 keys-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3 steal-PPP-NOM.M.PL before leave-PRS-ACT.PTCP /
 **išei-dam-as* *iš* *nam-ų*].
 leave-CVB-NOM.M.SG from house-GEN
 ‘The keys were stolen before leaving the house.’ (could be either the agent leaving
 the house or someone else)

The initiator of the AE shows behavior parallel to the initiator of the passive rather than the overt indefinite form *kažkas* of the active transitive. The initiator can be a controller of the adjunct, but it does not agree with the participle. Only the non-agreeing participle is grammatical in such instances as illustrated in (250).

⁷³It has been observed in the recent literature that the agent of passives that may not be projected in syntax can control into adjunct clauses (Bhatt and Pancheva 2006; van Urk 2013; Landau 2015; Pitteroff and Schäfer 2019).

- (250) Man pavog-é rakt-us [prieš PRO išein-a-nt /
 me.DAT steal-PST.3 keys-ACC before leave-PRS-ACT.PTCP /
 *išei-dam-as iš nam-ų].
 leave-CVB-NOM.M.SG from house-GEN
 ‘Someone stole keys from me before leaving the house.’ (could be either the agent
 leaving the house or maleficiary)

2.3.3.6 Scope

The ninth argument is scope. The overt subject *kažkas* ‘someone’ can take wide scope over negation. I assume that negation, NegP, is projected above VoiceP. The subject can be realized above the NegP. This property is illustrated in (251) with a context that favors the wide scope of the existential reading.

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...

- (251) Kažk-as ne-nominav-o Vali-aus.
 someone-NOM NEG-nominate-PST.3 Valius-GEN
 ‘Someone has not nominated Valius.’ ∃ > ¬

If the active existential lacks a syntactically projected subject, and the subject is bound at the level of VoiceP, we would expect negation to scope obligatorily over the existential. This prediction is borne out. In the active existential, negation must take a wide scope over the existential, and thus is infelicitous in the same context that requires wide scope of the existential reading as in (252).

- (252) #Vali-aus ne-nominav-o.
 Valius-GEN NEG-nominate-PST.3
 ‘No one nominated Valius.’ ¬ > ∃, *∃ > ¬

2.3.3.7 Word order

As discussed in sub-section 2.2.3.2.4, word order in Lithuanian may vary depending on the ‘communicative intention’. Ambrazas et al. (1997) note that in Lithuanian, old information, thus the THEME of a sentence, precedes new information, the RHEME. It was demonstrated that in constructions with a projected initiator the basic pattern is SVO where the initiator precedes the verb and the theme argument follows it. The example here is provided with the *ma/ta* impersonal (253) and the 3rd person pro-drop instance (254). This can be contrasted with the passive where the initiator has been demoted and is not projected. The theme argument has become a grammatical subject and precedes the verb as in (255).

- (253) Dažnai IMP sako-m-a, kad IMP praranda-m-a žmogiškum-ą dėl
often say-PPRP-[-AGR] that lose-PPRP-[-AGR] humanness-ACC because
sav-o kalt-ės.
self-GEN fault-GEN

‘Often it is said that one loses humanness due to one’s own fault.’

(initiator-verb-theme)

- (254) Pavaduotoj-as_i man sak-ė, kad vakar pro_i pakviet-ė vien-ą
assistant.director-NOM me.DAT say-PST.3 that yesterday invite-PST.3 one-ACC
student-ą į dekanat-ą.
student-ACC to dean’s.office-ACC

‘The assistant director_i told me that he_i has invited one student to the dean’s office.’

(initiator-verb-theme)

- (255) Marij-a man sak-ė, kad vakar vien-as student-as
Marija-NOM me.DAT say-PST.3 that yesterday one-NOM.M.SG student-NOM.M.SG
buv-o pakvies-t-as į dekanat-ą.
be-PST.3 invite-PPP-NOM.M.SG to dean’s.office-ACC

‘Marija told me that yesterday one student was invited to the dean’s office.’

(theme-verb)

The word order in the AE is different from that with an overt indefinite subject or a 3rd person pro-drop subject. Instead of following the verb, the theme argument neutrally precedes it, as in (256), indicating that it patterns like the passive in (255). This word order

pattern suggests that when the initiator is not projected, the theme neutrally occupies the sentence-initial position. One may wonder what mechanisms derive such word order. Pragmatically, as mentioned in Section 2.3.1, 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. The utterance is about the theme and the action itself. I suggest then that in the active existential, the Topic/THEME of the sentence is the grammatical object, and therefore it occupies the pre-verbal position. In other words, to satisfy the THEME/topic requirement in this construction, I hypothesize that the grammatical object moves to the left-edge of the clause, to a projection Top(ic)P, above a TP (see Bailyn 2012, 266-275 for a similar approach in Russian, which shows similar word order effects to Lithuanian).

- (256) Jon-as man sak-è, kad vakar vien-ą student-ą pakviet-è 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)

An *LI* anonymous reviewer notes that alternative word order patterns are possible in the active existential. Specifically, there is a possibility for the object to occur sentence finally and the PP may follow the verb as in (257) (example provided by the reviewer). This word order is indeed possible, but it receives a marked interpretation whereby a special focus falls on the PP. Another possibility pointed out by the reviewer would be for the grammatical object to immediately follow the verb; however this is a canonical word order in 3rd person pro-drop contexts, e.g., (254). To test verb-theme word order in the active existential, a context that excludes a 3rd person pro-drop subject is necessary. One instance of that would be examples presented in (258). (258) introduces a type of situation in which an assistant director was deceived, no one knows who did it, and everyone in the office is talking about it. The canonical word order in the active existential is theme-verb (258a). If the grammatical object occurs after the verb, the object receives a contrastive focus interpretation: it was the assistant director who was deceived, but not a manager (258b). Therefore, it seems that

the verb-theme word order is compatible with the active existential, but it yields a marked interpretation.

(257) Marij-a man sak-è, kad vakar pakviet-è į dekanat-ą
 Marija-NOM me.DAT say-PST.3 that yesterday invite-PST.3 to dean's.office-ACC
 vien-ą student-ą.
 one-ACC student-ACC
 'Marija told me that someone invited one student to the office yesterday.' (verb-PP-theme)

(258) a. Vis-a kontor-a šnek-a, kad pavaduotoj-ą apgav-o.
 entire-NOM office-NOM talk-PRS.3 that assistant.director-ACC deceive-PST.3
 'The entire office is saying that someone deceived an assistant director.'
 (theme-verb)

b. Vis-a kontor-a šnek-a, kad apgav-o pavaduotoj-ą.
 entire-NOM office-NOM talk-PRS.3 that deceive-PST.3 assistant.director-ACC
 'The entire office is saying that it was an assistant director that someone deceived.'
 (verb-theme)

Having reviewed different types of word order patterns, we can see that the neutral word order in the AE is a theme preceding a verb which is the same type of word order we see in constructions that lack a projected implicit arguments like passives. If the AE had a projected implicit argument, we might have expected the verb-theme word order which is present in pro-drop contexts and the *ma/ta* impersonal with a syntactically realized initiator. The fact that verb-theme order is not canonical in the active existential is consistent with the claim here that a projected implicit argument is not present.

2.3.3.8 A Note on Inanimate Initiator

In this sub-section, I have focused on the type of examples of the AE that involve a human initiator. Given that the AE is compatible with the thematic Voice head which assigns an external θ -role, my analysis predicts that this construction should be grammatical with other types of external arguments like an inanimate causer or a natural force. Indeed, the

examples in (206-207), suggested by a reviewer and discussed by Lavine 2016, look like instances of the AE. While it is rather difficult to test for the projection of an inanimate initiator due to its semantic content, initial tests indicate that it patterns the same way as a human initiator. First, the overt inanimate causer e.g., ‘fate’ binds the subject-oriented anaphor (259), whereas the initiator in the AE does not (260), and thus shows the behavior of an unprojected argument, see also sub-section 2.2.2.2.

(259) Tragiškas likim-as_i/Jon-as_i man sudauž-è šird-j sav-o_i nelemtais
 tragic fate-NOM/Jonas-NOM me.DAT break-PST.3 heart-ACC self-GEN stupid
 pokšt-ais.
 tricks-INS

‘Tragic fate/Jonas broke my heart with its/his stupid tricks.’

(260) Man sudauž-è šird-j (*savo nelemtais pokšt-ais).
 me.DAT break-PST.3 heart-ACC self-GEN stupid tricks-INS

‘Someone/something broke my heart with his/its stupid tricks.’ (e.g., a person/fate)

Second, in the perfective evidential construction, the overt DP, which may be an inanimate causer, agrees with the participle in number, gender, and case. In the AE, the initiator, which may be interpreted as inanimate, does not show agreement with the participle, which is expected if the initiator is not projected, see also sub-section 2.3.3.4.

(261) Girdėj-au, kad likim-as buv-o sudauž-ęs
 hear-PST.1SG that fate-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 break-PST.ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG
 Marij-ai šird-j.
 Marija-DAT heart-ACC

‘I heard that fate broke Marija’s heart.’

(262) Girdėj-au, kad Marij-ai buv-o
 hear-PST.1SG that Marija-DAT be-PST.3
 sudauž-ę/*sudauž-ęs šird-j.
 break-PST.ACT.PTCP.N/break-PST.ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG heart-ACC

‘I heard that someone/something broke Marija’s heart.’ (e.g., a person/fate)

Third, the overt inanimate causer controls into adjunct clauses and triggers agreement

on the active participle, whereas the initiator of the AE does not, see also sub-section 2.3.3.5.

(263) Likim-as_i mus be gailesčio apgav-o [prieš PRO_i
 fate-NOM.M.SG us.ACC without pity deceive-PST.3 before
 atim-dam-as mūsų vaik-us ir nam-us].
 take.away-CVB-NOM.M.SG our children-ACC and home-ACC
 ‘Fate deceived us without pity before taking away our children and home.’

(vi) Mus apgav-o be gailesčio [prieš PRO atim-a-nt /
 us.ACC deceive-PST.3 without pity before take.away-PRS-ACT.PTCP.N /
 *atim-dam-as mūsų vaik-us ir nam-us].
 take.away-CVB-NOM.M.SG our children-ACC and home-ACC
 ‘Someone/something deceived us without pity before taking away our children and
 home.’

2.3.3.9 Interim Summary

I have argued that the AE has an external-argument-oriented projection, a VoiceP layer, and yet, it lacks a syntactically projected implicit argument in SpecVoiceP. Specifically, using a number of established syntactic tests, it was revealed that the AE does not share properties with the *ma/ta* impersonal construction which has a projected external argument. Even though the AE lacks morphological marking of the passive (i.e., has no passive morphology), it exhibits a characteristic of the passive in that its initiator does not occupy a syntactic position. I have demonstrated that the initiator of the AE and that of the passive cannot participate in binding relations (i.e., binding of subject-oriented anaphors, non-possessive reflexives, reciprocals and personal pronouns), or license depictives, which is only expected if the initiator is not projected in the syntax since licensing these binding relations as well as depictives requires a syntactically realized binder/controller. Furthermore, the impersonal *ma/ta* construction behaves like an impersonal with a projected initiator in that it can occur with unaccusatives predicates, whereas neither the AE nor the passive can do that, and thus behave like constructions without the projected initiator.

Moreover, the indefinite initiator of the AE has been contrasted with an overt indefinite form *kažkas* ‘someone’ of a transitive active construction. The exploration of these two

initiators provided additional evidence for the lack of the projected implicit argument in the AE. While the overt indefinite subject triggers agreement on a main predicate or a participle of control adjuncts, the initiator of the AE does not and predicates in both environments take non-agreeing forms. The occurrence of these non-agreeing forms is predicted if the initiator is not present in the structure. The overt initiator can take wide scope over negation, whereas the initiator of AE cannot suggesting that it is existentially bound below negation, which, as I suggested, originates above a VoiceP. Lastly, I took word order facts to suggest that the AE behaves like a construction without a projected implicit subject in requiring its theme argument to occur sentence initially, which was not the case with constructions that have a projected initiator. I summarize my findings in Table 2.3.3.9.

Diagnostic	AE	Passive	<i>ma/ta</i> Impers.	Active Trans.
binding of ‘savo’	*	*	✓	✓
binding of ‘sau’	*	*	✓	✓
binding of ‘each other’	*	*	✓	✓
binding of ‘jo’	*	∅	N/A	objects/adjuncts
allows unaccusatives	*	*	✓	✓
allows depictives	*	*	N/A	✓
controls into agreeing adjuncts	*	*	N/A	✓
allows agreement	*	N/A	N/A	✓
wide scope of negation	*	N/A	N/A	✓
word order	theme-V	theme-V	Init.-V-theme	Init.-V-theme

Table 2.7: Behavior of the initiator across different constructions

Having identified the lack of the syntactically realized initiator in the AE, it can be seen that this construction is not compatible with Burzio’s Generalization. Burzio’s Generalization claims that accusative is available only if there is a projected external argument. Indeed, the *ma/ta* impersonal construction has a grammatical accusative object and, as expected, it has the structure of a transitive construction with a projected implicit argument. We saw that in the passive, there is no projected implicit argument, and thereby a grammatical accusative object is promoted to grammatical nominative subject. In contrast, the AE shows an unexpected pattern. We would have expected the AE to have a projected implicit subject, given that it licenses a grammatical accusative object. However, this pre-

diction was disconfirmed. Despite the presence of the grammatical accusative object, the external argument is not syntactically present in this construction. These findings require reevaluation of conditions that are sufficient for the structural accusative case to be realized on the theme. I address this issue in the following section.

2.3.4 Analysis

We have seen that the AE has an accusative grammatical object that does not raise to a grammatical subject position, SpecTP, and a thematic Voice which lacks a projected subject. In this section, I propose a syntactic analysis to account for these properties. I argue that the AE contains a type of Voice head which assigns structural accusative case to the theme, but whose external argument variable is bound at the level of Voice head by the existential operator that is built in the lexicon.

I first introduce a syntactic structure and semantic derivation of the AE in (264) and compare it with the structure of the active transitive with an overt subject in (265).

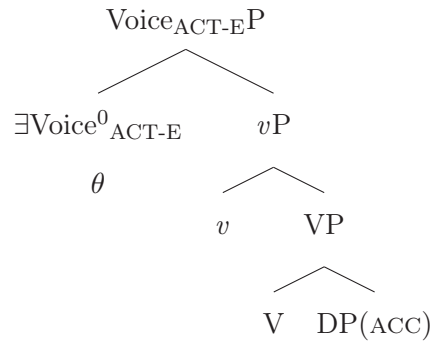
(264) Vali- \bar{u} kvieči-a ĭ dekanat-a.
 Valius-ACC invite-PRS.3 to dean's.office-ACC
 'Someone is inviting Valius to the dean's office.' *Active Existential*

(265) Kažk-as kvieči-a Vali- \bar{u} ĭ dekanat-a.
 someone-NOM invite-PRS.3 Valius-ACC to dean's.office-ACC
 'Someone is inviting Valius to the dean's office.' *Active Transitive*

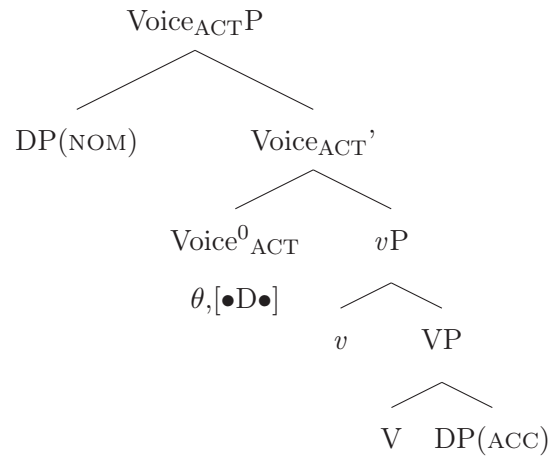
I propose that the AE construction has a Voice head, which I term VoiceACT-E. This head is projected above vP , as illustrated in (266). Recall that I follow Kratzer (1996) and subsequent work and assume that the Voice head rather than v introduces an external argument θ -role. Like the Voice head of the active transitive construction in (267), this VoiceACT-E is also thematic, in the sense that it introduces an external argument variable, which is represented by θ in (266). However, unlike the active transitive Voice head, the VoiceACT-E of the AE has no projected implicit argument, therefore, it lacks the [$\bullet D \bullet$] feature that selects for a DP specifier. The external argument variable of the AE needs

to be bound, but there is no initiator projected in SpecVoiceP to do that. I propose that Voice_{ACT-E} is different from Voice_{ACT} in that its external argument variable is introduced already bound at the level of Voice⁰ (also see Schäfer 2017 for a similar approach used for medio-passives). In other words, the existential operator that binds the external argument variable is part of the lexical entry of this Voice head. This is illustrated in (266) with the existential quantifier \exists on the Voice head. On the other hand, in the active transitive, the external argument variable introduced by Voice_{ACT} is saturated by merging a DP in its specifier, (267).

(266) Active Existential



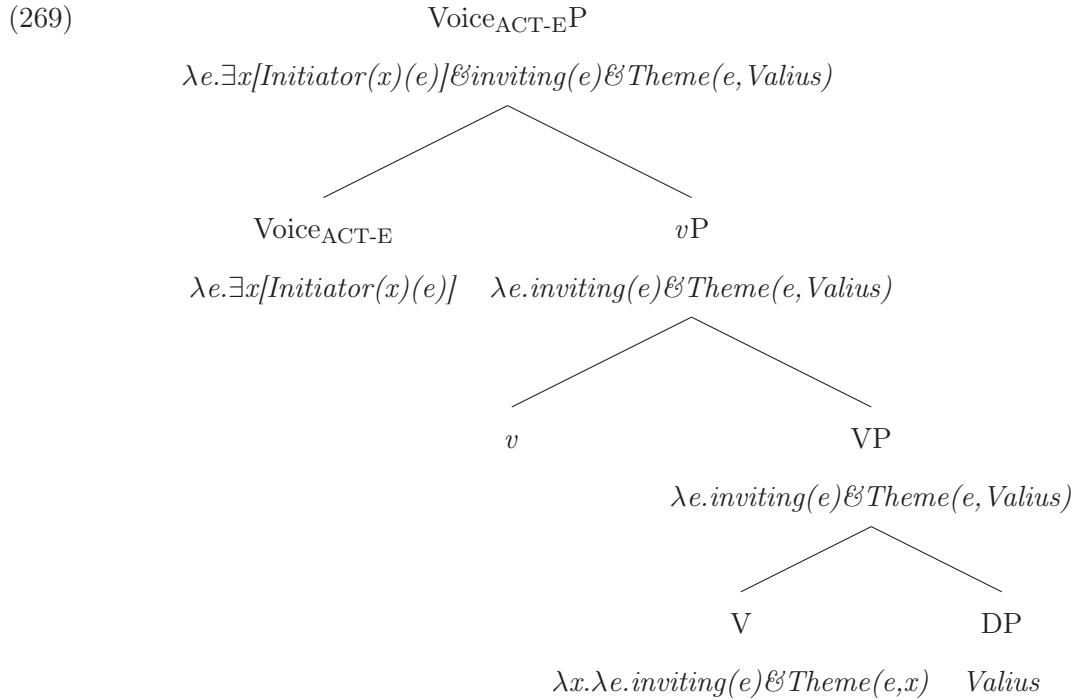
(267) Active Transitive



(268) is then lexical entry of the Voice_{ACT-E} where the existential operator is already built in. I assume that the Voice head with the existentially closed thematic subject is combined with *v*P via Predicate Modification which then results in the derivation in (269).⁷⁴

(268) $\lambda e. \exists x. \text{Initiator}(x, e)$

⁷⁴I am ignoring the semantics of little *v* as it is irrelevant here; however, see Pylkkänen 2008; Harley 2012, *ia.* for various approaches.



The motivation for incorporating the existential operator into the lexical entry of $\text{Voice}_{\text{ACT-E}}$ comes from the AE's incompatibility with *by*-phrases. One possible alternative to demote the initiator would be to use Existential Closure (EC) (Heim 1982) as has been proposed for passives (e.g., Roberts 1987; Williams 1987 and for more recent discussion see Bruening 2013; Legate 2014; Bruening and Tran 2015; Sigurðsson 2017; Schäfer 2017). In passives, the Voice head enters the derivation with an external argument variable that needs to be saturated. Given that *by*-phrases are optional, the external argument can be saturated by a *by*-phrase, or when, no *by*-phrase is present, by EC in the post-syntactic LF component. However, in the AE, *by*-phrases are always blocked as exemplified with unergatives and transitives in (270-272). The unavailability of *by*-phrases suggests that the Voice head does not enter the derivation with a open argument slot, and thus the kind of EC that is applied to the passive does not apply to the AE. I propose that the existential operator, which binds the initiator variable, is built into the AE Voice head lexically rather than being introduced by an unselective binding operation of EC that applies at LF.⁷⁵ I take this to be one of the

⁷⁵Kyle Johnson (pc) suggests that 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

main differences between the passive and the active existential (for the analysis of passive see sub-section 2.2.4.3).

- (270) *Lyg šaud-ė dien-ą mišk-e kažkien-o.
 as.if shoot-PST.3 day-ACC forest-LOC someone-GEN
 Lit. ‘It seems that someone fired shots in the woods during the day by someone.’
- (271) *Marij-ą kvieči-a į dekanat-ą kažkien-o.
 Marija-ACC invite-PRS.3 to dean’s.office-ACC someone-GEN
 Lit. ‘Someone is inviting Marija to the dean’s office by someone.’
- (272) *Jam pavog-ė arkl-į kažkien-o.
 he.DAT steal-PST.3 horse-ACC someone-GEN
 Lit. ‘Someone stole a horse from him by someone.’

Having sketched the structure of the AE, we are now in a position to consider how accusative case is assigned to the theme in this configuration. Recall that here I follow Legate 2014 and subsequent work in assuming that the Voice head instead of the causative *v* head is responsible for accusative case assignment.⁷⁶ In the AE, the external argument is scope over the PP can be accounted for if we assume that the implicit object is bound in the lexicon. The AE shows a similar behavior. The initiator cannot scope over negation which originates above the the thematic Voice head, it can only have a narrow scope (see sub-section 2.3.3.6 for discussion).

- (i) I read to no one.

⁷⁶Lavine (2016) discusses Lithuanian constructions with the accusative theme and the initiator interpreted as a natural force as in (i). He proposes that this non-volitional Causer is not syntactically projected. Furthermore, it is *v*-cause rather than Voice, which assigns accusative case to the theme, and so is not sensitive to the presence/absence of a DP in the specifier of VoiceP. This analysis predicts that it should be possible to passivize the construction, and that accusative case should be retained, since it is assigned independently of VoiceP. This prediction is not borne out. The only possible related passive exhibits nominative case on the theme (cf.ii-iii). This is also true for the verbs that occur in the AE construction. This is captured under my analysis in that the AE and the passive are two distinct Voice heads and so are mutually incompatible. It can be hypothesized that this construction with a Natural Force initiator could have the same type of analysis as the active existential: Voice head rather than *v*-cause assigns accusative case to the theme. I leave this possibility for further research.

- (i) Vāžuoj-a-nt nelyg-iu kel-iu, keleivi-us smarki-ai krat-ė.
 traveling-PRS-ACT.PTCP uneven-INS road-INS, travelers-ACC heavy-ADV jolt-PST.3
 ‘While traveling on an uneven road, the travelers were heavily jolted.’ (Holvoet and Judžentis 2005, 163 as quoted in Lavine 2016)
- (ii) Lēktuv-e keleivi-ai buv-o smarki-ai krato-m-i pakilusi-o vėj-o.
 plane-LOC travelers-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3 heavy-ADV jolt-PPRP-NOM.M.PL risen-GEN wind-GEN
 ‘On the plane, the travelers were heavily jolted by the risen wind.’
- (iii) *Lēktuv-e keleivi-us buv-o smarki-ai krato-m-a pakilusi-o vėj-o.
 plane-LOC travelers-ACC.M.PL be-PST.3 heavy-ADV jolt-PPRP-[-AGR] risen-GEN wind-GEN

not projected in SpecVoiceP and yet the theme is assigned structural accusative case. Let us consider the original version of Burzio's Generalization defined in (273). In this original version, it is required for a verb (in our case, a Voice head) to assign the θ -role to the subject, in order for accusative case to be assigned. However, we have seen that there is no syntactic argument in SpecVoiceP to which the Voice head can assign a θ -role. Thus, instead of confirming this generalization, the active existential counter-exemplifies it.

(273) 'All and only the verbs that can assign θ -role to the subject can assign accusative case to an object.' (Burzio, 1986:178)

Dependent Case theory (Marantz 1991; McFadden 2004; Preminger 2014, ia.) provides a slightly different version of Burzio's Generalization. Under such theory, the accusative case is realized in relation to a DP that c-commands it. Specifically, when DP_α c-commands DP_β from an A-position in their local domain, then DP_β gets dependent case realized as accusative at Vocabulary Insertion and DP_α has the unmarked case realized as nominative (in NOM-ACC languages), leaving aside lexical non-structural case. Nevertheless, in the AE, there is no DP c-commanding the theme. Given this algorithm, the accusative case should not be realized on the theme, but it is, which is in contradiction to Dependent Case theory.

Lastly, Legate (2014) provides another version of Burzio's Generalization arguing that either a full DP or ϕ -features in SpecVoiceP are enough for accusative case to be assigned by the Voice head. This version gives us more flexibility on what counts as enough for accusative to be assigned. Nevertheless, it still cannot explain how accusative is realized on the theme in the AE where neither a full DP argument nor ϕ -features are present in SpecVoiceP.

In the Lithuanian AE, the thematic active Voice head, namely $\text{Voice}^0_{\text{ACT-E}}$ (266), is present which suggests that it should be a source of the accusative case. However, there is no external argument in $\text{SpecVoice}_{\text{ACT-E}}\text{P}$ which indicates that no subject is necessary in the specifier position for the accusative case to be assigned by this Voice head.⁷⁷ The Lithuanian

'On the plane, the travelers were heavily jolted by the risen wind.'

⁷⁷In the AE, there is also a finite T that could potentially assign nominative case to the theme. Neverthe-

case shows that the active thematic Voice head is enough for the structural accusative case to be assigned. Therefore, I propose a revised version of Burzio's generalization in (274). Each thematic Voice is free to be bundled with an accusative case feature regardless of whether its specifier is projected or not, and thus the assignment of structural accusative case is independent from the selection of specifier of Voice.

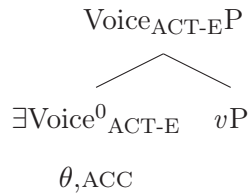
(274) *Revised version of Burzio's Generalization: while accusative must be assigned by a thematic Voice, the assignment of accusative case by Voice can vary independently from the selection of a specifier*

This proposal has important consequences for Case Theory. As suggested by an anonymous *LI* reviewer, the Lithuanian data provide the motivation for treating case as a type of primitive feature, e.g., ACC or NOM feature, which can combine with a particular functional head, e.g., the type Voice head that introduces an external argument theta-role. As showed, the accusative is the only structural case in the active existential meaning that these primitive case features do not need to be licensed on the basis of other c-commanding DPs with structural case, as proposed in Dependent Case Theory.

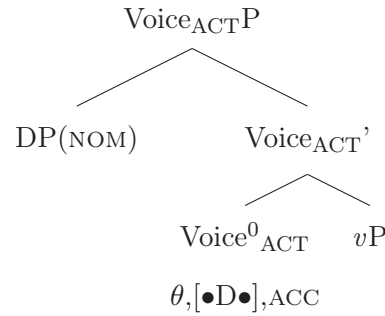
To summarize, the constructions discussed here have the following feature constellations. The AE contains the Voice head that is thematic, bundles with the accusative case feature and its external argument variable is bound by the existential operator in the lexicon (275). The active transitive also has a thematic Voice head that bundles with the accusative case feature, but its external argument variable is saturated by the DP in SpecVoiceP (276). Lastly, in the short passive (277), the thematic Voice head does not combine with the accusative case feature and its initiator is existentially closed at LF, rather than in the lexicon as in the active existential.

less, the theme retains accusative case instead of nominative suggesting that the assignment of nominative case by T is blocked here. It could be hypothesized that this happens due to the Activity Condition (Chomsky 2001). According to this constraint, elements that became inactive during the derivation are no longer available for other operations. Thus, when the theme gets assigned accusative case by the Voice head, it becomes inactive and is no longer available for T.

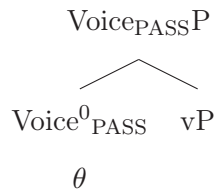
(275) Active Existential



(276) Active Transitive



(277) Short Passive



All in all, I have argued that the presence of a projected implicit argument is not a necessary condition for accusative case to be assigned. Evidence from the AE has demonstrated that there exists a type of Voice that semantically is associated with an external argument θ -role, but it does not require a projected implicit argument in SpecVoiceP to assign structural accusative case. Recall that unaccusative verbs are not possible in the AE as in (241), repeated in (278). Unaccusatives lack a thematic VoiceP, and their theme argument bears structural nominative case. Thus, I leave for future research the possibility of a language exhibiting a Voice head that does not include an external theta-role but does assign accusative case.

(278) *Kambar-yje buv-o daug krauj-o. Toks jausm-as lyg nukrit-o ir
room-LOC be-PST.3 a.lot blood-GEN such feeling-NOM as.if fall-PST.3 and
mir-ė čia.
die-PST.3 here
'There was a lot of blood in the room. Such a feeling as if someone fell and died
here.'

Furthermore, languages like Russian seem to exhibit a very similar construction to the AE discussed here. In Russian, if the initiator is an unknown, indefinite group or a single

indefinite individual, that agent is not expressed overtly as in (279-280). The verb also bears active morphology and the theme is also marked with accusative. It would be very interesting to explore what typological and structural parallels exist between the Russian construction and the Lithuanian AE discussed in this chapter. Specifically, further research should investigate the nature of accusative case realized on the theme and the (non)projection of the implicit initiator in (279-280).

Russian

(279) Kak budto streljali dnem v lesu.
as though shot day.INS in wood

‘It seems that (someone) fired shots in the woods during the day.’

(Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, 248)

Russian

(280) Menja obokrali
me.ACC rob.PRET.3PL

‘They robbed me.’ / ‘I was robbed.’

(Holvoet 2001a, 388 fn6)

2.3.5 Conclusion

The empirical contribution of this case study has been to show that the assignment of accusative case need not hinge on the presence of an external argument. Specifically, I have demonstrated that the AE has an accusative thematic object that patterns like an object of an active construction. However, this construction behaves like a passive in that it lacks a projected implicit argument, unlike the *ma/ta* impersonal. Based on the evidence from the active existential, I argued for a revised version of Burzio’s generalization suggesting that there exists a type of thematic Voice head that can assign structural accusative case in the absence of a syntactically projected implicit argument in SpecVoiceP. Identifying this type of Voice head has enriched the Voice typology which has not previously associated the thematic Voice head without a specifier with the assignment of accusative case (e.g., Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, and Schäfer 2015).

As far as Case Theory is concerned, my findings show that case is a type of primitive

feature that can combine with a certain type of functional head, and its licensing need not be restricted by certain syntactic configurations e.g., a higher c-commanding DP with a structural case as originally proposed in Dependent Case theory (Marantz 1991; Woolford 2003; McFadden 2004; Preminger 2014). Hence, regardless of the merits of a configurational approach to the licensing of structural accusative case, my data demonstrate that this cannot be the only way that the structural accusative case is assigned. While the assignment of accusative case need not be restricted by a certain hierarchical relation between two DPs, it can, however, vary according to the type of thematic Voice head a construction has. Voice heads of the AE and the passive are similar in that they have no specifier and are both thematic. However, these heads differ in the assignment of accusative case: the former bundles with the accusative case feature, whereas the latter does not.

Finally, I have also argued that the AE and the passive differ from each other in the way the external argument variable is bound. In passives, the Voice head introduces the external argument variable, and then this variable is either saturated by a *by*-phrase, or is bound by EC (Heim 1982) at LF. Nevertheless, the unavailability of *by*-phrases in the AE demonstrates that this cannot be the only way the external argument variable is saturated. The Voice head of the active existential introduces the external argument variable that is lexically bound, in other words the existential operator binding it is a part of the lexical entry of the Voice head. Thus, this study shows that two distinct treatments of the external argument are possible in a single language.

2.4 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have examined three constructions in Lithuanian: the *ma/ta* impersonal, the AE and the passive. These constructions have a thematic Voice head, which introduces an external argument θ -role, but differ in the projection of the implicit initiator and the assignment of accusative case. The *ma/ta* impersonal patterns like an active transitive with a syntactically projected initiator in its specifier. The Voice head of the impersonal also assigns accusative case to the theme argument. In contrast, the Lithuanian passive lacks a

projected initiator in the specifier of the thematic VoiceP and does not assign the accusative case to the theme. The AE is an intermediate construction which displays properties of the passive and the active transitive. It behaves like an active in that its Voice head assigns accusative case to the theme, but it lacks a projected initiator in its specifier and in this respect patterns like a passive. The main theoretical contribution of this chapter was to show that the assignment of structural accusative case is not dependent on the syntactic projection of the external argument, and thus Burzio's generalization is not a linguistic universal.

Chapter 3

Marked Structural Case

3.1 Introduction

Empirical work on case has established a distinction between two cases, structural vs. non-structural. In this chapter, I challenge this dichotomy by identifying a type of dative, which on the surface seems to fall between structural and inherent case categories depending on a syntactic environment it is realized in.¹ I term this dative *marked structural case*. Careful investigation of traditional diagnostics used for structural vs. non-structural case distinction reveals that this dative behaves like structural accusative case in that it is assigned by a thematic Voice head (for a similar approach in Icelandic see Schäfer 2008; E.F Sigurðsson 2017). However, it is marked in that, unlike structural accusative, but like non-structural case, it must be obligatorily assigned and its assignment is insensitive to the featural makeup of the thematic VoiceP e.g., active vs. passive. I further argue that once marked structural dative is assigned, then it can be optionally overwritten by other structural cases. Marked structural case is thus an intermediate step between structural case and non-structural case, which raises important questions such as: what are the boundaries between structural and inherent case; why and how does the dichotomy between the two break down? These questions are addressed in this chapter.

There is a tradition in the literature to distinguish two types of cases: structural vs. non-structural (Chomsky 1981, 1986). Structural case is associated with a certain structural position; typically it is assumed that a finite T assigns structural nominative case

¹The study presented in this chapter is based on joint work with Einar Freyr Sigurðsson and Marcel Pitteroff, see Sigurðsson et al. 2018.

to a grammatical subject and *v* assigns structural accusative case to its object. Non-structural case is divided into at least two sub-groups: inherent vs. lexical (see Woolford 2006; Pesetsky and Torrego 2011 for overview). Inherent case is licensed thematically, e.g., goal/beneficiary arguments are often marked with dative case. I further take inherent case to be the type of case that is syntactically inactive, invisible for A-movement² and retained through a derivation. Lexical case is idiosyncratically determined by certain predicates, and is less predictable/regular. Another instances of non-structural case is quirky case which is a type of case that is also determined lexically by certain types of predicates, but an element marked with quirky case exhibits properties associated with a canonical grammatical subject and is able to undergo A-movement (Zaenen et al. 1985), for a detailed discussion of this case in Lithuanian see Chapter 4.

I explore the boundary between structural and inherent case by contrasting two types of datives in Lithuanian: marked structural dative of direct objects (DO), which on the first blush seems to qualify as a structural case in some environments and as an inherent case in others, and indirect object (IO) dative, which shows properties of an inherent case (in line with Anderson 2013, 2015; Sigurðsson et al. 2018). An example of the DO dative is provided in (1). Monotransitive verbs like *help*, I will call these *help*-class predicates, take the dative DO and accusative case is ungrammatical. The dative object can either change to nominative (1b) or retain its case (1c) in passives (for discussion see Anderson 2013, 2015; Sigurðsson et al. 2018). The nominative theme agrees with the participle, while the dative theme does not. I call the passive with the nominative theme the *agreeing passive* and the passive that retains the dative argument the *impersonal passive*.

(1) *Help-class*

- 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.SG.M be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PPRP-NOM.M.SG

²This is the type of case that in McGinnis’ (1998) work is referred to as inert.

‘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-PPRP-[-AGR]

‘The father was (being) helped by the child.’ *Impersonal Passive*

In contrast, some monotransitive verbs that take a beneficiary/maleficiary dative IO for instance like the verb *to serve*, I will call this group *serve-class* predicates, do not permit the DAT-NOM alternation in passives. The dative case is always retained (2).

(2) *Serve-class*

- a. Marij-a tarnav-o atėjūn-ams/*atėjūn-us.
 Marija-NOM serve-PST.3 invaders-DAT/invaders-ACC
 ‘Marija served the invaders’

- b. *Atėjūn-ai buv-o Marij-os tarnauja-m-i.
 invaders-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3 Marija-GEN serve-PPRP-NOM.M.SG

‘The invaders were served by Marija.’ *Agreeing Passive*

- c. Atėjūn-ams buv-o Marij-os tarnauja-m-a.
 invaders-DAT be-PST.3 Marija-GEN serve-PPRP-[-AGR]

‘The invaders were served by Marija.’ *Impersonal Passive*

(Sigurðsson et al. 2018, 3)

Ditransitive constructions pattern like the *serve-class* construction (Sigurðsson et al. 2018). It is ungrammatical to promote the dative IO to nominative (3b). The IO retains its case and the accusative theme becomes the nominative subject as in (3c).³

(3) *Ditransitives*

- a. Tėv-as dav-ė vaik-ui obuol-j.
 father-NOM give-PST.3 child-DAT apple-ACC

‘The father gave the child an apple.’ (Ambrazas et al. 1997, 279)

³Nevertheless, Ambrazas et al. (1997, 279) report the example (3b) as grammatical. However, all of my consultants judge this passive as ungrammatical. Thus, the advancement of the dative IO to nominative may be subject to speaker variation. However, this variation is beyond the scope of this section and I will not be discussing it here.

- b. *Vaik-as buv-o tèv-o duo-t-as obuol-ĵ.
 child-**NOM.M.SG** be-PST.3 father-GEN give-PPP-NOM.M.SG apple-ACC
 ‘The child was given an apple by the father.’
- c. Vaik-ui buv-o tèv-o duo-t-as obuol-ys.
 child-**DAT** be-PST.3 father-GEN give-PPRP-NOM.M.SG apple-NOM.M.SG
 ‘The child was given an apple by the father.’ (Sigurðsson et al. 2018, 1)

Hence, the three classes of predicates can be split into two groups: the *help*-class, which allows its dative to optionally advance nominative or be retained, and *serve*-class and ditransitive verbs whose dative argument is never nominative in the passive. The summary of these passives is provided in Table 3.1.

	<i>help</i> -class	<i>serve</i> -class	<i>ditransitives</i>
DAT-NOM alternation in passives	✓	*	*
DAT retention in passives	✓	✓	✓

Table 3.1: Passivization of dative arguments with different predicates

The promotion of an object to nominative case in passives has been taken as an indicator of structural case (Woolford 2006), whereas inherent case typically does not show this type of alternation. According to this diagnostic, the dative of *help*-class in (1) may qualify as structural case, whereas that of the *serve*-class and ditransitives (2-3) may qualify as inherent case. Nevertheless, Anderson (2013, 2015) argues that the dative of *help*-class verbs patterns like structural case only in passives, but behaves like inherent with respect to other tests e.g., genitive of negation. Thus, the dative of *help*-class seems to exhibit mixed properties. Crosslinguistically, it is not an uncommon pattern. It has been demonstrated that some datives become nominatives in passives and qualify as structural, whereas others pattern like inherent cases in that their case is retained under passivization (see Alexiadou et al. 2014a,b for a crosslinguistic perspective of mixed datives; Harley 1995 and Ishizuka 2012 for Japanese, Fanselow 2000 for German, Anagnostopoulou and Sevdali 2015 for Ancient Greek). The dative of the *help*-class is particularly interesting because it falls into a category of languages where a single case may behave like structural in one environment, but like inherent in the other (for discussion of these types of cases see Harley 1995; Webelhuth

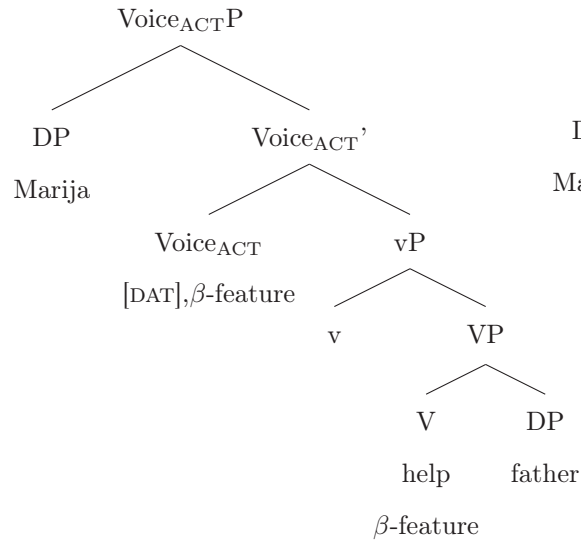
1995).

In this chapter, I demonstrate that the dative of *help*-class predicates is not a type of inherent case assigned to an IO or the complement of a silent preposition (for a PP analysis of datives across languages see e.g., Řezáč 2000; Caha 2006; Alexiadou et al. 2014a; i.a.) The central claim of this chapter is that the dative of *help*-class predicates is a type of *marked structural case*. I demonstrate that a DP marked with this dative functions like a DO with a structural case in that it alternates with structural nominative in the passive and structural genitive in nominalizations. However, unlike the structural accusative, this structural dative is marked in that it can alternate optionally: the dative can be either retained or be overwritten by other structural cases.

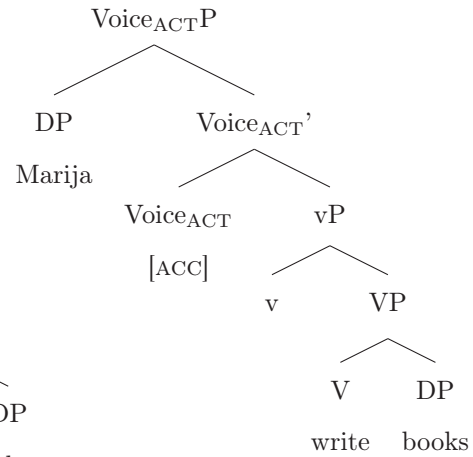
I provide evidence from agent nominals and restructuring contexts showing that the marked structural dative just like structural accusative is assigned by a thematic Voice head rather than *v* as demonstrated in (4), compare it with (5), which shows the assignment of accusative case (for a similar approach in Icelandic see Schäfer 2008; E.F Sigurðsson 2017). Interestingly, the structural dative shares a characteristic behavior with an inherent case in that it must be assigned obligatorily. I demonstrate that it is assigned by the thematic Voice head obligatorily regardless of whether that Voice head is passive or active. Thus, marked structural case is a mixed case: it bears the properties of both structural and non-structural case.

One of the main contributions of this chapter is to show that the Voice head is not purely restricted to the assignment of structural accusative case, but it can also assign other structural cases like the marked structural dative. I further argue that the ability of Voice to assign marked structural case is determined by a special class of predicates. Thus, Voice and verbs are in a selectional relationship, which I encode using agree as illustrated with the β -feature in (4) (following McCloskey 2007). When there is no agree relationship established between the Voice and the verb, the Voice assigns accusative case.

(4) *Marked Structural Dative*



(5) *Structural Accusative*



Finally, this study contributes to the typology of datives in general. The distribution of Lithuanian datives presents a unique pattern (Sigurðsson et al. (2018)). It falls outside the classification proposed by Alexiadou et al. (2014a), where it is argued that crosslinguistically there are three groups of languages: (i) ditransitive IO datives alternate with structural nominative in passives, but monotransitive DO datives do not; (ii) both IO and monotransitive DO datives alternate with nominative; (iii) datives generally never alternate as illustrated in Table 3.2. The grammar of Lithuanian speakers presented here introduces a fourth group: IO datives do not alternate with nominative in the passive, but DO datives do.

	Advancement to NOM in passives			
	Standard German, Dutch	Ancient Greek, Japanese, Luxembourg German	Icelandic	Lithuanian
IO dative	✓	✓	*	*
DO dative	*	✓	*	✓

Table 3.2: The behavior datives in passives crosslinguistically (Sigurðsson et al. 2018, 2)

This chapter is organized as follows. In sub-section 3.2, I introduce the typology of the *help*-class construction and its passives. I argue that the impersonal passive and the agreeing passive exhibited by these predicates differ in terms of the status of the theme argument.

The dative theme advances to a nominative grammatical subject in the agreeing passive, but in the impersonal passive the theme retains its status as a grammatical object. Sub-section 3.3 provides an overview of *serve*-class predicates and ditransitives showing that they only permit the type of passive where the dative IO retains its status as an object, and thus behaves like a DP marked with an inherent case. Sub-section 3.4 discusses different types of diagnostics used for structural vs. non-structural case distinction. Careful investigation reveals that not all previously proposed tests can distinguish between structural and non-structural case. Passives and nominalizations show that the DO of *help*-class predicates behaves like structural case, but evidence from the preposition *po* indicates that it also bears properties of inherent case in that its assignment is obligatory. Sub-section 3.5 demonstrates that a PP analysis cannot account for a variety of datives identified in this chapter. I provide evidence for marked structural case being assigned by a thematic VoiceP. In contrast, inherent case of the IO is assigned by an applicative head and is invisible for A-movement. The inherent dative thus qualifies as an inert case in the sense of McGinnis 1998. Sub-section 3.5.4 identifies a class of predicates whose genitive object also seems to behave like a DP bearing marked structural case suggesting that this may be a part of the productive rule of grammar in the language. Sub-section 3.6 concludes.

3.2 *Help*-class predicates and their passives

The first case study for this topic is *help*-class predicates listed in (6) that take the dative object exhibiting a mixed behavior in passives. I outline the main characteristics of passives formed with these predicates, which is crucial for identifying the status of this dative.

- (6) *HELP*-class verbs: *atstovauti* - ‘to represent’⁴, *kenkti* - ‘to harm’, *padėti* - ‘to help’,
pirmininkauti - ‘to chair’, *pritarti* - ‘to approve, give support’, *vadovauti* - ‘to govern,

⁴It is important to note that the verb *atstovauti* ‘to represent’ for some speakers may not belong to *help*-class verbs. While indeed this predicate takes a dative object, as reported in Ambrazas et al. (1997, 506) (i), an online search shows that some speakers also accept an accusative theme as in (ii).

- (i) Dvasinink-ai atstovav-o taut-ai.
priests-NOM represent-PST.3 nation-DAT
‘Priests represented the nation.’

manage, give orders’

As was mentioned earlier, two types of passives can be formed with these predicates: the impersonal passive and the agreeing passive. The DO can retain its dative case under passivization as in (7b). The object does not trigger agreement and the participle appears in the neuter non-agreeing form (for other uses of the non-agreeing form see sub-section 2.2.1). An additional example with *vadovauti* ‘manage’ which also belongs to *help*-class verbs is provided in (8).

- (7) a. Vaik-as padêj-o tèv-ui/*tèv-â.
child-NOM help-PST.3 father-DAT/father-ACC
‘The child helped the father.’
- b. Tèv-ui buv-o vaik-o padeda-m-a.
father-DAT be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PPRP-[-AGR]
‘The father was (being) helped by the child.’ *Impersonal Passive*
- (8) a. Marij-a vadovav-o fabrik-ui/*fabrik-â.
Marija-NOM manage-PST.3 factory-DAT/factory-ACC
‘Marija managed the factory.’
- b. Fabrik-ui buv-o Marij-os vadovauja-m-a
factory-DAT be-PST.3 Marija-GEN manage-PPRP-[-AGR]
‘The factory was (being) managed by Marija.’ *Impersonal Passive*

It is also possible for the dative DO of *help*-class to advance to nominative forming the agreeing passive as in (9-10). The nominative theme in these instances agrees with the passive participle in number, gender, and case. As noted by Sigurðsson et al. (2018), the theme is assigned nominative regardless whether it stays *in situ* or moves to a subject position (cf. 9a-9b).

(ii) Dvasinink-ai atstovav-o taut-â.
priests-NOM represent-PST.3 nation-ACC
‘Priests represented the nation.’ (Adapted from <http://www.armenia.lt/2008/10/armenu-tautos-sventes-vargai-ir-viltys/>, Accessed on 04-30-2019)

(9) *Agreeing Passive*

- a. **Tèv-as** buv-o vaik-o pateda-m-as.
father-NOM.SG.M be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PPRP-NOM.M.SG
'The father was (being) helped by the child.'
- b. Vaik-o buv-o pateda-m-as **tèv-as**.
child-GEN be-PST.3 help-PPRP-NOM.M.SG father-NOM.M.SG
'By the child, the father was (being) helped.'

(10) *Agreeing Passive*

- a. **Fabrik-as** buv-o Marij-os vadovauja-m-as.
factory-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 Marija-GEN manage-PPRP-NOM.M.SG
'The factory was (being) managed by Marija.' (Anderson 2015, 289-290)
- b. Marij-os buv-o vadovauja-m-as **fabrik-as**.
Marija-GEN be.PST.3 manage-PPRP-NOM.M.SG factory-NOM.M.SG
'By Marija, the factory was (being) managed.' (Sigurðsson et al. 2018, 2)

Sigurðsson et al. (2018) contrast the Lithuanian agreeing passive with *help*-class verbs and the Faroese passive. In Faroese, the DO of *help*-class predicates becomes nominative only if it raises to a subject position. The dative remains unaffected by passivization if the theme stays low in its original position (cf.11b-11c) (see E. F. Sigurðsson 2017 for further discussion).

(11) *Faroese*

- a. Teir hjálptu einum manni.
they.NOM helped a man.DAT
'They helped a man.'
- b. Tað varð hjálpt einum **manni**.
EXPL was helped.DFLT a man.DAT
'A man was helped.'
- c. Ein **maður** varð hjálptur.
a man.NOM.M.SG was helped.NOM.M.SG
'A man was helped.' (E.F Sigurðsson 2017, 75)

The contrast between the two languages indicates that the movement to subject is not needed for the assignment of structural nominative case in the Lithuanian passive as opposed to the Faroese passive. The Lithuanian passive in this respect supports Chomsky's (2001, 17) idea that 'case assignment is divorced from movement'. If the case assignment in the Lithuanian passive takes place in situ, then movement instead can be handled by the EPP feature on T, which seems to be optional in Lithuanian (see McCloskey 1996; Doron 2000; Roberts 2005; i.a. for other languages showing this optionality). The existence of Faroese data indicates that languages vary as to whether the case assignment is driven by movement or not. Therefore, to derive this set of facts, we could posit two types of case features: those that are driven by A-movement and those that are not. As we will see later in sub-section 3.4.1.1, unlike passives, Lithuanian nominalizations show clear evidence for the case assignment being dependent on movement, thus the language provides evidence for the presence of two distinct case assignment mechanisms.

What is interesting about *help*-class passives in Lithuanian is optionality regarding case assignment. The DAT-NOM alternation obtains optionally: dative can be either retained or not. In contrast, this type of optionality does not occur with an accusative grammatical object. The accusative case assignment fails in passives, as is expected in a canonical passive, and the theme instead is assigned nominative case (12). The suppression of an external argument blocks the assignment of accusative in the passive, but it does not block the assignment of dative. In other words, the assignment of dative is not sensitive to the featural makeup of the thematic Voice head, be it active or passive, whereas that of accusative is.

- (12) a. Tėv-as raš-ė laišk-ą.
 father-NOM write-PST.3 letter-ACC
 'The father wrote the letter.'
- b. Laišk-as buv-o tėv-o rašo-m-as.
 letter-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 father-GEN write-PPRP-NOM.M.SG
 'The letter was (being) written (by the father).' *Agreeing Passive*
- c. *Laišk-ą buv-o tėv-o rašo-m-a.
 letter-ACC be-PST.3 father-GEN write-PPRP-[-AGR]

‘The letter was (being) written (by the father).’

Impersonal Passive

To understand this optionality, it is necessary to review each passive with *help*-class verbs in more detail. In the following sub-sections, I argue that the agreeing passive and the impersonal passive differ from each other in terms of the grammatical function of the theme argument, as was suggested by Sigurðsson et al. (2018). Specifically, it is demonstrated that in the agreeing passive, the dative theme advances to nominative, and behaves like a fully-fledged grammatical subject. As for the impersonal passive, two types of hypotheses are considered: the dative DP can either function like an object or it might as well be the type of theme that has advanced to a subject position, thus is a quirky subject, given that the language also permits quirky dative subjects (also see Chapter 4 for discussion of Lithuanian dative subjects). It is demonstrated that the dative DP is a grammatical object.

3.2.1 Binding

The first test to distinguish between the theme of the impersonal passive and that of the agreeing passive comes from binding. Recall our binding test from sub-section 2.2.2.2. The surface subject binds the subject-oriented anaphor *savo*, while the object binds the non-reflexive anti-subject-oriented pronoun as illustrated here with the verb *help* (13a-13b).

- (13) a. **Vaik-as_i** padėj-o tėv-ui **sav-o_i/*jo_i** namuose.
child-NOM help-PST.3 father-DAT self-GEN/his.GEN house.
‘The child_i helped the father in his_i house.’
- b. Vaik-as padėj-o **tėv-ui_i** *sav-o_i/**jo_i** namuose.
child-NOM help-PST.3 father-DAT self-GEN/his.GEN house.
‘The child helped the father_i in his_i house.’

In agreeing passives, the nominative theme binds the subject-oriented anaphor *savo* as in (14), and behaves like a grammatical subject.⁵

⁵The grammatical theme subject in (14) can also bind the anti-subject-oriented anaphor. See footnote 16, Chapter 2 for a discussion of this binding relation.

Agreeing Passive

- (14) **Tév-as_i** buv-o vaik-o padeda-m-as **sav-o_i/jo_i**
father-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PPRP-NOM.M.SG self-GEN/his.GEN
namuose.
house.

‘The father_i was (being) helped by the child in his_i house.’

(Sigurðsson et al. 2018, 5)

In contrast, the dative theme in the impersonal passive cannot serve as a binder for *savo* suggesting that it is not a subject (15). Instead, the fronted theme is the antecedent of the non-reflexive form *jo*, and shares a characteristic behavior with the object of the transitive in (13b).

Impersonal Passive

- (15) **Tév-ui_i** buv-o vaik-o padeda-m-a *sav-o_i/jo_i namuose.
father-DAT be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PPRP-[-AGR] self-GEN/his.GEN house

‘The father_i was (being) helped by the child in his_i house.’

(Sigurðsson et al. 2018, 5)

We can now contrast the behavior of the dative argument of the impersonal passive with the dative quirky subject. *Lack*-class predicates like *trūkti* ‘to lack’, *užtekti* ‘to suffice’ take a dative subject and a genitive theme. As expected, the dative subject binds the subject-oriented anaphor *savo* as exemplified below in (16) (for more on binding facts of these subjects see sub-section 4.3.1.1). Despite the fact that both DPs are marked with dative, they seem to have different grammatical functions: the dative DP of the impersonal behaves like an object, thus it does not advance to subject, while the dative DP in (16) is a grammatical subject.

Quirky Dative Subject

- (16) **Marij-ai_i** trūkst-a pinig-ų **sav-o_i** reikm-ėms.
Marija-DAT lack-PRS.3 money-GEN self-GEN needs-DAT

‘Marija lacks money for her own needs.’

3.2.2 Ability to be PRO

Another subjecthood test comes from PRO. Generally, it is assumed that if an element can be a PRO, then it is a subject (Zaenen et al. 1985). In Lithuanian, PRO can be a subject, but not an object as illustrated in (17).

- (17) a. Vaik-as_i norėj-o [PRO_i apkabin-ti motin-a].
child-NOM want-PST.3 hug-INF mother-ACC
'The child wanted to hug the mother.'
- b. *Vaik-as_i norėj-o [(motina) apkabin-ti PRO_i].
child-NOM want-PST.3 mother hug-INF
'The child wanted the mother to hug him.'

I will use a set of facts from arbitrary control and subject control instances to illustrate the difference between the theme that is marked with nominative and that with dative case in the two types of passives. Configurations with object control will be briefly discussed as well.

3.2.2.1 Arbitrary PRO and Structural Dative

The distinction between the two types of themes is reflected in instances with an arbitrary PRO. PRO can have an arbitrary reading i.e., it refers to people in general and it is not controlled by any argument from a matrix clause as in (18). The infinitive clause has the predicative element 'alone', which bears dative case. The depictive 'alone' reflects the case of PRO. There is no controller in the matrix clause meaning that this dative is not transmitted from a controller. Hence, the case of PRO is dative,⁶ which is assigned independently from the matrix clause. The case is structural given that it is assigned to any element that raises to become PRO: be it an agent (18-19), or a theme of unaccusatives (20) (see Landau 2013, 103-108 for discussion of the case of PRO). In other words, this case is not licensed thematically like inherent case for example.

⁶The default case in the language is nominative as discussed by Lavine (2010b). Therefore, the dative that appears on depictives in infinitive clauses is not default.

- (18) [PRO ei-ti namo naktį vien-am] nėra saug-u.
 go-INF house night alone-DAT NEG.be.PRS.3 safe-N
 ‘To go home alone at night is not safe.’
- (19) [PRO sutaisy-ti automobil-į vien-am] nėra lengv-a.
 fix-INF car-ACC alone-DAT NEG.be.PRS.3 safe-N
 ‘To repair a car alone is not easy.’
- (20) [PRO numir-ti vien-am] yra bais-u.
 die-INF alone-DAT be.PRS.3 scary-N
 ‘To die alone is scary.’

Additional instances of an arbitrary PRO can also be found in cases like (21) where the infinitive clause is a complement of a noun. The case of PRO is dative as indicated by ‘alone’. Nominative, which is the case of the matrix noun *opportunity*, is ungrammatical.

- (21) [Galimyb-ė [PRO keliau-ti vien-am/*vien-as]] pasitaik-o
 opportunity-NOM travel-INF alone-DAT/alone-NOM occurs-PRS.3
 ne-dažn-ai.
 NEG-often-ADV
 ‘An opportunity to travel alone does not happen very often.’

Another factor that we have to take into consideration for this test is passives of to-infinitive clauses. Passivization of such clauses is grammatical as illustrated in (22-23), the examples are provided here with to-infinitives functioning as complements of a noun. The theme of a transitive verb like ‘check’ becomes PRO and the initiator is realized as the genitive *by*-phrase. The lexical verb appears in the passive participle form, the auxiliary *be* bears infinitival morphology. If the case of PRO is dative, then we expect the passive participle to reflect that given that participles in passives agree with a grammatical subject in number, gender and case. This prediction is borne out as evidenced by the dative participle form. The agreement is obligatory with the participle: the non-agreeing neuter participle in this environment yields ungrammaticality.

- (22) [Galimyb-ė [PRO bū-ti patikrin-t-am / *patikrin-t-a geriaus-ių
 opportunity-NOM be-INF check-PPP-DAT.M.SG / check-PPP-[-AGR] best-GEN

pasaul-io specialist-u]] pasitaik-o ne-dažnai.
 world-GEN specialists-GEN occur-PRS.3 NEG-often

‘An opportunity to be checked by the best world specialists (e.g., doctors) does not occur very often.’

- (23) [Tikimyb-ė [PRO bū-ti nutrenk-t-am / *nutrenk-t-a žaib-o]]
 probability-NOM be-INF hit-PPP-DAT.M.SG / hit-PPRP-[-AGR] thunder-GEN
 yra ne-didelė.
 be.PRS.3 NEG-big

‘A probability of getting hit by thunder is not high.’

The passive of *help*-class verbs can be embedded in to-infinitive clauses as in (24-25). This suggests that the theme of *help*-class verbs is PRO, and therefore is a subject. Observe that the passive participle is marked with dative case, and the non-agreeing neuter form is ungrammatical.

- (24) [Teis-ė [PRO bū-ti padeda-m-am / *pàdeda-m-a pasirinkt-o
 right-NOM be-INF help-PPRP-DAT.M.SG / help-PPRP-[-AGR] chosen-GEN
 asmen-s]] ne-gal-i bū-ti ribojama teism-e.
 person-GEN NEG-can-PRS.3 be-INF restricted court-LOC

‘A right to be helped by a chosen person cannot be restricted in the court.’

- (25) [Galimyb-ė [PRO bū-ti padeda-m-am / *pàdeda-m-a geriaus-io
 opportunity-NOM be-INF help-PPRP-DAT.M.SG / help-PPRP-[-AGR] best-GEN
 patarėj-o]] pasitaik-o ne-dažn-ai.
 advisor-GEN occur-PRS.3 NEG-often-ADV

‘An opportunity to be helped by the best advisor does not occur very often.’

The question arises what type of passive is embedded in to-infinitive clauses in (24-25). I rule out the possibility that the impersonal passive with the dative theme object is embedded in this clause because the theme of this passive does not allow agreement with the predicate in general as illustrated in (26). Thus, the impersonal passive requires the non-agreeing form, whereas the passive in the to-infinitive clause does not allow the non-agreeing form and permits only the agreeing form. On the other hand, the agreeing passive of *help*-class does allow for the theme to agree with the passive participle, which suggests that the type of passive that is embedded in the to-infinitive clause is the agreeing passive with the theme

surfacing as a grammatical subject. Putting these facts together, we can conclude that the theme of the agreeing passive is a grammatical subject as it can become PRO, whereas the theme of the impersonal cannot be PRO, and therefore lacks properties of a grammatical subject.

Impersonal Passive

- (26) Tėv-ui buv-o vaik-o pàdeda-m-a/*pàdeda-m-am.
 father-DAT.M.SG be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PPRP-[-AGR]/help-PPRP-DAT.M.SG
 ‘The father was (being) helped by the child.’

3.2.2.2 Subject Control: Obligatory Case Transmission

I will briefly introduce subject control instances here as they provide an additional piece of evidence for treating the nominative theme of the agreeing passive as a grammatical subject. Lithuanian exhibits what is known as case transmission in subject control environments: the nominative case of a matrix subject is obligatorily transferred to PRO (see Vaikšnoraitė 2015 for case transmission facts in Lithuanian, also see Landau 2008, 2013 for similar case transmission facts in Russian and an analysis). In subject control configurations (27-28), we see that the predicative element ‘alone’ of the to-infinitive clause cannot be marked with dative. Hence, the dative case of PRO is no longer available in these instances as opposed to what we have seen in arbitrary control cases. The case of ‘alone’ is nominative, which is the case of the matrix subject meaning that the subject has transferred its case to PRO.

- (27) Jon-as_i norėj-o [PRO_i grįž-ti namo
 Jonas-NOM.M.SG want-PST.3 return-INF home
 vien-as/*vien-am].
 alone-NOM.M.SG/alone-DAT.M.SG
 ‘Jonas wanted to come back home alone.’

- (28) Jon-as_i pažadėj-o motin-ai [PRO_i grįž-ti namo
 Jonas-NOM.M.SG promise-PST.3 mother-DAT return-INF home
 vien-as/*vien-am].
 alone-NOM.M.SG/alone-DAT.M.SG
 ‘Jonas promised the mother to return home alone.’

Subject control verbs like *norėti* ‘want’ or *pažadėti* ‘promise’ permit their to-infinitive to undergo passivization. The theme in the infinitive advances to subject and becomes PRO in (29-30). The matrix subject obligatorily transmits its nominative case to PRO in passives as well. The passive participle bears nominative case, which is the case of the matrix subject, and the non-agreeing neuter passive participle or the dative passive participle form is not permitted.

- (29) Vaik-as_i norėj-o [PRO_i b̄u-ti apkabin-t-as /
 child-NOM.M.SG want-PST.3 be-INF hug-PPP-NOM.M.SG /
 *apkabin-t-am / *abkabin-t-a motin-os].
 hug-PPP-DAT.M.SG / hug-PPP-[-AGR] mother-GEN.
 ‘The child wanted to be hugged by the mother.’

- (30) Jon-as_i pažadėj-o motin-ai [PRO_i b̄u-ti išrink-t-as /
 Jonas-NOM promise-PST.3 mother-DAT be-INF select-PPRP-NOM.M.SG /
 *išrink-t-am / *išrink-t-a j pareigas valstybės tarnyboje].
 select-PPRP-DAT.M.SG / select-PPRP-[-AGR] to duties country service
 ‘Jonas promised the mother to be elected to work for the civil service.’

Help-class verbs that take a dative DO can be passivized in to-infinitive clauses as in (31). The dative DO becomes PRO suggesting that it also surfaces as a subject. The DO bears nominative as reflected by agreeing morphology of the passive participle. Subject control instances cannot be used for testing whether the theme of the impersonal passive is advanced to nominative because the case of PRO is always nominative, whereas the theme of the impersonal passive must be dative. Hence, at least morphologically, the two environments have different case requirements, and therefore are incompatible with each other.

- (31) Jon-as_i visada norėj-o [PRO_i b̄u-ti padeda-m-as /
 Jonas-NOM.M.SG always want-PST.3 be-INF help-PPRT-NOM.M.SG /
 *pàdeda-m-a / *paded-a-m-am motin-os].
 help-PPRP-[-AGR] / help-PPRP-DAT.M.SG mother-GEN
 ‘Jonas always wanted to be helped by the mother.’

3.2.2.3 Object Control: Optional Case Transmission

I briefly outline the main characteristics of object control predicates here. This environment has been used to distinguish between the two themes of passives with *help*-class predicates in Sigurðsson et al. 2018. Nevertheless, careful investigation reveals that this test is not applicable to passives.

Lithuanian allows optional case transmission to PRO in object control cases (see Vaikšnoraitė 2015 for details as well). In (32- 33), we see that PRO can either bear the case of the matrix object or it can bear dative case, which is a type of case assigned independently of the matrix object.⁷ This generalization holds not only for accusative, but also for genitive objects.

- (32) Motin-a privert-ė Marij-a_i [PRO_i grįž-ti namo pači-a_q
 mother-NOM force-PST.3 Marija-ACC.F.SG return-INF home self-ACC.F.SG
 / pači-ai].
 / self-DAT.F.SG
 ‘Mother forced Marija to come back home by herself.’

- (33) Motin-a papraš-ė Marij-os_i [PRO_i padary-ti tai pači-os /
 mother-NOM ask-PST.3 Marija-GEN.F.SG do-INF that self-GEN.F.SG /
 pači-ai].
 self-DAT.F.SG
 ‘Mother asked Marija to do that by herself.’

We can now observe what happens when the complement of these predicates is passivized. The theme of the to-infinitive becomes PRO subject. Typically, the object of the matrix clause optionally transfers its case to PRO. However, in (34-35), we see that the case transmission in the passive of to-infinitive is not allowed. Interestingly, the passive participle form with dative case is judged as degraded as well. Hence, the passivization appears to be blocked in this configuration in general. Therefore, object control cases will not be applied to the passives of *help*-class predicates. I will not further discuss these examples here as it is outside the scope of this chapter.

⁷The availability of dative in object control instances maybe be subject to speaker variation as observed by Vaikšnoraitė (2015).

- (34) Motin-a privert-ė vaik-us_i [PRO_i b̄-ti ??patikrin-t-iems /
 mother-NOM force-PST.3 children-ACC.M.PL be-INF check-PPP-DAT.M.PL /
 *patikrin-t-us / *patikrin-t-a gydytoj-o].
 check-PPP-ACC.M.PL / check-PPP-[-AGR] doctor-GEN
 ‘The mother forced the children to be checked by the doctor.’
- (35) Pareigūn-as privert-ė keliautoj-us_i [PRO_i b̄-ti ??patikrin-t-iems
 officer-NOM force-PST.3 travellers-ACC.M.PL be-INF check-PPP-DAT.M.PL
 / *patikrin-t-us / *patikrin-t-a muitinės darbuotoj-ų].
 / check-PPP-ACC.M.PL / check-PPP-[-AGR] customs employees-GEN
 ‘The officer forced the travellers to be checked by the customs authority.’

3.2.3 Agreement

Another property that is common to a grammatical subject is agreement. In the agreeing passive, the theme behaves like a subject in that it agrees with the participle in number, gender and case (36).

- (36) Tėv-as buv-o vaik-o padeda-m-as.
 father-NOM.SG.M be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PPRP-NOM.M.SG
 ‘The father was (being) helped by the child.’

Subjects in Lithuanian do not have to be nominative to trigger agreement. Lithuanian does allow a non-nominative grammatical subject to agree with the participle in the passive. For instance, the evidential construction that takes a genitive subject and a nominative theme (37a) (see sub-section 4.2 for more on this construction). Legate et al. (to appear) show that the genitive case realized on a subject of the evidential is structural (also see Chapter 4 for discussion). In the evidential of the passive, the theme is assigned structural genitive case and shows agreement with the participle in number, gender, and case as in (37b).

- (37) a. Ing-os nuramin-t-a vaik-as.
 Inga-GEN calm.down-PPP-[-AGR] child-NOM
 ‘Inga must have calmed the child down.’ *Evidential*
- b. Vaik-o b̄-t-a nuramin-t-o Ing-os.
 child-GEN.M.SG be-PPP-[-AGR] calm.down-PPP-GEN.M.SG Inga-GEN

‘The child must have been calmed down by Inga.’ *Evidential of Passive*

The agreeing passive in (36) and (37b) can be contrasted with the impersonal passive. The dative theme does not trigger agreement on the participle in the impersonal passive in (38), even though Lithuanian does generally allow the non-nominative theme to agree with the passive participle as in (37b). The passive participle must occur in the neuter form in (38). The ungrammaticality of the agreeing participle indicates that the dative theme in the impersonal passive is not a grammatical subject.

Impersonal Passive

- (38) Tėv-ui buv-o vaik-o padeda-m-a/*paded-a-m-am.
father-DAT.M.SG be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PPRP-[-AGR]/help-PPRP-DAT.M.SG
‘The father was being helped by the child.’

3.2.4 Interim Summary

To sum up, I have demonstrated that the dative theme of *help*-class has a dual status. On the one hand, it can retain its case in passives, and when it does so, it behaves like an object rather than a quirky dative subject. Thus, its grammatical status as an object is retained. As an object, this dative DP binds the anti-subject-oriented anaphor, does not raise to be PRO or trigger agreement on the participle. The fact that the dative is retained under passivization is indicative of the dative being a type of non-structural inherent case, which I take to be the type of case that is preserved during derivation and is not visible for A-movement. The impersonal passive with dative is parallel to the German passive in (39) where the dative theme is also an object marked with inherent case.

German Impersonal Passive

- (39) Meinen Brüdern ist geholfen worden.
my brothers.DAT is.SG helped become
‘My brothers were helped’ (McFadden 2004, 84)

On the other hand, the findings from agreeing passives show that the dative theme can also become a structural nominative subject, and therefore the dative at least in this

environment can be treated as structural case. Crosslinguistically, it is not uncommon for datives to advance to nominative as e.g., this is the case in Japanese.

(40) *Japanese*

a. Naomi-ga Ken-ni kisu(-o) sita.
Naomi-NOM Ken-DAT kiss-ACC sita.PST
'Naomi kissed Ken.'

b. Ken-ga Naomi-ni kisu(-o) sareta.
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT kiss-ACC do.PASS.PST
'Ken was kissed by Naomi.'

(Alexiadou et al. 2014a, 6)

We have also observed that the advancement of dative to nominative in the passive is not related to a structural subject position as it is in Faroese. In other words, the assignment of nominative is not movement-driven. The optional case alternation in the passive may suggest that the *help*-class verbs in fact are associated with two different structures: i) one structure where dative is a type of structural case that is advanced to nominative and ii) another structure where dative is non-structural inherent case. This type of analysis has been applied to German datives of *help*-class predicates. McFadden (2004) shows that the dative theme of these predicates can be generated either as a complement of a preposition or as an IO in the specifier of the Appl(icative) phrase. If this is the case with the *help*-class in Lithuanian, then we should find this type of optionality in other syntactic environments. I further discuss this prediction and the properties of this dative in different types of syntactic configurations in sub-section 3.4. I will demonstrate that *help*-class predicates in Lithuanian cannot be analyzed as having two structures as was proposed for German *help* constructions.

3.3 *Serve*-class and Ditransitives

The second case study for this topic is predicates whose dative argument does not alternate with nominative in passives. These are *serve*-class verbs in (41) and their impersonal passives like (42) where the dative remains unaffected by passivization.

(41) *SERVE-class*: *nuolaidžiauti* - ‘to make concessions’, *nusilenkti* - ‘to bow’, *pasiduoti* - ‘to surrender’, *pataikauti* - ‘to be subservient to someone/to flatter someone’, *prieštarauti* - ‘to contradict’, *tarnauti* - ‘to serve’, *vergauti* - ‘to be a slave’

(42) *Serve-class*

- a. Jon-as tarnav-o atėjūn-ams/*atėjūn-us
Jonas-NOM serve-PST.3 invaders-DAT/invaders-ACC
‘Jonas served the invaders’
- b. *Atėjūn-ai buv-o Jon-o tarnauja-m-i.
invaders-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3 Jonas-GEN serve-PPRP-NOM.M.PL
‘The invaders were served by Jonas.’ *Agreeing Passive*
- c. Atėjūn-ams buv-o Jon-o tarnauja-m-a.
Invaders-DAT be-PST.3 Jonas-GEN serve-PPRP-[-AGR]
‘The invaders were served by Jonas.’ *Impersonal Passive*

Ditransitive verbs also fall under this category. While the theme argument always becomes nominative in the passive, the dative IO does not as illustrated below in (43).

(43) *Ditransitives*

- a. Motin-a dav-ė vaik-ui obuol-į.
mother-NOM give-PST.3 child-DAT apple-ACC
‘The mother gave the child an apple.’
- b. *Vaik-as buv-o motin-os duo-t-as obuol-į.
child-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 mother-GEN give-PPP-NOM.M.SG apple-ACC
‘The child was given an apple by the mother.’
- c. Vaik-ui buv-o motin-os duo-t-as obuol-ys.
child-DAT be-PST.3 mother-GEN give-PPRP-NOM.M.SG apple-NOM.M.SG
‘The child was given an apple by the mother.’

I investigate passives of these two classes of verbs and show that the dative argument retains its status as an object and it does not advance to a subject position. The unavailability of the DAT-NOM advancement in these passives suggests that these datives are unambiguously inherent. In other words, unlike the dative of *help*-class verbs, the dative

case of *serve*-class verbs and ditransitives does not show the behavior of structural case.

3.3.1 Binding

In passives with both predicates, the dative argument can bind only the non-reflexive personal pronoun (44-45), and therefore behaves like a typical object. Both datives do not show a typical behavior of a quirky dative subject as in (16), repeated here in (46), which does bind the subject-oriented anaphor.

(44) *serve*-class

- a. Marij-a tarnav-o **atējūn-ams_i** pagal **ju_i**/*sav-o_i
 Marija-NOM serve-PST.3 invaders-DAT according their.GEN/self-GEN
 įsitikinim-us.
 beliefs-ACC
 ‘Marija served the invaders_i according to their_i beliefs.’ *Active*
- b. **Atējūn-ams_i** buv-o tarnauja-m-a Marij-os pagal
 invaders-DAT be-PST.3 serve-PPRP-[-AGR] Marija-GEN according
ju_i/*sav-o_i įsitikinim-us.
 their.GEN/self-GEN beliefs-ACC
 ‘The invaders_i were served by Marija according to their_i beliefs.’

Impersonal Passive

(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.’ *Active*
- b. **Motin-ai_i** buv-o duo-t-as vaik-as **jos_i**/*sav-o_i
 mother-DAT be-PST.3 give-PPP-NOM.M.SG child-NOM.M.SG her.GEN/self-GEN
 namuose.
 house
 ‘The mother_i was given the child in her_i house.’ *Passive*

Quirky Dative Subject

- (46) **Marij-ai_i** trūkst-a pinig-ų **sav-o_i** reikmėms
 Marija-DAT lack-PRS.3 money-GEN self-GEN needs

‘Marija lacks money for her own needs.’

3.3.2 Ability to be PRO

Evidence from arbitrary control contexts also shows that neither the dative IO argument of *serve* (47) nor that of *give* (48) can be PRO in the to-infinitive clause. Thus, the IO cannot function like a grammatical subject.

- (47) *Galimyb-ė [PRO bŭ-ti tarnauja-m-am geriausių specialist-ų]
opportunity-NOM be-INF serve-PPRP-DAT.M.SG best specialists-GEN
pasitaik-o ne-dažnai.
occur-PRS.3 NEG-often

‘The opportunity to be served by the best specialists does not occur very often.’

- (48) *Galimyb-ė [PRO bŭ-ti duo-t-am premij-ą geriausių
opportunity-NOM be-INF give-PPP-DAT.M.SG premium-ACC best
specialist-ų] pasitaik-o ne-dažnai.
specialists-GEN occur-PRS.3 NEG-often

‘The opportunity to be given the premium by the best specialists does not occur very often.’

To summarize, it seems that we have a clear division between two groups of predicates in terms of passivization. *Serve*-class verbs and ditransitives select for datives that are unambiguously inherent, invisible for advancement to a subject position under passivization. The *help*-class dative is variable: it can either behave like an inherent case and remain an object in the passive, or become nominative and behave like a structural case. I now turn to the question of whether this type of behavior of datives is common only within passives, thus is purely a phenomenon of a passive Voice, or is also visible in other environments.

3.4 Marked Structural: Between Inherent and Structural

We are now in a position to investigate the properties of dative case in other environments. To what extent does the dative case of *help*-class verbs as well as *serve*-class verbs and ditransitives exhibit the properties of structural or non-structural case in other environments?

I address this question here.

Anderson (2013; 2015) is the first to introduce a number of diagnostics to distinguish between structural vs. non-structural case Lithuanian, which are further discussed by Sigurðsson et al. (2018). Anderson demonstrates that the dative case of *help*-class verbs behaves like structural only in passives, but patterns like inherent with respect to other tests. In other words, this case does not display the types of alternations that are common to a structural case. If that is indeed true, then it could be that the DAT-NOM alternation that we observed in the passive is truly a phenomenon of Voice meaning that it happens only in passives when the thematic passive VoiceP is present. This may not be surprising since as discussed by Alexiadou et al. (2014a), Voice systems of a language can influence the DAT-NOM alternation. For instance, in Icelandic, the dative argument does not advance to nominative in the passive, but it does so in the middle *-st* construction as exemplified below in (49). It has been proposed by Wood (2012) that middles involve the expletive VoiceP, and in the context of this VoiceP, the feature leading to dative case assignment on *v*, namely DAT, is deleted. This deletion process results in the theme receiving nominative cases. However, this operation does not apply when the Voice head is passive (for discussion see Alexiadou et al. 2014a; Schäfer 2008; Svenonius 2006; Wood 2012, i.a.)

(49) *Icelandic*

- a. Ég týndil úrinu.
I.NOM lose.PST watch.DAT
'I lost the watch.'
- b. Úrið/*úrinu týndi-st
watch.NOM/watch.DAT lose-ST
'The watch (got) lost.' (Svenonius 2006:2) *Middle*
- c. Úrinu var týnt af börnunum.
watch.the.DAT was lost by children.the
'The watch was lost by the children.' (pc. E. F. Sigurðsson) *Passive*

Another potential hypothesis that was presented earlier could be that the Lithuanian dative of *help*-class predicates simply has two different structures associated with it: one

where it is realized as a structural case and the other where it is non-structural case. This would be a somewhat less interesting finding theoretically, but it is a plausible one. If there are two structures, then we predict that the type of dual behavior we find in passives should also exist in other syntactic environments.

In this sub-section, traditional tests for structural vs. non-structural case dichotomy that have been proposed are investigated carefully. I show that some of the proposed diagnostics are not reliable as they do not reflect a clear distinction between structural vs. non-structural case. Specifically, while passives and nominalizations show a clear distinction between two types of cases, other syntactic environments such as genitive of negation, evidential constructions and ability to be embedded under the preposition *po* do not. However, the latter group of tests inform us about the locus of dative case assignment as well as its timing. Using this battery of tests, it is revealed that the dative of *help*-class predicates is structural case, but it is marked in that it is assigned obligatorily by the Voice head. I further show that *help*-class predicates cannot be analyzed as having two distinct structures: one with an inherent case and another one with a structural case.

3.4.1 Nominalizations

The results from passives have suggested that the dative of *help*-class predicates can be structural in being able to advance to nominative. Another test that has been proposed to distinguish between structural and non-structural case in Lithuanian is nominalizations (Anderson 2013, 2015; Sigurðsson et al. 2018). I first flesh out the basic properties of Lithuanian nominalizations and show that it is indeed a reliable test to distinguish between the two cases. Then, I apply this diagnostic to *help*-class and other classes of predicates with the dative object demonstrating that the dative of *help*-class predicates exhibits a characteristic behavior of a DP bearing structural case.

3.4.1.1 Properties of Nominalizations and A-movement

Lithuanian nominalizations have been mostly discussed by Pakerys (2006), Vladarskienė (2010) and Zaika (2016). Nominalizations in Lithuanian are marked with the suffix *-i/ym-*. For instance, compare nouns and their nominalizations marked with the suffix in (50-51).⁸

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (50) | a. pastat-as
build-NOM.M.SG
‘a building’ (n) | b. paminkl-o pastat-ym-as
monument-GEN build-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
‘building of monument’ (event) |
| (51) | a. daž-ai
paint-NOM.M.PL
‘paint’ (n) | b. sien-ų daž-ym-as
walls-GEN paint-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
‘painting of walls’ (event) |

In nominalizations, the theme with structural accusative case advances to genitive and precedes the deverbal noun. Compare the active transitive construction in (52) with its nominalization in (53). The agent/possessor is also realized as a genitive DP and usually precedes the genitive theme. Thus, Lithuanian exhibits a so-called ‘double possessive’ pattern (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2003). Typologically, a double genitive pattern can also be found in Finnish (Joniken 1991; Brattico and Leinonen 2009) and Japanese (Kishimoto 2006) nominalizations as well as Greek result nominals (Alexiadou 2001 and references therein).

- (52) Aš per-daži-au automobil-į/*automobil-io.
I.NOM PFV-paint-PST.1SG car-ACC/car-GEN
‘I repainted the car.’

⁸Note that some nominals may lack nominalizing morphology and yet they seem to have argument structure (Ambrazas et al. 1997, 560; Pakerys 2006; Zaika 2016). For instance, the nominal *baimė* ‘fear’ as in (i-ii), also see (iii-iv).

- | | | | |
|-------|--|------|---|
| (i) | Jis bij-o tams-os.
he.NOM afraid-PST.3 dark-GEN
‘He is afraid of the dark.’ | (ii) | tams-os baim-ė
dark-GEN fear-NOM.M.F
‘the fear of the dark’ |
| (iii) | Ji svajoj-o apie graž-ią
she.NOM dream-PST.3 about beautiful-ACC
ateit-j
future-ACC
‘She dreamt about a beautiful future.’ | (iv) | svajon-ės apie graž-ią
dreams-NOM.F.PL about beautiful-ACC
ateit-j
future-ACC
‘dreams about a beautiful future’ (Ambrazas et al. 1997, 560) |

- (53) a. [man-o [automobil-io per-daž-ym-as]]
 my-GEN car-GEN PFV-paint-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
 ‘my repainting of the car’
- b. [man-o automobil-io [per-daž-ym-as]]
 my-GEN car-GEN PFV-paint-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
 ‘the repainting of my car’ (Zaika 2016, 530)

In (53), we can see that nominalizations can be ambiguous. Two readings are available in (53): one where *my* is the agent of the deverbal noun ‘repainting’ and another where *my* is the possessor of the theme. As pointed out by Pakerys (2006) and Zaika (2016), nominalizations with two genitives are not very frequent, which may be due to the availability of the two distinct readings.⁹ In this sub-section, I will be investigating complex event nominalization and thus will focus on the reading in (53a) with the agent and the theme.

Coming back to the case properties of the theme in nominalizations, observe that in order for the theme to advance to genitive, it has to precede the deverbal noun. The theme cannot occur after the deverbal noun as in (54).

- (54) *man-o per-daž-ym-as **automobil-io**
 my-GEN PFV-paint-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG car-GEN
 (i) ‘the repainting of my car’, (ii) ‘my repainting of the car’

Furthermore, the theme with structural accusative case as in (52) cannot retain its case as in (55). The accusative case is ungrammatical here regardless of whether the theme follows the deverbal noun or precedes it. Given the ungrammaticality of the accusative theme, we

⁹If the nominalization includes only a single genitive DP preceding a deverbal noun, ambiguity may arise as in (i-ii). As noted by Vladarskienė (2010), the genitive DP can be interpreted either as a theme or a possessor in these instances.

- (i) muitin-ės tikrin-im-as
 custom.house-GEN.F.SG check-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
 ‘custom-house’s checking’ Possessor - ✓
 ‘checking of the custom-house’ Theme - ✓ (Vladarskienė 2010, 175)
- (ii) bendrij-os finansav-im-as
 association-GEN.F.SG finance-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
 ‘association’s financing’ Possessor - ✓
 ‘financing of the association’ Theme - ✓ (Vladarskienė 2010, 175)

see that nominalizations present another important case alternation. The theme argument that would be typically assigned structural accusative case in an active transitive clause advances to genitive case in nominalizations. The advancement to genitive is obligatory and is tied to a pre-nominal position.

- (55) a. * man-o per-daž-ym-as automobil-ĭ
 me-GEN PFV-paint-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG car-ACC
 ‘the repainting of my car’
- b. * man-o automobi-lĭ per-daž-ym-as
 me-GEN car-ACC PFV-paint-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
 ‘the repainting of my car’

Zooming in on the internal architecture of these nominalizations, to understand how the accusative theme of an active becomes genitive, we need to determine what type of projections, i.e., nominal as well as possibly verbal, can be found within these constructions. It is first important to point out that nominalizations differ from gerunds, as observed by Chomsky (1970). Standardly, gerunds include more verbal structure than nominalizations. For example, English gerunds allow adverbial modification (56b-56c) and assign accusative case to the theme (56a-56c). In contrast, nominalizations can be modified by adjectives, but not by adverbs (57a-57b). The theme argument is introduced by a PP complement (cf.57a-57c) and the deverbal noun does not assign accusative case to the theme.

- (56) *Gerunds*
- a. John’s sarcastically criticizing them
- b. * John’s sarcastic criticizing them
- c. * John’s sarcastically criticizing of them

- (57) *Nominalizations*
- a. John’s sarcastic criticism of them
- b. * John’s sarcastically criticism of them

- c. * John's sarcastic criticism them

The Lithuanian constructions under the discussion here behave like English nominalizations in that they do not permit structural accusative case (55). The ungrammaticality of structural accusative case suggests that they may lack a thematic VoiceP, which, as I argued in Chapter 2, is the locus of accusative case assignment. Another possibility would be to say that these nominalizations have a thematic Voice, but this head fails to assign accusative case. I will discuss both options later in this sub-section.

Even though nominalizations lack the type of verbal structure found in gerunds, they have been argued to include some verbal layers (see e.g., Alexiadou 2001; Borer 2003, i.a.). Since the seminal work of Grimshaw 1990, three types of nominals can be distinguished: i) complex event nominals license obligatory argument structure and denote complex events, ii) simple event nominals denote an event but are not associated with an event structure, iii) result nominals refer to the result of an event or a participant¹⁰ (for a summary of diagnostics identifying different projections within nominalizations see e.g., Borer 2003, 45, Alexiadou and Grimshaw 2008). Examples of each construction are provided below.¹¹

- | | | | |
|------|----|---|----------------|
| (58) | a. | The examination of the patients took a long time. | <i>Complex</i> |
| | b. | The examination took a long time. | <i>Simple</i> |
| | c. | The examination was on the table. | <i>Result</i> |

(Alexiadou and Grimshaw 2008, 2)

Lithuanian nominalizations behave like complex event nominals in that they inherit the argument structure of their related verbs and bear some verbal properties. For instance, they allow telic modifiers like *in an hour* (59b) or *in a couple of minutes* (60b). Thus, these nominalizations have aspectual properties which are associated with a verbal structure.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|----|-------|---------------------|-------------|-----|-------------|
| (59) | a. | Aš | per-daži-au | automobil-į | per | valandą. |
| | | I.NOM | PFV-repaint-PST.1SG | car-ACC | | within hour |

¹⁰These nominals are also known as referring nominals.

¹¹Various types of nominals have been extensively discussed in the literature, see Alexiadou 2001, 2009, 2010; Borer 2001, 2013; Bruening 2013; Roeper and Van Hout 1999, i.a.

‘I repainted the car in an hour.’

- b. [Man-o automobil-io per-daž-ym-as per valanda]
me-GEN car-GEN PFV-paint-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG within hour
vis-us nustebin-o.
everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
‘my repainting of the car in one hour surprised everyone’

- (60) a. Jon-as su-naik-in-o augal-us per kelias minutes.
Jonas-NOM PFV-destroy-CAUS-PST.3 plants-ACC within couple minutes
‘Jonas destroyed the plants in a couple of minutes.’
- b. [Jon-o augal-ų su-naik-in-im-as per kelias
Jono-GEN plants-GEN PFV-destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG within couple
minutes] vis-us nustebin-o.
minutes everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
‘Jonas’ destruction of the plants in a couple of minutes surprised everyone.’

The theme argument is obligatory with the aspectual modification, the absence of the theme yields ungrammaticality (61-62). This suggests that this nominalization inherits the argument structure from the verb, which is a typical behavior of complex event nominalizations crosslinguistically.

- (61) *[Man-o per-daž-ym-as per valanda] vis-us nustebin-o.
me-GEN PFV-paint-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG within hour everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
Intended ‘My repainting (of something) in one hour surprised everyone.’
- (62) *[Jon-o su-naik-in-im-as per minute] vis-us
Jonas-GEN PFV-destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG within minute everyone-ACC
nustebin-o.
surprise-PST.3
‘Jonas’ destruction (of something) in a minute surprised everyone.’

Additional evidence for verbal structure comes from verbal morphology. Just like regular verbs, nominalizations also allow lexical prefixes like *nu-* as in (63b) which belong to so-called Inner aspect, and originate inside *vP* (for discussion of these prefixes see Arkadiev 2011; Korostenskienė 2017; Šereikaitė 2017, 2018).

- (63) a. Aš **nu**-daži-au automobil-į per kelias valandas.
 I.NOM PFV-paint-PST.1SG car-ACC within couple hours
 ‘I have painted the car within a couple of hours.’
- b. [man-o automobil-io **nu**-daž-ym-as per kelias valandas]
 me.GEN car-GEN PFV-paint-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG within couple hours
 vis-us nustebin-o.
 everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 ‘My painting of the car within a couple of hours surprised everyone.’

The absence of the theme argument in the nominalization that has an aspectual prefix is judged as degraded as illustrated below. This can be taken as evidence that nominalizations with perfective prefixes are complex nominals that license argument structure.

- (64) ??Man-o **nu**-daž-ym-as vis-us nustebin-o.
 me-GEN PFV-paint-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 Intended ‘my painting (of something) surprised everyone.’

Another piece of evidence that nominalizations contain a vP layer comes from causative morphology. Lithuanian causatives are marked with the suffix *-in-* (see sub-section 2.2.4.1 for a discussion of causative constructions), which is present in nominalizations (65).

- (65) a. Jon-as su-naik-**in**-o augal-us per kelias minutes.
 Jonas-NOM PFV-destroy-CAUS-PST.3 plants-ACC within couple minutes
 ‘Jonas destroyed the plants within a couple of minutes.’
- b. [Jon-o augal-ų su-naik-**in**-im-as per kelias
 Jono-GEN plants-GEN PFV-destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG within couple
 minutes] vis-us nustebin-o.
 minutes everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 ‘Jonas’ destruction of the plants within a couple of minutes surprised everyone.’

The clitic *-si-*, which may have a reflexive meaning, is also permitted in nominalizations as in (66) (for a general overview of the clitic see Geniušienė 1987; Korostenskienė 2017; Šereikaitė 2017). This clitic may originate inside a vP (Korostenskienė 2017) or may be realized in an expletive VoiceP (Šereikaitė 2017), which could suggest that nominalizations may project a VoiceP.

- (66) a. Audin-iai nu-**si**-daž-ė raudon-a spalv-a.
 fabric-NOM PFV-RFL-paint-PST.3 red-INS color-INS
 ‘The fabric became dyed a red color.’
- b. audini-ų nu-**si**-daž-ym-as raudon-a spalv-a
 fabric-GEN PFV-RFL-paint-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG red-INS color-INS
 ‘fabric’s becoming dyed a red color’

Lithuanian also has Outer aspect prefixes which originate above a *vP* (Arkadiev 2011; Korostenskienė 2017; Šereikaitė 2016b, 2018). One of these prefixes is the prefix *te-*, which can have a permissive or restrictive meaning ‘only’ (for a discussion of the restrictive use see Arkadiev 2010). The prefix can be attached to the verb ‘paint’; nevertheless, it is not available in the nominalization (67). The ungrammaticality of these prefixes indicates that this nominalization lacks a type of aspect that originates outside *vP*.

- (67) a. Aš vos tik porą kartų **te**-daži-au šį automobil-į.
 I.NOM only just several times TE-paint-PST.1SG this car-ACC
 ‘I only painted this car a couple of times.’
- b. *man-o automobil-io **te**-daž-ym-as
 me-GEN car-GEN TE-daž-ym-as
 ‘my only painting of the car’

Hence, Lithuanian nominalizations contain morphology that originates inside *vP*, but lack layers that originate outside *vP*. The next thing to consider is whether these nominalizations have a thematic VoiceP. Complex event nominalizations have been shown to have an agentive interpretation, and thus have been argued to contain a Voice head, which introduces an external θ -role (Alexiadou 2009; Bruening 2013). This head is passive-like in that it does not assign accusative case to the theme. I argue that Lithuanian nominalizations also have an agentive interpretation. However, these constructions contain a non-verbal Voice head, which I call n_{voice} head.

The agentive interpretation in complex event nominalizations is obligatory. This is illustrated by the example in (68). The example introduces a type of context which favours a non-agentive interpretation and yet the genitive DP ‘judge’ is interpreted as having an

agentive reading. It is important to note that these examples are not common and they judged as marginal by the speakers. This is expected given that these nominalizations include three different genitives which precede the nominal, and thus may cause ambiguity.

Context: In Vilnius, there was a reading competition. Each participant had to read Shakespeare's sonnets. Each reading is attended by a judge who evaluates the performance of the participants.

(68) ?Konkurso metu [pirm-o teisėj-o Šekspyr-o sonet-ų
 competition time first-GEN judge-GEN Shakespeare-GEN sonnets-GEN
 skait-ym-as] buv-o daug raiškenis negu antr-o teisėj-o.
 reading-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 much expressive than second-GEN judge-GEN
 'During the competition, first judge's reading of Shakespeare's sonnets was more
 expressive than the second judge's reading.'

(i) ✓ The judge read the sonnets himself.

(ii) # The judge attended the reading, but did not read the sonnets.

These nominalizations also permit instruments which denote tools that an agent used to perform an action. This is another indication that they have an agentive interpretation.

(69) Jon-o nam-ų su-naik-in-im-as su buldozer-iu
 Jonas-GEN house-GEN PFV-destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG with bulldozer-INS
 'Jonas' destruction of houses with a bulldozer'

However, while nominalizations allow instruments, they forbid agent-oriented adverbs, which attach at the level of a verbal Voice head (70). Instead, nominalizations occur with agent-oriented adjectives. The unavailability of agent-oriented adverbs suggests that nominalizations contain a non-verbal Voice head. Given the grammaticality of the agent-oriented adjectives, I propose that nominalizations contain a type of nominal Voice head, thus n_{voice} , which encodes agentive semantics.

(70) a. [Jon-o **sąmoning-as** įraš-ų
 Jonas-GEN conscious-NOM.M.SG records-NOM.M.PL
 su-naik-in-im-as] vis-us nustebin-o
 PFV-destroy-CAUS-NOM.M.SG everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3

‘Jonas’ conscious destruction of records surprised everyone.’

- b. *[Jon-o iraš-ų su-naik-in-im-as sąmoning-ai]
 Jonas-GEN records-GEN PFV-destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG consciously-ADV
 vis-us nustebin-o.
 everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3

‘Jonas’ destruction of the records consciously surprised everyone.’

Nevertheless, the manner adverbs like *quickly* which attach at the level of *vP* and refer to the action itself are possible.¹² The availability of these adverbs is another indication that nominalizations indeed contain a *vP* layer.

- (71) [Jon-o neatsakingas automobil-io vairam-im-as greit-ai]
 Jonas-GEN irresponsible car-GEN drive-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG quickly-ADV
 kalnuotose vietovės-e] niek-am ne-patik-o
 mountainous places-LOC no.one-DAT NEG-like-PST.3

‘No one liked Jonas’s irresponsible driving quickly in mountainous areas.’

Passive voice morphology is typically encoded by the suffixes *-m/-t*.¹³ These passive suffixes are ungrammatical in nominalizations as illustrated below.¹⁴ I take it to suggest that there is no independent verbal VoiceP projection in nominalizations. The Voice head, which introduces agentive semantics, is a type of non-verbal head, which is bundled together

¹²Pakerys (2006) notes that in certain cases it is possible to find adverbs in nominalizations. However, it seems like in most of Pakerys’ examples the adverb functions more like an argument of a deverbal noun.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------------|------------|-------------|----|---|--------------------|------------|
| (i) | a. | On-a | atrod-o | juoking-ai. | b. | On-os | atrod-ym-as | juoking-ai |
| | | Ona-NOM | look-PRS.3 | funny-ADV | | Ona-GEN | look-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG | funny-ADV |
| | | ‘Ona looks funny.’ | | | | ‘Ona’s looking funny’ (Pakerys 2006, 145) | | |

¹³Ambrazas (1978) notes that historically the passive morphemes *-t/-m* used to be nominalizing, deverbal suffixes.

¹⁴A few instances of nominalizations with an auxiliary and a passive participle are attested e.g., see (i). Notice that the passive participle bears instrumental case, which is the type of case typically realized on nominal or adjectival predicates in copular constructions rather than canonical passives. These constructions also seem to have a stative-like interpretation. Furthermore, it is ungrammatical to form these types of nominalizations with non-stative verbs like *destroy* as in (ii).

- (i) Tikėjim-as yra [buv-im-as iš-rink-t-u].
 faith-NOM be.PRS.3 be-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG PFV-choose-PPP-INS.M.SG
 Lit. ‘Faith means being chosen.’ (Internet example)

- (ii) *[Buv-im-as su-naikin-t-u lig-os] dažnai prišauk-ia nevilt-į.
 be-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG PFV-destroy-PPP-INS.M.SG illness-GEN often invite-PRS.3 despair-ACC
 ‘Being destroyed by an illness often causes despair.’

with the nominalizing n head encoded by the suffix *-i/ym*. Therefore, the functions of Voice and n are unified in a single projection $n_{\text{voice}}\text{P}$ (see Pyłkkänen 2008; Harley 2017 for a bundling approach).

- (72) a. Marij-a pa-tikrin-o pažymi-us.
 Marija-NOM PFV-check-PST.3 grades-ACC
 ‘Marija checked the grades.’ Active
- b. Pažymi-ai buv-o pa-tikrin-t-i Marij-os.
 grades-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3 PFV-check-PPP-NOM.M.PL Marija-GEN
 ‘The grades were checked by Marija.’ Passive
- c. *[Marij-os pažymi-ų pa-tikrin-t-im-as] vis-us
 Marija-GEN grades-GEN PFV-check-PPP-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG everyone-ACC
 nustebin-o
 surprise-PST.3
 ‘Marija’s checking of grades surprised everyone.’

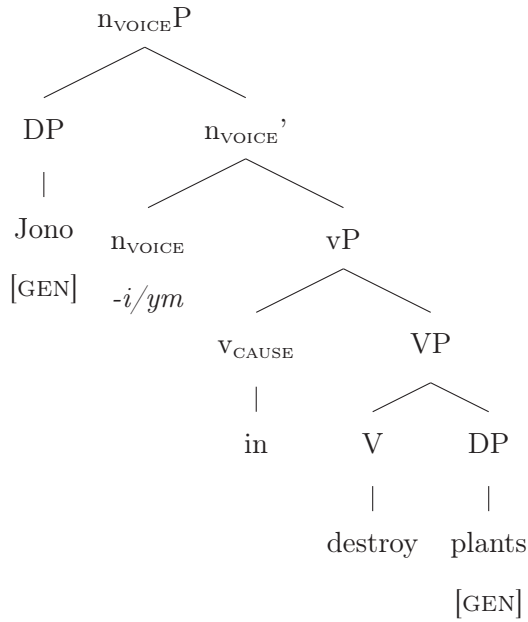
To summarize, Lithuanian nominalizations contain a verbal layer and projections that originate inside $v\text{P}$, but lack projections that originate outside $v\text{P}$. They inherit their argument structure from the verb as evidenced by the obligatoriness of the theme. To capture that, I follow Alexiadou (2001) suggesting that n_{voice} head, hosting the nominalizing suffix *-i/ym*, attaches on the top of a $v\text{P}$ with the theme argument being base-generated as a complement of V as in (74) (compare it with its active counterpart in (75)). The n_{voice} head is Voice-like in that it introduces an agentive reading (Kratzer 1996). It assigns an external argument θ -role to the genitive agent merged in $\text{Spec}n_{\text{voice}}\text{P}$, just like a regular active Voice head assigns the theta role to the nominative agent in SpecVoiceP .¹⁵

- (73) a. Jon-as su-naik-in-o augal-us per kelias minutes.
 Jonas-NOM PFV-destroy-CAUS-PST.3 plants-ACC within couple minutes
 ‘Jonas destroyed the plants within a couple of minutes.’
- b. [Jon-o augal-ų su-naik-in-im-as] per kelias
 Jono-GEN plants-GEN PFV-destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG within couple
 minutes] vis-us nutebin-o.
 minutes everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3

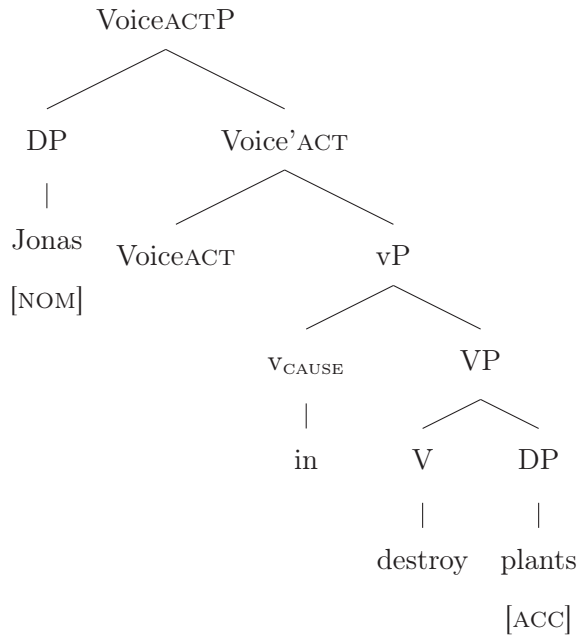
¹⁵See Baker and Vinokurova (2009) for a similar approach. In their analysis of agent nominals, the n head is proposed to bear agentive semantics like that of a Voice head in Kratzer (1996).

‘Jonas’ destruction of the plants within a couple of minutes surprised everyone.’

(74) Nominalization



(75) Active



Previous work on nominalizations has suggested that ‘double genitive’ pattern is a ‘double possessive’ pattern meaning that both genitives may function as possessives (e.g., Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2003, Kolliakou 1995 for Greek result nominals). I argue that the two genitives found in Lithuanian complex nominalizations as in (76) are structurally different,

and thus have different loci for case assignment. Specifically, I propose that in (76) a higher genitive (glosses as GEN.H) is a structural case assigned to agents whereas a lower genitive (glosses as GEN.L) is a structural case assigned to a grammatical object.

- (76) Marij-os augal-ų su-naik-in-im-as
 Marija-GEN.H plants-GEN.L PFV-destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
 ‘Marija’s destruction of plants’

Given that both the agent and the theme are marked with genitive, we can see that nominalizations are often ambiguous. The two genitives may be syncretic as in (76), but there is a morphological way to distinguish between the two. Two genitive forms for 1st and 2nd person singular personal pronouns as well as the reflexive pronoun ‘self’ can be found e.g., *mano* - me (glossed as high genitive, GEN.H) vs. *manęs* - me (glossed as low genitive, GEN.L). See Table 3.3 for a full list (see Pakerys 2006, 132-133, Germain 2017, 104-105 for discussion for these forms).

GEN.H	GEN.L
<i>man-o</i> - me	<i>man-ęs</i> - me
<i>tav-o</i> - you	<i>tav-ęs</i> - you
<i>sav-o</i> - self	<i>sav-ęs</i> - self

Table 3.3: Two genitive forms

GEN.H type personal pronouns can function as possessors (77), grammatical subjects e.g., the genitive subject of the evidential construction (78), as well as passive *by*-phrases (79).

- (77) **tav-o**/*tav-ęs nam-as
 you-GEN.H/you-GEN.L house-NOM.M.SG
 ‘your house’ *Possessor*
- (78) **Tav-o**/*tav-ęs nuramin-t-a vaik-as.
 you-GEN.H/you-GEN.L calm-PPP-[-AGR] child-NOM
 ‘You must have calmed the child down.’ *Subject of Evidential*
- (79) Laišk-as buv-o **tav-o**/*tav-ęs parašy-t-as.
 letter-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 you-GEN.H/you-GEN.L write-PPP-NOM.M.SG

‘The letter was written by you.’

Passive by-phrase

GEN.L type pronouns surface as theme objects as in (80) where the verb *laukti* ‘to wait’ takes a genitive object. They can also appear under genitive of negation, which affects only a grammatical object in the language as in (81). GEN.L forms also function like complements of prepositions (82). The distribution of the two forms is summarized in Table 3.5.

- (80) Ji lauk-ia **tav-ęs**/*tav-o.
 she.NOM wait-PRS.3 you-GEN.L/you-GEN.H
 ‘She is waiting for you.’

Object

- (81) a. Jon-as myl-i tav-e.
 Jonas-NOM love-PRS.3 you-ACC
 ‘Jonas loves you.’
- b. Jon-as ne-myl-i **tav-ęs**/*tav-o.
 Jonas-NOM NEG-love-PRS.3 you-GEN.L/you-GEN.H
 ‘Jonas does not love you.’

Genitive of Negation

- (82) Marij-a rėk-ė ant **tav-ęs**/*tav-o.
 Marija-NOM shout-PST.3 on you-GEN.L/you-GEN.H
 ‘Marija was shouting at you.’

Complement of P

Type of DP	Form
Possessor Subject <i>By-phrase</i>	<i>tavo</i> - you.GEN.H
Object Complement of P Genitive of negation	<i>tavęs</i> - you.GEN.L

Table 3.4: Distribution of two types of genitives

Given the presence of two distinct genitive forms, let us now observe how these two different forms are used in nominalizations. When the theme and the agent are present, *tavo*, thus GEN.H form, is necessarily interpreted as an agent and *manęs*, thus GEN.L, is interpreted as a theme (for discussion and additional examples of this pattern also see Pakerys 2006). In other words, each form is associated with a different argument.

Context: we are playing a computer game where your goal is to destroy your enemy. That enemy happened to be me. During the game, you destroyed me within a couple of minutes.

- (83) [Tav-o toks neįtikėtinai man-ęs/*man-o
 your-GEN.H such incredible me-GEN.L/me-GEN.H
 su-naik-in-im-as per kelias minutes] vis-us
 PFV-destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG within few minutes everyone-ACC
 šokirav-o.
 shock-PST.3
 ‘Your such incredible destruction of me within a couple of minutes shocked everyone.’

✓ GEN.H-GEN.L

Two GEN.H or two GEN.L forms cannot co-occur together (84-85). In other words, the GEN.H form cannot refer to both the agent, and the theme and the same applies to the GEN.L form. This is another indication that these two forms are strictly related to specific arguments within a nominalization.

- (84) *[Tav-o toks neįtikėtinai man-o su-naik-in-im-as
 your-GEN.H such incredible me-GEN.H PFV-destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
 per kelias minutes] vis-us šokirav-o.
 within few minutes everyone-ACC shock-PST.3
 ‘Your such incredible destruction of me within a couple of minutes shocked everyone.’

*GEN.H-GEN.H

- (85) *[Tav-ęs toks neįtikėtinai man-ęs su-naik-in-im-as
 your-GEN.L such incredible me-GEN.L PFV-destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
 per kelias minutes] vis-us šokirav-o.
 within few minutes everyone-ACC shock-PST.3
 ‘Your such incredible destruction of me within a couple of minutes shocked everyone.’

*GEN.L-GEN.L

Furthermore, GEN.L cannot precede GEN.H as demonstrated below. Thus, the GEN.L form cannot be used to refer to the agent argument and the GEN.H form cannot refer to the theme argument. The GEN.H form is the type of form that can only refer to the agent whereas the GEN.L form can only refer to the theme in nominalizations of transitive predicates.

- (86) **[Tav-ęs toks neįtikėtinas man-o su-naik-in-im-as*
 your-GEN.L such incredible me-GEN.H PFV-destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
 per kelias minutes] vis-us šokirav-o.
 within few minutes everyone-ACC shock-PST.3
 ‘Your such incredible destruction of me within a couple of minutes shocked everyone.’
*GEN.L-GEN.H

As expected in nominalizations with unergatives, the agent is realized as GEN.H rather than GEN.L. This is expected given that in nominalizations with transitive predicates the GEN.H form can only refer to agents.

- (87) *[Tav-o/*tav-ęs dažnas plaukioj-im-as baseine*
 your-GEN.H/you-GEN.L frequent swimming-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG swimming.pool
 po dvi valandas kiekvieną dieną] vis-iems patik-o.
 DISTR two hours every day everyone-DAT like-PST.3
 ‘Everyone liked your frequent swimming in the swimming pool for two hours every day.’
✓GEN.H
*GEN.L

Unaccusative predicates also allow GEN.H form and GEN.L is ungrammatical as in (88).¹⁶ This is an interesting pattern given that in nominalizations of transitive predicates the theme was marked with GEN.L.

- (88) *[Toks linksmas man-o/*man-ęs nu-krit-im-as nuo kėdės]*
 such funny me-GEN.H/me-GEN.L PFV-fall-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG from chair
 vis-us labai prajuokin-o.
 everyone-ACC very make.laugh-PST.3
 Lit. ‘My such funny falling from the chair made everyone laugh.’ ✓GEN.H

¹⁶There are exceptions to this pattern e.g., copular verbs like ‘be’ allow both forms as discussed by Pakerys (2006), see (i). However, the syntax of these predicates seems to be different from the rest of unaccusative verbs. The theme argument of these predicates may also undergo genitive of negation whereas the theme of canonical unaccusative predicates e.g., like ‘die’ or ‘fall’, does not exhibit this behavior as observed by Sigurðsson and Šereikaitė (2020). Therefore, these predicates require a different kind of analysis than regular unaccusative verbs.

(i) *Aš tave myli-u ir [tav-ęs/tav-o buv-im-as šalia kelias dienas]*
 I.NOM you.ACC love-PRS.1.SG and your-GEN.H/GEN.L be-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG near few days
 reikšt-ų man visk-ą.
 mean-SBJV me.DAT everything-ACC
 ‘I love you and your near presence for a couple of days would mean everything to me.’ (Adapted from Internet)

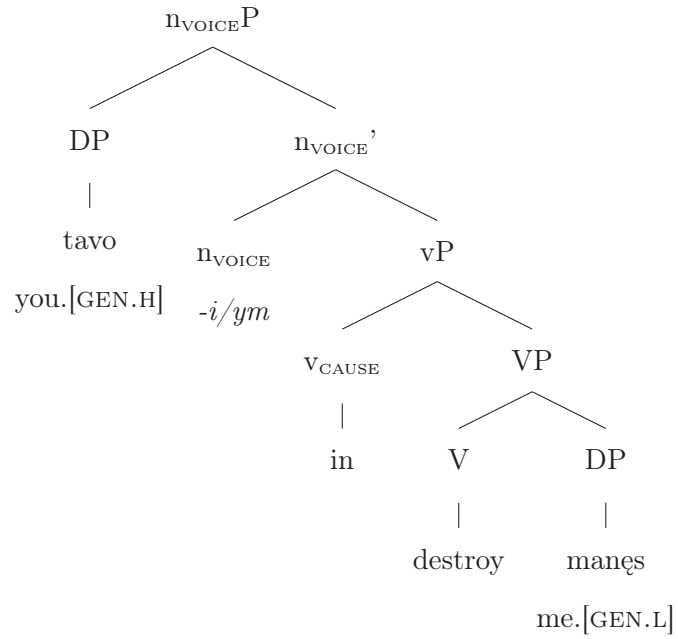
What we can conclude from these facts is that the GEN.L form can only be realized on the theme of transitive predicates. This case is then parallel to accusative case in an active transitive assigned to a grammatical object. In contrast, the GEN.H form is assigned to the highest available argument in the nominalization, thus the agent of transitives and unergatives as well as the theme argument of unaccusatives, see Table 3.5 for a summary. Thus, the GEN.H case is parallel to nominative case assigned in an active clause. The structure of the nominalization and the active transitive is provided in (90-91). The presence of two types of genitives suggests that there should be two distinct positions where these genitives are assigned.

Type of DP	Form
Agent of transitives	<i>tavo</i> - <i>you</i> .GEN.H
Agent of unergatives	
Theme of unaccusatives	
Theme of transitives	<i>tavęs</i> - <i>you</i> .GEN.L

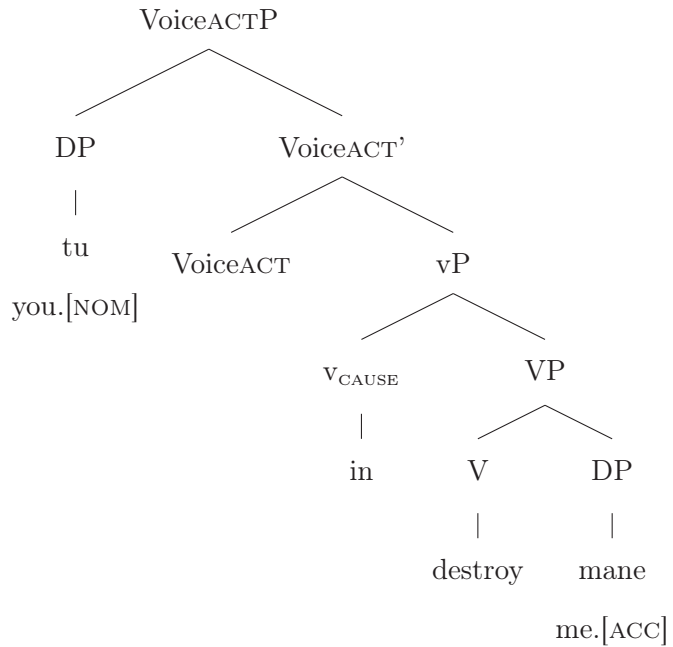
Table 3.5: Distribution of two types of genitives in CENS

- (89) a. Tu su-naik-in-ai man-e.
 you.NOM PFV-destroy-CAUS-PST.2.SG me-ACC
 ‘You destroyed me.’
- b. [Tav-o toks neįtikėtinai man-ęs/*man-o
 your-GEN.H such incredible me-GEN.L/me-GEN.H
 su-naik-in-im-as per kelias minutes] vis-us
 PFV-destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG within few minutes everyone-ACC
 šokirav-o.
 shock-PST.3
 ‘Your such incredible destruction of me within a couple of minutes shocked everyone.’

(90) Nominalization



(91) Active



With this background in mind, we can now come back to the nature of ACC-GEN alternation in nominalizations. Specifically, I would like to address the question of how the genitive case realized on the theme of transitives, thus GEN.L, is assigned in these nominalizations. Figuring out the details of case assignment in nominalizations would help us to determine the status of the dative DO of *help*-class predicates. In what follows, I provide evidence that

the genitive assigned to the theme, thus GEN.L, is not only a structural case (see Alexiadou 2001; Brattico and Leinonen 2009; i.a. for treating genitive as structural), but one, which can only be assigned under A-movement. First, observe that the theme with GEN.L case behaves like a structural case in that it alternates with structural accusative. In addition to that, observe that the theme must occur pre-nominally. Examples follow.

Context: we are playing a computer game where Jonas' goal is to destroy his enemy.

That enemy happened to be me.

- (92) a. Jon-as man-e visišk-ai su-naik-in-o per kelis
 Jonas-NOM me-ACC completely-ADV PFV-destroy-CAUS-PST.3 within couple
 mėnesius.
 months
 'Jonas completely destroyed me within a couple of months.'
- b. Jon-o visišk-as man-ęs/*man-e
 Jonas-GEN complete-NOM.M.SG me-GEN.L/me-ACC
su-naik-in-im-as per kelis mėnesius
 PFV-destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG within couple months
 'Jonas' complete destruction of me within a couple of months'
- c. *Jon-o visišk-as **su-naik-in-im-as**
 Jonas-GEN complete-NOM.M.SG PFV-destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
 man-ęs/man-e per kelis mėnesius
 me-GEN.L/me-ACC within couple months
 'Jonas' destruction of me within a couple of months'

Verbs like *abejoti* 'to doubt' assign non-structural instrumental case to their complement as in (93a). The instrumental DP is retained in the nominalization and follows the deverbal noun (93b). It is ungrammatical for the instrumental DP to precede the deverbal noun (93c). Furthermore, no genitive case is assigned to this argument regardless of its position within the nominalization (cf. 93b-93e). I provide additional examples with the retention of instrumental case in nominalizations in (94).¹⁷ The unavailability of GEN.L suggests that

¹⁷Zaika (2016) observes that some verbs e.g., like *susirgti* 'fall.ill', with an instrumental object allow that object to appear in genitive case in nominalizations as in (i-iii). Thus, some instrumental arguments must necessarily retain their case in nominalizations as in (93-94) whereas some allow genitive. This may suggest that there is a split: some instrumental arguments bear properties of a structural case and some pattern like

this case is structural: assigned to the types of arguments which would normally be assigned structural accusative case in an active transitive clause. Furthermore, the GEN.L is assigned pre-nominally whereas themes with a non-structural case occur post-nominally.

- (93) a. Aš abejoj-u tav-imi/*tav-e.
I.NOM doubt-PST.1SG you-INS/you-ACC
'I doubt you.'
- b. [Man-o abejo-im-as tav-imi/*tav-ęs] nustebin-o
me-GEN.H doubt-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG you-INS/you-GEN.L surprise-PST.3
vis-us.
everyone-ACC
'My doubting of you surprised everyone.'
- c. * [Man-o tav-imi abejoj-im-as] nustebin-o vis-us.
me-GEN.H you-INS doubt-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG surprise-PST.3 everyone-ACC
'My doubting of you surprised everyone.'
- d. * [Tav-ęs abejo-im-as] nustebin-o vis-us.
you-GEN.L doubt-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG surprise-PST.3 everyone-ACC
'doubting of you surprised everyone.'
- e. * [Man-o tav-ęs abejo-im-as] nustebin-o vis-us.
me-GEN.H you-GEN.L doubt-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG surprise-PST.3 everyone-ACC
'my doubting of you surprised everyone.'
- (94) a. Marij-a abejoj-o pergale.
Marija-NOM doubt-GEN victory-INS
'Marija was doubting the victory'

DPs marked with a non-structural case. I leave this split for further research. Nevertheless, it must be noted that the split observed with instrumental DPs seems to be similar to DPs marked with dative case since, as we will see in the next sub-section, datives of *help*-class verbs optionally exhibit the DAT-GEN alternation, whereas *serve*-class and ditransitives do not.

- (i) susirg-ti grip-u/*grip-ą (ii) susirg-im-as grip-u
fall.ill-INF flu-INS/flu-ACC fall.ill-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG flu-INS
'to catch flu' 'catching the flu'
- (iii) grip-o susirg-im-as
flu-GEN fall.ill-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
'catching the flu'

(Zaika 2016, 523)

- b. Marij-os abejoj-im-as pergale
 Marija-GEN doubting-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG victory-INS
 ‘Marija’s doubting of victory’
- c. *Marij-os pergale-és abejoj-im-as
 Marija-GEN victory-GEN doubting-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
 ‘Marija’s doubting of victory’

Furthermore, it is important to note that GEN.L is not assigned by a silent P(reposition). A number of prepositions in Lithuanian can take a genitive complement (for a full list see Ambrazas et al. 1997, 407). For example, the verb *rėkti* ‘to shout at’ takes a PP complement with the preposition *ant* ‘on’, which assigns genitive case to the theme as in (95a). When a nominalization is formed, the PP complement of *shout* follows the deverbal noun as in (95b), and it is ungrammatical for the PP to precede it as in (95c). Hence, PPs follow the nominal whereas the theme marked with GEN.L of transitive predicates like ‘destroy’ does not.

- (95) a. Aš rėki-au ant tav-ęs.
 I.NOM shout-PST.1 on you-GEN.L
 ‘I was shouting at you.’
- b. [Man-o rėk-im-as ant tav-ęs] vis-us nustebin-o.
 me-GEN.H shout-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG on you-GEN.L everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 ‘My shouting at you surprised everyone.’
- c. * [Man-o ant tav-ęs rėk-im-as] vis-us nustebin-o.
 me-GEN-H on you-GEN-L shout-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 ‘My shouting at you surprised everyone.’

For completeness observe that it is not possible for the genitive DP theme to precede the deverbal noun without an overt preposition as well (96).¹⁸

¹⁸As noted by Pakerys (2006) and Vladarskienė (2010), it is possible in certain cases for the complement of a prepositional phrase to advance to genitive as in (i-ii) where the accusative complement of PPs is fronted and occurs as genitive. Nevertheless, to my knowledge, this alternation is rare.

- (i) Jis lip-o tada per tvor-ą, į miest-ąėj-o.
 he.NOM climb-PST.3 then through fence-ACC, to city-ACC go-PST.3
 ‘He then climbed over the fence, went to the city.’

- (96) a. * [Tav-ęs ręk-im-as] vis-us mustebin-o.
 you-GEN.L shout-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 Intended. ‘Shouting at you surprised everyone.’
- b. * [Man-o tav-ęs ręk-im-as] vis-us mustebin-o.
 me-GEN.H you-GEN.L shout-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 Intended. ‘My shouting at you surprised everyone.’

The GEN.L of the theme behaves like a structural accusative case, and thus I propose that GEN.L is assigned by the n_{voice} head, just like an active Voice head assigns accusative case to a grammatical object. I assume that n_{voice} head is similar to a v-Voice head where the functions of Voice and v are unified in a single projection, in other words the two heads are bundled together (see e.g., Pykkänen 2008; Harley 2017 for this approach). This n_{voice} head has multiple functions. As an n head, it nominalizes the verbal structure. As a Voice head, it assigns an external argument θ -role to the genitive agent and structural GEN.L case to the theme as in (98), which is the derivation of (97b).

DPs with GEN.L case are restricted to a prenominal position whereas DPs with inherent case occur post-nominally suggesting that GEN.L is assigned under movement as in (98) (compare it with its active counterpart in (99)). I argue that GEN.L, unlike accusative case in an active transitive, is assigned under A-movement to $\text{Spec}_{n_{\text{voice}}P}$ position.¹⁹ Thus, the theme argument which is base-generated as a complement of V raises to $\text{Spec}_{n_{\text{voice}}P}$ position to receive GEN.L. This type of analysis is possible if we assume that ‘tucking in’ derivations are possible (e.g., see McGinnis 1998; Richards 1999). Given that the assignment of GEN.L is driven by movement, I will encode this case by [\bullet GEN.L \bullet] feature, which is a type of structure-building feature triggering Merge and Move (Müller 2010). Lastly, I suggest that

-
- (ii) Jam dar ilgai atsiliep-s tas tvor-os lip-im-as, miest-o
 he.DAT still long rebound-FUT.3 such fence-GEN climb-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG, city-GEN
 ęj-im-as.
 go-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
 Lit. ‘He will be negatively affected by his climbing over the fence and going to the city.’ (Jablonskis 1957, 572)

¹⁹This type of case assignment is parallel to nominative case assigned under A-movement by T in Faroese (see e.g., E F. Sigurðsson 2017). See also Brattico and Leinonen 2009 for a movement analysis of genitive case in Finnish nominalization.

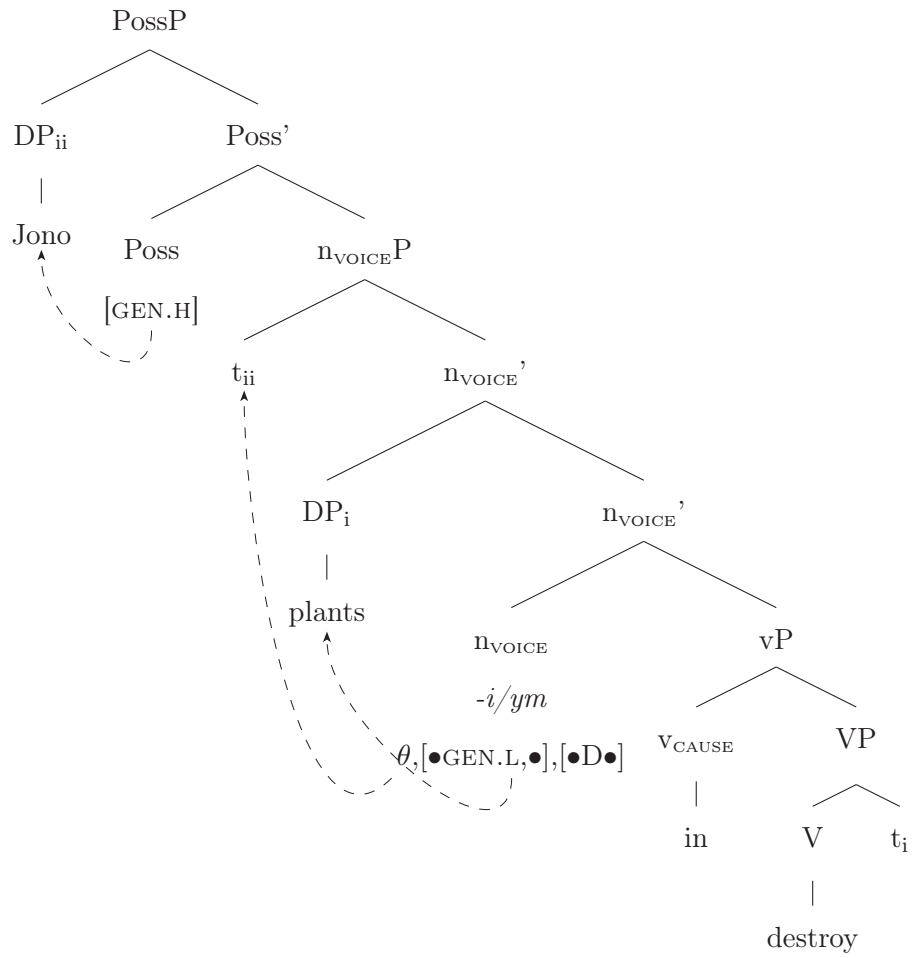
the agent is assigned a θ -role by n_{VOICE} . The requirement for n_{VOICE} to have a specifier is encoded by the [**•D•**] feature. The agent raises to SpecPoss(essor)P to receive GEN.H, which is assigned by the Poss head. Thus, Lithuanian provides evidence that in certain syntactic configurations, a DP may move to a special syntactic position to receive case, in other words case assignment can be driven by movement (however, recall that in passives the case assignment is not movement-driven, see sub-section 3.2).²⁰

- (97) a. Jon-as su-naik-in-o augal-us per kelias minutes.
 Jonas-NOM PFV-destroy-CAUS-PST.3 plants-ACC within couple minutes
 ‘Jonas destroyed the plans within a couple of minutes.’
- b. [Jon-o augal-ų su-naik-in-im-as per kelias
 Jonas-GEN plants-GEN PFV-destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG within couple
 minutes] vis-us nutebin-o.
 minutes everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 ‘Jonas’ destruction of the plants within a couple of minutes surprised everyone.’

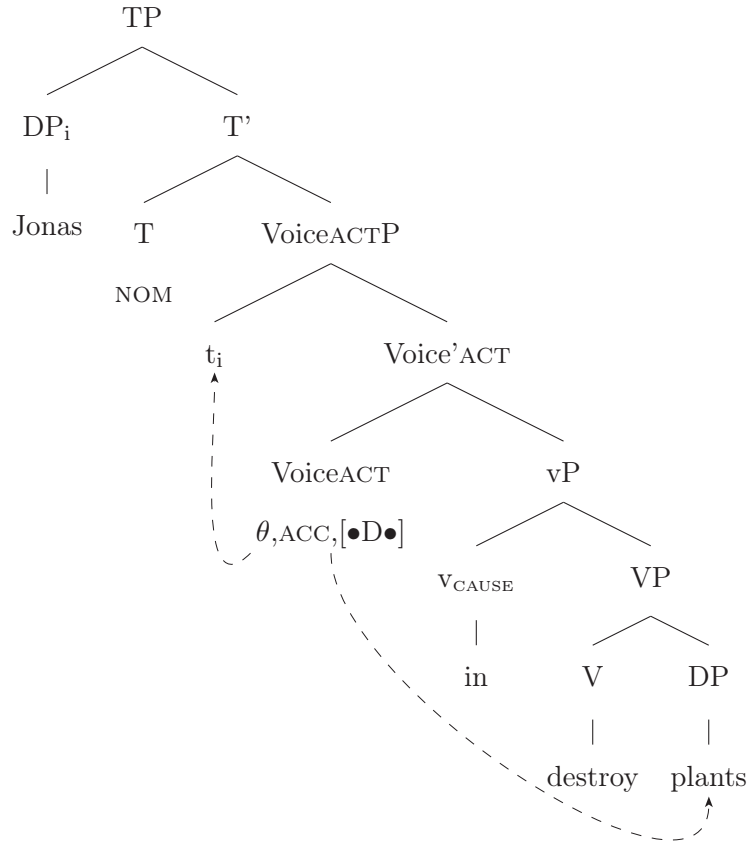
²⁰Another environment where movement seems to play a role in case assignment is in to-infinitive clause. To-infinitive clauses with a transitive verb have an accusative object, and the word order is VO as in (i). Nevertheless, the object can appear in nominative case, but then the word order is OV as in (ii). Hence, the nominative case assignment in this environment seems to be driven by movement as well. Note that this alternation is restricted to East High Lithuanian and can only appear with to-infinitive complements that are of psych-verbs, e.g., *nusibosti* - ‘to be boring’ or *patikti* - ‘to like’. For discussion and analysis of these types of to-infinitive clauses see Franks and Lavine 2006, and Arkadiev 2014.

- (i) Man nusibost-a [skaity-ti laikrašči-us].
 me.DAT be.boring-PRS.3 read-INF newspapers-ACC
 ‘It is boring for me to read newspapers.’
- (ii) Man nusibost-a [laikrašči-ai skaity-ti].
 me-DAT be.boring-PRS.3 newspapers-NOM read-INF
 ‘It is boring for me to read newspapers.’

(98) Nominalization of (97b)



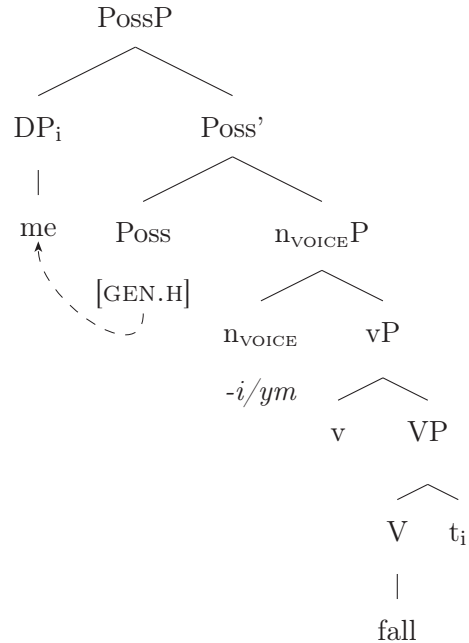
(99) Active



Lastly, for unaccusatives, I assume that the n_{VOICE} cannot assign GEN.L. The theme instead raises to SpecPossP to receive GEN.H from the Poss head.

- (100) [Toks linksmas man-o/*man-ęs nu-krit-im-as nuo kédès]
 such funny me-GEN.H/me-GEN.L PFV-fall-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG from chair
 vis-us labai prajuokin-o.
 everyone-ACC very make.laugh-PST.3
 Lit. 'My such funny falling from the chair made everyone laugh.'

(101) Nominalizations with unaccusatives



To summarize, in this sub-section, I introduced the basic characteristics and structure of Lithuanian nominalizations. I have demonstrated that nominalizations fall under the category of complex event nominals. They have a vP layer and inherit the argument structure of their related verb. I have further argued that these constructions have n_{voice} which hosts the suffix *-i/ym*. I have suggested that the theme that is usually assigned structural accusative case in an active transitive case, raises to Spec n_{voice} P and is assigned genitive case, specifically GEN.L, by n_{voice} head. On the other hand, the theme with a non-structural case retains its case and occurs after the deverbal noun. I have distinguished the theme argument with genitive, GEN.L, from the possessor/agent with GEN.H, and demonstrated that these DPs bear distinct cases given the morphological distinction observed between 1st and 2nd personal pronoun forms. It was argued that the agent is assigned GEN.H case by PossP. With this in mind, we can now come back to our discussion of different types of datives. In the next sub-section, I will test how different datives behave in nominalizations.

3.4.1.2 Nominalizations with *help*-class verbs

Dative arguments of *help*-class verbs, I repeat this class of predicates below in (102), can become nominative in the passive (see sub-section 3.2 for examples), which suggests that

this dative behaves like a structural case at least in this environment. Given this behavior, we may predict that the dative should be able to advance to genitive in nominalizations, which is one of the characteristic properties pertaining to an argument with a structural case. I address this prediction here.

- (102) *HELP*-class verbs: *atstovauti* - ‘to represent’, *kenkti* - ‘to harm’, *padéti* - ‘to help’, *pirmininkauti* - ‘to chair’, *pritari* - ‘to approve/give support to’, *vadovauti* - ‘to govern, manage, give orders’

To test this alternation, I used the verbs *vadovauti* ‘to manage’ and *pritari* ‘to approve’ from *help*-class predicates.²¹ Two configurations can be observed with these predicates. The dative argument can retain its case as in (103b), and when the case is retained, the dative argument stays in situ cf. (103c). This is a parallel behavior to the DP with non-structural instrumental case in as (93), repeated here in (104), suggesting that the dative DO in (103b) patterns like a DP bearing a non-structural case. However, the object of *help*-class predicates can also advance to genitive, and then the object must precede the deverbal noun as in (103c). The availability of the genitive case on the DO indicates that this DP also behaves as if it bears a structural case. Furthermore, these data also point to additional evidence for the movement of the internal argument in the nominatization which is motivated by the assignment of genitive case. In order for the theme argument to receive genitive case in nominalizations, it needs to move to a pre-nominal position, the case retention is possible only when the theme follows the nominal.²²

²¹I did not use the verb *padéti* ‘help’ because this predicate may also mean ‘to put down’. When a nominalization is formed such as ‘padéj-im-as’, the speakers tend to interpret it more like ‘put down’ rather than ‘help’.

²²This pattern is reminiscent of what we find in Icelandic nominalizations. The dative object of verbs like ‘rescue’ also appears in genitive in this environment (see Maling 2001; Wood 2018). On the other hand, unlike in Lithuanian, the retention of the dative is ungrammatical in Icelandic.

- | | | | |
|-------|---|------|---|
| (i) | þau björguðu sjómanninum.
they.NOM rescued sailor.the.DAT
‘They rescued the sailor.’ | (ii) | björg-un sjómannsins
rescue-NMLZ sailor.the.GEN
‘the rescue of the sailor.’ |
| (iii) | *björg-un sjómanninum
rescue-NMLZ sailor.the.DAT
Intended ‘the rescue of the sailor.’ | | |

(Wood 2012, 133-134)

- (103) a. Komitet-as greit-ai pritar-è projekt-ui/*projekt-à.
committee-NOM quick-ADV approve-PST.3 project-DAT/project-ACC
'The committee approved the project quickly.'
- b. [Komitet-o greit-as pritar-im-as
committee-GEN quick-NOM.M.SG approval-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M
projekt-ui/*projekt-o] vis-us nustebin-o.
project-DAT/*project-GEN everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
'The committee's quick approval of the project surprised everyone.'
- c. [Komitet-o greit-as projekt-o/*projekt-ui
committee-GEN quick-NOM.M.SG project-GEN/*project-DAT
pritar-im-as] vis-us nustebin-o.
approval-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
'The committee's quick approval of the project surprised everyone.'
- (104) [Man-o abejo-im-as tav-imi/*tav-ęs] nustebin-o vis-us.
me-GEN.H doubt-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG you-INS/you-GEN.L surprise-PST.3 everyone-ACC
'My doubting of you surprised everyone.'

An additional example of DAT-GEN case alternations with *vadovauti* 'to manage' is provided in (105). For attested examples of nominalizations with these types of predicates see Appendix D.

- (105) a. Jon-as vadovav-o darb-ams/*darb-us efektyvi-ai.
Jonas-GEN manage-PST.3 work-DAT/work-ACC effective-ADV
'Jonas was managing tasks effectively.'
- b. [Jon-o efektyv-us vadovav-im-as
Jonas-GEN effective-NOM.M.SG management-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M
darb-ams/*darb-ų] vis-us nustebin-o.
work-DAT/work-GEN everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
'Jonas' effective management of tasks surprised everyone.'
- c. [Jon-o efektyv-us darb-ų/*darb-ams
Jonas-GEN effective-NOM.M.SG work-GEN/*work-DAT
vadovav-im-as] vis-us nustebin-o.
management-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
'Jonas' effective management of tasks surprised everyone.'

It could be that the nominalizations, which permit the internal argument to appear

in genitive case e.g., (103c) or (105c), are in fact phrasal compounds (for discussion of phrasal compounds see e.g., Harley 2009; Sato 2010; Pafel 2015). In other words, the theme argument does not start its life as a complement of *v*, but instead it may be directly merged with a deverbal noun to form a compound, a single syntactic unit. However, I rule out this possibility. The genitive theme argument and the deverbal noun do not have to be adjacent to each other, which is a type of property that we would otherwise expect from a compound. This is illustrated in (106), the theme precedes the adjective that modifies the deverbal noun. This yields a reading where the emphasis falls on the theme ‘project’. In addition, the theme argument can have its own independent adjectival modifier like *techninins* ‘technical’ in (107), which suggests that the theme and the deverbal noun do not behave like a single syntactic unit.

- (106) [Projekt-o greit-as pritar-im-as] vis-us
 project-GEN quick-NOM.M.SG approval-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M everyone-ACC
 nustebin-o.
 surprise-PST.3
 ‘The quick approval of the project surprised everyone.’

- (107) [Technin-io projekt-o pritar-im-as] vis-us nustebin-o.
 technical-GEN project-GEN approval-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 ‘The approval of the technical project surprised everyone.’

Having ruled out the possibility that these are not compounds, the next question is whether the instances with the genitive object like (105c) are complex nominalizations, which license argument structure. As was mentioned in the previous sub-section, one way to reinforce a complex nominalization is by adding telic modification (recall examples like (59b)). Telic modifiers require the obligatory presence of the theme argument, which is a hallmark of complex nominalizations. Observe that verbs like *pritari* ‘approve’ allow telic modification in nominalizations and in those cases the object is obligatory (cf. 108-109), which can be taken as evidence that these nominalizations are indeed complex event nominals.

- (108) *[Parlament-o pritar-im-as per kelias valandas] vis-us
 parliament-GEN approval-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M through several hours everyone-ACC
 nustebin-o.
 surprise-PST.3
 Intended ‘Parliament’s approval (of something) within a couple of hours surprised everyone.’
- (109) [Parlament-o netikėt-as nauj-o įstatym-o
 parliament-GEN unexpected-NOM.M.SG new-GEN.M.SG law-GEN.M.SG
 pritar-im-as per kelias valandas] vis-us nustebin-o.
 approval-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M through several hours everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 ‘The parliament’s unexpected approval of a new law within an couple of hours surprised everyone.’

If the object of these complex nominalizations indeed raises to $\text{Spec}n_{\text{voice}}\text{P}$ position to receive genitive case, then it means that it should bear GEN.L case, which, as was discussed in sub-section 3.4.1.1, is a type of structural case assigned by n_{voice} . We, therefore, predict that personal pronoun forms with GEN.L case like *tavęs* ‘you’, *manęs* ‘me’ should be available in these constructions. Surprisingly, these pronoun forms are banned from this environment irrespective of whether they precede the deverbal noun or follow it, as indicated below in (110). Google search as well as corpus search (tekstynas.vdu.lt) give zero hits for nominalizations with GEN.L.

- (110) a. Tu man pritar-ei.
 You.NOM me.DAT approve-PST.2.SG
 ‘You approved me.’ (in the sense of ‘gave me support’)
- b. * [man-ęs pritar-im-as] vis-us nustebin-o.
 me-GEN.L approve-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 ‘The approval of me surprised everyone.’
- c. * [tav-o man-ęs pritar-im-as] vis-us nustebin-o
 you-GEN.H me-GEN.L approve-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 ‘Your approval of me surprised everyone.’
- d. * [tav-o pritar-im-as man-ęs] vis-us nustebin-o
 you-GEN.H approval-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG me-GEN.L everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3

‘Your approval of me surprised everyone.’

It is possible for the DO pronoun to stay in its original position and remain dative as in (111). Unlike the theme DP in (103-105), which can either advance to genitive or retain its case, personal pronouns in nominalizations permit only one option, which is case retention.

- (111) a. [Tav-o pritar-im-as man] vis-us nustebin-o.
you-GEN.H approval-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG me.DAT everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
‘Your approval of me surprised everyone.’
- b. * [Tav-o man pritar-im-as] vis-us nustebin-o.
your-GEN.H me.DAT approve-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
‘Your approval of me surprised everyone.’

Additional examples with *vadovauti* ‘manage’ are provided below.

- (112) a. Tu man vadovav-ai.
you.NOM me.DAT manage-PST.2SG
‘You managed me.’ (gave me orders)
- b. * [Man-ęs vadovav-im-as] vis-us nustebin-o.
me-GEN.L management-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
‘The management of me surprised everyone.’
- c. * [Tav-o man-ęs vadovav-im-as] vis-us
you-GEN.H me-GEN.L management-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG everyone-ACC
nustebin-o.
surprise-PST.3
‘Your management of me surprised everyone.’
- d. [Tav-o vadovav-im-as man/*man-ęs] vis-us
you-GEN.H management-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG me.DAT/me-GEN.L everyone-ACC
nustebin-o.
surprise-PST.3
‘Your management of me surprised everyone.’

While 1st and 2nd person pronouns with GEN.L are not possible, the reflexive GEN.L form *savęs* ‘self’ is (see Table 3.3 for a full paradigm of pronoun forms). Thus, GEN.L forms are not completely out. However, it is important to point out that these nominalizations

are rather different from the ones discussed above in that the initiator here is not overtly expressed. Though it could be that the null initiator is syntactically projected given that the binding of self anaphor is possible here.

- (113) a. Jis pritar-ė sau/*sav-ęs.
 he.NOM approve-PST.3 self.DAT/self-GEN.L
 ‘He approved himself.’
- b. Tiesą sakant, [sav-ęs pritar-im-as] yra raktas į
 truth telling, self-GEN.L approval-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M is key to
 transformaciją.
 transformation
 ‘To tell you the truth, the approval of oneself is a key to transformation’²³
- (114) a. Jis vadovav-o sau/*sav-ę.
 he.NOM manage-PST.3 self.DAT/self-GEN.L
 ‘He managed himself.’
- b. [Sav-ęs vadovav-im-as] ir savisdisciplina yra jo
 self-GEN.L manage-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG and self.discipline be.PST.3 his.GEN
 paties išgalvoti dalykai.
 self.GEN made.up things
 ‘The self management and self discipline are his own made-up things.’²⁴

The ungrammaticality of 1st and 2nd person pronoun forms with GEN.L in these cases can be interpreted in two ways. First, it can be that the internal argument of the nominalization in fact does not raise to Spec_{voice}P position, and thus the genitive theme arguments in cases like (103c), repeated here in (115), may be something else. However, this would be incompatible with our finding that the nominalizations with the genitive object are complex in the sense that they license argument structure when the genitive theme is present as was illustrated in (108-109). Furthermore, how can one explain the presence of two genitive DPs in (115)? The object argument would be forced to occupy a possessor position, and we would end up having two possessors. Second, it may be that this ungrammaticality is to

²³<https://certifiedcoach.org/lt/can-change-without-transformation/> accessed on 03-26-2019.

²⁴Adapted from <https://lt.psichiatria.org/spygliai-gerkleje-jusu-neissprestos-metu-problemos-2/> Accessed on 03-26-2019

do with a complex interaction between nominalizations of certain predicates and personal pronouns. I suggest that it is the second option that may be at play here.

- (115) [Komitet-o greit-as projekt-o/*projekt-ui
 committee-GEN quick-NOM.M.SG project-GEN/*project-DAT
 pritar-im-as] vis-us nustebin-o.
 approval-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 ‘The committee’s quick approval of the project surprised everyone.’

Observe that the impossibility of the genitive theme pronoun is not strictly related to 1st and 2nd person pronouns that show morphological distinction between the two types of genitives. The nominalization is also ungrammatical with the genitive object which is the 3rd person pronoun as illustrated below (116b).

- (116) a. Tu jam pritar-ei.
 you.NOM him.DAT approve-PST.2SG
 ‘You approved him.’ (gave him support)
- b. * tav-o jo pritar-im-as
 you-GEN.H his.GEN approval-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
 ‘your approval of him’
- c. tav-o pritar-im-as jam
 you-GEN.H approval-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG him.DAT
 ‘your approval of him’

In fact, we see the same type of pattern with personal pronouns in passives as well. If the internal argument is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun, it cannot advance to nominative, instead it needs to retain its dative case in the passive (117). Thus, it is possible to form impersonal passives, but not agreeing passives with these pronouns. In contrast, regular nominal DPs allow both options, the impersonal passive as well as the agreeing passive (118). Observe that the meaning of the verb with an animate object is also slightly different, the verb *pritari* means more like ‘give me support’, ‘agree with my opinion’, whereas with inanimate DPs like in (118) the verb truly means to ‘approve’ something.

- (117) a. Vis-i man pritar-ė.
 everyone-NOM me.DAT approve-PST.3
 ‘Everyone approved me.’ (give me support)
- b. Man buv-o visų pritar-t-a.
 me.DAT be-PST.3 everyone-GEN approve-PPP-[AGR]
 ‘I was approved by everyone.’ *Impersonal Passive*
- c. *Aš buv-au visų pritar-t-as
 I.NOM be-PST.1.SG everyone-GEN approve-PPP-NOM.M.SG
 ‘I was approved by everyone.’ *Agreeing Passive*
- (118) a. Vis-os tikrininač-ios institucij-os pritar-ė š-iam nauj-am
 all checking institutions-NOM approve-PST.3 thisDAT new-DAT
 įstatym-ui.
 law-DAT
 ‘All verifying authorities approved a new law.’
- b. Š-iam nauj-am įstatym-ui buv-o pritar-t-a visų tikrinanči-ų
 this.DAT new-DAT law-DAT be-PST.3 approve-PPP-[-AGR] all checking-GEN
 institucij-ų.
 institutions-GEN
 ‘The new law was approved by all verifying authorities.’ *Impersonal Passive*
- c. Šis nauj-as įstatym-as buv-o pritar-t-as visų
 this.NOM new-NOM law-NOM be-PST.3 approve-PPP-NOM.M.SG all
 tikrinanč-ių institucij-ų.
 checking-GEN institutions-GEN
 ‘The new law was approved by all verifying authorities.’ *Agreeing Passive*

I provide an additional example with *vadovauti* ‘manage’, which shows the same contrast with personal pronouns in the passive.

- (119) a. Aš tiesiog jauči-au, kad vis-i man nuolatos
 I.NOM just feel-PST.1.SG that everyone-NOM me.DAT constantly
 vadovav-o.
 manage-PST.3
 ‘I just felt that everyone constantly managed me.’ (gave me orders)
- b. Aš tiesiog jauči-au, kad man buv-o visų
 I.NOM just feel-PST.1.SG that me.DAT be-PST.3 everyone-GEN

- vadovauja-m-a.
manage-PPRP-[-AGR]
'I just felt that I was being managed by everyone.' *Impersonal Passive*
- c. *Aš tiesiog jauči-au, kad aš buv-au vis-ų
I.NOM just feel-PST.1.SG that I.NOM be-PST.1.SG everyone-GEN
vadovauja-m-as.
manage-PPRP-NOM.M.SG
'I just felt that I was being managed by everyone.' *Agreeing Passive*
- (120) a. Marij-a vadovav-o fabrik-ui.
Marija-NOM manage-PST.3 factory-DAT
'Jonas was managing the factory.'
- b. Fabrik-ui buv-o Marij-os vadovauja-m-a
factory-DAT be-PST.3 Marija-GEN manage-PPRP-[-AGR]
'The factory was (being) managed by Marija.' *Impersonal Passive*
- c. Fabrik-as buv-o Marij-os vadovauja-m-as.
factory-NOM be-PST.3 Marija-GEN manage-PPRP-NOM.M.SG
'The factory was (being) managed by Marija.' *Agreeing Passive*

I leave aside the investigation of a complex interaction of personal pronouns and nominalizations with *help*-class predicates as it is beyond the scope of this chapter.

To summarize, we have observed that nominalizations formed with *help*-class predicates allow their dative object to advance to genitive case or the dative object can retain its case. Thus, we see that the dative case does behave like a structural case in that it can alternate with genitive just like structural accusative case. Nevertheless, it differs from structural accusative case in that it exhibits optionality: the advancement to genitive case in nominalizations is optional, just like the advancement to nominative in the passive.

3.4.1.3 Nominalizations with *serve*-class verbs and ditransitives

The dative argument of *serve*-class predicates and *ditransitives* does not advance to nominative in the passive suggesting that it is a non-structural case. If this case is indeed non-structural, then we may expect the dative to be retained in nominalizations. No DAT-

GEN alternation should take place. I demonstrate that this prediction is borne out. Let us first start with *serve*-class predicates. Recall our *serve*-class verbs presented here in (121).

- (121) *SERVE*-class: *nuolaidžiauti* - ‘to make concessions’, *nusilenkti* - ‘to bow’, *pasiduoti* - ‘to surrender’, *pataikauti* - ‘to be subservient to someone/to flatter someone’, *prieštarauti* - ‘to contradict’, *tarnauti* - ‘to serve’, *vergauti* - ‘to be a slave’

The dative argument of these verbs does not advance to genitive case and stays in its original position in nominalizations as illustrated below with *pataikauti* - ‘to be subservient to someone/to flatter someone’ and *nuolaidžiauti* - ‘to make concessions’.²⁵ The ungrammaticality of the genitive object argument in these nominalizations indicates that the object does not behave like a DP with a structural case.

- (122) a. Žiniasklaid-a dažn-ai pataikauj-a blog-am skoni-ui.
 mass.media-NOM frequent-ADV be.subservient-PRS.3 bad-DAT taste-DAT
 ‘The mass media is often subservient to a bad taste.’
- b. [žiniasklaid-os dažn-as pataikav-im-as blog-am
 mass.media-GEN frequent-NOM.M.SG be.subservient-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG bad-DAT
 skoni-iui/*blog-o skoni-o] vis-us stebin-o
 taste-DAT/bad-GEN taste-GEN everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 ‘Mass media’s frequent subservience to a bad taste was surprising everyone.’
- c. *[žiniasklaid-os dažn-as blog-o skoni-o/blog-am skoni-ui
 mass.media-GEN frequent-NOM.M.SG bad-GEN taste-GEN/bad-DAT taste-DAT
 pataikav-im-as] vis-us nustebin-o
 be.subservient-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 ‘Mass media’s frequent subservience to bad taste surprised everyone.’
- (123) a. Valdži-a dažn-ai nuolaidžiav-o politini-ams
 government-NOM frequent-ADV make.concessions-PST.3 political-DAT
 žaidim-ams.
 games-DAT
 ‘The government was frequently making concessions to political games.’

²⁵I used these two verbs here because, unlike other verbs from this class, they can select an inanimate object. Animate objects in a pre-nominal position may be interpreted as possessors whereas inanimate objects favour a non-possessive, theme-like interpretation.

- b. [Valdži-os nuolaidžiav-im-as politin-iams
government-GEN make.concessions-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG political-DAT
žaidim-ams/*politini-ų žaidim-ų] vis-us nustebin-o.
games-DAT/political-GEN games-GEN everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
‘Government’s making concession to political games surprised everyone.’
- c. *[Valdži-os dažnas politini-ų žaidim-ų/politin-iams žaidim-ams
government-GEN frequent political-GEN games-GEN/political-DAT games-DAT
nuolaidžiav-im-as] vis-us nustebin-o.
make.concessions-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
‘Governments’ making concession to political games surprised everyone.’

In addition to that, the pronoun forms with GEN.L case are ungrammatical in these nominalizations (124-125), which is consistent with the idea that the dative argument of these pronouns does not advance to genitive in nominalizations in general.

- (124) a. Žiniasklaid-a pataikav-o man/tau.
mass.media-NOM be.subservient-PST.2 me.DAT/you.DAT
‘The mass media was subservient to me/you.’
- b. *man-ęs/tav-ęs pataikav-im-as
me-GEN.L/you-GEN.L be.subservient-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M
‘subservience to me/you’
- c. *žiniasklaid-os man-ęs/tav-ęs pataikav-im-as
mass.media-GEN me-GEN.L/you-GEN.L be.subservient-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M
‘mass media’s subservience to me/you’
- d. žiniasklaid-os pataikav-im-as man/tau
mass.media-GEN be.subservient-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M me.DAT/you.DAT
‘mass media’s subservience to me/you’
- (125) a. Valdž-ia nuolaidžiav-o man/tau.
government-NOM made.concessions-PST.3 me.DAT/you.DAT
‘The government made concessions to you/me.’
- b. *man-ęs/tav-ęs nuolaidžiav-im-as
me-GEN.L/you-GEN.L make.concessions-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
‘making concessions to you/me’

- c. *valdži-os man-ęs/tav-ęs nuolaidžiav-im-as
government-GEN me-GEN.L/you-GEN.L make.concessions-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
‘Government’s making concessions to you/me’
- d. valdži-os nuolaidžiav-im-as man/tau
government-GEN make.concessions-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG me.DAT/you.DAT
‘Government’s making concessions to you/me’

The same kind of behavior can be seen with ditransitive verbs. The dative indirect object is retained. It does not advance to genitive suggesting that this dative is non-structural. The theme, which is marked with accusative case in an active transitive, becomes genitive in the nominalization and precedes the deverbal noun. This pattern is expected if the theme bears structural case.

- (126) a. Vaik-as netikėt-ai dav-ė tėv-ui obuol-į.
child-NOM unexpected-ADV give-PST.3 father-DAT apple-ACC
‘The child unexpectedly gave the father the apple.’
- b. vaik-o netikėt-as obuol-io dav-im-as tėv-ui
child-GEN unexpected-NOM.M.SG apple-GEN give-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG father-DAT
‘child’s unexpected giving the apple to the father’
- c. *vaik-o netikėt-as obuol-io dav-im-as tėv-o
child-GEN unexpected-NOM.M.SG apple-GEN give-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG father-GEN
‘child’s giving the apple to the father’
- d. *vaik-o netikėt-as tėv-o obuol-io dav-im-as
child-GEN unexpected-NOM.M.SG father-GEN apple-GEN give-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
‘child’s unexpected giving the apple to the father’

To sum up, we have observed that, unlike *help*-class predicates, *serve*-class predicates and ditransitives never allow their dative arguments to alternate with genitive case. This behavior suggests that dative is a type of non-structural case.

3.4.2 Genitive of Negation

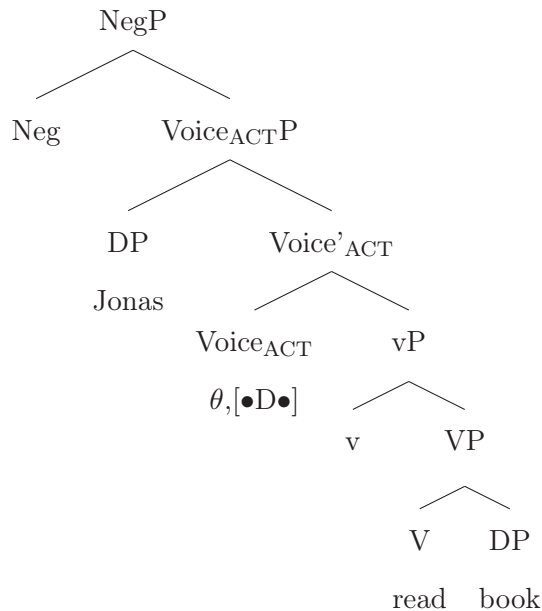
I now turn to genitive of negation, which has been used as a test to distinguish between structural and inherent case by Anderson (2013, 2015). The grammatical object with structural

accusative case becomes genitive when negation is present as in (127b) (also see sub-section 2.2.2.1 for discussion). Thus, the genitive of negation affects DPs which would normally be assigned structural accusative case by a thematic Voice head as sketched in (128) (for an analysis of genitive of negation in Lithuanian see Sigurðsson and Šereikaitė 2020).

(127) Transitive

- a. Jon-as skait-o knyg-ą/*knyg-os.
Jonas-NOM read-PST.3 book-ACC/book-GEN
'Jonas is reading the book.'
- b. Jon-as ne-skait-o knyg-os/*knyg-ą.
Jonas-NOM NEG-read-PST.3 book-GEN/book-ACC
'Jonas does not read the book.'

(128)



Genitive of negation cannot be applied to DPs with a non-structural case. For instance, the verb *abejo-ti* 'doubt' takes an instrumental complement. The complement cannot be genitive when negation is present.

- (129) a. Aš abejoj-u tav-imi.
I.NOM doubt-PRS.1SG you-INS
'I doubt you.'

- b. Aš ne-abejoj-u tav-imi/*tav-ęs.
 I.NOM NEG-doubt-PRS.1SG you-INS/you-GEN.L
 ‘I don’t doubt you.’

However, careful investigation shows that this diagnostic is not a reliable test to distinguish between inherent and structural case since genitive of negation may not be applied to DPs bearing structural nominative case.²⁶ For instance, the nominative grammatical subject of unaccusatives (130) or the nominative grammatical object of evidentials (131) cannot undergo genitive of negation. Thus, genitive of negation tracks grammatical objects with structural accusative case and it may not target an underlying object which bears structural nominative case.

- (130) Traukin-ys/traikin-io ne-atvažuoj-a.
 train-NOM/*train-GEN NEG-arrive-PRS.3
 ‘The/a train is not arriving.’ *Unaccusative*

- (131) Ing-os ne-nuramin-t-a vaik-as/*vaik-o.
 Inga-GEN NEG-calm.down-PPP-[-AGR] child-NOM/child-GEN
 ‘Inga must have not calmed the child down.’ *Evidential*

The objects with the dative of all three classes of predicates retain their case, and genitive is not available in this environment as illustrated in (132). This may be treated as evidence that this dative behaves like inherent case. However, as discussed above, genitive of negation cannot be applied to all DPs with a structural case. Therefore, I suggest that the unavailability of genitive indicates that the internal arguments of these predicates do not pattern like grammatical objects marked with accusative case. Hence, the dative of *help*-class predicates is not ambiguous between patterning like structural accusative case and

²⁶Observe that a few exceptions can be found. For example, a locative construction in (i-ii) has a nominative DP, which does alternate with genitive. However, as discussed by Sigurðsson and Šereikaitė (2020), when the genitive of negation is realized on the DP in these constructions, this nominal necessarily behaves like a grammatical object rather than a grammatical subject. See also Aleksandravičiūtė (2013) for a semantic approach.

- (i) Kambar-yje yra kompiuter-is. (ii) Kambar-yje nėra kompiuter-io/*kompiuter-is.
 room-LOC be.PRS.3 computer-NOM room-LOC NEG.be.PRS.3 computer-GEN/computer-NOM
 ‘In the room, there is a computer.’ ‘In the room, there is no computer.’

inherent case in this environment meaning that it cannot be associated with two distinct structures. If it were ambiguous, we would have expected that this dative to show a dual behavior in this environment as well, just like in passives and nominalizations.

- (132) a. Vaik-as ne-padēj-o tēv-ui/*tēv-o.
 child-NOM NEG-help-PST.3 father-DAT/father-GEN
 ‘The child didn’t help the father.’ *help-class*
- b. Marij-a ne-tarnav-o atējūn-ams/*atējūn-ū.
 Marija-NOM NEG-serve-PST.3 invaders-DAT/invaders-GEN
 ‘Marija didn’t serve the invaders.’ *serve-class*
- c. Motin-a ne-dav-ē vaik-ui/*vaik-o obuol-io.
 motina-NOM NEG-give-PST.3 child-DAT/child-GEN apple-GEN
 ‘The mother didn’t give the child an apple.’ *distansitives*

3.4.3 Evidentials

Another test that has been proposed for determining whether a DP bears a structural or inherent case is evidential constructions (Sigurðsson et al. 2018). In evidential constructions, the thematic subject that would typically bear a structural nominative case appears in genitive, whereas the grammatical object that would bear a structural accusative appears in nominative (133). The verb is marked with passive morphology (see Chapter 4 for a detail discussion of this construction, also see Lavine 2010b; Spraunienė et al. 2015; Legate et al. to appear and reference therein).

- (133) a. Ing-a nuramin-o vaik-a.
 Inga-NOM calm.down-PST.3 child-ACC
 ‘Inga calmed the child down.’ *Active*
- b. Ing-os nuramin-t-a vaik-as.
 Inga-GEN calmed.down-PPP-[-AGR] child-NOM
 ‘Inga must have calmed the child down.’ *Evidential of Transitive*

The theme that surfaces as a grammatical subject e.g., that of unaccusatives or passives, typically bears structural nominative case in the active. Nevertheless, in the evidential, the

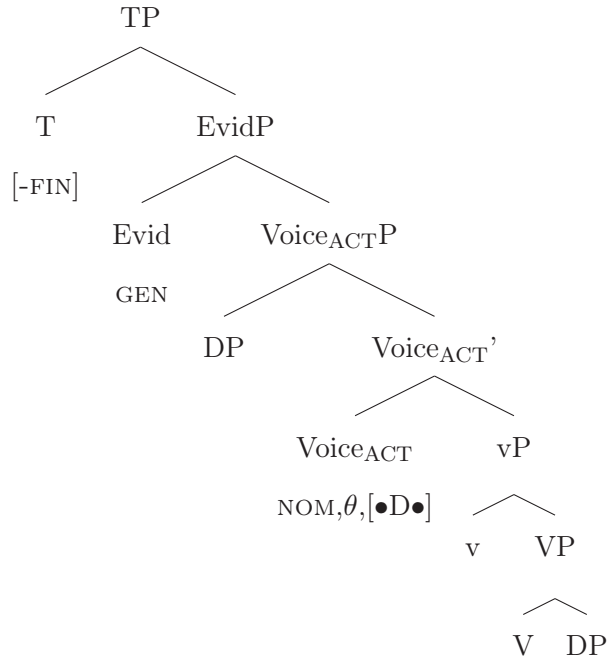
theme is assigned genitive case as exemplified here. The genitive case in the evidential is a type of structural case that is assigned under A-movement to a grammatical subject (see Legate et al. to appear for arguments, also see Chapter 4).

- (134) a. Vaik-as buv-o nuramin-t-as Ing-os.
 child-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 calm.down-PPP-NOM.M.SG Inga-GEN
 ‘The child was calmed down by Inga.’ *Passive*
- b. Vaik-o bū-t-a nuramin-t-o Ing-os
 child-GEN.M.SG be-PPP-[-AGR] calm.down-PPP-NOM.M.SG Inga-GEN
 ‘The child must have been calmed down by Inga.’ *Evidential of Passive*
- (135) a. Traukin-ys atvažiav-o
 train-NOM arrive-PST.3
 ‘The train arrived.’ *Unaccisative*
- b. Traukin-io atvažiuot-a.
 train-GEN arrive-PPP-[-AGR]
 ‘The train must have arrived.’ *Evidential of Unaccusative*

As far as the structure of the evidential is concerned, I follow Legate et al’s (to appear) analysis and assume that this construction has an EvidP, which is located between a TP and a thematic VoiceP (see Blain and Déchaine 2006 for discussion on the evidential projection being located inside a CP). This is presented in (136), which is the derivation of (133b). The evidential construction has a non-finite T, which is in a selectional relation with EvidP. Furthermore, EvidP determines the use of a VoiceP that assigns nominative rather than accusative case.²⁷ Thus, the thematic Voice head assigns nominative case to the grammatical object. The genitive case is assigned to the subject in SpecVoiceP by the Evid head (also see Chapter 4 for a more fleshed out account of this analysis).

²⁷The fact that nominative case may not necessarily be assigned by T has also been discussed in H.Á. Sigurðsson (2000, 2003) who argues that nominative case can in fact be assigned by *v*.

(136)



While objects with structural accusative case in the active alternate with nominative in the evidential, objects with dative case do not allow this alternation as exemplified in (137).²⁸ Case retention facts in the evidential again suggest that the dative case assigned to the internal argument here does not behave like the theme with structural accusative case. However, I do not propose that this environment necessarily shows that the dative is non-structural case. This is due to the fact that we only have evidence that nominative in the evidential can be applied to the theme that bears structural accusative case in the active. We do not have evidence that nominative in the evidential is realized on the theme that bears other types of structural cases than accusative in the active.

- (137) a. Ing-os padê-t-a vaik-ui/*vaik-as
 Inga-GEN help-PPP-[-AGR] child-DAT/child-NOM
 ‘Inga must have helped the child.’ *help-class*
- b. Ing-os tarnau-t-a atējūn-ams/*atējūn-ai.
 Inga-GEN serve-PPP-[-AGR] invaders-DAT/invaders-NOM
 ‘Inga must have served the invaders.’ *serve-class*

²⁸One may wonder if evidentials of passives with dative DPs are possible. Unfortunately, evidentials of passives with verbs taking dative arguments are not attested to my knowledge. I was not able to find any instances of these passives online, and my consultants were not able to formulate them either.

- c. Ing-os duo-t-a vaik-ui/*vaik-as kny-g-a.
 Inga-GEN give-PPP-[-AGR] child-DAT/child-NOM book-NOM
 ‘Inga must have given the child the book.’

ditransitives

3.4.4 Preposition ‘po’ and Obligatory Dative

The last test that has been argued to distinguish between structural and non-structural case is the distributive preposition *po* (glossed here as DISTR which stands for distributor), which roughly means ‘each’ (Anderson 2013, 2015). The preposition takes an accusative DP complement as in (138).²⁹ *Po* imposes a distributive reading where the complement of the preposition is distributed over a certain argument in the sentence e.g., *children* as in (138).³⁰

- (138) Vaik-ai i-ėj-o i klas-ę po vien-ą.
 children-NOM PFV-enter-PST.3 to class-ACC DISTR one-ACC
 Lit. ‘Children entered the class one each.’
 ‘Children entered the class one by one.’

The theme argument can be embedded under this preposition as well. As demonstrated by Anderson (2013; 2015), the grammatical object with structural accusative case is compatible with *po* as illustrated in (139) and (140).

- (139) a. Jie su-valg-ė obuol-j.
 they.NOM PFV-eat-PST.3 apple-ACC
 ‘They ate an apple.’

²⁹The preposition *po* also has a non-distributive meaning ‘under’ as in (i) as well as ‘after’ as in (ii). Crucially, in both these cases, the complement of the preposition is not accusative, unlike the complement of the distributive preposition *po*, suggesting that these are different types of prepositions, which overlap in their form.

- (i) Kat-ė slėp-ė-si po stal-u/*stal-ą.
 cat-NOM hide-PST.3-RFL under table-INST/table-ACC
 ‘The cat was hiding under the table.’
 (ii) Jis atėj-o po valand-os/*valand-ą.
 He.NOM come-PST.3 after hour-GEN/hour-ACC
 ‘He came after an hour.’

³⁰Russian has also been reported to have a distributive preposition *po*, which exhibits similar characteristics to the Lithuanian *po*; see Pesetsky 1982; Borik 1995; Franks 1995; Harves 2003; Bailyn 2012.

- 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)

- (140) a. Vaik-ai iš-leid-o du eur-us
 children-NOM PFV-spend-PST.3 two euros-ACC
 ‘The children spent two euros.’
 b. Vaik-ai iš-leid-o po du eur-us
 children-NOM PFV-spend-PST.3 DISTR two euros-ACC
 ‘The children spent two euros each.’

In addition, the theme grammatical object with nominative case as e.g., that of the evidential construction, can also occur with this preposition. When the preposition is added, the theme bears accusative rather than nominative case as in (141).

(141) *Evidential*

- a. Jų su-valgy-t-a obuol-ys.
 they.GEN PFV-eat-PPP-[-AGR] apple-NOM
 ‘They must have eaten an apple.’
 b. Jų su-valgy-t-a po obuol-į/*obuol-ys.
 they.GEN PFV-eat-PPP-[-AGR] DISTR apple-ACC/apple-NOM
 ‘They must have eaten an apple each.’

Not only the theme grammatical object, but also the theme grammatical subject which is marked with structural nominative case shows the same effects with regards to the preposition *po*. The distributive *po* functions as a subject of unaccusatives and passives. (142a) and (143a) present examples with the nominative theme subject, whereas (142b) and (143b) present cases where the preposition *po* is applied to the theme subject.³¹ Again, we can see that the complement of the preposition can only bear accusative case.

³¹Note that the theme subject argument occurs here after the verb. The VS word order is common, especially with unaccusative verbs in an indefinite context where the subject is introduced to the hearer for the first time. See Gillon and Armoskaite 2015 on (in)definiteness effects and word order facts in Lithuanian, and also see Ambrazas et al. 1997, 690-692 for additional details on word order, also see sub-section 2.2.3.2.4.

(142) *Unaccusatives*

- a. Nuo medž-io nu-krit-o kriauš-ė.
from tree-GEN PFV-fall-PST.3 pear-NOM
'A pear fell from a tree.'
- b. Nuo kiekvien-o medž-io nu-krit-o po kriauš-ę/*kriauš-ė.
from each-GEN tree-GEN PFV-fall-PST.3 DISTR pear-ACC/pear-NOM
'A (different) pear fell from each tree.'

(143) *Passive*

- a. Plantacij-oje nuo kiekvien-o medž-io darbinink-ų buv-o
plantation-LOC from each-GEN tree-GEN workers-GEN be-PST.3
nuskin-t-os kriauš-ės/*kriauš-es.
pick-PPP-NOM.F.PL pears-NOM.F.PL/pears-ACC
'In the plantation, pears were picked by workers from each tree.'
- b. Plantacij-oje nuo kiekvien-o medž-io darbinink-ų buv-o
plantation-LOC from each-GEN tree-GEN workers-GEN be-PST.3
nuskin-t-a po kriauš-ę/*kriauš-ė.
pick-PPP-[-AGR] DISTR pear-ACC/pear-NOM
'In the plantation, a (different) pear was picked by workers from each tree.'

The grammatical subject of unergatives and transitives can also appear with the preposition *po* as in (144)-(145). Crucially, the complement of the preposition allows accusative case, but is ungrammatical with nominative.³²

(144) *Unergatives*

- a. Ant batutų jau šokinėj-o vaik-ai.
on trampolines already jump-PST.3 children-NOM
'On the trampolines, children were already jumping.'

³²The use of the preposition *po* as a subject of transitives is restricted. It requires a numeral phrase to appear as a part of the complement of the preposition as illustrated in (145), and the absence of the numeral causes ungrammaticality as in (i) (for a similar restriction exhibited by the Russian distributive *po* see Borik 1995 and Harves 2003). I leave this syntactic restriction for further research. The most relevant fact for our discussion here is that the preposition *po* can be applied to subjects of transitives.

- (i) Kiekvien-ą tekst-ą peržiūrėj-o po ??lingvist-ą/*lingvist-as.
every-ACC text-ACC view-PST.3 DISTR linguist-ACC/linguist-NOM
'A (different) linguist viewed each text.'

- b. Ant kiekvieno batuto jau šokinėj-o po vaik-ą/*vaik-as.
 on every trampoline already jump-PST.3 DISTR child-ACC/child-NOM
 ‘A (different) child was already jumping on every trampoline.’

(145) *Transitives*

- a. Du lingvist-ai peržiūrėj-o kiekvien-ą tekst-ą.
 two linguists-NOM review-PST.3 every-ACC text-ACC
 ‘Two linguists reviewed every text.’
- b. Kiekvien-ą tekst-ą peržiūrėj-o po du lingvist-us/*du lingvist-ai.
 every-ACC text-ACC review-PST.3 DISTR two linguists-ACC/two linguists-NOM
 ‘A (different) pair of two linguists reviewed every text.’³³

To recap, the preposition *po* can occur as the thematic subject of transitives, unergatives as well as the grammatical subject of unaccusatives and passives. Furthermore, it can also be applied to the theme grammatical object that typically bears structural accusative or nominative case. The summary is provided in Table 3.6. The complement of the preposition is always accusative regardless of the type of the structural position the PP occurs in. Thus, even though the PP occurs in a subject position where structural nominative case is normally assigned, the complement of the PP still bears accusative and the assignment of the nominative case is blocked. This suggests that the accusative case assigned by the preposition takes precedence over structural case, which can be taken as evidence that the accusative assigned by the preposition may be non-structural. Alternatively, the PP can be treated as a strong phase, and therefore it is not visible for the assignment of other cases.

³³https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321926056_Kolokacija_r_frazeologizmu_a_t pazinimo_k_riterijai
 Accessed 03-04-2019

	PO + DPACC
thematic subject of transitives	✓
thematic subject of unergatives	✓
grammatical subject of unaccusatives	✓
grammatical subject of passives	✓
accusative grammatical object	✓
nominative grammatical object	✓

Table 3.6: The list of DPs compatible with the preposition *po*

Anderson (2013, 2015) demonstrates that DPs with inherent case cannot be complements of the preposition *po* in Lithuanian. Let us now apply this test to the three classes of verbs with the dative object. Applying the preposition to the dative argument results in ungrammaticality. The three classes of verbs show the same behavior in this respect. If the dative case of the object in these examples were structural case, we would have expected the dative to be ungrammatical, and instead the accusative case would appear on the complement of the preposition. This is a type of pattern attested in (cf.144-145) where the PP occurs in a nominative subject position (cf.144-145). However, the PP with the accusative complement is banned from this environment as well (146) suggesting that this dative, unlike structural nominative or accusative, needs to be obligatorily assigned to its argument.

- (146) a. *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.’ *help-class*
- b. *Vyr-ai tarnav-o po atėjūn-ą/atėjūn-ui.
 men-NOM serve-PST.3 DISTR invader-ACC/invader-DAT
 ‘Men served one invader each.’ *serve-class*
- c. *Motin-a dav-ė po vaik-ą/vaik-ui obuol-į.
 mother-NOM give-PST.3 DISTR child-ACC/child-DAT apple-ACC
 ‘Mother gave each child an apple.’ *ditransitives*

Thus, neither dative nor accusative case can overwrite each other. The unavailability of the dative with the complement of the preposition *po* can be treated as evidence that the

accusative case assigned by the P is also a type of case that needs to be obligatorily assigned to the complement of P. Two conflicting case requirements occur in this environment, the preposition requires its complement to be accusative, whereas the predicate requires a dative complement. The preposition blocks the assignment of the dative which results in ungrammaticality.³⁴

The next thing that we need to carefully consider is whether the passives of these verbs are compatible with the preposition *po*. In (147), we see that once the preposition *po* is applied to the passive, the ungrammaticality raises irrespective of whether the complement of P is accusative or dative. All three classes of verbs exhibit the same pattern again as illustrated below.

- (147) a. *Advokat-ŭ buv-o padeda-m-a po darbinink-a/darbinink-ui.
 lawyers-GEN be-PST.3 help-PPRP-[-AGR] each worker-ACC/worker-DAT
 ‘Each worker was being helped by the lawyers.’ *help-class*
- b. *Vyr-ŭ buv-o tarnauja-m-a po atėjūn-a/atėjūn-ui.
 men-GEN be-PST.3 serve-PPRP-[-AGR] each invader-ACC/invader-DAT
 ‘Each invader was being served by men.’ *serve-class*
- c. *Jon-o buv-o duo-t-as po vaik-a/vaik-ui
 Jonas-GEN be-PST.3 give-PPRP-NOM.M.SG each child-ACC/child-DAT
 obuol-ys.
 apple-NOM.M.SG
 ‘Each child was given an apple by Jonas.’ *ditransitives*

The passive with the preposition *po* is a crucial piece of the data that can provide us some insights on the type of case these predicates assign and the timing of case assignment. Recall that *help-class* verbs, unlike the *serve-class* verbs and ditransitives, allow two types of passives: agreeing passives with the dative argument changing into nominative, and impersonal passives with the dative argument retaining its case in (148). In the agreeing passive, the object raises to a grammatical subject position and is assigned structural nominative case.

³⁴The case conflict presented here is somewhat similar to case conflict effects in German and Dutch relative clauses; for discussion see Vogel 2002, 2003 and references therein. Also see Bošković 2006 for a complex interaction between the genitive of quantification and other cases in Slavic, which present a similar puzzle.

(148) *Help-class*

- 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.SG.M be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PPRP-NOM.M.SG
'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-PPRP-[-AGR]
'The father was being helped by the child.' *Impersonal Passive*

Importantly, the PP with *po* can function as a grammatical subject of the passive where nominative case would be assigned, recall our example in (143), repeated here in (149). Taken into consideration these observations, one may predict that the PP with the distributive preposition *po* should be able to occur in the agreeing passive with *help*-class in cases like (148b). However, we see that passives with the preposition *po* and *help*-class verbs are ungrammatical as in (147a).

(149) *Passive*

- a. Plantacij-oje nuo kiekvien-o medž-io darbinink-ų buv-o
plantation-LOC from each-GEN tree-GEN workers-GEN be-PST.3
nuskin-t-a kriauš-ės/*kriauš-es.
pick-PPP-[-AGR] pears-NOM/pears-ACC
'In the plantation, pears were picked by workers from each tree.'
- b. Plantacij-oje nuo kiekvien-o medž-io darbinink-ų buv-o
plantation-LOC from each-GEN tree-GEN workers-GEN be-PST.3
nuskin-t-a po kriauš-ę/*kriauš-ė.
pick-PPP-[-AGR] DISTR pear-ACC/pear-NOM
'In the plantation, a (different) pear was picked by workers from each tree.'

This syntactic environment provides us more insights on the kind of case the dative of *help*-class predicates is. Why are the passives with *help*-class predicates ungrammatical with the preposition *po*, while both of them are compatible with a DP grammatical subject?

I propose that the ungrammaticality arises due to the obligatory nature of dative case. I suggested above that the dative case assignment of *help*-class verbs is obligatory in the active. I propose that the same goes for the passive. The dative of the *help*-class predicates needs to be obligatorily assigned to the object, and then it may be optionally overwritten by the nominative, which explains the optionality of these two cases in the passive. Passives with the preposition *po* and *help*-class predicates are ungrammatical because the preposition blocks the assignment of dative, the requirement to obligatorily assign dative is not met and the derivation crashes. The dative case of these verbs differs from a structural case in that it must be obligatorily assigned whereas canonical structural case does not have this requirement. Furthermore, passives provide evidence for the case overwriting mechanism governing the case assignment in Lithuanian. I will expand and provide more evidence for this proposal in the analysis part in sub-section 3.5.

As far as the dative case of *serve* and ditransitives is concerned, we observed that it is also incompatible with the preposition *po*. This pattern is expected. The dative of these predicates is inherent, non-structural as was confirmed by passives and nominalizations. Inherent case needs to be obligatorily assigned to the object, but its assignment is blocked by the preposition, which also requires its case to be assigned. Because of these distinct requirements, both the active and the passive instances are ungrammatical as in (146b-146c) and (147b-147c).

3.4.5 Interim Summary

In this sub-section, we have carefully investigated various tests that have been proposed to distinguish between structural and inherent case in Lithuanian. The results from the tests are summarized in Table 3.7.³⁵

³⁵Another test that may be potentially used for structural and non-structural case distinction is middle constructions. The theme marked with structural accusative case in the active appears as a nominative subject in the middle, which is marked with the reflexive *-si-* as in (i)-(ii). However, middles cannot be formed with DPs that in the active would be marked with dative as in (iii). In this respect, Lithuanian patterns like German, which also shows a similar restriction (see Maling 2001). Lithuanian and German can be contrasted with Icelandic, which does permit the dative object to become a subject in the middle (see Maling 2001). This pattern requires further research and is beyond the scope of this chapter.

	ACC object	DAT object <i>help</i> -class	DAT object <i>serve</i> -class <i>ditransitives</i>
NOM case in Passives	✓	✓(optional)	*
GEN in Nominalizations	✓	✓(optional)	*
NOM with evidentials	✓	*	*
GEN of Negation	✓	*	*
allow preposition <i>po</i>	✓	*	*

Table 3.7: Summary of Diagnostics

It was demonstrated that some syntactic diagnostics may not be reliable and do not show clear-cut differences between the two types of cases. I have suggested that passives and nominalizations are the two well established syntactic environments that permit us to determine the status of case. According to these diagnostics, the dative of *help*-class predicates qualifies as structural case because it can advance to nominative. The same goes for nominalizations, the dative can advance to genitive, which is a characteristic behavior of structural case. However, this dative is different from structural accusative in that it shows optionality, the dative case can be optionally retained in these environments unlike structural accusative. Datives of *serve* predicates and ditransitives behave like inherent cases in that they never alternate with structural case.

The other two case patterns, namely genitive of negation and the evidential, inform us about the locus of case assignment. While they may not be used as true diagnostics for structural vs. inherent case distinction, these two syntactic configurations suggested that the dative case of all three predicate classes does not pattern like structural accusative case.

Lastly, the preposition *po* may be applied to DPs with structural case, but it cannot apply

-
- (i) Aš skalbi-u drabuž-ius.
I.NOM wash-PRS.1SG clothes-ACC
'I am washing the clothes.'
- (ii) Šie drabuž-iai skalbi-a-si lengv-ai.
these.NOM clothes-NOM wash-PRS.3-RFL easy-ADV
'These clothes wash easily.'
- (iii) *Tėv-as/tėv-ui sunki-ai pa-si-ded-a.
father-NOM/father-DAT hard-ADV PFV-RFL-help-PRS.3
'The father helps with difficulty.'

to the dative of *help*-class predicates. I proposed that this is to do with the fact that unlike other structural cases, the dative of *help*-class predicates needs to be obligatorily assigned. This is what makes this case marked. The dative of *help*-class is a *marked structural case*: it must be obligatorily assigned, but it can be optionally overwritten by nominative in the passive.

The fact that *help*-class predicates permit the theme to be marked with either nominative or dative case in the passive suggests that these predicates, in fact, may be associated with two distinct structures: one structure where the internal argument is assigned a structural case, and another structure where the internal argument is assigned a non-structural case. However, I believe that there are important reasons to refute this hypothesis. While dative case is optional in passives and nominalizations, we do not find this type of optionality in other syntactic environments. The dative is retained and obligatorily surfaces in evidentials (see sub-section 3.4.3), genitive of negation (see sub-section 3.4.2) as well as active transitive constructions. An object with structural accusative case does not retain its case, and instead is marked with nominative in the evidential and the genitive of negation. Thus, the tests discussed in this sub-section demonstrate that *help*-class predicates cannot have two distinct structures.

3.5 Analysis

In this section, I propose an analysis for the two datives: the marked structural dative of *help*-class and the inherent dative of *serve* and ditransitives. In sub-section 3.5.1, I demonstrate that datives in Lithuanian cannot be analyzed under a PP analysis, which has been proposed for dative arguments in other languages. In sub-section 3.5.2, I argue that the dative case of *help*-class predicates is a type of marked structural case. This dative is assigned by a thematic Voice head just like structural accusative, but the dative is marked in that it must be assigned by the thematic Voice head obligatorily despite the featural make-up of the Voice head (be it active or passive). Once, the dative is assigned, then it can be optionally overwritten by other structural cases e.g., like nominative in the passive. In

sub-section 3.5.3, I propose that the inherent dative of *serve* and ditransitives is assigned by the applicative head. The inherent case is argued to be inert in the sense of McGinnis (2000) in that a DP marked with this case is syntactically inactive, not visible for A-movement.

3.5.1 Why not PPs?

It has been proposed in the literature that datives are complements of a PP (e.g., Bittner and Hale 1996; Řezáč 2000; Čaha 2006; Alexiadou et al. 2014a, also see Landau 2009 on dative experiencers i.a.). The PP is a phase, and therefore the dative complement is not visible for the advancement to nominative. Nevertheless, in certain situations the complement can undergo A-movement e.g., when P is incorporated into the complex Voice-*v*. This type of analysis allows to account for variation that exists between languages where some datives advance to nominative under passivization and others do not.

The question is whether the types of datives discussed in this chapter can provide evidence for the PP analysis. To put it differently, can the PP analysis account for the behavior of two types of datives discussed in this sub-section? Hypothetically, we could say that all Lithuanian datives are assigned by a silent P. Then, the P head of *help*-class datives can be incorporated in the verbal complex, while that of *serve*-class and ditransitives cannot. This may explain the difference between the two types of datives. However, Lithuanian has at least three different classes of datives: i) *help*-class datives, which are marked structural; ii) datives of *serve*-class predicates and ditransitives, which bear properties of an inherent case, iii) quirky dative DPs, which are types of subjects marked with a non-structural dative case (for data see sub-section 3.2.1, also Chapter 4 for a more explicit account). Importantly, these datives do not show a homogeneous behavior as a group. In contrast, they are syntactically distinct. When a DP is assigned a marked structural case, it can retain its case and its status as an object, or it can optionally advance to a nominative subject. An argument bearing an inherent dative never advances to a subject position or bear nominative case. We also find an “intermediate” dative: a quirky dative DP which, unlike the DP with inherent case, does surface as a grammatical subject. These datives cannot simply be analyzed under

one unifying account based on two configurations offered by the PP analysis. To account for the distribution of Lithuanian datives, we need a type of syntactic analysis, which can encode at least a three-way distinction.

Furthermore, PPs and dative DPs do not pattern identically as has been pointed out by Sigurðsson et al. (2018). I briefly review the behavior of datives and PPs below. Before we proceed, it is important to note that while Lithuanian has a number of prepositions that assign various cases to their complements (see Ambrazas et al. 1997, 404-426), it lacks a preposition that assigns dative case in Standard Lithuanian.³⁶ The comparison of dative arguments and PPs will include PPs with non-dative complements.

3.5.1.1 Passives

The PP analysis cannot be proposed at least for the *help*-class construction due to the distinction existing between PP complements and dative objects in passives. The dative DO of *help*-class can be advanced to nominative in the passive (150).

(150) *Help-class*

- 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.SG.M be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PPRP-NOM.M.SG
 ‘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-PPRP-[-AGR]
 ‘The father was being helped by the child.’ *Impersonal Passive*

³⁶However, as Jurgis Pakerys (pc) has pointed out to me, some dialects of Lithuanian do have prepositions with a dative complement. For instance, speakers from the East part of Lithuania allow the preposition *prie* ‘near’ to appear with dative, whereas in Standard Lithuanian this preposition takes genitive, (i-ii) (see Ambrazas 2006). I do not have access to these speakers, and thus the pattern in (i) is not discussed in this chapter.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (i) %prie mišk-ui
near forest-DAT
‘near the forest’ | (ii) prie mišk-o
near forest-GEN
‘near the forest’ |
|---|--|

Nevertheless, the complement of a PP cannot be raised to a subject position and receive nominative. In other words, as observed in Sigurðsson et al. 2018, Lithuanian lacks pseudo-passives and instead that PP is retained as illustrated below in (151).

- (151) a. Šiandiena Jon-as kalbėj-o [apie neseniai įvykusį skandal-ą].
 today Jonas-NOM talk-PST.3 about recently happened scandal-ACC
 ‘Today Jonas talked about a recently emerged scandal.’
- b. Šiandiena Jon-o buv-o kalba-m-a [apie neseniai įvykusį skandal-ą].
 today Jonas-GEN be-PST.3 talk-PPRP-[-AGR] about recently happened scandal-ACC
 Lit.: ‘Today, by Jonas, it was talked about a recently emerged scandal.’
- c. *Šiandiena neseniai įvykęs skandal-as_i buv-o kalbė-t-as
 today recently happened scandal-NOM be-PST.3 talk-PPP-NOM.M.SG
 [apie t_i] Jon-o.
 about Jonas-GEN
 ‘Today, a recently emerged scandal was talked about by Jonas.’

(Sigurðsson et al. 2018, 12-14)

Anderson (2015) states that pseudo-passives in Lithuanian are possible and gives the examples in (152a) and (152b). Nevertheless, as observed in Sigurðsson et al. (2018), there is a difference between these two sentences: the passive in (152b) lacks the preposition *į* whereas the active (152a) does not. In fact, when the preposition is added to the passive with the complement promoted to subject position as in (152c), the example becomes ungrammatical, which may suggest that (152c) is not a passive counterpart of the active in (152a). Nevertheless, the passive is grammatical when no preposition stranding is involved and the complement simply stays in situ as in (152d).

- (152) a. Jis atsak-ė į klausim-ą.
 he.NOM answer-PST.3 to question-ACC
 ‘He answered to the question’
- b. Klausim-as buv-o jo atsaky-t-as.
 question-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 he.GEN answer-PPP-NOM.M.SG
 ‘The question was answered by him.’ (Anderson 2015, 299)

c. * Klausim-as_i buv-o jo atsaky-t-as [i t_i].
 question-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 he.GEN answered-PPP-NOM.M.SG to
 ‘The question was answered by him.’

d. Jo buv-o atsaky-t-a [i klausim-a].
 he.GEN be-PST.3 answer-PPP-[AGR] to question-ACC
 ‘The question was answered by him.’ (Sigurðsson et al. 2018, 13)

A number of instances can be found online with *atsakyti* ‘to ask’ without an overt preposition e.g., as in (153-154). It could be that the construction in (152b) is actually the passive version of a transitive verb without a preposition as in (153-154) rather than the passive version of transitives with the overt preposition as in (152a).

(153) Tačiau labiausiai patik-o, kaip jis atsak-ė klausim-ą apie
 however the.most like-PST.3 how he.NOM answer-PST.3 question-ACC about
 Elon-ą Musk-ą.
 Elon-ACC Musk-ACC
 ‘However, I like the most how he answered to the question about Elon Musk.’³⁷

(154) Dažn-ai kyl-a klausim-as, kodėl mokin-ys atsak-ė klausim-ą
 often-ADV arise-PST.3 question-NOM why pupil-NOM answer-PST.3 question-ACC
 neteising-ai.
 incorrectly-ADV
 ‘Often a question arises why a pupil answered to the question incorrectly.’³⁸

To sum up, Lithuanian lacks pseudo passives, the complement of P cannot advance to subject position. However, the theme argument of *help*-class predicates does advance to nominative to become a subject.

3.5.1.2 Nominalizations

The dative DO of *help*-class verbs can be advanced to genitive and occur in a pre-nominal position in nominalizations as was demonstrated in sub-section 3.4.1.2, an example is provided here with *pritarti* ‘approve, which belongs to *help*-class predicates.

³⁷<http://m.technologijos.lt/text/cat/391/article/S-65162>. Accessed on 03/20/2019.

³⁸https://www.mii.lt/files/doc/lt/doktorantura/ataskaitine_konferencija/09p_m_a2015_v.inikiene. Accessed on 03/20/2019.

- (155) a. Komitet-as greit-ai pritar-è projekt-ui/*projekt-a.
 committee-NOM quick-ADV approve-PST.3 project-DAT/project-ACC
 ‘The committee approved the project quickly.’
- b. [Komitet-o greit-as pritar-im-as
 committee-GEN quick-NOM.M.SG approval-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M
 projekt-ui/*projekt-o] vis-us nustebin-o.
 project-DAT/*project-GEN everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 ‘The committee’s quick approval of the project surprised everyone.’
- c. [Komitet-o greit-as projekt-o/*projekt-ui
 committee-GEN quick-NOM.M.SG project-GEN/*project-DAT
 pritar-im-as] vis-us nustebin-o.
 approval-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 ‘The committee’s quick approval of the project surprised everyone.’

In contrast, PPs occur post-nominally and their complement does not advance to genitive case assigned by the n_{Voice} head as exemplified here below (also see sub-section 3.4.1.1 for more examples with PPs).

- (156) a. Marij-a kalbèj-o apie humanitarin-ius moksl-us.
 Marija-NOM talk-PST.3 about humanitarian-ACC sciences-ACC
 ‘Marija talked about humanities.’
- b. [Marij-os kalbèj-im-as apie humanitarin-ius moksl-us]
 Marija-GEN talk-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG about humanitarian-ACC sciences-ACC
 vis-us nustebin-o.
 everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 ‘Marija’s talking about humanities surprised everyone.’
- c. *[Marij-os apie humanitarin-ių moksl-ų kalbèj-im-as]
 Marija-GEN about humanitarian-GEN sciences-GEN talk-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
 vis-us nustebin-o.
 everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
- d. *[Marij-os humanitar-ių moksl-ų_i kalbèj-im-as apie t_i]
 Marija-GEN humanitarian-GEN sciences-GEN talk-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG about
 vis-us nustebin-o.
 everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3

Thus, we have seen that the PP analysis is not compatible with the dative argument of *help*-class verbs that shows the behavior of structural case. I now turn to the analysis of the

help-class construction.

3.5.2 Analysis of *help*-class verbs

So far I have discussed two potential analyses for *help*-class predicates. The first one was the idea that there are two different structures associated with these predicates: one that assigns structural dative and the other one that assigns non-structural dative. However, I have ruled out this analysis in sub-section 3.4. The second type of analysis was based on PP: the dative object of *help*-class predicates is introduced by a P head, which was also ruled out in sub-section 3.5.1.

In this subsection, I propose that the dative of *help*-class predicates is a type of marked structural case which is obligatorily assigned by a thematic Voice head and then optionally overwritten by other structural cases. I first motivate my proposal by identifying the locus of dative case assignment. Then, I explicitly discuss the mechanics of how dative is assigned and overwritten in passives and nominalizations.

The important part about datives of *help*-class verbs is that they do behave like direct accusative objects in certain environments i.e., passives and nominalizations. Therefore, it would be reasonable to assume that case licensing mechanisms for this dative and structural accusative case structurally are the same. In a sense, Lithuanian datives of *help*-class are similar to Icelandic datives which, as explicitly discussed by Wood (2012), show a number of similarities to accusative objects e.g., they may advance to genitive case in nominalization, which is a property of a grammatical object with structural case. This is exemplified below.

(157) *Icelandic*

- a. þau björguðu sjómanninum.
they.NOM rescued sailor.the.DAT
'They rescued the sailor.'

- b. björg-un sjómannsins
rescue-NMLZ sailor.the.GEN
'the rescue of the sailor.'

- c. *björg-un sjómanninum
 rescue-NMLZ sailor.the.DAT
 Intended ‘the rescue of the sailor.’ (Wood 2012, 133-134)

As far as the Icelandic dative presented above goes, there is a debate in the literature whether this dative is assigned by a special type of Voice-DAT bearing the feature that leads to the dative case assignment (Schäfer 2008, E.F Sigurðsson 2017) or by *v*-DAT (Svenonius 2006; Sigurðsson 2009, 2011; Wood 2012). Both mechanisms would treat dative as a structural case. Given that only a certain class of predicates is associated with the dative DP object in Lithuanian, it would make sense to suggest that this dative is assigned by a *v* head. Thus, it is a property of certain verbs. However, I propose that the marked structural dative case in Lithuanian is in fact assigned by the thematic Voice head, like structural accusative case is (see Chapter 2 for structural accusative). I introduce two arguments in favor of this proposal based on agent nominals and restructuring. I demonstrate that both environments lack a thematic Voice head and the assignment of the dative case in both constructions is not possible, which leads to the conclusion that the dative case assignment is tied to the thematic Voice head.

3.5.2.1 Agent Nominals

A first indication that the dative case of *help*-class is not assigned by *v* comes from agent nominals. As I demonstrate below, these nominals have a *v* head, and yet they are not compatible with the dative DO of *help*-class predicates.

I first outline the basic properties of agent nominals, which have been discussed by Zaika (2016). These nominals are formed by adding the suffixes *-toj-*, *-ėj-*, also *-ik-* or *-ov-* to a verbal root (Zaika 2016). For example, the verbal root *kirp-* ‘cut’ can combine with the suffix *-ėj-* forming the agent nominal *kirp-ėj-as* ‘one who cuts hair/hairdresser’. Importantly, the accusative theme argument cannot appear with this nominal, instead the theme appears in genitive case and neutrally precedes the agent nominal as illustrated in (158).

- (158) a. kirp-ti plauk-us
 cut-INF hair-ACC

‘to cut hair’

- b. plauk-ų kirp-ėj-as
hair-GEN cut-AGN-NOM.M.SG
‘a hairdresser’, ‘one who cuts hair’
- c. *kirp-ėj-as plauk-ų
cut-AGN-NOM.M.SG hair-GEN
‘a hairdresser’, ‘one who cuts hair’
- d. *plauk-us kirp-ėj-as
hair-ACC cut-AGN-NOM.M.SG
‘a hairdresser’, ‘one who cuts hair’
- e. *kirp-ėj-as plauk-us
cut-AGN-NOM.M.SG hair-ACC
‘a hairdresser’, ‘one who cuts hair’

Additional examples of agent nominals are provided below. Observe that a single agent nominal may be compatible with different suffixes e.g., *krov-ik-as* or *krov-ėj-as* ‘one who loads something’ (161).

- (159) a. plau-ti ind-us
wash-INF dishes-ACC
‘to wash dishes’
- b. ind-ų plov-ėj-as
dishes-GEN wash-AGN-NOM.M.SG
‘one who washes dishes’
- (160) a. vairuo-ti autobus-ą
drive-INF bus-ACC
‘to drive a bus’
- b. autobus-o vairuo-toj-as
bus-GEN drive-AGN-NOM.M.SG
‘bus driver’
- (161) a. krau-ti prek-es
pile-INF goods-ACC
‘to load/pile goods’
- b. preki-ų krov-ik/ėj-as
goods-GEN load-AGN/AGN-NOM.M.SG
‘one who loads goods’
- (162) a. žiūrė-ti laid-as
watch-INF show-ACC
‘to watch TV shows’
- b. laid-ų žiūr-ov-as
shows-GEN watch-AGN-NOM.M.SG
‘one who watches TV shows’

Zaika (2016) points out that these agent nominals lack some verbal properties which are associated with complex event nominalizations, discussed in sub-section 3.4.1. She observes

that agent nominals rarely combine with the reflexive *-si-*. In contrast, as I suggested in sub-section 3.4.1, the reflexive *-si-* is productive with event nominalizations (see example 66) and may be base-generated in the expletive VoiceP. These factors may be indicative of the absence of the Voice head in agent nominals. Observe that semantically these nominals are not compatible with the type of a thematic Voice involved in complex event nominalizations (i.e., n_{voice}). Complex nominalizations allow instrumental modifiers that denote the type of tools the agent used to perform the action (163), which I took as evidence for the presence of agentive semantics encoded by the n_{voice} head.

- (163) Jon-o nam-ų su-naik-in-im-as su buldozer-iu
 Jonas-GEN home-GEN PFV-destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG with bulldozer-INS
 ‘Jonas’ destruction of home with a bulldozer’

In contrast, agent nominals are not possible with this type of reading as they refer to the agent itself rather than an event. Instrumental phrases modify the agent i.e., there was an agent and he/she had scissors as in (164), see also (165). We can capture these properties of agent nominals if we assume that there is no thematic Voice head involved in these constructions.

- (164) [Plauk-ų kirp-ėj-as su žirkl-ėmis] mus pakviet-ė į vidų.
 hair-GEN cut-AGN-NOM.M.SG with scissors-INS us.ACC invite-PST.3 to inside
 ‘A hairdresser with scissors invited us to come inside.’

- (165) [Tas gatvi-ų šlav-ėj-as su šluot-a] vis-us labai
 that street-GEN sweep-AGN-NOM.M.SG with mop-INS everyone-ACC very
 nustebin-o.
 surprise-PST.3
 ‘That street sweeper with a mop surprised everyone.’

While no thematic Voice may be present in the structure, agent nominals seem to contain some verbal structure. In other words, these nominals are not root nominalizations whereby the n head is directly merged with a root, instead, they seem to be derived from verb phrases as has been observed in other studies on agent nominals (e.g., see Alexiadou and Schäfer 2010; Baker and Vinokurova 2009). For instance, these nominals include the overt v -cause

morpheme, *-in*, as in (166-167).

- (166) a. aug-in-ti pomidor-us
grow-CAUS-INF tomatoes-ACC
'to grow tomatoes'
- b. pomidor-ŭ aug-in-toj-as
tomatoes-GEN grow-CAUS-AGN-NOM.M.SG
'one who grows tomatoes'
- (167) a. deg-in-ti malk-as
burn-CAUS-INF wood-ACC
'to burn wood'
- b. malk-ŭ deg-in-toj-as
wood-GEN burn-CAUS-AGN-NOM.M.SG
'one who burns wood'

Inner aspect prefixes like *iš-* that originate inside a vP are also licit, as observed by Zaika (2016). Examples follow.

- (168) a. Jis iš-gelbě-jo mus
he.NOM PFV-save-PST.3 us.ACC
'He has saved/saved us.'
- b. mūs-ŭ iš-gelbě-toj-as
our-GEN PFV-save-AGN-NOM.M.SG
'our rescuer', 'one who has rescued us' (Adapted from (Zaika, 2016, 539))

Furthermore, there is also a possibility for the agent nominals to inherit the argument structure of a verb, which is another indication that these nominals include a vP layer. Zaika (2016) observes that agent nominals that are formed with verbs taking a PP complement allow the retention of that PP. The PP complement occupies a post-nominal position and it cannot be realized with genitive case in a pre-nominal position.³⁹

³⁹Nevertheless, in rare cases agent nominals taking a PP complement allow the prenominal genitive as well (Zaika 2016). That fact that it is not a productive alternation and only some agent nominals in exceptional cases allow the PP to be realized as the prenominal genitive DP suggests that the example like (i) may be a frozen expression in the language.

- (169) a. Marij-a kalbėj-o apie sėkm-ę.
 Marija-NOM talk-PST.3 about success-ACC
 ‘Marija talked about success.’
- b. kalbė-toj-as apie sėkm-ę
 talk-AGN-NOM.M.SG about success-ACC
 ‘one who talks about success’ (Zaika 2016, 541)
- c. *sėkm-ės/sėkm-ę kalbė-toj-as apie
 success-GEN/success-ACC talk-AGN-NOM.M.SG about
 ‘one who speaks about success’
- d. *sėkm-ės kalbė-toj-as
 success-GEN talk-AGN-NOM.M.SG
- (170) a. Jon-as žiūrėj-o į žvaigžd-es.
 Jonas-NOM look-PST.3 at stars-ACC
 ‘Jonas looked at the stars.’
- b. žiūrė-toj-as į žvaigžd-es
 look-AGN-NOM.M.SG at stars-ACC
 ‘one who looks at stars’ (Zaika 2016, 541)
- c. *žvaigždži-ų/žvaigžd-es žiūrė-toj-as į
 stars-GEN/stars-ACC look-AGN-NOM.M.SG to
 ‘one who looks at stars’
- d. *žvaigždži-ų žiūrė-toj-as
 stars-GEN look-AGN-NOM.M.SG

So far we have observed that agent nominals have no VoiceP, but they do include some verbal projections. Another important property of these nominals that is different from complex event nominalizations is related to the case properties of the prenominal genitive DP. Agent nominals are incompatible with the genitive case associated with the internal

-
- (i) Jon-as kovojo už nepriklausomybę (ii) kovo-toj-as už nepriklausomybę
 Jonas-NOM fight-PST.3 for independence-ACC fighter-AGN-NOM.M.SG for independence-ACC
 ‘Jonas was fighting for independence.’ ‘a fighter for independence’
- (iii) nepriklausomyb-ės kovo-toj-as
 independence-GEN fighter-AGN-NOM.M.SG
 ‘independence fighter’ (Zaika 2016, 542)

theme argument of transitives, thus the GEN.L form, and they allow the genitive that is typically assigned to the possessor/agent, GEN.H, as in (171). This shows that these agent nominals do not contain the type of the n_{voice} head which, as I argued for complex nominalizations, assigns genitive case to the theme in a $\text{Spec}n_{\text{voice}}\text{P}$ position. Note that there is also an ambiguity involved, the genitive DP may not necessarily denote a theme argument, thus the reading in (i). It can also be interpreted as a possessor e.g., the person who looks after someone belongs to me or he/she is my employee as in (ii).

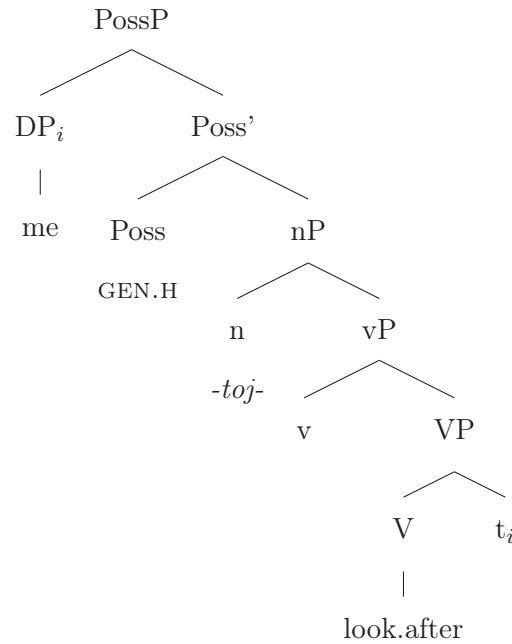
- (171) a. *prižiūrė-ti mane*
 look.after-INF me.ACC
 ‘to look after me’
- b. *man-o/*man-ęs prižiūrė-toj-as*
 me-GEN.H/me-GEN.L look.after-AGN-NOM.M.SG
 (i) ‘one who looks after me’, (ii) ‘one who looks after someone and works for me’

I assume that these agent nominals do have some verbal structure, more specifically, they have a v head capable of licensing arguments e.g., a PP complement. They also contain the inner verbal aspect originating inside a $v\text{P}$, but they lack the thematic VoiceP projection that originates above a $v\text{P}$. This structure is then nominalized by a type of n head that in Lithuanian is realized by the suffixes *-toj-*, *-ėj-*, *-ik-* or *-ov-*. This type of analysis is in line with Baker and Vinokurova’s (2009) study demonstrating that agent nominals in languages like English, Sakha, and Mapudungu do indeed lack verbal projections typically present in complex event nominals as e.g., they do not allow Voice markers or verbal negation.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, these nominals still involve agentivity in the sense that they refer to the external argument of its verbal source, known as external argument generalization (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1992), which holds true in Lithuanian as well see sub-section 4.3.3.2. Thus, the n head normalizing the verbal structure should involve the type of semantics that can capture the external argument generalization. I tentatively propose that agent nominals in Lithuanian have the structure sketched in (172), which is the derivation

⁴⁰However, see Alexiadou and Schäfer 2010 for a different analysis of agent nominals that do include such a functional head like a thematic Voice.

of (171b). The vP layer is nominalized by the *n* head. The theme argument of the verb raises to SpecPossP to receive GEN.H.

(172)



With this background in mind, I now turn to agent nominals with *help*-class predicates. As opposed to the agent nominals with PPs, the agent nominals formed with these verbs are very productive with the prenominal genitive DP theme argument as can be observed in (173-176). This is another indication that the dative argument does not contain a silent P because otherwise we would not have expected to see a productive alternation with genitive. Thus, the dative theme becomes genitive in this environment and behaves like the accusative theme of a transitive, which also shows the same kind of alternation.

(173) a. padè-ti darbuotoj-ui b. darbuotoj-o padèj-èj-as
 help-INF employee-DAT employee-GEN helper-AGN-NOM.M.SG
 ‘to help employee’ ‘one who helps an employee’

(174) a. kenk-ti augal-ams. b. augal-ų kenk-èj-as
 harm-INF plants-DAT plants-GEN harm-AGN-NOM.M.SG
 ‘to harm plants.’ ‘one who harms plants’

- (175) a. pritar-ti partij-ai b. partij-os pritar-ėj-as
 approve-INF party-DAT party-GEN approve-AGN-NOM.M.SG
 ‘to approve a party’ ‘one who approves a party’
- (176) a. vadovau-ti įmon-ei b. įmon-ės vad-ov-as
 manage-INF company-DAT company-GEN manage-AGN-NOM.M.SG
 ‘to manage a company’ ‘one who manages a company’

If the marked structural dative is assigned by the thematic Voice head, then we would not expect to find agent nominals with the theme DP marked with dative case since these nominals lack the thematic Voice head. The availability of dative in agent nominals would indicate that this dative case is licensed by the *v* head which is present in the structure. Let us take a closer look at the data and test this prediction.

It is indeed possible to find nominals with the dative DP occurring postnominally. The examples with the dative argument and agent nominals formed with verbs like ‘help’ and ‘harm’, which belong to *help*-class predicates, are grammatical e.g. (177-178). However, the example with ‘manage’, which also belongs to the same group of predicates, seems ungrammatical as in (179a). This contrast is interesting. A closer inspection reveals that it is possible to have the dative argument in these cases only if it is interpreted as a ‘beneficiary/maleficiary’. Indeed, the examples in (177-178) include this type of reading. Furthermore, the example with ‘manage’ followed by the dative DP becomes grammatical if that dative argument is interpreted as a ‘beneficiary’ rather than a theme, (179b.). The examples provided in (180) show the same type of contrast.

- (177) Stoperis - tai reikšming-as padėj-ėj-as žmon-ėms.
 stopper - that significant-NOM.M.SG help-AGN-NOM.M.SG people-DAT
 ‘Stopper’ is a useful helper for parents.’⁴¹

- (178) pavojing-as kenk-ėj-as augal-ams
 dangerous-NOM.M.SG harm-AGN-NOM.M.SG plants-DAT
 ‘one who causes dangerous harm to the plants’⁴²

⁴¹<http://rk69.lv/lt/langC5B3-ir-durC5B3-fiksatorius-stoperis> Accessed on 04-24-2019

⁴²<http://vsaduidoma.com/lt/2017/10/15/vrediteli-ovoshhej-tripsy-kleshhi-tli-i-cikady-foto-i-opisanie-priznaki/> Accessed on 04-24-2019

- (179) a. *vad-ov-as įmon-ei
 manage-AGN-NOM.M.SG company-DAT
 ‘a manager of the company’, ‘one who manages the company’
- b. Jis yra per geras vad-ov-as šit-ai įmon-ei
 he.NOM be.PRS.3 too good manage-AGN-NOM.M.SG this-DAT company-DAT
 ‘He is too good of a manager for this company.’
- (180) a. vadovau-ti susirinkim-ui
 manage-INF meeting-DAT
 ‘to manage meeting’
- b. susirinkim-o vad-ov-as
 meeting-GEN manage-AGN-NOM.M.SG
 ‘one who manages the meeting’
- c. *vad-ov-as susirinkim-ui
 manage-AGN-NOM.M.SG meeting-DAT
 ‘one who manages the meeting’
- d. Jis nėra pats geriausias vad-ov-as šiam
 he.NOM NEG.be.PRS.3 most best manage-AGN-NOM.M.SG this.DAT
 susirinkim-ui.
 meeting-DAT
 ‘He is not the best manager for this meeting.’

The question is why dative DPs are only available in these agent nominals under a certain type of reading. Could it be that the dative in these nominals is not the type of dative assigned to the internal argument of *help*-class verbs, but something else? If this dative is indeed a separate kind of dative from the marked structural dative that is assigned to the internal argument of these verbs, then we predict that both the pre-nominal genitive referring to the theme and the post-nominal dative should occur in a single agent nominal. This prediction is borne out as can be observed below. This evidence speaks in favor of this post-nominal dative being a different kind of case that is not assigned to the internal argument of *help*-class predicates.

- (181) Šis gėrim-as yra realus daugelio lig-ų padėj-ėj-as
 this.NOM drink-NOM be.PRS.3 real many illness-GEN help-AGN-NOM.M.SG

vis-iems žmon-ėms.
all-DAT people-DAT

‘This drinks is a real helper with many illnesses for many people.’⁴³

- (182) "Okuchnik" yra nepakeičiamas nam-ų ūk-io padėj-ėj-as
Okuchnik be.PRS.3 irreplaceable home-GEN farm-GEN help-AGN-NOM.M.SG
vis-iems, kurie turi daržovių sodą.
all-DAT that have vegetable garden

‘Okuchnik’ is an irreplaceable household helper for those who have a vegetable garden.’⁴⁴

- (183) vestuvi-ų padėj-ėj-as jaunies-iems
wedding-GEN help-AGN-NOM.M.SG newlyweds-DAT

‘one who helps with the wedding for newlyweds’

In fact, the post-nominals dative in these examples resembles what is known as the dative of purpose in Lithuanian, which may be used to mark a beneficiary reading. What is interesting is that this dative of purpose can occur with regular nouns that may not include a verbal structure as exemplified in (184-186). Thus, it could be that the dative involved in the agent nominals like (177-178) is the dative of purpose which is assigned independently of the verbal phrase involved in the structure.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (184) dovan-a tėv-ams
gift-NOM parents-DAT
‘a gift for parents’ | (185) krait-is dukter-iai
trousseau-NOM daughter-DAT
‘trousseau for the daughter’ |
|---|---|

- (186) popier-ius laišk-ams
paper-NOM letters-DAT
‘paper for letters’

(Ambrasas et al. 1997, 570)

To summarize, we have seen that agent nominals do have verbal structure, however, the marked structural dative of *help*-class predicates is not assigned in this construction as indicated by the ungrammaticality of examples with verbs like *manage* in (179a-180c). This finding suggests that the dative of *help*-class predicates should be assigned by a higher head

⁴³<https://pangudownloads.org/valgyk-skamu/morze-is-braskiu/> Accessed on 05-06-2019

⁴⁴<https://lit.handymanservicesbybrad.com/ruchnoj-plug-dlja-ogoroda.html> Accessed on 05-06-2019

that is not present in the structure of these nominals. I propose that this dative case is assigned by a thematic Voice head which is not present in agent nominals.

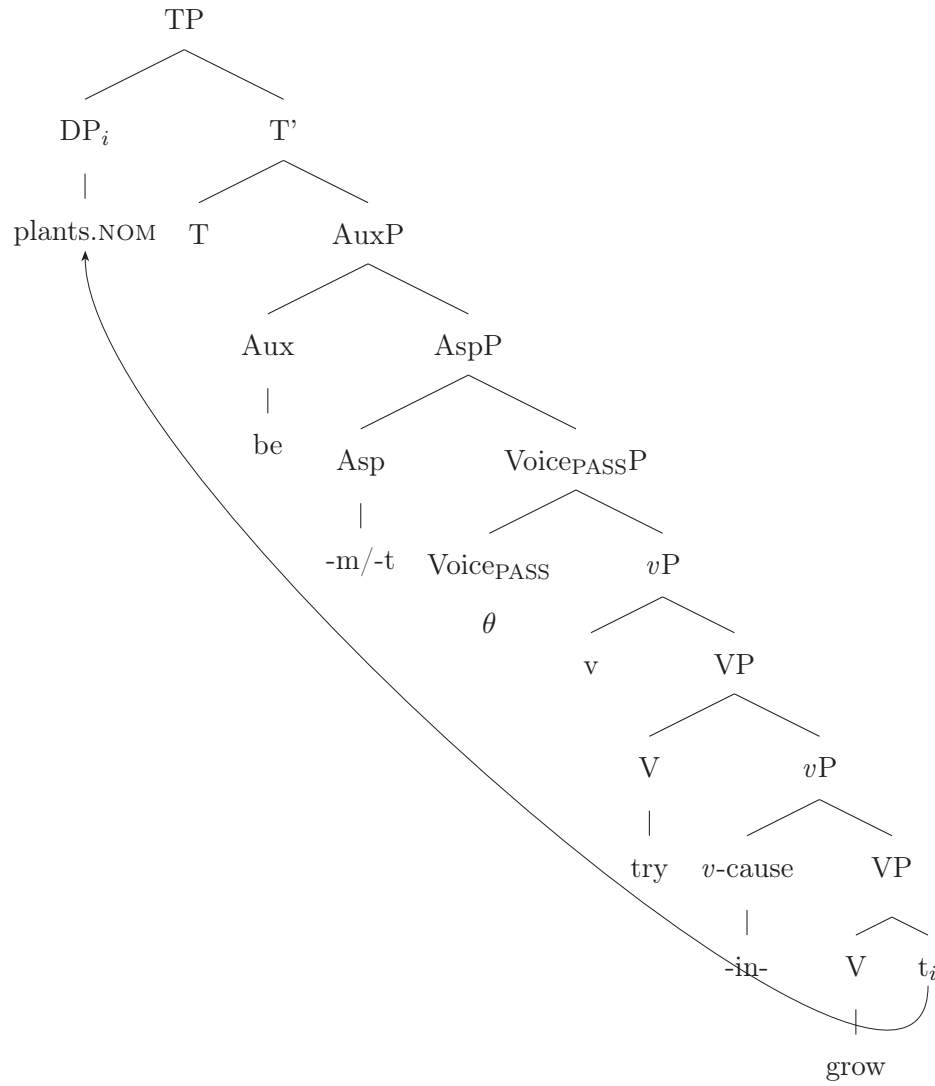
3.5.2.2 Restructuring

A second indication that marked structural dative case is assigned by a Voice head rather than *v* is based on evidence from restructuring. Recall that Lithuanian verbs like ‘try’ are ambiguous in that they can function either as restructuring predicates or as control verbs (see sub-section 2.2.4.1). They can form a long-distance passive where the theme of the embedded predicate raises to SpecTP position of the matrix clause (187b). The theme has become a grammatical subject of the matrix clause, it is marked with nominative case and agrees with the matrix participle in number, gender and case. The ability to form a long distance passive is the property of restructuring constructions whereby the complement of matrix predicates like ‘try’ is a truncated clause no bigger than a *v*P (Wurmbrand 2001, i.a.), see (188). ‘Try’ can also form an impersonal passive as in (187c). We can see here that when the matrix clause is passivized and its agent is suppressed, the theme of the to-infinitive clause is not affected by passivization and it retains its accusative case. The voice properties of the matrix clause do not affect the embedded clause suggesting that ‘try’ may also select for a non-restructuring complement that licenses an accusative theme argument, and is bigger than a *v*P. I assume that non-restructuring complements include a thematic VoiceP, which assigns accusative case to the theme.

- (187) a. Jon-as band-é [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
 these plants-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3 Jonas-GEN try-PPRP-NOM.M.PL
 [aug-in-ti t_i miške].
 grow-CAUS-INF forest
 ‘These plants were tried to grow in the forest by Jonas.’ *Long distance Passive*
- c. Jon-o buv-o bando-m-a [aug-in-ti šiuos augal-us miške].
 Jonas-GEN be-PST.3 try-PPRP-[-AGR] grow-CAUS-INF these plants-ACC forest

'It was tried by Jonas to grow these plants in the forest.' *Impersonal Passive*

(188) Structure of Long Distance Passive



Let us now discuss the interaction between *help*-class predicates and restructuring verbs. Recall that *help*-class predicates allow their dative to optionally advance to nominative in the passive and become a grammatical subject, I repeat these data here below with *manage* which can either form the agreeing passive or the impersonal passive.

- (189) a. Marij-a vadovav-o fabrik-ui/*fabrik-a.
 Marija-NOM manage-PST.3 factory-DAT/factory-ACC
 'Jonas managed the factory.'

- b. **Fabrik-ui** buv-o Marij-os vadovauja-m-a
 factory-DAT be-PST.3 Marija-GEN manage-PPRP-[-AGR]
 ‘The factory was (being) managed by Marija.’ *Impersonal Passive*
- c. **Fabrik-as** buv-o Marij-os vadovauja-m-as.
 factory-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 Marija-GEN manage-PPRP-NOM.M.SG
 ‘The factory was (being) managed by Marija.’ *Agreeing Passive*

If the dative theme of *help*-class predicates can advance to nominative and become a grammatical subject, then there should be no problem with embedding these verbs under predicates like ‘try’ to form a long distance passive. Surprisingly, these predicates are not compatible with ‘try’ when it selects for a restructuring complement, thus a *vP*. The dative argument of ‘manage’ cannot form a long-distance passive as in (190b), thus it does not allow the object of the embedded clause to advance to nominative in the matrix under passivization. This is striking given that the advancement of the object to a grammatical subject position in the passive is possible with these predicates in general as indicated in (189c). In contrast, this class of verbs is compatible with the impersonal passive with ‘try’ when the theme of the to-infinitive does not raise to the matrix clause to become grammatical subject (190c). Thus, *help*-class verbs are possible in non-restructuring contexts where the complement of ‘try’ is bigger than a *vP*.

- (190) a. Jon-as band-é vadovau-ti šiam fabrik-ui.
 Jonas-NOM try-PST.3 manage-INF this.DAT factory-DAT
 ‘Jonas tried to manage this factory.’
- b. *Šis fabrik-as_i buv-o bando-m-as [t_i vadovau-ti
 this.NOM factory-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 try-PPRP-NOM.M.SG manage-INF
 Jon-o].
 Jonas-GEN
 ‘This factory was being tried to manage by Jonas.’ *Long Distance Passive*
- c. Jon-o buv-o bando-m-a [vadovau-ti šiam fabrik-ui].
 Jonas-GEN be-PST.3 try-PPRP-[-AGR] manage-INF this.DAT factory-DAT
 ‘It was tried by Jonas to manage this factory.’ *Impersonal Passive*

I provide additional examples below with *help*-class predicates in restructuring and non-

restructuring contexts, which exhibit the same contrast.

- (191) a. Marij-a band-é padé-ti tèv-ui.
 Marija-NOM try-PST.3 help-INF father-DAT
 ‘Marija tried to help the father.’
- b. *Tèv-as_i buvo bando-m-as [t_i padé-ti Marij-os].
 father.NOM be-PST.3 try-PPRP-NOM.M.SG help-INF Marija-GEN
 ‘The father was tried to help by Marija.’ *Long Distance Passive*
- c. Marij-os buv-o bando-m-a [padé-ti tèv-ui].
 Marija-GEN be-PST.3 try-PPRP-[-AGR] help-INF father-DAT
 ‘It was tried by Marija to help the father.’ *Impersonal Passive*

The contrast between the impersonal passive (190b) and the long-distance passive (190c) is important demonstrating that *help*-class verbs are not compatible with restructuring. Let us assume that marked structural dative case is assigned by a Voice head. In restructuring contexts when the long distance passive is formed, the Voice head is not projected in the complement of ‘try’ meaning that dative cannot be assigned to the theme of *help*-class verbs. Then, we would expect the theme argument of the embedded clause to receive nominative case from the matrix T and advance to subject position in the matrix. Nevertheless, these examples are ungrammatical suggesting that something prevents the theme argument from the advancement to nominative. This ungrammaticality can be explained if the dative of the *help*-class needs to be assigned obligatorily by the thematic VoiceP before it gets overwritten by structural nominative assigned by the matrix T. No thematic Voice is present in the complement to assign dative, and thus no nominative case can be assigned to the theme argument. This reasoning is consistent with the facts provided the preposition *po* in sub-section 3.4.4. Recall that applying this preposition to the theme argument of *help*-class predicates yields ungrammatically (192). This pattern confirms the obligatory nature of dative case assignment. The preposition *po* requires its complement to be accusative, whereas *help*-class predicates require its theme argument to be dative. We have two conflicting requirements which cannot be met and the derivation crashes.

- (192) *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.’

We could imagine a scenario where it is *v* rather than Voice that is responsible for the dative case assignment with *help*-class predicates. However, under this type of analysis, it would be difficult to explain the ungrammaticality of the long distance passive in (190b) and (191b). Restructuring complements do include a *v*P layer, and therefore *v* would be able to assign dative to the theme and then that theme would be able to have its case overwritten by the matrix T. Thus, under this approach, the examples in (190b) and (191b) would be grammatical.

3.5.2.3 Proposal

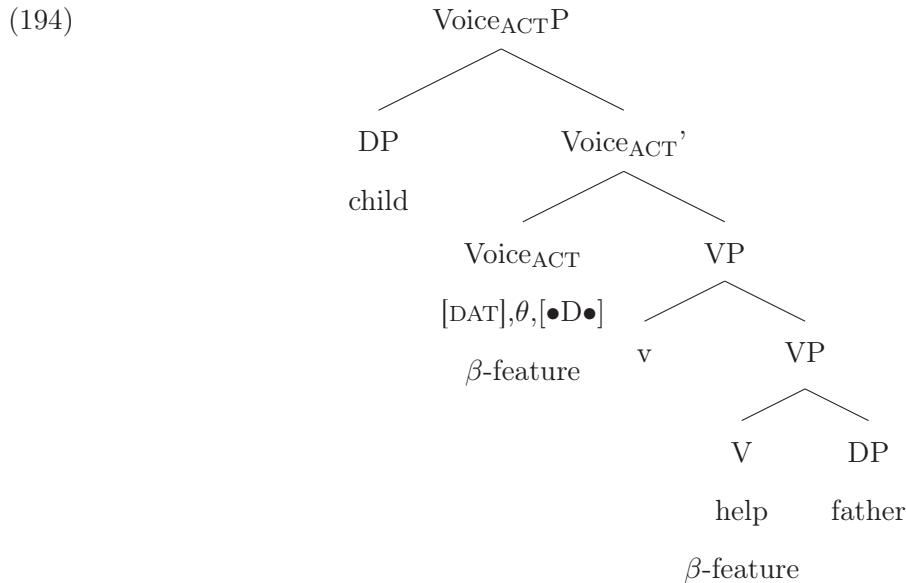
So far, I have argued that the marked structural dative is not assigned by *v*. Instead, it is a thematic Voice head that is responsible for the assignment of dative case (see Schäfer 2008; E F. Sigurðsson 2017 for a similar approach to the assignment of dative in Icelandic). Specifically, I propose that this thematic Voice head bundles with dative case which is assigned to the theme argument of *help*-class predicates. Under this approach, the assignment of dative is parallel to the assignment of structural accusative case, which as I have argued in Chapter 2, is also licensed by the thematic Voice. Thus, dative case of *help*-class predicates under this analysis qualifies as structural case.

We have seen that only a certain class of verbs, namely the *help*-class, allows the assignment of this type of case. Hence, the ability of Voice head to assign dative case is conditioned by a specific type of verbs (i.e., *help*, *manage*, *approve*). To put it differently, in the context of these verbal roots, the Voice head assigns dative case to the theme. But, how do we ensure that the right case feature combines with this thematic Voice head? I assume that there is a head to head feature relation between the Voice and the verb. They enter a special type of relation via feature checking. I propose that Voice head enters the derivation with an uninterpretable β feature, which needs to be checked by another feature of the same kind which originates on the verb β . This agreement relation between the Voice

head and the verb forces the Voice head to bundle with the type of case that is conditioned by the verbal roots of the *help*-class predicates.

The derivation of the active transitive clause in (193) is as follows. The active Voice head is thematic in that it assigns the external argument θ -role, which is encoded by the θ feature in (194). The Voice head also bears the $[\bullet D \bullet]$ feature, which requires for this Voice head to have its specifier position filled. The specifier is filled by the agent ‘child’. The Voice head also bears an uninterpretable β feature which is checked by the same kind of feature on the verb. This allows the Voice head to bundle with dative case, which is then assigned to the theme ‘father’.

- (193) Vaik-as paděj-o tèv-ui/*tèv-a.
 child-NOM help-PST.3 father-DAT/father-ACC
 ‘The child helped the father.’



I use agreement to derive a selectional relationship between a thematic Voice and a particular class of predicates. This type of approach is parallel to a relation observe by a T head and a lexical verb in the Irish Impersonal construction. Irish has impersonal constructions marked with the ‘autonomous’ form (here glossed as AUT) in (195). McCloskey (2007) demonstrates that these are active constructions with a projected implicit argument. Interestingly, the autonomous inflection may condition a certain type of meaning on a predicate.

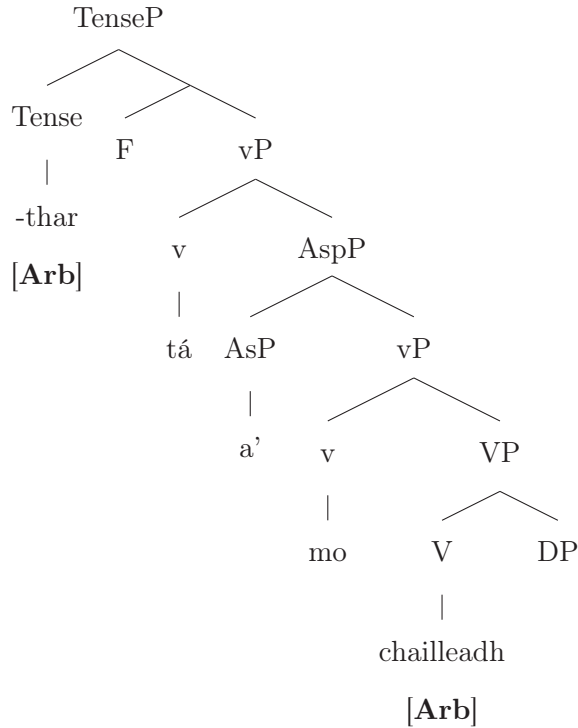
For instance, the verb *caill* meaning ‘to lose’ has an idiomatic meaning ‘to die’ when the autonomous form is present (195a). The same goes with the verb *cas* ‘to turn’, which is interpreted as ‘to meet’ in this construction (195b). What is interesting about these examples is that the autonomous inflection originates in T, namely the auxiliary ‘be’. Thus, the autonomous form originating in T triggers the special meaning on the lower domain of the clause, specifically the verbal root.

(195) *Irish*

- a. Táthar a'mo chailleadh.
 be.PRS-AUT PROG-SG1 lose.[-FIN]
 ‘I am dying’
- b. Bhíothas i ndiaidh bheirt bhan a chastáil ar a chéile
 be.PST-AUT after the two women turn.[-FIN] on each other.
 ‘The two women had just met (each other).’ (McCloskey 2007, 850)

To link the idiomatic interpretation of the predicate with the autonomous form, McCloskey (2007) proposes that T and the verb enter into an agreement relation via feature checking. Under this approach, T bears an uninterpreted feature **Arb** which agrees with another instance of the same feature originating on V as illustrated below in (196), which presents the derivation of (195a). This **Arb** feature ‘acts as a diacritic to trigger this special meaning on the predicate’ (McCloskey 2007, 846). I suggest that we have a similar relation between the Voice head and *help*-class verbs in Lithuanian. The only difference is that the feature β in (194) does not trigger a special type of meaning on the predicate, but rather it informs the Voice head about the type of case it needs to combine with. When there is no agree relationship established between the Voice and the verb, the Voice will assign structural accusative case using the Elsewhere Principle (see Schäfer 2008 for a similar approach).

(196) Structure of *Irish Impersonal* (Adapted from McCloskey 2007, 851)



The idea that there is a selectional relationship between a Voice head and a lower vP domain, as I proposed here for the *help*-class construction, has been discussed in the literature before. For instance, Alexiadou et al. (2008) observe that roots are sensitive to different types of Voice heads. In their system, verbal roots may belong to different classes in terms of their semantics as illustrated in (197). Externally caused roots like *murder* can occur only in the context of the Voice head that is agentive, thus able to assign an external argument θ -role. This root is not compatible with anticausative constructions that lack this type of Voice. Alexiadou et al. further discuss verbs like *blossom* which are formed with the types of roots that are internally caused. These roots combine with CAUSE, in our terms *v*-cause, but they cannot combine with a thematic Voice head, which introduces an external argument, since these verbs lack agentivity. These observations suggest that there exists a selectional relationship between different kinds of roots and Voice heads, this complex interaction once again indicates that a verb and a thematic Voice are tightly related to each other and they can see each other during the derivation.

(197) a. $\sqrt{\text{agentive}}$ (murder, assassinate)

- b. $\sqrt{\textit{internally} - \textit{caused}}$ (blossom, wilt)
- c. $\sqrt{\textit{externally} - \textit{caused}}$ (destroy, kill)
- d. $\sqrt{\textit{cause} - \textit{unspecified}}$ (break, open)

As far as phase locality conditions are concerned, the relationship between a thematic Voice and a verb that we are positing here is not problematic for a phase theory. Voice is argued to be a cyclic domain for various syntactic operations, thus a phase (Chomsky 2000, 2001). It also draws a phase boundary for idiomatic interpretations. The basic idea is that external arguments, which under our current approach originate in SpecVoiceP, are never a part of a fixed meaning whereas it is possible to have verb-internal argument idiom chunks as originally observed by Marantz (1984). This generalization is accounted for by assuming a locality-based account whereby a Voice head functions as a special boundary for phrasal idioms (Marantz 1996, 1997; Kratzer 1996; Harley and Megan 2013; Harley 2014). A vP domain may also be considered to be a phase. Thus, for Voice head to be visible for the verb through a vP, we can adopt Phase Impenetrability Condition 2 (Chomsky 2001) according to which Spell-Out is triggered only when the next phase head which is higher, in our case Voice head, is merged. Put into structural terms, the complement of v head is not sent to Spell-Out until the next phase head, which in our case is the Voice head, is merged.

Having introduced the linking relationship between the Voice head and the verb, let us now consider the nature of the dative case of *help*-class predicates. The dative is a type of marked structural case (198). This case is structural in that it is assigned by a thematic Voice head under closest c-command, just like structural accusative case. The dative of *help*-class and structural accusative pattern the same in that a DP bearing these cases in an active can be realized with structural nominative in passives or structural genitive in nominalizations. On the other hand, I propose that this case is marked in that it is obligatorily assigned by the Voice head, regardless of its featural makeup i.e., whether the Voice is passive or active. Structural accusative does not pattern the same in this respect as it cannot be assigned to the theme in passives. In other words, the structural accusative does not exhibit the type

of obligatoriness displayed by the dative. Once, the dative case is assigned, it can then be optionally overwritten by another structural case.

- (198) *Marked Structural Dative*: the type of case that is obligatorily assigned by the Voice head under closest c-command and optionally overwritten by other structural cases under closest c-command.

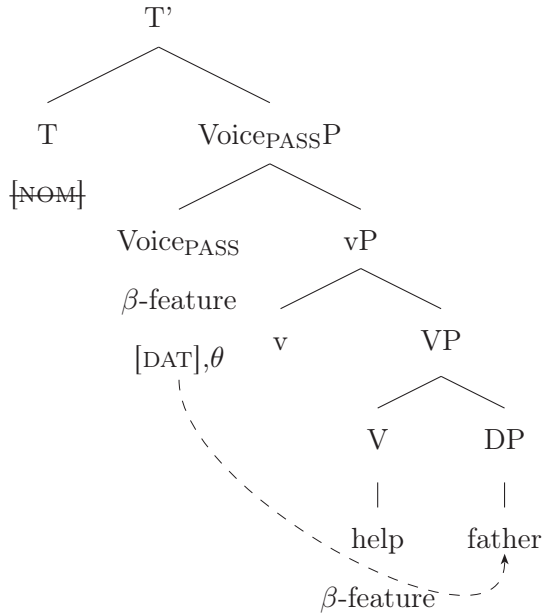
The obligatory nature of this case is what makes this case so different from other structural cases. As I demonstrated with the preposition *po* (sub-section 3.4.4) and restructuring contexts (sub-section 3.5.2.2), if the marked structural dative is not assigned to the theme first, then the derivation crashes. The assignment of this case takes precedence over other potential case assigners that can assign case to the theme argument. This is not the type of behavior we usually observe with structural case. If T does not find an appropriate goal to assign nominative case to, the derivation does not crash, and T is realized with default morphology (e.g., see Legate 2008 for discussion, also see sub-section 2.3.4 for discussion of the active existential where T does not assign nominative case and the derivation does not result in ungrammaticality). I now show how this analysis accounts for the behavior of the marked structural dative in various syntactic environments.

PASSIVES. When this class of predicates undergoes passivization, the external argument in SpecVoice_{PASSP} is suppressed. The thematic Voice head, which is passive, bundles with the marked structural dative, and this dative is obligatorily assigned to the theme as illustrated with the dashed arrow. The theme can retain its status as an object with the dative case forming the impersonal passive as in (200). T does not assign nominative in this configuration as indicated with the strikethrough in the tree. To derive a correct word order, the theme argument would undergo A-bar movement to a position above TP.

- (199) Tèv-~~ui~~ buv-o vaik-o padeda-m-a.
 father-DAT be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PPRP-[-AGR]
 ‘The father was being helped by the child.’

Impersonal Passive

- (200)

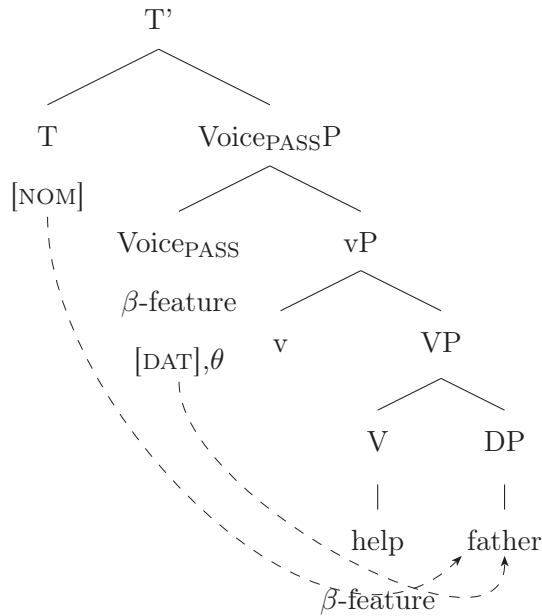


Once the dative is assigned, then the dative DP can become a grammatical subject and be overwritten by nominative case on T (for case overwriting/replacement accounts see e.g., Babby 1980; Pesetsky 2013, this analysis is also compatible with case stacking approach as in Richards 2013, though Lithuanian does not show overt case stacking). When the theme is assigned nominative, then it becomes a grammatical subject forming the agreeing passive as in (201). As I argued in sub-section 3.2, the assignment of nominative case in passives is not tied to SpecTP position. T can assign nominative when the theme remains in situ, hence the assignment of structural nominative case is not tied movement to SpecTP.

- (201) Tėv-as buv-o vaik-o padeda-m-as.
 father-**NOM.SG.M** be-PST.3 child-GEN help-PPRP-NOM.M.SG
 ‘The father was (being) helped by the child.’

Agreeing Passive

(202)



We do not find this optionality with passives whose theme argument is normally assigned structural accusative case in the active. An illustration of this is provided in (203). The accusative case is not retained in the passive, unlike the marked structural dative. In my system, Voice_{PASS} does not bundle with accusative case as was discussed in sub-section 2.2.4. The only case assigner left in this configuration is T. It assigns nominative case to the theme and the theme becomes a grammatical subject forming the agreeing passive in (203b).

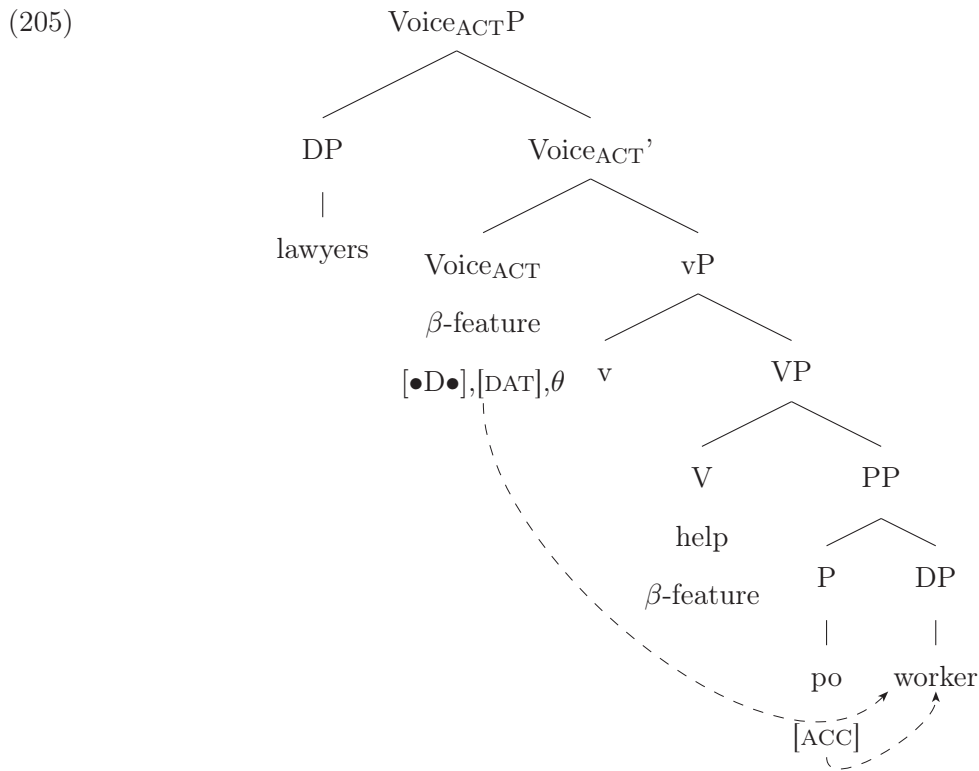
- (203) a. Motin-a raš-ě laišk-a.
mother-NOM write-PST.3 letter-ACC
'The mother wrote the letter.'
- b. Laišk-as buv-o motin-os rašo-m-as.
letter-NOM.M.SG be-PRS.3 mother-GEN write-PPRP-NOM.M.SG
'The letter was written (by the mother).' *Agreeing Passive*
- c. *Laišk-a buv-o motin-os rašo-m-a
letter-ACC be-PRS.3 mother-GEN write-PPRP-[-AGR]
'The letter was written (by the mother).' *Impersonal Passive*

PREPOSITION PO. If the marked structural dative is indeed a type of case that is

obligatorily assigned to the theme, then we would expect to get ungrammaticality in cases where another case assigner closer to the theme may assign case to it. This prediction is borne out. Recall from section 3.4.4, the distributive preposition *po* can be applied to various arguments that may be assigned structural case. The preposition assigns accusative case to its complement. As was discussed in sub-section 3.4.4 applying this preposition to the theme argument of *help*-class results in ungrammaticality (204). The preposition requires accusative case to be assigned to its complement. If the dative case was not obligatorily assigned, then we would not have any problems with the complement bearing the accusative case, but this results in ungrammaticality. I suggest that this ungrammaticality stems from the fact that dative needs to be obligatorily assigned. However, its assignment is blocked because the P head as in (205).

- (204) *Advokat-ai paděj-o po darbinink-a/darbinink-ui
 lawyers-NOM help-PST.3 DISTR worker-ACC/worker-DAT
 ‘The lawyers helped one worker each.’

help-class



PREPOSITION PO & PASSIVES. A further indication for the obligatoriness of the dative case assignment comes from passives formed with *help*-predicates and the preposition *po*. The preposition can be applied to the nominative grammatical subject of the passive, as was illustrated in sub-section 3.4.4, the example is repeated here below in (206).

(206) *Passive*

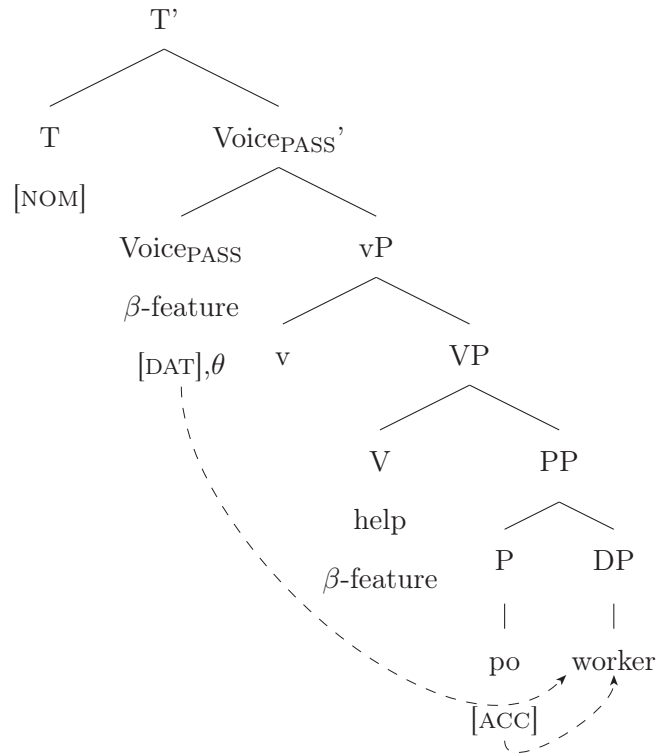
a. Plantacij-oje nuo kiekvien-o medži-o darbinink-ų buv-o
 plantation-LOC from each-GEN tree-GEN workers-GEN be-PST.3
 nuskin-t-a kriauš-ės/*kriauš-es.
 pick-PPP-[-AGR] pears-NOM/pears-ACC
 ‘In the plantation, pears were picked by workers from each tree.’

b. Plantacij-oje nuo kiekvien-o medži-o darbinink-ų buv-o
 plantation-LOC from each-GEN tree-GEN workers-GEN be-PST.3
 nuskin-t-a po kriauš-ę/*kriauš-ė.
 pick-PPP-[-AGR] DISTR pear-ACC/pear-NOM
 ‘In the plantation, a (different) pear was picked by workers from each tree.’

Help-class predicates are also compatible with the agreeing passive whereby its object becomes a grammatical subject. Nevertheless, it is ungrammatical to form a passive with *help*-class predicates and the preposition *po* as in (207). We can explain this ungrammaticality as follows. For the nominative or any other case to be assigned to the theme, the dative case needs to be assigned first. The derivation crashes here for the same reason it crashed in the active clause: the Voice head cannot assign the dative case to it because the case assignment is blocked by the preposition which requires its complement to be accusative as schematized in (208).

(207) *Advokat-ų buv-o padeda-m-a po darbinink-a/darbinink-ui.
 lawyers-GEN be-PST.3 help-PPRP-[-AGR] each worker-ACC/worker-DAT
 ‘Each worker was being helped by the lawyers.’ *help*-class

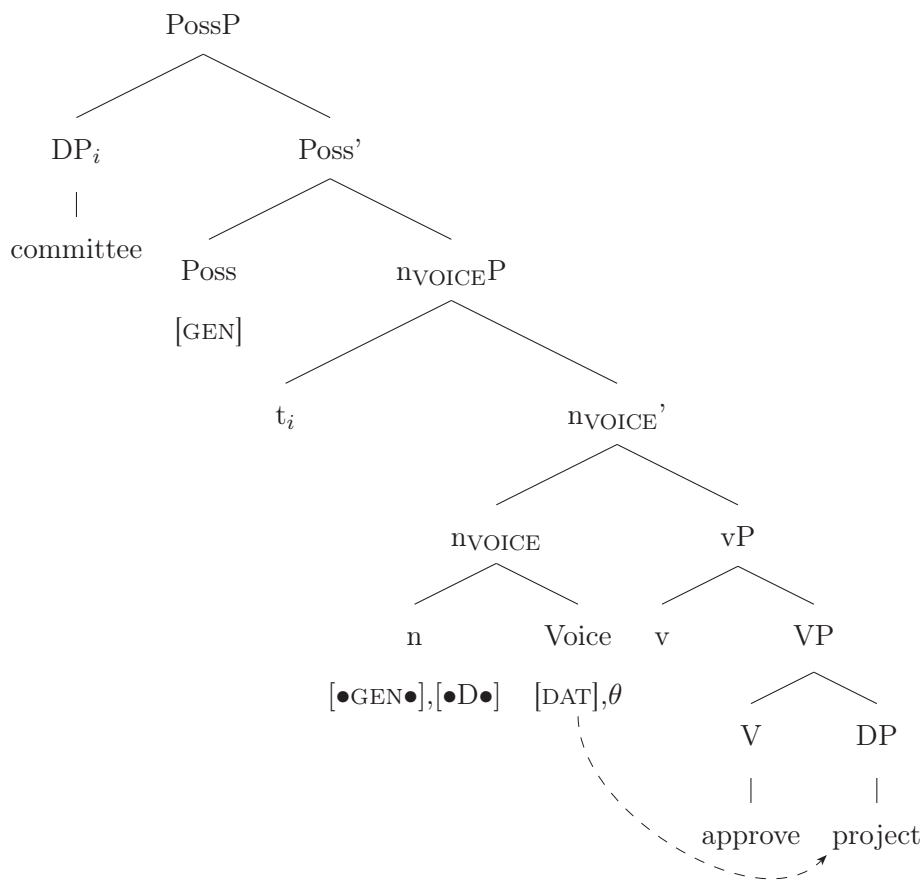
(208)



NOMINALIZATIONS. Just like passives, complex event nominalizations also exhibit optionality with *help*-class predicates: the dative can be retained in a post-nominal position or it raises to a pre-nominal position to receive genitive case. In sub-section 3.4.1, I proposed that Lithuanian nominalizations contain n_{voice} head, which is two heads, namely the n head and the thematic Voice head, bundled together. I propose that the two heads are adjoined to each other via head adjunction as introduced in (209b). This dual head is eligible for assigning two distinct cases. The theme stays in situ and is assigned marked structural dative case by the thematic Voice as demonstrated in (209b), which presents the derivation of (209a). The agent in $\text{Spec}n_{\text{voice}}\text{P}$ raises to SpecPossP to receive genitive case from Poss.

- (209) a. [Komitet-o greit-as pritar-im-as
 committee-GEN quick-NOM.M.SG approval-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M
 projekt-ui/*projekt-o] vis-us mustebin-o.
 project-DAT/*project-GEN everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 ‘The committee’s quick approval of the project surprised everyone.’

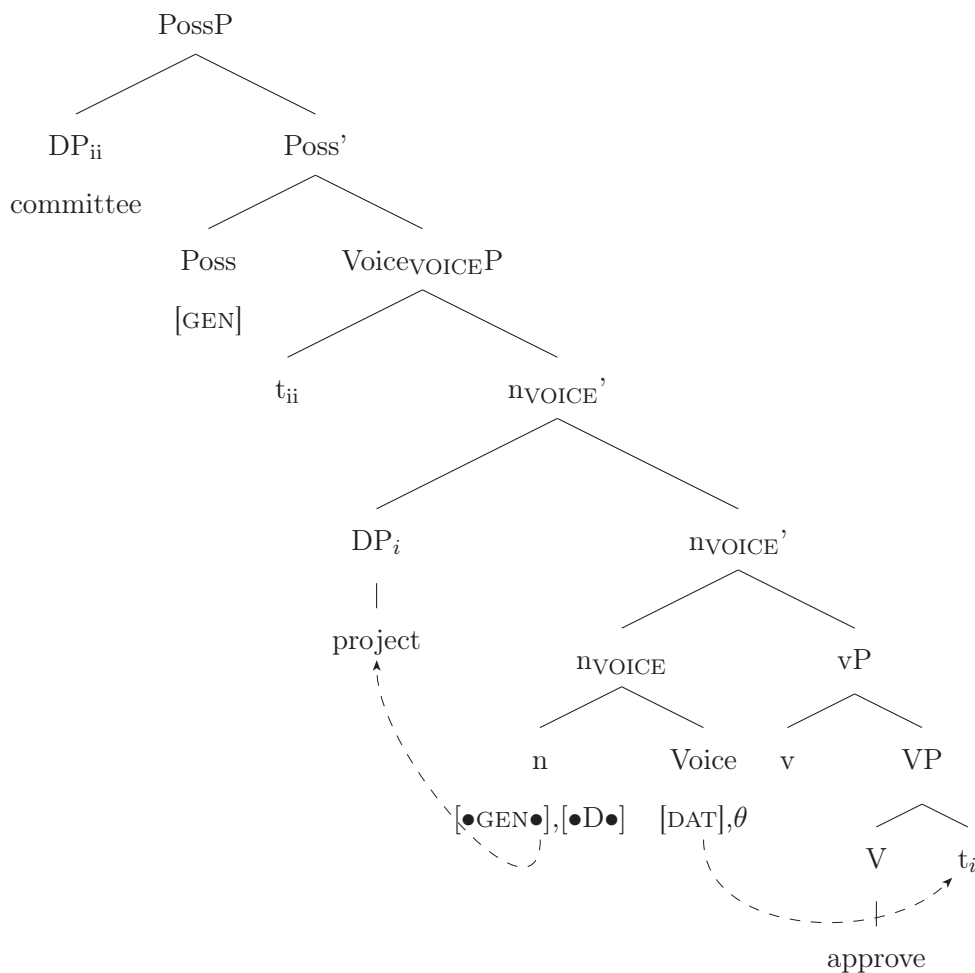
b.



Once the dative case is assigned to the theme, then it can be optionally overwritten by genitive case assigned by *n*. Crucially, the assignment of genitive is tied to movement, unlike the assignment of nominative case by T. The theme moves to Spec_{nVoice} position and is assigned genitive case by the *n* head as illustrated in (210b). This type of analysis is possible if we assume ‘tucking in’ derivations (e.g., see McGinnis 1998; Richards 1999).

- (210) a. [Komitet-o greit-as projekt-o/*projekt-ui
 committee-GEN quick-NOM.M.SG project-GEN/*project-DAT
 pritar-im-as] vis-us nustebin-o
 approval-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3
 ‘The committee’s quick approval of the project surprised everyone.’

b.



EVIDENTIALS. Our analysis can also account for the preservation of marked structural dative in the evidential construction (discussed in sub-section 3.4.3). The theme that bears structural accusative case in the active is assigned nominative in the evidential as in (211). It was suggested that the EvidP determines the use of a VoiceP that assigns nominative rather than accusative case in this construction.

(211) a. Ing-a nuramin-o vaik-a.
 Inga-NOM calm.down-PST.3 child-ACC
 ‘Inga calmed the child down.’

Active

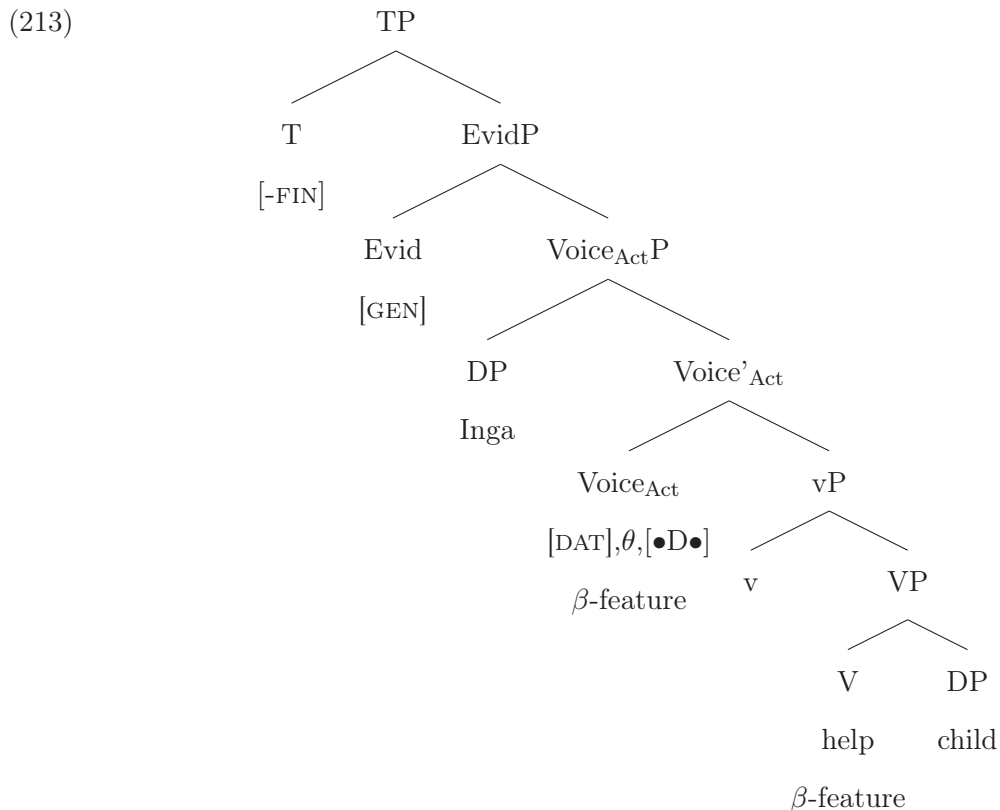
b. Ing-os nuramin-t-a vaik-as.
 Inga-GEN calmed.down-PPP-[-AGR] child-NOM

‘Inga must have calmed the child down.’

Evidential of Transitive

Nevertheless, the EvidP does not affect the thematic VoiceP, which assigns marked structural case. This case is obligatorily assigned by the Voice, as was argued above, and therefore it is retained in the evidential as in (212). The structure is provided in (212).

- (212) Ing-os padê-t-a vaik-ti/*vaik-as
 Inga-GEN help-PPP-[-AGR] child-DAT/child-NOM
 ‘Inga must have helped the child.’



To sum up, I have provided an analysis of marked structural dative. It was argued that this case patterns like accusative in that it is assigned by a thematic VoiceP. Nevertheless, this case is marked in that its assignment is obligatory and is not affected by the featural make-up of the Voice head itself. I have further argued that the assignment of marked structural dative is conditioned by specific types of predicates, namely *help*-class verbs, suggesting that a thematic Voice and a verb are in a selectional relationship with each other.

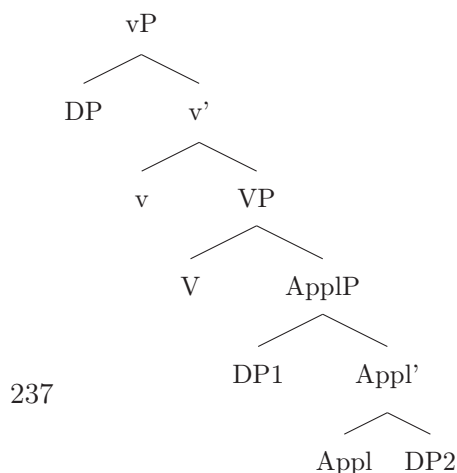
This linking relationship was encoded through agreement (in line with McCloskey 2007). This study contributes to our understanding of case. Empirical work on case has established a distinction between two cases, structural vs. non-structural. This study demonstrates that some cases like marked structural dative is an intermediate step between structural and non-structural case.

3.5.3 Analysis of *Serve*-class verbs and Ditransitives

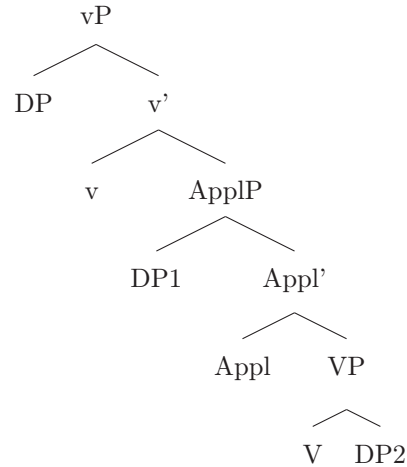
While the dative object of *help*-class is assigned like a structural case by a thematic Voice head, I argue that the inherent dative of *serve*-class and ditransitives is a type of non-structural case assigned in the Appl(icative)P configuration. DPs marked with inherent dative are syntactically inactive, ineligible for A-movement to SpecTP position which I take as evidence that inherent dative in Lithuanian is inert case in the sense of McGinnis (1998).

Before, I introduce an analysis of each construction, I first the outline main theoretical assumptions related to applicative constructions. Generally, languages vary in the types of applicative constructions they have. Pylkkänen (1999; 2008) argues that two types of applicatives can be discerned crosslinguistically: low applicatives and high applicatives. Low applicatives introduce a relation between two individuals. They originate below a V head, and their specifier and complement positions are occupied by a DP (214a). High applicatives introduce a relationship between an event and an individual. They originate between a little vP and merge with a VP complement (214b). Across languages, applied arguments are often marked with dative or genitive case and are related to different types of θ roles e.g., goal, experiencer, beneficiary and so on.

(214) a. Low Applicatives



b. High Applicatives



Languages like Albanian exhibit high applicatives whereby no possessive relation holds between the dative benefactive *Drita* and the theme argument *bag* in (215) (see McGinnis 2000 for discussion). On the other hand, English double object constructions are low applicatives, they encode a relationship between two individuals, and therefore examples like (216) denoting a relation between an event and an individual are ungrammatical.

Albanian

(215) Agimi i mban Dritës çantën time.
 Agim.NOM CL holds Drita.DAT bag.ACC my
 ‘Agim holds my bag for Drita.’ (McGinnis 2000, 4)

(216) *John held Mary the bag. (McGinnis 2000, 4)

I propose that Lithuanian ditransitive verbs like *duoti* ‘give’ are instances of low applicatives. When passivized, high applicative constructions allow symmetric passives in that either their beneficiary argument or the theme can become a grammatical subject. On the other hand, low applicatives exhibit asymmetric passives where only one of the arguments can raise to a subject position. Ditransitive verbs like *duoti* ‘give’ in Lithuanian display asymmetric passives: only the theme argument can become a grammatical subject as illustrated in (217).

(217) *Ditransitives*

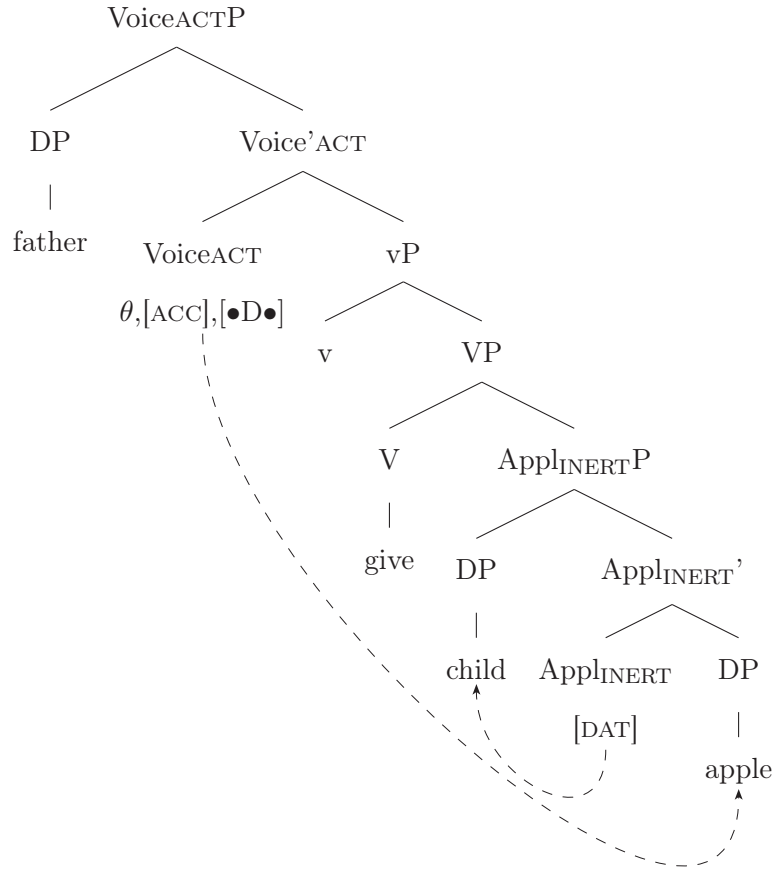
- a. Tėv-as dav-ė vaik-ui obuol-į.
father-NOM give-PST.3 child-DAT apple-ACC
'The father gave the child an apple.' (Ambrasas et al. 1997, 279)
- b. *Vaik-as buv-o tėv-o duo-t-as obuol-į.
child-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 father-GEN give-PPP-NOM.M.SG apple-ACC
'The child was given an apple by the father.'
- c. Obuol-ys buv-o tėv-o duo-t-as vaik-ui.
apple-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 father-GEN give-PPP-NOM.M.SG child-DAT
'The apple was given the child by the father.'

Following the traditional literature (McGinnis 1998; Cuervo 2003; Anagnostopoulou 2003b; Pylkkänen 2008; Schäfer 2008; i.a.), I assume that the IO is merged as a specifier of ApplP head as demonstrated in (218). I will call this applicative inert (thus Appl_{INERT}P) for the reasons that will become clear in a moment. The applicative head assigns an inherent dative case to its specifier. The DO theme receives accusative case from the thematic Voice head.⁴⁵

⁴⁵Binding facts suggest that the IO can be merged higher than the DO in Lithuanian. As illustrated in (i-ii), the IO binds the DO, and therefore it must c-command it. Nevertheless, applying the same binding test to DO-IO word order shows that the DO can also serve as a binder as in (iii-iv) meaning that ditransitive predicates may be associated with two distinct structures: one where IO c-commands DO and another one where DO originates higher than IO (for discussion of this ambiguity in other languages see Anagnostopoulou 2003b; Bruening 2010; Boneh and Nash 2017; i.a.). The behavior of these two configurations must await future research.

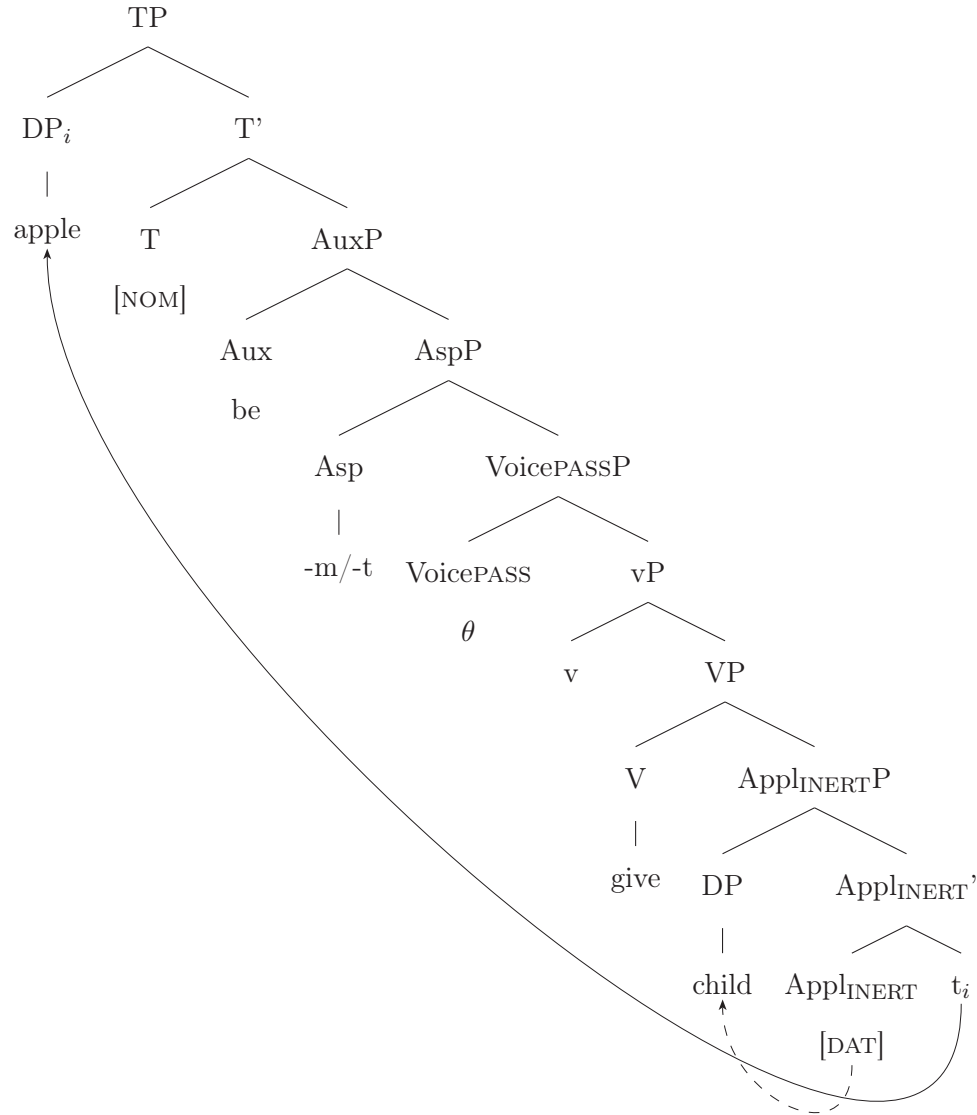
- (i) Aš davi-iau kiekvien-ai motin-ai_i jos_i vaik-ą.
I.NOM give-PST.1SG every-DAT mother-DAT her.GEN child-ACC
'I gave every mother_i her_i child.'
- (ii) Aš davi-au jos_{*i/j} vaik-ą kiekvien-ai motin-ai_i.
I.NOM give-PST.1SG her.GEN child-ACC every-DAT mother-DAT
'I gave every mother her child.'
- (iii) Aš davi-au kiekvien-ą vaik-ą_i jo_i motin-ai.
I.NOM give-PST.1SG every-ACC child-ACC his.GEN mother-DAT
'I gave every child_i to his_i mother.'
- (iv) Aš davi-au jo_j/_{*i} motin-ai kiekvien-ą_i vaik-ą.
I.NOM give-PST.1SG his.GEN mother-DAT every-ACC child-ACC
'I gave every child_i to his_i mother.'

(218) Active Ditransitive



When passivized, the external argument is suppressed, the dative IO does not advance to nominative, it retains its case as in (217c). The Appl head assigns inherent dative case to it. The theme becomes a grammatical subject, it receives nominative case from T and can advance to SpecTP position as illustrated in (219). The IO with inherent case does not block case assignment by T to the theme meaning that it is not syntactically active.

(219) Passive of *DO*

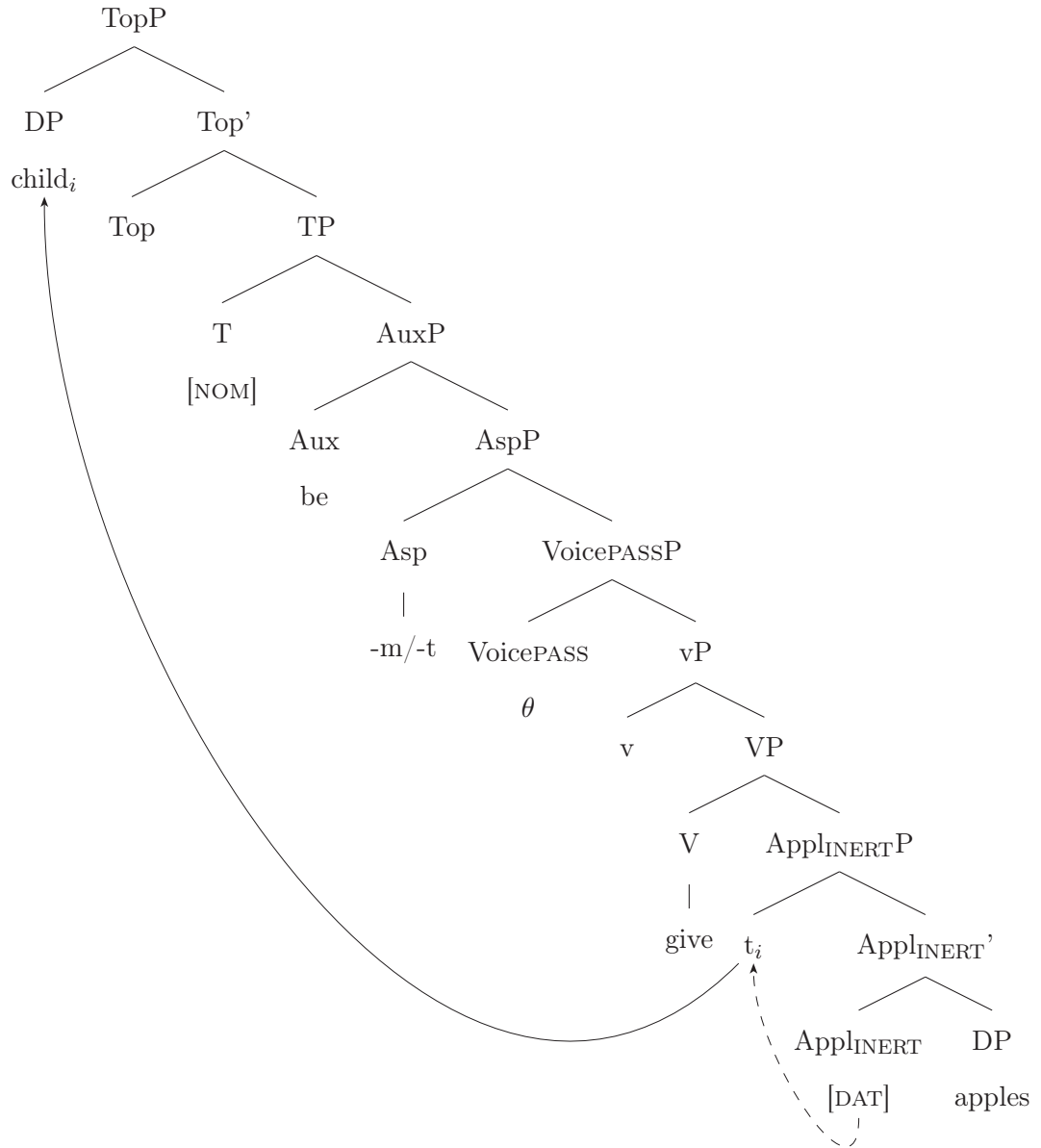


When forming the passive of IO, the theme still behaves like a grammatical subject in bearing nominative, the IO retains its case, but occurs sentence initially as in (166b). As discussed in sub-section 3.3, the dative IO does not behave like a subject in that it does not bind the subject-oriented anaphor. Rather it behaves like a topicalized object in that it retains its original binding relationship when fronted (see sub-section 3.3 for data and discussion). Hence, it neither blocks A-movement nor advances to subject position itself, which is a characteristic behavior of inert dative discussed by McGinnis (1998). I propose

that the IO undergoes A-bar movement to TopP above TP as in (221).

- (220) Vaik-ui buv-o duo-t-i tèv-o obuoli-ai.
 child-DAT be-PST.3 give-PPP-NOM.M.PL father-GEN apple-NOM.M.PL
 ‘The child was given the apples by the father.’

- (221) Passive of *IO*



As far as *serve*-class predicates are concerned, their IO is interpreted as beneficiary or maleficiary, the list of verbs is repeated here in (222). For instance, in (223), there is no

direct possessive relation between the agent and the beneficiary. Given this type of reading, I tentatively suggest that the *serve*-class construction includes high applicatives as sketched in (224). The Appl head assigns inherent dative to the IO merged in the specifier position.⁴⁶

(222) *SERVE*-class: *tarnauti* - ‘to serve’, *vergauti* - ‘to be a slave’, *pataikauti* - ‘to be subservient to someone/to flatter someone’, *nuolaidžiauti* - ‘to make concessions to someone’, *nusilenkti* - ‘to bow’, *pasiduoti* - ‘to surrender’, *pritari* - ‘to give support’, *prieštarauti* - to contradict

(223) Marij-a tarnav-o atėjūn-ams/*atėjūn-us.
 Marija-NOM serve-PST.3 invaders-DAT/invaders-ACC
 ‘Marija served the invaders’

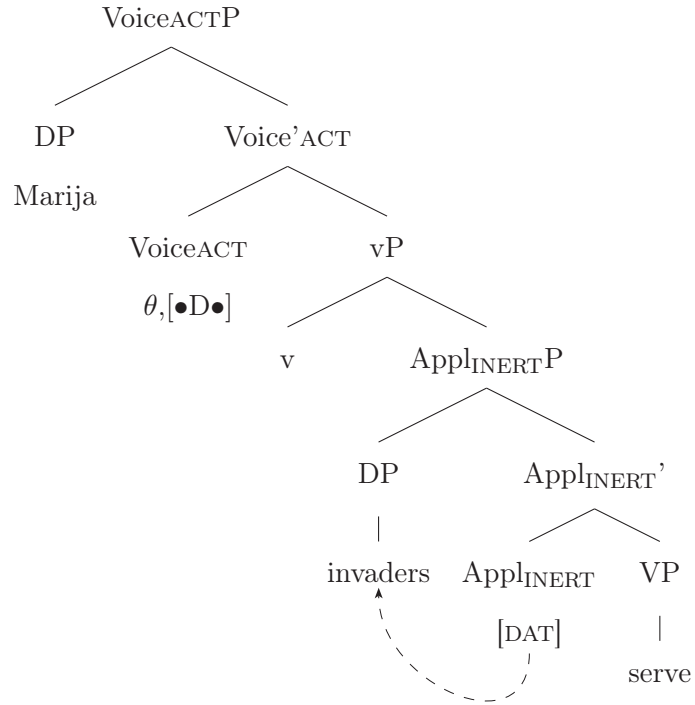
⁴⁶High applicatives are also attested in other constructions. For example, it is possible to add a beneficiary argument to transitive predicates like *clean* as in (i) where no possessive relationship holds between the beneficiary and the theme argument. This reading is also available with ditransitive *siųsti* ‘send’ in (ii).

- (i) Aš paprašī-au Jon-o, kad jis man sutvarky-tų mam-os garaž-ą.
 I.NOM ask-PST.1.SG Jonas-GEN that he.NOM me.DAT clean-IRR mother-GEN garage-ACC
 ‘I asked Jonas whether he could clean mom’s garage for me.’
- (ii) Aš išsiunči-au tau laišk-ą.
 I.NOM send-PST.1.SG you.DAT letter-ACC
 (i) ‘I sent you a letter. (Goal)
 (ii) I sent a letter for you.’ (as a favor, Beneficiary)

The high applicative can be incorporated in unergative verbs. Some Lithuanian unergative verbs seem to allow the applicative argument to be added to the structure as demonstrated below.

- (iii) Marij-a man dainav-o apie jūr-ą ir meil-ę.
 Marija.NOM me.DAT sing-PST.3 about sea-ACC and love-ACC
 ‘Marija was singing for me about the sea and love.’
- (iv) Vaik-ai man šok-o ir dainav-o.
 children-NOM me.DAT dance-PST.3 and sing-PST.3
 ‘The children were dancing and singing for me.’

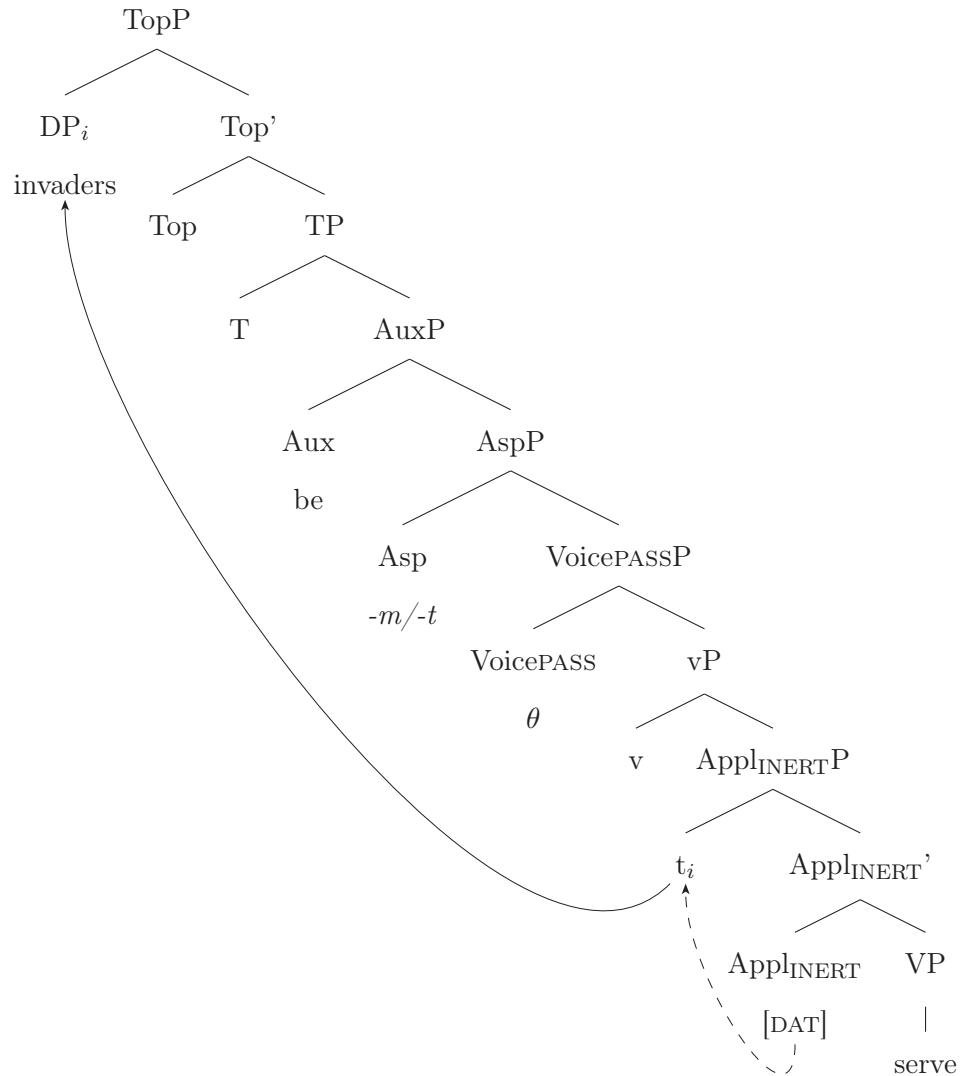
(224)



The inherent dative of *serve*-class predicates is also inert just like the dative of IO of ditransitives. The beneficiary marked with this dative does not advance to a grammatical subject under passivization (225). It retains its status as an object and forms the impersonal passive, as was argued in sub-section 3.3. The IO undergoes A-bar movement to TopP as illustrated in (226).

- (225) a. *Atējūn-ai buv-o Jon-o tarnauja-m-i.
 invaders-NOM.MPL be-PST.3 Jonas-GEN serve-PPRP-NOM.M.SG
 ‘The invaders were served by Jonas.’ *Agreeing Passive*
- b. Atējūn-ams buv-o Jon-o tarnauja-m-a.
 invaders-DAT be-PST.3 Jonas-GEN serve-PPRP-[-AGR]
 ‘The invaders were served by Jonas.’ *Impersonal Passive*

(226)



3.5.4 Extension: marked structural genitive

We have observed that marked structural case is restricted to a small set of verbs, namely *help*-class predicates. This may be taken as evidence for treating marked structural case as idiosyncratic, lexically determined. On the other hand, the systematic syntactic contrast in passives and nominalizations point to a productive rule of grammar. Thus, we have two conflicting properties at hand. If marked structural case were simply an idiosyncratic property of this specific class of predicates, then we would not expect to find the same type of case with other classes of predicates. Nevertheless, this prediction is not borne out.

There is a group of predicates that take genitive case, which exhibits the behavior of marked structural case suggesting that marked structural case is a part of the productive rule of grammar.

Let us take a closer look at the data. (227) presents a list of predicates that take a genitive object. These predicates permit two types of passives: the agreeing one whereby the genitive object becomes the grammatical nominative subject and agrees with the participle as in (228b), and the impersonal passive where the genitive case retains its case and does not trigger agreement as in (228c). This is a parallel behavior to *help*-class predicates whose dative object also shows optionality under passivization.

(227) *geisti* ‘to desire/crave’, *laukti* ‘to wait’, *norėti* - ‘to want’, *tikėtis* ‘to hope’, *trokšti* ‘to desire’

(228) a. Vis-i lauk-ė nauj-o film-o/*film-a.
 everyone-NOM wait-PST.3 new-GEN movie-GEN/movie-ACC
 ‘Everyone was waiting for a new movie.’

b. Nauj-as film-as buv-o vis-ų laukia-m-as
 new-NOM movie-NOM be-PST.3 everyone-GEN wait-PPRP-NOM.M.SG
 ‘The new movie was being waited for by everyone.’ *Agreeing Passive*

c. Nauj-o film-o buv-o vis-ų laukia-m-a
 new-GEN movie-GEN be-PST.3 everyone-GEN wait-PPRP-[-AGR]
 ‘The new movie was being waited for by everyone.’ *Impersonal Passive*

If this class of predicates behaves like that of *help*-class, we expect to see the same type of optionality in nominalizations. This prediction is borne out. The genitive case can occur after the deverbal noun, which as I argued in sub-section 3.4.1, is a canonical position of an object bearing non-structural case. This is illustrated in (229b). In addition to that, the genitive theme argument may also neutrally precede the deverbal noun, which is a type of behavior typical to DPs bearing structural case as in (229c). Note the genitive DP bears GEN.L case form, which is a type of form that is assigned to a theme object rather than a possessor/agent.

- (229) a. Aš lauki-au tav-ęs.
 I.NOM wait-PST.1SG you-GEN.L
 ‘I was waiting for you.’
- b. [Vien lauk-im-as tav-ęs] apvert-ė mūsų gyvenimą aukštyn
 only wait-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG you-GEN.L turn-PST.3 our life upwards
 kojom.
 legs
 ‘[Just waiting for you] turned our life upside down.’
- c. [Vien tav-ęs lauk-im-as] apvert-ė mūsų gyvenimą aukštyn
 only you-GEN.L wait-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG turn-PST.3 our life upwards
 kojom.
 legs
 ‘[Just waiting for you] turned our life upside down.’

Another diagnostic used for identifying marked structural case is the preposition *po*. This preposition requires its complement to be marked with accusative case, nevertheless the marked structural case needs to be obligatorily assigned to the theme. These two obligatory requirements, as I demonstrated in sub-section 3.4.4, cause ungrammaticality. If the genitive case of verbs like ‘wait’ is indeed marked structural, then we would also expect to see ungrammaticality when the preposition *po* is applied to the complement of this verb. This prediction is borne out as illustrated in (230) providing another piece of evidence that this genitive case patterns just like marked structural case.

- (230) a. Kiekvienas augintin-is mūsų prieglaudoje lauki-a nauj-o šeimink-o.
 every pet-NOM our shelter wait-PRS.3 new-GEN owner-GEN
 ‘Every pet in our shelter is waiting for a new owner.’
- b. *Kiekvienas augintin-is mūsų prieglaudoje lauki-a po nauj-o
 every pet-NOM our shelter wait-PRS.3 each new-GEN
 šeimink-o / nauj-ą šeimink-ą.
 owner-GEN / new-ACC owner-ACC
 Lit. ‘Every pet in our shelter is waiting for a new (different) owner.’

Hence, it can be seen that marked structural case is not limited purely to datives and verbs of *help*-class predicates. It may also be realized with other classes of predicates whose

object is genitive. This suggests that the assignment of marked structural case is a productive rule in the language. Furthermore, as noted by Anderson (2015), objects marked with instrumental case may also show optionality in passivization as exemplified below. Thus, further research needs to be done to investigate whether marked structural case may be realized as instrumental in the language.

- (231) a. Seniau žmon-ės tikėj-o diev-ais.
 formerly people-NOM believe-PST.3 gods-INS
 ‘In formerly times people believed in gods.’
- b. Diev-ai seniau buv-o tiki-m-i žmoni-ų.
 Gods-NOM formerly be-PST.3 believe-PPRP-NOM.M.PL people-GEN
 ‘In formerly times gods were believed in by people.’ (Anderson, 2015, 296)
- c. Dev-ais seniau buv-o tiki-m-a žmoni-ų.
 Gods-INS formerly be-PST.3 believe-PPRP-[-AGR] people-GEN
 ‘In formerly times gods were believed in by people.’

3.6 Chapter Summary

The main contribution of this chapter was to show that boundaries between structural and non-structural case can be murky. I have identified two types of datives in Lithuanian: marked structural dative and inherent inert dative. The two datives share some common properties, but are assigned differently. The marked structural case of DO is assigned by the thematic Voice head just like structural accusative, whereas the inherent dative of IO is assigned by the Appl head. Both cases are alike in that they must be obligatorily assigned and failure to assign them results in ungrammaticality.

I have demonstrated that a thematic Voice projection is not purely restricted to structural accusative case assignment. The thematic Voice head can also assign other structural cases like marked structural dative. I have further argued the assignment of this dative by the Voice head is obligatory, both the passive Voice and the active Voice assign this case. Thus, while the thematic passive Voice does not assign accusative case in Lithuanian, it does assign structural dative case. The finding that a Voice head can assign different types of

structural cases depending on the type of predicate is merged within a *vP* suggests that there is a selectional relationship between the thematic Voice and the verb. *Help*-class predicates require the thematic Voice head to assign dative case rather than accusative, to encode this requirement I followed McCloskey (2007) and suggested that the Voice head and the verb enters into agreement relationship with each other, which ensures that the thematic Voice head assigns an appropriate case.

While some predicates with dative DOs can be associated with two distinct structures (e.g., like in German McFadden 2004), I have argued that the behavior of DO bearing marked structural case cannot be captured under this account. The DO of *help* class predicates shows a mixed behavior between structural and non-structural case only in passives and nominalizations, but this dual behavior is not attested in other syntactic environments like the evidential or the genitive of negation. I have also considered the PP analysis, which has been applied to mixed datives in various languages (e.g., see Alexiadou et al. 2014a). However, in addition to two datives presented in this chapter, Lithuanian also exhibits the third type of dative – quirky dative – assigned to a subject. The PP analysis can only make a two-way distinction whereas the typology of datives in Lithuanian displays a three-way distinction.

This chapter has also introduced various means to distinguish between different types of datives on the one hand, and a PP on the other. It was also demonstrated that a number of diagnostics that have been previously proposed for structural vs. non-structural case distinction may not show a true distinction between two types of cases. However, these tests can inform us about the locus of dative case assignment and its timing. Lastly, this chapter has also contributed to the typology of datives in general. It was demonstrated that the dative of IO in Lithuanian does not alternate with nominative in the passive whereas the dative of DO does, which is a type of pattern that has not been included in the crosslinguistic classification of datives by Alexiadou et al. (2014a).

Chapter 4

Subjecthood and Case: from structural to quirky

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the relationship between subjecthood and case by contrasting two non-nominative subjects in Lithuanian: the genitive subject of the evidential construction¹ and the dative subject of the *lack*-class construction. It is demonstrated that non-nominative subjects do not constitute a homogeneous class within the language and exhibit different subjecthood properties. I propose that the distribution of these subjecthood properties is correlated with the type of syntactic case the subject is assigned rather than its morphological form. Specifically, I show that the genitive subject behaves like a canonical nominative subject and is assigned structural case by a functional head. In contrast, the dative subject shows only a sub-set of subjecthood properties and its case is non-structural quirky, lexically determined by a specific class of predicates.

Subjecthood has received a lot of attention in the literature (Keenan 1976; Zaenen et al. 1985; McCloskey 1996; Moore and Perlmutter 2000; Sigurðsson 2002, 2004; i.a.). Despite the extensive literature, it seems that there is no clear notion or criterion that defines subjecthood since languages differ in properties associated with a canonical subject. There is a long-standing tradition to divide subjects into nominative vs. non-nominative, known as quirky subjects. Quirky subjects have been studied extensively with a particular focus on

¹The discussion of the evidential construction is based on joint work with Julie Anne Legate, Faruk Akkus and Don Ringe (see Legate et al. to appear).

Icelandic (Andrews 1982; Zaenen et al. 1985; Sigurðsson 2002, 2004; also see Barnes et al. 1986; Jónsson 2009 for Faroese quirky subjects; see Pankau 2016 and references therein for the comparison of Icelandic, Faroese and German quirky subjects). These subjects bear non-structural case, but otherwise exhibit the properties of a nominative canonical subject e.g., A-movement to SpecTP, binding of a subject-oriented anaphor, etc. The two examples of Icelandic quirky subjects are provided in (1-2). The quirky case of the subject is non-structural, related to a specific class of verbs. The experiencer of ‘like’ class predicates is marked with dative (1). Verbs like ‘help’ select for a dative object, which advances to a subject under passivization, but retains its case and thus behaves like non-structural (2).

Icelandic

- (1) Henni leiddust strákar.
her.DAT bored.2.PL boys.NOM.PL
‘She found the boys boring.’ (Sigurðsson 1996:1)

(2) *Icelandic*

- a. Ég hjálpaði honum.
I.NOM helped him.DAT
‘I helped him.’

- b. Honum var hjalpáð.
him.DAT was helped
‘He was helped.’

(Adapted from Pankau 2016, 500)

Lithuanian also permits non-nominative subjects. The first case study of non-nominative subjects is the evidential construction in (3). The evidential construction is interpreted as inferential based on visual evidence. The nominative subject of the active transitive is marked with genitive in the evidential. The accusative object becomes nominative. The lexical verb bears passive morphology. Due to its morphological resemblance to the passive (see Chapter 2 for an overview of passives), the evidential was conflated with the passive construction (e.g., see Timberlake 1982). Nevertheless, a number of researchers have shown that the evidential is not a passive construction (for discussion, see Blevins 2003; Geniušienė 2006; Lavine 2006, 2010b; Spraunienė et al. 2015; Legate et al. to appear; also for a typological

perspective and a diachronic analysis of this construction, see Holvoet 2001b; Aikhenvald 2006; Wiemer 2011; i.a.).

- (3) a. Ing-a nuramin-o vaik-ą.
 Inga-NOM calm.down-PST.3 child-ACC
 ‘Inga calmed the child down.’ *Active Transitive*
- b. Ing-os nuramin-t-a vaik-as.
 Inga-GEN calm.down-PPP-[-AGR] child-NOM
 ‘Inga must have calmed the child down.’ *Evidential of Transitive*
- (Ambrazas et al. 1997, 207)

Building on the existing literature on the evidential construction, I show that the genitive agent in (3) patterns like a grammatical subject in terms of agreement, binding and other subjecthood tests. Even though the subject bears non-nominative case, its case is not lexically determined by a specific class of predicates, like that of a quirky subject, or assigned thematically like inherent case. In contrast, I argue that the genitive of the evidential is structural case, which is realized on a thematic subject of transitives and unergatives as well as a thematic object of unaccusatives. Thus, the subject of the evidential is assigned structural genitive case to its highest argument by a functional head, which, as we argue, is Evid(ential)P located between a non-finite T and a thematic Voice. This construction provides evidence for Blain and Dáchainé’s (2006) proposal that EvidP may be generated in lower clausal positions rather than being a part of a CP domain.

The second type of a non-nominative subject is the dative subject of verbs that express the lack or need of something like *trūkti* ‘to lack’ or *stigti* ‘be short of’, I will refer to this class of predicates as the *lack-class*. The possessor is either marked with dative or nominative case² and the theme object is genitive as in (4). The nominative possessor agrees with the

²Lithuanian in this respect patterns like Faroese, which also exhibits a similar variation in case marking. The verb *like* can have either a dative or nominative experiencer as indicated below.

- (i) Mær dámar føroyskan tónleik
 me.DAT like.3SG Faroese.ACC music.ACC
 I like Faroese music.’
- (ii) Eg dámi føroyskan tónleik
 I.NOM like.1SG Faroese.ACC music.ACC

verb, whereas the dative possessor shows no agreement.

- (4) a. Mums pritrūk-o pinig-ϕ
we.DAT run.short.of-PST.3 money-GEN
'We ran short of money.'
- b. Mes pritrūk-o-me pinig-ϕ.
we.NOM run.short.of-PST-1PL money-GEN
'We ran short of money.' (Adapted from Ambrazas et al. 1997, 663)

I show that the dative possessor behaves like a subject in binding the subject-oriented anaphor, but fails to pattern like a subject in other respects e.g., trigger agreement or be PRO. Thus, unlike the genitive subject of the evidential, the dative subject of the *lack* class predicates shows a limited set of subjecthood properties (for similar variation of subjecthood properties in other languages see Bayer 2004; Poole 2016; Pankau 2016; i.a.). Furthermore, this subject patterns like a quirky subject in terms of case assignment: it is assigned non-structural case, which is determined by *lack*-class predicates. The juxtaposition of the two non-nominative subjects demonstrates that non-nominative subjects vary in their case licensing mechanisms, which relates to their subjecthood properties. In other words, it is not a morphological form of case, but rather the way case is assigned that may influence the properties of the two non-nominative subjects. The investigation of these two subjects provides an important piece of evidence for the separation of syntactic case from its morphological form (for a syntactic approach to case see Vergnaud 1977/2008; Chomsky 1981, 1995; Legate 2008).

The *lack*-construction poses two additional puzzles, which I discuss in this chapter. First, in addition to the two types of datives, marked structural dative and inherent inert dative, discussed in Chapter 3, I distinguish the third type of dative, namely quirky dative. The question is how we can encode the difference between two non-structural datives, quirky dative vs. inherent inert dative, in a single language. I address this question and propose that the difference lies in distinct case licensing mechanisms (in line with McGinnis 1998).

I like Faroese music.'

(Jónsson 2009, 142)

The dative of the *lack*-class is assigned by *lack*-class predicates whereas the dative of indirect object is assigned like inherent case by the ApplP.

The second puzzle is related to the dative-nominative alternation exhibited by the possessor subject of *lack*-class predicates. I provide evidence showing that this DAT-NOM alternation is not a morphological accident. The two possessors differ not only in their morphological marking, but also in terms of their syntactic behavior. The nominative possessor behaves like a canonical subject and passes all subjecthood tests, whereas the dative possessor shows only a limited set of properties. Poole (2016) proposes that variation in subjecthood properties is related to the structural position of a subject i.e., its final landing site within a clause. I discuss whether this theory can account for the differences that exist between these two possessors. It is demonstrated that subjecthood cannot be treated as purely a structural phenomenon because some subjecthood properties e.g., like the binding of the subject-oriented anaphor, are not necessarily restricted to a specific structural position of a subject. I now discuss each case study in turn.

4.2 Evidentials

I begin the investigation of subjecthood by analyzing the properties of the Lithuanian evidential construction repeated in (5). Evidential constructions usually express the speaker's perspective towards an event. The evidential construction in (5) is based on visual evidence. As mentioned earlier, the agent in the evidential is marked with genitive whereas the theme bears nominative, and the verb is realized with passive morphology. This construction has received considerable attention in the literature due to its interesting case marking properties and passive morphology realized on the verb (see Holvoet 2001b; Blevins 2003; Aikhenvald 2006; Geniušienė 2006; Lavine 2006, 2010b; i.a.).

- (5) a. Ing-a nuramin-o vaik-ą
 Inga-NOM calm.down-PST.3 child-ACC
 'Inga calmed the child down.'

Active Transitive

- b. Ing-os nuramin-t-a vaik-as.
 Inga-GEN calm.down-PPP-[-AGR] child-NOM
 ‘Inga must have calmed the child down.’

Evidential of Evidential

(Ambrazas et al. 1997, 207)

It is noteworthy that to express information acquired through hearsay, Lithuanian uses a different strategy. Evidentials based on hearsay, also known as perfective evidentials, are encoded through verbal marking (for discussion of these constructions in Lithuanian see Ambrazas et al. 1997, 262-266, Lavine 2010b, 121). They include the auxiliary *būti* and the verb bears active participle morphology. The case marking of arguments is not affected: the nominative subject of the active finite clause retains its case in the perfective evidential as in (6).

- (6) a. Marij-a gyven-o bendrabut-yje.
 Marija-NOM live-PRS.3 dorm-LOC
 ‘Marija lived in the dorm.’

- b. Girdėj-au, Marij-a (yra) gyven-us-i šiame
 hear-PST.1SG, Marija-NOM be.PRS.3 live-PST.ACT.PTCP-NOM.F.SG this
 bendrabut-yje.
 dorm-LOC
 ‘I heard that Marija lived in this dorm.’

Indeed, crosslinguistically, it is common for languages to encode evidentiality through verbal marking or morphological particles (for a crosslinguistic overview of evidentials see Aikhenvald 2006). For example, to express information acquired through sensory evidence, Diyari (Dieri; northern South Australia) uses the suffix *-ku*, which is attached to the verb as in (7). The Lithuanian construction in (5) is interesting in that the evidential is not only expressed through morphological marking on the verb, but it also manifests itself through case marking, which will be the focus of this study.

Diyari

- (7) ṅawu wakara-yi-ku
 he.3SG come-PRS-SENS.EV
 ‘He is coming (I saw him).’

(Aikhenvald 2006, 35)

This study is organized as follows. In sub-section 4.2.1, I examine the syntactic properties of the genitive agent in the evidential construction. It is demonstrated that the genitive initiator patterns like a canonical subject. However, this subject is distinct from a canonical quirky subject in that its case is structural assigned by a functional head rather than being lexically determined by a certain predicate. In sub-section 4.2.2, the characteristic behavior of the nominative theme is discussed. I demonstrate that the theme behaves like a grammatical object and consider the nature of this nominative case. Despite passive morphology, the evidential is argued to be an active construction whose highest argument is a grammatical subject marked with structural genitive case. In sub-section 4.2.3, we propose an analysis of the evidential suggesting that it contains an Evid(ential)P head which is in a selectional relation with a non-finite T. This head also selects for a thematic Voice, which assigns nominative rather than accusative case to a grammatical object.

4.2.1 Subject with structural genitive case

In this section, I demonstrate that the genitive initiator in the evidential is a grammatical subject that bears structural genitive case assigned by a functional head. Before, we start, it is worth pointing out that the notion of subjecthood in Lithuanian has been discussed to some extent: see Lenartaitė-Gotaučienė 2014 for a discussion of subjecthood in terms of the lexical, grammatical and discourse level of representation in *swarm* alternation, Mikulskas 2014 for a discussion of subjects in specificational copular constructions, also Seržant 2016 for the relation between nominative case and subjects in Lithuanian, Holvoet 2013 and for Seržant 2015 a discussion of dative subject experiencers. Some of these studies view the subject as being the most salient argument in discourse. However, in this study, I focus on a syntactic notion of a subject. Specifically, I view subjecthood as a type of a grammatical function which manifests itself through a number of properties, the type of properties exhibited by subjects crosslinguistically.

4.2.1.1 Binding

The genitive initiator of the evidential binds the subject-oriented anaphor (8), and thus patterns like a grammatical subject (Timberlake 1982; Lavine 2006, 2010b; Spraunienė et al. 2015). The nominative theme exhibits the opposite behavior. It patterns like a grammatical object in that it binds the anti-subject-oriented pronoun *jo*, (9).

- (8) Domant-o_i rūšiuo-t-a darbuotoj-ai pagal sav-o_i/j-o_i
Domantas-GEN divide-PPP-[AGR] employees-NOM according.to self-GEN/his-GEN
įsitikinimus.
beliefs
'Domantas_i must have divided employees according to his own_i beliefs.'

- (9) Domant-o rūšiuo-t-a darbuotoj-ai_i pagal j-ų_i/*sav-o_i/
Domantas-GEN divide-PPP-[AGR] employees-NOM according.to their-GEN/self-GEN
įsitikinimus.
beliefs
'Domantas must have divided employees_i according to their_i beliefs.'

4.2.1.2 Agreement

The genitive initiator of the evidential construction also triggers grammatical subject agreement. The evidential can be applied to copular constructions with adjectival or nominal predicates where the subject shows agreement with the predicate. Generally, in copular constructions, the nominative subject agrees with the predicate in number, gender and case. Examples are provided with adjectival and nominal predicates.

- (10) a. Puš-ys buv-o stor-os.
pine.trees-NOM.F.PL be-PST.3 thick-NOM.F.PL
'Pine trees were thick.
- b. Berž-as buv-o stor-as
birch-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 thick-NOM.M.SG
'The birch was thick.'
- (11) a. Tėv-as buv-o medžiotoj-as.
father-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 hunter-NOM.M.SG
'The father was a hunter.'

its genitive case to PRO as evidenced by the genitive depictive *alone*. The assignment of dative case, which is a type of case assigned to PRO independently of the matrix argument, is ruled out.

- (14) Ing-os_i pažadé-t-a [PRO_i grįž-ti namo ?vien-os_i / *vien-ai_i].
 Inga-GEN promise-PPP-[-AGR] return-INF home alone-GEN / alone-DAT
 ‘Inga must have promised to return home alone tomorrow.’

To summarize, I have introduced arguments showing that the genitive initiator in the evidential is a grammatical subject. Just like a nominative canonical subject, the genitive subject of the evidential construction binds the subject-oriented anaphor, triggers agreement on a predicate and obligatorily transfers its case to PRO.³ The nominative theme of a transitive verb in the evidential patterns like a grammatical object in that it serves as a binder for the anti-subject-oriented anaphor. Having identified the grammatical function of both arguments in the evidential, I now discuss the nature of genitive case.

4.2.1.4 Structural Genitive

The case of the genitive DP is neither lexically determined by a specific class of verbs nor related to a specific θ -role. Thus, this case is not a type of non-structural case. In the evidential, the subject is marked with genitive case irrespective of whether it is a thematic subject or a thematic object. We have observed above that the evidential can be formed with transitive verbs like *calm down*; see (3b). Evidentials can also be formed with unergatives as demonstrated below.

- (15) Čia žmoni-ų dirb-t-a.
 here people-GEN work-PPP-[-AGR]
 ‘People must have worked here.’ *Evidential of Unergative*

In addition to that, the evidential can be applied to unaccusative predicates like ‘die’ or

³Another subjecthood test that I have introduced in sub-section 3.2.2 was an ability to be PRO. This test cannot be applied to the evidential due to morphological reasons. Infinitive clauses where PRO is hosted do not allow a neuter non-agreeing participle in general, see sub-section 3.2.2 for examples with passives. However, the lexical verb in the evidential is marked with neuter non-agreeing morphology. Therefore, evidentials cannot be embedded under to-infinitive clauses due to their morphological marking. The two constructions are incompatible.

‘fall’ (see Timberlake 1982; Lavine 2006, 2010b; Spraunienė et al. 2015). For completeness, observe that the genitive theme binds the subject-oriented anaphor *savo*, and therefore functions like a grammatical subject. These data demonstrate that the genitive case of the evidential is not assigned thematically as it is not restricted to a specific θ -role.

(16) Jon-o_i numir-t-a praeitą rudenį sav-o_i namuose.
 Jonas-GEN die-PPP-[-AGR] last fall self-GEN house
 ‘Jonas_i must have died last fall in his_i house.’

(17) To lapeli-o_i nutrūk-t-a nuo sav-o_i šakel-ės.
 that leaf-GEN fall-PPP-[-AGR] from self-GEN branch-GEN
 ‘That leaf_i must have come off its_i branch.’

It is important to note that, despite the presence of neuter passive morphology, the evidential itself is not a passive construction. As has been argued in Chapter 2, the Lithuanian passive demotes the thematic subject to a genitive PP adjunct, and the theme is promoted to subject position. In the evidential, no suppression of the initiator takes place: its genitive subject can be realized as the thematic subject of a transitive or the theme of unaccusatives. Furthermore, the evidential itself can undergo passivization as well as illustrated in (18b). As a passive, this construction involves the demotion of the initiator ‘wind’, which is now realized as an optional *by*-phrase marked with genitive. This construction also has the auxiliary *būti* ‘to be’ and the genitive theme subject agrees with the lexical participle in number, gender and case, which are the properties of the passive. As an evidential, the grammatical theme subject in this construction is marked with genitive case. The fact that the theme functions like a subject is confirmed by its ability to bind the subject-oriented anaphor. As an evidential, the auxiliary is realized with neuter non-agreeing morphology.

(18) a. Vėj-o nupūs-t-a tas lapel-is.
 wind-GEN blow-PPP-[-AGR] that leaf-NOM
 ‘The wind must have blown down that leaf.’ *Evidential of Transitive*

b. To lapeli-o_i bū-t-a nupūs-t-o (vėj-o) nuo
 that leaf-GEN.M.SG be-PPP-[-AGR] blow-PPP-GEN.M.SG wind-GEN from
 sav-o_i šakel-ės.
 self-GEN branch-GEN

‘That leaf must have been blown off its branch by the wind.’

Evidential of Passive

Another piece of evidence for treating this genitive as a type of structural case comes from predicates whose subject is marked with non-structural case. *Lack*-class predicates, which will be discussed in detail in sub-section 4.3, take the dative subject and the genitive theme as in (19). Evidentials can be applied to these predicates. Crucially, genitive case, which is typically applied to a grammatical subject, is ruled out. The dative possessor retains its case. The fact that the dative functions like a subject in this construction is confirmed by its ability to bind the subject-oriented anaphor *savo*.

- (19) a. Žmog-ui_i trūk-o pasitikėjim-o sav-o_i jėgomis.
 man-DAT lack-PST.3 confidence-GEN self-GEN strength
 ‘The man lacked confidence in his own strength.’ *Active*
- b. Žmog-ui_i trūk-t-a pasitikėjim-o sav-o_i jėgomis.
 man-DAT lack-PPP-[-AGR] confidence-GEN self-GEN strength
 ‘The man must have lacked confidence in his own strength.’⁴ *Evidential*

Additional examples of the evidential with *lack*-class constructions are provided below.

- (20) a. Berniuk-ams trūk-o žini-ų.
 boys-DAT lack-PST.3 knowledge-GEN
 ‘The boys lacked knowledge.’ *Active*
- b. Berniuk-ams trūk-t-a žini-ų.
 boys-DAT lack-PPP-[-AGR] knowledge-GEN
 ‘The boys must have lacked knowledge.’⁵ *Evidential*
- (21) a. Projekto įgyvendinim-ui pristig-o lėš-ų.
 project implementation-DAT be.short.of-PST.3 funds-GEN
 ‘The implementation of the project was short of funds.’ *Active*
- b. Projekto įgyvendinim-ui pristig-t-a lėš-ų.
 project implementation-DAT be.short.of-PPP-[-AGR] funds-GEN

⁴<http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/tekstynas/search.all> Accessed on 05-08-2019

⁵<http://www.raseiniuvsb.lt/index,lt,45963.html> Accessed on 05-08-2019

‘The implementation of the project must have been short of funds.’⁶ *Evidential*

The genitive case is the evidential is applied to types of subjects which in an active would be normally assigned structural nominative. The genitive of the evidential cannot be realized on the type of subject that bears non-structural case. Instead, that subject retains its non-structural case. This type of pattern is predicted if genitive case is a type of structural case.

What I conclude from these facts is that the evidential has a genitive subject whose case is structural. This genitive is not limited to a particular θ -role or a particular class of predicates. In contrast, it can be assigned to an initiator of transitives or unergatives, or a theme of unaccusatives and passives. Furthermore, we have observed that the genitive case behaves like structural in that it is not retained when the subject bears non-structural dative case. Thus, even though on the surface the subject of the evidential construction looks like it bears non-structural case, a thorough investigation has demonstrated that this case is structural. It is a type of structural case assigned to the highest accessible argument, a grammatical subject, by a functional head. Therefore, the subject of the evidential is different from what we standardly view as a quirky subject in that its case is not lexically determined. The case properties of the evidential are summarized in Table 4.1.

	GEN	NOM
thematic subject of transitives	✓	*
thematic subject of unergatives	✓	*
grammatical subject of unaccusatives	✓	*
grammatical subject of passives	✓	*
grammatical object of transitives	*	✓

Table 4.1: Case Properties in Evidentials

Lavine (2010b) suggests that the genitive subject of transitives in the evidential is assigned like an inherent case by v -Voice head in specifier-head relation whereas in unaccusatives this head assigns genitive to the theme under closest c-command, like a structural case. First, it is not clear how this approach would account for the availability of the dative

⁶<http://www.suvalkietis.lt/page/134/> Accessed on 05-08-2019

subject of *lack* class predicates (recall our example in (19)). Second, under this approach, there are two distinct types of cases in the evidential. However, our approach offers a unified analysis of the genitive.

4.2.2 Nominative Object

So far we have observed that in the evidential, the grammatical/thematic subject is marked with structural genitive case. I now turn to the properties of the nominative theme of transitives in the evidential. Recall from sub-section 4.2.1.1 that the theme of transitives patterns like a grammatical object in that it binds the anti-subject-oriented anaphor (9), the example is repeated (22).

- (22) Domant-o rūšiūo-t-a darbuotoj-ai_i pagal j-ų_i/*sav-o_i
 Domantas-GEN divide-PPP-[AGR] employees-NOM according.to their-GEN/self-GEN
 įsitikinimus
 beliefs
 ‘Domantas must have divided employees_i according to their_i beliefs.’

Typically, a grammatical object of a transitive is marked with structural accusative case as in (23a). Nevertheless, in the evidential, the accusative theme is ungrammatical and only nominative case is allowed (23b).⁷

- (23) a. Domant-as rūšiav-o darbuotoj-us.
 Domantas-NOM divide-PST.3 employees-ACC
 ‘Domantas divided employees.’ *Active*

⁷It is noteworthy that nominative objects can be found in other constructions as well. *Ache*-class predicates like *skaudėti* ‘ache’, *sopėti* ‘ache’ have a dative experiencer and their theme argument in Standard Lithuanian is realized with accusative. However, in some dialects, the theme can also be marked with nominative as illustrated below (see Seržant 2013; Holvoet 2016 and references therein for discussion).

- (i) Man skaud-a galv-ą (ii) %Man skaud-a galv-a
 me.DAT ache-PRS.3 head-ACC me.DAT ache-PRS.3 head-NOM
 ‘I have a headache.’ ‘I have a headache.’

One may also wonder if the evidential could be applied to *ache*-type constructions and what type of case would be realized on the theme. I was not able to find any attested example in the Lithuanian corpus. Forming the evidential with these predicates also seems to yield ungrammaticality.

- (iii) *Jai skaudė-t-a galv-a/galv-ą. (iv) *Jos skaudė-t-a galv-a/galv-ą.
 she.DAT ache-PPP-[-AGR] head-NOM/head-ACC she.GET ache-PPP-[-AGR] head-NOM/head-ACC
 ‘She must have had a headache.’ ‘She must have had a headache.’

- b. Domant-o rūšiuo-t-a darbuotoj-ai/*darbuotoj-ų
 Domantas-GEN divide-PPP-[-AGR] employees-NOM/employees-ACC
 ‘Domantas must have divided employees.’ *Evidential*

If an object is marked with other cases than structural accusative, those cases are retained in the evidential. For example, the marked structural dative of *help*-class predicates and the inherent dative case of *serve*-class verbs are retained, as discussed in sub-section 3.4.3, the examples provided in (24)-(25). Nominative case is ungrammatical. Thus, grammatical objects which bear accusative case in the active transitive are nominative in the evidential. I take these facts to suggest that the thematic Voice head, which, as I argued in Chapter 2, is the locus of accusative case assignment, fails to assign accusative case to the theme argument in the evidential.

(24) *help*-class

- a. Ing-a padėj-o vaik-ui.
 Inga-NOM help-PST.3 child-DAT
 ‘Inga helped the child.’
- b. Ing-os padė-t-a vaik-ui/*vaik-as.
 Inga-GEN help-PPP-[-AGR] child-DAT/child-NOM
 ‘Inga must have helped the child.’

(25) *serve*-class

- a. Ing-a tarnav-o atėjūn-ams.
 Inga-NOM serve-PST.3 invaders-DAT
 ‘Inga served the invaders.’
- b. Ing-os tarnau-t-a atėjūn-ams/*atėjūn-ai.
 Inga-GEN serve-PPP-[-AGR] invaders-DAT/invaders-NOM
 ‘Inga must have served the invaders.’

Nominative case in the evidential is realized in a structural case environment and is possible with the types of arguments which are assigned inherent case. Therefore, nominative case cannot be treated as a type of non-structural case. Further support for that comes from the distributive preposition *po*. Recall from sub-section 3.4.4, this preposition assigns

accusative case to its complement. The preposition can be applied to an argument, which would normally be assigned structural case. Applying the preposition to an argument with inherent case results in ungrammaticality (see sub-section 3.4.4). The object of the evidential is compatible with *po*. Interestingly, the theme bears accusative, which is assigned by *po*, rather than nominative as in (26). This pattern is predicted if nominative is a structural case.

(26) *Evidential*

- a. Jie su-valg-é obuol-j.
 they.NOM PRV-eat-PST.3 apple-ACC
 ‘They ate an apple.’ *Active*
- b. Jɥ su-valgy-t-a obuol-ys.
 they.GEN PRV-eat-PPP-[-AGR] apple-NOM
 ‘They must have eaten an apple.’ *Evidential*
- c. Jɥ su-valgy-t-a po obuol-j/*obuol-ys.
 they.GEN PRV-eat-PPP-[-AGR] DISTR apple-ACC/apple-NOM
 ‘They must have eaten an apple each.’ *Evidential with ‘po’*

Lavine (2010b) suggests that nominative in the evidential is default. The accusative case assignment in the evidential fails, and thus the theme may be assigned default case, which is nominative in the language. On the other hand, Legate et al. (to appear) propose that nominative is a type of structural case assigned by the thematic Voice head. Both options are compatible with the data presented here.

4.2.3 Analysis

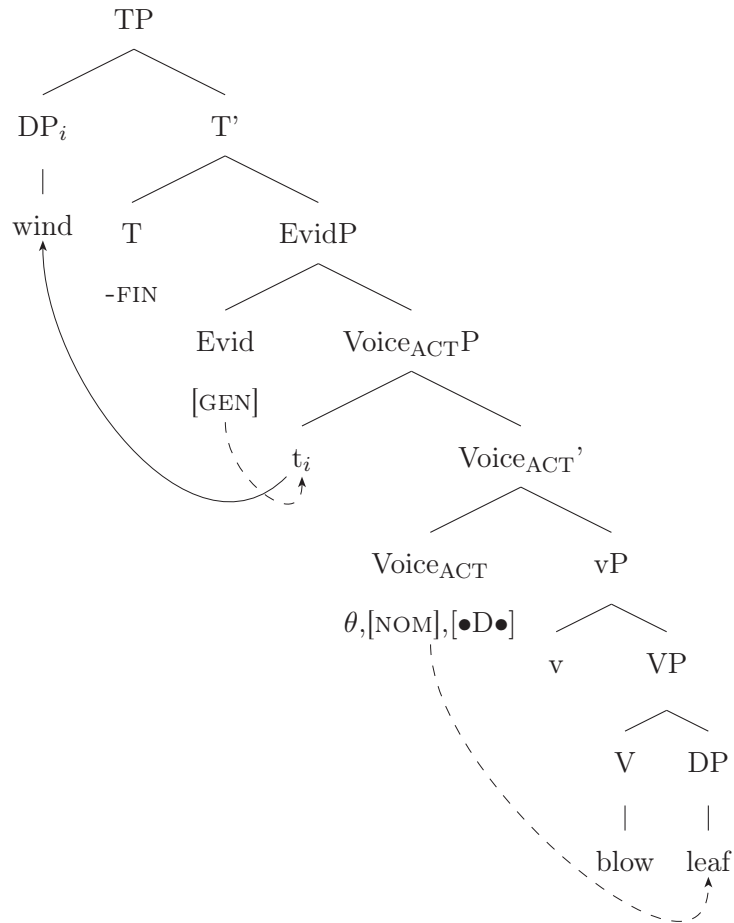
I have demonstrated that the evidential has a grammatical subject marked with structural genitive case and a grammatical object marked with nominative case. Even though the evidential construction is marked with passive morphology, it is not a passive. The evidential does not require the suppression of an initiator, unlike the passive. The evidential can be formed not only with transitives, but also with unaccusatives and passives. I now provide an analysis which accounts for these properties.

The evidential construction in (27) contains a thematic Voice head, which introduces an external argument θ -role, as illustrated in (28). This head selects for a specifier, thus bears the [\bullet D \bullet] feature. Its specifier is occupied by the subject. The grammatical subject of the evidential bears genitive, be it the thematic subject of a transitive, or the theme of a passive/unaccusative. Hence, we propose that structural genitive case is assigned by an Evid(ential)P base-generated above Voice_{ACTP} (case assignment is illustrated by the dashed line in the tree). A high position of EvidP also allows it to select a nonfinite T. This selectional relationship correctly captures the fact that the evidential construction is obligatorily non-finite. The Evid head also selects for a type of thematic VoiceP that assigns nominative rather than accusative case to the transitive object.⁸ Unlike the thematic VoiceP of an active transitive, this VoiceP assigns nominative case rather than accusative. EvidP appears between T and Voice_{ACTP}, in other words it is in a selectional relationship with each other. Lastly, the genitive subject moves to SpecTP position as illustrated by the solid arrow in the tree.

- (27) Vêj-o nupūs-t-a tas lapel-is.
 wind-GEN blow-PPP-[-AGR] that leaf-NOM
 ‘The wind must have blown down that leaf.’

⁸Alternatively, we could say that the Evid head selects for the thematic VoiceP that does not assign accusative case and the theme instead receives a default nominative case. This would be compatible with Lavine’s (2010b) idea that the nominative theme in the evidential bears default case.

(28) *Evidential of transitive*



Lavine (2006; 2010b) proposes that the EvidP in these constructions dominates TP: it appears in a CP domain (for a similar approach to evidentials in other languages also see Cinque 1999; Speas 2004). Nevertheless, the question arises how the EvidP would prevent the Voice head from assigning accusative if it is base-generated in a CP domain. This would be incompatible with our approach. Furthermore, it is important to point out that the evidential based on visual evidence can be introduced in syntactic domains other than CP, namely in lower clausal positions as argued by Blain and Déchaine (2006).

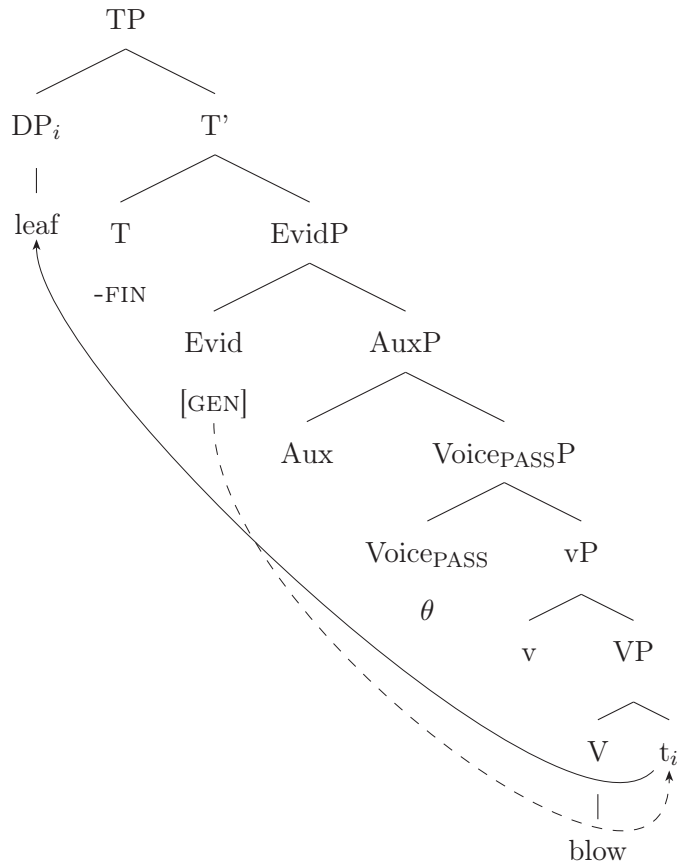
Under this analysis, the evidential is applied to transitive constructions rather than the other way around. To put it differently, we treat instances like (27) as evidentials of transitives rather than transitives of evidentials. To derive transitives of evidentials, the Evid head would need to be base-generated below the thematic Voice head. This head would

assign genitive to the theme argument under closest c-command. Under this configuration, the theme object would no longer bear nominative case. Furthermore, it is not clear how we would be able to derive the obligatory non-finite nature of T if the Evid head is base-generated below Voice.

As far as an evidential of the passive as in (29) is concerned, we propose the structure in (30). The EvidP is stacked on the top of the passive Voice projection, which lacks an external argument. The passive Voice head is unable to assign nominative case to the theme, and the theme instead is assigned genitive case by the Evid head.

- (29) To lapeli-o_i b̄u-t-a nup̄us-t-o (v̄ej-o).
 that leaf-GEN.M.SG be-PPP-[-AGR] blow-PPP-GEN.M.SG wind-GEN
 ‘That leaf must have been blown off (by the wind).’

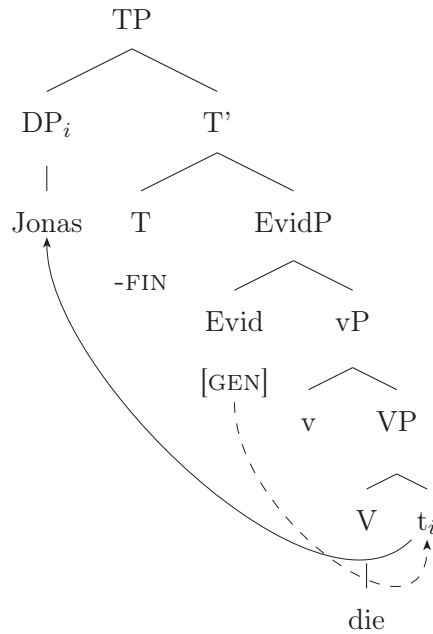
- (30) *Evidential of passive*



Lastly, evidentials of unaccusatives have no thematic Voice head, which introduces an external argument θ -role. The EvidP assigns structural genitive case to the theme argument, which is a grammatical subject. The subject raises to SpecTP position as sketched in the tree below.

- (31) Jon-o numir-t-a praeitą rudenį.
 Jonas-GEN die-PPP-[-AGR] last fall
 ‘Jonas must have died last fall.’

- (32) *Evidential of unaccusative*



To summarize, I have argued that evidential constructions contain the EvidP base-generated between a non-finite T and a thematic VoiceP. The Evid head assigns structural genitive case to the highest argument of the evidential, which is a grammatical subject. While non-nominative quirky subjects have been demonstrated to bear non-structural case across various languages, Lithuanian shows that non-nominative subjects vary in case assignment. Specifically, I demonstrated that non-nominative subjects can bear structural case. This finding suggests that syntactic case should be divorced from its morphological

form (for a syntactic approach to case see Vergnaud 1977/2008; Chomsky 1981, 1995; Legate 2008).

The structural genitive case of the evidential can be contrasted with the genitive of negation. As I discussed in Chapter 2, the active existential construction lacks a syntactically projected initiator. Nevertheless, it has a grammatical object marked with structural accusative case. This object can be assigned genitive of negation as demonstrated in (33). Just like in the evidential construction, the theme is the highest argument within a clause and it bears genitive case as well. However, the two genitive cases are syntactically distinct. The genitive of negation can only be assigned to a grammatical object that would otherwise bear accusative case in the active, whereas the genitive case of the evidential is assigned to the highest argument which becomes a grammatical subject. These two cases are distinct even though morphologically they bear the same form, which is another piece of evidence for the separation of syntactic case from its morphological form.

(33) *Active Existential*

- a. Vali-ŭ/*Vali-us kvieči-a į dekanat-ą
 Valius-ACC/Valius-NOM invite-PRS.3 to dean's.office-ACC
 'Someone is inviting Valius to the dean's office.' (adapted from Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, 251)
- b. Vali-aus/*Vali-ŭ ne-kvieči-a 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.'

4.3 Typology of *Lack*-class constructions

I start the examination of *lack*-class predicates by reviewing their main characteristics. A list of these predicates is provided in (34). They are types of verbs which refer to the lack/need of something or the loss of possession.

- (34) *LACK*-class: *ganėti* - 'to be enough', *pakakti* - 'to suffice', *priūkti* - 'to run short of', *reikėti* - need, *stigti* - 'to be short of', *trūkti* - 'lack', *užtekti* - 'to have enough'

(Adapted from Ambrazas et al. 1997, 270)

Lack-class predicates take a dative possessor and a genitive theme as in (35-38). The verb shows 3rd person active morphology regardless of whether the possessor is a 1st or a 2nd person pronoun as illustrated below. This suggests that the dative possessor does not show agreement with the predicate.

- (35) Sriub-ai trūkst-a drusk-os.
soup-DAT lack-PRS.3 salt-GEN
'The soup lacks salt.'
- (36) Marij-ai užtenk-a pinig-ų.
Marija-DAT have.enough-PRS.3 money-GEN
'Marija have enough money.'
- (37) Man sting-a jėg-ų.
Me.DAT lack-PRS.3 strength-GEN
'I lack strength.'
- (38) Tau pakank-a prot-o.
You.DAT have.enough-PRS.3 brain-GEN
Lit. 'You have enough brain.'
- (39) Vaik-ui reiki-a nauj-os kuprin-ės.
child-DAT need-PRS.3 new-GEN bag-GEN
'The child needs a new bag.'⁹

It is common for this class of verbs to take a dative possessor crosslinguistically, e.g., Spanish verbs like *faltar* 'lack' as in (40), Russian 'need' (41) and Korean 'need' (42).

Spanish

- (40) Al libro le faltan las tapas.
the book.DAT CL.DAT lack.PL the covers.

⁹The verb *reikėti* may also have a modal meaning as in (i). In this chapter, I only focus on the possessor reading encoded by this predicate and leave aside its modal function.

- (i) Man reiki-a išlaiky-ti egzamin-ą.
me.DAT need-PRS.3 pass-INF exam-ACC
'I need to pass the exam.'

‘The book has no covers/is missing its covers.’ (Cuervo 2003, 143)

Russian

- (41) Mne nužna kniga.
me.DAT need.F.SG book.NOM.F.SG
‘I need a book.’ (Bailyn 2012, 116)

Korean

- (42) Cheli-eykey ton-i philyoha-ta.
Cheli-DAT money-NOM necessary-DECL
‘Cheli needs money.’ (Yoon 2004, 266)

The Lithuanian case is interesting in that some of these verbs can also occur with a nominative possessor, which then shows agreement with a predicate. Compare the agreement properties in the two examples below: one with the dative possessor and the other one with the nominative possessor. The dative possessor fails to trigger agreement on the predicate and the predicate shows 3rd person morphology, which is default. In contrast, the nominative possessor shows agreement with the verb. There is no semantic difference between the two possessors.

- (43) a. Mums pritrūk-o / *pritrūk-o-me pinig-ų.
we.DAT run.short.of-PST.3 / run.short.of-PST-1PL money-GEN
‘We ran short of money.’
b. Mes pritrūk-o-me / *pritrūk-o pinig-ų.
we.NOM run.short.of-PST-1PL / run.short.of-PST.3 money-GEN
‘We ran short of money.’ (Adapted from Ambrazas et al. 1997, 663)

The possessor construction with the dative DP is more frequent than its counterpart with the nominative DP. Furthermore, not all verbs are compatible with the nominative possessor e.g, verbs like *ganėti* - ‘to be enough’ and *reikėti* - ‘to need’ do not allow nominative-dative alternations. Table 4.2 introduces a list of these predicates.

DAT and NOM Possessor	only DAT Possessor
<i>pri-trūkti</i> - ‘to run short of’	<i>reikėti</i> - ‘to need’
<i>užtekti</i> - ‘to have enough’	<i>ganėti</i> - ‘to be enough’
<i>pakakti</i> - ‘to suffice’	
<i>stigti</i> - ‘to be short of’	
<i>trūkti</i> - ‘lack’	

Table 4.2: Predicates’ Compatibility with different Possessors

It is also worth pointing out that *lack*-verbs are often referred to as existential predicates in the literature (e.g., see Cuervo 2003). Nevertheless, Lithuanian existential constructions do not pattern like *lack*-class. Existentials take a nominative theme subject and this nominative DP cannot be marked with dative case like the possessor or genitive case like the theme in the lack construction as illustrated in (44). Therefore, I will not treat *lack*-constructions as a sub-type of existentials.

- (44) Stalči-uje buv-o sąsiuvin-is / *sąsiuvini-ui /
 drawer-LOC be-PST.3 exercise.book-NOM.M.SG / exercise-book.DAT.M.SG /
 *sąsiuvini-o.
 exercise-book.GEN.M.SG
 ‘There was an exercise book in the drawer.’

This study is organized as follows. In sub-section 4.3.1, I review the properties of the dative possessor and the nominative possessor of the *lack*-construction showing that both DPs pattern like subjects, but differ in a sub-set of subjecthood properties they exhibit. The nominative possessor behaves like a canonical grammatical subject whereas the dative possessor shows only a limited set of properties as a subject. In sub-section 4.3.2, it is demonstrated that the genitive theme functions as an object with lexical case. In sub-section 4.3.3, I further argue that *lack*-class predicates are unaccusatives and they have no thematic Voice head, which introduces an initiator θ -role. Specifically, these predicates are double unaccusatives whose arguments, the possessor and the theme, are base-generated inside *v*P. Sub-section 4.3.4 provides an analysis and outlines important questions related to subjecthood as well as different types of datives. I propose that Lithuanian has two types

of low applicatives which account for the distinction between the quirky dative subject and the inherent inert dative of an indirect object.

4.3.1 Properties of Dative Quirky Subject

In Chapter 3, I have argued that Lithuanian has at least two types of datives: i) marked structural dative, ii) inherent (inert) dative. This sub-section shows that Lithuanian exhibits the third type of dative, namely quirky dative. This dative is a type of non-structural case assigned to a DP of *lack*-class predicates, which patterns like a grammatical subject. Identification of the third type of dative presents an interesting challenge: how do we syntactically encode the difference between two non-structural datives – inherent inert dative and quirky dative – in a single language? This puzzle is one of the focuses of this chapter and I will outline potential routes one can take to account for these differences in the analysis part in sub-section 4.3.4.

Given that the *lack*-construction permits two types of possessors, nominative and dative, both types of possessors are examined and compared to a canonical grammatical subject here. While both possessors function like subjects, they differ in a sub-set of subjecthood properties they exhibit. Building on Poole’s 2016 work on subjecthood, I use three main tests for subjecthood: binding of the subject-oriented anaphor, ability to be PRO and relativization in reduced relative clauses. The nominative possessor passes all three tests and functions like a canonical grammatical subject, whereas the dative possessor behaves like a subject in only being able to bind the subject-oriented anaphor. I address the question of why the dative possessor does not pattern like a well-behaved nominative subject by relating its behavior to its syntactic position within a structure.

Various approaches have been proposed to capture different properties of subjects. In Chomsky 1981, 1982, subjecthood is tied to a structural position, namely SpecIP (or SpecTP). However, McCloskey (1996) notes that multiple subject positions are necessary to account for the subjecthood properties across various languages. Building on these approaches, Poole (2016) proposes that different properties of a subject manifest themselves

through different positions within a clause. However, I demonstrate that some subjecthood properties e.g., like the binding of the subject-oriented anaphor, may not be necessarily related to a specific structural position of a subject.

4.3.1.1 Binding of ‘self’ reflexive anaphor

A first indication that the dative possessor of *lack*-class verbs is a subject comes from binding of the subject-oriented anaphor *savo* ‘self’ (see sub-section 2.2.2.2 for properties of *savo*). The examples below show that the dative argument binds *savo* patterning like a grammatical subject.

- (45) Konservatori-ams_i trūkst-a pinig-ų sav-o_i pried-ams prie alg-ų.
 conservatives-DAT lack-PRS.3 money-GEN self-GEN extra.pay-DAT to salaries-GEN
 ‘The conservatives_i lack money for their_i extra pay to the salaries.’¹⁰
- (46) Man_i reiki-a laik-o sav-o_i kūn-o stiprinim-ui ir
 me.DAT need-PRS.3 time-GEN self-GEN body-GEN strengthening-DAT and
 tobulinim-ui.
 improvement-DAT
 ‘I_i need time for strengthening and improvement of my_i body.’¹¹
- (47) Jon-ui_i užtenk-a pinig-ų sav-o_i poreiki-ams.
 Jonas-DAT have.enough-PRS.3 money-GEN self-GEN needs-GEN
 ‘Jonas_i has enough money for his own_i needs.’
- (48) Marij-ai_i pilnai pakak-o sav-o_i problem-ų.
 Marija-DAT fully have.enough-PST.3 self-GEN problems-GEN
 ‘Marija_i had fully enough of her own_i problems.’

The dative of *lack*-class predicates can be contrasted with the inherent dative of ditransitives, which does not serve as a binder for the subject-oriented anaphor as in (49) (for discussion see sub-section 3.3). The inherent non-structural dative is syntactically inactive, it neither advances to subject position nor retains its status as an object. This is not the

¹⁰<https://www.krepsinis.net/naujiena/mazinamas-finansavimas-kauno-arenai/82879> Accessed on 26-04-2019.

¹¹<https://befitglitz.com/lithuania/5-vertingos-pamokos-kurias-ismokau-is-savo-pirmojo-stiprio-mokymo-plano/> Accessed on 26-04-2019

type of behavior we see with the dative of *lack*-class. The quirky dative, on the other hand, seems to act as a subject.

- (49) **Motin-ai_i** buv-o duo-t-as vaik-as **j-os_i/*sav-o_i**
 mother-DAT be-PST.3 give-PPP-NOM.M.SG child-NOM.M.SG her-GEN/self-GEN
 namuose.
 house
 ‘The mother_i was given the child in her_i house.’

A closer examination of binding facts also reveals that the dative possessor of *lack* predicates can be a binder of the non-reflexive anti-subject oriented pronoun *jo* ‘his’ as illustrated here in (50). Recall from sub-section 2.2.2.2 that the anti-subject oriented anaphor is typically bound by a grammatical object rather than a thematic subject. Therefore, the question arises why the binding of *jo* in (50) is possible if the dative possessor is a grammatical subject.

- (50) Jon-ui_i trūkst-a pinig-ų j-o_i/sav-o_i reikm-ėms
 Jonas-DAT lack-PRS.3 money-GEN his-GEN/self-GEN needs-DAT
 ‘He lacks money for his own needs.’

In order to fully understand this peculiar behavior of the dative possessor, we need to take a look at the theme grammatical subject of the passive, which exhibits the same type of behavior. The 3rd person grammatical theme subject of passives can bind both the subject anaphor *savo* and the anti-subject-oriented pronoun (51).

- (51) Tarnautoj-ai_i yra rūšiuoja-m-i Domant-o pagal
 employees-NOM.M.PL be.PRS.3 divide-PPRP-NOM.M.PL 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.’

One hypothesis would be that the theme in the passive can bind the anti-subject oriented pronoun because it is base-generated in a grammatical object position, namely as a complement of a VP, which is enough for this binding relation to obtain. However, this generalization does not hold true for unaccusative verbs with a nominative theme subject. The

theme can only bind the subject oriented anaphor (52). For completeness, note that both 3rd person theme subjects as well as 1st person theme subjects exhibit the same behavior in this respect (53).

Unaccusatives

- (52) Jon-as_i numir-è sav-o_i/*j-o_i namuose.
 Jonas-NOM die-PST.3 self-GEN/his-GEN house.
 ‘Jonas_i died in his_i own house.’

Unaccusatives

- (53) Aš_i numiri-au sav-o_i/*man-o_i namuose.
 I.NOM die-PST.1SG self-GEN/my-GEN house.
 ‘I died in my own house.’ [Context: I am a ghost, and I can see that I died in my own house.]

The binding relation in passives seems to be restricted by agreement. If the subject of the passive is a 1st person pronoun which shows full agreement with the auxiliary, i.e., it agrees with it in person and number, the binding of the personal pronoun for some speakers is not possible (out of 8 speakers, only 3 speakers allowed binding of *mano*), as in (54). 3rd person subjects in the passive agree with an auxiliary only in person since verbs generally do not show the distinction between singular and plural with 3rd person subjects (51). 3rd person agreement is also default in the language. The agreement disfavors the binding of the anti-subject-oriented pronoun when the theme is promoted to a subject position. Given these observations, the binding relation between the theme and the personal pronoun in passives like (51) may be influenced by its lower position along with the lack of agreement. In addition to that, note that passives and unaccusatives behave differently in that unaccusatives disallow the binding of anti-subject-oriented anaphor. The main difference between passives and unaccusatives is that the passive has a thematic VoiceP whereas unaccusatives do not. Therefore, it seems that the presence of the thematic VoiceP also plays a role.

- (54) Aš_i buv-au nominuo-t-as gyventoj-ų į Šlovės muziej-ų
 I.NOM be-PST.1SG nominate-PPP-NOM.M.SG residents-GEN to ‘Fame’ museum-ACC

dėl sav-o_i/%man-o_i pasiekimų.
 because.of self-GEN/me-GEN achievements.

‘I was nominated to the ‘Fame’ museum by the residents because of my own achievements.’

The lack of agreement with the predicate is not a sufficient condition for a subject to be able to bind the anti-subject-oriented anaphor. The subject needs to be base-generated low first. We can imagine a situation in which a subject is base-generated in a thematic subject position, which in my system is SpecVoiceP. If the binding of the anti-subject oriented anaphor is purely licensed by the lack of agreement, then we would predict that a thematic subject that does not agree with a predicate should be able to bind the anti-subject-oriented anaphor. This prediction can be tested using Lithuanian evidentials. These are transitive constructions with a thematic subject marked with a structural genitive case. Crucially, the subject of the evidential does not agree with a lexical verb. In this situation, we see that a thematic subject, despite the lack of agreement, cannot bind the anti-subject-oriented anaphor. Therefore, binding of this anaphor is not a property of thematic subjects of transitives regardless of whether they show agreement or not. This type of binding relationship is exhibited by a grammatical subject like that of passives in (51), which is base-generated lower than a thematic subject, namely below a thematic VoiceP.

(55) Domant-o_i rūšiuo-t-a darbuotoj-ai pagal sav-o_i/*j-o_i
 Domantas-GEN divide-PPP-[-AGR] employees-NOM according.to self-GEN/his-GEN
 įsitikinimus.
 beliefs

‘Domantas must have divided employees according to his beliefs.’

Having reviewed these facts, we can now come back to the behavior of the dative possessor in (50) repeated here in (56). Its ability to bind the anti-subject-oriented anaphor suggests that this subject does not enter the derivation as a specifier of a thematic Voice head, which is a canonical subject position of transitive predicates. Instead, it could be base-generated lower, just like the theme of the passive. This suggests that the *lack* construction does not pattern like an active transitive construction with a thematic subject rather it may

have a structure of an unaccusative construction. I will explore this question in detail in sub-section 4.3.3.

- (56) Jon- ui_i trūkst-a pinig-ų j- o_i /sav- o_i reikm-ėms.
 Jonas-DAT lack-PRS.3 money-GEN his-GEN/self-GEN needs-DAT
 ‘He lacks money for his own needs.’

Lastly, if *lack*-class verbs have a nominative possessor which shows agreement with the predicate, then we would predict that this subject should disfavour the binding of the anti-subject-oriented anaphor due to agreement. Indeed, this prediction is borne out as illustrated in below.

- (57) Aš $_i$ pritrūk-au pinig-ų sav- o_i /??man- o_i mokslams.
 I.NOM ran.short.of-PST.1SG money-GEN self-GEN/me-GEN studies
 ‘I $_i$ ran short of money for my $_i$ studies.’

The question is what conditions are necessary for a DP to be able to serve as a binder for the subject-oriented anaphor. Poole (2016) builds on Kratzer’s (2009) work and suggests that in order for a DP to be able to bind the subject, it needs to be located in the specifier of VoiceP. Thus, the binding of the subject-oriented anaphor is tied to a specific syntactic position. Nevertheless, it is not clear how this type of approach would derive a grammatical theme subject, which stays in situ, does not raise outside a vP. This is the case with the passive where the theme subject can stay in its original position and it does bind the subject oriented anaphor as in (58). These data also tell us that in order to be a subject, a DP does not need to raise to SpecTP position.

- (58) Ketvirtadienį dėl blogo elgesio su sav- o_i augintini-u į policij-os
 Thursday because.of bad behavior with self-GEN dog-INS to police-GEN
 areštin-ę buv-o uždary-t-as 23 metų vyr-as $_i$.
 custody-ACC be-PST.3 close-PPP-NOM.M.SG 23 year man-NOM.M.SG
 ‘On Thursday, a 23-year-old man was taken to the police custody because of his bad behavior with his pet.’

Two alternatives can be offered. First, we can say that in order to be able to bind, the subject needs to be in some kind of non-overt agreement with T. To put it differently,

even though the dative subject of *lack*-predicates shows no overt agreement, an abstract relationship between T and a subject may still be necessary for binding. Another solution would be to say that the binding of the subject-oriented anaphor is only possible by the highest argument, which is a syntactically active/accessible goal. The accessibility of this relationship may be governed by the type of case a DP bears. The indirect object of *give* is marked with inherent inert dative case and DPs marked with this case are syntactically inactive, invisible for A-movement and unable to bind the subject-oriented anaphor. I repeat our example here in (59).

- (59) **Motin-ai_i** buv-o duo-t-as vaik-as **j-os_i/*sav-o_i**
 mother-DAT be-PST.3 give-PPP-NOM.M.SG child-NOM.M.SG her-GEN/self-GEN
 namuose.
 house
 ‘The mother_i was given the child in her_i house.’

Nevertheless, the dative subject of the *lack*-class marked with quirky dative case is syntactically active, and thus can become a grammatical subject. Under this approach, we would need to posit which cases would enable a DP to become an active goal. For instance, in the active existential discussed in Chapter 2, there is no projected agent, only one argument is present syntactically, namely the accusative theme (60). The theme behaves like a grammatical object rather than a subject. Thus, our analysis should ensure that the accusative theme in this case does not serve as a binder for the subject-oriented anaphor.

- (60) Man-e apgav-o.
 me-ACC deceive-PST.3
 ‘Someone deceived me.’ *Active Existential*

4.3.1.2 Ability to be PRO

Another test for subjecthood is based to the subject’s ability to be PRO. This test has been introduced in sub-section 3.2.2 where I have argued that if a DP can be PRO, then it is a subject. Generally, quirky subjects in some languages can be PRO e.g., this is the case with Icelandic accusative subjects; see (61).

Icelandic

- (61) $\bar{E}g_i$ vonast til [PRO_i að vanta ekki peninga]
 I.NOM hope for PRO.ACC to lack not money.ACC
 ‘I hope not to lack money.’ (Zaenen et al. 1985, 454)

We can apply this test to the possessor of the *lack*-class to see whether it patterns like the Icelandic quirky subject. I will use object control predicates for this test because they allow optional case transmission to PRO. The matrix object transfers its case to PRO or PRO bears dative case, as illustrated by the agreement properties of the predicative element ‘alone’ (62) (see sub-section 3.2.2 for more examples and further discussion).

- (62) Motin-a \bar{t} ikin-o Marij-a_i [PRO_i atei-ti vien-a /
 mother-NOM convince-PST.3 Marija-ACC.F.SG come-INF alone-ACC.F.SG /
 vien-ai].
 alone-DAT.F.SG
 ‘The mother convinced Marija to come alone.’

I will first apply this test to *reikėti* ‘need’ which permits only the dative DP possessor. There is nothing wrong with combining object control verbs like *jtikinti* ‘to convince’ with verbs like ‘need’ if ‘need’ occurs in a finite *that*-clause complement as evidenced by (63). In contrast, it is ungrammatical to embed this verb in the to-infinitive complement as in (64). The dative possessor DP cannot be PRO, and therefore does not behave like a grammatical subject in this syntactic environment.¹²

- (63) Marij-a \bar{t} ikin-o Jon-a, kad jam tikrai reiki-a nauj-o
 Marija-NOM convince-PST.3 Jonas-ACC that him.DAT really need-PRS.3 new-GEN

¹²Seržant (2016) applies this test to verbs like ‘need’ as well, as illustrated in (i). Nevertheless, subject-control verbs are used in this example. As discussed in sub-section 3.2.2, in subject control instances, the matrix subject obligatorily transfers its case to PRO. The case of the subject of ‘want’ is nominative meaning that the case of PRO is going to be nominative as well. Thus, the example below may be ungrammatical not because the dative possessor cannot be PRO, but because PRO needs to be nominative whereas the possessor is always dative. In other words, we may have a case conflict here. Therefore, we cannot use subject control predicates with ‘need’ to test the properties of the possessor.

- (i) *Aš_i ne-nori-u [PRO_i reiké-ti pinig-ų]
 I.NOM NEG-want-PRS.1SG need-INF money-GEN
 ‘I don’t want to be in need to money.’ (Seržant 2016, 175)

automobili-o.

car-GEN

‘Marija convinced Jonas that he really needs a new car.’

- (64) *Marij-a ĭtikin-o Jon-a_i [PRO_i reikè-ti nauj-o automobili-o.]
Marija-NOM convince-PST.3 Jonas-ACC need-INF new-GEN car-GEN
‘Marija convinced Jonas to be in need of a new car.’

Another environment showing the same type of results is instances with arbitrary PRO. As discussed in sub-section 3.2.2, when PRO is arbitrary, it is not controlled by any argument in the matrix. PRO bears dative case, which is assigned independently of the matrix clause. An example of arbitrary PRO with the dative depictive ‘alone’ is provided in (65). The dative possessor of *reikèti* ‘need’ is barred from this environment: it cannot become arbitrary PRO (66). Hence, we see that the dative possessor shows only a sub-set of properties associated with a thematic/grammatical subject i.e., it can bind the subject-oriented anaphor, but it cannot be PRO.

- (65) [PRO ei-ti namo naktĭ vien-am] nèra saug-u.
go-INF house night alone-DAT NEG.be.PRS.3 safe-N
‘To go home alone at night is not safe.’

- (66) * [PRO reikè-ti pinig-ŭ] yra normal-u.
need-INF money-GEN be.PRS normal-N
‘To need money is normal.’

An interesting contrast arises when we look at the rest of ‘lack’ class predicates, which take both the nominative DP possessor and the dative DP possessor. Embedding these predicates under object control verbs like *patarti* ‘to advise’ is grammatical as in (67). The contrast between (64) and (67) is important. Given that the dative possessor cannot be PRO, then the grammaticality of (67) suggests that this is the nominative DP possessor that functions like a PRO in this environment rather than the dative DP possessor. This hypothesis is further confirmed by instances with subject control verbs. Recall from sub-section 3.2.2, in subject control, the subject obligatorily transfers its case to PRO. If the subject is nominative, PRO needs to bear nominative case as well. Predicates allowing a

nominative possessor are compatible with this environment, (68-69), again suggesting that a nominative DP possessor can function like PRO. This behavior is an indication of the split existing between the two possessors: the nominative possessor behaves like a canonical grammatical subject whereas the dative possessor shows only a sub-set of these properties.

- (67) Trener-is rungtynių metu patar-ė sportinink-ams_i [PRO_i
 couch-NOM game time advise-PST.3 sportsmen-DAT
 ne-pritrūk-ti užsispyrim-o].
 NEG-run.short.of-INF persistence-GEN
 ‘During the game, the coach advised the sportsmen not to run short of persistence.’

- (68) Prezident-ė_i žad-a [PRO_i ne-pritrūk-ti vali-os].
 President-NOM promise-PRS.3 NEG-run.short.of-INF will-GEN
 ‘The President is promising not to run short of will.’¹³

- (69) Jon-as_i pasiēm-ė paskol-ą, nes pro_i ne-norėj-o [PRO_i
 Jonas-NOM take-PST.3 loan-ACC because NEG-want-PST.3
 pritrūk-ti pinig-ų kelionės metu].
 run.short.of-INF money-GEN trip time
 ‘Jonas took a loan because he didn’t want to run short of money during his trip.’

The question is why this quirky dative subject exhibits only a limited set of properties related to a canonical subject. In other words, the question is why this dative possessor cannot be PRO, but it can bind the subject-oriented anaphor. Morphologically, there should be no problem for the dative possessor to become PRO. The case of PRO in object control instances and arbitrary instances can be dative. The case of the possessor is also dative. Thus, the two cases overlap in their morphological form. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that the two cases are assigned differently. The case of PRO is structural dative, which under Landau’s (2008) analysis is assigned by a null C. PRO can be the thematic subject of transitives and unergatives, the grammatical subject of unaccusative and passives, which suggests that its case is structural, not related to a certain θ -role position (see subsection 3.2.2 for examples and discussion). Furthermore, the fact that the case of PRO is structural is also confirmed by its ability to alternate with structural accusative case, recall

¹³<https://lzinios.lt/autorius/Lauryna> Accessed on 2019-05-14

our example in (62). On the other hand, the possessor bears non-structural dative, since this dative is retained in environments where structural case would otherwise be assigned (e.g., in evidential constructions see sub-section 4.3.1.4). Thus, we have two syntactically different cases that on the surface look the same: the dative of PRO is structural and the dative of the possessor is non-structural.

We have already encountered a number of syntactic environments where non-structural case takes precedence over structural case (see e.g., sub-section 3.4.4 discussing case patterns with the preposition *po*). In terms of case assignment, we would predict that the quirky dative subject should be able to become PRO: the non-structural dative of the possessor would replace the structural dative of PRO. Indeed, syntactic environments like non-finite clauses show that this type of configuration is possible. In adjunct clauses, the subject that would typically be marked with nominative is assigned dative and the object remains accusative cf. (70a-70b) (see Ambrazas 1997:363-365, Arkadiev 2012, 2017 for discussion of adjunct clauses). The dative is a type of structural case in that it can be assigned to both the thematic subject of transitive verbs as in (70b), and the grammatical theme subject of unaccusatives as in (71b). Structural dative case assigned to the subject of adjunct clauses is thus parallel to the type of structural dative assigned to PRO.

- (70) a. Vaik-ai parod-ė iniciatyv-ą.
 children-**NOM** show-PST.3 initiative-**ACC**
 ‘The children showed initiative.’
- b. [Vaik-ams parodži-us iniciatyv-ą], mokytoj-a
 children-**DAT** show-PRS.ACT.PTCP initiative-**ACC**, teacher-**NOM**
 apsidžiaug-ė.
 become.happy-PST.3
 ‘The teacher become happy when children showed initiative.’
- (71) a. Tėv-ai numir-ė.
 parents-**NOM** die-PST.3
 ‘Parents died.’
- b. [Tėv-ams numir-us], vaik-ai ne-besugebėj-o pasidalin-ti
 parents-**DAT** die-PRS.ACT.PTCP children-**NOM** NEG-unable-PST.3 share-**INF**

paveldėt-o turt-o.
 inherited-GEN wealth-GEN

‘When parents died, the children were unable to share the inherited wealth.’

We can now embed predicates like *reikėti* ‘need’ in adjunct clauses to test whether the non-structural dative case of the possessor can replace the structural case assigned to the thematic subject. Instances in (72-73) show that this pattern is indeed possible. The possessor of *reikėti* ‘need’ functions like a subject of an adjunct clause. Therefore, the inability of the dative quirky subject to function like PRO must not stem from case assignment. If it were, we would have expected the examples like (72-73) to be ungrammatical.

(72) [Jam prireik-us pagalb-os], jos tikrai bus.
 him.DAT need-PRS.ACT.PTCP help-GEN she.GEN definitely be.FUT.3
 ‘When he needs help, that help will definitely come.’

(73) [Žmon-ėms prireik-us grynujų pinig-ų], prasidėj-o masinis butų
 people-DAT need-PRS.ACT.PTCP pure money-GEN start-PST.3 massive flat
 pardavim-as.
 selling-NOM
 ‘When people started to need cash, the massive sale of flats started.’

One possibility why the dative subject cannot be PRO may be related to the subject’s final landing site in a clause. The Lithuanian dative subject shows that same behavior as the quirky subject in Hindi. Poole (2016) demonstrates that in Hindi, the quirky subject can bind the subject-oriented anaphor, but it cannot become PRO as in (74-75). Poole (2016) argues that the Hindi quirky subject stays low in the structure, does not raise to SpecTP position, which explains why it cannot become PRO. For the binding relationship to obtain, the subject does not need to be in SpecTP position whereas it is a necessary condition for PRO.

Hindi

(74) Ram-ko_i [apnii_i bahin] dikh-ii
 Ram-DAT SELF.POSS sister.NOM appear-PRV

‘Ram_i saw his_i sister.’

(Poole 2016, 10)

Hindi

- (75) *Ravi_i [PRO_i Rina.NOM pasand aa-naa] nahĩ caah-taa
Ravi.NOM PRO.DAT Rina.NOM like come-INF NEG want-HAB
Intended ‘Ravi doesn’t want to like Rina.’ (Poole 2016, 10)

Thus, it could be that the dative possessor in Lithuanian does not become PRO because it does not raise to SpecTP position, stays low just like in Hindi. In order to show that, we need to investigate other types of subjecthood tests related to a particular syntactic position and observe how the dative quirky subject behaves in those situations. One of those tests is relativization in reduced relatives, which I discuss next.

4.3.1.3 Reduced Relative Clause

In reduced relative clauses, the relativized element can only occur in a subject position. If XP can be relativized in reduced relatives, then that XP is a subject, as discussed by Poole (2016) (also see Bhatt 2008 for discussion of these clauses). This restriction holds true for Lithuanian. The thematic subject of a double object construction functions like a relativized element as in (76).¹⁴ However, neither the accusative object nor the dative indirect object can undergo relativization as illustrated in (77-78). To ensure that this ungrammaticality does not arise because of case mismatch effects, the accusative object of the relativized element is placed in an accusative object position in a matrix clause, namely as an object of *matyti* ‘to see’. The same goes for the dative indirect object of the relativized clause, which occupies a dative object position of the matrix verb *padėti* ‘help’, which normally takes a dative object.

- (76) [Tėv-ai_i, [t_i duod-a-nt-ys vaik-ams
parents-NOM.M.PL give-PRS-ACT.PTCP-NOM.M.PL children-DAT.M.PL
klaun-us]], šypsoj-o-si.
clowns-ACC.M.PL] smile-PST.3-RFL.
‘Parents_i [t_i giving children toy clowns] were smiling.’

¹⁴The example is formulated on the basis of the data discussed in Poole (2016).

- (77) Jon-as padėj-o [vaik-ams_i, *[tėv-ai
Jonas-NOM help-PST.3 children-DAT.M.PL [parents-NOM.M.PL
duod-a-nt-iems t_i klaun-us]].
give-PRS-ACT.PTCP-DAT.M.PL clowns-ACC.M.PL]
Intended ‘Jonas helped children_i [parents giving t_i toy clowns].’
- (78) Jon-as mat-ė [klaun-us_i, *[tėv-ai
Jonas-NOM see-PST.3 clowns-ACC.M.PL parents-NOM.M.PL
duod-a-nči-us vaik-ams t_i]].
give-PRS-ACT.PTCP-ACC.M.PL children-DAT.M.PL
Intended ‘Jonas saw toy clowns_i [parents giving children t_i].’

The thematic subject of transitives and unergatives also displays the same type of pattern in that it can function like a relativized element.

- (79) [Žmon-ės_i, [t_i skait-a-nt-ys knyg-as]], reči-au
people-NOM.M.PL read-PRS-ACT.PTCP-NOM.M.PL books-ACC rare-COMP
susiduri-a su nuoboduli-u.
encounter-PRS.3 with boredom-INS
‘People_i [t_i reading books] become bored much less.’
- (80) [Žmon-ės_i, [t_i dirb-a-nt-ys bank-uose]], gaun-a
people-NOM.M.PL work-PRS-ACT.PTCP-NOM.M.PL banks-LOC receive-PRS.3
ger-as alg-as.
good-ACC salaries-ACC
‘People_i [t_i working at banks] receive good salaries.’

It is not only a thematic subject, but also a grammatical subject that exhibits this property. The theme grammatical subject of unaccusatives behaves the same in this respect as exemplified below with verbs like ‘drown’ and ‘die’ in (81-82).

- (81) [Žmon-ės, [t_i skęst-a-nt-ys vandens telkini-uose]],
people-NOM.M.PL drown-PRS-ACT.PTCP-NOM.M.PL water ponds-LOC]
sulauki-a pagalbos iš gelbėtojų.
receive-PRS.3 help from rescuers
‘People_i [t_i drowning in water ponds] receive help from rescuers.’
- (82) [Žmon-ės, [t_i miršt-a-nt-ys nuo šios ligos]],
people-NOM.M.PL die-PRS-ACT.PTCP-NOM.M.PL from this disease]

ne-jauči-a jokių simptomų.
 NEG-feel-PRS.3 any symptom

‘People_{*i*} [t_{*i*} dying from this disease] do not feel any symptoms.’

Furthermore, passives can be embedded in reduced relative clauses as well. The examples in (83-84) demonstrate that the theme grammatical subject of the passive moves out of a reduced relative clause to become a relativized element.

(83) [Skraidantis aparat-as_{*i*}, [t_{*i*} užsaky-t-as karinio jūrų laivyn-o]],
 flying apparatus-NOM.M.SG, order-PPP-NOM.M.SG war sea navy-GEN]
 suduž-o pakilimo metu.
 break-PST.3 take.off time

‘The flying device [t_{*i*} ordered by the navy] crashed during the takeoff.’

(84) [Bokšt-as_{*i*}, [t_{*i*} pastaty-t-as vietos gyventoj-ų per du metus]],
 tower-NOM.M.SG build-PPP-NOM.M.SG local people-GEN within two years
 buv-o neseni-ai nugriau-t-as.
 be-PST.3 recent-ADV destroy-PPP-NOM.M.SG

‘The tower_{*i*}, [t_{*i*} built by local people within two years], was recently destroyed.’

So far we have seen that a grammatical subject may become a relativized element. In all cases, the grammatical subject is also the highest element in the clause. Thus, given these results, we may hypothesize that it is the highest DP that functions like a relativized element. However, this hypothesis is disconfirmed by clauses which contain passives of ditransitive verbs. If a reduced relative clause contains a passive construction with a ditransitive predicate, the theme argument may raise past the dative indirect object and become a relativized element. Recall from sub-section 3.3, that the dative indirect object cannot become a grammatical subject in passives in general. Thus, even though the highest argument in the clause is the dative indirect object, it is the theme that is relativized. An illustration of that is provided in (85). Therefore, it can be concluded that a relativized element is the grammatical subject of a reduced relative rather than the highest argument in the clause.

(85) [Dovan-os_{*i*}, [duo-t-os vaik-ams t_{*i*} gimtadienio proga]],
 gifts-NOM.F.PL give-PPP-NOM.F.PL children-DAT birthday occasion
 džiugin-o tėv-us.
 make.happy-PRS.3 parents-ACC

‘The gifts, given to children for their birthday, made the parents happy.’

The findings regarding the properties of the relativized element of a reduced relative clause are summarized in Table 4.3. We have observed that a relativized element can be either a thematic subject or a grammatical subject, whereas an object, be it direct or indirect, cannot. These findings indicate that relativization in reduced relative clauses can be used as a subjecthood test in Lithuanian.

	Relativized Element
thematic subject of unergatives transitives, ditransitives	✓
grammatical subject of unaccusatives, passives	✓
grammatical accusative object	*
dative indirect object	*

Table 4.3: DP’s ability to function as a relativized element

For completeness, I also examine how the case properties of a relativized element are affected, if at all, by the case requirement of a matrix clause it occurs in. The verb *matyti* ‘to see’ typically assigns accusative case to its object (86). The relativized element, be it the thematic subject of a transitive or the grammatical subject of an unaccusative, can function as a matrix grammatical object of this verb as in (87a-88a). The relativized element is marked with accusative case in this environment meaning that it receives its case from the matrix verb ‘see’. Nominative case, which is typically the type of case we see on thematic and grammatical subjects, is ungrammatical.

- (86) Marij-a mat-ė tėv-us netoli sav-o namų.
 Marija-NOM see-PST.3 parents-ACC near self-GEN house
 ‘Marija saw the parents near her house.’

- (87) a. Marij-a mat-ė tėv-us_i, [t_i dalin-a-nėi-us
 Marija-NOM see-PST.3 parents-ACC give.away-PRS-ACT.PTCP-ACC.M.PL
 vaik-ams saldaini-us].
 children-DAT candy-ACC
 ‘Marija saw parents, giving away candy to the children.’

- b. *Marij-a mat-é tèv-ai_i, [t_i dalin-a-nt-ys
 Marija-NOM see-PST.3 parents-NOM give.away-PRS-ACT.PTCP-NOM.M.PL
 vaik-ams saldaini-us].
 children-DAT candy-ACC
 ‘Marija saw parents, giving away candy to the children.’
- (88) a. Jon-as mat-é žmog-ų_i, [t_i skęst-a-nt-i jūr-oje]
 Jonas-NOM see-PST.3 man-ACC drown-PRS-ACT.PTCP-ACC.M.SG sea-LOC
 ‘Jonas saw a man drowning in the sea.’
- b. *Jon-as mat-é žmog-us_i, [t_i skęst-a-nt-is jūr-oje]
 Jonas-NOM see-PST.3 man-NOM drown-PRS.ACT.PTCP-NOM.M.SG sea-LOC
 ‘Jonas saw a man drowning in the sea.’

Verbs like *pataikau-ti* ‘to flatter someone’ or *prieštarauti* ‘to contradict’ belong to the group of *serve*-class predicates. The object of these predicates is marked with inherent dative case, (89) (see sub-section 3.3 for discussion). The thematic/grammatical subject of the reduced relative surfaces in the matrix object of these verbs, the relativized DP is assigned inherent dative by the matrix verb, (90-91). Again, nominative case is ruled out. What we can conclude from these facts is that the relativized element shows case matching effects. Normally, a grammatical/thematic subject would be assigned structural nominative case. However, we see that the relativized element does not follow the case requirements of the reduced relative clause. Instead, it receives its case from the matrix regardless of whether that case is inherent or structural.

- (89) Jon-as pataikav-o/prieštarav-o tèv-ams.
 Jonas-NOM flatter-PST.3/contradict-PST.3 parents-DAT
 ‘Jonas flattered/contradicted the parents.’
- (90) a. Jon-as prieštarav-o tèv-ams_i, [t_i
 Jonas-NOM contradict-PST.3 parents-DAT.M.PL
 dalin-a-nt-iems vaik-ams saldaini-us].
 give.away-PRS-ACT.PTCP-DAT.M.PL children-DAT candy-ACC
 ‘Jonas contradicted parents, giving away candy to the children.’
- b. *Jon-as prieštarav-o tèv-ai_i, [t_i
 Jonas-NOM contradict-PST.3 parents-NOM.M.PL

kapital-o greitai] yra didelėje rizik-oje.
 capital-GEN quickly be.PRS.3 big risk-LOC

‘The business that needs the working capital quickly is in a big risk.’

- b. *Versl-*ui*_{*i*}, [*t*_{*i*} reiki-a-nči-am apyvirtini-o kapital-o
 business-DAT.M.SG need-PRS-ACT.PTCP-NOM.M.SG working capital-GEN
 greitai] yra didelėje rizik-oje.
 quickly be.PRS.3 big risk-LOC

‘The business that needs the working capital quickly is in a big risk.’

The situation is rather different with possessors that display the DAT-NOM alternation. In contrast to the possessor restricted to purely dative case discussed above, DAT-NOM possessors are able to function as relativized elements for my consultants. The possessor can appear as the nominative subject of a matrix clause as in (97). The same possessor can also appear as a dative object of *help*, which is a type of predicate that typically assigns dative case to its object, (98). Therefore, this possessor does behave like a subject. For completeness also note that the genitive theme object cannot raise out of a reduced relative clause, (99-100). The examples are provided with the theme bearing the genitive case as well as nominative. This is an additional piece of evidence that only the DP that is a subject can function like a reduced relative clause.

- (97) Asm-*uo*_{*i*}, [*t*_{*i*} sting-a-nt-is visakontrol-ės], nuolat
 person-NOM.M.SG lack-PRS-ACT.PTCP-NOM.M.SG self.control-GEN always
 pritrauki-a žmoni-ų dėmes-į.
 take-PRS.3 people attention-ACC

‘A person lacking self control always takes people’s attention.’

- (98) Mūsų pareig-a yra padė-ti asmeni-*ui*_{*i*}, [*t*_{*i*}
 our duty-NOM be.PRS.3 help-INF person-DAT.M.SG
 sting-a-nči-am visakontrol-ės].
 lack-PRS-ACT.PTCP-NOM.M.SG self.control-GEN

‘Our duty is to help a person lacking self control.’

- (99) *Mūms reiki-a visakontrol-ės_{*i*}, [mūsų visuomen-ei
 we.DAT need-PRS.3 self.control-GEN.F.SG our society-DAT
 sting-a-nči-os *t*_{*i*}]
 lack-PRS-ACT.PTCP-GEN.F.SG

‘We need the self control that our society lacks.’

- (100) *Visakontrol-ė_i, [žmon-ėms sting-a-nči-os t_i], yra
 self.control-NOM.F.SG people-DAT lack-PRS-ACT.PTCP-NOM.F.SG be.PRS.3
 mūsų visuomenės pagrind-as.
 our society basis-NOM
 ‘The self control that people lack is the basis of our society.’

The question is whether the possessor that raises outside the reduced relative in (97) and (98) is the dative one or the nominative. If the possessor is assigned the non-structural dative case inside reduced the relative clause, then that possessor should retain its case when it raises outside the reduced relative clause to occupy a structural position. A verb like *ignoruoti* ‘ignore’ assigns structural accusative case to its object. The possessor of *lack* marked with the dative case cannot become the matrix object (102). Nevertheless, it becomes a relativized element when it bears accusative (103). This contrast indicates that the DP that raises outside the reduced relative clause is not the dative possessor. Therefore, it should be the nominative possessor that becomes a relativized element in these clauses. The nominative possessor bears structural case and this case can be replaced by another structural case like e.g., accusative, assigned by the matrix verb.

- (101) Mes ignorav-o-me žmon-es.
 we.NOM ignore-PST-1PL people-ACC
 ‘We ignored the people.’

- (102) *Mūsų visuomen-ė ignoruoj-a asmen-ims_i [t_i
 our.GEN society-NOM ignore-PRS.3 individuals-DAT.M.PL
 sting-a-nt-iems visakontrol-ės].
 lack-PRS-ACT.PTCP-DAT.M.PL self.control-GEN
 ‘Our society ignores individuals lacking self control.’

- (103) Mūsų visuomen-ė ignoruoj-a asmen-is_i [t_i
 our.GEN society-NOM ignore-PRS.3 individual-ACC.M.PL
 sting-a-nči-us visakontrol-ės].
 lack-PRS-ACT.PTCP-ACC.M.PL self.control-GEN
 ‘Our society ignores individuals lacking self control.’

To summarize, relative clauses provide an important contrast: dative possessors that never alternate with nominative cannot be relativized elements, whereas possessors marked with nominative case can. Thus, nominative possessors behave like canonical subjects whereas dative possessors do not. I have ruled out the possibility that the failure of the dative possessor to become a relativized element occurs due to case. Another potential route that we may consider would be to say that the structure of *lack*-class constructions with nominative possessor and that with the dative possessor may be different, and it is precisely because of these structural differences, the two possessors pattern differently. I address this issue in sub-section 4.3.1.6.

4.3.1.4 Agreement and Dative as Non-structural Case

A difference between nominative possessors and dative possessors is also reflected in agreement and case. Crosslinguistically, it is common for quirky subjects to lack agreement with T (Sigurðsson 1991; Anagnostopoulou 2003b, 2005; Bobaljik 2008; Preminger 2014; i.a.). One of the well-know and much-discussed cases is Icelandic quirky subjects marked with dative. The dative subject does not agree with the predicate, instead the theme triggers agreement as indicated in (104).

Icelandic

- (104) Henni leiddust strákar­nir.
 her.DAT bored.3.PL boys.NOM.PL
 ‘She found the boys boring.’ (Sigurðsson 1996:1)

The Lithuanian dative subject also does not trigger agreement on the lexical predicate. The predicate always shows 3rd person morphology agreement regardless of whether the dative possessor is 1st person or 2nd person, (105). I suggest that the verb in this case exhibits 3rd person default agreement. For completeness, observe that the genitive theme cannot trigger agreement either as in (106).

- (105) a. Mums pritrūk-o / *pritrūk-o-me pinig-ų
 we.DAT run.short.of-PST-1PL / run.short.of-PST.1PL money-GEN
 ‘We ran short of money.’ (Adapted from Ambrazas et al. 1997, 663)

b. Tau pritrūk-o / *pritrūk-ai pinig-ų
 you.DAT run.short.of-PST.3 / run.short.of-PST.2SG money-GEN
 ‘You ran short of money.’

(106) Jiems trūkst-a / *trūkst-i tavęs.
 they.DAT lack-PRS.3 / lack-PRS.2.SG you.GEN
 Lit. ‘They lack you.’

We can further test the lack of agreement by looking at how these predicates behave in the perfective evidential construction (see sub-section 2.3.3.4 for discussion of these constructions). This is a type of evidential construction that is based on reported speech, hearsay. Typically, the nominative subject shows agreement with the active participle in number, gender and case as in (107). However, the dative quirky subject does not trigger agreement, and the participle exhibits neuter agreement form, (108). We can see that the dative possessor patterns like the Icelandic quirky subject in not triggering overt agreement on T.

(107) Girdėj-au, Marij-a (yra) gyven-us-i šiame
 hear-PST.1SG, Marija-NOM be.PRS.3 live-PST.ACT.PTCP-NOM.F.SG this
 bendrabut-yje.
 dorm-LOC
 ‘I heard that Marija lived in this dorm.’

(108) Girdėj-au Marij-ai buv-o trūk-ę tėvų šilum-os
 hear-PST.1SG, Marija-DAT be-PST.3 lack-PST.ACT.PTCP.N parents warmth-GEN
 I heard that Marija lacked parents’ warmth.’

The nominative possessor shows the opposite behavior to the dative quirky subject. The nominative subject does trigger grammatical subject agreement on the predicate as illustrated in (109). This is another indication that the nominative possessor indeed patterns like a canonical nominative subject.

(109) a. Mes pritrūk-o-me/*pritrūk-o pinig-ų.
 we.NOM run.short.of-PST-1PL/run.short.of-PST.3 money-GEN
 ‘We ran short of money.’

- b. Aš stig-au/*stig-o sveikat-os.
 I.NOM be.short-PST.1SG/be.short-PST.3 health-GEN
 ‘I was short of health.’

The question arises whether the absence of agreement between the predicate and the dative possessor is to do with the morphological form of the case e.g., nominative subjects always show agreement whereas non-nominative subjects never do. Alternatively, we could say that the availability of agreement is sensitive to the way the case is assigned, thus syntactic case, e.g, subjects with structural case trigger agreement whereas subjects with non-structural case do not. Lithuanian provides evidence for the latter option. Recall the evidential construction discussed in sub-section 4.2. In the evidential of the passive, the theme grammatical subject marked with genitive shows agreement with the passive participle in number, gender and case as in (110). As I argued in sub-section 4.2.1, genitive in the evidential is structural case assigned by a functional head to the highest available argument. Thus, subjects marked with non-nominative structural case like the genitive of the evidential can trigger grammatical subject agreement in Lithuanian. The availability of grammatical subject agreement is not related to the morphological case form of the subject rather it is determined by the way case is assigned to a subject.

- (110) a. Ing-os nuramin-t-a vaik-as.
 Inga-GEN calm.down-PPP-[-AGR] child-NOM
 ‘Inga must have calmed the child down.’ *Evidential*

(Ambrazas et al. 1997, 207)

- b. Vaik-o bū-t-a nuramin-t-o Ing-os
 child-GEN.M.SG be-PPP-[-AGR] calm.down-PPP-GEN.M.SG Inga-GEN
 ‘The child must have been calmed down by Inga.’ *Evidential of Passive*

If the dative possessor does not trigger agreement, then this subject does not pattern like a subject marked with structural case. In fact, evidence from the evidential construction suggests that this dative is non-structural. If dative of *lack*-class predicates is structural, we would not expect this case to be retained in the evidential. The possessor should instead bear genitive, which is a structural case assigned to the thematic/grammatical subject in

the evidential as illustrated in (111). Nevertheless, as discussed in sub-section 4.2.1.4, the quirky dative is retained in the evidential, (112), and it does function like a subject in the evidential as demonstrated by its ability to bind the subject-oriented anaphor *savo*. Thus, we see that the assignment of dative takes precedence over the assignment of structural genitive case indicating that this dative is non-structural. Furthermore, this dative seems to be restricted specifically to this class of predicates, which is another argument for treating it as a type of non-structural case.

- (111) a. Ing-a nuramin-o vaik-ą.
 Inga-NOM calm.down-PST.3 child-ACC
 ‘Inga calmed the child down.’ *Active*
- b. Ing-os nuramin-t-a vaik-as.
 Inga-GEN calmed.down-PPP-[-AGR] child-NOM
 ‘Inga must have calmed the child down.’ *Evidential of Transitive*
- (112) a. Žmog-ui_i trūk-o pasitikėjim-o sav-o_i jėgomis.
 man-DAT lack-PST.3 confidence-GEN self-GEN strength
 ‘The man_i lacked confidence in his_i own strength.’ *Active*
- b. Žmog-ui_i trūk-t-a pasitikėjim-o sav-o_i jėgomis.
 man-DAT lack-PPP-[-AGR] confidence-GEN self-GEN strength
 ‘The man_i must have lacked confidence in his_i own strength.’¹⁸ *Evidential*

Lack-class predicates can also have a nominative possessor. Therefore, we may expect to find evidential constructions where the nominative DP possessor turns into a genitive subject in the evidential. The evidential in that case will have two genitive DPs, which may cause ambiguity. To facilitate an appropriate reading, I use a 1st person personal pronoun, which has two morphologically distinct genitives (recall from sub-section 3.4.1). *mano* me.GEN.H is used for genitive subjects, possessors and *by*-phrases, whereas *manęs* me.GEN.L is restricted to complements. I use *mano* for the genitive subject in the evidential construction, which blocks this genitive DP from being interpreted as an object of a verb. Despite using the GEN.H form, we can see that the genitive subject in the evidential with *lack* predicates is bad

¹⁸<http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/tekstynas/search.all> Accessed on 05-08-2019

as in (113). Unfortunately, I do not have much to say about where this ungrammaticality stems from. Generally, nominative possessors are used much less than dative possessors with this class of predicates, which could be the reason why the pattern in (113) is judged as less acceptable than the pattern with the dative in (111)-(112).

- (113) a. Aš pritrūk-au pinig-ų.
 I.NOM run.short.of-PST.1SG money-GEN
 ‘I ran short of money.’
- b. ??/*Man-o pritrūk-t-a pinig-ų.
 me-GEN.H lack-PPP-[-AGR] money-GEN
 ‘I must have run short of money.’

4.3.1.5 Other Subjecthood Tests

Lastly, one should keep in mind that languages vary with respect to subjecthood properties they exhibit (for discussion see Fanselow 2002; Barðdal 2006; Poole 2016). In other words, some subjecthood properties are very specific and limited to a specific group of languages e.g., a number of subjecthood diagnostics introduced by Zaenen et al. (1985) are restricted to V2 languages. We have observed that at least three tests can be applied in Lithuanian, which indeed seem to target subjects: reduced relatives, ability to be PRO and binding of the subject-oriented anaphor. In addition to these, there are two additional tests that one may potentially consider applying to the *lack* construction: raising and conjunction reduction. However, I did not use these tests in this chapter due to the following reasons.

First, Lithuanian lacks raising constructions. Verbs like *pasirodyti* ‘to seem/appear’ select for a complement with a finite verb like *būti* ‘to be’, which agrees with its nominative subject in person and number. The nominative subject of the embedded clause may occupy a sentence initial position as in (114), but it does not behave like a grammatical subject of the matrix clause. The matrix verb shows 3rd person morphology, which is default. The subject of the embedded clause does not trigger agreement on the matrix verb. Therefore, these constructions cannot be treated as regular instances of raising where the embedded subject has raised to SpecTP of the matrix clause and became a matrix subject.

- (114) Aš_i pasirod-o/*pasirod-au [t_i esu kalt-as].
 I.NOM appear-PRS.3/appear-PRS.1SG be.PRS.1.SG guilty-INS.M.SG
 ‘It seems that I am guilty.’

Conjunct reduction diagnostic is often used for the identification of a canonical subject (see Seržant 2015; Holvoet 2013 for the use of this diagnostic in Lithuanian). However, this test cannot be applied to the *lack* construction because Lithuanian requires its subjects to morphologically match in their case. For example, it is possible to coordinate two dative subjects. Adjectival predicates like *šalta* ‘cold’, *jauku* ‘cosy’ take a dative experiencer, which behaves like a subject in that it binds the subject-oriented anaphor as in (115). It is possible to coordinate two clauses with two distinct dative subjects: the dative subject of *cosy* and the dative subject of *lack*. The subject of *lack* can be omitted (116).

- (115) Jon-ui_i buv-o ne-jauk-u sav-o_i namuose.
 Jonas-DAT be-PST.3 NEG-cosy-N self-GEN house
 ‘Jonas_i didn’t feel cosy/comfortable in his_i house.’
- (116) Mokykl-oje jam_i buv-o ne-jauk-u ir pro_i trūk-o pasitikėjim-o
 school-LOC he.DAT be-PST.3 NEG-cosy-N and lack-PST.3 confidence-GEN
 sav-imi.
 self-INS
 ‘At school he felt uncomfortable and lacked confidence in himself.’

Nevertheless, the dative subject of the *lack* class cannot be elided if the subject of the first clause is nominative as in (117). This suggests that the two subjects need to match in case in order for one of the subjects to be omitted. Therefore, this test cannot be used for identifying subjects in Lithuanian.

- (117) *Aš_i es-u student-as ir pro_i trūkst-a pinig-ų.
 I.NOM be-PRS.1SG student-NOM.M.SG and lack-PRS.3 money-GEN
 ‘I am a student and I lack money.’

4.3.1.6 Interim Summary: Is subjecthood a structural phenomenon?

In this sub-section, I have compared the characteristic behavior of a canonical nominative subject with that of the possessor subject of the *lack*-class. The examination of *lack*-class

constructions has revealed that *lack* predicates have two types of subjects: nominative possessors and dative possessors. Nominative possessors pattern identically to canonical subjects in that they bind the subject-oriented anaphor, become PRO, undergo relativization in reduced relatives, and trigger agreement. In contrast, dative possessors exhibit only a limited set of properties associated with a canonical subject: they can bind the subject-oriented anaphor, but they fail to become PRO or a relativized element. Furthermore, they show no agreement. This is summarized in Table 4.4.

	subject anaphor	ability to be PRO	relativized element	agreement
canonical subject	✓	✓	✓	✓
NOM possessor of <i>lack</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓
DAT possessor of <i>lack</i>	✓	*	*	*

Table 4.4: Lithuanian Subjects

Given that the dative possessor can bind the subject-oriented anaphor, I argued that this possessor is a quirky subject. I have further argued that the quirky subject bears non-structural dative case. For some researchers, DPs that bind the reflexive anaphor, but do not control PRO are not considered to be true subjects (Preminger 2011, 2014). Nevertheless, the Lithuanian data pose problems for such approaches. We cannot simply assimilate all dative DPs into one class because datives of the *lack*-class are syntactically visible and able to bind the subject-oriented anaphor, whereas inherent inert datives of indirect objects can never show this type of binding relationship. Thus, there is a clear difference between the two datives, which deserves an explanation.

Subjects marked with non-structural case, thus quirky subjects, differ in their properties from subjects marked with structural case, namely nominative canonical subjects and genitive subjects of the evidential construction. The contrast between the dative quirky subject and the genitive evidential subject is particularly interesting. The two subjects are non-nominative, but their cases are assigned differently. Dative quirky is non-structural case whereas genitive in the evidential is structural. I have demonstrated that the difference in case assignment plays a role in whether a subject can agree with T or not: the dative subject

lacks agreement whereas the genitive subject shows agreement with the lexical predicate.

We are now in a position to discuss the factors that may prevent the dative quirky subject from fully patterning like the nominative subject. Specifically, what prevents the dative possessor from becoming PRO or a relativized element in reduced relatives? I have ruled out the possibility that these two constraints are related to case assignment and suggested that this may be due to structural properties of *lack*-type constructions. To put it differently, it can be that the dative quirky subject and the nominative subject in the *lack*-class are generated in different syntactic positions, which may account for different types of properties they exhibit. The idea that subjecthood properties are related to a specific syntactic position is not new e.g., Chomsky (1981) argues that subjects are located in SpecTP/SpecIP position.

Poole (2016) proposes a theory of subjecthood whereby the subject's properties are argued to be gradually distributed across different projections of a clause. In this theory, the final landing site of a quirky subject may vary across languages yielding different subjecthood properties. Given an array of properties exhibited by quirky subjects across languages, he proposes the implicational hierarchy in (118). Each property of a subject in this hierarchy is derived through a particular position within a clause.

(118) QUIRKY SUBJECT HIERARCHY

binding«PRO«reduced relatives

According to this hierarchy, if a subject can become a relativized element in reduced relatives, then it will also be able to become PRO and bind. This theory predicts that it would not be possible to find a subject, which can be a relativized element, but cannot be PRO or bind the subject-oriented anaphor. These properties are related to the final landing site of the quirky subject. For example, in Hindi, the final landing site of the quirky subject is SpecVoiceP, subjects in this position can bind the subject-oriented anaphor. An ability to become PRO is associated with T^0 . The quirky subject in Hindi does not raise to SpecTP which explains why it cannot be PRO. In order for a subject to become a relativized element in reduced relatives, it needs to be associated with a special projection above T, namely PrtP. Thus, the subject needs to raise even higher. Given that the Hindi subject

remains in SpecVoiceP, the subject cannot become a relativized element in reduced relatives. This is schematized in (119) where the final landing site of the quirky subject is SpecVoiceP.

$$(119) \left[\text{PrtP} _ \text{Prt}^0 \left[\text{TP} _ \text{T}^0 \left[\text{VoiceP} \text{QS}_i \text{Voice}^0 \left[\text{vP} _ t_i \dots \right] \right] \right] \right] \quad \text{Hindi Quirky Subject}$$

Poole’s theory neatly captures the variation that exists between different quirky subjects across languages. Icelandic quirky subjects can bind and become PRO, but cannot undergo relativization suggesting that their final landing site is SpecTP as demonstrated in (120). Laz quirky subjects pass all three tests suggesting that these subjects raise even higher than SpecTP and can be associated with PrtP as in (121). The variation in the types of properties exhibited by quirky subjects across languages is presented in 4.5.

$$(120) \left[\text{PrtP} _ \text{Prt}^0 \left[\text{TP} _ \text{QS}_i \text{T}^0 \left[\text{VoiceP} t_i \text{Voice}^0 \left[\text{vP} _ t_i \dots \right] \right] \right] \right] \quad \text{Icelandic Quirky Subject}$$

$$(121) \left[\text{PrtP} _ \text{QS} \text{Prt}^0 \left[\text{TP} _ t_i \text{T}^0 \left[\text{VoiceP} t_i \text{Voice}^0 \left[\text{vP} _ t_i \dots \right] \right] \right] \right] \quad \text{Laz Quirky Subject}$$

	subject-oriented anaphor	ability to be PRO	relativized element
Hindi	✓	*	*
Icelandic	✓	✓	*
Laz	✓	✓	✓

Table 4.5: Properties of Quirky Subjects across languages

The Lithuanian quirky dative seems to pattern like the quirky subject in Hindi since it can only serve as a binder for the subject-oriented anaphor. If the theory of subjecthood presented here is correct, then we may predict that the quirky subject in Lithuanian originates low in the structure, does not raise to SpecTP or higher. The low position would explain why this subject cannot become PRO or undergo relativization in reduced relatives. As for the nominative possessor of the *lack*-class, it seems to pattern like a canonical subject meaning that under this approach its final landing site is higher within the structure than the final landing site of the quirky dative. However, scope facts suggest that the dative quirky subject raises as high as the nominative subject. Both subjects can take scope over negation. The examples in (122-123) have the following reading: there exists a patient such

that he/she didn't lack money. Generally, I take negation in Lithuanian to originate above a thematic VoiceP as discussed in sub-section 3.4.2. If the final landing site of the dative subject in Lithuanian were low, within some type of Voice or vP, then we may have expected the negation to take wide scope over the dative subject in examples like (122).

Context: In this country, you cannot be treated unless you have health insurance.

Most people lacked money to buy the insurance. However, one patient didn't.

- (122) Vien-am pacient-ui ne-pritrūk-o pinig-ų.
 one-DAT patient-DAT NEG-lack-PST.3 money-GEN
 'One patient didn't lack money.' $\exists > \neg, * \neg > \exists$

- (123) Vien-as pacient-as ne-pritrūk-o pinig-ų.
 one-NOM patient-NOM NEG-lack-PST.3 money-GEN
 'One patient didn't lack money.' $\exists > \neg, * \neg > \exists$

Furthermore, the dative quirky subject seems to be able to raise above an auxiliary in the perfective evidential construction (for discussion of these constructions see sub-section 4.3.1.4). An example of this evidential is provided in (124), it includes an auxiliary as well as an active participle. The perfective evidential can also be applied to the *lack*-construction as in (125) with the dative subject preceding the auxiliary. However, there is one caveat. It is not clear whether the dative quirky subject in these examples occupy SpecTP position or has undergone A-bar movement to a higher position above TP. Lithuanian has a flexible word order, as discussed in sub-section 2.2.3.2.4. Old information is preceded by new information. Old information is associated with a special type of projection above TP, which I referred to as TopP. The dative subject may be old information here, and thereby may precede the auxiliary because it needs to satisfy the Topic requirement.

- (124) Girdėj-au, Marij-a (yra) gyven-us-i šiame
 hear-PST.1SG, Marija-NOM be.PRS.3 live-PST.ACT.PTCP-NOM.F.SG this
 bendrabut-yje.
 dorm-LOC
 'I heard that Marija lived in this dorm.'

- (125) Girdėj-au, Marij-ai buv-o trūk-ę tėvų šilum-os
 hear-PST.1SG, Marija-DAT be-PST.3 lack-PST.ACT.PTCP-N parents warmth-GEN
 I heard that Marija lacked parents' warmth.'

Another prediction that this theory makes is that the size of a to-infinitive clause is smaller than that of a reduced relative clause. This is based on the fact that once a subject is PRO, it can then become a relativized element in reduced relatives. However, there are at least two reasons to think that to-infinitive clauses in Lithuanian are bigger than reduced relative clauses. First, reduced relatives contain a thematic VoiceP as evidenced by passives. Nevertheless, these clauses disallow auxiliary elements which are present in passives of full finite clauses. Compare the canonical passive of a full finite clause in (126) with the passive in the reduced relative in (127). Both examples contain a passive, but differ in the presence of the auxiliary *būti*. I take this to constitute evidence that reduced relatives do not have Aux(iliary)P, while full finite clauses do.

- (126) Vaik-ai buv-o išsiųs-t-i tėv-ų į vasaros
 children-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3 send-PPP-NOM.M.PL parents-GEN to summer
 stovyklą.
 camp
 'The children were sent to the summer camp by the parents.'

- (127) Vaik-ai_i, [t_i (*buv-o/*bū-ti/*buv-ę)
 children-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3/be-INF/be-ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.PL
 išsiųs-t-i tėv-ų į vasaros stovyklą], sak-ė esantys
 send-PPP-NOM.M.PL parents-GEN to summer camp say-PRS.3 being
 patenkinti.
 pleased
 'Children sent to the summer camp by the parents said that they are pleased.'

In contrast, the auxiliary is possible in to-infinitive clauses containing a passive as in (128). I take this as evidence that infinitives in Lithuanian contain not only VoiceP, but also AuxP stacked on the top of it. Therefore, the size of infinitives seems to be bigger than that of reduced relatives.

- (128) Vaik-ai_i norėj-o [PRO_i bū-ti išsiųs-t-i tėv-ų į
 children-NOM.M.PL want-PST.3 be-INF send-PPP-NOM.M.PL parents-GEN to

vasaros stovykla].
summer camp

‘The children wanted to be sent to the summer camp by the parents.’

Second, reduced relatives do not contain PRO subject whereas infinitives do. The case of PRO can be dative in object control cases and arbitrary contexts. Therefore, if a reduced relative clause had PRO, we may expect to find dative depictives to be grammatical. Nevertheless, this prediction is ruled out. The example in (129) includes a relativized element, which functions like the matrix object of *capture*. The depictive in the reduced relative bears the case of the relativized element, which in this case is accusative. The depictive cannot be marked with dative, therefore there is no PRO in this clause.

- (129) Vėliau vaizdo kamer-os vyr-a_i užfiksav-o [t_i
later screen cameras-NOM man-ACC capture-PST.3
ein-a-nt-j vien-a/*vien-am Vilniaus miesto gatvėmis].
walk-PRS-ACT.PTCP-ACC.M.SG alone-ACC/alone-DAT Vilnius city streets
‘Later the cameras captured the man walking alone in streets of Vilnius city.’ (internet example)

These findings are indicative of a small structure present in reduced relatives. Specifically, the structure seems to be smaller than that of to-infinitive clauses. Therefore, the Lithuanian data introduce a slightly different pattern than the one presented in the subject hierarchy in (118). It could be that in this language, we may have a reverse order: in order to become a PRO, the subject should be able to undergo relativization first given its small size. This remains an open question, which I leave for further research.

The last challenge for this theory would be binding of the subject-oriented anaphor by the theme grammatical subject that is in situ. As I discussed in sub-section 4.3.1.1, in order to be a grammatical subject, a DP does not need to raise to SpecTP or SpecVoiceP in Lithuanian. For instance, the theme grammatical subject of the passive can remain in situ, and yet it still shows the properties of a canonical subject in that it can bind the subject-oriented anaphor and trigger agreement (130). To bind the subject-oriented anaphor, the subject does not need to be located in VoiceP as proposed for the Hindi quirky subject in

(119). Therefore, the ability to bind does not seem to be related to a specific projection within a clause in Lithuanian.

(130) Ketvirtadienį dėl blogo elgesio su sav- o_i augintin- iu į policij- os
 Thursday because.of bad behavior with self-GEN dog-INS to police-GEN
 areštin-ę buv- o uždary- $t-as$ 23 metų vyr- as_i .
 custody-ACC be-PST.3 close-PPP-NOM.M.SG 23 year man-NOM.M.SG
 ‘On Thursday, a 23-year-old man was taken to the police custody because of his bad
 behavior with his pet.’

All in all, we have reviewed the theory of subjecthood where the properties of a subject are claimed to be gradually distributed across a clausal spine. It was suggested that some subjecthood properties may not be necessarily related to a specific position e.g., binding, which presents a challenge for this theory. I have also tested whether the dative quirky subject originates lower in the structure than the nominative subject as was predicted by this theory. However, results from the scope and perfective evidentials are indicative of the dative quirky subject being able to raise high in the structure, possibly as high as the nominative possessor. Having reviewed the properties of the possessor subject in the *lack*-construction, I now discuss the characteristic behavior of the genitive theme object.

4.3.2 Genitive Theme

In this section, I argue that the theme argument in the *lack*-class construction is marked with lexical case. Thus, typologically we have a somewhat less common pattern: both arguments, the dative possessor subject and the genitive theme object in this construction, are marked with non-structural case.

The genitive of the theme argument behaves like non-structural case in that it is retained in the derivation regardless of whether the possessor is marked with nominative or dative case. In other words, the case of the possessor does not affect the case of the theme: the theme always bears genitive. For instance, in (131), we may have expected the theme to bear accusative given that the possessor is nominative, but the accusative case is ungrammatical.

- (131) a. Mes pritrūk-o-me pinig-ų/*pinig-us.
 we.NOM run.short.of-PST-1PL money-GEN/money-ACC
 ‘We ran short of money.’
- b. Man pritrūk-o pinig-ų/*pinig-us.
 me.DAT run.short.of-PST.3 money-GEN/money-ACC
 ‘We ran short of money.’

Note that generally the language does have constructions with a dative argument and a theme marked with structural case. For instance, *like*-class predicates permit a nominative theme. *Ache*-class verbs normally occur with an accusative theme as illustrated below. Hence, the language has an option for a theme argument to bear structural case in the presence of the dative argument. Therefore, it would not be unusual to have the theme with structural case in the *lack*-class construction in (131b), and yet the theme in *lack*-class constructions chooses to bear genitive case. I take this as evidence that the case of this theme is lexically determined by *lack*-class predicates.

- (132) Man patink-a muzik-a.
 me.DAT like-PRS.3 music-NOM
 ‘I like music.’
- (133) Man skaud-a galv-ą.
 me.DAT ache-PRS.3 head-ACC
 ‘I have a headache.’

Another indication that this theme is different from objects marked with structural accusative case is reflected in evidential constructions. Recall from sub-section 4.2.2 that themes normally marked with accusative case become nominative in the evidential. Nevertheless, the theme of *lack* constructions retains its case in this syntactic environment and nominative case is ungrammatical.

- (134) a. Projekto įgyvendinim-ui pristig-o lėš-ų.
 project implementation-DAT be.short.of-PST.3 funds-GEN
 ‘The implementation of the project was short of funds.’

Active

- b. Projekto įgyvendinim-*ui* pristig-t-a lėš-*ų*/*lėš-os.
 project implementation-DAT be.short.of-PPP-[-AGR] funds-GEN/funds-NOM
 ‘The implementation of the project must have been short of funds.’ *Evidential*

I further distinguish the genitive of the theme in the *lack* construction from other genitive cases in the language. The language has a number of different genitives that perform various functions (for an overview see Aleksandravičiūtė 2013; Sigurðsson and Šereikaitė 2020). One of them is partitive genitive (also known as genitive of indefinite quantity, see Ambrazas et al. 1997, 486 and Seržant 2014 for discussion), which is used to indicate an indefinite quantity of something. Its use is restricted in that it is compatible with singular mass nouns and count nouns that are plural as in (135a). However, the partitive genitive cannot be assigned to count singular nominals as in (135b). The count singular nominal, be it definite or indefinite, bears accusative (135c).

- (135) a. Gav-*au* laišk-*ų*/drusk-os.
 receive-PST.1SG letters-GEN/salt-GEN
 ‘I received some letters/some salt.’ (Ambrazas et al., 1997, 486)
- b. *Gav-*au* laišk-o.
 receive-PST.1SG letter-GEN
 Lit. ‘I received some letter.’
- c. Gav-*au* laišk-*ą*
 receive-PST.1SG letter-ACC
 ‘I received a/the letter.’

The genitive case that is assigned to the theme in *lack*-class predicates is not the partitive genitive. In contrast to the partitive, the genitive theme argument of these predicates can be a count singular noun as indicated below in (136).

- (136) a. Nam-*ui* trūkst-a pavėsin-ės.
 house-DAT lack-PRS.3 porch-GEN
 ‘The house lacks a porch.’
- b. Nam-*ui* pilnai užtenk-a šitos lemp-os.
 house-DAT fully have.enough-PRS.3 this lamp-GEN
 Lit. ‘This lamp is fully enough for this house.’

We may also hypothesize that the genitive realized on the theme in these constructions is genitive of negation: case assigned in the presence of negation to a grammatical object which typically bears accusative case (see sub-section 2.2.2.1 for examples). The *lack*-construction is formed with verbs that refer to negative events like the loss of possession, therefore the genitive assigned to the theme may potentially be viewed as genitive of negation. Nevertheless, this construction also includes verbs referring to gain of possession *pakakti* ‘to suffice’, *užtekti* ‘to have enough’ suggesting that genitive of negation cannot be used to capture the properties of the genitive theme.

To summarize, I have proposed that the case assigned to the theme is a type of lexical case determined by *lack*-class predicates. The genitive theme exhibits properties different from the accusative object: it retains its case when the possessor is nominative, the genitive is also preserved in the evidential.

4.3.3 Unaccusativity

To recap, I have demonstrated that the *lack*-construction has the dative/nominative possessor, which is a subject, and the genitive theme object. I have further argued that the dative possessor is a quirky subject, which bears a type of non-structural case. The theme is assigned a type of lexical case determined by *lack* predicates. Having identified the grammatical function of each argument and the nature of their case, I now proceed to the investigation of the structure of this construction. I argue that *lack*-class predicates are unaccusatives in that they have no thematic VoiceP which introduces an initiator θ -role. In sub-section 4.3.1.1, it was demonstrated that the dative subject can bind the anti-subject oriented anaphor meaning that this argument is not a thematic subject of transitives or unergatives. I further show that *lack* predicates cannot be passivized. Thus, the possessor does not behave like an external argument in that it cannot be demoted to an optional *by*-phrase. In addition to passivization, *lack*-class verbs are shown to behave like unaccusatives in not being able to form agent nominals.

4.3.3.1 Passives

This class of predicates belongs to a group of unaccusative verbs in that, just like unaccusative verbs, these verbs cannot undergo passivization. *Lack* verbs cannot form agreeing passives whereby the genitive theme is advanced to subject position and is marked with a structural nominative case (137c-137c). Nevertheless, one may be inclined to think that this ungrammaticality arises because this theme bears non-structural case, and therefore it cannot be advanced to nominative in general. However, as was discussed in Chapter 3, Lithuanian also allows impersonal passives where the theme may retain its case and does not advance to nominative. Forming impersonal passives with these predicates is also ungrammatical (137d-138d). Passivization is banned regardless of whether the possessor of these predicates is a dative DP or a nominative DP. Examples of predicates that do not show DAT-NOM possessor alternation are also provided in (139).

- (137) a. Aš trūk-au pinig-ų.
I.NOM lack-PST.1SG money-GEN
'I lacked money.'
- b. Man trūk-o pinig-ų.
me.DAT lack-PST.3 money-GEN
'I lacked money.'
- c. *Pinig-ai buv-o man-o trūk-t-i.
money-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3 me-GEN lack-PPP-NOM.M.PL
'The money was lacked by me.' *Agreeing Passive*
- d. *Pinig-ų buv-o man-o trūk-t-a.
money-GEN be-PST.3 me-GEN lack-PPP-[-AGR]
'The money was lacked by me.' *Impersonal Passive*
- (138) a. Až užtek-au maist-o.
I.NOM have.enough-PST.1SG food-GEN
'I had enough food.'
- b. Man užtek-o maist-o.
me.DAT have.enough-PST.3 food-DAT

‘I had enough food.’

- c. *Maist-as buv-o man-o užtek-t-as.
food-NOM.SG.M be-PST.3 me-GEN have.enough-PPP-NOM.SG.M
Lit. ‘The food was had enough by me.’ *Agreeing Passive*

- d. *Maist-o buv-o man-o užtek-t-a.
food-GEN be-PST.3 me-GEN have.enough-PPP-[-AGR]
‘The food was had enough by me.’ *Impersonal Passive*

- (139) a. Man reiki-a pinig-ų.
me.DAT need-PRS.3 money-GEN
‘I need money.’

- b. *Pinig-ai yra man-o reikia-m-i.
money-NOM.M.PL be.PRS.3 me-GEN need-PPRP-NOM.M.PL
‘Money is needed by me.’ *Agreeing Passive*

- c. *Pinig-ų yra man-o reikia-m-a
money-GEN be.PRS.3 me-GEN need-PPRP-[-AGR]
‘Money is needed by me.’ *Impersonal Passive*

Lack-class predicates are parallel to two-argument unaccusatives with a nominative subject and an accusative theme presented in (140). These verbs cannot be passivized either. An example here is provided with *kainuoti* ‘cost’. Thus, *lack*-verbs qualify as unaccusative predicates meaning that *lack*-predicates have no external argument. I further take this as evidence that the structure of these constructions has no external-argument introducing projection, a thematic VoiceP (see Chapter 2 for discussion of this projection).

- (140) a. Knyg-a kainuoj-a penk-is eur-us.
book-NOM cost-PRS.3 five-ACC euros-ACC
‘The book costs five euros.’

- b. *Penki eur-ai yra kainuoja-m-i knyg-os.
five euros-NOM.M.PL be.PRS.3 cost-PPRP-NOM.M.PL book-GEN
‘Five euros are cost by the book.’

4.3.3.2 Agent Nominals and External Argument Generalization

I provide evidence from agent nominals for treating *lack*-class predicates as types of unaccusatives. Specifically, I demonstrate that *lack*-class predicates just like unaccusatives fail to form agent nominals whereas predicates with an external argument do show this restriction.

English *-er* nominals, which denote an event and are agentive, exhibit what is called ‘External Argument Generalization.’ The nominal refers to the external argument θ -role of its base verb (141). They may refer to an agent, experiencer or causer depending of a θ -role of an external argument that the nominal is referring to (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1992; Alexiadou and Schäfer 2010).

- (141) a. ... is a great defuser of pent-up emotions (causer)
b. ...a holder of a Visa or Master card (holder)
c. ...as a dazzled admirer of Washington (experiencer)
d. ...a protein that is a potent inducer of new blood vessel growth (instrument) (examples from Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1992 quoted in Alexiadou and Schäfer 2010, 10)

This generalization holds true in Lithuanian agent nominals, whose structural properties were discussed in 3.5.2.1. I demonstrate that Lithuanian verbs that have an external argument can participate in the formation of agent nominals whereas unaccusatives cannot. Recall that these agent nominals are formed by adding suffixes like *-toj*, *-ėj*, also *-ik* or *-ov* to a verbal root (see also Zaika 2016). For example, the verbal root *plau-* ‘wash’ can combine with the suffix *-ėj* forming the agent nominal *plov-ėj-as* ‘one who washes dishes’ as in (142). Agent nominals are very productive with transitives or unergatives whose external argument is agent as indicated below.

- (142) a. Jon-as plov-ė
Jonas-NOM wash-PST.3
ind-us.
dishes-ACC
'Jonas washed the dishes.'
- b. ind-ų plov-ėj-as
dishes-GEN wash-AGN-NOM.M.SG
'one who washes dishes'
- (143) a. Marij-a vairav-o
Marija-NOM drive-PST.3
autobus-ą.
bus-ACC
'Marija drove a bus.'
- b. autobus-o vairuo-toj-as
bus-GEN drive-AGN-NOM.M.SG
'bus driver'
- (144) a. Jon-as krov-ė preki-as.
Jonas-GEN load-PST.3 goods-ACC
'Jonas loaded the goods.'
- b. preki-ų krov-ėj-as
good-GEN load-AGN-NOM.M.SG
'one who loads goods'
- (145) a. Marij-a šokinėj-o
Marija-NOM jump-PST.3
'Marija was jumping.'
- b. šokinė-toj-as
jump-AGN-NOM.M.SG
'one who jumps'
- (146) a. Jon-as juokav-o.
Jonas-NOM joke-PST.3
'Jonas was joking.'
- b. juokau-toj-as
joke-AGN-NOM.M.SG
'one who jokes'

Examples with causative morphology are also attested showing that agent nominals may be formed with the type of verbs whose external argument is a causer.

- (147) a. Liet-us ištirp-in-o rūd-is.
rain-NOM melt-CAUSE-PST.3 rust-ACC
'The rain melted the rust.'
- b. rūdži-ų tirp-in-toj-as
rust-GEN melt-CAUS-AGN-NOM.M.SG
'one/something who/which causes rust to melt'
- (148) a. Jon-as daig-in-o pomidor-us.
Jonas-NOM grow-CAUS-PST.3 tomatoes
Lit. 'Jonas caused tomatoes to sprout.'

- b. pomidor-ų daig-in-toj-as
 tomatoes-GEN grow-CAUS-AGN-NOM.M.SG
 ‘one/something who/which causes tomatoes to sprout’

External arguments of verbs like *svajoti* ‘to dream’ or *mėgti* ‘to like’ bear an experiencer θ -role. Nominals corresponding to the external argument of these predicates are possible as illustrated below.

- (149) a. Aš svajoj-au apie ger-ą gyvenim-ą
 I.NOM dream-PST.1SG about good-ACC life-ACC
 ‘I was dreaming about good life.’
- b. svajo-toj-as apie ger-ą gyvenim-ą
 dream-AGN-NOM.M.SG about good-ACC life-ACC
 ‘one who dreams about good life’
- (150) a. Aš mėgst-u muzik-ą.
 I.NOM like-PST.1SG music-ACC
 ‘I like music’
- b. muzik-os mėg-ėj-as
 music-GEN like-AGN-NOM.M.SG
 ‘one who likes music’

Interestingly, agent nominals are ungrammatical when they are formed with verbs whose experiencers are marked with dative e.g., *patikti* ‘like’ takes a dative experiencer, and it cannot be used to form a nominal (151). The same type of pattern may be observed with *nusibosti* ‘to be bored’ (152). If the external argument generalization established above holds true, then the ungrammaticality of these expressions indicates that dative experiencers are not external arguments of these predicates.¹⁹

- (151) a. Man patink-a muzik-a.
 me.DAT like-PST.3 music-NOM

¹⁹Indeed these verbs cannot be passivized as in (i), which suggests that they do lack an external argument and pattern like unaccusatives.

(i) *Muzik-a yra man-o patinkan-t-i.
 music-NOM.F.SG be.PRS.3 me-GEN like-PPP-NOM.F.SG
 ‘The music is liked by me.’

- ‘I like music.’
- b. *patik-toj-as
like-AGN-NOM.M.SG
‘one who likes something’
- (152) a. Man nusibod-o šie film-ai.
me.DAT be.bored-PST.3 these movies-NOM
‘I found these movies boring.’
- b. *nusibos-toj-as
be.boring-AGN-NOM.M.SG
‘one who is bored with something’
- (153) a. Man rūp-i visk-as.
me.DAT care-PST.3 everything-NOM
‘I care about everything.’
- b. */??rūpè-toj-as
care-AGN-NOM.M.SG
‘one who cares about something’

Lastly, verbs whose external argument denotes a possessor or the lack of possession are compatible with these nominals. Examples follow.

- (154) a. Aš turèj-au kortel-ę.
I.NOM have-PST.1SG card-GEN
‘I had a card.’
- b. kortel-ės turè-toj-as
card-GEN have-AGN-NOM.M.SG
‘one who has a card’
- (155) a. Aš prarad-au kortel-ę.
I.NOM lose-PST.1SG card-ACC
‘I lost a card.’
- b. kortel-ės prarad-ėj-as
card-GEN lost-AGN-NOM.M.SG
‘one who loses a card’

To sum up, agent nominals correspond to the external argument of their base verb, which may be a causer, an agent, an experiencer or a possessor. Nevertheless, nominals cannot correspond to experiencers that are marked with dative. Therefore, we may hypothesize that the formation of nominals in fact is sensitive to case, and may not hinge so much on an external argument θ -role. Nevertheless, the data from unaccusative verbs demonstrate that the generalization regarding agent nominals is not related to case.

Unaccusative verbs, predicates that lack a thematic Voice head are banned from these nominals as in (156-160). The same can be observed with two-argument unaccusatives like *kainuoti* ‘cost’ in (161b). The examples are ungrammatical regardless of which nominal suffix is used. The ungrammaticality of these instances indicates that agent nominals are sensitive to whether they correspond to an external argument. The case does not play a role. The grammatical subject of unaccusatives is marked with nominative and yet nominals with these predicates are ungrammatical.

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (156) | a. Jon-as nu-mir-é.
Jonas-NOM PRV-die-PST.3
‘Jonas died.’ | b. *mir-toj/èj-as
die-AGN-NOM.M.SG
‘one who dies’ |
| (157) | a. Marij-a nu-krit-o.
Marija-NOM PRV-fall-PST.3
‘Marija fell down.’ | b. *kris-toj/èj-as
fall-AGN-NOM.M.SG
‘one who falls’ |
| (158) | a. Jon-as nu-skend-o.
Jonas-NOM PRV-drown-PST.3
‘Jonas drowned.’ | b. *skes-toj/èj-as
drown-AGN-NOM.M.SG
‘one who is drowning’ |
| (159) | a. Vaiduokl-iai egzistuoj-a.
ghosts-NOM exist-PRS.3
‘Ghosts exist.’ | b. *egzistuo-toj/èj-as
exist-AGN-NOM.M.SG
‘one who exists’ |
| (160) | a. Gel-és aug-o.
flowers-NOM grow-PST.3
‘Flowers were growing.’ | b. *aug-toj/èj-as
grow-AGN-NOM.M.SG
‘one who is growing’ |

- (161) a. Knyg-os kainuoj-a penk-is eur-us.
 books-NOM cost-PRS.3 five-ACC euros-ACC
 ‘The books cost five euros.’
- b. *kainuo-toj/ėj-as
 cost-ANG-NOM.M.SG
 ‘one which costs’

If *lack*-predicates are unaccusatives, then they should not be able to form agent nominals. Indeed, forming nominals with this class of verbs yield ungrammaticality as exemplified below in (162-165). The possessor of these predicates can be either nominative or dative (162-163), or only dative as with *reikėti* ‘need’ in (164). We have observed above that predicates whose subjects are nominative DP possessors can be used to construct these agent nominals (recall the example with ‘have’ in (154)). We may have expected to see this type of behavior with *lack* verbs as well. However, they are ungrammatical in this environment, showing that they do pattern like unaccusatives regardless of whether the possessor is marked with nominative or with dative.²⁰

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(162) *trūk-toj/ėj-as
 lack-AGN-NOM.M.SG
 ‘one who is lacking something’</p> | <p>(163) *stig-toj/ėj-as
 run.short.of-AGN-NOM.M.SG
 ‘one who is running short of something’</p> |
| <p>(164) *reikė-toj/ėj-as
 need-AGN-NOM.M.SG
 ‘one who needs’</p> | <p>(165) *užtek-toj/ėj-as
 have.enough-AGN-NOM.M.SG
 ‘one who has enough of something’</p> |

To summarize, evidence from passivization and agent nominals suggests that *lack*-class predicates are unaccusatives. These predicates cannot be passivized or form agent nominals. The *lack* construction shows the same behavior regardless of whether the possessor is dative

²⁰One may wonder how one expresses ‘one who lacks something’ in Lithuanian if these predicates are not compatible with agent nominals. To encode this meaning, one would use an active participle as a nominal expression as in (i).

- (i) Param-a bus dalina-m-a labiausiai reiki-a-nt-iems
 support-NOM.F.SG be.FUT.3 distribute-PPRP-NOM.F.SG mostly need-PRS-ACT.PTCP-NOM.M.PL
 vilt-ies ir šilum-os.
 hope-GEN and warmth-GEN
 ‘The support will be given to those who need hope and warmth the most.’

or nominative. Therefore, both possessors, the nominative and the dative ones, do not pattern like an external argument, a thematic subjects of transitives or unergatives. Both possessors are base-generated in a low position within a *v*P domain.

4.3.4 Analysis

This study has investigated the syntactic properties of *lack*-class predicates, which present a few interesting challenges. First, in addition to marked structural dative and inherent inert dative that I have discussed in Chapter 3, we have identified the third type of dative - quirky dative. I have argued that quirky dative is a type of non-structural case assigned to the possessor of the *lack* construction. Hence, the first challenge would be to account for the distinction between two non-structural datives, quirky dative and inherent dative, in a single language. In this section, I have also distinguished between two types of subjects, the dative quirky possessor subject and the nominative possessor, which exhibit distinct properties. Therefore, the second question would be how to encode the DAT-NOM alternation that the *lack* construction exhibits and the difference between the two subjects.

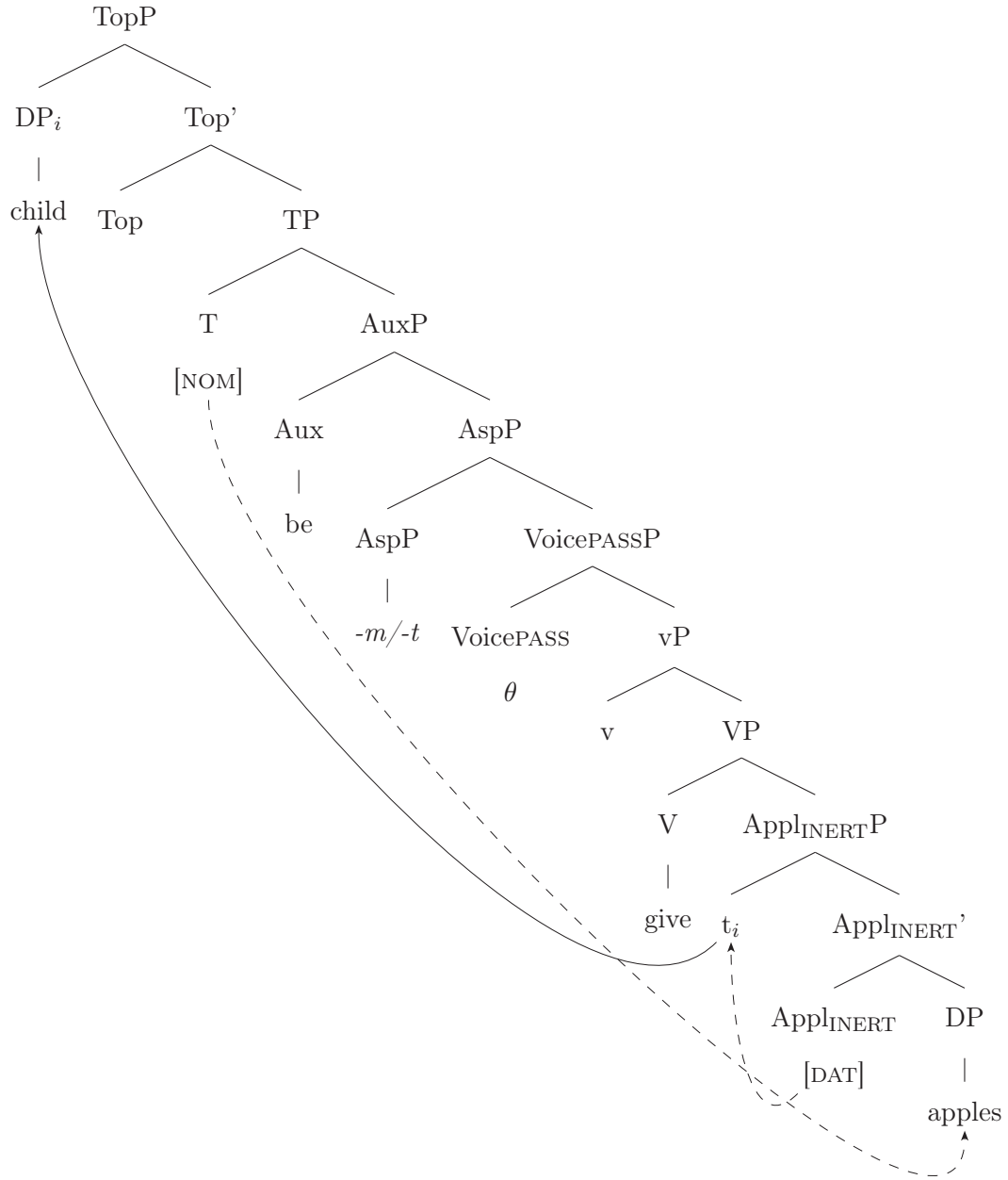
To fully understand the structure of the *lack* construction and the assignment of quirky dative, I first repeat the analysis of the inherent inert dative of IO (indirect object) with ditransitive predicates from Chapter 3, sub-section 3.5.3, and then contrast it with the assignment of the dative quirky subject of *lack* predicates.

In my system, ditransitive predicates contain a low applicative head ($\text{Appl}_{\text{INERT}}$), this head assigns inherent inert case to the IO. When forming the passive of IO (166), the theme behaves like a grammatical subject in bearing nominative, the IO retains its case, but occurs sentence initially. As discussed in sub-section 3.3, the dative IO does not behave like a subject in that it does not bind the subject-oriented anaphor. Rather it behaves like a topicalized object in that it retains its original binding relationship when fronted (see sub-section 3.3 for data and discussion). Hence, it neither blocks agree relation between T and the theme, nor advances to subject position itself, which is a characteristic behavior of inert dative discussed by McGinnis (1998). The IO undergoes A-bar movement to TopP

above TP as illustrated in (167).

- (166) a. Tèv-as dav-è vaik-ui obuoli-us.
father-NOM give-PST.3 child-DAT apples-ACC
'The father gave the child the apples.'
- b. Vaik-ui buv-o duo-t-i tèv-o obuoli-ai.
child-DAT be-PST.3 give-PPP-NOM.M.PL father-GEN apples-NOM.M.PL
'The child was given the apples by the father.'

(167) Passive of *IO*



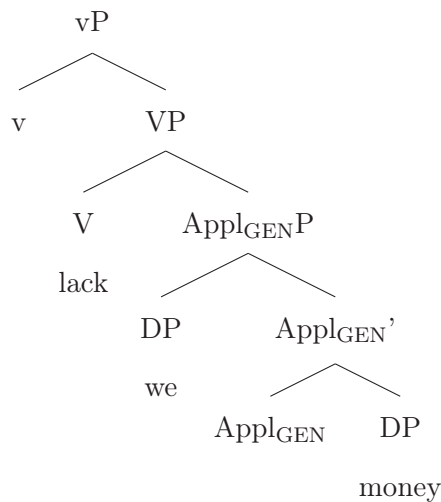
Unlike the IO marked with inherent case in (166), the dative possessor of *lack*-class predicates as in (168) is syntactically active and able to become a subject. In both configurations, the passive of *give* and the *lack*-construction, the dative DPs are the highest arguments in the clause, but only one of them, namely the dative possessor of the *lack* class, becomes a grammatical subject. Thus, we can see that there is a split: some DPs marked with non-structural case can become a grammatical subject and others cannot. The question

is what determines this split: the structural position or the type of case they are assigned. I suggest that it is the latter (in line with McGinnis (1998)). With this puzzle in mind, I now proceed to a detailed analysis of *lack*-class predicates.

- (168) Mums pritrūk-o / *pritrūk-o-me pinig-ų.
 we.DAT run.short.of-PST.3 / run.short.of-PST-1PL money-GEN
 ‘We ran short of money.’

Lack constructions are two-argument unaccusatives, which have no external argument. Thus, the possessor and the theme are internal arguments that originate inside *v*P. From a semantic perspective, it would be reasonable to assume that *lack*-class constructions include low applicatives as they encode a direct possessive relationship between the possessor and the theme. Therefore, I propose that *lack* constructions are types of unaccusatives which contain low applicatives, encoded by Appl_{GEN}P in (169) (for an analysis of unaccusatives with ApplP see McGinnis 1998; Pykkänen 2000, 2008; i.a.). I assume that the possessor is located in the specifier of Appl_{GEN}P and the theme is the complement of the Appl_{GEN} head.

- (169) *Lack*-class

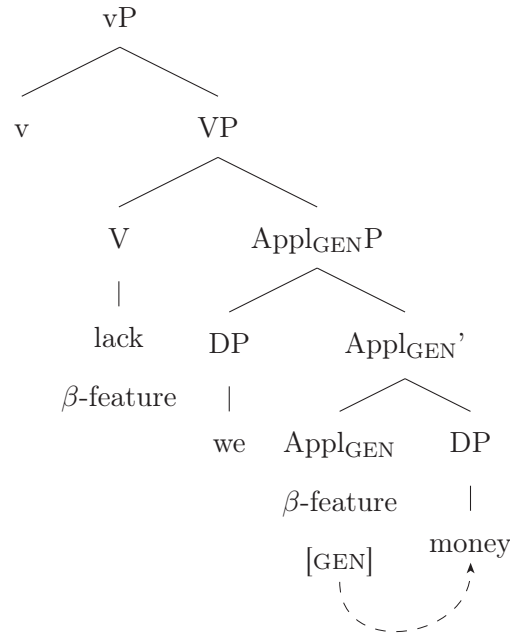


I have argued that the theme in the *lack* construction is assigned a lexical case determined by this class of predicates. Generally, double unaccusatives like *kainuoti* ‘cost’ exhibit a NOM-ACC pattern as illustrated in (170). In regular double unaccusatives, it is assumed that the low applicative head assigns accusative case to the lower theme like *five*

euros, whereas the higher theme *book* receives nominative from T. I propose that, just like in regular double unaccusative constructions, the Appl_{GEN} head in *lack* constructions is responsible for the case assigned to the theme. However, the case assignment by Appl_{GEN}P is conditioned by the type of verb Appl_{GEN}P merges with. In other words, there is a selectional relationship between the verb and the applicative head. When Appl_{GEN}P is merged with *lack*-class predicates, the Appl_{GEN} assigns genitive case to the theme. This type of selectional relationship can be encoded through agreement, as I argued in sub-section 3.5. I propose that the Appl_{GEN} enters the derivation with an uninterpretable β feature which needs to be checked by another feature of the same kind which originates on the verb (in line with McCloskey 2007). This agree relation between the verb and the applicative head ensures that the applicative head assigns genitive rather than accusative to the theme.

- (170) Knyg-a kainuoj-a penk-is eurus-ACC.
 book-NOM cost-PRS.3 five-ACC euros-ACC
 ‘The book costs 5 euros.’

(171) *Lack*-class

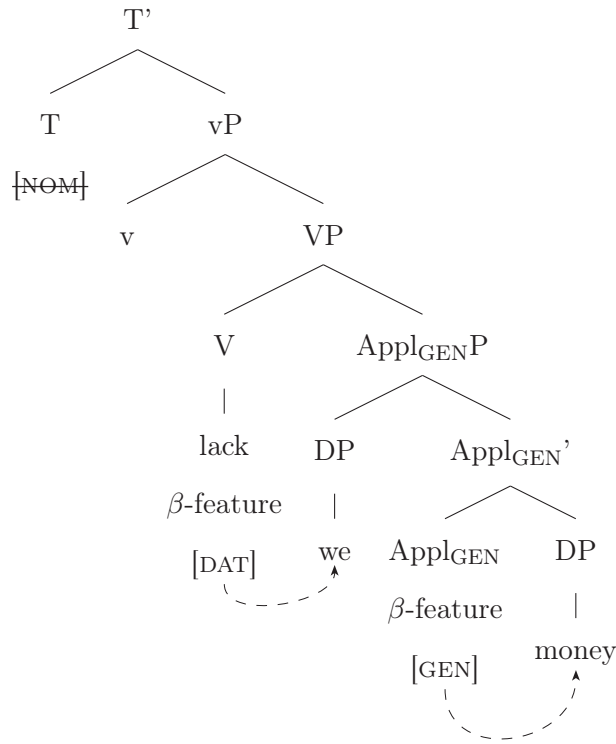


Let us now consider the assignment of quirky dative. Quirky case is a type of non-structural case which is lexically determined by a specific class of predicates (for discussion of quirky case see Zaenen et al. 1985; Sigurðsson 2002, 2004; i.a.). Possessor subjects are normally marked with nominative in Lithuanian e.g., the verb *turėti* ‘have’ takes a nominative subject rather than dative as in (172). In contrast, *lack*-class predicates permit their subject to be dative (173). Therefore, it seems that the use of the dative possessor is restricted to specific class of verbs.

(172) Jis/*jam turėj-o visk-ą.
 he.NOM/he.DAT have-PST.3 everything-ACC
 ‘He had everything.’

(173) Mums pritrūk-o / *pritrūk-o-me pinig-ų.
 we.DAT run.short.of-PST.3 / run.short.of-PST-1PL money-GEN
 ‘We ran short of money.’

Given this restriction, I propose that quirky dative in Lithuanian is assigned by the lexical predicate as indicated in (174) rather than by the applicative head as the inherent dative of the IO in (167).



Even though $Appl_{GEN}$ assigns a θ -role to the possessor in the *lack*-construction, the possessor receives its quirky case from the verb. In other words, Lithuanian shows that non-structural case can also be assigned by something that does not directly assign a θ -role. In Chapter 3, I have already demonstrated that some cases in Lithuanian e.g., like marked structural dative, are non-canonical as they can bear properties of both structural and non-structural case. The assignment of quirky case presents another instance of a non-canonical case.

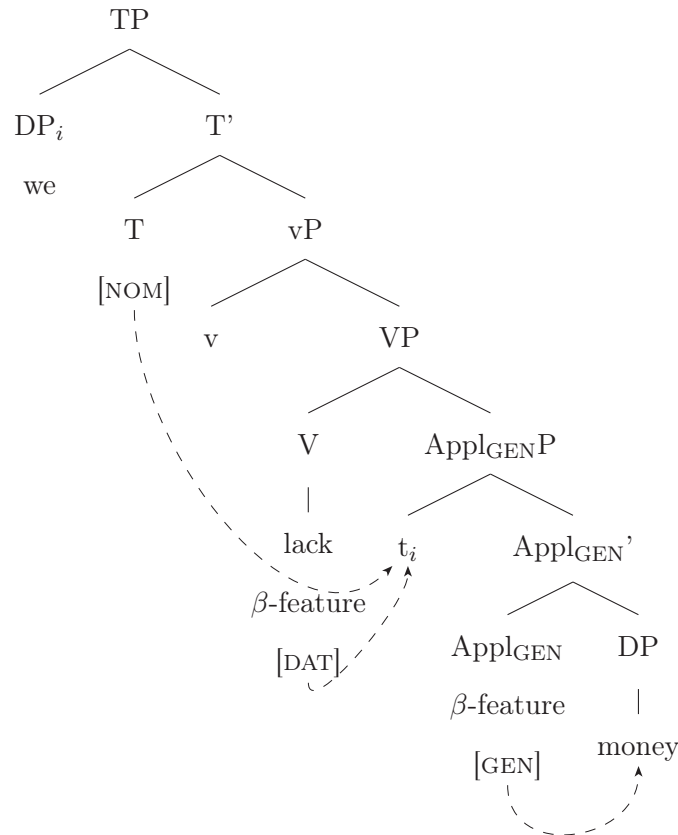
Thus, both arguments in the *lack*-construction are oblique, assigned non-structural case, which in itself is an interesting and less common pattern. The quirky dative subject, unlike the dative IO, is syntactically active and able to become a grammatical subject. Even though both datives, the possessor dative and the dative of IO, originate in the same position, namely $SpecApplP$, they are assigned different types of cases which seem to govern their

this hypothesis is ruled by the ungrammaticality in (176). I take this ungrammaticality as evidence that the dative quirky needs to be assigned first, and then it can be overwritten by nominative. The assignment of dative case in (176) fails because it is blocked by the assignment of the accusative case by the preposition *po*. If dative fails to be assigned, then nominative is also out.

- (176) a. *Kuprin-és truk-o po vaik-a/vaik-ui.
 bag-GEN lack-PST.3 DIST child-ACC/child-DAT
 ‘Each child lacked a bag.’
- b. *Saldaini-ų užtek-o po vaik-a/vaik-ui.
 candies-GEN have.enough-PST.3 DIST child-ACC/child-DAT
 ‘Each child had enough candies.’
- c. *Kuprin-és reikėj-o po vaik-a/vaik-ui.
 bag-GEN need-PST.3 DIST child-ACC/child-DAT
 ‘Each child needed a bag.’

Hence, in the examples with the nominative possessor like (175), quirky dative is assigned first and then it gets overwritten by structural nominative as demonstrated by the dashed arrow in (177) (for case overwriting/replacement accounts see Babby 1980; Pesetsky 2013). The nominative subject then raises to SpecTP position as illustrated with the solid arrow.

(177) *Lack*-class with nominative case



To summarize, I proposed that Lithuanian has two distinct low applicatives which differ in their case assignment properties. The inert applicative assigns inherent inert case to the IO of ditransitive. DPs assigned this case are syntactically inactive, unable to become a subject. In contrast, the *lack* construction contains an unaccusative applicative. The head of this applicative assigns lexical genitive to the theme argument, this case assignment is parallel to the accusative case assignment by the applicative head in canonical double unaccusative constructions. I have further suggested that there is a selectional relationship between the verb and the applicative head. The Appl_{GEN} head assigns genitive in the context of *lack*-class constructions. The quirky dative case in Lithuanian is determined lexically by *lack*-class predicates. The quirky dative is different from inherent inert dative in that it is syntactically active able to become a grammatical subject. Thus, whether a dative DP can become a subject or not is determined by case licensing.

The *lack* construction shows optionality, the possessor can be either dative or nominative. As I argued in this section, this optionality is not a morphological accident, the two possessors behave differently, they are not identical. The nominative possessor behaves like a canonical subject whereas the quirky dative subject shows only a sub-set of subjecthood properties. I have further argued that the dative possessor is overwritten by nominative. The difference in subjecthood properties between the two possessors remains an open question. Both subjects can raise high as was discussed in sub-section 4.3.1.6, therefore the difference between the two subjects may not be related to height.

4.4 Chapter Conclusion

To conclude, I have identified two types of non-nominative subjects. Non-nominative subjects are normally assigned non-structural case lexically determined by a specific class of predicates. However, we have observed that non-nominative subjects in fact can vary in terms of their case assignment. The genitive case in the evidential construction is applied to the highest available argument in a vP domain, which is a thematic subject of transitives/unergatives and a theme grammatical subject of unaccusatives/passives. Thus, genitive case assignment is not related to a specific class of predicates. I have argued that the genitive of the evidential is a structural case assigned by a functional head. The fact that the subject bears structural case was also confirmed by agreement. Subjects bearing non-structural case fail to agree with T (Sigurðsson 1991; Anagnostopoulou 2003b, 2005; Bobaljik 2008; Preminger 2014; i.a.), whereas I have demonstrated that the genitive subject of the evidential can trigger agreement as evidenced by evidentials of passives. It was also demonstrated that structural case assigned to a subject may not necessarily come from T. I suggested that the genitive in the evidential in fact is assigned by EvidP which is located between a non-finite T and a thematic VoiceP. The investigation of evidential constructions has also revealed that the thematic Voice head can assign nominative instead of accusative case to the theme object.

Unlike the genitive subject of the evidential, the dative subject of the *lack* construction

bears non-structural case. While the possessor subject receives its θ -role from the low applicative head, it is assigned non-structural case by a lexical verb. Thus, this is another type of case, in addition to marked structural case discussed in Chapter 3, which exhibits the properties of a non-canonical case. The dative possessor differs from the nominative possessor, which is also permitted in the *lack*-construction, in that the nominative possessor passes all subjecthood tests whereas the dative possessor shows only a limited set of properties. I have attempted to relate these distinct subjecthood properties to different structural positions in the clause. Specifically, given Poole's (2016) theory of subjecthood, I tested whether the dative possessor originates lower in the structure than the nominative possessor and whether the difference in their height accounts for the type of subjecthood properties they exhibit. Nevertheless, it was demonstrated that both subjects may raise high in the structure, furthermore subjecthood properties like binding of the subject-oriented anaphor are not restricted to how high the subject is located in the structure. Therefore, it remains an open question of how different types of properties exhibited by these subjects can be accounted for.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

This dissertation has explored Voice, case and subjecthood properties by analyzing various types of constructions in Lithuanian. In Chapter 2, I have addressed the relationship between a thematic Voice head, which assigns an external argument θ -role, and the assignment of structural accusative case. I have provided evidence that the thematic Voice head rather than v is responsible for structural accusative case (in line with Legate 2014). One of the main contributions of this dissertation was to show that the assignment of structural accusative case by the thematic Voice head is not dependent on the presence/absence of the projection of an initiator in SpecVoiceP. Thorough investigation of three constructions, the passive, the *ma/ta* impersonal and the active existential, has revealed that the thematic Voice head varies in whether it assigns structural accusative case or not.

It has been demonstrated that the active existential patterns like the passive in that it lacks a syntactically projected external argument. However, the two constructions differ in the assignment of structural accusative case. The thematic Voice head assigns accusative to the theme grammatical object in the active existential whereas the assignment of the accusative case is blocked in the passive and its theme surfaces as a grammatical subject. The active existential provides counterevidence to Burzio's generalization as well as Dependent Case theory (Marantz 1991; Woolford 1993; McFadden 2004; Preminger 2014) whereby the assignment of accusative case is dependent on a c-commanding DP with structural case. I proposed a revised version of Burzio's generalization by suggesting that while the accusative case must be assigned by the thematic Voice head, the assignment of this case is independent from the section of a specifier.

Chapter 2 has also contributed to the typology and syntax of impersonal constructions. The *ma/ta* impersonal construction shares neuter non-agreeing passive morphology with the passive. However, the *ma/ta* impersonal does not demote an external argument like the passive. In contrast, I have argued that the impersonal is a type of an active Voice whose specifier is occupied by a null impersonal pronoun (a common pattern of impersonals across languages Blevins 2003; Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002; Lavine 2005, 2013; McCloskey 2007; Legate et al. to appear). The *ma/ta* impersonal can be applied to transitives/unergatives as well as unaccusatives. Thus, the impersonal comes in two flavors. The impersonal Voice can be thematic, introducing an external argument θ -role, or it can be a non-thematic, unaccusative type which is not associated with an external argument. I have argued that in both cases, the impersonal Voice head licenses the impersonal subject in its specifier via agreement (in line with McCloskey 2007; Legate et al. to appear). While most of my work has focused on the type of impersonals whose null subject is either an agent or a theme, further research should explore to impersonal constructions that are restricted to experience type null impersonal pronouns. One of these constructions would be the modal impersonal. This construction has a nominative theme and the verb appears in a to-infinitive form as in (178). Ambrazas (2001) reports that this construction can also have an optional dative experiencer as shown below.

- (178) Tolum-oje man buv-o maty-ti nam-ai/*nam-us.
 distance-LOC me.DAT be-PST.3 see-INF house-NOM/house-ACC
 Lit. ‘In the distance, I could see a house.’ (Adapted from Ambrazas 2001, 395)

If the experiencer is not overtly expressed as in (179), the construction gains a generic ‘one’ reading, which we have already encountered in the *ma/ta* impersonal.

- (179) Tolum-oje buv-o maty-ti nam-ai/*nam-us.
 distance-LOC be-PST.3 see-INF house-NOM/house-ACC
 ‘In the distance, one could see a house.’

Lastly, Chapter 2 also has provided important insights into the properties of impersonal pronouns. The impersonal pronoun in the *ma/ta* impersonal has been shown to be defective

in that it lacks layers associated with a full DP. Interestingly, it lacks not only specified ϕ -features, but also case. The impersonal pronoun without case patterns differently from DPs with nominative case. Nominative case has been argued to be non-case (Preminger 2014; Kornfilt and Preminger 2015). This study suggests that nominals that lack case and nominative DPs should be treated differently in Lithuanian.

This dissertation has also examined structural vs. non-structural case dichotomy. In Chapter 3, I have identified the type of case, namely marked structural dative, which bears properties of both structural and non-structural case. The aim of this study was to provide a better understanding of how to distinguish between marked structural case and other cases, and how to account for this distinction. While empirical work on case has established a clear dichotomy between structural vs. non-structural case dichotomy (Chomsky 1981, 1986; Woolford 2006; Pesetsky and Torrego 2011), I have demonstrated that the boundaries between two types of cases can break down. Marked structural case patterns like structural case in that it is assigned by a thematic Voice head, but it also behaves like inherent in that it has to be obligatorily assigned by the Voice regardless of whether that Voice is passive or active. While mixed cases like dative have been analyzed using a PP approach (e.g., Alexiadou et al. 2014a), I have provided a different type of analysis relating this case assignment to Voice. Thus, in addition to structural accusative case, I have argued that a thematic Voice can also assign other cases like marked structural dative.

While examining different properties of marked structural case, I have also demonstrated that in certain syntactic environments case assignment may be driven by movement. Some structural cases like structural nominative assigned to a grammatical subject is not movement driven and can be assigned in situ as evidenced by passives. On the other hand, other cases like structural genitive case assigned to the theme argument in nominalizations is movement-driven. I have argued that in complex event nominalizations, the genitive case assigned to the theme (thus GEN.L) is a structural case (Alexiadou 2001, a.o.), which can only be assigned under A-movement. The theme argument moves from a post-nominal position to a pre-nominal position to receive genitive case from the nominal head.

Lastly, in Chapter 4, I have investigated different types of non-nominative subjects that vary in their case assignment. The genitive subject of the evidential patterns like a subject marked with structural case whereas the dative subject patterns like a subject marked with non-structural case. The two subjects also differ in their subjecthood properties: the genitive subject patterns like a canonical nominative subject whereas the dative subject bears only a subset of subjecthood properties. Further research should examine the properties of dative experiencer subjects that occur with adjectival predicates as in (180). The dative experiencer can bind the subject-oriented anaphor, and thus behaves like a subject. It would be interesting to see whether this subject patterns identically to the dative subject of the *lack*-class and how the case assignment of the dative experiencer is different, if at all, from the dative possessor.

- (180) Jon-ui_i buv-o ne-jauk-u sav-o_i namuose.
 Jonas-DAT be-PRS.3 NEG-cosy-N self-GEN house
 ‘Jonas_i didn’t feel comfortable in his_i house.’

All in all, this dissertation has contributed to Case Theory by introducing new possible types of cases that show mixed properties between structural and non-structural case, and provided a better understanding about how case is assigned.

Appendix A

Passives

Below, I provide a list of examples of the passive with the non-agreeing passive participle attested in the literature as well as online.

- (181) Bulv-ès jau buv-o nukas-t-a.
potatoes-NOM.F.PL already be-PST.3 dig-PPP-[-AGR]
'The potatoes were already dug up.'
(Ambrazas et al. 1997, 280)
- (182) Lauk-ai aria-m-a.
fields-NOM.F.PL plough-PPRP-[-AGR]
'The fields are being ploughed.'
(Ambrazas 2001, 407)
- (183) Tas arkl-ys buv-o jo pavog-t-a ir parduo-t-a.
That horse-NOM be-PST.3 he.GEN steal-PPP-[-AGR] and sell-PPP-[-AGR]
'That horse was stolen and sold by him.'
(Ambrazas 2006, 186)
- (184) Mūsų šal-ies komand-os buv-o sudary-t-a projekt-o
our country-GEN teams-NOM.F.PL be-PST.3 form-PPP-[-AGR] project-GEN
'Talentų karta' dalyvių pagrind-u.
Talent Generation participants basis-INS
'The teams of our country were formed on the basis of the participants of the project
'Talent Generation.'¹
- (185) Paskait-os buv-o skaito-m-a pagal bendruomenės
lectures-NOM.F.PL be-PST.3 read-PPRP-[-AGR] according.to community
narių pageidavim-ą.
members wish-ACC
'The lectures were given according to the community members' wish.'²

¹<https://kauno.diena.lt/naujienos/sportas/krepsinis> Accessed on 08-22-2019.

²www.lazdijai.lt Accessed on 08-22-2019.

(185) Sukilėli-ų liekan-os buv-o ras-t-a praeitais metais
 rebels-GEN remains-NOM.F.PL be-PST.3 find-PPP-[-AGR] last year
 Gedimino pilies kalno vietoje.
 Gediminas castle mountain cite

‘The remains of the rebels were found in the side of Gediminas’ castle.’³

(186) Jiems bus padė-t-a gėl-ės šios šventės
 they.DAT be.FUT.3 place-PPP-[-AGR] flowers-NOM.F.PL this celebration
 proga.
 occasion

‘The flowers will be placed for them during the celebration.’

(187) Kamuol-in buv-o susuk-t-a karvi-ų lenciūg-ai.
 ball-ILL be-PRS.3 twist-PPP-[-AGR] cows-GEN chains-NOM.PL.M

‘The cows’ chains were twisted in a ball.’⁴

³<https://vaa.ju.com/lietuva/gedimino-kalne-rastos-revoliucijos-tyrinetojai-tai-vienas-is-prasmingiausiudarbu/> Accessed on 08-22-2019

⁴www.lkz.lt

Appendix B

Impersonals

I provide examples of the *-ma/-ta* impersonal construction attested online and in the literature.

- (188) Savo žem-ę mylė-t-a.
self-GEN country-ACC love-PPP-[-AGR]
‘One/people used to love their native country.’ (Holvoet 2001a, 376)
- (189) Randa-m-a vard-us.
find-PPRP-[-AGR] names-ACC
‘Names are found; one finds names’ (Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, 17)
- (190) Praranda-m-a žmogiškum-ą.
lost-PPRP-[-AGR] humanness-ACC
‘Humanness is being lost.’ (Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, 58)
- (191) Ne-nuostab-u, kad jūs-ų darb-e **naudoja-m-a įvairi-as**
NEG-surprising-N, that your-GEN work-LOC use-PPRP-[-AGR] various-ACC
diagram-as, dėl kurių padidėj-a auditorij-os
diagrams-ACC because.of which.GEN increase-PRS.3 auditorium-GEN
susidomėjim-as...
interest-NOM
‘It is not surprising that at your work one is using various diagrams due to
which the interest of the auditorium increases.’¹
- (192) Ukrainiet-ės teigim-u, tą dieną **žiūri-m-a**
Ukrainian-GEN.F.SG assertion-INS, that day watch-PPRP-[-AGR]

¹<http://www.lt.lovethegame.com/science/61970-sovet-1-kak-postroit-lineynuyu-diagr-ammu.html> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

film-us ir niekur iš namų neina-m-a.
 movies-ACC and nowhere from home NEG.walk-PPRP-[-AGR]
 ‘According to the Ukrainian, that day one only watches movies and does not
 leave the house.’²

- (193) **Žaidžia-m-a žaidim-us**, kuriuose vaik-as vaizduoj-a tai
 play-PPRP-[-AGR] games-ACC, where child-NOM portray-PRS.3 either
 sav-e, tai ką nors kitą...
 self-ACC, or someone.ACC else.ACC
 ‘One plays games where a child portrays himself or someone else.’³

- (194) **Žaliav-ų perdirbim-as praktikuoja-m-as**, pavyzdžiui, naftos
 material-GEN recycling-NOM practise-PPRP-NOM.M.SG for.example oil
 produktų gamyboje iš aliejaus, <...> vartojim-o preki-ų
 product manufacture from oil, use-GEN goods-GEN
 gamyb-oje, kai **siuva-m-a drabuži-us** iš klient-o
 manufacture-LOC when sew-PPRP-[-AGR] clothes-ACC from client-GEN
 medžiag-os.
 fabric-GEN

‘The recycling of raw materials is practised for example in the manufacturing
 of oil products, the manufacturing of usable goods, when one sews clothes from
 the client’s fabric.’⁴

- (195) **Būdinga šiuo atveju, kad bajor-ų tarpe gerb-t-a**
 common this case that noblemen-GEN among respect-PPP-[-AGR]
žmon-es, baigusius senąjį Vilniaus universitetą
 people-ACC, graduated old Vilnius University
 ‘It is common among noblemen that one used to respect people who graduated
 from Old Vilnius University.’⁵

- (196) **Ankstyvajam naudojim-ui burokėli-us sėja-m-a** anksti.
 early use-DAT beets-ACC sow-PPRP-[-AGR] early
 ‘For the early use, one sows beets early.’⁶

²www.lmaleidykla.lt/ojs/index.php/lituanistica/article/download/2927/1755 Accessed on 11/20/2018.

³<https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/rs/legalact/TAD/3b57b220ad0a11e68987e8320e9a5185/> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

⁴<https://lt.stuklopechat.com/biznes/6188-davalcheskoe-syre-osobennosti-sdelok.html> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

⁵<http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/tekstynas/search.all> Accessed on 10-21-2019

⁶<http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/tekstynas/search.all> Accessed on 10-21-2019

- (197) Todėl buv-o daug meldžia-m-a-si ir gieda-m-a
 Therefore be-PST.3 a.lot pray-PPRP-[-AGR]-RFL and sing-PPRP-[-AGR]
giesm-es.
 chants-ACC
 ‘Therefore, people were playing a lot and singing chants.’⁷
- (198) Kurs-uose naudoja-m-as mišrus mokymo būd-as, kai
 courses-LOC use-PPRP-NOM.M.SG mixed teaching method-NOM.M.SG when
naudoja-m-a įvairi-as metodik-as, pvz., el. mokymą,
 use-PPRP-[-AGR] various-ACC methods-ACC eg., el teaching-ACC,
 užsiėmim-us klas-ėse, praktines pratyb-as...
 activities-ACC class-LOC, practical training-ACC
 ‘In courses, a mixed teaching method is used when one uses various methods
 like e-learning, activities in class, practical training...’⁸
- (199) Pas mus žada-m-a įkur-ti gimnazij-ą; tam
 at us.ACC promise-PPRP-[-AGR] establish-INF gymnasium-ACC that.DAT
 tiksl-ui jau **renka-m-a pinig-us.**
 purpose-DAT already collect-PPRP-[-AGR] money-ACC
 ‘It is promised to establish a gymnasium at our; for that purpose one is already
 collecting money.’⁹
- (200) Tame pat kambar-y **plauna-m-a drabuži-us** ir juos
 that same room-LOC wash-PPRP-[-AGR] clothes-ACC and them-ACC
džiovinam-a.
 dry-PPRP-[-AGR]
 ‘In the same room, one is washing clothes and dry them.’

⁷<http://www.rinkosaikste.lt/naujienos/aktualijos/prasidejo-ramybes-ir-susikaupimo-metas> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

⁸<https://www.skf.com/lt/services/customer-training/index.html> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

⁹<http://eia.libis.lt/viasas/B.Kerys/1T/Skyriai/Skyriai/5SKY20Svietimas.pdf>

Appendix C

Non-possessive Reflexive Anaphors

The reflexive *savo* ‘self’ has been shown to function like a subject-oriented pronoun, and it lacks the properties of a logophor (see Legate et al. 2019). This reflexive form behaves like a DP modifier in that it cannot function on its own, independently from a DP argument as exemplified below (201).

(201) pagal sav-o *(j)sitikinim-us)
according.to self-GEN beliefs-ACC
‘according to one’s beliefs’

(202) nuo sav-o *(ž)mon-os)
from self-GEN wife-GEN
‘from one’s wife’

There exists a class of non-possessive counterparts of this form that function like full arguments. Table C.1 provides a full list of these forms.

	Forms
NOM	-
ACC	sav-e
DAT	sau
GEN	sav-ęs
INS	sav-imi
LOC	sav-yje

Table C.1: Paradigm of non-possessive reflexive pronouns

Non-possessive pronouns do not modify nouns like the reflexive anaphor *savo*. In contrast, these pronouns are DPs, which are full arguments. The examples are provided

with PPs in (203-204), and the genitive of negation (205-206).

(203) pagal sav-e
 according.to self-ACC
 ‘according to oneself’

(204) nuo sav-ęs/*sav-o
 from self-GEN/self-GEN
 ‘from oneself.’

(205) Aš ne-mat-au sav-ęs/*sav-o.
 I.NOM NEG-see-PRS.1.SG self-GEN/self-GEN
 ‘I don’t see myself.’

(206) Aš ne-mat-au sav-o/*sav-ęs nam-ų.
 I.NOM NEG-see-PRS.1.SG self-GEN/self-GEN house-GEN
 ‘I don’t see my house.’

I now show that non-possessive reflexive anaphors are subject-oriented and they do not function like logophors. The following example shows that it is being bound by the nominative subject of the active. The subject cannot bind the anti-subject oriented anaphor *jam*.

(207) Domant-as_i apgav-o Marij-ą dėl sau_i/*jam_i
 Domantas-NOM deceive-PST.3 Marija-ACC because self.DAT/him.DAT
 palanki-ų priežasči-ų.
 auspicious-GEN reasons-GEN
 ‘Domantas_i deceived Marija because of the reasons that were beneficial for him_i.’

In contrast, the object cannot bind *sau*. This example is grammatical in the context where deceiving Jonas was beneficial for Jonas himself e.g., Jonas wanted to be deceived so he could get insurance money.

(208) Marij-a apgav-o Jon-ą dėl jam_i/*sau_i
 Marija-NOM deceive-PST.3 Jonas-ACC because.of self.DAT/him.DAT
 palanki-ų priežasči-ų.
 auspicious-GEN reasons-GEN

‘Marija deceived Jonas_i because of the reasons that were beneficial for him_i.’

Inanimate DPs cannot be logophoric centers, whereas non-possessive reflexive anaphors can be bound by inanimate DPs as illustrated below.

- (209) Vair-as_i suk-a-si sau_i/*jam, o rat-ai
steering.wheel-NOM turn-PRS.3-RFL self.DAT/him.DAT while wheels-NOM
niekur ne-si-suk-a.
nowhere NEG-RFL-turn-PRS.3
‘The steering-wheel turns itself while the wheels do not roll.’¹

The non-possessive pronoun cannot be bound by the logophoric center.

- (210) Danut-ė_i bij-o, kad žmon-ės pad-ės tik
Danute-NOM be.afraid-PST.3 that people-NOM help-FUT.3 only
*sau_i/jai_i.
self.DAT/her.DAT
‘Danute_i is afraid that people will help only her_i.’

- (211) Danut-ė bij-o, kad žmon-ės_i pad-ės tik
Danute-NOM be.afraid-PST.3 that people-NOM help-FUT.3 only
sau_i/*jiems_i.
self.DAT/them.DAT
‘Danute is afraid that people_i will help only themselves_i.’

- (212) Vargšas Domantas_i. Danut-ė jį visada kritikav-o dėl
Poor Domantas. Danute-NOM him.ACC always criticize-PST.3 because.of
*sau_i/jam_i nežinomų priežasčių.
self.DAT/her.DAT unknown reasons.
‘Poor Domantas_i. Danute always criticized him because of the reasons that
are unknown to him_i.’

¹<https://www.dealsonwheels.lt/pokalbiai/pusvalandis-su-lietuvos-ralio-legenda-vytautu-svedu/>

Appendix D

Nominalizations and *help*-class verbs

Below, I provide a list of DAT-GEN alternations found with *help*-class verbs in nominalizations. The following examples are formed with the predicate *vadovauti* ‘to manage’, which belongs to the *help* class.

- (213) a. vadovau-ti įmon-ei
manage-INF enterprise-DAT
‘to manage enterprise’
- b. vadovav-im-as įmon-ei
manage-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M enterprise-DAT
‘management of enterprise’
- c. įmon-ės vadovav-im-as
enterprise-GEN manage-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M
(i) ‘management of enterprise’, (ii) ‘enterprise’s management’
- (214) a. vadovau-ti [gamyb-os proces-ui]
manage-INF production-GEN process-DAT
‘to manage production process’
- b. vadovav-im-as [gamyb-os proces-ui]
manage-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M production-GEN process-DAT
‘the management of production process’
- c. [gamyb-os proces-o] vadovav-im-as
production-GEN process-GEN manage-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M
‘the management of production process’
- (215) a. vadovau-ti [priėmim-o proces-ui]
manage-INF admissions-GEN process-DAT

‘to manage admissions process’

- b. vadovav-im-as [priémim-o proces-ui]
manage-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M admissions-GEN process-DAT
‘management of admissions process’
- c. [priémim-o proces-o] vadovav-im-as
admissions-GEN process-GEN manage-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M
‘management of admissions process’

The following examples are with *priartiti* ‘to approve’.

- (216) a. pritar-ti [turt-o fond-ui]
approve-INF wealth-GEN fund-DAT
‘to approve the wealth fund’
- b. valstyb-ès pritar-im-as [turt-o fond-ui]
government-GEN approve-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG wealth-GEN fund-DAT
‘government’s approval of the wealth fund’
- c. valstyb-ès [turt-o fond-o] pritar-im-as
government-GEN wealth-GEN fund-GEN approve-NMLZ-NOM.M.SG
(i) ‘the approval of government’s wealth fund’, (ii) ‘the government’s approval of the wealth fund’

The following examples are with *atstovauti* ‘to represent’.

- (217) a. atstovau-ti [sav-o interes-ams]
represent-INF self-GEN.L interests-DAT
‘to represent one’s own interests’
- b. atstovav-im-as [sav-o interes-ams]
representation-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M self-GEN.L interests-DAT
‘the representation of one’s own interests’
- c. [sav-o interes-ų] atstovav-im-as
self-GEN.L interests-GEN representation-NMLZ-NOM.SG.M
‘the representation of one’s own interests’

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