

Active Existential in Lithuanian: Remarks on Burzio's Generalization*

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Abstract. Evidence from the Lithuanian active existential construction shows that Lithuanian has a type of VoiceP that assigns structural accusative case in the absence of a syntactically projected implicit argument in SpecVoiceP. This construction is a violation of Burzio's (1986) Generalization and its later versions (Marantz 1991; Kratzer 1994, 1996; Woolford 2003; McFadden 2004; Legate 2014; i.a.). This paper offers a revised version of Burzio's Generalization by proposing that while accusative case must be assigned by a thematic Voice, the assignment of accusative case by Voice may vary independently from the selection of a specifier.

Keywords. Burzio's Generalization, structural accusative case, VoiceP, active existential, passive, Lithuanian

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1. Introduction

This paper presents evidence from Lithuanian (a Baltic language) demonstrating that structural accusative case can be assigned in the absence of a higher c-commanding nominal. This finding counterexamples Burzio's (1986) Generalization, its alternative versions (e.g., Kratzer 1994, 1996; Legate 2014) and related theories such as Dependent Case Theory (Marantz 1991; Woolford 2003; McFadden 2004; Bobaljik 2008; Preminger 2014) whereby the assignment of accusative is dependent on the cooccurrence of a higher clause-mate DP with structural case.

This central claim of the paper is based on an investigation of the Lithuanian construction in (1), which I term the *active existential*.¹ This construction has an accusative theme but lacks an overt nominative subject.² The initiator³ is interpreted as unknown, indefinite 'someone'. The verb shows 3rd person active morphology.

- (1) Vali-ų kvieči-a į dekanat-ą.
Valius-ACC invite-PRS.3 to dean's.office-ACC
'Someone is inviting Valius to the dean's office.' (adapted from Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016: 251)

I demonstrate that the implicit external argument is not projected in the active existen-

¹For a collection of attested examples of the active existential, see Paulauskienė 1971:50 and Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016. In the latter study, the active existential is conflated with other types of impersonal constructions that also have no overt subject and take 3rd person active morphology: for example, constructions with a generic agent *visi* 'all', *žmonės* 'people' or a 3rd person pro-drop subject. All these instances, together with the active existential, are grouped under one label known as 'indefinite personals'. However, in this article, I make a distinction between the active existential and other impersonals marked with 3rd person active morphology.

²There is variation regarding the translation of this construction. Ambrazas et al. (1997:600) translate these sentences as active constructions, whereas in Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, these are translated sometimes as passives. In this paper, I will follow the former line of work and translate them as active. Nevertheless, neither translation is accurate enough because English does not have the active existential construction. Therefore, nothing should be concluded from the choice of translation used in this paper.

³Following Ramchand 2008; Bruening 2012; Legate 2014 and others, I use the term *initiator* to refer to external argument θ -roles such as an agent, a natural force or a causer. The instances of the active existential that I focus on the most in this paper involve the agent θ -role.

tial despite the presence of a thematic grammatical object with structural accusative case. Thus, I argue that Lithuanian exhibits an active existential Voice – a Voice that assigns accusative case and is realized by active morphology, but whose external argument variable is bound at the level of Voice⁰ by the existential operator. I revise Burzio’s Generalization by proposing that while accusative case must be assigned by a Voice that introduces an external θ -role, each Voice head is free to bundle with an accusative case feature regardless of the selection of a specifier. This study provides important insights about conditions that govern the assignment of structural accusative case, suggesting that Burzio’s Generalization is not a linguistic universal (for other studies that have questioned the validity of Burzio’s Generalization also see Haider 1985, 2000; Haegeman 1986; Harley 1995; Woolford 1993, 1997, 2003; Mahajan 2000; Lavine 2005; Schäfer 2012; i.a.), but a typological tendency whereby the licensing of structural accusative case is often linked to the presence of the nominative initiator (for a brief overview of various typological tendencies see Woolford 2003 and references therein).

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 distinguishes between the active existential on the one hand and 3rd person pro-drop sentences and other types of impersonals on the other hand. These constructions overlap morphosyntactically, but differ from each other in various ways including the interpretation of the initiator and the conditions under which the initiator can be null. The central argumentation of this paper is presented in Sections 3 and 4. I demonstrate that the theme argument of the active existential bears structural accusative case and behaves like an object of an active transitive in Section 3. Then, in Section 4, I show that while the active existential has an external-argument-introducing projection, a VoiceP, there is no syntactically realized argument in the thematic subject position, SpecVoiceP. Finally, I provide an analysis of the active existential in Section 5. I explain the lack of the external argument in SpecVoice by proposing that the external argument variable is bound at the level of the Voice head. I argue that the existential

operator, which binds the initiator variable, is built into the active existential Voice head lexically rather than being introduced by Existential Closure (Heim 1982), which applies at LF. I further discuss what theoretical consequences this analysis has for Case Theory. Section 6 concludes.

2. Active Existential and Other Impersonals

Before we proceed to the investigation of the syntactic structure of the active existential, it is necessary to distinguish the active existential from 3rd person pro-drop instances and other types of impersonals, which seem identical on the surface, but exhibit different properties.

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

- (2) a. (Aš) kvieči-au Marij-ą į dekanat-ą.
 I.NOM invite-PST.1SG Marija-ACC to dean's.office-ACC
 'I was inviting/invited Marija to the dean's office.'
- b. (Tu) kviet-ei Marij-ą į dekanat-ą.
 you.NOM invite-PST.2SG Marija-ACC to dean's.office-ACC
 'You were inviting/invited Marija to the dean's office.'

However, Lithuanian verbs do not show a distinction between singular and plural with 3rd person subjects as in (3). The lack of a number distinction may restrict the optionality of 3rd person definite null subjects as they can only be null under certain circumstances. A 3rd person subject cannot be null (3) unless it has a previously mentioned linguistic antecedent for example, as in (4-5). In (4), the optional subject in the embedded clause

refers back to the antecedent in the matrix clause. In the question-answer pair in (5), the referent is presented in the previous utterance.

(3) *(Jis/ji/jie) kviet-è Marij-a į dekanat-a.
 he.NOM/she.NOM/they.NOM invite-PST.3 Marija-ACC to dean's.office-ACC
 'He/she/they was/were inviting/invited Marija to the dean's office.'

(4) Jon-as_i sak-è, kad (jis_i) nupirk-o motin-ai nam-a.
 Jonas-NOM say-PST.3 that he.NOM buy-PST.3 mother-DAT house-ACC
 'Jonas_i said that he_i bought his mother a house.'

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

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

In contrast, constructions with 3rd person active verbal morphology have no overt subject when the initiator is interpreted as the indefinite pronoun 'someone' or 'some people' (6-10). These are instances of the active existential, which crucially are different from 3rd person pro-drop cases whose subject, as discussed above, is definite and can be null only under certain conditions. Pragmatically, the active existential is similar to passives without a *by*-phrase in that it is used when the utterance is about the theme and the action expressed by the verb, and the initiator is unknown or irrelevant (see Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016:247-269 for a comparative overview of pragmatic functions of the active existential and the passive). The active existential is compatible with various predicates: unergatives (6-7), transitives with an accusative theme as in (8) or a dative maleficiary⁴ as in (9), and ditransitives (10).

⁴Note that not all speakers accept the dative maleficiary construction, independently of the active existential. These speakers use a PP instead, as in (i), which also permits the active existential.

- (6) Lyg šaud-ė dien-ą mišk-e.
as.if shoot-PST.3 day-ACC forest-LOC
'It seems that someone fired shots in the woods during the day.' (Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016:248)
- (7) Auditorij-oje vir-ė varakin-is Institut-o gyvenim-as. Vienur
lecture.rooms-LOC boil-PST.3 evening-NOM institute-GEN life-NOM one.place
skambin-o pianin-u, kitur dainav-o.
play-PST.3 piano-INS elsewhere sing-PST.3
'Lecture rooms were boiling with the institute's evening life. Some people
were playing piano, others were singing.' (adapted from Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016:253)
- (8) Vali-ų kvieči-a į dekanat-ą.
Valius-ACC invite-PRS.3 to dean's.office-ACC
'Someone is inviting Valius to the dean's office.' (adapted from Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016:251)
- (9) Jam pavog-ė arkl-į.
he.DAT steal-PST.3 horse-ACC
'Someone stole a horse from him.' (Ambrasas et al. 1997:600)
- (10) Marij-ai atsiunt-ė pakvietim-ą į vakarėl-į.
Marij-aDAT send-PST.3 invitation-ACC to party-ACC
'Someone has sent Marija an invitation to the party.'

However, the active existential is not possible with unaccusative verbs like *fall* and *die* as in (11). I discuss this restriction further in Section 4.2.2 and Section 5.

- (11) *Kambar-yje buv-o daug krauj-o. Toks jausm-as lyg nukrit-o ir
room-LOC be-PST.3 a.lot blood-GEN such feeling-NOM as.if fall-PST.3 and

(i) Iš Mrij-os pavog-ė arkl-į.
from Marija-GEN steal-PST.3 horse-ACC
'Someone stole a horse from Marijos.'

mir-è čia.
die-PST.3 here

‘There was a lot of blood in the room. It feels as if someone fell and died here.’

In Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, it is reported that the initiator of impersonal constructions including instances of the active existential is restricted to human agents. Nevertheless, we do find instances of the active existential with nonhuman animate subjects. The examples below are illustrated with predicates such as *bite* (12) and *tear apart* (13), which in this context are interpreted as having nonhuman subjects.⁵

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

- (12) Man atrod-o, kad mane su-kandžioj-o.
me.DAT appear-PRS.3 that me.ACC PFV-bite-PST.3

‘It appears to me that something bit me (all over).’ (e.g., mosquitoes, bedbugs, etc.)

- (13) Atsikėl-ęs anksti, ūkinink-as pastebėj-o, kad
waking.up-PST.ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG early farmer-NOM.M.SG realize-PST.3 that
jam sudrask-ė avis.
him.DAT tear-PST.3 sheep.ACC

‘After waking up early, the farmer realized that something had torn apart the sheep on him.’ (e.g., wolves, bears, foxes, etc.)

As a reviewer points out, instances involving inanimate causers can also be found. The following example provided by the reviewer can have an interpretation whereby the causer of the event can be ‘fate’ (14). Furthermore, instances involving a natural force are also possible (15), as noted by the reviewer and also discussed in Lavine (2016).

⁵No overt subject is necessary in constructions with verbs of smell like *kvepėti* ‘to smell’, *smirdėti* ‘to stink’ as illustrated in (i). Nevertheless, I take these constructions to be counterparts of the English construction ‘*It smells here*’, and thus they should have a different analysis from that of the active existential.

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

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

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

(Adapted from Lavine 2016:123)

In addition to the active existential, there are other types of impersonal sentences that have no surface subject. These are cases in which the initiator is being interpreted as generic, *visi* ‘all (people)’, *žmonės* ‘people’. Examples are provided in (16-17).

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

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

Impersonals where the initiator is interpreted as institutional ‘they’, e.g., military/police (18-19) or doctors (20), can also be found.

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

(19) Kar-as, brolyt-i!- tar-ė Chmieliausk-as. Bombardav-o Kaun-ą!
 war-NOM bother-VOC say-PST.3 Chmieliauskas-NOM shell-PST.3 Kaunas-ACC

“It was a war, brother!”, said Chmieliauskas. They shelled/have shelled Kaunas.’

(adapted from Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016:256)

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

With this background in mind, we can now turn to a detailed investigation of the active existential. In the rest of the paper, all examples will be based on a context where the initiator is interpreted as an indefinite, nonspecific entity, the hallmark of the active existential.⁶ Unless otherwise indicated, 3rd person pro-drop contexts and other types of impersonals will be set aside.

3. Presence of Grammatical Object

I begin the investigation of the active existential by identifying the grammatical status of its accusative theme argument. The grammatical object of an active transitive construction with a nominative thematic subject typically bears accusative case as exemplified in (21).

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

The theme argument of the active existential also bears accusative case, and in this way, patterns like the grammatical object of a transitive. In this section, I provide additional evidence showing that the theme argument of the active existential is the structural object of a transitive construction. This is demonstrated by means of comparing the theme of the active existential with the grammatical object of transitives and the nominative theme

⁶For discussion of Lithuanian indefinite expressions, see Gillon and Armoskaite 2015, and see Enç 1991; Diesing 1992; Haspelmath 2001; Kornfilt and von Heusinger 2009; i.a. for discussion of indefinites and the notion of (non)specificity.

subject of passives.⁷ The first two arguments presented here pertain to case and the third argument is based on binding relations.

3.1 *Genitive of Negation*

The first piece of evidence comes from genitive of negation. When a verb is negated, the grammatical object bearing structural accusative case (21) appears with genitive case as in (22).

- (22) Motin-a ne-kvieči-a Vali-aus/*Vali-ų.
mother-NOM NEG-invite-PRS.3 Valius-GEN/Valius-ACC
'The mother is not inviting Valius.'

The theme of the active existential also becomes genitive in the presence of negation (23), and thus behaves like the object of the transitive in (22).

- (23) Vali-aus/*Vali-ų ne-kvieči-a į dekanat-ą.
Valius-GEN/Valius-ACC NEG-invite-PRS.3 to dean's.office-ACC
'It is not the case that someone is inviting Valius to the dean's office.'

In contrast, a theme that does surface as a grammatical subject cannot be affected by the genitive of negation as illustrated by unaccusatives (24) and passives (25).⁸ Note that a *by*-phrase in Lithuanian passives is realized as a genitive DP. Thus, it can be seen that the theme of the active existential does not exhibit the behavior of a derived theme subject.

- (24) Traukin-ys/*traukini-o ne-atvažuoj-a.
train-NOM/train-GEN NEG-arrive-PRS.3
'The train is not arriving.'

⁷It is noteworthy that Lithuanian, unlike for example Icelandic (Svenonius 2006; Sigurðsson 2011, 2012; Wood 2017; i.a.), lacks accusative subjects.

⁸Thus, Lithuanian genitive of negation is different from Russian genitive of negation, which can be applied to the theme of unaccusatives (Pesetsky 1982). For additional arguments showing that Lithuanian genitive of negation tracks structural accusative case see Sigurðsson and Šereikaitė 2020. See also Arkadiev 2016 for an overview of Lithuanian genitive of negation.

- (25) Vali-us/*Vali-aus nėra
 Valius-NOM.M.SG/Valius-GEN.M.SG NEG.be.PRS.3
 kviečia-m-as motin-os.
 invite-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG mother-GEN
 ‘Valius is not being invited by the mother.’

It is also worth pointing out that non-structural case cannot be affected by the genitive of negation. The accusative complement of the preposition *i* ‘to’ retains its case under negation as illustrated in (26). Similarly, the object of *tarnauti* ‘to serve’, which bears inherent dative case (see Sigurðsson, Šereikaitė and Pitteroff 2018; Šereikaitė 2020), is not compatible with the genitive of negation (27).

- (26) Marij-a ne-beld-ė i dur-is/*dur-ų.
 Marija-NOM NEG-knock-PST.3 to door-ACC/door-GEN
 ‘Jonas didn’t knock on the door.’

- (27) Marij-a ne-tarnav-o atėjūn-ams/*atėjūn-ų.
 Marija-NOM NEG-serve-PST.3 invaders-DAT/invaders-GEN
 ‘Marija did not serve the invaders.’

Thus, the contrast between (26-27) and the active existential in (23) suggests that the theme of the active existential bears structural, rather than non-structural case.

3.2 Case Transmission to PRO

The second argument that the theme behaves like a grammatical object comes from case transmission to PRO (see Landau 2008 and references therein for a related discussion of case transmission facts in Russian and an analysis of case transmission; for case transmission facts in Lithuanian see Vaikšnoraitė 2015; Šereikaitė 2016a). In object control cases, the object permits optional case transmission. PRO can bear either accusative case, transmitted from the accusative matrix object, or dative case.⁹ This is illustrated by the

⁹The realization of dative may be subject to speaker variation as observed by Vaikšnoraitė (2015).

agreement properties of the emphatic pronoun *pats* ‘self’ in (28).¹⁰

- (28) Jon-as įtikin-o Marij-a_i [PRO_i grįž-ti rytoj namo
Jonas-NOM convince-PST.3 Marija-ACC return-INF tomorrow home
pači-a_i/pači-ai_i rytoj].
self-ACC/self-DAT
‘Jonas convinced Marija to return home tomorrow by herself.’

However, case transmission is obligatory for subject control as in (29) with PRO prohibiting dative, but allowing nominative case.

- (29) Marij-a_i norėj-o [PRO_i grįž-ti rytoj namo pat-i_i/*pači-ai_i].
Marija-NOM want-PST.3 return-INF tomorrow home self-NOM/self-DAT
‘Marija wanted to return home tomorrow by herself.’

¹⁰An anonymous reviewer wonders whether the accusative case realized on the emphatic pronoun in to-infinitive clause is indeed the type of case that comes from the matrix object. I provide three arguments below showing that the accusative/dative alternation in examples like (28) is not internal to PRO, but depends on the case properties of the matrix object. The first piece comes from genitive of negation. When the matrix verb is negated, the accusative object becomes genitive as in (cf.(28) and (i)). As shown by the emphatic pronoun *pats*, the case of PRO is also genitive, thus transmitted from the matrix object. Accusative case on *pats* is not permitted which suggests that the realization of accusative does not depend on the case properties of PRO. Note that dative case is not available in (i), showing that case transmission is obligatory when the genitive of negation is applied to the matrix object.

- (i) Jon-as ne-įtikin-o Marij-os_i [PRO_i grįž-ti namo pači-os_i/*pači-a/*pači-ai_i].
Jonas-NOM NEG-convince-PST.3 Marija-GEN return-INF home self-GEN/self-ACC/self-DAT
‘Jonas did not convince Marija to return home by herself.’

Another argument is based on verbs that assign non-accusative case to their object. For example, verbs like *prašyti* ‘to ask’ assign genitive case to their object. The object transmits this case to PRO as indicated by the emphatic pronoun *pats* ‘self’ (ii), and again accusative is not possible.

- (ii) Aš pa-praši-au Jon-o_i [pa-dary-ti tai pači-o_i/pači-am_i/*pat-į_i].
I.NOM PFV-ask-PST.1SG Jonas-GEN PFV-do-INF that.ACC self-GEN/self-DAT/*self-ACC
‘I asked Jonas to do it by himself.’ (Adapted from Vaikšnoraitė 2015:36)

Lastly, when no case transmission takes place, as for example in cases where PRO is arbitrary, referring to ‘people in general’ and is not controlled by any argument in the matrix clause, the accusative case is ungrammatical. This can be observed in (iii) where PRO triggers dative on the predicative element ‘alone’ and accusative is not permitted.

- (iii) [PRO_i ei-ti namo vien-am_i/*vien-a_i naktį] yra ne-saug-u.
go-INF home alone-DAT/alone-ACC night be.PST.3 NEG-safe-N
‘To go home alone at night is not safe.’

In the active existential, we can see that the theme optionally transmits its case to PRO as indicated by the grammaticality of accusative and dative case on the pronoun *pats* ‘self’ (30). This behavior gives additional evidence that the theme patterns like a grammatical object of a transitive.

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

It is notable that the grammatical subject of the passive requires obligatory case transmission to PRO showing a typical behavior of a grammatical subject (31), which is distinct from the behavior of the theme of the active existential.

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

3.3 *Binding*

The last argument comes from binding. In an active transitive clause, the nominative grammatical subject binds the subject-oriented reflexive anaphor *savo* ‘self’,¹¹ but it cannot bind the anti-subject-oriented pronoun *jo* ‘his’ (32a). The grammatical object binds the anti-subject-oriented pronoun *ju* and cannot be the antecedent of *savo* (32b).

- (32) a. Kažk-as_i rūšiav-o tarnautoj-us pagal sav-o_i/*j-o_i
 someone-NOM divide-PST.3 employees-ACC according.to self-GEN/*his-GEN
 įsitikinim-us.
 beliefs-ACC

¹¹For arguments showing that *savo* is indeed a subject-oriented anaphor, not a logophor see Legate et al. to appear.

‘Someone_i divided employees according to his_i own beliefs.’

- b. Kažk-as rūšiav-o tarnautoj-us_i pagal j-ų_i/*sav-o_i
 someone-NOM divide-PST.3 employees-ACC according.to their-GEN/self-GEN
 įsitikinim-us.
 beliefs-ACC

‘Someone divided employees_i according to their_i beliefs.’ (adapted from Timberlake 1982:515)

Just like the active object of transitives, the theme of the active existential binds the non-reflexive form and prohibits the subject-oriented anaphor *savo* (33).

- (33) Vali-ų_i kvieči-a į dekanat-ą dėl j-o_i/*sav-o_i prast-ų
 Valius-ACC invite-PST.3 to dean’s.office-ACC because his-GEN/self-GEN bad-GEN
 pažymi-ų.
 grades-GEN

‘Someone is inviting Valius_i to the dean’s office because of his_i bad grades.’

A theme argument that is a grammatical subject shows different binding relations than a grammatical object. For example, the grammatical subject of the passive in (34) binds both the subject-oriented anaphor *savo* and the anti-subject-oriented pronoun *ju*.¹² The theme’s

¹²One might hypothesize that the theme grammatical subject of passives is able to bind the pronoun like *ju* in (34) may be because it is base-generated in the lower position, namely as a complement of VP, and this may be enough to license this binding relation. Nevertheless, this generalization does not hold for theme subjects of unaccusative verbs as in (i) where the subject can only bind *savo*.

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

‘The artist fell down during his own performance.’

Further investigation reveals that the binding relation between the theme and the anti-subject-oriented pronoun is also sensitive to agreement. For instance, when the subject of the passive is a 1st person pronoun that shows full agreement with the auxiliary, that is, it agrees with it in person and number, the binding of the personal pronoun for some speakers is not possible (out of 8 speakers, only 3 speakers allowed binding of *mano*), as in (ii). The agreement disfavors the binding of this pronoun when the theme is promoted to a subject position. Hence, I hypothesize that the binding relation between the theme and the personal pronoun in (34) may be influenced by its lower position along with the lack of agreement. The theme in (34) is a 3rd person subject. The 3rd person subject agrees with the auxiliary in person and does not show agreement in number, unlike the subject in (ii).

- (ii) Aš_i buv-au nominuo-t-as gyventoj-ų į Šlovės muziej-ų
 I.NOM be-PST.1SG nominate-PST.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG residents-GEN to ‘Fame’ museum-ACC

inability to bind *savo* in the active existential in (33) indicates that this accusative DP has not been advanced to the grammatical subject position, SpecTP.

- (34) Tarnautoj-ai_i yra rūšiuoja-m-i Marij-os
 employees-NOM.M.PL be.PRS.3 divide-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.PL Marija-GEN
 pagal sav-o_i/j-ų_i įsitikinim-us.
 according.to self-GEN/their-GEN beliefs-ACC
 ‘The employees_i are divided by Marija according to their_i beliefs.’

In fact, the theme of the active existential bears identical binding relations to a topicalized grammatical object in (35), which can only bind the anti-subject-oriented form *jo* as well. This pattern suggests that when the active existential theme appears in a high position, it has undergone A-bar movement to a projection above a TP. In other words, the sentence initial theme in the active existential in (33) is topicalized.

- (35) Vali-ų_i motin-a mat-ė j-o_i/*sav-o_i nam-uose.
 Valius-ACC mother-NOM see-PST.3 his-GEN/self-GEN house-LOC
 ‘It was Valius_i that the mother saw in his_i house.’

3.4 *Interim Summary*

To sum up, the examination of the theme argument in the active existential has revealed that this theme bears structural accusative case and exhibits the characteristic behavior of a grammatical object of an active transitive construction. The theme does not behave like a grammatical thematic subject of a passive in that it is not promoted to a subject position, SpecTP. Furthermore, it lacks other properties associated with a subject, like obligatory case transmission and binding of a subject-oriented anaphor. In contrast, it was demonstrated that the theme in the active existential undergoes A-bar movement and exhibits

dėl sav-o_i/%man-o_i pasiekim-ų.
 because.of self-GEN/my-GEN achievements-GEN

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

the behavior of a grammatical object of transitive: it binds the anti-subject-oriented personal pronoun, takes genitive of negation and allows optional case transmission to PRO. If Burzio's Generalization and/or its later versions are correct, then the presence of a structural accusative object in the active existential predicts that the construction should have a projected external argument. I investigate this prediction in the next section.

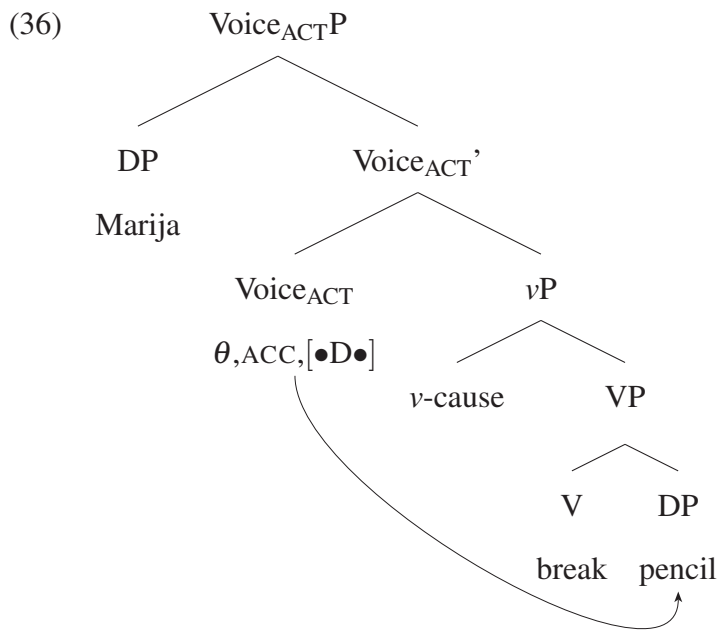
4. Thematic Voice without Projected Implicit Argument

This section examines the Voice properties of the active existential and addresses the question of whether this construction has a projected implicit argument. Following recent work on Voice phenomena (e.g., active versus passive) (Kratzer 1996; Pyllkkänen 1999, 2008; Schäfer 2008; Harley 2013; Legate 2014; Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Schäfer 2015; i.a.), I assume that VoiceP and *v*-cause are two separate projections: the former introduces an external argument, whereas the latter is associated with causative semantics as sketched in (36).¹³ I also adopt the idea that this Voice head, also known as thematic Voice (term from Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Schäfer 2015), is the locus of structural accusative case assignment (see Legate 2014 for discussion, also see footnote 31 below for evidence from Lithuanian).

Building on the basic Voice typology and featural inventory proposed by Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Schäfer (2015) and Legate et al. (to appear), I propose that the basic structure for an active transitive sentence in Lithuanian is as follows. The active Voice head, Voice_{ACT}, is a type of thematic Voice head that introduces an external θ -role, encoded here by the θ -feature in (36), which represents the derivation of (37). The active transitive

¹³A reviewer wonders why the external argument is introduced by the thematic Voice projection rather than *v*-cause. There are a number of reasons for assuming this. For instance, Legate (2014, Ch5) shows that in Acehnese, *v*-cause occurs in environments that lack an external argument: it occurs in the complement of restructuring, which is a *v*P, and in passives. The same facts hold true for the Lithuanian *v*-cause, see Šereikaitė 2016b, 2020. Also see Pyllkkänen 2008 arguing that little *v*-cause does not introduce an external argument.

construction requires a specifier to be merged in SpecVoiceP, thus I assume that the Voice head bears the [\bullet D \bullet] feature (Müller 2010), which encodes this requirement. Lastly, this active thematic Voice head assigns accusative case to the theme, which is presented here by the ACC feature on the Voice head. The accusative case assignment is illustrated with the arrow in (36). The question now is how the active existential construction differs from the active transitive construction presented here. I address this question below.



(37) Lithuanian

Marij-a su-lauž-ė pieštuk-ą.
Marija-NOM PFV-break-PST.3 pencil-ACC

‘Marija broke a pencil.’

4.1 *Thematic Voice Projection*

In order to understand whether the active existential has a projected implicit initiator, just like the active transitive in (36) does, we first need to identify whether this construction has an external-argument-introducing projection, a VoiceP. The presence of the thematic VoiceP is signaled by material that points to the initiator, such as instruments or agent-oriented adverbials (Bruening 2012; Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Schäfer 2015). Recall from our original example in (1), repeated in (38), that the active existential has a nonspecific, indefinite initiator reading, suggesting that it does involve agentive semantics.

(38) Vali-ų kvieči-a į dekanat-ą.
Valius-ACC invite-PRS.3 to dean’s.office-ACC
‘Someone is inviting Valius to the dean’s office.’

The active existential is also compatible with instruments. The instruments here point to certain tools that the initiator used, for example, a cannon (39) or a hole punch (40), to perform an action.

(39) Lyg šaud-ė dien-ą mišk-e su patrank-omis.
as.if shoot-PST.3 day-ACC forest-LOC with cannons-INS
‘It seems that someone fired shots in the woods during the day with cannons.’

(40) Taigi visa kontor-a šnek-a, kad pavaduotoj-ą užmuš-ė su
so all office-NOM talk-PRS.3 that assistant.director-ACC kill-PST.3 with
skylamuši-iu.
whole.punch-INS

‘So the entire office is saying that someone killed the assistant director with a hole punch.’¹⁴

Furthermore, external-argument-oriented adverbials modifying the initiator of the action, such as *intentionally* or *unwillingly*, are licit in this construction as in (41-42).¹⁵

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

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

Context: Marija is afraid of the dean and everyone at the university knows about it. One day Marija receives an anonymous letter in which he is being invited to the dean’s office. It seems like someone has intentionally invited Marija to the dean’s office.

- (42) Suprantam-as dalyk-as, kad apie t-ą vagyst-ę nenori-ai
understandable-NOM thing-NOM that about that-ACC robbery-ACC unwilling-ADV
kalbėj-o ne tik London-e, bet ir vis-oje Anglij-oje.
talk-PST.3 not only London-LOC but and whole-LOC England-LOC

‘It is an understandable thing that some people talked about this robbery unwillingly not only in London, but also in all of England.’ (adapted from Paulauskienė 1971:50)

To conclude, it can be seen that modifiers related to the initiator, namely instruments and agent-related adverbials, are licensed in the active existential. I take this as evidence

¹⁴(<http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/tekstynas/search.all>) Accessed on 06-13-2018.

¹⁵An anonymous reviewer points out that agent-oriented adverbials can be coerced with unaccusative verbs, which lack the thematic VoiceP. Indeed, as discussed in Folli and Harley 2005; Kallulli 2007; Schäfer 2009:fn.3, unaccusatives can be combined with adverbials like *on purpose* as for example, in English (i). An event or a state needs to be compatible with a purpose, and it is an initiator introduced by a thematic Voice head that can have the purpose. The example in (i) lacks an overt initiator, but it introduces a type of situation which provides one from outside: it is not the thermostat that acted on purpose, but someone else. Regardless of the compatibility of unaccusatives with these modifiers, the example like (41) is still important because in this case it is the actual inviter that had the purpose rather than the situation from outside as in (i).

(i) The thermostat is low on purpose.

for the presence of a thematic VoiceP layer in the structure.

4.2 *Lack of Implicit Argument*

Having identified the presence of a thematic VoiceP, we can now proceed to the investigation of whether the implicit initiator is syntactically projected in the structure. Implicit arguments have been extensively discussed in the literature (Rizzi 1986; Roeper 1987; Williams 1987; Bhatt and Pancheva 2006; Landau 2010; Legate 2014; i.a.). The presence of a grammatical object with structural accusative case has often been taken as evidence for the projected implicit argument (e.g., Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002; Maling 2006, 2009). However, I demonstrate that this may not necessarily be the case and provide ten arguments that the active existential lacks a syntactically projected implicit argument. I argue that the licensing of structural accusative case is dissociable from the presence/absence of the external argument, contradicting Burzio's Generalization.

To illustrate the lack of the implicit argument, I first compare the active existential with two constructions: the Lithuanian *ma/ta* impersonal, which, as I argue in Šereikaitė 2020 (see also Spraunienė, Razanovaitė and Jasionytė 2015 for a related discussion), has a fully projected implicit argument, and a canonical passive which, as I argue, has no projected initiator.

The *ma/ta* impersonal construction on the surface is similar to the active existential: it has an accusative theme and no overt subject is present. The verb appears in the non-agreeing, neuter form of a passive participle. The construction expresses a certain action performed by people in general and its initiator is interpreted as an indefinite, generic subject 'one'.¹⁶ Examples of the *ma/ta* impersonal are presented with transitive predicates (43), an unergative (44a), and an unaccusative (44b). While the *ma/ta* impersonal is pro-

¹⁶The *ma/ta* impersonal is translated as a passive in Ambrazas et al. 1997. In Geniušienė 2006, and Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016, it is sometimes translated as a passive and sometimes as an active with an indefinite subject. I translate it as an active construction.

ductive with unaccusatives and unergatives, transitives are used much less frequently, as noted in Geniušienė 2006, and Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016.

(43) a. Rašo-m-a laišk-ą.
 write-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] letter-ACC
 ‘A letter is being written.’ (Ambrasas et al. 1997:661)

b. Praranda-m-a žmogiškum-ą.
 lose-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] humanness-ACC
 ‘Humanness is being lost.’ (Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016:58)

c. Didžiaus-ia vyr-ų klaid-a laiki-au girtuoklyst-ę:
 greatest-INS men-GEN mistake-INS consider-PST.1SG binge.drinking-ACC
 čia praranda-m-a ir vyriškum-ą ir žmoniškum-ą.
 here 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.’ (Kibort and Maskaliūnienė 2016:122)

(44) a. Jeigu (yra) dirba-m-a legali-ai, tada atsirand-a
 if be.PRS.3 work-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] legal-ADV, then appear-PRS.3
 gamilyb-ė atgau-ti mokesči-us.
 opportunity-NOM receive-INF taxes-ACC
 ‘If one works legally, then one also has an opportunity to get back one’s taxes.’

b. 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 disease-GEN
 ‘Mostly one often dies from heart and blood-vessels diseases.’¹⁷

If the active existential has a projected implicit argument, we expect its initiator to behave like that of the *ma/ta* impersonal, rather than like that of the passive, since the *ma/ta* impersonal construction has a fully projected implicit argument, whereas the passive lacks it. I test this prediction below by applying a number of well-established syntactic

¹⁷(<https://www.lzinios.lt/lzinios/sveikata/0-3-5-140-5-3-0-sveiko-zmogaus-kodas/70426>) Accessed on 06-13-2018.

diagnostics. This detailed investigation reveals that the active existential patterns like the passive, and unlike the *ma/ta* impersonal, in that it has no syntactically realized implicit initiator.

4.2.1 *Binding*

The first argument for the lack of the implicit argument comes from binding of the subject-oriented reflexive *savo*. Landau (2010) argues that syntactically projected implicit arguments bind reflexive anaphors. The unpronounced initiator of the *ma/ta* impersonal binds the subject-oriented reflexive possessive anaphor *savo*, as exemplified below in (45-46), indicating that the implicit argument (IMP) is syntactically projected.

- (45) Dažnai IMP_i rašo-m-a laišk-us pagal sav-o_i
often write-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] letter-ACC according self-GEN
sukurt-as taisykl-es.
created-ACC rules-ACC
‘One often writes letters according to one’s own created rules.’
- (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.’

In contrast, the demoted initiator of a passive cannot bind the subject-oriented reflexive *savo* as in (47). Thus, it behaves like an initiator that is not projected in the syntax.¹⁸

¹⁸ There is variation regarding the judgments for binding by overt *by*-phrases in passives. For Lavine (2006; 2010a), and Legate et al.’s (to appear) consultants, the *by*-phrase in the passive binds the anti-subject-oriented pronoun *jo* as in (i), whereas Spraunienė, Razanovaitė and Jasionytė’s (2015) consultants allow the *by*-phrase to bind the reflexive *savo*. Our consultants, whose judgment is reported in (47), share their grammaticality judgment with the former group and do not permit *savo* to be bound by the *by*-phrase.

- (i) Darbuotoj-ai (yra) rūšiuoja-m-i Domant-o_i pagal
employees-NOM.M.PL be.PRS.3 divide-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.PL Domantas-GEN according.to
j-o_i/*sav-o_i įsitikinim-us.
his-GEN/self-GEN beliefs-ACC

- (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 the initiator’s beliefs]

If the initiator of the active existential were projected, as in the *ma/ta* impersonal, we would expect it to be able to bind *savo*. However, this prediction is not borne out. Similarly to the initiator of the passive, the initiator of the active existential cannot bind the subject-oriented reflexive *savo* as illustrated below with unergative predicates (48), transitives with accusative objects (49) and dative maleficiaries (50).

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

The second argument comes from binding a reflexive nonpossessive pronoun. The possessive reflexive form *savo* has nonpossessive reflexive counterparts like *sau* ‘self.DAT’ or *savęs* ‘self.GEN’ (for a full paradigm, see Ambrazas et al. 1997:192). These elements differ from *savo* in that they function like independent arguments rather than modifiers of a DP. Nevertheless, as I show in Šereikaitė 2020, nonpossessive reflexives pattern like *savo* in

‘The employees are divided by Domantas_i according to his_i beliefs.’

that they are also subject-oriented anaphors. The implicit argument of the *ma/ta* impersonal binds the reflexive pronoun *sau* ‘self.DAT’ as in (51), which is expected if this argument is projected in the syntax.

- (51) 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 jok-io 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.’

In contrast, the initiator of the passive does not bind the reflexive (52) as, one would expect in cases where the initiator is not projected.

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

Applying this test to the active existential shows that the initiator fails to bind the reflexive *sau*, patterning like the unprotected initiator of the passive, and contrary to the projected initiator of the *ma/ta* impersonal.

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

The third argument is based on binding of the reciprocal *vienas kitą* ‘each other’. The nominative subject (55) can bind the reciprocal. This is also the case with the *ma/ta* imper-

sonal where the reciprocal is being controlled by the initiator (56).

- (55) Kai kur-ie žmon-ès_i myl-i vienas kit-a_j.
 some-NOM.M.PL people-NOM.M.PL love-PRS.3 one other-ACC.M.SG
 ‘Some people love each other.’

- (56) Mylè-ki-me poezij-a, kaip IMP_i myli-m-a vienas
 love-IMP-1PL poetry-ACC, as love-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] one
 kit-a_j.
 other-ACC.M.SG
 ‘Let us all love poetry in a way one loves each other.’¹⁹

The fact that this binding relation is possible indicates that the initiator in (56) is projected since the reciprocal cannot be bound by a DP that is not syntactically present. For instance, it is ungrammatical to promote the reciprocal to the subject position in the passive (57). The reciprocal has no binder, as there is no projected implicit initiator that can bind it, which yields ungrammaticality.²⁰

- (57) *Vien-as kit-as yra myli-m-as.
 one other-NOM.M.SG be.PRS.3 love-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG
 ‘Each other are being loved.’

If the active existential has no implicit argument, then it is predicted that placing the reciprocal in this construction would yield ungrammaticality as well. Indeed, ‘each other’ is barred from the active existential, regardless of whether it is placed in a theme position or in a dative maleficiary position (58-59).

- (58) *Vienas kit-a kviet-è j sveči-us.
 one other-ACC.M.SG invite-PST.3 to guests-ACC

¹⁹(<http://www.lituanistika.emokykla.lt/page/17/>) Accessed on 06-13-2018.

²⁰*Vienas kitas* also has a meaning ‘one or two’. The string in (57) is grammatical under the irrelevant nonreciprocal interpretation ‘one or two are being loved’. On the other hand, the nonreciprocal meaning ‘one or two’ of *vienas kitas* is not available in the active existential construction in (58-59).

‘Some people invited each other to come over.’

- (59) *Vienas kit-am vog-ė maist-ą iš parduotuvi-ų.
one other-DAT.M.SG steal-PST.3 food-ACC from shops-GEN
‘Some people stole food for each other from shops.’

Up to this point, I have used binding facts to test whether the initiator in the active existential is projected in subject position, revealing that the active existential lacks a projected subject. Now, other binding diagnostics can be used to test whether this initiator is projected in other positions. Below, I introduce an additional binding test involving the anti-subject-oriented pronoun demonstrating that the existential initiator does not appear in the syntax at all.

The fourth argument for the lack of the projection of the initiator is built on the initiator’s inability to bind the anti-subject-oriented personal pronoun in the active existential. Recall from (32b), repeated here in (60), that the personal pronoun may be bound by a grammatical object.

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

This personal pronoun can also be bound by an overt adjunct, for example, the agent-oriented comitative (61) or the *by*-phrase as illustrated in footnote 18, repeated here in (62).

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

- (62) Tarnautoj-ai (yra) rūšiuoja-m-i
 employees-NOM.M.PL be.PRS.3 divide-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.PL
 Domant-o_i pagal j-o_i įsitikinim-us.
 Domantas-GEN according.to his-GEN beliefs-ACC
 ‘The employees are divided by Domantas_i according to his_i beliefs.’

If the overt initiator in the passive is not projected, it should not be able to bind the anti-subject-oriented anaphor. All my consultants agree that the anti-subject-oriented pronoun can refer to someone else who is not the initiator, hence the reading in (63-i). However, speakers’ judgments vary as to whether the anti-subject-oriented pronoun can refer to the null initiator of the passive, 7 speakers (out of 12) do not allow the personal pronoun to be coreferential with the initiator, which is expected if the initiator is not projected. Nevertheless, 5 speakers allow *jo* to be bound by the null initiator, the reading presented in (63-ii). Thus, the latter group of speakers allows an initiator that has not been syntactically introduced, to be admitted into the context for coreference.²¹ Generally, speakers can adjust the context of an utterance in such a way as to allow them to accommodate the presupposed information, which is a type of phenomenon known as accommodation (see Beaver and Zeevat 2007; Von Stechow 2008; i.a.). I hypothesize that the acceptability of the reading in (63-ii) may stem from the fact that these speakers are more freely accommodating, and therefore allow the pronoun to refer to the initiator in these situations.

- (63) Tarnautoj-ai (yra) rūšiuoja-m-i pagal
 employees-NOM.M.PL be.PRS.3 divide-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.PL according.to
 j-o_i įsitikinim-us.
 his-GEN beliefs-ACC
 ‘The employees are divided according to his beliefs.’

²¹Observe that this is also possible in English passives as in (i). The anaphoric expression here can identify an initiator referent that has not been mentioned previously. For discussion on the licensing of these types of anaphoric expressions see Yule 1982; Geurts 2011; Gerrig, Horton, and Stent 2011; i.a.

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

(i) According to the beliefs of someone else who is not the initiator.

(ii) %According to the initiator's beliefs

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

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

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

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

[not the initiator's guns]

(65) Vali-ų kvieči-a į j-o_i biur-ą.
Valius-ACC invite-PRS.3 to his-GEN office-ACC

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.2 *Unaccusative Verbs*

The fifth argument comes from unaccusative verbs. It has been argued in the literature (Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002; Maling 2006, 2009) that in an active impersonal, a projected implicit argument may function as an argument of unaccusative verbs. Passives, on the other hand, have been argued to lack an implicit argument, and thus may not be formed with unaccusatives. Unaccusative predicates are grammatical in the *ma/ta* impersonal construction as in (44b), repeated in (67), and (68) suggesting that the *ma/ta* impersonal functions like an active impersonal with a syntactically present implicit argument (also see Spraunienė, Razanovaitė and Jasionytė 2015).

- (67) 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-vessels-GEN disease-GEN.

‘Mostly one often dies from heart and blood-vessel diseases.’

- (68) Daugiausia nelaiming-ų atsitikim-ų įvykst-a statyb-ose,
mostly unhappy-GEN accidents-GEN happen-PRS.3 construction.sites-LOC
kai nukrenta-m-a iš didelio aukščio.
when fall-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] from big height

‘Most accidents happen at construction sites when one falls from a great height.’²²

As expected, passives do not permit unaccusative verbs as in (69-70). Furthermore, two argument unaccusatives²³ are also not possible (71).²⁴

- (69) *Nuo gripo buv-o miršta-m-a žmon-i-ų kiekvienais metais.
from flu be-PST.3 die-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] people-GEN every year

²²(Adapted from <https://naujienos.alfa.lt/leidinys/sekunde/pagalbos-sauksma-isingirdo-tik-ryte/>) Accessed on 08-07-2018.

²³I was not able to construct the *ma/ta* impersonal with two-argument unaccusatives since this construction is restricted to human subjects whereas the relevant of unaccusatives occurs with inanimate subjects.

²⁴I assume that in two-argument unaccusative constructions, accusative case is assigned to the theme by an applicative head. For discussion of unaccusatives with an Appl(icative)P see McGinnis 1998; Pyłkkänen 2000, 2008.

‘It was died by people from the flu every year.’

- (70) *Daugiausia nelaiming-ų atsitikim-ų įvykst-a statyb-ose,
mostly unhappy-GEN accidents-GEN happen-PRS.3 construction.sites-LOC
kai darbinink-ų yra nukrenta-m-a iš didelio aukščio.
when employees-GEN be.PRS.3 fall-PRS.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] from big height
‘Most accidents happen at construction sites when it is fallen by the employees from
a great height.’

- (71) a. Knyg-a kainuoj-a penk-is eur-us.
book-NOM cost-PRS.3 five-ACC euros-ACC
‘The book costs five euros.’
- b. *Penk-i eur-ai yra kainuoja-m-i
five-NOM.M.PL euros-NOM.M.PL be.PRS.3 cost-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.PL
knyg-os.
book-GEN
‘Five euros are cost by the book.’

The active existential patterns like the passive: it can only be applied to predicates with a thematic initiator (i.e., unergatives and transitives, for examples see (6-10)). Unaccusatives are banned from the active existential (72-74) showing that the active existential behaves like the passive in requiring suppression of the initiator, rather than like the impersonal in syntactically encoding the presence of a null argument.

- (72) *Per žin-ias mes sužinoj-o-me, jog šiandiena mir-ė nuo grip-o.
through news-ACC we.NOM learn-PST-1PL that today die-PST.3 from flu-GEN.
‘On the news we have learned that today someone/some people died from the flu.’
- (73) *Kambar-yje buv-o daug krauj-o. Toks jausm-as lyg nukrit-o ir
room-LOC be-PST.3 a.lot blood-GEN such feeling-NOM as.if fall-PST.3 and
mir-ė čia.
die-PST.3 here
‘There was a lot of blood in the room. It feels as if someone fell and died here.’

- (74) *Pastebėj-au, kad kainuoj-a dideli-us pinig-us.
 realize-PST.1SG that cost-PST.3 big-ACC money-ACC
 ‘I realized that something cost a lot of money.’ *Context: I realized that a lot of money was charged from my bank account. I haven’t made any purchases recently. But clearly, something cost a lot of money.*

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

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

4.2.3 *Depictives*

Thus, the sixth argument for the absence of a syntactic initiator in the active existential comes from depictives, which typically show agreement with their controller, be it a subject or an object (for a discussion of Lithuanian depictives, see Timberlake 1988 and Holvoet 2008). An indefinite overt subject licenses depictives which agree with it in number, gender and case. The examples are illustrated below with transitive clauses.

- (75) a. Kažk-as_i pa-kviet-ė Marij-a j vakarėl-j
 someone-NOM.M.SG PFV-invite-PST.3 Marija-ACC to party-ACC
 išgėr-ęs_i.
 drunk-PST.ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG
 ‘Someone_i invited Marija to the party drunk_i.’
- b. Kažk-as_i man iš-tryp-ė darž-a
 someone-NOM.M.SG me.DAT PFV-trample-PST.3 garden-ACC
 išgėr-ęs_i.
 drunk-PST.ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG
 ‘Someone_i trampled on my garden drunk_i.’ *Context: in the garden I have found a lot of beer cans and the footprints of someone who trampled the flowerbeds. The ground looked uneven as if a drunk person had been walking on it.*

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

- (76) Marij-a buv-o pa-kvies-t-a j vakarėl-j
 Marija-NOM.F.SG be-PST.3 PFV-invite-PST.PASS.PTCP-NOM.F.SG to party-ACC
 *išgėrus-io_i.
 drunk-PST.ACT.PTCP.GEN.M.SG
 ‘Marija was invited to the party by a drunk person.’
- (77) Man buv-o iš-tryp-t-as darž-as
 me.DAT be-PST.3 PFV-trample-PST.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG garden-NOM.M.SG
 *išgėrus-io_i.
 drunk-PST.ACT.PTCP.GEN.M.SG
 ‘The garden was trampled on me by a drunk person.’

If the initiator of the active existential is not projected, it should not be able to control a depictive because depictives can only be licensed by a DP that is projected in the syntax.

This prediction is borne out. The indefinite initiator of the active existential cannot be a controller of depictives, thus patterning like the unprojected initiator of the passive and contrary to the overt projected subject *kažkas*. Again, alternative case agreement does not improve the predication, examples are not included.

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

4.2.4 Agreement

The seventh argument concerns agreement. The overt grammatical subject *kažkas* ‘someone’ may trigger grammatical subject agreement on a predicate, whereas the initiator of the active existential may not. This property is illustrated by using the agreeing active participle found in the perfective evidential construction (see Ambrazas et al. 1997:262-266, Lavine 2010b:121 for discussion).²⁵ This construction encodes reported speech or hearsay. It exhibits an auxiliary and an active participle which show agreement with the grammatical subject. The overt indefinite subject *kažkas* can agree with the participle in number, gender and case as in (79), or occur with the neuter nonagreeing form of the active participle (term from Ambrazas et al. 1997:335).

²⁵As I demonstrate in Šereikaitė 2020, the default agreement in an active clause is 3rd person active morphology. Thus, the morphology of the default agreement is identical to grammatical subject agreement triggered by a 3rd person subject. Due to this overlap, the agreement facts from an active construction are not used for this test. Instead, I use the perfective evidential environment, which does not show this type of syncretism.

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

In contrast, there is no agreement between the initiator of the active existential and the participle. Only the nonagreeing form is available in the active existential (80). It can be argued that the initiator is not projected in this construction, and as a result the participle has nothing to agree with, taking the nonagreeing neuter form, which is the default.

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

4.2.5 *Control into Adjuncts*

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

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

In constructions that lack a projected implicit argument like passives, the initiator may

control into the adjunct, but it cannot trigger agreement on the participle, which otherwise is possible if the initiator is projected.²⁶ Hence, only the nonagreeing participle is available in the adjunct if the matrix clause is passive (82).

- (82) Rakt-ai buv-o pa-vog-t-i [prieš PRO_i
 keys-NOM.M.PL be-PST.3 PFV-steal-PST.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.PL before
 išein-a-nt / *iše-dam-as iš nam-ŭ].
 leave-PRS-ACT.PTCP / leave-CVB-NOM.M.SG from house-GEN
 ‘The keys were stolen before leaving the house.’ (could be either the initiator leaving
 the house or someone else)

The initiator of the active existential shows a behavior parallel to the unprojected initiator of the passive rather than the overt indefinite form *kažkas* of the active transitive. The initiator can be a controller of the adjunct, but it does not agree with the participle. Only the nonagreeing participle is grammatical in such instances as illustrated in (83). This is expected in situations where the implicit argument is not syntactically realized.

- (83) Man pa-vog-è rakt-us [prieš PRO išein-a-nt / /
 me.DAT PFV-steal-PST.3 keys-ACC before leave-PRS-ACT.PTCP /
 *iše-dam-as iš nam-ŭ].
 leave-CVB-NOM.M.SG from house-GEN
 ‘Someone stole keys from me before leaving the house.’ (could be either the initiator
 leaving the house or maleficiary)

4.2.6 *Scope*

The ninth argument is scope. The overt subject *kažkas* ‘someone’ can take wide scope over negation. I assume that negation, NegP, is projected above VoiceP. The subject can raise above the NegP. This property is illustrated in (84) with a context that favors the wide scope of the existential reading.

²⁶It has been observed that the initiator of passives which cannot be projected in syntax can control into adjunct clauses (Bhatt and Pancheva 2006; van Urk 2013; Landau 2015; Pitteroff and Schäfer 2019).

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

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

If the active existential lacks a syntactically projected subject, and the subject is bound at the level of VoiceP, we would expect negation to scope obligatorily over the existential. This prediction is borne out. In the active existential, negation must take a wide scope over the existential, and thus is infelicitous in the same context that requires wide scope of the existential reading as in (85).

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

4.2.7 Word Order

Finally, the last difference between the two initiators comes from word order, which has been barely discussed with respect to Lithuanian. I demonstrate that the neutral word order in the active existential is a theme preceding a verb, which is a type of order we find in constructions that lack a projected initiator like passives. In contrast, in constructions with a syntactically realized initiator, a theme argument neutrally follows a verb.

Word order in Lithuanian may vary depending on the speaker’s ‘communicative intention’ (see Mathiassen 1996:236-242, Ambrazas et al. 1997:690-692 for word order facts). As far as the information structure goes, a sentence is known to consist of two parts: THEME and RHEME (Halliday 1967, 1973, ia.). It contains old or given information which

serves as a departure point for the speaker, known as the THEME²⁷ or Topic of a sentence. It may also include new information, known as the RHEME. As noted by Ambrazas et al. (1997), in Lithuanian, old information, thus the THEME of a sentence, precedes new information, the RHEME.

In instances that intend to report new information about what happened and are discourse neutral, and nothing is presupposed between the speaker and the hearer, the basic pattern is SVO where the initiator precedes the verb and the theme argument follows it. These principles apply to constructions with an overt grammatical subject (86) and those with an implicit projected subject, for example, 3rd person pro-drop contexts (87) and the *ma/ta* impersonal (88). To facilitate the pro-drop context and to construct minimal pairs with the overt subject and the null subject, the word order facts are presented below in ‘that’-clauses. The context is set up in such a way that it presents the hearer with new information.

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

- (86) Jon-as man sak-è, kad vakar kažk-as pa-kviet-è
 Jonas-NOM me.DAT say-PST.3 that yesterday someone-NOM PFV-invite-PST.3
 vien-ą student-ą į dekanat-ą.
 one-ACC student-ACC to dean’s.office-ACC
 ‘Jonas told me that yesterday someone invited one student to the dean’s office.’
 (initiator-verb-theme)

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

²⁷I use small caps for the THEME denoting the topic of the sentence as opposed to the theme that refers to a θ -role.

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

(initiator-verb-theme)

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

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

(initiator-verb-theme)

While the theme grammatical object in constructions with a projected external argument comes after the verb, in the passive the pattern is opposite. The initiator has been demoted and is not projected. The theme argument has become a grammatical subject and precedes the verb as in (89). The communicative intention of the passive construction is to express information about an affected entity, thus a theme argument, with an initiator being less relevant. Therefore, the starting point of the passive sentence, the Topic/THEME, in discourse neutral instances is the theme argument. Due to the fact that the information structure in Lithuanian is THEME/Topic-RHEME order, we see that in (89) the theme argument occurs clause initially because it is the Topic of the sentence.

- (89) Jon-as man sak-ė, kad vakar vien-as student-as
Jonas-NOM me.DAT say-PST.3 that yesterday one-NOM.M.SG student-NOM.M.SG
buvo pa-kvies-t-as į dekanat-ą.
be-PST.3 PFV-invite-PST.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG to dean’s.office-ACC

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

(theme-verb)

The word order in an active existential differs from that in a sentence with an overt indefinite subject or a 3rd person pro-drop subject. Instead of following the verb, the theme argument neutrally precedes it, as in (90), indicating that it patterns like the passive in

(89).²⁸ This word order pattern suggests that when the initiator is not projected, the theme neutrally occupies the sentence-initial position. One may wonder what mechanisms derive this word order. Pragmatically, as mentioned in Section 2, the active existential is similar to passives in that it is also used in situations where the initiator is unknown, less relevant to the hearer. The utterance is about the theme and the action itself. I suggest that in the active existential, the Topic/THEME of the sentence is the grammatical object, and therefore it occupies the preverbal position. In other words, to satisfy the THEME/topic requirement, I hypothesize that the grammatical object moves to the left-edge of the clause, to a projection Top(ic)P, above a TP (see Bailyn 2012:266-275 for a similar approach in Russian, which displays similar word order effects to those of Lithuanian; also see Buring 2016 for a discussion of Topic).

- (90) Jon-as man sak-ė, kad vakar vien-ą student-ą
 Jonas-NOM me.DAT say-PST.3 that yesterday one-ACC student-ACC
 pa-kviet-ė į dekanat-ą.
 PFV-invite-PST.3 to dean's.office-ACC
 'Jonas told me that yesterday someone invited one student to the dean's office.'
 (theme-verb)

An anonymous reviewer notes that alternative word order patterns are possible in the active existential. Specifically, there is a possibility for the object to occur sentence finally and the PP may follow the verb as in (91) (example provided by the reviewer). This word order is indeed possible, but it receives a marked interpretation whereby a special focus falls on the PP. Another possibility pointed out by the reviewer would be for the grammat-

²⁸As an anonymous reviewer points out, the fact that a sentence initial position is filled with a DP in the data presented here is reminiscent of verb-second (V2) effects (see Haider and Prinzhorn 1989; Wechsler 1991, i.a.). While V2 effects can be observed here, there are cases where OSV and SOV word orders as well as VSO and VOS are possible (see e.g., Ambrazas et al. 1997:693-699). The V2 principle also does not hold true for unaccusatives. If the subject of an unaccusative is indefinite, the basic word order is VS (see Gillon and Armoskaite 2015). The possibility of these word order patterns suggests that Lithuanian cannot be treated as a well-behaved V2 language.

ical object to immediately follow the verb; however this is a canonical word order in 3rd person pro-drop contexts, for example, (87). Thus, to test verb-theme word order in the active existential, a context that excludes a 3rd person pro-drop subject is necessary. One instance of that would be examples presented in (92). (92) introduces a type of situation in which an assistant director was deceived, no one knows who did it, and everyone in the office is talking about it. The canonical word order in the active existential is theme-verb (92a). If the grammatical object occurs after the verb, the object receives a contrastive focus interpretation: it was the assistant director who was deceived, but not the manager (92b). Therefore, it seems that the verb-theme word order is compatible with the active existential, but it yields a marked interpretation.

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

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

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

As this review of different types of word order patterns demonstrates, we can see that the neutral word order in the active existential is a theme preceding a verb which is the same type of word order we see in constructions that lack a projected implicit arguments

like passives. If the active existential had a projected implicit argument, we might have expected the verb-theme word order found in pro-drop contexts and the *ma/ta* impersonal with a syntactically realized initiator. The fact that verb-theme order is not canonical in the active existential is thus consistent with the claim here that a projected implicit argument is not present.

4.3 *Interim Summary*

I have argued that the active existential has an external-argument-oriented projection, a VoiceP layer, and yet it lacks a syntactically projected implicit argument in SpecVoiceP.²⁹

²⁹In this section, I have focused on the type of examples of the active existential that involve a human initiator. Given that the active existential is compatible with the thematic Voice head which assigns an external θ -role, my analysis predicts that this construction should be grammatical with other types of external arguments like an inanimate causer or a natural force. Indeed, the examples in (14-15), suggested by a reviewer and discussed by Lavine (2016), look like instances of the active existential. While it is rather difficult to test for the projection of an inanimate initiator due to its semantic content, initial tests indicate that it patterns the same way as a human initiator. First, the overt inanimate causer ‘fate’ binds the subject-oriented anaphor (i), whereas the initiator in the active existential does not (ii), and thus shows the behavior of an unprojected argument, see also sub-section 4.2.1.

- (i) Tragiškās likim-as_i/Jon-as_i man su-dauž-ė šird-j sav-o_i nelemt-ais
 tragic fate-NOM/Jonas-NOM me.DAT PFV-break-PST.3 heart-ACC self-GEN stupid-INS
 pokšt-ais.
 tricks-INS
 ‘Tragic fate/Jonas broke my heart with its/his stupid tricks.’
- (ii) Man su-dauž-ė šird-j (*sav-o nelemt-ais pokšt-ais).
 me.DAT PFV-break-PST.3 heart-ACC self-GEN stupid-INS tricks-INS
 ‘Someone/something broke my heart with his/its stupid tricks.’ (e.g., a person/fate)

Second, in the perfective evidential construction, the overt DP, which may be an inanimate causer, agrees with the participle in number, gender and case. In the active evidential, the initiator, which may be interpreted as inanimate, does not show agreement with the participle, which is expected if the initiator is not projected, see also sub-section 4.2.4.

- (iii) Girdėj-au, kad likim-as buv-o su-dauž-ęs Marij-ai
 hear-PST.1SG that fate-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 PFV-break-PST.ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG Marija-DAT
 šird-j.
 heart-ACC
 ‘I heard that fate broke Marija’s heart.’
- (iv) Girdėj-au, kad Marij-ai buv-o su-dauž-ę/*su-dauž-ęs
 hear-PST.1SG that Marija-DAT be-PST.3 PFV-break-PST.ACT.PTCP.N/-PST.ACT.PTCP.NOM.M.SG

Specifically, a number of established syntactic tests, it was revealed that the active existential does not share properties with the *ma/ta* impersonal construction which has a projected external argument. Even though the active existential lacks morphological marking of the passive (i.e., has no passive morphology), it exhibits a characteristic of the passive in that its initiator does not occupy a syntactic position. I have demonstrated that the initiator of the active existential and that of the passive cannot participate in binding relations (i.e., binding of subject-oriented anaphors, nonpossessive reflexives, reciprocals, and personal pronouns) or license depictives, which is expected only if the initiator is not projected in the syntax. Furthermore, the impersonal *ma/ta* construction behaves like an impersonal with a projected initiator in that it can occur with unaccusatives predicates, whereas neither the active existential nor the passive is compatible with these predicates, and thus behave like constructions without the projected initiator.

Moreover, I have contrasted the indefinite initiator of the active existential with an overt indefinite form *kažkas* ‘someone’ used in transitive active constructions. The exploration of these two initiators provided additional evidence for the lack of the projected implicit argument in the active existential. While the overt indefinite subject triggers agreement on

šird-ĭ.

heart-ACC

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

Third, the overt inanimate causer controls into adjunct clauses and triggers agreement on the active participle, whereas the initiator of the active existential does not, see also sub-section 4.2.5.

- (v) Likim-as_i mus be gailėsčio apgav-o [prieš PRO_i atim-dam-as
 fate-NOM.M.SG us.ACC without pity deceive-PST.3 before take.away-CVB-NOM.M.SG
 iš mūsų vaik-us ir nam-us].
 from us.ACC children-ACC and home-ACC

‘Fate deceived us without pity before taking away from us children and home.’

- (vi) Mus apgav-o be gailėsčio [prieš PRO atim-a-nt /
 us.ACC deceive-PST.3 without pity before take.away-PRS-ACT.PTCP.N /
 *atim-dam-as iš mūsų vaik-us ir nam-us].
 take.away-CVB-NOM.M.SG from us.ACC children-ACC and house-ACC

‘Someone/something deceived us without pity before taking away from us the children and home.’

a main predicate or a participle of control adjuncts, the initiator of the active existential does not and instead these predicates occur in nonagreeing forms. The occurrence of these nonagreeing forms is predicted if the initiator is not present in the structure. The overt initiator can take wide scope over negation, whereas the initiator of the active existential cannot suggesting that it is existentially bound below negation, which, as I suggested, originates above a VoiceP. Finally, I took word order facts to suggest that the active existential behaves like a construction without a projected implicit subject in requiring its theme argument to occur sentence initially, which was not the case with constructions that have a projected initiator. I summarize my findings in Table 1.

Table 1: Behavior of the initiator across different constructions

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

Given that the active existential lacks a syntactically realized initiator, it can be seen that this construction is not compatible with Burzio’s Generalization. Burzio’s Generalization claims that accusative is available only if there is a projected external argument. Indeed, the *ma/ta* impersonal construction has a grammatical accusative object and, as expected, it has the structure of a transitive construction with a projected implicit argument. We saw that in the passive, there is no projected implicit argument, and thereby a grammatical accusative object is promoted to grammatical nominative subject. In contrast, the active existential

shows an unexpected pattern. We would have expected the active existential to have a projected implicit subject, given that it licenses a grammatical accusative object. However, this prediction was disconfirmed. Despite the presence of the grammatical accusative object, the external argument is not syntactically present in this construction. These findings require reevaluation of conditions that are sufficient for the structural accusative case to be realized on the theme. I address this issue in the following section.

5. Analysis

In Sections 3 and 4, we have seen that the active existential has an accusative grammatical object that does not raise to the grammatical subject position, SpecTP, and a thematic Voice that lacks a projected subject. In this section, I propose a syntactic analysis to account for these properties. I argue that the active existential contains a type of Voice head that assigns structural accusative case to the theme, but whose external argument variable is bound at the level of Voice⁰ by the existential operator that is built in the lexicon.

I first introduce a syntactic structure and semantic derivation of the active existential in (93) and compare it with the structure of the active transitive with an overt subject in (94).

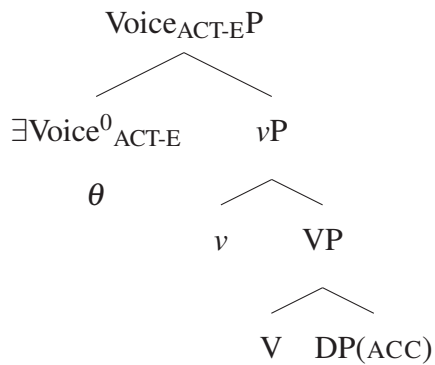
(93) Vali- \bar{u} kvieči-a j dekanat-a.
 Valius-ACC invite-PRS.3 to dean's.office-ACC
 'Someone is inviting Valius to the dean's office.' *Active Existential*

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

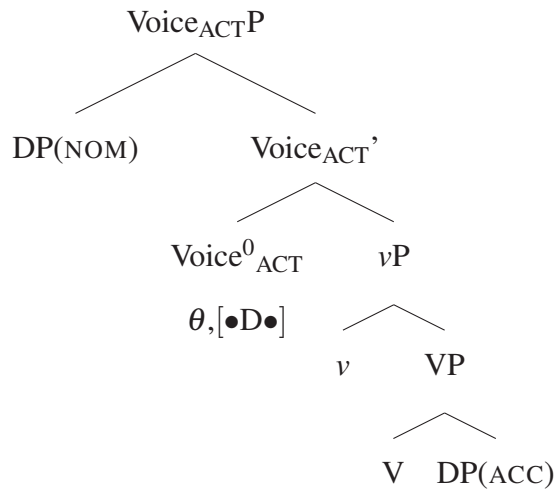
I propose that the active existential construction has a Voice head, which I term VoiceACT-E. This head is projected above vP , as illustrated in (95). Recall that I follow Kratzer (1996) and subsequent work, and assume that the Voice head rather than v introduces an external argument θ -role. Like the Voice head of the active transitive construction in (96), this

Voice_{ACT-E} is also thematic, in the sense that it introduces an external argument variable, which is represented by θ in (95). However, unlike the active transitive Voice head, the Voice_{ACT-E} of the active existential has no projected implicit argument, therefore, it lacks the [\bullet D \bullet] feature that selects for a DP specifier. The external argument variable of the active existential needs to be bound, but there is no initiator projected in SpecVoiceP to do that. I propose that Voice_{ACT-E} is different from Voice_{ACT} in that its external argument variable is introduced already bound at the level of Voice⁰ (also see Schäfer 2017 for a similar approach used for medio-passives). In other words, the existential operator that binds the external argument variable is part of the lexical entry of this Voice head. This is illustrated in (95) with the existential quantifier \exists on the Voice head. On the other hand, in the active transitive, the external argument variable introduced by Voice_{ACT} is saturated by merging a DP in its specifier, (96).

(95) Active Existential



(96) Active Transitive

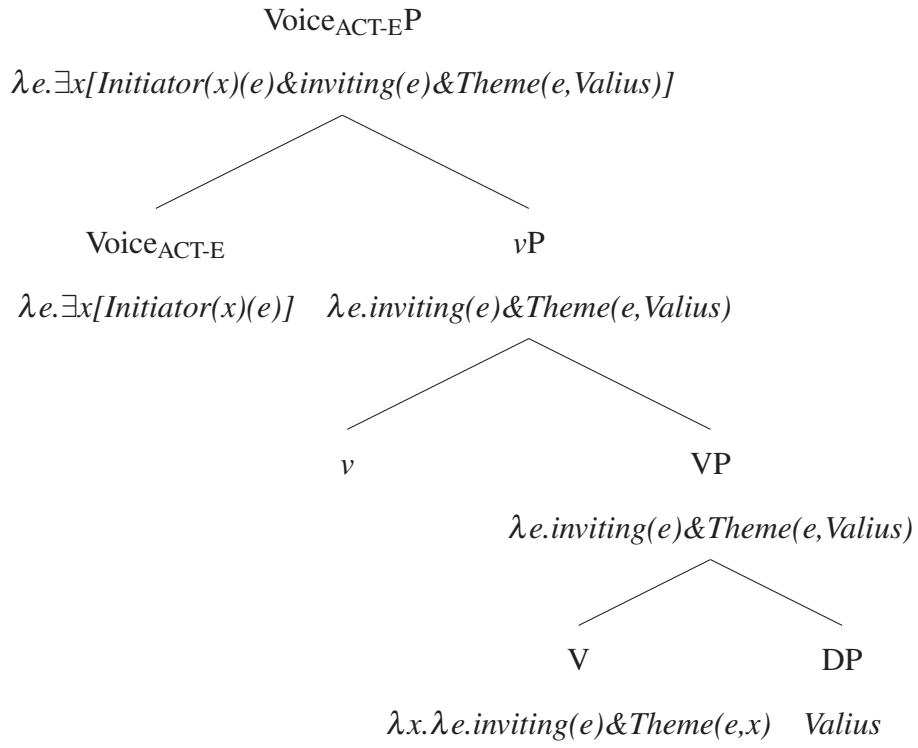


(97) is then lexical entry of the $\text{Voice}_{\text{ACT-E}}$ where the existential operator is already built in. I assume that the Voice head with the existentially closed thematic subject is combined with $v\text{P}$ via Predicate Modification which then results in the derivation in (98).³⁰

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

³⁰I am ignoring the semantics of little v as it is irrelevant here; however, see Pyllkkänen 2008; Harley 2012, i.a. for various approaches.

(98)



The motivation for incorporating the existential operator into the lexical entry of $\text{Voice}_{\text{ACT-E}}$ comes from the active existential's incompatibility with *by*-phrases. One possible alternative to demote the initiator would be to use Existential Closure (Heim 1982) as has been proposed for passives (e.g., Roberts 1987; Williams 1987 and for more recent discussion see Bruening 2012; Legate 2014; Bruening and Tran 2015; Sigurðsson 2017; Schäfer 2017). In passives, the Voice head enters the derivation with an external argument variable that needs to be saturated. Given that *by*-phrases are optional, the external argument can be saturated by a *by*-phrase, or when, no *by*-phrase is present, by Existential Closure in the post-syntactic LF component. However, in the active existential, *by*-phrases are always blocked as exemplified with unergatives and transitives in (99-101). The unavailability of *by*-phrases suggests that the $\text{Voice}_{\text{ACT-E}}$ head does not enter the derivation with a open argument slot, and thus the kind of Existential Closure that is applied to the passive does not apply to the active existential. I propose that the existential operator, which binds the initiator variable, is built into the active existential Voice head lexically rather than being introduced by an unselective binding operation of the Existential Closure that applies at LF. I take this to be one of the main differences between the passive and the active existential.

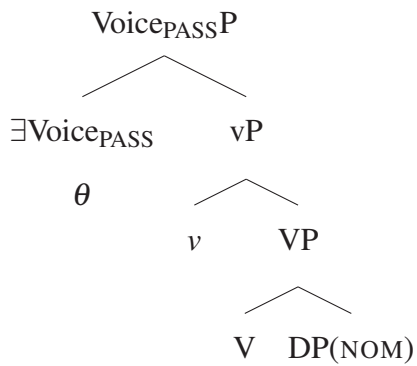
- (99) *Lyg šaud-ė dien-ą mišk-e kažkien-o.
as.if shoot-PST.3 day-ACC forest-LOC someone-GEN
Lit. 'It seems that someone fired shots in the woods during the day by someone.'
- (100) *Marij-ą kvieči-a į dekanat-ą kažkien-o.
Marija-ACC invite-PRS.3 to dean's.office-ACC someone-GEN
Lit. 'Someone is inviting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

Given this difference between the active existential and the passive, the feature com-

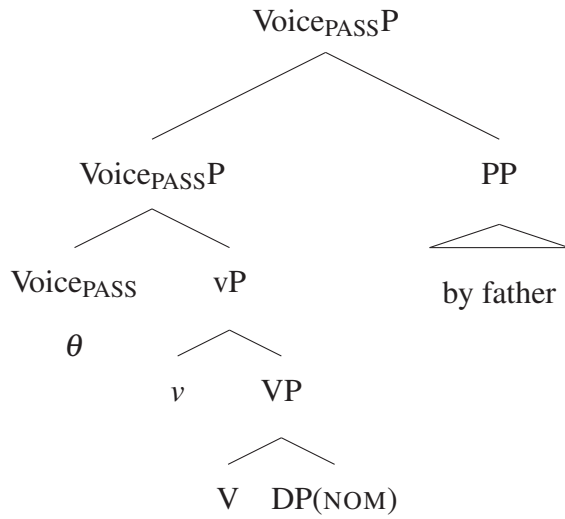
position of passives is as follows. The passive contains a $\text{Voice}_{\text{PASS}}\text{P}$ head, which is also thematic in that it introduces the external argument θ -role. This head, just like the thematic Voice head of the active existential, has no projected implicit argument in SpecVoiceP , thus it does not bear the $[\bullet\text{D}\bullet]$ feature. When no initiator is introduced by the *by*-phrase like in (103), the external argument variable is existentially bound at LF. Alternatively, the external argument variable can be saturated by a *by*-phrase as in (104).

(102) Vali-us buv-o pa-kvies-t-as (motin-os).
 Valius-NOM be-PST.3 PFV-invite-PST.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG mother-GEN
 ‘Valius was invited (by the mother).’

(103) Short Passive



(104) Passive with a *by*-phrase



Having sketched the structure of the active existential, we are now in a position to consider how accusative case is assigned to the theme in this configuration. I follow Legate 2014 and subsequent work in assuming that the Voice head instead of the causative *v* head

is responsible for accusative case assignment.³¹

In the active existential, the external argument is not projected in SpecVoiceP and yet the theme is assigned structural accusative case. Let us consider the original version of Burzio’s Generalization defined in (105). In this original version, it is required for a verb (in our case, a Voice head) to assign the θ -role to the subject, in order for accusative case to be assigned. However, we have seen that there is no syntactic argument in SpecVoiceP to which the Voice head can assign a θ -role. Thus, instead of confirming this generalization, the active existential counterexamples it.

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

³¹ Lavine (2016) discusses Lithuanian constructions with an accusative theme and with the initiator interpreted as a natural force as in (i). He proposes that this nonvolitional Causer is not syntactically projected. Furthermore, it is ν -cause rather than Voice, which assigns accusative case to the theme, and so is not sensitive to the presence/absence of a DP in the specifier of VoiceP. This analysis predicts that it should be possible to passivize the construction, and that accusative case should be retained, since it is assigned independently of VoiceP. This prediction is not borne out. The only possible related passive exhibits nominative case on the theme (cf. ii-a-b). This is also true for the verbs that participate in the active existential construction. This is captured under my analysis in that the active existential and the passive are two distinct Voice heads and so are mutually incompatible. It can be hypothesized that this construction with a Natural Force initiator could have the same type of analysis as the active existential: Voice head rather than ν -cause assigns accusative case to the theme. I leave this possibility for further research.

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

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

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

In the Lithuanian active existential, a thematic active Voice head, namely Voice_{ACT-E} (95), is present which suggests that it should be a source of the accusative case. However, there is no external argument in SpecVoice_{ACT-E}P which indicates that no subject is necessary in the specifier position for the accusative case to be assigned by this Voice head.³² Lithuanian shows that an active thematic Voice head is enough for the structural accusative case to be assigned. Therefore, I propose a revised version of Burzio's Generalization as in (106) where the assignment of accusative case is not dependent on the presence of a pro-

³²In the active existential, there is also a finite T that could potentially assign nominative case to the theme. Nevertheless, the theme retains accusative case instead of nominative suggesting that the assignment of nominative case by T is blocked here. It could be hypothesized that this happens due to the Activity Condition (Chomsky 2001). According to this constraint, elements that became inactive during the derivation are no longer available for other operations. Thus, when the theme gets assigned accusative case by the Voice head, it becomes inactive and is no longer available for T.

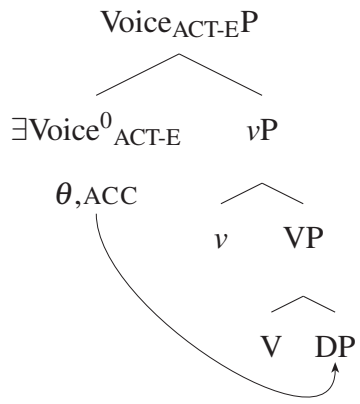
jected initiator. In other words, each thematic Voice is free to be bundled with an accusative case feature regardless of whether its specifier is projected or not.

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

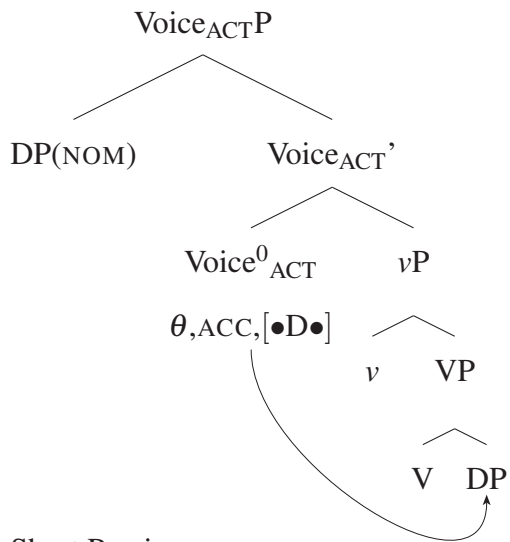
This proposal has important consequences for Case Theory. As suggested by an anonymous reviewer, the Lithuanian data provide the motivation for treating case as a type of primitive feature for example, ACC or NOM feature, which can combine with a particular functional head, namely the type of Voice head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

To summarize, the constructions discussed here have the following feature constellations. The active existential contains a Voice head that is thematic and bundles with the accusative case feature, and its external argument variable is bound by the existential operator in the lexicon (107). The active transitive also has a thematic Voice head that bundles with the accusative case feature, but it also has a [\bullet D \bullet] feature that requires checking, forcing the external argument variable to be saturated by the DP in SpecVoiceP (108). Lastly, in the short passive (109), the thematic Voice head does not combine with the accusative case feature and its initiator is existentially closed at LF, rather than in the lexicon as in the active existential.

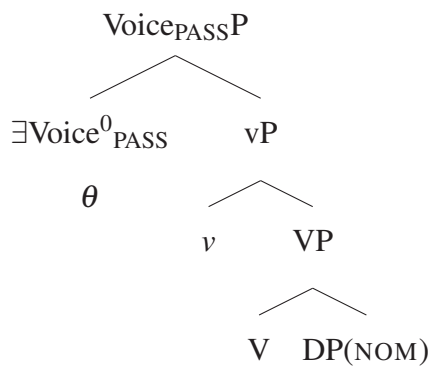
(107) Active Existential



(108) Active Transitive



(109) Short Passive



All in all, I have argued that the presence of a projected implicit argument is not a necessary condition for accusative case to be assigned. Evidence from the active existential has demonstrated that there exists a type of Voice that semantically is associated with an external argument θ -role, but it does not require a projected implicit argument in SpecVoiceP to assign structural accusative case. Recall that unaccusative verbs are not possible in the active existential as in (74), repeated in (110). Unaccusatives lack a thematic VoiceP and their theme argument bears structural nominative case. Thus, I leave for future research the possibility of a language exhibiting a Voice head that does not include an external θ -role but does assign accusative case.

- (110) *Kambar-yje buv-o daug krauj-o. Toks jausm-as lyg nukrit-o ir
 room-LOC be-PST.3 a.lot blood-GEN such feeling-NOM as.if fall-PST.3 and
 mir-ė čia.
 die-PST.3 here

‘There was a lot of blood in the room. It feels as if someone fell and died here.’

6. Conclusion

The empirical contribution of this article has been to show that the assignment of accusative case need not hinge on the presence of an external argument. Specifically, I have demonstrated that the active existential has an accusative thematic object that patterns like an object of an active construction. However, this construction behaves like a passive in that it lacks a projected implicit argument, unlike the *ma/ta* impersonal. Based on the evidence from the active existential, I argued for a revised version of Burzio’s Generalization suggesting that there exists a type of thematic Voice head that can assign structural accusative case in the absence of a syntactically projected implicit argument in SpecVoiceP. Identifying this type of Voice head enriches the Voice typology which has not previously associated a thematic Voice head that lacks a specifier with the assignment of accusative case (e.g.,

Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Schäfer 2015).

As far as Case Theory is concerned, my findings suggest that case is a type of primitive feature that may combine with a certain type of functional head and its licensing need not be restricted by certain syntactic configurations for example, a higher c-commanding DP with a structural case as originally proposed in Dependent Case theory (Marantz 1991; Woolford 2003; McFadden 2004; Bobaljik 2008; Preminger 2014). Hence, regardless of the merits of a configurational approach to the licensing of structural accusative case, my data demonstrate that this cannot be the only way that the structural accusative case is assigned. While the assignment of accusative case need not be restricted by a certain hierarchical relation between two DPs, it can, however, vary according to the type of thematic Voice head a construction has. Voice heads of the active existential and the passive are similar in that they have no specifier and are both thematic. However, these heads differ in the assignment of accusative case: the former bundles with the accusative case feature, whereas the latter does not.

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

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