

Impersonals, Passives and Impersonal Pronouns: Lessons from Lithuanian

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Abstract. This study examines the properties of VoiceP and impersonal pronouns by contrasting two constructions in Lithuanian: the *-ma/-ta* impersonal and the canonical passive. I argue that while both constructions overlap morphologically, they are syntactically distinct. The *-ma/-ta* impersonal is related to the Polish and Ukrainian *-no/-to* construction (e.g., [Lavine 2005, 2013](#)). 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 in a thematic subject position - a pattern found in the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal and other impersonals crosslinguistically ([Maling & Sigurjónsdóttir 2002](#); [Blevins 2003](#); [Lavine 2005, 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 e.g., [Bruening 2013](#), [Legate 2014](#), [Alexiadou et al. 2015](#), contra [Collins 2005](#)). 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 ϕ -features (number, gender, and person) and has no case. This finding supports the existing proposals of impersonal pronouns across languages that treat them as defective (e.g., [Egerland 2003b](#), [Hoekstra 2010](#), [Ackema & Neeleman 2018](#), [Fenger 2018](#), [Legate et al. 2020](#)).

1. Introduction

This paper examines the properties of VoiceP and the null impersonal pronoun by contrasting two constructions in Lithuanian (a Baltic language): the *-ma/-ta* impersonal in (1) and the canonical

Accepted to Syntax. I would like to thank Julie Anne Legate for invaluable comments and feedback. I also thank the three *Syntax* reviewers, David Embick, Heidi Harley, Ava Irani, Jurgis Pakerys, Florian Schwarz, Ollie Sayeed, Rob Wilder, the audiences at the morphology reading group, the syntax reading group at the University of Pennsylvania, the audience at Penn Linguistics Conference 40 and the Cambridge Workshop on Voice. I am also very grateful to my consultants for their judgments.

passive in (2). Both constructions have the neuter non-agreeing passive participle ending in *-ma/-ta*. There are a number of attested properties associated with this participle. When the theme is marked with accusative, the participle occurs in the non-agreeing form (1). As reported in [Ambrazas et al. 1997](#), the non-agreeing form can also occur with the nominative theme, or the participle can agree with the theme in number, gender, and case (2).¹ Due to partially overlapping morphology, the two constructions have been confused in the descriptive literature ([Ambrazas et al. 1997](#), [Geniušienė 2006](#), [Kibort & Maskaliūnienė 2016](#)).² I demonstrate that these constructions are syntactically distinct and provide a theoretical analysis of each.

- (1) (Yra) rašo-m-a laišk-a.
 be.PRS.3 write-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] letter-ACC
 ‘One writes a letter.’ *Lithuanian Impersonal*
 (adapted from [Ambrazas et al. 1997](#), 661)

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

I show that the construction in (1) is an active impersonal whereas the construction in (2) is a passive (for a related discussion also see [Spraukienė et al. 2015](#)). Specifically, I argue that the two constructions have a thematic Voice head, which introduces an initiator θ -role, but differ in the (non)projection of the implicit initiator.³ There is an on-going debate about whether implicit arguments are projected in the syntax or not (e.g., [Williams 1987](#), [Bhatt & Pancheva 2006](#), [Bruening](#)

¹The use of the non-agreeing form with the nominative theme is subject to speaker variation. Most speakers of Modern Lithuanian prefer the agreeing participle over the non-agreeing (see [Ambrazas et al. 1997](#), also see sub-section 2.1 for discussion).

²The *-ma/-ta* impersonal is translated as an active construction with an indefinite, generic ‘one’. The choice of the translation is based on a semantic interpretation of this construction. Note that this construction is translated as passive in [Ambrazas et al. 1997](#). In [Geniušienė 2006](#) and [Kibort & Maskaliūnienė 2016](#), it is sometimes translated as a passive and sometimes as an active with an indefinite subject.

³The term ‘initiator’ here stands for an external argument θ -role such as an agent, a natural force or a causer, etc (see [Ramchand 2008](#), [Bruening 2013](#), [Legate 2014](#)).

2013, Legate 2014). This study contributes to this debate in important ways. It is demonstrated that the impersonal is an active construction with a projected null impersonal initiator, a common property of impersonals crosslinguistically (Maling & Sigurjónsdóttir 2002; Blevins 2003; Lavine 2005, 2013; McCloskey 2007; Legate 2014). In contrast, the Lithuanian passive demotes an external argument and lacks a syntactically realized initiator in a thematic subject position, SpecVoiceP (in line with e.g., Bruening 2013, Legate 2014, Alexiadou et al. 2015, contra Collins 2005).

The impersonal (1) is related to the Polish (3) and Ukrainian (4) *-no/-to* construction with an accusative theme.⁴ The Polish construction is an impersonal active, whereas the Ukrainian construction is a passive with an accusative grammatical object (Maling & Sigurjónsdóttir 2002, Lavine 2005, 2013, Legate 2014). The Polish and the Ukrainian constructions also differ in the presence of an auxiliary: the Polish construction lacks it, while the Ukrainian does not. Although the Lithuanian impersonal patterns with the Ukrainian one in allowing an auxiliary, it patterns with the Polish construction in exhibiting a projected implicit initiator, thereby demonstrating that these two properties are dissociable (contra Lavine 2005). The juxtaposition of the Lithuanian impersonal and the Ukrainian passive demonstrates that the passive does not have to be morphologically different from the impersonal (contra Haspelmath 1990).

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|-----|--|---|
| (3) | Znalezio-no niemowlę w koszu
find-N baby.ACC in basket
'They found a baby in the basket.' | <i>Polish Impersonal</i> |
| (4) | Nemovlja bulo znajde-no u koшыku.
baby.ACC be.PST find-N in basket
'A baby was found in a basket.' | <i>Ukrainian Passive</i>

(Lavine 2005, 76) |

The second half of this paper examines the properties of the implicit impersonal pronoun 'one' in the *-ma/-ta* impersonal. Impersonal pronouns across different languages have been argued to

⁴The Lithuanian suffix *-ta* is cognate with the Slavic *-to* in the historical sense. I thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

lack the functional layers typically present in a DP (Rivero 2000, Egerland 2003b, Hoekstra 2010, Ackema & Neeleman 2018, Fenger 2018, Hall 2019, Legate et al. 2020). 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 specified ϕ -features for number, gender, and person values in syntax. The pronoun enters the derivation with an interpretable unvalued ϕ -feature that is valued to [human] by the impersonal Voice head via agreement (McCloskey 2007, Legate et al. 2020), which correctly captures the restriction that the impersonal pronoun can only refer to human referents. 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 the non-case (for non-case accounts see e.g., Falk 1991, Bittner & Hale 1996, Kornfilt & Preminger 2015). 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 in Lithuanian nominative cannot be treated as the non-case.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces the main characteristics of passives and impersonals. Section 3 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. Section 4 shows that while both constructions have a thematic Voice head introducing an external argument θ -role, the impersonal has a implicit initiator projected in a SpecVoiceP, while the passive lacks it. Section 5 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. 2020, 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. Section 6 demonstrates that the impersonal pronoun is defective: it has no inherent ϕ -features in the syntax and is caseless. Section 7 concludes. The data presented in the paper comes from my consultants as well as the Corpus of Modern Lithuanian (<http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/>) and Google search. I had 8 consultants in their 20-30 from Kaunas region, and 3 consultants in their 50s from Radviliškis region.

2. Basic Facts

I first review main characteristics 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 the initiator and the case marking of the theme.

2.1 Passives

In passives, the theme is promoted to the nominative grammatical subject and the thematic subject is demoted to the genitive PP adjunct (5). The passive participle marked with *-m* (present) / *-t* (past) suffix (for discussion of these suffixes see [Geniušienė 2006](#), [Kibort & Maskaliūnienė 2016](#)) agrees with the theme in number, gender, and case. In discourse neutral situations, the theme occurs clause-initially. The passive permits a finite auxiliary, which is optional in present tense, but obligatory in past tense. The *by*-phrase occurs neutrally after the participle or before it.

- (5) a. Tėv-as raš-o laišk-ą.
father-NOM write-PRS.3 letter-ACC
'The father is writing the letter.' *Active*
- b. Laišk-as (yra) (tėv-o) rašo-m-as (tėv-o).
letter-NOM.M.SG be.PRS.3 father-GEN write-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG father-GEN
'The letter is (being) written (by the father).' *Passive*

(adapted from [Ambrazas et al. 1997](#), 661)

As reported in [Ambrazas et al. 1997](#), 661, the participle can also occur in the neuter non-agreeing form marked with the suffix *-a* (6), glossed as [-AGR].^{5,6} [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. 8 consultants from Kaunas region replaced this non-agreeing form with the agreeing and judged the non-agreeing form as unusual. 3 speakers from Radviliškis region judged the neuter form as natural to them (their judgement reported in (6)). A

⁵Note that the neuter form is obligatory in passives that lack a nominative grammatical theme subject (for an overview of these environments see [Ambrazas et al. 1997](#), 279-284; [Sawicki 2004](#); [Šereikaitė 2020](#)).

⁶The non-agreeing participle and the agreeing feminine singular participle overlap in their form. However, the two forms differ in terms of stress: the suffix *-a* of the neuter participle is not stressed, while the feminine form usually has a stressed ending e.g., *dirb-t-a* - work-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR], *dirb-t-à* - work-PST.PASS.PTCP-NOM.F.SG.

number of examples with the non-agreeing form are also attested in the literature and online, (7)-(8) (also see Appendix 1).

- (6) Laišk-as (yra) (tėv-o) rašo-m-a (tėv-o).
 letter-NOM.M.SG be.PRS.3 father-GEN write-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] father-GEN
 ‘The letter is (being) written (by the father).’ (adapted from Ambrazas et al. 1997, 661)
- (7) Pavasar-į rugi-ai buv-o sėja-m-a.
 spring-ACC rye-NOM.PL be-PST.3 sow-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
 ‘In the spring, the rye was sown.’ (Ambrazas et al. 1997, 280)
- (8) Visi šie daikt-ai buv-o ras-t-a archeolog-ų
 all these item-NOM.PL be-PST.3 find-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] archaeologists-GEN
 piliakalni-ų kasim-o metu.
 hill.fort-GEN digging-GEN time
 ‘All these items were found during the excavation of the hill fort by archaeologists.’⁷

2.2 *-ma/-ta Impersonal*

The *-ma/-ta* impersonal occurs with the non-agreeing neuter passive participle form, (9).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 (10).

- (9) Rašo-m-a laišk-ą.
 write-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] letter-ACC
 ‘One writes a letter.’ (adapted from Ambrazas et al. 1997, 661)
- (10) Rašo-m-a laišk-ą (*kažkieno).
 write-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] letter-ACC someone.GEN
 ‘Lit. One writes a letter by someone.’

In addition to the generic interpretation, the impersonal pronoun can also have an arbitrary

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

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

reading ‘some people’ as in (11) (for an explicit discussion of these readings see Section 6.1).

- (11) Taip pat vakar renginio metu buv-o žaidžia-m-a įvairi-us
 also yesterday event time be-PST.3 play-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] various-ACC
 žaidim-us, atlieka-m-os estafet-ės.
 games-ACC, perform-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.F.PL relay.races-NOM.F.PL
 ‘Also, some people were playing games, and relay-races were performed yesterday during
 the event.’⁹

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).

- (12) *Kiem-e loja-m-a / čirškia-m-a.
 yard-LOC bark-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] / chirp-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
 ‘One barks/chirps 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 (13).

- (13) Ankščiau čia dažn-ai buv-o čirškia-m-a žvirbli-ų.
 previously here often-ADV be-PST.3 chirp-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-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 & 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 2).

- (14) Didžiausi-a vyr-ų klaid-a laiki-au girtuoklyst-ę: čia
 greatest-INS men-GEN mistake-INS consider-PST.1 SG binge.drinking-ACC here

⁹http://www.gargzdaivb.lt/lt/index2.php?option=com_contentdo_pdf=1id=96 Accessed on 11/20/2018.

praranda-m-a ir vyriškum-ą ir žmoniškum-ą.
lose-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] and manliness-ACC and humanity-ACC
'I consider drinking to be men's worst weakness: this is where one loses both manliness
and humanity.' (Kibort & Maskaliūnienė 2016, 122)

(15) ...muša-m-a vaik-ą tada, kai ne-žino-m-a,
beat-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] child-ACC then when NEG-know-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
kas dary-ti
what.NOM do-INF
'One beats a child when one does not know what to do.' (Geniušienė 2006, 45)

(16) Griki-us sėja-m-a kai dirv-a įšyl-a 7-80C.
buckwheats-ACC sow-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] when soil-NOM get.warm-PRS.3 7-80C
'One sows buckwheats when the soil warms up to 7-80 C.'¹⁰

The attested examples of the impersonal often occur without an auxiliary. Most instances include the present participle (though see sub-section 6.1 for examples with the past participle). An auxiliary in present tense is optional across various constructions (e.g., passives (5-b)). 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 (cf. (14)-(17)).

(17) Didžiausi-a 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-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-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 (18). The *-ma/-ta* impersonal also requires the auxiliary in the past tense (19). 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 (4), repeated in (20).

¹⁰<http://tekstynas.vdu.lt> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

- (18) Laišk-as *(buv-o) rašo-m-as vakar motin-os.
 letter-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 write-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG yesterday mother-GEN
 ‘The letter was (being) written yesterday by mother.’ *Passive*
- (19) Taip pat vakar renginio metu *(buv-o) žaidžia-m-a įvairi-us
 also yesterday event time be-PST.3 play-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] various-ACC
 žaidim-us, atlieka-m-os estafet-ės.
 games-ACC, perform-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.F.PL relay.races-NOM.F.PL
 ‘Also, some people were playing games, and relay-races were performed yesterday during
 the event.’¹¹ *Impersonal*
- (20) Nemovlja bulo znajde-no u košyku.
 baby.ACC be.PST find-N in basket
 ‘A baby was found in a basket.’ *Ukrainian Passive*
 (Lavine 2005, 76)

All in all, the impersonal overlaps with the passive in terms of the presence of an auxiliary and passive morphology.¹² Nevertheless, the two constructions differ in the case properties of the theme as 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 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.

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

¹² In addition to the *-ma/-ta* impersonal and the passive, Lithuanian has the evidential construction, which also bears passive morphology, (i). Nevertheless, a number of researchers have demonstrated that the evidential is not a passive construction (Geniušienė 2006, Lavine 2006, 2010, Spraunienė et al. 2015, Legate et al. 2020).

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

Evidential of Transitive
 (Ambrazas et al. 1997, 207)

3. Properties of the 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 the grammatical object of a transitive. Thus, despite passive morphology, which 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 the nominative grammatical subject and lacks the properties associated with an object.

3.1 Agreement and Case

We have already seen that one difference between the two themes comes from agreement and case. The thematic object of the impersonal does not trigger agreement on the participle as in (21). However, the theme of the passive triggers subject agreement as in (22).¹³ 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.¹⁴ The agreement properties of the theme provide us an additional means to disambiguate between the two constructions, and the examples of the passive will be presented with the agreeing participle in the rest of the paper.

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

- (22) Laišk-as (yra) rašo-m-a /
 letter-NOM.M.SG be.PRS.3 write-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] /

¹³Recall from sub-section 2.1 that agreement in the passive is obligatory for some speakers, but optional for others.

¹⁴A reviewer points out that the reason why the theme does not trigger agreement on the participle in the impersonal might related to case. There are languages like Icelandic where nominative DPs rather than DPs marked with dative or other case can trigger agreement regardless of their grammatical function (see e.g., Bobaljik 2008). In this respect, Lithuanian differs from Icelandic. In Lithuanian, there are constructions where the theme grammatical subject is non-nominative and yet it triggers agreement suggesting that, at least in Lithuanian, agreement may not be a direct consequence of the difference in case. In evidentials of passives (see fn 12 for evidentials and references), the genitive theme subject *vaiko* ‘child’ and the passive participle agree in number, gender, and case (i).

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

rašo-m-as motin-os.
 write-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG mother-GEN
 ‘A letter is being written by mother.’ *Passive*

The grammatical object of an active transitive is marked with a structural accusative case as in (23). 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.

(23) Motin-a raš-o laišk-a.
 mother-NOM write-PRS.3 letter-ACC
 ‘Mother is writing a letter.’ *Active*

(24) Rašo-m-a laišk-a/*laišk-as.
 write-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] letter-ACC/letter-NOM
 ‘One writes a letter.’ *Impersonal*

(25) Laišk-as / *laišk-a (yra) rašo-m-as motin-os.
 letter-NOM / letter-ACC be.PRS.3 write-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG mother-GEN
 ‘A letter is (being) written by mother.’ *Passive*

An additional argument for the theme of the impersonal bearing structural accusative case is based on genitive of negation. When a transitive verb is negated, the grammatical object appears with genitive case, cf. (26-a)-(26-b).

(26) a. Darbinink-ai naudoj-a šias medžiag-as/*šių medžiag-ų
 employees-NOM use-PRS.3 these.ACC materials-ACC/these.GEN materials-GEN
 mūsų fabrike.
 our factory
 ‘The employees use these materials in our factory.’

b. Darbinink-ai ne-naudoj-a šių medžiag-ų/*šias
 employees-NOM NEG-use-PRS.3 these.GEN materials-GEN/*these.GEN
 medžiag-as mūsų fabrike.
 materials-ACC our factory
 ‘The employees do not use these materials in our factory.’

If the theme of the impersonal is a grammatical object, we would expect it to become genitive when a predicate is negated. This prediction is borne out. The theme is marked with genitive (27).

- (27) Mūsų įmon-ėje ne-buv-o naudoja-m-a šių
 our company-LOC NEG-be-PST.3 use-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] these.GEN
 medžiag-ų / *šias medžiag-as saugum-o sumetim-ais.
 materials-GEN / these.ACC materials-ACC safety-GEN reasons-INS
 ‘One did not use these materials in our company due to safety reasons.’ *Impersonal*

In contrast, the theme of the passive is not affected by the genitive of negation (28)-(29). The examples include the theme in a clause initial position, which is a position where a grammatical subject occurs, as well as a post-verbal position where a 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.¹⁵

- (28) Šios medžiag-os / *šių medžiag-ų ne-buv-o
 these.NOM materials-NOM / these.GEN materials-GEN NEG-be-PST.3
 naudoja-m-os darbinink-ų saugum-o sumetim-ais.
 use-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.F.PL employees-GEN safety-GEN reasons-INS
 ‘These materials were not used by the employees due to safety reasons.’ *Passive*
- (29) Darbinink-ų ne-buv-o naudoja-m-os šios
 employees-GEN NEG-be-PST.3 use-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.F.PL these.NOM
 medžiag-os / *šių medžiag-ų saugum-o sumetim-ais.
 materials-NOM / these.GEN materials-GEN safety-GEN reasons-INS
 ‘These materials were not used by the employees due to safety reasons.’ *Passive*

The theme subject of unaccusatives also cannot be marked with genitive of negation (30).¹⁶

¹⁵ One could hypothesize that the reason why the genitive theme is ungrammatical in (28)-(29) 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, two genitive DPs are present. The grammatical theme subject *vaiko* ‘child’ and the genitive *by*-phrase ‘*Ingos*’ (i). Therefore, the genitive theme in (28)-(29) 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-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] calm.down-PST.PASS.PTCP-GEN.M.SG Inga-GEN
 ‘The child must have been calmed down by Inga.’ *Evidential of Passive*

¹⁶For discussion of these facts see Sigurðsson & Šereikaitė 2020, Šereikaitė 2020, *in press*, also see Arkadiev 2016

This constitutes additional evidence that genitive of negation cannot be applied to a grammatical theme subject. 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.

- (30) 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 the verb *serve* (Sigurðsson et al. 2018, Šereikaitė in press). The object bears inherent dative, is not compatible with genitive (31). As a result, the difference between the theme of the impersonal in (27) and the theme with non-structural case (31) indicates that the theme of the impersonal bears structural case.

- (31) Marij-a ne-tarnav-o atėjūn-ams/*atėjūn-ų.
Marija-NOM NEG-serve-PST.3 invaders-DAT/invaders-GEN
'Marija did not serve invaders.' (Šereikaitė in press ex.27)

3.2 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'¹⁷ and it is ungrammatical for the subject to bind the anti-subject-oriented pronoun *jo* 'his' (32). The object cannot bind the subject-oriented anaphor *savo*, but it does bind the anti-subject-oriented pronoun *ju* 'their' (33).

for an additional discussion. Note that the genitive of negation in Lithuanian is distinct from that in Russian. In Russian, the genitive under negation can appear on the theme of an unaccusative or a passive, whereas in Lithuanian it cannot.

¹⁷See Legate et al. 2020 for arguments showing that 'savo' is not a logophor.

- (32) 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.’
- (33) Domant-as rūšiav-o tarnautoj-us_i pagal j-ų_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 (34), the theme of the impersonal cannot be an antecedent of the subject-oriented anaphor, and thus it does not resemble a grammatical subject. The theme binds the anti-subject-oriented pronoun, and therefore patterns identically to a grammatical object.

- (34) Kasmēt rūšiuoja-m-a tarnautoj-us_i pagal
 every.year divide-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] employees-ACC according.to
 j-ų_i/*sav-o_i įsitikinimus.
 their-GEN/self-GEN 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 (35). This behavior of the theme is parallel to that of the topicalized object of an active, which also binds the non-reflexive form (36). 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.

- (35) Tarnautoj-us_i rūšiuoja-m-a pagal j-ų_i/*sav-o_i
 employees-ACC divide-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] according.to their-GEN/self-GEN
 įsitikinimus.
 beliefs
 ‘It is the employees_i that one divides according to their_i beliefs.’ *Impersonal*
- (36) Tarnautoj-us_i Domant-as rūšiav-o pagal j-ų_i/*sav-o_i
 employees-ACC Domantas-NOM divide-PST.3 according.to their-GEN/self-GEN
 įsitikinimus.
 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.¹⁸ Its ability to bind *savo* suggests that the theme has become a grammatical subject (37). 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.

(37) Tarnautoj-ai buv-o rūšiuoja-m-i pagal
 employees-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3 divide-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.PL according.to
 sav-o_i/j-ų_i įsitikinimus.
 self-GEN/their-GEN beliefs
 ‘The employees_i were divided according to their_i beliefs.’ *Passive*
 (Šereikaitė in press ex.34)

3.3 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 undergoes 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 (38) and the Ukrainian construction (39). Just like the theme of the *-ma/-ta* impersonal, the accusative theme of the Polish and Ukrainian constructions also functions like a grammatical object (e.g., the theme in Ukrainian can undergo genitive of negation) (see Sobin 1985, Billings & Maling 1995, Maling & Sigurjónsdóttir 2002, Lavine 2005, Legate 2014 for discussion of these

¹⁸It is noteworthy that a 3rd person theme subject of passives can exceptionally bind the anti-subject-oriented anaphor. Nevertheless, a subject of unaccusatives, and a 1st and 2nd person theme subject of passives do not show this behavior (for discussion see Šereikaitė in press).

constructions). 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 has been argued to be a passive: it allows a *by*-phrase¹⁹ (39), cannot occur with non-passivizable verbs, its implicit initiator cannot serve as a binder. The Polish construction has been identified as an active transitive with a projected initiator: it disallows a *by*-phrase (38), is compatible with non-passivizable verbs and its null initiator can bind.

(38) Znaleziono niemowlę w koszu.
found.N baby.ACC in basket
'They found a baby in a basket.'

Polish Impersonal

(Lavine 2005, 76)

(39) Cerkvu bulo zbudovano Lesevym.
church.ACC.F be.PST build.N Lesiv.INS
'The church was built by Lesiv.'

Ukrainian Passive

(Sobin 1985, 658)

Given the availability of these syntactic configurations, further examination is needed to determine whether the *-ma/-ta* construction, which I have referred to as impersonal, is a passive. The fact that the impersonal is not compatible with a *by*-phrase, above (10), is already a first indication that this construction is not a passive, which does permit *by*-phrases.²⁰ If the *-ma/-ta* impersonal is not a passive, then we may predict that, just like the Polish impersonal, this construction has a structure of an active transitive with a syntactically realized initiator. I explore this possibility next.

¹⁹Also see Maling & Sigurjónsdóttir 2002, Maling 2006, Eythórssson 2008, Jónsson 2009, Legate 2014 for a discussion of the Icelandic passive, which also permits an accusative theme and a *by*-phrase as illustrated below.

(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

²⁰An anonymous reviewer points out that passives in some languages like Latvian (for a discussion see Holvoet 2001) do not permit *by*-phrases; see (i). In contrast, *by*-phrases in Lithuanian passives are permitted, and therefore can serve as a diagnostic for identifying a passive.

(i) *Māja tiek (no) tēva celta.
house AUX.PRES.3 by father.GEN.SG build.PST.PASS.PTCP.NOM.F.SG
'The/a house is being built by the father.'

Latvian

(Holvoet 2001, 371)

4. Projection of Implicit Initiator

In this section, I argue that while the impersonal and the passive bear passive morphology, and contain a thematic VoiceP that introduces an initiator θ -role, the two constructions differ with respect to the projection of an implicit initiator. The study of implicit arguments has a long history (Rizzi 1986, Roeper 1987, Williams 1987, Bhatt & Pancheva 2006, Landau 2010, Legate 2014). Even though implicit arguments have been extensively examined, there is still an on-going debate about whether they are syntactically realized. This study contributes to this debate. 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: it patterns like an active transitive construction – a pattern found in the Polish impersonal and other impersonals cross-linguistically (Maling & Sigurjónsdóttir 2002; Blevins 2003; Lavine 2005, 2013; 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, Legate 2014, Alexiadou et al. 2015, contra Collins 2005, Landau 2010).

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 an external argument θ -role (also see Section 5). The presence of a thematic VoiceP can be identified by material that has 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* (40) or *unwillingly* (41) that refer to an initiator.

- (40) Ne-nuostab-u, kad jūs-ų darb-e tyčia naudoja-m-a
 NEG-surprising-N, that your-GEN work-LOC intentionally use-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-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 audience increases.²¹

Impersonal

- (41) Čia ir dirba-m-a, ir žaidžia-m-a su
 here and work-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR], and play-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] with
 vaik-ais, ir nori-ai skaito-m-a knyg-as.
 children-INS, and willing-ADV read-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] books-ACC
 ‘Here one works, and plays with children, and willingly reads books.’²² *Impersonal*

Agent-related adverbials are also possible with passives as in (42)-(43).

- (42) Ne-nuostabu, kad jūs-ų darb-e įvairi-os diagram-os
 NEG-surprising-N, that your-GEN work-LOC various-NOM.F.PL diagrams-NOM.F.PL
 yra naudoja-m-os tyčia.
 be.PRS.3 use-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.F.PL intentionally
 ‘It is not surprising that at your work various diagrams are used on purpose.’ *Passive*
- (43) Čia knyg-os buv-o skaito-m-os nori-ai.
 here books-NOM.F.PL be-PRS.3 read-PRS.PASS.PTCP-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.

- (44) 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 žaidim-us
 play.sports-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] but and play-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] games-ACC
 su kauliuk-ais ir spalvot-ais balion-ais.
 with dice-INS 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.’²³ *Impersonal*

²¹ Adapted from <http://www.lt.lovethegame.com/science/61970-sovet-1-kak-postroit-lineynuyu-diagr-ammu.html> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

²² Adapted from <https://www.domuslumina.lt/lt/patarimai/medines-zaliuzes/medines-zaliuzes-tobulas-sprendimas-svetainei/> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

²³ Adapted from <http://www.radviliskisvsb.lt/visuomenes-sveikata/visuomenes-sveikatos-stiprinimas/6366-6366> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

- (45) Žaidim-ai buv-o žaidžia-m-i su kauliuk-ais ir
 game-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3 play-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.PL with dice-INS and
 spalvot-ais balion-ais.
 colorful-INS 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.

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

4.1 *Binding*

The first argument for the presence of the implicit initiator in the impersonal comes from binding of the subject-oriented anaphor *savo*.²⁴ Crosslinguistically, projected implicit arguments can bind reflexive anaphors (e.g., Landau 2010). The initiator of the impersonal serves as a binder for the subject-oriented possessive anaphor *savo* (46). The initiator’s ability to bind the reflexive suggests that this external argument is syntactically projected.

- (46) Dažnai IMP_i praranda-m-a žmogiškum-ą dėl sav-o_i
 often lose-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] humanness-ACC because.of self-GEN
 kalt-ės.
 fault-GEN
 ‘One often loses humanness because of one’s own fault.’ *Impersonal*

(Šereikaitė in press ex.45)

²⁴See Šereikaitė in press for the use of these binding tests discussed in the context of the Lithuanian active existential construction.

It is ungrammatical for the initiator to bind the reflexive anaphor in the passive (47). This type of ungrammaticality is expected if the initiator is not syntactically realized in this construction.

- (47) Šiame fabrik-e darbuotoj-ai (yra)
 this.LOC factory-LOC employees-NOM.M.PL be.PRS.3
 rūšiuoja-m-i pagal *sav-o_i įsitikinim-us.
 divide-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.PL according.to self-GEN beliefs-ACC
 ‘In this factory, the employees are being divided according to his beliefs.’ [according to initiator’s beliefs] *Passive*
 (Šereikaitė in press ex.47)

The possessive anaphor ‘savo’ has non-possessive reflexive counterparts like *save* ‘self.ACC’, *sau* ‘self.DAT’ or *savęs* ‘self.GEN’ (for a full paradigm see Ambrazas et al. 1997, 192). As argued by Šereikaitė (2020), these forms also function like subject-oriented anaphors. If the initiator of the impersonal is syntactically present, then it should be able to bind the non-possessive subject-oriented anaphor as well. This prediction is borne out. In the impersonal, the non-possessive anaphor is bound by the initiator (see Spraunienė et al. 2015 for discussion). The examples are provided with the accusative anaphor *save* in a grammatical object position, (48), as well as the dative form *sau* in an adjunct position (49).

- (48) Bet jei IMP_i myli-m-a sav-e_i tik per kūdik-į, tai koks
 but if love-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] self-ACC only through baby-ACC, then what
 gal-i bū-ti laisvas laik-as nuo kūdiki-o?
 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*
- (49) Dažnai IMP_i praranda-m-a žmogiškum-ą dėl sau_i
 often lose-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] humanness-ACC because.of self.DAT
 nežinom-ų priežasči-ų, be joki-o rimt-o pagrind-o.
 unknown-GEN 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*

(Šereikaitė in press ex.51)

In the passive, we cannot use the accusative form *save* ‘self.ACC’ for this test because the theme does not retain its accusative case. Instead, I use the dative reflexive form *sau*, which can occur in an indirect object position. In (50), 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 (51). 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 (52) where the anaphor is in an adjunct position.

- (50) Žaidim-o metu krepšinink-ai_i dav-ė sau_i visišk-a
 game-GEN time 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.’

- (51) *Žaidim-o metu visišk-a laisv-ė buv-o
 game-GEN time absolute-NOM.F.SG freedom-NOM.F.SG be-PST.3
 duo-t-à sau_i.
 give-PST.PASS.PTCP-NOM.F.SG self.DAT
 ‘During the game, the absolute freedom was given to oneself.’ *Passive*

- (52) ??Žmogiškum-as buv-o praras-t-as dėl sau_i
 humanness-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 lose-PST.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG because.of self.DAT
 nežinom-ų priežasči-ų.
 unknown-GEN reasons-GEN
 ‘The humanness was lost due to reasons that are unknown to oneself.’ *Passive*

(Šereikaitė in press ex.52)

The behavior of the implicit initiator is replicated with anaphors that are not subject oriented, namely the reciprocal *vienas kitą* ‘each other.’²⁵ In an active transitive, the reciprocal is bound by a nominative thematic subject (53). This is also the case with the *-ma/-ta* impersonal where the

²⁵The 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 sub-section 6.2 for more details).

accusative reciprocal in the object position is being controlled by the initiator suggesting that it is syntactically represented in the structure (54).

- (53) Kai kur-ie žmon-ėsi myl-i vien-as kit-ai.
 some-NOM.M.PL people-NOM.PL love-PRS.3 one-NOM.M.SG other-ACC.M.SG
 ‘Some people love each other.’ *Active* (*Šereikaitė in press* ex.55)

- (54) Mylė-ki-me poezij-ą, kaip IMP_i myli-m-a vien-as
 love-IMPER-1PL poetry-ACC as love-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] one-NOM.M.SG
 kit-ai.
 other-ACC.M.SG
 ‘Let us all love poetry in a way one loves each other.’ *Impersonal*
 (Internet example reported in *Šereikaitė in press* ex.56)

Promoting the reciprocal theme to a subject position in the passive results in ungrammaticality, (55). The ungrammaticality of (55) suggests that there is no binder present in the structure that can license the reciprocal. This means that the initiator is not syntactically present.

Context 1: Individuals may influence each other in various situations.

- (55) *Vien-as kit-as yra veikia-m-as.
 one-NOM.M.SG other-NOM.M.SG be.PRS.3 influence-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG
 Lit. ‘Each other are being influenced.’ *Passive* (*Šereikaitė in press* ex.57)

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 suggesting that it behaves as if it is not projected.

4.2 *By-phrase*

Another difference between the impersonal and the passive comes from *by*-phrases. Recall from Section 2 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., Legate 2014). If the implicit argument is syntactically projected in the external argument position, then no *by*-phrase introducing an external argument should be possible, which is true (56). In contrast, the *by*-phrase is allowed in the passive (57) meaning that it lacks the implicit argument that saturates the external argument variable (see Bruening 2012 for a discussion on how *by*-phrases interact with an external argument θ -role.).

- (56) (Yra) rašo-m-a laišk-ą *kažkieno.
 be.PRS.3 write-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] letter-ACC someone.GEN
 Lit. ‘One writes a letter by someone.’ *Impersonal*
- (57) Laišk-as (yra) kažkieno rašo-m-as.
 letter-NOM.M.SG be.PRS.3 someone.GEN write-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG
 ‘A letter is being written by someone.’ *Passive*

4.3 Non-passivizable Verbs

Another difference that distinguishes the impersonal from the passive is its compatibility with non-passivizable verbs.²⁶ A projected implicit argument may function as a theme argument of unaccusatives in an active impersonal, as has been demonstrated in Maling & Sigurjónsdóttir 2002; Blevins 2003; 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’ (58) or copular verbs like ‘be’ and ‘become’ (59)-(60) are attested in the impersonal (also see Spraunienė et al. 2015, Šereikaitė in press for discussion). 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.

- (58) Dažniausiai (yra) miršta-m-a nuo šird-ies ir
 mostly be.PRS.3 die-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] from heart-GEN and
 kraujagysli-ų lig-ų.
 blood.vessel-GEN diseases-GEN
 ‘Mostly one often dies from heart and blood-vessel diseases.’ *Impersonal*
 (Šereikaitė in press ex.67)

²⁶Also see Šereikaitė in press for the use of this test for the Lithuanian active existential construction.

- (59) Strazdan-os pasidar-o ryškesnės, kai dažniau būna-m-a
freckles-NOM become-PRS.3 clearer, when often be-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
saul-ėje.
sun-LOC
'Freckles become clearer when one stays in the sun more often.'²⁷ *Impersonal*
- (60) Bank-o akcinink-ais tampa-m-a įstatym-ų
bank-GEN investor-INS.M.PL become-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] laws-GEN
nustatyt-a tvark-a.
determined-INS order-INS
'One becomes a bank investor by operation of law.'²⁸ *Impersonal*

Passivization of unaccusatives and copular predicates is not possible. (61)-(63) are ungrammatical instances of passives with the theme realized as the genitive *by*-phrase.²⁹ 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.

- (61) *Nuo grip-o buv-o miršta-m-a žmon-i-ų kiekvienais metais.
from flu-GEN be-PST.3 die-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] people-GEN every year
Lit. 'It was died by people from flu every year.' *Passive*
(Šereikaitė in press ex.69)
- (62) *Strazdan-os pasidar-o ryškesnės, kai dažniau būna-m-a
freckles-NOM become-PRS.3 clearer, when often be-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
žmoni-ų saul-ėje.
people-GEN sun-LOC
Lit. 'Freckles become clearer when it is been by people in the sun.' *Passive*
- (63) *Šiais metais buv-o tap-t-a student-e Marij-os.
this year be-PST.3 become-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] student-INS.F.SG Marija-GEN
Lit. 'This year it was become a student by Marija.' *Passive*

²⁷ Adapted from <https://www.delfi.lt/gyvenimas/grozisirsveikata> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

²⁸ www.tekstynas.vdu.lt Accessed on 09-03-2019

²⁹ Note that unergatives can undergo passivization as demonstrated in Kibort & Maskaliūnienė 2016, and a number of attested examples of passives with unergatives exist (i).

- (i) Dažnai buv-o dirba-m-a žmon-i-ų be tinkamo tam darbui pasiruošimo.
often be-PST.3 work-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-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

4.4 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.³⁰ Copular-like verbs can occur with a nominal predicate as illustrated here with *tapti* ‘become’. The nominal predicate agrees with the subject in gender and number (64).

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

The initiator of the impersonal shows agreement with a nominal predicate. The 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 is feminine (65). It is generally the case that a woman can become a nun within 7 years, thus (65) 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 (66). As for the number feature, both singular and plural combinations are possible (for discussion of ϕ -features see sub-section 6.2). Thus, the initiator can trigger agreement on a nominal predicate resulting in various ϕ -feature combinations.

- (65) Moter-ų vienuolyn-e, vienuol-e / vienuol-ėmis
 women-GEN convent-LOC nun-INS.F.SG / nuns-INS.F.PL
 tampa-m-a per 7 metus.
 become-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] within 7 years
 ‘In a convent, one becomes a nun within 7 years.’
- (66) Vyr-ų vienuolyn-e, vienuoli-u / vienuoli-ais
 men-GEN convent-LOC monk-INS.M.SG / monks-INS.M.PL

³⁰One 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 sub-section 6.6).

tampa-m-a per 7 metus.
 become-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] within 7 years
 ‘In a monastery, one becomes a monk within 7 years.’

4.5 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, the two constructions differ in terms of whether the implicit external argument is projected in a thematic subject position 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 indicates 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 unaccusatives in the impersonal suggests that the impersonal does not require the suppression of an external argument. The projected impersonal pronoun can be a thematic subject of transitives as well as a theme of unaccusatives. 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 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
Predication	yes	N/A

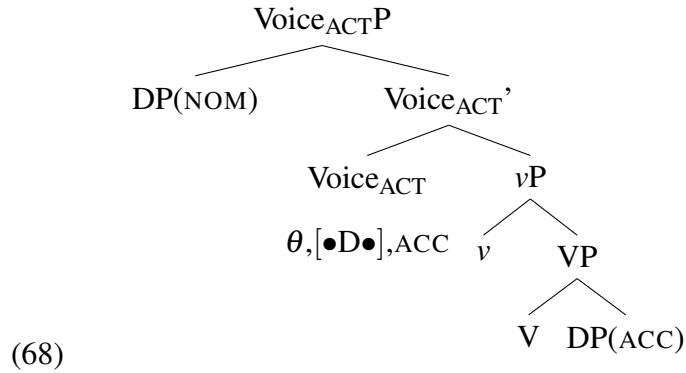
Table 1: The behavior of the initiator in impersonals and passives

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 (e.g., Lavine 2005, 2013, Legate 2014). 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 Section 2). This pattern indicates that the presence of an auxiliary and the projection of an implicit initiator are two dissociable properties, unlike suggested by Lavine (2005).

5. Analysis of Impersonals and Passives

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. As mentioned earlier, I assume that a thematic Voice and *v*-cause are two separate projections (Kratzer 1996, Pylkkänen 1999, 2008, Schäfer 2008, Harley 2013, Legate 2014, Alexiadou et al. 2015, also see Šereikaitė 2020 for this split in Lithuanian). The thematic Voice head introduces an external θ -role and assigns structural accusative case, whereas *v*-cause introduces causative semantics. A Voice head can combine with various feature combinations yielding different Voice typologies (e.g., see Alexiadou et al. 2015). An active transitive in (67) has the structure in (68). It 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 [\bullet D \bullet] 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.

- (67) Marij-a raš-ė laišk-a.
 Marija-NOM write-PST.3 letter-ACC
 'Marija wrote a letter.'



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 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.³¹ While impersonals with transitives or unaccusatives are grammatical, forming an impersonal of a passive is ungrammatical as in (69). The example in (69) introduces the structure expected if the impersonal of a passive were possible. The theme is the 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.³² The complementary distribution between the passive voice and the impersonal in Lithuanian can be captured if the passive and the impersonal are two distinct flavors of Voice, and, as pointed by an anonymous reviewer, if the recursion of VoicePs is not allowed.

- (69) *Kalėjim-e IMP yra būna-m-a muša-m-a
 jail-LOC be.PRS.3 be-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] beat-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
 sargybini-ų
 guards-GEN

³¹Impersonals of passives are attested, see Legate et al. 2020 showing that Turkish allows these constructions.

³²Lithuanian 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 15 for data and further discussion). Therefore, the ungrammaticality of (69) 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-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] guards-GEN
 ‘In jail, one is often being beaten by guards.’

Intended ‘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 (70). The null impersonal pronoun needs to be the highest available argument in the structure, as evidenced by ungrammaticality of (70) as well as (71), an instance where both the thematic subject and the thematic object are realized as implicit pronouns.

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

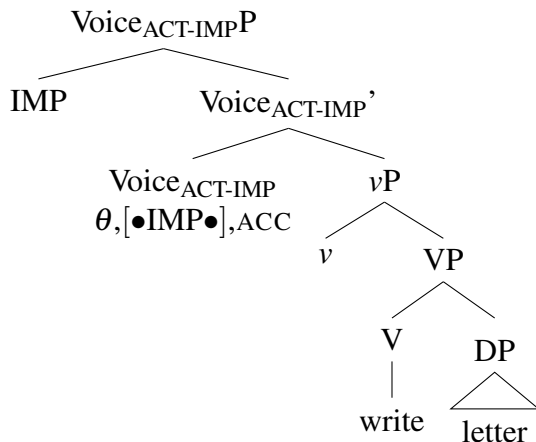
(71) *Kalėjim-e IMP yra dažnai muša-m-a IMP.
 jail-LOC be.PRS.3 often beat-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
 Intended ‘In jail, one often beats one.’

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 (72), which introduces the derivation of (73). As argued in Section 4, 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

[•IMP•] feature. The Voice head assigns accusative case to a grammatical object.

(72) *Impersonal*



(73) (yra) rašo-m-a laišk-ą.
 be.PRS.3 write-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] letter-ACC
 ‘One writes a letter.’

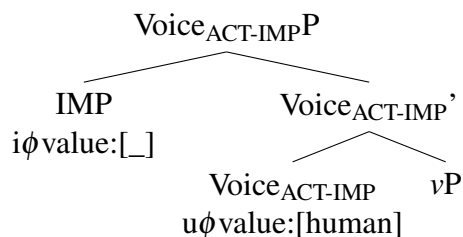
As for the impersonal pronoun, I follow [McCloskey 2007](#) and [Legate et al. 2020](#), in assuming that it needs to be licensed in the same way null pronouns like *pro* are licensed in *pro*-drop languages, and that licensing takes place through agreement (for licensing approaches to *pro* see e.g., [Rizzi 1982](#), [McCloskey & Hale 1984](#)). 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 & Torrego 2007](#)). I follow [Legate et al. 2020](#) and suggest that the impersonal pronoun enters the derivation bearing an interpretable, but unvalued ϕ -feature as in (74) (the derivational features are excluded here for ease of exposition).³³ I propose that in order for this feature to be valued, the impersonal pronoun needs to act as a probe.³⁴ It probes down the tree and finds the impersonal Voice head. This Voice head bears the uninterpretable

³³Anticipating the discussion in Section 6, 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 & Armoskaitė 2015](#), [Štreikaitė 2019](#) showing that Lithuanian nominals have a DP layer).

³⁴The idea that the specifier can act as a probe is 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.

valued ϕ -feature [human] (Legate et al. 2020). 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.³⁵ As a result, the uninterpretable feature of the Voice head is deleted.

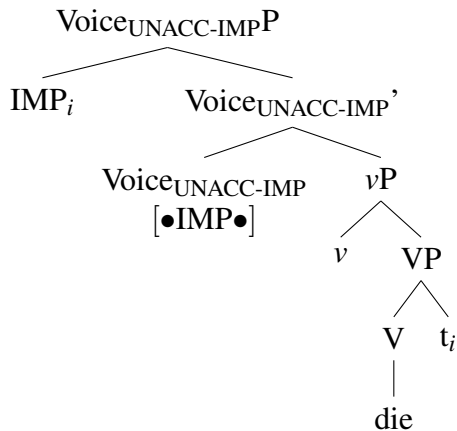
(74) *Licensing of Impersonal Pronoun*



Impersonals of unaccusatives with the theme impersonal pronoun also contain a type of an active impersonal Voice head, which I term Voice_{UNACC-IMP}, (75). 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 [\bullet IMP \bullet] 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 (74).

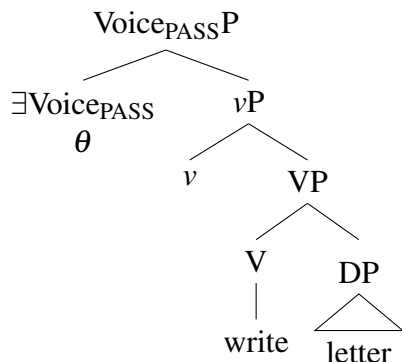
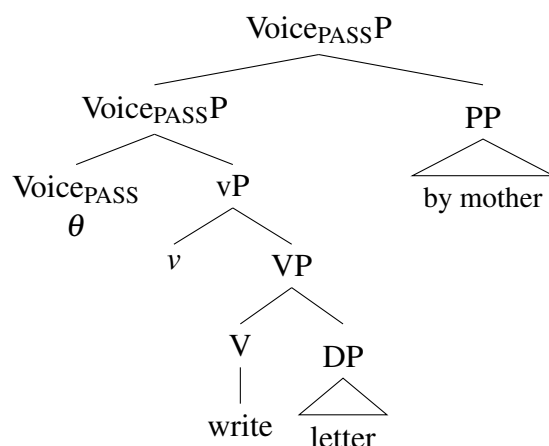
(75) *Impersonals of Unaccusatives*

³⁵See Cinque 1988, Egerland 2003b, Malamud 2012, Rezac & Joutiteau 2016 arguing that impersonal pronouns bear a human feature.



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 Voice_{PASS}. I follow Šereikaitė *in press* and suggest that 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 (also see Šereikaitė *in press*). The thematic passive Voice introduces an external argument θ -role that needs to be saturated. Unlike impersonals, passives allow optional *by*-phrases, a *by*-phrase is then linked with an the external argument slot (see Bruening 2013, Legate 2014 for a semantic derivation of how that happens). 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 e.g., Bruening 2013, Legate 2014, Bruening & Tran 2015, E.F. Sigurðsson 2017, Schäfer 2017, Šereikaitė *in press*) in assuming that the external argument position is existentially bound at LF (presented here with \exists). Lastly, the theme argument of the passive receives nominative case from T and becomes the grammatical subject.

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

(77) *Short Passives*(78) *Passives with by-phrase*

Both constructions, the passive and the impersonal, share the same morphology, but are syntactically distinct. Thus, this morphological overlap is not based on a syntactic similarity. It is a common property of passives and impersonals to overlap in morphological marking across languages. The morphological syncretism between the two constructions may arise due to their use in similar discourse situations (see Malchukov & Siewierska 2011, Legate et al. 2020).³⁶

To sum up, I have argued that the impersonal is a type of an active Voice head which has a

³⁶One may wonder where passive morphology is located in the impersonal and the passive. As discussed in Šereikaitė 2020, the passive morphology, namely the *-m* and *-t* suffix, is realized in an Asp(ectual)P above VoiceP. This is due to the fact that these suffixes are associated with different aspectual properties (see Geniušienė 2006, Kibort & Maskaliūnienė 2016, also see Embick 2004, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008, Alexiadou et al. 2015 for an aspectual head hosting passive participle morphology in other languages). The neuter morphology, namely the *-no/-to* suffix, in the Polish impersonal has been analyzed as an auxiliary element located in T by Lavine (2005, 2013). However, this does not hold true for the Lithuanian impersonal. First, this impersonal allows a finite auxiliary, unlike the Polish impersonal, see sub-section 2.2. Second, the passive morphology cannot be attached to the auxiliary; (i).

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.³⁷ I have further argued that the impersonal pronoun of the *-ma/-ta* impersonal is licensed by the Voice head through agreement and its ϕ -feature is valued as human. The next sub-section discusses the ϕ -features of the impersonal pronoun.

6. Structure of the Implicit Pronoun

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*) (e.g., [Rivero 2000](#), [Egerland 2003b](#), [Hoekstra 2010](#), [Ackema & Neeleman 2018](#), [Fenger 2018](#), [Hall 2019](#), [Legate et al. 2020](#)). 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 ([Ackema & Neeleman 2018](#), [Fenger 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. Indeed, careful investigation reveals that this 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 syntax. The pronoun has an obligatory +human interpretation. Based on this restriction, I argued that the pronoun enters the derivation with an interpretable unvalued ϕ -feature, located on a lexical head, that is valued to [human] by a Voice head. Interestingly, the impersonal pronoun is also demonstrated to lack case, which provides important insights for Case Theory.

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------|
| (i) | (*esa-m-a) | rašo-m-a | laišk-ą. |
| | be-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] | write-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] | letter-ACC |
| | ‘One writes a letter.’ | | |

³⁷Two types of Voice heads were introduced in this study: passive and impersonal. For further discussion on the typology of Voice and the types of features Voice heads can bundle with see [Alexiadou et al. 2015](#); [Legate to appear](#). Legate discusses noncanonical passives and shows that Voice head across languages exhibit variation with respect to: agent demotion, theme promotion and the assignment of accusative case.

6.1 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 & Egerland 2009; Ackema & Neeleman 2018; Fenger 2018; Hall 2019). I follow Egerland 2003a, 2003b and make a distinction between two types of readings: generic and arbitrary.³⁸ 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: (79) introduces a generic statement about people who stay in the sun, which may include both the speaker and the hearer. However, (80) shows that the speaker does not need to be always included. (80) reports a general statement about the government and how they lock up people in prison, but the speaker does not need to be a part of the government to be able to say that sentence. Therefore, the impersonal pronoun permits an optionally inclusive generic reading, the type of reading that optionally includes the speaker (for a discussion of this type of reading see Hoekstra 2010, Hall 2019).

- (79) Strazdan-os pasidar-o ryškesnės, kai dažniau IMP
freckles-NOM become-PRS.3 clearer, when more.often
būna-m-a saul-ėje.
be-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] sun-LOC
‘Freckles become more clear when one stays in the sun more often.’ *Generic*
- (80) IMP uždaro-m-a žmon-es į kalėjim-ą tada, kai
lock.up-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] people-ACC to jail-ACC then, when
ne-žino-m-a kas dary-ti.
NEG-know-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] what.NOM do-INF
‘They lock up people up in prison when they don’t know what to do.’ *Generic*

An arbitrary reading introduces ‘some people’, unspecified ‘they’, or ‘someone’ and 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

³⁸The generic and arbitrary readings here roughly stand for what Cinque (1988) calls quasi-universal and quasi-existential.

can be seen in (81)-(82), which include a specific time reference e.g., this year or today.³⁹

- (81) Mūsų bendruomenė 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-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] champion-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 champions
twice in the fight for the cup.'⁴⁰ *Arbitrary*

- (82) Šiandienos 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 įvair-ius žaidim-us,
one.place be-PST.3 play-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] various-ACC games-ACC,
kitur skambina-m-a pianin-u.
elsewhere play-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-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 & Maskaliūnienė 2016, 253)

Arbitrary

Generic and arbitrary readings have been encoded through different feature compositions of impersonal pronouns. Fenger (2018) distinguishes two types of impersonal pronouns: English-type pronouns like *one* and Dutch-type pronouns like *men*, see Table 2. The first group of pronouns can only have a generic inclusive reading (83) and occurs in multiple case positions. The second group has both

³⁹Cinque (1988) and Egerland (2003b) observe that a grammatical subject of unaccusatives or passives can only have a generic reading. In contrast, Fenger (2018) shows that impersonals with these predicates can also have an arbitrary reading in languages like Swedish and Dutch (see also Ackema & Neeleman 2018, 129-130). In this respect, Lithuanian patterns like Swedish and Dutch in that the *-ma/-ta* impersonal can be applied to unaccusatives in arbitrary contexts as illustrated with *tapti* 'become' in (81) and *kristi* 'fall' in (i).

- (i) Pagal sužalojim-ų pobūd-į ekspert-ai nustat-ė, kad IMP buv-o
according.to injuries-GEN nature-ACC experts-NOM determine-PST.3 that be-PST.3
kris-t-a ant nugaros.
fall-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-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*

⁴⁰Adapted from <https://lt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakalniai>, Accessed on 09-29-2019

generic and ‘existential’ (in our terms arbitrary) readings (84), and is restricted to nominative case positions. Building on Egerland 2003b, Hoekstra 2010, Ackema & 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 & Neeleman 2018). The presence of these features restricts the impersonal to a generic reading because the possible choice for ϕ -features is everyone in the discourse including 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 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: Properties of Impersonal pronouns

- (83) a. When one is in Italy, one eats pasta. *Generic*
 b. *One has called for you, but I don’t know what it was about. *Arbitrary*
(Fenger 2018, 292,297)

- (84) *Dutch*
- a. Wanneer men in Italië is, eet men pasta.
 when IMP in Italy is, eat IMP pasta
 ‘When people are in Italy, they have the habit of eating pasta.’ *Generic*
- b. Men heeft voor je gebeld, maar ik weet niet waar het over ging.
 IMP has for you called, but I know not what it about went
 ‘Someone has called for you, but I don’t know what it was about.’ *Arbitrary*
(Fenger 2018, 292,297)

Given that the subject of the *-ma/-ta* impersonal permits two types of readings, the generic and

the arbitrary one, I predict that this pronoun should belong to a class of Dutch type pronouns and should also lack ϕ -features. This prediction is tested in the next sub-section.

6.2 *Features of Impersonal Pronoun*

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

6.2.1 *Number*

The impersonal pronoun can be interpreted as a plural pronoun. Plural modifiers like *kartu* ‘together’ refer to two or more individuals, and therefore signal semantic plurality. The antecedents of *kartu* are plural DPs, like *we* (85) or collective nouns like *team*, which semantically are plural, but inflect like singular nouns (86). In contrast, singular DPs cannot antecede *kartu* (87).

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

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

(87) *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 has a generic or arbitrary reading, (88)-(89).

(88) Kai IMP būna-m-a kartu visą dieną, konfliktai neišvengiami.
when be-PRS.PASS.PTCP[-AGR] together all day conflicts inevitable
‘When people are together all day, conflicts are inevitable.’⁴¹ *Generic*

⁴¹<https://www.alfa.lt/straipsnis/15177910/kunigas-dvareckas-aptunkame-kaledomis-o-sirdis-tai-lieka-alkana>
Accessed on 11-07-2019

- (89) Šiandiena auditorij-oje vir-ė varakin-is Institut-o gyvenim-as. IMP
today lecture.rooms-LOC boil-PST.3 evening-NOM institute-GEN life-NOM
kartu buv-o ne tik žaidžia-m-a įvair-ius žaidim-us, bet
together be-PST.3 not only play-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] various-ACC games-ACC, but
ir skambina-m-a pianin-u.
also play-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-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*

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](#), [Šereikaitė 2020](#)). It assigns accusative case to its complement and imposes a distributive reading: its complement is distributed over a certain argument in a clause e.g., the subject *we* in (90).⁴² The distributor can be applied to DPs that are plural.⁴³ However, singular DPs are not compatible with this preposition (91).

- (90) Virtuv-ėje mes buv-o-me po vien-ą ir galėj-o-me turė-ti tik
kitchen-LOC we.NOM be-PST-1.PL DISTR alone-ACC and can-PST-1.PL have-INF only
vien-ą pagalbinink-ą.
one-ACC helper-ACC
‘Only one of us a time was in the kitchen and we were allowed to have only one helper.’⁴⁴
- (91) #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

⁴²The Lithuanian *po* exhibits similar characteristics to the Russian distributive preposition *po*; see [Pesetsky 1982](#), [Franks 1995](#), [Harves 2003](#), [Bailyn 2012](#).

⁴³One may wonder whether the preposition *po* is compatible with collective nouns, which are semantically plural, but syntactically trigger singular agreement on predicates as in (i). Most speakers do not permit *po* with collective nouns (out of 8 speakers, only 3 speakers judged (ii) 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.’

⁴⁴Adapted from <https://www.ve.lt/naujienos/visuomene/svietimas/dailes-zinios-padedas-kurti-sedevrus-lekstese-1616039/> and accessed on 09-29-2019.

‘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 (92). 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 (93).

- (92) Palat-oje paprastai IMP būna-m-a po vien-ą.
 ward-LOC usually be-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] DISTR alone-ACC
 Lit. ‘In a ward, one is usually there one at a time.’ *Generic*

- (93) Vienur buv-o skambina-m-a pianin-u, kitur IMP
 one.place be-PST.3 play-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] piano-INS elsewhere
 žaidžia-m-a įvair-ius žaidim-us po vien-ą ir po
 play-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] various-ACC games-ACC DISTR alone-ACC and DISTR
 du.
 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 (94), whereas plural forms denote more than two individuals (95). Reciprocals need to be bound by a plural DP, the binder cannot be a singular DP, (96).⁴⁵

- (94) [Jon-as ir Marij-a]_i mylėj-o vien-as kit-ą /
 Jonas-NOM and Marija-NOM love-PST.3 one-NOM.M.SG other-ACC.M.SG /

⁴⁵Speakers’ judgements vary as to whether collective nouns can bind reciprocals (see also fn 43 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 case of an accident, the committee immediately informs each other.’ (two or more than two members)

#vien-i kit-us_i.

one-NOM.M.PL other-ACC.M.PL

‘Jonas and Marija loved each other.’ [Context: *There exist two individuals and they loved each other.*]

(95) 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)

(96) *Jis_i mylėj-o vien-as kit-a_i/vien-i kit-us_i.

he.NOM love-PST.3 one-NOM.M.SG other-ACC.M.SG/one-NOM.M.PL 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 (97). In (98), the plural form is felicitous in the context which is not restricted to two individuals e.g., more than two individuals can become a work tool for each other. The examples provided below have a generic reading.

(97) Toks nuomoni-ų išsiskyrim-as atspind-i <...> dar pakankamai gaj-as
 such opinions-GEN divergence-NOM reflect-PRS.3 still pretty persistent-GEN
 nuostat-as, kad po santuok-os IMP_i **tampa-m-a**
 provisions-NOM that after marriage-GEN become-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
vien-as **kit-o_i** nuosavyb-e.
 one-NOM.M.SG other-GEN.M.SG property-INS

‘Such diverging opinions are reflected in <...> pretty persistent provisions that after marriage one becomes each other’s property.’⁴⁶ *Generic*

(98) Nesikalbant, slepiant problemas, tik augina-m-os vienišum-o,
 not.taking hiding problems only grow-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.F.PL loneliness-GEN,
 uždarum-o sien-os, IMP_i **tampa-m-a** **vien-i**
 reticence-GEN walls-NOM.F.PL, become-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] one-NOM.M.PL
kit-iems_i tik ‘darb-o įranki-ais’.
 other-DAT.M.PL just work-GEN tools-INS

‘When people don’t talk, hide problems, the walls of loneliness and reticence are being

⁴⁶<https://vb.vdu.lt> Accessed on 09-10-2019

developed, one becomes just like a work tool for each other.’⁴⁷

Generic

Examples with an arbitrary interpretation are also grammatical. The impersonal pronoun can serve as a binder for both types of reciprocals, (99)-(100).

- (99) Čia IMP_i buv-o mylė-t-a ne tik sav-o žem-ę, bet ir
 here be-PST.3 love-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] not only self-GEN land-ACC but and
 vien-as kit-ą_i.
 one-NOM.M.SG other-ACC.M.SG.

‘Here some people used to love not only their land, but also each other.’

Arbitrary

- (100) Kunig-as gyven-a vesdamas juos į meil-ės vienyb-ę, kur IMP_i
 priest-NOM live-PRS.3 leading them.ACC to love-GEN unity-ACC where
 myli-m-a vien-i kit-us_i brolišk-a meil-e.
 love-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] one-NOM.M.PL other-ACC.M.PL brotherly-INS love-INS

‘The priest leads them into the unity of love where some people love each other with

brotherly love.’⁴⁸

Arbitrary

Crosslinguistically, the impersonal pronoun’s ability to bind reciprocals has been taken as evidence that this pronoun is semantically plural (Hoekstra 2010, Ackema & 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 can be 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 the singular interpretation of the pronoun, nominal predicates in copular constructions are used. In copular sentences, the grammatical subject agrees with the nominal predicate in

⁴⁷<http://manokarjera.cv.lt/Default4.aspx?ArticleId=ecc77716-0464-4978-a63f-cd4b940ef501> Accessed on 09-10-2019

⁴⁸<https://kaisiadorys.lcn.lt/naujienos/,467> Accessed on 09-20-2019

number and gender as was observed in (64), repeated here in (101).⁴⁹

- (101) 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, (102)-(103). These facts can be taken as evidence that syntactically the impersonal pronoun is compatible with both singular and plural forms.

- (102) Valstyb-ės pilieči-u IMP tampa-m-a tik gimus.
 country-GEN citizen-INS.M.SG become-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] only born
 ‘One becomes a citizen of their country immediately after birth.’⁵⁰ *Generic*

- (103) Lietuv-os pilieči-ais IMP tampa-m-a tik nuo 16
 Lithuania-GEN citizen-INS.M.PL become-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] only from 16
 metų.
 years
 ‘One becomes a Lithuanian citizen only at the age of 16.’⁵¹ *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’ (104). The predicate is singular if it refers to one single individual, namely *someone*, (105). The grammaticality of (105) indicates that the impersonal pronoun can have a singular interpretation and it is not inherently plural. In other words, it is flexible with regards to its number.

⁴⁹Collective nouns like *komitetas* ‘committee’ can occur either with singular or plural nominal predicates in copular sentences, (i). 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 43.

(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.
 enemy-INS.M.PL
 ‘The committee became our biggest enemy.’

⁵⁰<https://www.ikimokyklinis.lt/index.php/straipsniai/specialistams/pilietiskumo-ugdymas-ikimokykliniame-amziuje/17259>
 Accessed on 11/05/2018.

⁵¹<https://www.tv3.lt/naujiena/249578/www.kaledos.borjomi.lt> Accessed on 11/05/2018

- (104) Šiais metais jau du kartus IMP buv-o tap-t-a
 this year already two times be-PST.3 become-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
 vicečempion-ais kov-oje dėl taur-ės.
 champion-INS.M.PL fight-LOC for cup-GEN
 ‘This year some people have already become champions twice in the fight for the cup.’

Arbitrary

- (105) Šiais metais jau du kartus IMP buv-o tap-t-a
 this year already two times be-PST.3 become-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
 vicečempion-u kov-oje dėl taur-ės.
 champion-INS.M.SG fight-LOC for cup-GEN
 ‘This year someone has already become a champion twice in the fight for the cup.’

Arbitrary

6.2.2 *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 interpretation.⁵²

Evidence from copular constructions suggests that the impersonal pronoun can refer to one or more individuals (see Table 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 by Hall (2019).⁵³

⁵²Another test used for plurality is collective predicates like *to gather*, whose subjects are plural DPs. While Lithuanian does have these predicates e.g., *susirinkti* ‘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.

⁵³Nominals with a number-neutral reading are generally attested in Lithuanian. Morphologically plural nominals like *children* in (i-a) have 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 (i-b).

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

Further support for the existence of number neutrality comes from nominal expressions like *animal cloning* in (ii). These expressions include the plural nominal *gyvūnai* ‘animals’, which displays a number-neutral reading in that it can

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).⁵⁴

	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 3: Number properties of Impersonal Pronoun

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.

6.3 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, (106). 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 & Semėnienė 2006, Bruno 2012; Adamson & Šereikaitė 2019). The impersonal pronoun is assigned default gender in cases like (106): it refers to a mixed-gender group, which is one of the environments where the unmarked gender form occurs (see Adamson & Šereikaitė 2019 for discussion).

refer to one single entity or more than one (see Pereltsvaig 2013, 302 for the same type of behavior in Russian).

- (ii) gyvūn-ų klonavim-as
 animal-GEN.PL cloning-NOM
 ‘animal cloning’ (one animal or more)

⁵⁴Number 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.

- (106) Lietuv-oje IMP tampa-m-a student-u /
 Lithuania-LOC become-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] student-INS.M.SG /
 #student-e sulaukus 18.
 student-INS.F.SG 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 (65) and (66), repeated in (107)-(108). If a group of people that the speaker is referring to consists only of women, then the nominal form is feminine as in (107), and if that group consists of men, then nominals with masculine gender are used. These examples have a generic reading.

- (107) Moter-ų vienuolyn-e vienuol-e tampa-m-a per 7
 women-GEN convent-LOC nun-INS.F.SG become-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] within 7
 metus.
 years
 ‘In a convent, one becomes a nun within 7 years.’ *Generic*
- (108) Vyr-ų vienuolyn-e vienuoli-u tampa-m-a per 7
 men-GEN convent-LOC monk-INS.M.SG become-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] within 7
 metus.
 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 (109), or the form is masculine if the subject refers to a male individual as in (110).

- (109) Šiais metais jau du kartus buv-o tap-t-a
 this year already two times be-PST.3 become-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
 vicečempion-e kov-oje dėl taur-ės moter-ų lengvosi-os
 champion-INS.F.SG fight-LOC for cup-GEN women-GEN track.and.field-GEN
 atletik-os čempionat-e.
 athletics-GEN championship-LOC
 ‘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*

- (110) Šiais metais jau du kartus buv-o tap-t-a
 this year already two times be-PST.3 become-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
 vicečempion-u kov-oje dėl taur-ės vyr-ų lengvosi-os
 champion-INS.M.SG fight-LOC for cup-GEN men-GEN track.and.field-GEN
 atletik-os čempionat-e.
 athletics-GEN championship-LOC
 ‘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.

6.4 Person

I now turn to person feature. The impersonal pronoun refers to people in general including the speaker and the hearer suggesting that it can have a 1st, 2nd or 3rd person interpretation as in (111). Therefore, the impersonal pronoun can be treated as underspecified for person.

- (111) Lietuv-oje 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 (112). 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 (see Šereikaitė 2020).

- (112) Ši-oje šal-yje dažniausiai IMP yra / *es-u / *es-i
 this-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-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] from heart-GEN and blood.vessel-GEN diseases-GEN

‘In this country, one mostly dies from heart and blood-vessel diseases.’

6.5 *Interim Summary and Agreement*

The impersonal bears generic and arbitrary readings, which is a common property of featurally deficient impersonal pronouns across various languages. 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 number, gender, and person values in the syntax. I have provided evidence for treating the impersonal pronoun as a number neutral expression, which lacks NumP projection where number feature originates. 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 was suggested for Dutch type impersonal pronouns lacking a ϕ -layer (Fenger 2018). In my system, N enters the derivation with the interpretable unvalued ϕ -feature⁵⁵ (113), which is valued to [human] by the impersonal Voice head as was argued in Section 5.⁵⁶ This captures the fact that the impersonal pronoun is restricted to human referents. The lack of ϕ -features also accounts for 3rd person default agreement realized on the auxiliary of the impersonal.

(113) N
i ϕ value:[_]

⁵⁵I assume that this feature originates on the lexical head N, see e.g., Bobaljik & Zocca 2011, Kramer 2015 showing that ϕ -features can be distributed through different heads.

⁵⁶Given that the impersonal lacks a full set of specified ϕ -features, 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 using a generic operator [GEN], which binds the impersonal pronoun (e.g., Chierchia 1995, Egerland 2003b, Moltmann 2006, Sigurðsson & Egerland 2009, Ackema & Neeleman 2018). The arbitrary reading can be encoded through binding by an existential operator (e.g., Ackema & Neeleman 2018). My analysis of the impersonal pronoun is compatible with various implementations of these approaches.

6.6 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* 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 ([Fenger 2018](#)). 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 number, gender, and person values, but also case further supporting the typological landscape of defective impersonal pronouns. This study also demonstrates that nominative case cannot be treated as the non-case in Lithuanian (for non-case accounts see [Falk 1991](#), [Bittner & Hale 1996](#), [Preminger 2014](#), [Kornfilt & Preminger 2015](#)).

6.6.1 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 (114).⁵⁷

- (114) 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

⁵⁷Copular constructions in Slavic languages like Polish or Russian allow instrumental predicates as well. For discussion and the assignment of this case see e.g., [Matushansky 2000](#), [Pereltsvaig 2007](#), [Citko 2008](#).

form is permitted (115). This suggests that, unlike the overt 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.

- (115) Kai patiria-m-as džiaugsm-as,
 when experience-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG happiness-NOM.M.SG
 jaučia-m-a-si laiming-u / *laiming-as, emocinis
 feel-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]-RFL happy-INS.M.SG / happy-NOM.M.SG emotional
 intelekt-as būna aukštesnis.
 intellect-NOM be higher
 ‘When happiness is experienced, one feels happy and the emotional intellect becomes higher.’⁵⁸

6.6.2 *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 (for discussion see Ambrazas et al. 1997, 363, Arkadijev 2012, 2017).⁵⁹ The nominative subject of transitives can optionally agree with the predicate in number, gender, and case, or the predicate can occur in the non-agreeing active participle form (116).

- (116) Marij-a; pavog-ė rakt-us [prieš PRO_i išei-dam-a /
 Marija-NOM.F.SG steal-PST.3 keys-ACC before leave-CVB-NOM.F.SG /
 išein-a-nt iš nam-ų].
 leave-PRS-ACT.PTCP from house-GEN
 ‘Marija 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 (117). The agreeing form is ungrammatical. The

⁵⁸ Adapted from <http://www.marsc.lt/programos/emocinio-intelektu-lavinimas-per-komunikavimo-metodus-svietimo-istaigo>, Accessed on 11/10/2018.

⁵⁹ As noted by an anonymous reviewer, agreement in these adjunct clauses has been reported to be categorical (e.g., see Arkadijev 2012). However, my consultants do allow the non-agreeing form in these constructions. Also see Spraišnienė et al. 2015 for a discussion of these agreement facts.

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 agreement fails. The only other feature that is needed for this type of agreement is case. Thus, I suggest that the ungrammaticality of the agreeing form must stem from case.

- (117) IMP_i šias giesm-es dažniausiai gieda-m-a miši-ų
 these.ACC hymns-ACC mostly sing-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] mass-GEN
 pabaig-oje [prieš PRO_i išein-a-nt / *išei-dam-as iš
 ending-LOC before leave-PRS-ACT.PTCP / leave-CVB-NOM.M.SG from
 bažnyči-os].
 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, therefore 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 (117). 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 (118) (see Timberlake 1988, Holvoet 2008 for discussion of Lithuanian depictives).

- (118) 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 (119). 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 of a subject.⁶⁰ Therefore, for the depictive to be grammatical in a construction, the 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.

- (119) Įtaria-m-a, kad IMP_i vaik-us dažniausiai
 allege-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] that children-ACC often
 muša-m-a *girt-as_i / *girt-am_i / *girt-o_i...
 beat-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] 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 (21) repeated in (120). The agreeing passive participle typically agrees with a thematic subject in not only ϕ -features, but also 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.

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

Table 4 provides a summary of facts discussed in this sub-section. I have made a distinction

⁶⁰Timberlake (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)

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 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., Falk 1991, Bittner & Hale 1996, Kornfilt & Preminger 2015). However, we have observed that a nominal without case does not behave the same as a nominal marked with nominative, therefore at least in Lithuanian they should be treated differently. Second, the size of the nominal seems to play a role in whether a nominal bears case or not. Originally, Case Filter (Chomsky 1981) states that a nominal 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 without case. This suggests that case is a property of fuller nominals, which relates to proposals like that by Danon (2006) and Landau (2010) arguing that case is in fact a property of D. Danon (2006) explicitly shows that indefinites in Hebrew occur in a variety of caseless positions suggesting that these indefinites bear no case. These findings are also challenging for approaches that link case to θ -role assignment (Chomsky 1986). Nominals that are θ -marked can be caseless as observed in *-ma/-ta* impersonals (also see Danon 2006 for

discussion).

Lastly, according to Dependent Case Theory (Marantz 1991, Woolford 2003, McFadden 2004, Preminger 2014) the assignment of structural accusative case is dependent on a 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 a theme grammatical object to receive accusative case.

7. 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 Lithuanian 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 claimed by Collins (2005).

This paper 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, 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 objects 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 ‘passives 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 provides an additional support to the existing typology of impersonal pronouns 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 consequences for Case Theory.

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A. Appendix 1

Below, I provide a list of examples of the passive with the non-agreeing passive participle attested in the literature as well as online.

(121) Bulv-ès jau buv-o nukas-t-a.
potatos-NOM already be-PST.3 dig-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
‘The potatoes were already dug up.’ (Ambrazas et al. 1997, 280)

(122) Region-o departament-e buv-o pastaty-t-a nauj-i
region-GEN department-LOC be-PST.3 build-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] new-NOM
nuotek-ų valym-o įrengin-iai.
wastewater-GEN cleaning-GEN installations-NOM

'In the regional department, new wastewater treatment plants were built.'⁶¹

- (123) Perka-m-a grūd-ai.
buy-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] grains-NOM
'Grain is being bought.' (Ambrazas et al. 1997, 661)

- (124) Lauk-ai aria-m-a.
fields-NOM plough-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
'The fields are being ploughed.' (Ambrazas 2001, 407)

- (125) Tas arkl-ys buv-o jo pavog-t-a ir
that.NOM horse-NOM be-PST.3 him.GEN steal-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] and
parduo-t-a.
sell-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
'That horse was stolen and sold by him.' (Ambrazas 2006, 186)

- (126) Mūsų šal-ies komand-os buv-o sudary-t-a projekt-o
our.GEN country-GEN teams-NOM be-PST.3 form-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] project-GEN
'Talentų karta' dalyvi-ų pagrind-u.
Talent Generation participants-GEN basis-INS
'The teams of our country were formed on the basis of the participants of the project
'Talent Generation.'⁶²

- (127) Paskait-os buv-o skaito-m-a pagal bendruomen-ės
lectures-NOM be-PST.3 read-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] according.to community-GEN
nari-ų pageidavim-ą.
members-GEN wish-ACC
'The lectures were given according to the community members' wish.'⁶³

- (128) Sukilėli-ų liekan-os buv-o ras-t-a praeitais metais
rebels-GEN remains-NOM be-PST.3 find-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] last year
Gedimin-o pil-ies kaln-o viet-oje.
Gediminas-GEN castle-GEN mountain-GEN area-LOC
'The remains of the rebels were found on the side of Gediminas' castle.'⁶⁴

⁶¹<http://klrd.am.lt/VI/files/> Accessed on 08-21-2019.

⁶²<https://kauno.diena.lt/naujienos/sportas/krepsinis> Accessed on 08-22-2019.

⁶³www.lazdijai.lt Accessed on 08-22-2019.

⁶⁴<https://vaaju.com/lietuva/gedimino-kalne-rastos-revoliucijos-tyrinetojai-tai-vienas-is-prasmingiausiu-darbu/>
Accessed on 08-22-2019

- (129) Jiems bus padė-t-a gėl-ės ši-os
 they.DAT be.FUT.3 place-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] flowers-NOM this-GEN
 švent-ės prog-a.
 celebration-GEN occasion-INS
 ‘The flowers will be placed for them during the celebration.’
- (130) Kamuol-in buv-o susuk-t-a karvi-ų lenciūg-ai.
 ball-ILL be-PST.3 twist-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] cows-GEN chains-NOM
 ‘The cows’ chains were twisted in a ball.’⁶⁵

B. Appendix 2

I provide examples of the *-ma/-ta* impersonal construction attested online and in the literature.

- (131) Sav-o žem-ę mylė-t-a.
 self-GEN country-ACC love-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
 ‘One/people used to love their native country.’ (Holvoet 2001, 376)
- (132) Randa-m-a vard-us.
 find-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] names-ACC
 ‘Names are found; one finds names’ (Kibort & Maskaliūnienė 2016, 17)
- (133) Praranda-m-a žmogiškum-ą.
 lost-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] humanness-ACC
 ‘Humanness is being lost.’ (Kibort & Maskaliūnienė 2016, 58)
- (134) Ne-nuostab-u, kad jūs-ų darb-e naudoja-m-a įvairi-as
 NEG-surprising-N, that your-GEN work-LOC use-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] various-ACC
 diagram-as, dėl kuri-ų 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.’⁶⁶
- (135) Ukrainiet-ės teigim-u, tą dieną žiūri-m-a
 Ukrainian-GEN.F.SG assertion-INS that day watch-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]

⁶⁵www.lkz.lt

⁶⁶<http://www.lt.lovethegame.com/science/61970-sovet-1-kak-postroit-lineynuy-diagrammu.html> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

film-us ir niekur iš namų neina-m-a.
 movies-ACC and nowhere from home NEG.walk-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
 ‘According to the Ukrainian, that day one only watches movies and does not leave the house.’⁶⁷

- (136) Žaidžia-m-a žaidim-us, kuriuose vaik-as vaizduoj-a tai
 play-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] games-ACC where child-NOM portray-PRS.3 either
 sav-e, tai ką nors kit-ą...
 self-ACC or someone-ACC else-ACC
 ‘One plays games where a child portrays himself or someone else.’⁶⁸

- (137) Čia ir dirba-m-a, ir žaidžia-m-a su
 here and work-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] and play-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] with
 vaik-ais, skaito-m-a knyg-as.
 children-INS, read-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] books-ACC
 ‘Here one works, plays with children, and reads books.’⁶⁹

- (138) Žaliav-ų perdirbim-as praktikuoja-m-as, pavyzdžiui,
 material-GEN recycling-NOM.M.SG practise-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG for.example
 naftos produktų gamyboje iš aliejaus, <...> vartojim-o preki-ų
 oil product manufacture from oil, use-GEN goods-GEN
 gamyb-oje, kai **siuva-m-a drabuži-us** iš klient-o
 manufacture-LOC when sew-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-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.’⁷⁰

- (139) Būdinga šiuo atveju, kad bajor-ų tarpe gerb-t-a
 common this case that noblemen-GEN among respect-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-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

⁶⁷ www.lmaleidykla.lt/ojs/index.php/lituanistica/article/download/2927/1755 Accessed on 11/20/2018.

⁶⁸ <https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/rs/legalact/TAD/3b57b220ad0a11e68987e8320e9a5185/> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

⁶⁹ <https://www.domuslumina.lt/lt/patarimai/medines-zaliuzes/medines-zaliuzes-tobulas-sprendimas-svetainei/> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

⁷⁰ <https://lt.stuklopechat.com/biznes/6188-davalcheskoe-syre-osobennosti-sdelok.html> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

Vilnius University.⁷¹

- (140) Ankstyvaj-am naudojim-ui burokėli-us sėja-m-a anksti.
 early-DAT use-DAT beets-ACC sow-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] early
 ‘For the early use, one sows beets early.’⁷²
- (141) Todėl buv-o daug meldžia-m-a-si ir
 Therefore be-PST.3 a.lot pray-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]-RFL and
 gieda-m-a giesm-es.
 sing-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] chants-ACC
 ‘Therefore, people were playing a lot and singing chants.’⁷³
- (142) Kurs-uose naudoja-m-as mišrus mokymo būd-as,
 courses-LOC use-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG mixed teaching method-NOM.M.SG
 kai **naudoja-m-a** **įvairi-as** **metodik-as**, pvz., el. mokymą,
 when use-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-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...’⁷⁴
- (143) Pas mus žada-m-a įkur-ti gimnazij-ą; tam
 at us.ACC promise-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] establish-INF gymnasium-ACC that.DAT
 tiksl-ui jau **renka-m-a** **pinig-us**.
 purpose-DAT already collect-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] money-ACC
 ‘It is promised to establish a gymnasium at our; for that purpose one is already collecting
 money.’⁷⁵
- (144) Tame pat kambar-y **plauna-m-a** **drabuži-us** ir **juos**
 that same room-LOC wash-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] clothes-ACC and them-ACC
džiovina-m-a.
 dry-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]
 ‘In the same room, one washes clothes and dries them.’

⁷¹<http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/tekstynas/search.all> Accessed on 10-21-2019

⁷²<http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/tekstynas/search.all> Accessed on 10-21-2019

⁷³<http://www.rinkosaikste.lt/naujienos/aktualijos/prasidejo-ramybes-ir-susikaupimo-metas> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

⁷⁴<https://www.skf.com/lt/services/customer-training/index.html> Accessed on 11/20/2018.

⁷⁵<http://eia.libis.lt/viesas/B.Kerys/IT/Skyriai/Skyriai/5SKY20Svietimas.pdf>