Voice and Case: lessons from nominalizations without passives

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Today

- In this talk, I explore the properties of Voice and Case in complex event nominalizations (CENs) in Lithuanian (Baltic).

- This study provides new empirical discoveries with consequences for Case Theory and the typology of Voice.
  → Dependent Case Theory (Marantz 1991; Baker 2015)→ Voice-bundling parameter (Pylkkänen 2002, 2008; Harley 2017)

Traditional approaches

(1) 'Ieva destroyed the city.'
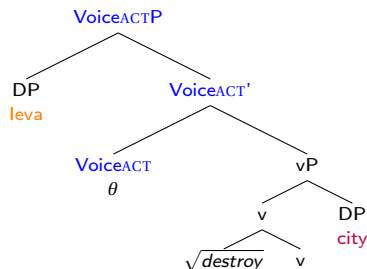
(2) 'Ieva's destruction of the city'
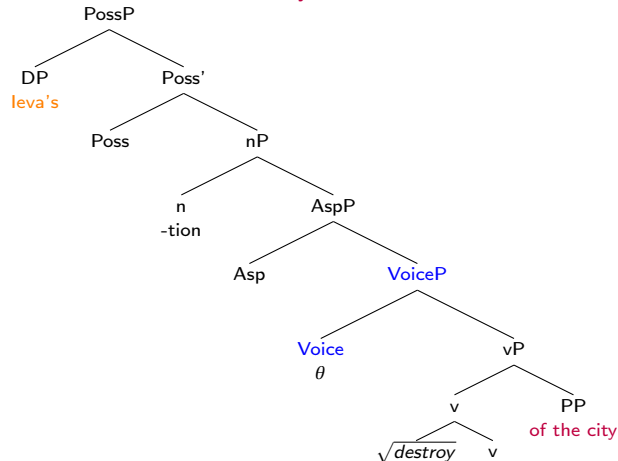
- CENs denote complex events, include some verbal layers and license obligatory argument structure.[1]
- CENs have a defective, passive-like Voice and lack an accusative grammatical object.

[1] Grimshaw 1990; Alexiadou 2001, 2017; Borer 2003, 2012; Harley 2009; Bruening 2013

Introduction

Two generalizations:

- **External Argument**: CENs behave like passives in that they demote an external argument, realized as a by-phrase (Grimshaw 1990).

  (3)   Ieva's destruction of the city

  (4)   the destruction of the city by Ieva

- **Case:** CENs exhibit an ergative case pattern, which results from the presence of a passive VoiceP (Alexiadou 2001, 2017; Salanova 2007; Imanishi 2014).

  → The theme of transitives as well as the single argument of intransitives have a structural genitive case.

  → The agent of transitives is often realized in a PP and bears a different case.

Today

➡ I counterexemplify both of these generalizations and show that:

- CENs **do not involve passivization**
- CENs **have the structure and case pattern analogous to that of an active transitive clause**

Nominalizations in Lithuanian

- Both the agent and the theme become genitive in the CEN and occur prenominally.[2]
- The deverbal noun is marked with the nominalizing suffix *-i/ym*.

(5) a. Petr-as   aug-in-o   triuši-us
      Petras- NOM.SG grow-CAUS-PST.3 rabbit- ACC.PL
      'Petras was raising rabbits.'

     b. Petr-o   triuši-ų   aug-in-im-as
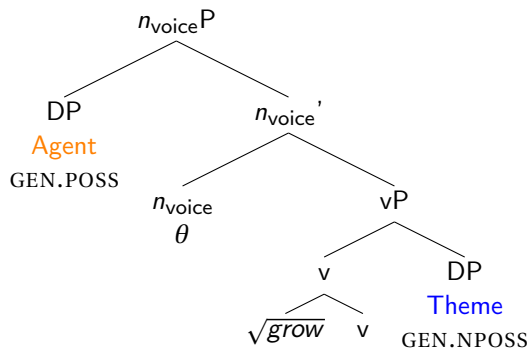   Petras- GEN.SG rabbit- GEN.PL grow-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.SG
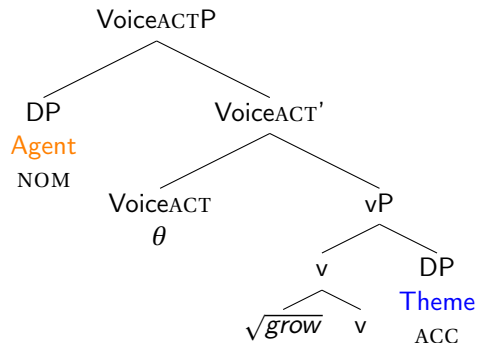   (i) 'Petras' raising of rabbits', (ii) 'raising of Petras' rabbits'   (Pakerys 2006:129)

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[2]The 'double genitive' pattern is also found in Finnish, Japanese, Greek result nominals, Estonian, Latvian, Maltese and Tamil. For CENs in Lithuanian see Pakerys 2006; Vladarskienė 2010; Zaika 2016.

Nominalizations and Voice-bundling

(6) CENs

(7) Active Transitive

- CENs license transitive syntax and do not include passive Voice.
- **Voice-bundling:**[3] n_{voice}P encodes the functions of n and an **active** thematic Voice.
  - n_{voice}P - **i)** nominalizes the verbal structure, **ii)** introduces an external argument θ-role

➡ Voice-bundling varies across different domains within a single language!

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[3]Pylkkänen 2008, 2002; Jung 2014; Harley 2017; Folli et al. 2005; Punske 2010, 2012

Nominalizations and Transitive Case Pattern

(8) CENs
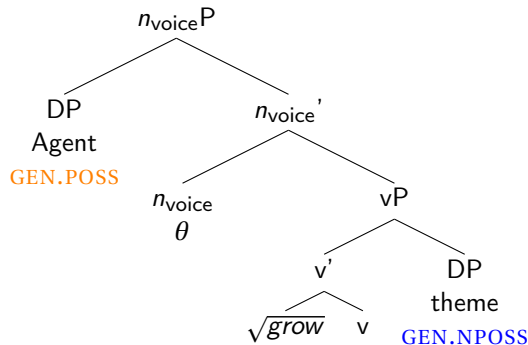
(9) Active Transitive
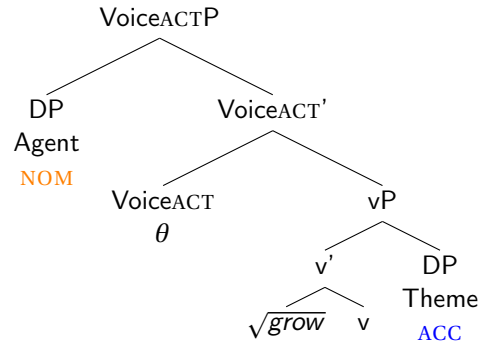
- CENs have two distinct structural genitive cases:
  possessive genitive = structural nominative
  non-possessive genitive = structural accusative

➠ No ergative case pattern! (contra e.g., Alexiadou 2001, 2017)

➠ Genitive case cannot be treated as one and the same unmarked case as generally assumed in Dependent Case Theory (Marantz 1991; Baker 2015)

Today

- Roadmap:

  - Overview of CENs in Lithuanian

  - CENs and a transitive case pattern

  - Voice-bundling approach

  - Conclusion

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Lithuanian nominalizations are CENs

- Lithuanian nominalizations pattern like CENs and are built on top of verbal phrases.

- CENs allow telic modifiers like *in a couple of minutes* just like their corresponding verbal clauses.

    (10)   [Iev-os   įkalči-ų   su-naik-in-im-as   per   kelias minutes]
           Ieva-GEN.SG evidence-GEN.PL PFV-destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.SG within couple minute-ACC.PL

           'Ieva's destruction of the evidence in a couple of minutes'

- vP internal layers are present: the causative suffix -in and the lexical prefix *su-*.
- The theme is obligatory suggesting that CENs inherit the argument structure from the verb.[4]

    (11)   *[Iev-os   su-naik-in-im-as   per   kelias minut-es]
           Ieva-GEN.SG PFV-destroy-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.SG within couple minute-ACC.PL

           Intended 'Ieva's destruction (of something) in a couple of minutes'

---

[4]DPs with inherent case like dative are also retained in CENs, which is evidence for a vP layer.

CENs and a thematic VoiceP

- Lithuanian CENs also have a thematic VoiceP, which introduces an external argument θ-role.
- The presence of VoiceP is identified by the material that points to an agentive interpretation.

	VoiceP in CENs
Instrumentals	✓
Agent-oriented comitatives	✓
Self-action Reading	✓
Obligatory agentive interpretation	✓
Agent-oriented adjectives	✓

CENs and nominal Voice

- CENs do not allow agent-oriented adverbs which attach at the level of a verbal Voice head. Instead, CENs occur with agent-oriented adjectives.

  (12)   a.   Jon-o   **sąmoning-as**   įraš-ų   su-naik-in-im-as
             Jonas-GEN.SG   conscious-NOM.SG   record-NOM.PL   PRV-destroy-CAUS-NOM.M.SG

             'Jonas' conscious destruction of records'   CEN

         b.   *Jon-o   įraš-ų   su-naik-in-im-as   **sąmoning-ai**
             Jonas-GEN.SG   record-GEN.PL   PRV-destroy-CAUS-NOM.SG   conscious-ADV

             'Jonas' destruction of the records consciously'   CEN

Layers Identified in the Structure

- The unavailability of agent-oriented adverbs suggests that CENs contain a non-verbal Voice head.
- This head is a type of nominal Voice head, thus n_{voice}, which assigns an external argument θ-role.

(13) CENs
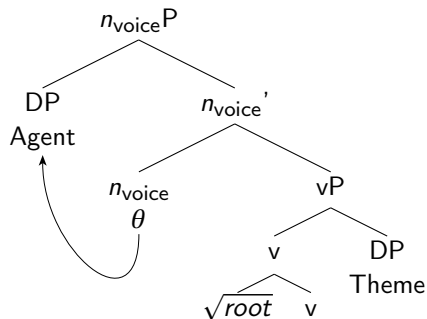
(14) Active Transitive
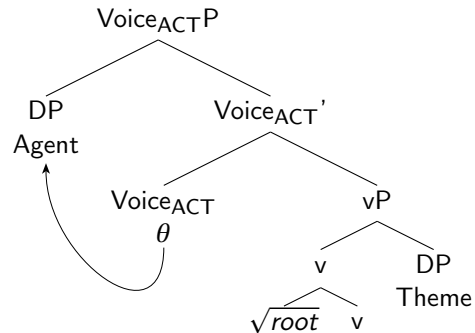
Layers Identified in the Structure

Position	Layers	CENs	TP-vP
Inside vP	Causative *-in, -din*	✓	✓
	Inner Aspect *iš-, nu-, su-, etc*	✓	✓
	Secondary Imperfectivization *-inė*	✓	✓
	Reflexive clitic *-si-*	✓	✓
Outside vP	VoiceP	✓	✓
	Habitual Aspect *dav-*	*	✓
	Continuative Aspect *be-*	*	✓
	Modality *te-*	*	✓

Table: Layers Identified in CENs

- Lithuanian CENs have layers that originate inside a vP and contain a nominal thematic VoiceP, but lack verbal layers that originate above VoiceP like outer aspect.

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CENs and Case

- CENs have two structurally distinct genitives that mirror a NOM-ACC case-marking found in the verbal domain.

CENs and ergative case-marking

- Typically, only one DP argument is licensed inside CENs. It is not possible to have two genitive DPs as shown in Greek.

(15) i   katastrofi tis polis   apo tus varvarus mesa se   tris meres
      the destruction the city. GEN by   the barbarians within three days

      'the destruction of the city by the barbarians within three days'

(16) i   afiksi ton pedion
      the arrive the children. GEN

      'the children's arrival'

(17) to treksimo tu athliti
      the running the athlete. GEN

      'athlete's running'   (Alexiadou 2017:256)

Ergative Case Pattern in CENs

- The theme of transitives and the single argument of intransitives have structural genitive case.
- The agent of transitives is marked with a different case (often realized in a PP) (Alexiadou 2001, 2017).

Case in CENs

- Languages that have a NOM-ACC case pattern in verbal clauses show an ergative case pattern in nominalizations (Alexiadou 2001:168).

	NOM-ACC verbal clauses	ERG-ABS verbal clauses	Nominalizations
Transitive Subject	NOM	ERG	PP
Intransitive Subject	NOM	ABS	GEN
Transitive Object	ACC	ABS	GEN
Greek	✓	*	✓

Case in CENs

	Verbal Clauses	Lithuanian nominalizations
Transitive Subject	NOM	GEN.POSS
Intransitive Subject	NOM	GEN.POSS
Transitive Object	ACC	GEN.NPOSS

Table: Case patterns in Lithuanian

Transitive Case Pattern

- Based on evidence from pronominal forms, I demonstrate that Lithuanian CENs have two distinct structural genitive cases:
  - possessive genitive (GEN.POSS) patterns like structural nominative
  - non-possessive genitive (GEN.NPOSS) patterns like structural accusative
- No ergative case pattern!

Case in CENs and Dependent Case Theory

- **Dependent Case theory:** genitive is viewed as unmarked case realized in different Spell-out domains.[5]

  (18) yuubokumin no   toshi no hakai
        nomad   GEN city GEN destruction

  'the nomad's destruction of the city'   Japanese

  (Saito et al. 2008 from Baker 2015:164)

Case Theory

➡ Evidence from Lithuanian shows that the two genitives found in CENs cannot be viewed as one and the same unmarked case.

➡ The two genitives are two syntactically distinct cases.

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[5]Baker 2015 for discussion of Tamil and Japanese CENs, for a related discussion see Marantz 1991:24, Norris 2018, Levin and Preminger 2015.

Two types of genitives: GEN.POSS vs. GEN.NPOSS

- Lithuanian has two distinct genitive forms, **possessive genitive** and **non-possessive genitive**, for 1st singular and 2nd singular personal pronouns as well as the reflexive pronoun:[6]

GEN.POSS	GEN.NPOSS
man-o - I	*man-ęs* - I
tav-o - you	*tav-ęs* - you
sav-o - self	*sav-ęs* - self

- GEN.POSS is assigned to possessors.

   (19) **tav-o**/*tav-ęs   nam-as
         you-‖GEN.POSS‖/you-GEN.NPOSS house-NOM.SG
         'your house'   *Possessor*

---

[6]See Ambrazas 2004, Pakerys 2006:132-133, Germain 2017:104-105.

Distribution of possessive genitive

- GEN.POSS is also assigned to the subject of evidential constructions as in (20).

  (20) **Tav-o**/*tav-ęs nuramin-t-a vaik-as.
       you-‖GEN.POSS‖/you-GEN.NPOSS calm-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR] child-NOM
       'You must have calmed the child down.' *Subject of Evidential*

- The thematic subject in the passive is demoted to an adjunct, which is also marked with GEN.POSS.

  (21) Laišk-as buvo **tav-o**/*tav-ęs parašy-t-as.
       letter-NOM be.PST.3 you-‖GEN.POSS‖/you-GEN.NPOSS write-PASS.PTCP-NOM
       'The letter was written by you.' *Passive by-phrase*

Distribution of non-possessive genitive

- GEN.NPOSS is assigned to an object of certain classes of verbs that typically take a genitive complement.

  (22) Ji   lauki-a   **tav-ęs**/*tav-o.
  she.NOM wait-PRS.3 you-| GEN.NPOSS |/you-GEN.POSS

  'She is waiting for you.'   *Object*

- GEN.NPOSS is assigned to a complement of prepositions like *ant*:

  (23) Marij-a   rėk-ė   ant **tav-ęs**/*tav-o.
  Marija-NOM.SG shout-PST.3 on you-| GEN.NPOSS |/you-GEN.POSS

  'Marija was shouting at you.'   *Complement of P*

Generalization

	Form
Possessor Thematic Subject Grammatical Subject *By*-phrase	*tav-o* - you.GEN.POSS
Direct Object Indirect Object Complement of P Genitive of Negation	*tav-ęs* - you.GEN.NPOSS

Table: Distribution of two types of genitives

- What about the two genitives in CENs?

Two genitives in CENs

- In CENs, the agent is marked with GEN.POSS and the theme is marked with GEN.NPOSS, which is consistent with our generalization.[7]

  (24)   a.   Tu   mane   palaik-ei   daugybę metų.
             you.NOM me.ACC support-PST.2SG many   years

             'You supported me for many years.'

         b.   [Tav-o   man-ęs   palaik-ym-as   daugybę metų]
             you-GEN.POSS   me-GEN.NPOSS   support-NMLZ-NOM many   years

             'Your support of me for many years' (Adapted from Pakerys 2006)

             ☑ GEN.POSS–GEN.NPOSS

- PPs with GEN.NPOSS complement follow the deverbal noun in discourse neutral situations.

  (25)   Jon-o   **šauk-im-as**   ant vaik-o
         Jonas-GEN shout-NMLZ-NOM.SG on child-GEN

         'Jonas' shouting at a child'

---

[7] It is not possible to have two genitives of the same type.

Two genitives in CENs

- In CENs with unergatives, the agent is assigned GEN.POSS. This is expected given that in CENs with transitives, the GEN.POSS form is assigned to the agent.

  (26) [Tav-o/*tav-ęs   plaukioj-im-as   basein-e   po   dvi valandas kiekvieną
        you-GEN.POSS /you-GEN.NPOSS swim-NMLZ-NOM swimming.pool-LOC DISTR two hours   every
        dieną]
        day

  'Your swimming in the swimming pool for two hours every day.'   √GEN.POSS

  *GEN.NPOSS

Two genitives in CENs

- In CENs of unaccusatives, the GEN.POSS case is also assigned to the theme, (27). Hence, GEN.POSS is assigned to the highest available argument just like nominative case in finite clauses.

  (27) [Toks netikėtas   man-o/*man-ęs   nu-krit-im-as   nuo kėdės per   kelias
        such unexpected me-GEN.POSS /me-GEN.NPOSS PFV-fall-NMLZ-NOM.SG from chair within couple
        sekundes]
        seconds

  Lit. 'My such unexpected falling from the chair in a few seconds'   ✓GEN.POSS

  *GEN.NPOSS

Two genitives in CENs

- GEN.POSS is assigned to the agent of transitives and unergatives, and the theme argument of unaccusatives, just like nominative!
- GEN.NPOSS is assigned to the theme of CENs with transitives, just like accusative![8]

Type of DP	CENs	TP-*v*P
Agent of transitives Agent of unergatives Theme of unaccusatives	*tavo - you*.GEN.POSS	NOM
Theme of transitives	*tavęs - you*.GEN.NPOSS	ACC

---

[8]DPs with inherent case behave differently. They retain their case and occur postnominally rather than prenominally (see Pakerys 2006; Šereikaitė 2021).

Two genitives in CENs

- The case assignment **in the nominal domain** is parallel to the case assignment **in the verbal domain**.

(28)   CENs

n_{voice}P
- DP
  Agent
  GEN.POSS
- n_{voice}'
  - n_{voice}
    θ
  - vP
    - v
      - $\sqrt{grow}$
      - v
    - DP
      Theme
      GEN.NPOSS

(29)   Active Transitive

$\text{Voice}_{\text{ACT}}$P
- DP
  Agent
  NOM
- $\text{Voice}_{\text{ACT}}$'
  - $\text{Voice}_{\text{ACT}}$
    θ
  - vP
    - v
      - $\sqrt{grow}$
      - v
    - DP
      Theme
      ACC
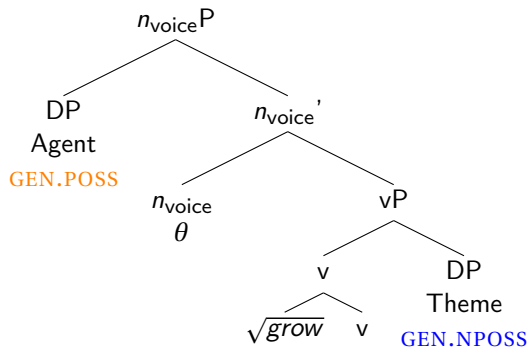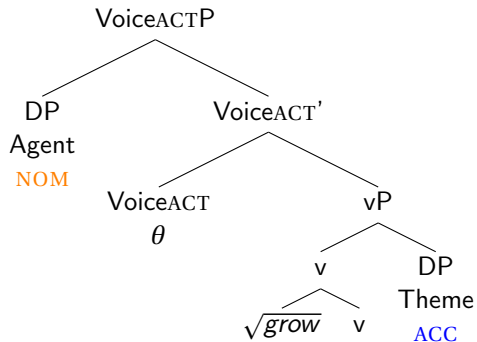
Lithuanian CENs

- Lithuanian CENs do not exhibit an ergative case pattern.
- Lithuanian CENs do not have two unmarked cases.

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A Voice-bundling parameter

- Lithuanian CENs provide evidence for a Voice-bundling parameter (Pylkkänen 2008; Harley 2017).
  - While VoiceP is an independent projection in the verbal domain in Lithuanian (Šereikaitė 2021),
  - Voice is bundled with a nominalizing *n* in the nominal domain.
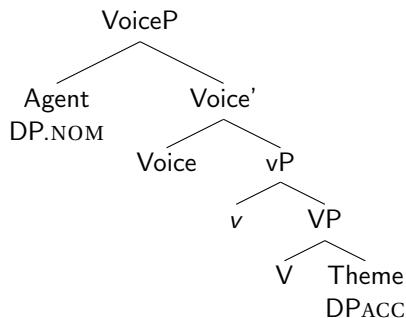
Voice Typology

➡ This study enriches the typology of Voice by showing that Voice-bundling can vary across different domains within a single language!
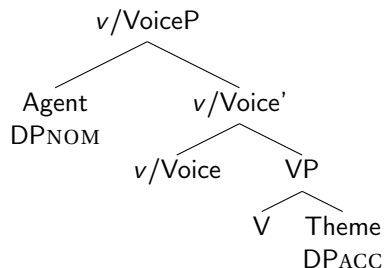
A Voice-bundling parameter in the verbal domain

- Languages vary in whether the functions of Voice and *v* are represented by one projection or two.[9]

(30) a.

```
                VoiceP
              /        \
        Agent          Voice'
        DP.NOM        /      \
                   Voice      vP
                            /    \
                           v      VP
                                 /   \
                                V    Theme
                                     DPACC
```

b.

```
                v/VoiceP
              /         \
        Agent           v/Voice'
        DPNOM          /        \
                   v/Voice       VP
                               /    \
                              V     Theme
                                    DPACC
```

	Voice-splitting	Voice-bundling
Agentive Semantics Accusative case	Voice	Voice/v
Causative Semantics Verbalization	v	Voice/v
Languages	Hiaki, Acehnese, Lithuanian	Chol, Persian, Italian

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[9]Pylkkänen 2008; Harley 2014, 2017; Legate 2014, for Split-IP parameter see Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998
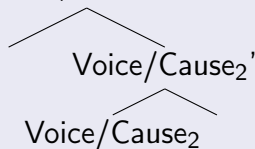
Crosslinguistic Variation

- Languages vary in which functions can be subsumed under one projection.[10]

  (31) vP>ApplP>CausP$_1$>VoiceP>CausP$_2$ (Harley 2017:27)

Bundling of different functions across languages

(32) Korean
        Voice/Cause$_2$P

              Voice/Cause$_2$'

        Voice/Cause$_2$

(33) Italian, Chol, Persian
        Voice/vP

              Voice/v'

          Voice/v

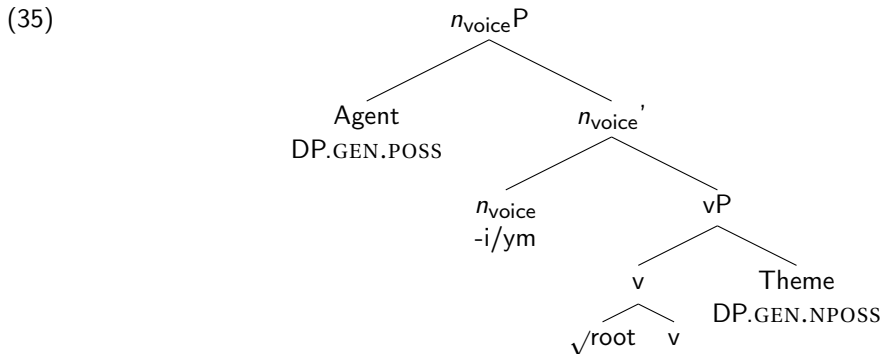(34) Lithuanian
        Voice/nP

              Voice/n'

          Voice/n

---

[10] Folli et al. 2005; Jung 2014; Coon and Preminger 2012. Also see Punske 2010, 2012.

Voice-bundling in the nominal domain

(35)

n_{voice}P

- n_{voice}P encodes functions of:
  - a nominalizing n head → it nominalizes the verbal structure
  - an active thematic Voice
    - → introduces the external argument θ-role to a DP in Specn_{voice}P
    - → assigns structural object case, non-possessive genitive, to the theme.

Voice-bundling vs. Voice-splitting

Two Structures

- How do we distinguish between the following structures?

(36)

nP
/\
n VoiceP
/\
...

(37)

n_{voice}P
/\
n_{voice}'
/\
n_{voice} ...
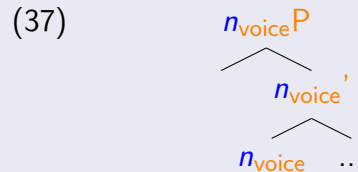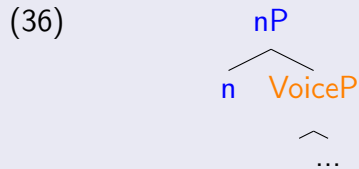
Lack of Voice morphology

- If Voice had its own separate projection distinct from *n*P, then we should be able to see a morphological reflection of it.

- In the verbal domain, the causative and passive suffixes are present as in (38b).

(38) a. Petr-as   aug-in-o   triuši-us
         Petras-NOM.SG grow-CAUS-PST.3 rabbit-ACC.PL

         'Petras was raising rabbits.'   Active

      b. Triuši-ai   buv-o   aug-in-**t**-i   Petr-o.
         rabbit-NOM.PL be-PST.3 grow-CAUS-PST.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.PL Petras-GEN.SG

         'The rabbits were raised by Petras.'   Passive

- In the nominal domain, no passive or other type of Voice morphology is present.

(39) Petr-o   triuši-ų   aug-in-**(*t)**-im-as
      Petras-GEN.SG rabbit-GEN.PL grow-CAUS-PST.PASS.PTCP-NMLZ-NOM.SG

      'Petras' raising of rabbits'   CENs

Lack of Passive in Voice-bundling languages

- If the functions of v (in our case n) and Voice are subsumed under one projection, then these functions "should appear and disappear together" (Harley 2017:4).
  → **No true passives in Voice-bundling** languages.
- In Persian, a light verb, which performs the functions of both v and Voice, cannot participate in passivization (40a).[11]
- Instead, a different light verb with a passive-like meaning is used in (40b).

  (40) *Persian*

    a. tim-e   mâ unâ-ro shekast dâd
        team-EZ we they-râ defeat gave

        'Our team defeated them.'

    b. tim-e   mâ az unâ shekast xord
        team-EZ we of they defeat collided

        'Our team was defeated by them.'
        Lit-ish: 'Our team encountered defeat from them.'   (Harley 2017, 7-8)

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[11]Folli et al. 2005; Harley 2017

Lithuanian Passive

- Consider the following minimal pair:

  (41) a. Tu   palaik-ei   mane   daugybę metų.
           you.NOM support-PST.2SG me.ACC many   years
           'You supported me for many years

        b. Aš   buv-au   tav-o   palaiko-m-as   daugybę metų.
           I.NOM be-PST.1.SG you-GEN.POSS support-PST.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG many   years
           'I was supported by you for many years.'

Passive

- In passives, the agent is demoted to an adjunct marked with GEN.POSS.

- The theme is promoted to a grammatical subject and bears nominative case.

- What about CENs?

Nominalizations without Passives

Prediction

- If CENs included passivization, then:
  1. the agent would be demoted and realized as an optional *by*-phrase marked with GEN.POSS.
  2. the theme would become the highest available argument, and therefore it should be assigned GEN.POSS, just like the theme of unaccusatives in CENs.
- This prediction **is not borne out**!

(42) [Tav-o   man-ęs   palaik-ym-as   daugybę metų]
     you-| GEN.POSS | me-| GEN.NPOSS | support-NMLZ-NOM.SG many   years
     'Your support of me for many years'

CEN of transitives

(43) *man-o   palaik-ym-as   tav-o   daugybę metų
     me-| GEN.POSS | support-NMLZ-NOM.SG you-| GEN.POSS | many   years
     Lit. 'the support of me by you for many years'

CEN of passives
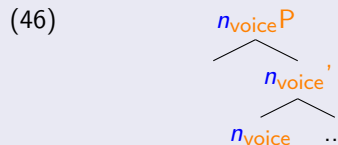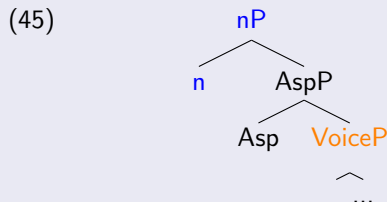
(44) *tav-o   man-o   palaik-ym-as   daugybę metų
     you-| GEN.POSS | me-| GEN.POSS | support-NMLZ-NOM.SG many   years

CEN of passives

No intervening projections in Voice-bundling

Two Structures

- In Voice-splitting languages, a high AspP between nP and VoiceP should be allowed.
- In Voice-bundling languages, no high AspP should be possible.

(45)

nP
├── n
└── AspP
    ├── Asp
    └── VoiceP
        └── ...

(46)

n_{voice}P
└── n_{voice}'
    ├── n_{voice}
    └── ...

No intervening projections

- No projections between Voice and n are possible in CENs as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of aspectual and modal affixes.

| Position	Layers	CENs	TP-vP
Inside vP	Causative -in, -din	✓	✓
	Inner Aspect iš-, nu-, su-, etc	✓	✓
	Secondary Imperfectivization -inė	✓	✓
	Reflexive clitic -si-	✓	✓
Outside vP	VoiceP	✓	✓
	Habitual Aspect dav-	*	✓
	Continuative Aspect be-	*	✓
	Modality te-	*	✓

Voice-bundling in the nominal domain

- Voice-bundling vs. Voice-splitting in the nominal domain.

|	Voice-splitting	Voice-bundling
two distinct morphemes for Voice and n	✓	*
allows intervening projections	✓	*
allows passives	✓	*

Final Structure

(47) [Tav-o   man-ęs   palaik-ym-as   daugybę metų]
    you-GEN.POSS me-GEN.NPOSS support-NMLZ-NOM many   years
    'Your support of me for many years'
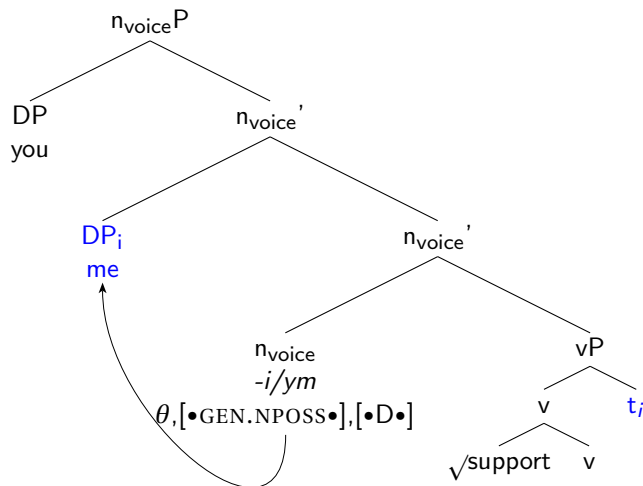
- GEN.NPOSS realized on the theme behaves like a structural accusative case, and thus is assigned by the n_{voice} head.
- DPs with GEN.NPOSS case are restricted to the prenominal position. They are assigned GEN.NPOSS under A-movement to Specn_{voice}P.

Final Structure

(48)
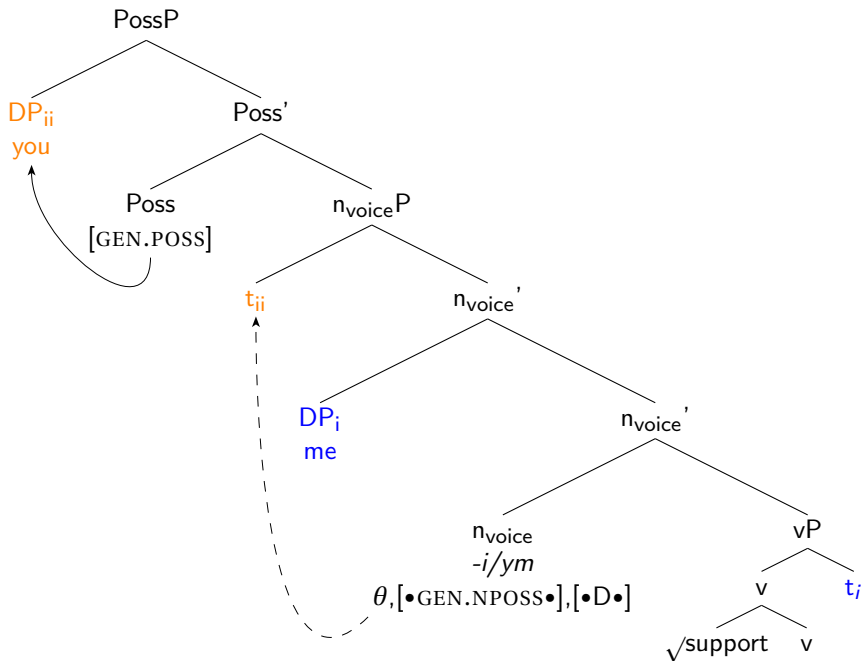
- The agent is assigned the external argument θ-role by n_{voice} and then it raises to SpecPossP to receive GEN.POSS.

Conclusion

- Whether certain functions are performed by one or two heads varies across and within languages.
- CENs have a transitive structure and a transitive case pattern suggesting that in many respects they behave like active transitive constructions rather than passives in the verbal domain.
- CENs have two syntactically distinct cases that cannot be treated as one and the same unmarked case as originally proposed in Dependent Case Theory (Baker 2015).

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Table of Contents

CENs

- Since the seminal work of Grimshaw (1990), three types of nominals can be distinguished:[12]

(i) **Complex Event Nominals** (CENs) license obligatory argument structure and denote complex events

(ii) **Simple Event Nominals** denote an event but are not associated with an event structure

(iii) **Result Nominals** refer to the result of an event or a participant[13]

    (49)   a. The examination of the patients took a long time.   *Complex*

           b. The examination took a long time.   *Simple*

           c. The examination was on the table.   *Result*

                                   (Alexiadou and Grimshaw 2008:2)

- Different types of nominals have been argued to be associated with different types of structures (e.g., Alexiadou 2001; Harley 2009; Borer 2012).

---

[12]Various types of nominals have been extensively discussed in the literature. See Alexiadou 2001, 2009, 2010; Borer 2001, 2013; Bruening 2013; Roeper and Van Hout 1999, ia.

[13]These nominals are also known as referring nominals.

Active vs. Passive

- **Voice:** both the active and the passive have a thematic VoiceP - a projection, which introduces an external argument θ-role.
- **External Argument:** However, the passive lacks a syntactically projected agent unlike the active transitive (Bruening 2013; Legate 2014).
- **Case:** The active thematic Voice assigns accusative case to the theme, whereas the passive Voice does not and the theme is realized in nominative.

(50) Active Transitive
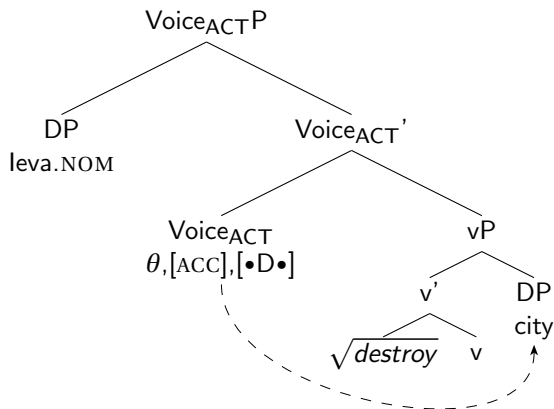
(51) Passive
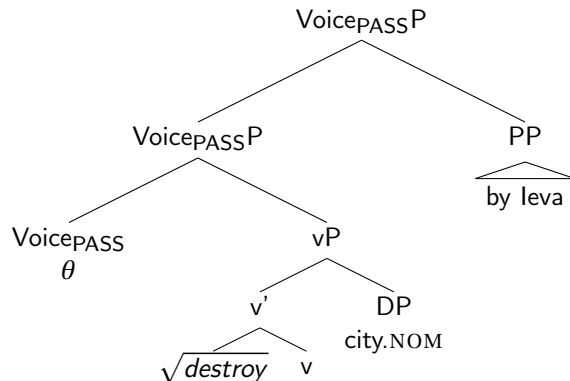
CENs and *v*P layer

- The admissibility of vP-level adverbs is another indication that nominalizations indeed contain a *v*P layer.

  (52) [Iev-os dažn-as knyg-ų skait-ym-as **garsi-ai**] man-e labai erzin-o.
  Ieva-GEN frequent books-GEN read-NMLZ-NOM loud-ADV me-DAT very irritate-PST.3

  'Ieva's frequent reading of books loudly irritated me a lot.'

CENs with a thematic VoiceP

- CENs pattern like passives in that they allow instruments which denote tools that the agent used to perform an action. This points to the presence of a thematic VoiceP.

    (53) Iev-os   dažn-as   laišk-ų   raš-ym-as   **plunksn-a**
         Ieva-GEN.SG frequent-NOM.SG letter-GEN.PL write-NMLZ-NOM.SG ink.pen-INS.SG

         'Ieva's frequent writing of letters with an ink pen.'   CENs

    (54) Laiškai   buvo   rašomi   su   **plunksn-a**.
         letter.M-NOM.PL be.PST.3 write-PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.PL with ink.pen.INS

         'The letters were (being) written with an ink pen.'   Passive

- Agent-oriented comitatives.

    (55) [Vaik-ų   gamt-os   tyr-inė-j-im-as   **kartu su tėveli-ais**]   yra
         child-GEN.PL nature-GEN.SG explore-IPFV-EP-NMLZ-NOM.SG together with parent-INS.PL be.PRS.3
         svarb-us   tiek jų   psichologin-ei   tiek emocin-ei   būsen-ai.
         important-NOM.SG that they.GEN psychological-DAT.SG and emotional-DAT.SG state-DAT.SG

         'Children's exploration of nature is important for their psychological and emotional state.'[14]

CENs and vP external layers

- Nevertheless, CENs are deficient when it comes to *v*P-external layers. They lack outer aspect e.g., the habitual marked by the suffix -dav.

  (56) Aš   dažy-dav-au   automobili-us kiekvien-ą   dien-ą.
       I.NOM paint-HAB-PST.1SG car-ACC.PL   every-ACC.SG day-ACC.SG

       'I used to paint cars every day.'   Active

  (57) [Man-o   automobili-ų daž-(*dav)-ym-as   kiekvien-ą   dien-ą]
       me-GEN.POSS car-GEN.PL   paint-HAB-NMLZ-NOM.SG every-ACC.SG day-ACC.SG

       'my painting of cars every day'   CENs

CENs with PPs

- GEN.NPOSS is not assigned by a silent P since. Unlike the theme, PPs follow the nominal in neutral discourse situations as illustrated here with the preposition *ant* 'on', which takes a genitive complement.

  (58) a. Jon-as   šauk-ė   ant vaik-o.
          Jonas-NOM shout-PST.3 on child-GEN

          'Jonas shouted at a child.'

  b. Jon-o   **šauk-im-as**   ant vaik-o
     Jonas-GEN shout-NMLZ-NOM.SG on child-GEN

     'Jonas' shouting at child'

  c. *Jon-o   ant vaik-o   **šauk-im-as**
     Jonas-GEN on child-GEN shout-NMLZ-NOM.SG

     'Jonas' shouting at child'

CENs with dative DPs

- The inherent dative is retained in CENs. DPs bearing this case occur postnominally whereas DPs bearing structural case occur prenominally, which is evidence for A-movement.

  (59) a. Jon-as   tarnav-o   atėjūn-ams.
       Jonas-NOM.SG serve-PST.3 invader-**DAT.PL**
       'Jonas served the invaders.'

  b. Jon-o   tarnav-im-as   atėjūn-ams
     Jonas-GEN serve-NMLZ-NOM invaders-**DAT**
     'Jonas' serving the invaders'

  c. *Jon-o   atėjūn-ams   tarnav-im-as
     Jonas-GEN invaders-**DAT** serve-NMLZ-NOM
     'Jonas' serving the invaders'

  d. *Jon-o   atėjūn-ų   tarnav-im-as
     Jonas-GEN invaders-**GEN** serve-NMLZ-NOM
     Intended 'Jonas' serving the invaders'

  e. *Jon-o   tarnav-im-as   atėjūn-ų
     Jonas-GEN serve-NMLZ-NOM invaders-**GEN**
     Intended 'Jonas' serving the invaders'

Two types of genitives

- GEN.POSS in evidentials with unaccusative predicates.

  (60) Kur **tav-o**/*tav-ęs gim-t-a
  where you. GEN.POSS /you-GEN.NPOSS born-PST.PASS.PTCP-[-AGR]

  'Where you must have been born.'[15]   *Subject of Evidential*

- GEN.NPOSS with predicates that take two internal arguments.

  (61) Senel-ė papraš-ė tav-ęs/*tav-o vand-ens.
  grandmother-NOM.SG ask-PST.3 you- GEN.NPOSS /you-GEN.POSS water-GEN.SG

  'Grandmother asked you for water.'

- Additional pattern with CENs and two types of genitives.

  (62) *[Tav-ęs man-o palaik-ym-as daugybę metų]
  you- GEN.NPOSS me- GEN.POSS support-NMLZ-NOM many years

  'Your support of me for many years'
                              (Adapted from Pakerys 2006:138)   *GEN.NPOSS-GEN.POSS

---

[15]Adapted from https://www.zodynas.lt/terminu-zodynas/J/jaunikauti accessed on April 9, 2021
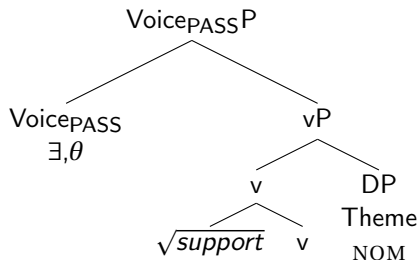
Passives

- In passives without a *by*-phrase, the theme is realized as a nominative grammatical subject, and the implicit agent is not projected in the syntax.[16]

  (63) John was cited.

  (64) Aš   buv-au   palaiko-m-as   daugybę metų.
        I.NOM be-PST.1.SG support-PST.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG many   years

        I was supported for many years.'

- The external argument variable is existentially bound.

  (65) Short Passive

- The absence of a syntactically projected argument is signaled by the agent's inability to bind.

---

[16]Bruening 2013; Legate 2014; Legate et al. 2020; Šereikaitė 2021

Passives

- The implicit agent cannot bind the anaphor *savo* or *sau* suggesting that it is not syntactically present in the structure.

(66) Darbuotoj-ai   (yra)   rūšiuoja-m-i   pagal   *savo*ᵢ įsitikinimus.
     employee-NOM.M.PL be.PRS.3 divide-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.PL according.to self.GEN beliefs.ACC

     'The employees are being divided according to his beliefs.' [according to initiator's beliefs]
     Passive

     (Šereikaitė 2021 ex.47)

(67) ??Žmogiškum-as   buv-o   praras-t-as   dėl   sauᵢ nežinom-ų
     humanness-NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 lose-PST.PASS.PTCP-NOM.M.SG because.of self.DAT unknown-GEN
     priežasči-ų.
     reasons-GEN

     'The humanness was lost due to reasons that are unknown to oneself.'   *Passive*
     (Šereikaitė 2021 ex.52)

Nominalizations without Passives

Prediction 2

- If CENs included passivization, then they should lack an implicit agent that is syntactically projected in the structure.
- This prediction **is not borne out**.
  - The implicit agent binds the *self* anaphor, and thus is projected.
  - The theme bears a structural object case, namely GEN.NPOSS, and thus is a grammatical object.

(68) toks išskirtinis IMP$_i$ man-ęs   palaik-ym-as   dėl   naudos **sau**$_i$
      such exceptional   me-| GEN.NPOSS | support-NMLZ-NOM because.of benefit self.DAT

    'such exceptional support of me due to reasons that were beneficial for oneself'

(69) Kai kuriais atvejais IMP$_i$ saug-os   dirž-o   taisymas   **savo**$_i$ rankomis reikalauja...
      some cases   safety-GEN belt-GEN fix-NMLZ-NOM self$_i$ hands   require

    'In some cases the fixing of safety belt with one's own hands requires...'

Nominalizations and binding

- The agent in CENs can also bind the reciprocal each other and the self anaphor *savęs*, which bears GEN.NPOSS case.

  (70) IMP$_i$ maisto gamin-im-as pagal vienas kito$_i$ receptus.
       food.GEN make-NMLZ-NOM according.to each other.GEN recipes-GEN

      'making of food according to each other's recipes'

  (71) [Nuolatinis IMP$_i$ sav-ęs$_i$ palaik-ym-as] duod-a reali-ą psichologin-ę naud-ą.
       constant self-GEN.NPOSS support-NMLZ-NOM give-PRS.3 real psychological benefit-ACC

      'Such constant support of oneself gives a real psychological benefit.'[17]

Nominalizations with a theme bearing GEN.POSS

- If the CEN has one overt DP that bears GEN.POSS case, then that DP can be interpreted as an agent (Pakerys 2006). No overt theme is present under this reading.
- Pakerys 2006 notes that the DP with GEN.POSS can be also interpreted as a theme in (72)-(i). 6 out of 8 consultants reported that this type of reading is not available to them as indicated in (72)-(ii).

  (72) Tav-o   palaik-ym-as   vis-us   nustebin-o.
        you- GEN.POSS   support-NMLZ-NOM.SG everyone-ACC surprise-PST.3

        (i) 'Your support was unexpected to everyone.'   Agent
        (ii) 'The support of you was unexpected to everyone'   %Theme

- This ambiguity does not arise with all types of predicates. This may be associated with a distinct structure.

  (73) a. mano/tavo   valgymas
            me.GEN.POSS/you.GEN.POSS eating

            'my/your eating'   Agent ✓, *Theme

        b. manęs/tavęs   valgymas
            me.GEN.NPOSS/you.GEN.NPOSS eating

            'eating of me/you'   *Agent, ✓Theme

Nominalizations with unaccusative predicates

- In constructions with unaccusative predicates, I assume that there is an expletive Voice, which is distinct from an agentive VoiceP.
- This Voice is bundled together with a n head.

(74)

PossP
- DP$_i$ Theme
- Poss'
  - Poss [GEN.POSS]
  - n_{voice}P
    - n_{voice}
    - vP
      - v
        - √fall
        - v
      - t$_i$