

# Nominalizations without passives: evidence from Lithuanian

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BCGL 15: Argument structure, theta-roles, and their realization

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- 2 Overview of CENs in Lithuanian
- 3 CENs and two types of genitives
- 4 Voice-bundling in the nominal domain
- 5 Appendix A: Layers and Case

# Today

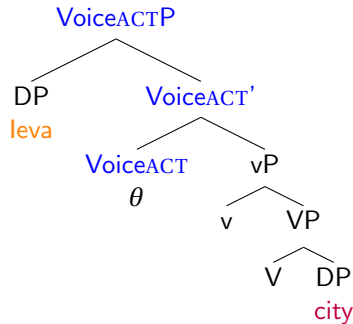
## Goal

- In this talk, I will explore the validity of UTAH (Baker 1988) through the lens of complex event nominalizations (CENs) in Lithuanian (Baltic).

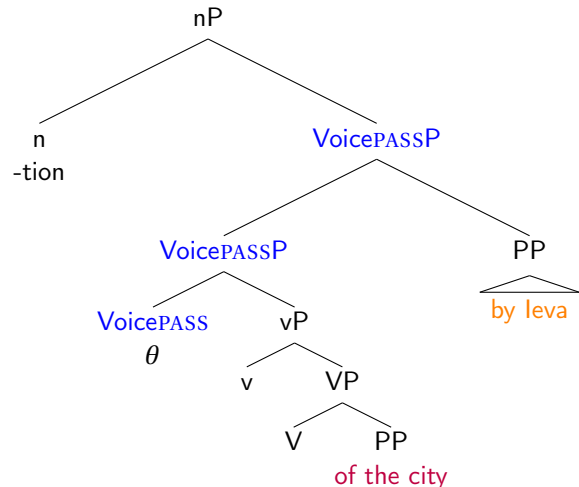
# Traditional approaches

- UTAH (Baker 1988) requires particular theta-roles to be assigned in particular structural positions
- Argument structure alternations e.g., active vs. CENs present a challenge
- CENs<sup>1</sup> have a defective, passive-like Voice, the agent is an adjunct, there is no accusative object.

(1) 'leva destroyed the city.'



(2) 'the destruction of the city by leva'



<sup>1</sup>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) **leva's** destruction of the city
  - (4) the destruction of the city **by leva**
- **Case:** CENs exhibit an ergative case pattern, which results from the presence of a passive VoiceP (e.g., Alexiadou 2001, 2017; Salanova 2007; Imanishi 2014).
  - The theme of transitives and the single argument of intransitives have a structural genitive case analogous to **absolutive**
  - The agent of transitives is often realized in a PP and bears a different case analogous to **ergative**.

# Today

- ▶ I provide counterevidence to 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 clause

# Nominalizations in Lithuanian

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

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

‘Petras was raising rabbits.’

b. Petr-o            triuš-i-ų            aug-in-im-as  
 Petras-GEN.SG rabbit-GEN.PL grow-CAUS-NMLZ-NOM.SG

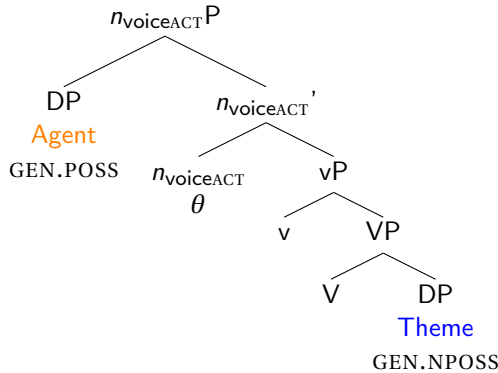
(i) ‘Petras’ raising of rabbits’, (ii) ‘raising of Petras’ rabbits’

(Pakerys 2006:129)

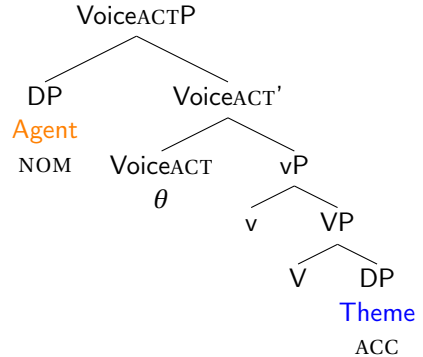
<sup>2</sup>The ‘double genitive’ pattern is also found in Finnish, Japanese, Greek result nominals, Estonian, Latvian, Maltese and Tamil. For CENs in Lithuanian see Pakerys 2006; Vladarskienė 2010; Zaika 2016.

# Nominalizations and Voice-bundling

## (6) CENs



## (7) Active Transitive



- CENs license transitive syntax and do not include passive Voice.
- **Voice-bundling**:<sup>3</sup>  $n_{\text{voice}}\text{P}$  encodes the functions of  $n$  and an **active** thematic Voice.
  - $n_{\text{voice}}\text{P}$  - **i**) nominalizes the verbal structure, **ii**) introduces an external argument  $\theta$ -role

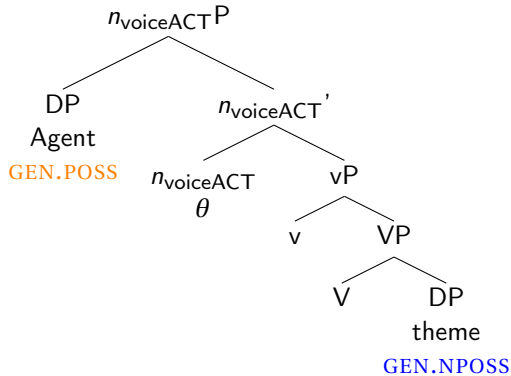
➤ Voice-bundling can be crosscategorical, found in the nominal domain!

<sup>3</sup>Pyllkänen 2008, 2002; Jung 2014; Harley 2017; Folli et al. 2005; Punske 2010, 2012

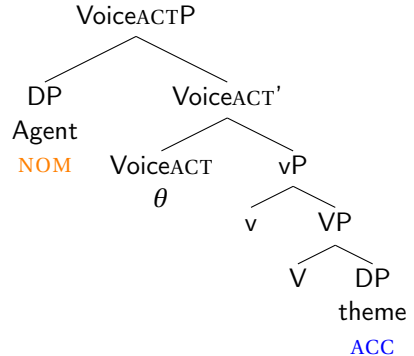


# Nominalizations and Transitive Case Pattern

(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! (for an ergative pattern in CENs see e.g., Alexiadou 2001, 2017; Salanova 2007; Imanishi 2014)

# 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: allow telic modifiers, verbal affixes, the theme argument is obligatory.<sup>4</sup>

- (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'

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

Table: Layers Identified in CENs

<sup>4</sup>CENs in Lithuanian support the phrasal layering approach (Borer 2012, 2013; Roeper and Van Hout 1999; Alexiadou 2001, 2017; Fu et al. 2001; Embick 2010) as opposed to for the complex head analysis see Wood 2021; Marantz 2022.

# CENs and a thematic VoiceP

- Lithuanian CENs also have a thematic VoiceP, which introduces an external argument  $\theta$ -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

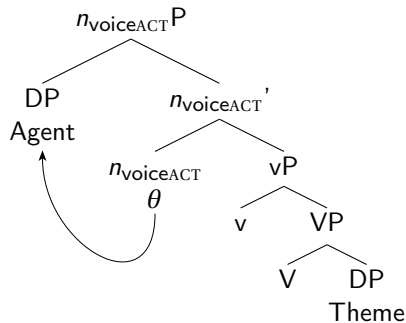
- CENs do not allow agent-oriented adverbs which attach at the level of a verbal Voice head. Instead, CENs occur with agent-oriented adjectives.

- (11) 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

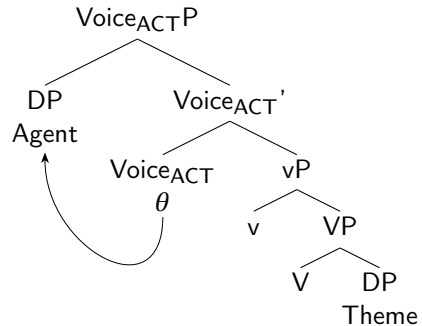
# Layers Identified in the Structure

- 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  $n_{\text{voiceACT}}$ , which assigns an external argument  $\theta$ -role.

(12) CENs



(13) Active Transitive



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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.
  - evidence for the structure that is analogous to that of an active clause

# 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.

(14) 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'

(15) i afiksi ton pedion  
 the arrive the children. GEN  
 'the children's arrival'

(16) 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!**

# 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:<sup>5</sup>

GEN.POSS	GEN.NPOSS
<i>man-o</i> - I	<i>man-ęs</i> - I
<i>tav-o</i> - you	<i>tav-ęs</i> - you
<i>sav-o</i> - self	<i>sav-ęs</i> - self

- GEN.POSS is assigned to possessors.

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

*Possessor*

<sup>5</sup>See Ambrazas 2004, Pakerys 2006:132-133, Germain 2017:104-105.



# Distribution of non-possessive genitive

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

(20) Ji lauki-a tav-~~es~~/\*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*:

(21) Marij-a rèk-è ant tav-~~es~~/\*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	<i>tav-o</i> - you.GEN.POSS
Direct Object Indirect Object Complement of P Genitive of Negation	<i>tav-əs</i> - 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.<sup>6</sup>

(22) 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

<sup>6</sup>It is not possible to have two genitives of the same type. Furthermore, the theme with GEN.NPOSS case is not a complement of PP: PPs in CENs occur postnominally whereas the theme in (22b) occurs prenominally.



# Two genitives in CENs

- In CENs of unaccusatives, the GEN.POSS case is also assigned to the theme, (24). Hence, GEN.POSS is assigned to the highest available argument just like nominative case in finite clauses.

(24) [Toks netikêtas    man-o/\*man-ęs                      nu-krit-im-as                      nuo kêdês]  
 such unexpected me-GEN.POSS/me-GEN.NPOSS PFV-fall-NMLZ-NOM.SG from chair

Lit. 'my such unexpected falling from the chair'

✓ 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!<sup>7</sup>

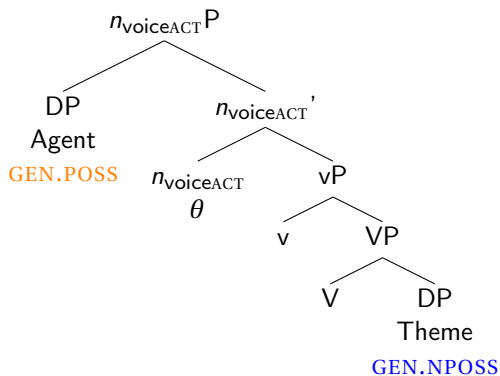
Type of DP	CENs	TP- <i>v</i> P
Agent of transitives Agent of unergatives Theme of unaccusatives	<i>tavo</i> - <i>you</i> .GEN.POSS	NOM
Theme of transitives	<i>tavęs</i> - <i>you</i> .GEN.NPOSS	ACC

<sup>7</sup>DPs with inherent case behave differently. They retain their case and occur postnominally rather than prenominally (see Pakerys 2006; Šereikaitė 2021).

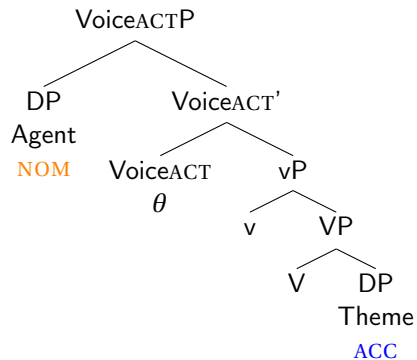
# Two genitives in CENs

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

(25) CENs



(26) Active Transitive



## Lithuanian CENs

- Lithuanian CENs do not exhibit an ergative case pattern.
- Lithuanian CENs license transitive syntax.

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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),
  - Active Voice is bundled with a nominalizing *n* in the nominal domain.

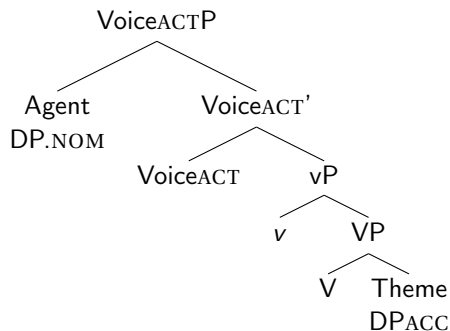
## Voice Typology

- ▶ Voice-bundling can be crosscategorical.

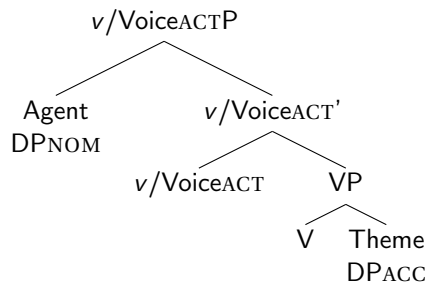
# A Voice-bundling parameter in the verbal domain

- Languages vary in whether the functions of Voice and  $v$  are represented by one projection or two.<sup>8</sup>

(27) a.



b.



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

<sup>8</sup>Pyllkkänen 2008; Harley 2014, 2017; Legate 2014, for Split-IP parameter see Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998



# Crosslinguistic Variation

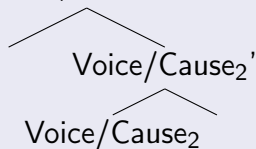
- Languages vary in which functions can be subsumed under one projection.<sup>9</sup>

(28)  $vP > ApplP > CausP_1 > VoiceP > CausP_2$  (Harley 2017:27)

## Bundling of different functions across languages

(29) Korean

Voice/Cause<sub>2</sub>P



(30) Italian, Chol, Persian

Voice/vP



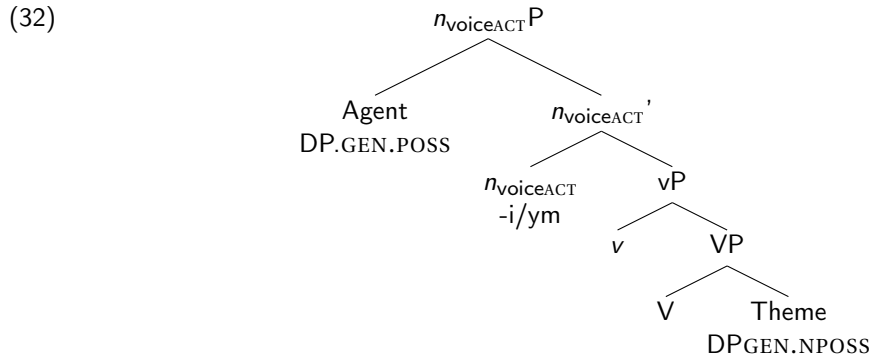
(31) Lithuanian

Voice/nP



<sup>9</sup> Folli et al. 2005; Jung 2014; Coon and Preminger 2012. Also see Punske 2010, 2012.

## Voice-bundling in the nominal domain

 $n_{\text{voice}}^P$ 

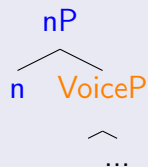
- $n_{\text{voice}}^P$  encodes functions of:
  - a nominalizing  $n$  head → it nominalizes the verbal structure
  - an active thematic Voice
    - introduces the external argument  $\theta$ -role to a DP in  $\text{Spec}n_{\text{voice}}^P$
    - assigns structural object case, non-possessive genitive,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

# Voice-bundling vs. Voice-splitting

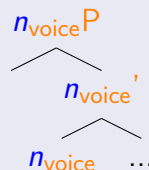
## Two Structures

- How do we distinguish between the following structures?

(33)



(34)



## Lack of Voice morphology

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

(35) 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.

(36) 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 (37a).<sup>10</sup>
- Instead, a different light verb with a passive-like meaning is used in (37b).

## (37) 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)

<sup>10</sup>Folli et al. 2005; Harley 2017

## Lithuanian Passive

- Consider the following minimal pair:

(38) 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 1

- 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!**

(39) [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

(40) \*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

(41) \*tav-o            man-o            palaik-ym-as            daugybę metų  
 you-GEN.POSS me-GEN.POSS support-NMLZ-NOM.SG many years

CEN of passives

# Passives

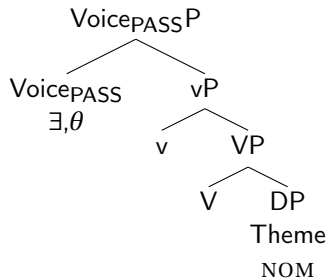
- In passives without a *by*-phrase, the theme is realized as a nominative grammatical subject, and the implicit agent is not projected in the syntax.<sup>11</sup>

(42) John was cited.

(43) 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.

(44) *Short Passive*



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

<sup>11</sup>Bruening 2013; Legate 2014; Legate et al. 2020, see Šereikaitė 2020; Šereikaitė 2021; Šereikaitė 2022 for the Lithuanian passive



# Passives

- The implicit agent cannot bind the anaphor *savo* or *sau* suggesting that it is not syntactically present in the structure of passives.<sup>12</sup>

(i) \*Darbuotoj-ai (yra) rūšiuoja-m-i pagal savo; 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)

(ii) ??Žmogiškum-as buv-o praras-t-as dėl sau; 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)

<sup>12</sup>See Collins 2005 for a different approach on short passives in English.

# 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**.

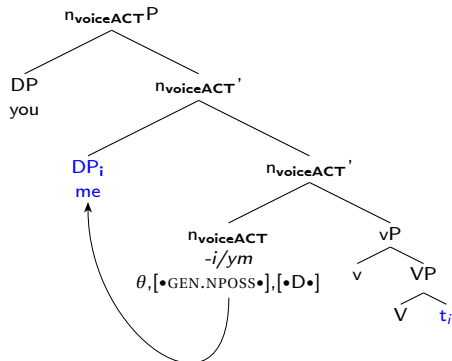
- (45) Kai kuriais atvejais [IMP; saug-os dirž-o taisymas **savo**]; rankomis reikalauja...  
 some cases safety-GEN belt-GEN fix-NMLZ-NOM self; hands require  
 ‘In some cases the fixing of safety belt with one’s own hands requires...’ (internet example)
- (46) [Nuolatinis IMP; **sav-ės**; palaik-ym-as] duod-a reali-ą psichologin-ę naud-ą.  
 constant self-GEN.NPOSS support-NMLZ-NOM.SG give-PRS.3 real psychological benefit-ACC  
 ‘Such constant support of oneself gives a real psychological benefit.’ (internet example)

- No passivization in CENs

## Final Structure

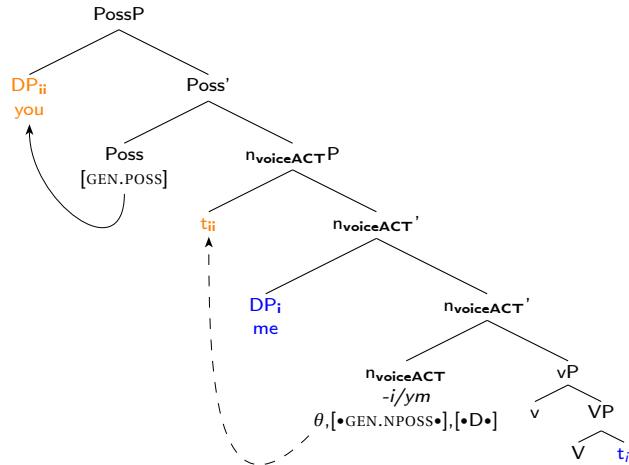
- (47) [Tav-o man-ę palaik-ym-as daugybę metų]  
 you-GEN.POSS me-GEN.NPOSS support-NMLZ-NOM many years  
 'Your support of me for many years'

- GEN.NPOSS realized on **the theme** behaves like a structural accusative case, and thus is assigned by the  $n_{\text{voiceACT}}$  head.
- DPs with GEN.NPOSS case are restricted to the prenominal position. They are assigned GEN.NPOSS under A-movement to  $\text{Spec}_{\text{voiceACT}^P}$  position.



## Final Structure

(48)



- The agent is assigned the external argument  $\theta$ -role by  $n_{voiceACT}$  and then it raises to SpecPossP to receive GEN.POSS.

# Conclusion

- 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.

# Conclusion

- Whether certain functions are performed by one or two heads varies across and within languages. Specifically the following typological patterns may be distinguished:<sup>13</sup>

	Active Voice	Passive Voice
	English Gerunds	CENs in Turkish
	Lithuanian	CENs in English

Table: The typology of Voice in the nominal domain

<sup>13</sup>I thank Laura Kalin for the discussion of the typology of Voice.

# Thank you to ...

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# Table of Contents

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Overview of CENs in Lithuanian
- 3 CENs and two types of genitives
- 4 Voice-bundling in the nominal domain
- 5 Appendix A: Layers annd Case

## CENs

- Since the seminal work of Grimshaw (1990), three types of nominals can be distinguished:<sup>14</sup>
  - (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<sup>15</sup>

- (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).

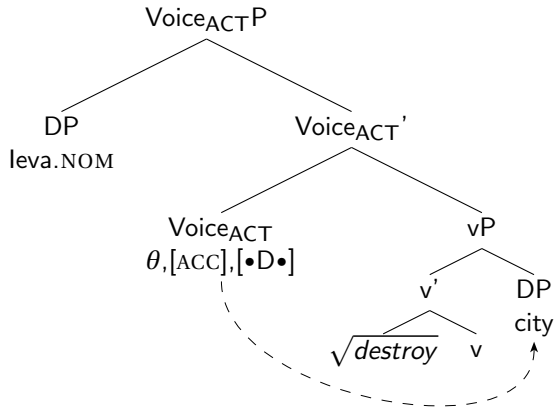
<sup>14</sup>Various types of nominals have been extensively discussed in the literature. See Alexiadou 2001, 2009, 2010; Borer 2001, 2013; Bruening 2013; Roeper and Van Hout 1999, ia.

<sup>15</sup>These nominals are also known as referring nominals.

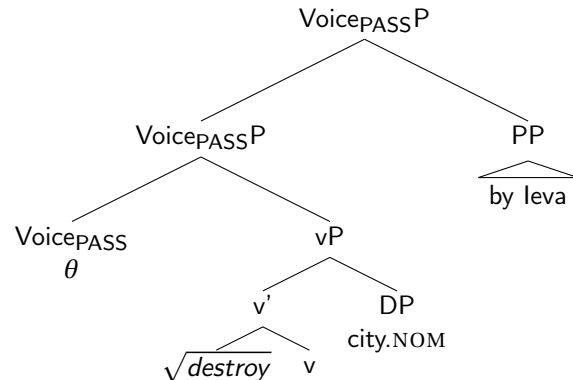
## Active vs. Passive

- **Voice:** both the active and the passive have a thematic VoiceP - a projection, which introduces an external argument  $\theta$ -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 vP layer

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

(52) [Iev-os dažn-as knyg-ų skait-ym-as **garsi-ai**] man-e labai erzín-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

'leva'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.'<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup>Adapted from [https://www.vdu.lt/cris/bitstream/20.500.12259/108151/1/evelina\\_s\\_ankauskaite\\_b.d.pdf](https://www.vdu.lt/cris/bitstream/20.500.12259/108151/1/evelina_s_ankauskaite_b.d.pdf) Accessed on 10-20-2021

# CENs and vP external layers

- Nevertheless, CENs are deficient when it comes to vP-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)
- Jon-as            tarnav-o    atējūn-ams.  
Jonas-NOM.SG serve-PST.3 invader-DAT.PL  
'Jonas served the invaders.'
  - Jon-o            tarnav-im-as    atējūn-ams  
Jonas-GEN serve-NMLZ-NOM invaders-DAT  
'Jonas' serving the invaders'
  - \*Jon-o            atējūn-ams    tarnav-im-as  
Jonas-GEN invaders-DAT serve-NMLZ-NOM  
'Jonas' serving the invaders'
  - \*Jon-o            atējūn-ū        tarnav-im-as  
Jonas-GEN invaders-GEN serve-NMLZ-NOM  
Intended 'Jonas' serving the invaders'
  - \*Jon-o            tarnav-im-as    atējūn-ū  
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.'<sup>17</sup>

*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

<sup>17</sup>Adapted from <https://www.zodynas.lt/terminu-zodynas/J/jaunikauti> accessed on April 9, 2021

# 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 (63)-(i). 6 out of 8 consultants reported that this type of reading is not available to them as indicated in (63)-(ii).

(63) 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.

(64) 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

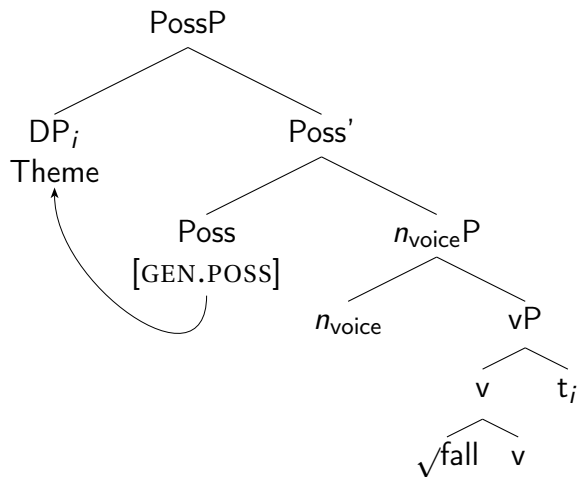
'eating of me/you'

\*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.

(65)





# CENs and a thematic VoiceP

- The first argument for the presence of Voice in Lithuanian CENs is an obligatory agentive reading.<sup>18</sup>

*Context: In Vilnius, there was a reading competition. Each participant had to read Shakespeare's sonnets. Each reading is attended by a judge who evaluates the performance of the participants.*

(66) Skaitov-ų konkurs-o met-u pirm-o teisėj-o Šekspyr-o  
 reciter-GEN.PL competition-GEN.SG time-INS.SG first-GEN.SG judge-GEN.SG Shakespeare-GEN.SG  
 sonet-ų skait-ym-as] buv-o daug raišk-esn-is negu antr-o  
 sonnet-GEN.PL reading-NMLZ-NOM.SG be-PST.3 more expressive-COMP-NOM.SG than second-GEN.SG  
 teisėj-o.  
 judge-GEN.SG

'During the poetry recitation competition, the first judge's reading of Shakespeare's sonnets was more expressive than the second judge's reading.'

(i) ✓ The judge read the sonnets herself.

(ii) # The judge attended the reading, but did not read the sonnets.

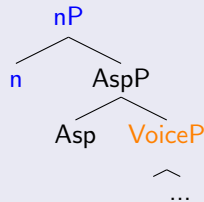
<sup>18</sup>Note that English CENs do not require this type of reading in examples like "Maria's reading of *Pride and Prejudice* received better reviews than *Anna's*." (Kratzer 1996:128) where Maria is the one who attended the reading.

# 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.

(67)



(68)



# 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- <i>v</i> P
Inside <i>v</i> P	Causative <i>-in, -din</i>	✓	✓
	Inner Aspect <i>iš-, nu-, su-, etc</i>	✓	✓
	Secondary Imperfectivization <i>-iné</i>	✓	✓
	Reflexive clitic <i>-si-</i>	✓	✓
Outside <i>v</i> P	VoiceP	✓	✓
	Habitual Aspect <i>dav-</i>	*	✓
	Continuative Aspect <i>be-</i>	*	✓
	Modality <i>te-</i>	*	✓

# 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	✓	*
transitive case pattern	*	✓

**Table:** Diagnostics for Voice-splitting vs. Voice-bundling in the nominal domain