

Is There a Passive Evidential Strategy in Lithuanian?*

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0. Preliminaries

Evidentiality is a modal category that qualifies propositions in terms of the speaker's source of information (e.g., reported, inferential, hearsay). Compare epistemic modals, which mark the speaker's *judgment* of the factual status of the proposition, rather than the source of this knowledge. Evidentials are typically marked with verbal affixes, clitics, or particles. Languages that lack an evidential category generally mark this meaning by means of periphrasis (*it is said...*) or evidential adverbs (*allegedly, reportedly, evidently*) (Aikhenvald 2004, Cinque 1999). Lithuanian has two productive evidential constructions, one in which the verb bears non-agreeing passive participial morphology, as in (1), and a second in which the verb bears agreeing active participial morphology, as in (2), a modified perfect tense construction. In both cases an evidential reading arises in the absence of lexical or morphological marking.

(1) "Passive Evidential"¹

- a. Jo būta kareivio.
he:GEN be:PASS.[-AGR] soldier:GEN
'(They say) he was a soldier.' [Ambrasas et al. 1997:662]
- b. Tada mūsų jau būta atsigulta.
then we:GEN already AUX:PASS.[-AGR] lie-down:PASS.[-AGR]
'We had evidently already gone to bed by then.' [Ambrasas et al. 1997:284]

* I thank Asta Zelenkauskaitė of Indiana University and Evelina Gužauskytė of Wellesley College for judgments on the Lithuanian data and Cori Anderson of Princeton University for valuable research assistance and discussion.

¹ I use the term "passive evidential" for the sake of convenience, making reference to the predicate-final morphology. I will argue against treating the passive evidential as an extension of the passive proper.

- c. Jo būta išeita.
he:GEN AUX:PASS.[-AGR] gone-out:PASS.[-AGR]
'He apparently has gone out.' [Ambrazas et al. 1997:284]

(2) "Perfect Evidential"

- a. Jonas rašęs laišką.
Jonas:NOM.M written:PST.ACT.PART.M.SG letter:ACC
'They say Jonas wrote the letter.'
- b. Jis esąs atsiskyręs nuo
he:NOM.M AUX:PRES.ACT.PART.M.SG divorced:PST.ACT.PART.M.SG from
žmonos.
wife
'He is reportedly divorced from his wife.' [adapted from Schmalstieg 1988:114]

Compare the non-evidential counterparts of (1a) and (2a) given in (3a-b):

- (3) a. Jis buvo kareivis.
he:NOM be.PST.3SG soldier:NOM
'He was a soldier.'
- b. Jonas yra / buvo rašęs laišką.
Jonas:NOM.M AUX:PRES / AUX:PST written:PST.ACT.PART.M.SG letter:ACC
'Jonas has / had written the letter.'

The two evidential "strategies" in Lithuanian have generally been treated separately (see, e.g., Timberlake 1982, Gronemeyer 1997, and Aikhenvald 2004). However, as several researchers have noted (Ambrazas 1990:228, Holvoet 2001:72, 84, and Wälchli 2000), the evidentials in (1-2) differ from their non-evidential counterparts in (3) solely in terms of finiteness. In the evidentials only, a finite predication is replaced by a non-finite one. This suggests that there is no *passive* evidential strategy in the language *per se*, but rather that certain passive participles merely participate in the evidential system, crucially when not supported by a finite auxiliary, which is otherwise necessary in Lithuanian passives.²

This paper is loosely inspired by the link between epistemic modality and the neutralization of tense in English and other languages. Note, for example, the case of English *can/could*, discussed by Stowell (2004:625):

² In canonical Lithuanian passives, the present tense auxiliary, *yra*, may be elided, causing a potential ambiguity with the evidential, which is resolved, as we will see, by word order (see fn. 3).

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- (4) a. Jack's wife can't be very rich.
[it is not possible that Jack's wife is very rich]
- b. Jack's wife couldn't be very rich.
[it is not possible that Jack's wife is very rich;
*it was not possible that Jack's wife was very rich]

In both (4a-b) the epistemic modal evaluation holds at the actual utterance time (UT); *could* does not report a past tense (PT) interpretation. Compare the root (dynamic) modals in (5):

- (5) a. Jack can't move his hand. [ability at UT]
b. Jack couldn't move his hand. [ability at PT]

It is well known that marked moods often exhibit a reduction in tense distinctions (see Palmer 2001 for discussion). Evidential modality in Lithuanian suppresses finite Tense. It is wholly dependent on the combination of participial morphology and zero- or non-finite auxiliaries.

The remaining sections of the paper are organized in the following way. Section 1 explores the distribution of non-agreeing (“impersonal”) passive forms in Lithuanian more generally. Several arguments are adduced here and in Section 2 against treating evidentiality in Lithuanian as an extension of the passive. The idea of an overt evidential head in the language is explored and rejected in favor of reducing evidential marking to a clausal property. Section 3 elaborates on the relation between Mood and Tense; a non-finite predication is shown to encode evidential meaning as a Balto-Finnic areal feature. Section 4 presents an implementation of “clausal” evidential marking.

1. Lithuanian “Impersonal Passives”

We now consider Lithuanian passive-like forms in more detail and the range of predicate types that occur with passive participial morphology. Lithuanian has received considerable attention for attaching passive participial morphology to passives, unaccusatives, and zero-place predicates (see Timberlake 1982, Postal 1986, Baker, Johnson, and Roberts 1989, Nunes 1994, Lavine 1999, and Blevins 2003, among others), flouting the many bans on passivizing predicates that lack an external argument (such as Relational Grammar's 1AEX or the Theta Criterion violation under Baker, Johnson, and Roberts' system in which the passive morpheme itself is assigned the predicate's external theta role).

We observed in (1b) that double passive marking results in an evidential. Note in (6) that “repassivization” (passivizing the finite auxiliary of a predicate already marked as passive) also yields an evidential reading. (6a) is a canonical passive; (6b) is its

“repassivized” counterpart. An additional example is given in (7). The passive evidential has a deductive or inferential reading.

- (6) a. Hana buvo apgautà (savo seserų).
 Hannah:NOM.F.SG AUX:PAST deceived:PASS.F.SG REFL sisters:GEN.PL
 ‘Hannah was deceived by her sisters.’
- b. Hanos būta (savo seserų) apgautos.
 Hannah:GEN.F.SG AUX:PASS.[–AGR] REFL sisters:GEN.PL deceived:PASS.GEN.F.SG
 Lit: ‘by Hannah it is been deceived by her sisters’
 ‘Hannah has apparently been deceived by her sisters.’
- (7) a. Laikrodis buvo (mano) pirktas.
 watch:NOM.M.SG AUX:PAST me:GEN bought:PASS.M.SG
 ‘The watch was purchased (by me).’
- b. Laikrodžio būta (mano) pirktu.
 watch:GEN.M.SG AUX:PASS.[–AGR] me:GEN bought:PASS.GEN.M.SG
 ‘Evidently the watch was purchased by me.’ [adapted from Timberlake 1982:518]

The double-passive and repassivized forms contain the following features: (i) a genitive NP (the form of Lithuanian *by*-phrases) appears in the sentence-initial position, in contrast to the position of the genuine *by*-phrases in (6a) and (7a), suggesting no change in topic-comment structure in the repassivized forms. The sentence-initial genitive NP is obligatory, unlike *by*-phrases elsewhere in Lithuanian and in most other languages, where the demoted agent functions as an optional adjunct.³ (ii) The passive ‘be’ auxiliary (*būti*) is itself non-finite and passive in form. And (iii) the dedicated non-agreeing past passive *-ta* (or present passive *-ma*) appears on both the auxiliary and main verb in the double passive in (1b-c); in the repassivized forms in (6b) and (7b), the main verb appears as a predicate nominal, agreeing in case, gender, and number with the sentence-initial genitive NP.⁴

Let us first explore whether the evidential system in Lithuanian involves an extension of the passive (as suggested by Aikhenvald 2004:116-117). For example, the evidential reading might arise whenever the passive is doubly-marked (or, in the case of copular

³ The sentence-initial genitive NP appears in all passive evidentials in the language. In the case of passive evidentials formed from basic transitive verbs, which do not admit double-marking, the sentence-initial position of the genitive Agent distinguishes the construction as an evidential, rather than as a passive with an elided auxiliary.

⁴ Passive-participial *-ma/-ta* is etymologically neuter. It was reanalyzed as a marker of non-agreement after all erstwhile neuter nouns in the language were assimilated to either masculine or feminine.

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sentences, as in (1a), whenever the copula itself is passivized). Note that Lithuanian does not otherwise allow a passive auxiliary, such as one dominated by a tensed aspectual auxiliary, as in English *Hannah has **been** deceived*. This is demonstrated in (8):⁵

- (8) *Aš esu būtas tėvo išbartas.
 I:NOM.M AUX:PRES.1.SG AUX:PASS.M.SG father:GEN scold:PASS.M.SG
 Lit: ‘I am been scolded by father.’ [Vaysman 1999]

It is clear that passivized ‘be’ *būta* belongs, in some sense, to the evidential construction. Indeed, whenever passive *būta* appears with a genitive subject⁶ the reading is evidential. However, in the case of evidentials formed from basic transitives, to which we now turn in (9a-c), passive *būta* does not appear. Singly-marked, non-agreeing passive forms also encode evidential meaning, as long as the genitive NP Agent appears in the sentence-initial position and there is no finite auxiliary.

- (9) a. Vaiko (*buvo / *yra) sudaužyta puodelis.
 child:GEN.M.SG AUX:PAST AUX:PRES broke:PASS.[-AGR] cup:NOM.M.SG
 ‘The child apparently broke the cup.’ [Gronemeyer 1997]
- b. Rusų jūrininkų surasta Antarktikos žemynas.
 Russian sailors:GEN.PL discovered:PASS.[-AGR] Antarctic continent:NOM.M.SG
 ‘Apparently Russian sailors discovered Antarctica.’
- c. Jono_i sudeginta savo_i / jo*_{i/j} namas.
 Jonas:GEN.M.SG burned-down:PASS.[-AGR] REFL his house:NOM.M.SG
 ‘Jonas apparently burned down his house.’
- c'. Jono_i **buvo** sudegintas ??savo_i / jo_{i/j} namas.
 Jonas:GEN.M.SG AUX:PAST burned-down:M.SG REFL his house:NOM.M.SG
 ‘By Jonas was burned down his house.’

In (9a) we see that finite, tense-marking auxiliaries are incompatible with the evidential reading. The additional example in (9b) is given for reference. The example in (9c) shows that the sentence-initial genitive NP binds the possessive reflexive only in the case of the

⁵ Lithuanian uses *būti* ‘be’ rather than *turėti* ‘have’ in compound tenses.

⁶ In addition to its linear position in the clause, the genitive NP’s subjecthood is indicated by its ability to bind anaphors (as in (6b) and (9c)).

evidential. The preposed *by*-phrase of the canonical (agreeing) passive in (9c') does not show this subject property, indicating that it occupies a higher (A-bar) position.⁷

A surprising fact for the view that the passive evidential derives from the canonical passive is that the most frequently encountered passive evidentials in the language are formed from unaccusatives and weather verbs—that is, predicate types that have no passive counterpart. Meanwhile, evidentials formed from transitive agentives, as in (9a-c), occur less frequently and do not form compound constructions with the passive participle of the auxiliary. As Holvoet (2001:83) observes, “the ‘nucleus’ of the category of evidential passive does not coincide with the ‘nucleus’ of the passive proper...”. The examples in (10-11), far from “exotic passives”, are well-behaved evidentials, similar only in form to the passive.

(10) Unaccusatives

- a. Tėvo esama sergama.
 father:GEN AUX:PASS.[–AGR] be-sick:PASS.[–AGR]
 ‘Father is apparently sick.’
- b. Ledo staiga ištirpta.
 ice:GEN.M.SG suddenly melted:PASS.[–AGR]
 ‘The ice must have suddenly melted.’
- c. Panašių atsitikimų būta ir kituose kraštuose.
 similar events:GEN.PL be:PASS.[–AGR] and other areas:LOC
 ‘There were apparently similar events in other areas as well.’
 [Geniušienė 1973:123]

(11) Weather Verb

- Čia būta pasnigta.
 here AUX:PASS.[–AGR] snowed:PASS.[–AGR]
 ‘It must have snowed here.’

Recall that our central concern is to identify the source of the evidential reading. Under the passive extension analysis, this reading may derive from the passive’s inherent perfect or resultative meaning (Aikhenvald 2004:117). As non-passives, we do not expect (10-11) to be subject to any such generalization. Nor does it seem profitable to fine-tune the theory of Passive to accommodate these data. It appears, then, that the impersonal passive construction is not itself a marker of evidentiality. Indeed, Ambrazas et al.

⁷ Notice that the transitive *-ma/-ta* evidential is a nominative object construction. The source of nominative on the object is not discussed here. See Franks and Lavine 2006 for a sketch of this Case-licensing mechanism.

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(1997:277-280) note that impersonal passives in *-ma/-ta* also occur without evidential meaning. As discussed above, the distinguishing feature of the passive evidential is the cooccurrence of impersonal passive morphology and a preposed genitive NP. We note, however, that the passive evidential must contain verb-final *-ma/-ta*. It might be argued, under the passive extension analysis, that *-ma/-ta*, an erstwhile token of the passive paradigm, has now been reanalyzed as a marker of evidentiality. Before proceeding, let us briefly consider whether *-ma/-ta* overtly heads an evidential projection.

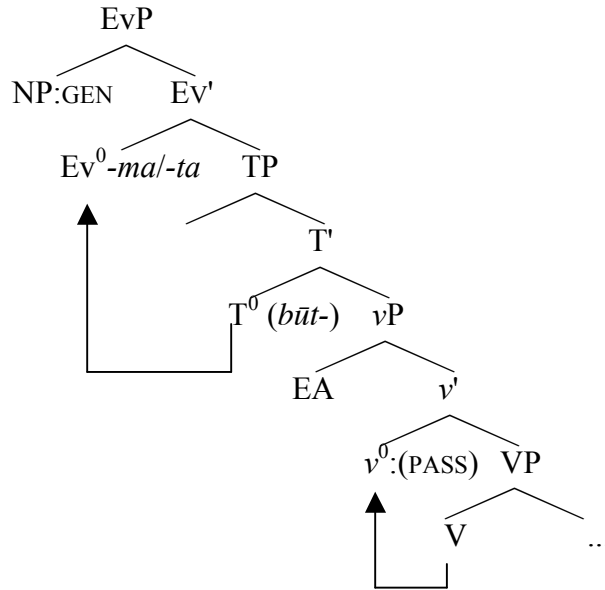
2. Ev⁰ = -MA/-TA?

Consider Cinque’s 1999 hierarchy of modal functional projections given in (12):

- (12) [Mood_{Speech Act} [Mood_{Evaluative} [**Mood_{Evidential}** [Mod_{Epistemic} [T]]]]]

This sequence is based on universals in the order of stackable suffixes (in languages like Korean) and similarly ordered adverbs with the same meaning (Cinque 1999:53-58). We might conceive of the derivation in terms of successive head movement of V through T and Mood heads, with each morpheme being “picked up” in the following order: V:T.EPIST.EVID.EVAL.... Under this view, *-ma/-ta* could be generated as an evidential head (Ev⁰), as in (13), an idea I dub the “Ev⁰ = *-ma/-ta* analysis”, against which I will argue in Sections 3 and 4.⁸ In order to account for the double marking of *-ma/-ta* under this analysis, we treat v⁰ as (potentially) passive, hosting an additional set of *-ma/-ta* morphology, thereby further probing the idea that the evidential “extends” the passive.

- (13) Lithuanian Evidential (to be revised)



⁸ I assume that Ev⁰:-*ma/-ta* assigns quirky genitive case to its specifier.

In those cases in which the “passive” auxiliary *būta* cooccurs with passive V, V can move only as high as v^0 , where it picks up its passive morphology. Further head movement is blocked by the overt Tense head *būt-*, which itself moves to Ev^0 to pick up its “second” passive marker, now a marker of evidentiality under this analysis. The external argument (EA), which we assume survives the passive marking (in this non-passive use), eventually raises to Spec, EvP. This plausibly derives (1c), repeated as (14):⁹

- (14) Jo būta išėita.
 he:GEN AUX:PASS.[-AGR] gone-out:PASS.[-AGR]
 ‘He apparently has gone out.’

The $Ev^0 = -ma/-ta$ analysis is problematic, however, in the case of evidentials based on transitive agentives, as in (9a-c), which lack the passive-marked auxiliary. (9c) is repeated as (15):

- (15) Jono sudeginta savo namas.
 Jonas:GEN.M.SG burned-down:PASS.[-AGR] REFL house:NOM.M.SG
 ‘Jonas apparently burned down his house.’

For V in (15) to pick up its evidential morphology in Ev^0 , passive v^0 would have to be stipulated as optional (that is, passive v^0 would have to be absent in (15)), since V cannot itself bear two iterations of *-ma/-ta*.¹⁰ Note, however, that if we remove the PASS diacritic on v^0 for *all* predicate types, thereby eliminating this optionality, there is no principled way to ensure that one instance of *-ma/-ta* appears on the auxiliary and the other on the verb for those forms that do admit double marking. The fact that impersonal *-ma/-ta* passives occur in Lithuanian without the evidential reading argues in favor of v^0 serving as one source for this passive morphology, casting doubt on Ev^0 hosting a separate set, especially for singly-marked passive evidentials. Finally, notice that the $Ev^0 = -ma/-ta$ analysis fails to account for the interaction between modal Ev^0 and other inflections—namely, the suppression of finite Tense.

The $Ev^0 = -ma/-ta$ analysis is further undermined by the fact that the Lithuanian evidential is not always passive (in form), only non-finite. Recall the perfect evidential given in (2a-b), repeated in (16), with additional examples in (17). The perfect evidential is formed by combining an active participle with the active participial form of the ‘be’ auxiliary or with no auxiliary at all, mirroring the constructional template of the passive

⁹ In the case of the unaccusatives in (10), NP-movement to Spec, EvP originates from some other position(s), the details of which do not concern us here.

¹⁰ Further evidence against successive head movement of V^0 to Ev^0 is provided in Section 4 on the basis of the verb’s position relative to manner adverbs.

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evidential: a participle serving as the main predicate, optionally cooccurring with the same participial form of the auxiliary. The perfect evidential encodes reported speech or hearsay, as indicated in the English glosses in the examples below:

(16) Perfect Evidential

a. Jonas rašęs laišką.
Jonas:NOM.M written:PST.ACT.PART.M.SG letter:ACC
'They say Jonas wrote the letter.'

b. Jis esąs atsiskyręs nuo
he:NOM.M AUX:PRES.ACT.PART.M.SG divorced:PST.ACT.PART.M.SG from
žmonos.
wife
'He is reportedly divorced from his wife.' [adapted from Schmalstieg 1988:114]

(17) Perfect Evidential

a. Kadaisė čia buvę dideli miškai.
long-ago here be:PST.ACT.PART.PL large forests:NOM.PL
'It is said that long ago there were large forests here.' [Gronemeyer 1997]

b. Jis žinąs kelią.
he:NOM.M known: PST.ACT.PART.M.SG way:ACC
'He supposedly knows the way.' [Ambrasas 1990:230]

We can speak, then, of a unified evidential system in the language, which hinges neither on passive participial morphology (or a voice distinction) nor on active participial morphology (or a distinction in aspect), but rather on predicative non-finite verb forms, with the optional "support" of non-finite auxiliaries.¹¹ The Evidential head in Lithuanian is abstract (not headed by overt morphology). Its primary syntactic function is to select for non-finite T^0 , which it immediately dominates (see Section 4). Further evidence for the presence of an evidential modal is the appearance of nominative case on the subject of the perfect evidential. While the TP itself is non-finite, Ev^0 is a finite modal, assigning nominative, unless the subject already bears quirky genitive. Nominative case does not occur with non-finite T^0 elsewhere in the language.

To summarize the results of Sections 1 and 2, the following problems arise for the passive extension analysis: (i) the evidential reading is most robust in those predicate types that have no corresponding passive; (ii) the companion $Ev^0 = -ma/-ta$ analysis forces an optional PASS diacritic on v^0 to account for double $-ma/-ta$ marking; and (iii)

¹¹ Ambrasas (1997:282-284) and Holvoet (2001:83) note that use of the participial form of the auxiliary reinforces the evidential reading.

Lithuanian evidentials are not always passive in form, but depend instead on the more general requirement of a non-finite main clause, thus admitting as well *active* participial morphology on the main predicate verb (and optionally on the ‘be’ auxiliary).¹²

3. Evidentiality and Non-Finiteness: A Brief Crosslinguistic Sketch

The Lithuanian evidential is dominated by a finite *Ev*⁰ that selects a non-finite participial complement. The tense-marking auxiliary, ordinarily obligatory with active and passive participles, does not appear in finite form; if present, it appears with the same non-finite participial morphology.

This non-finite predication is an areal feature also found in genetically-unrelated languages of the Baltic region, where non-finite participial predicates are evidential for both Baltic (Lithuanian and Latvian) and Finnic (Estonian and Livonian) (Wälchli 2000). A common explanation for the use of non-finite active participles in main clauses to encode evidentiality appeals to the grammaticalization of an earlier structure in which the active participle appeared as a complement to speech act and perception verbs, later reinterpreted to function in main clauses as an evidential (or oblique mood) (see Campbell 1991:285-290, Harris and Campbell 1995:98-100, and Wälchli 2000:194-197). The typological link with neighboring Finnic is illustrated in (18a-c) with examples from Estonian. The active participial morphology in the subordinate clause in (18a) is reinterpreted in (18b) as a special marker of reported speech. In (18c) the non-finite active participle is now extended to the main clause. Evidence for the presence of a null, finite evidential head in Estonian (as in Lithuanian) comes from the changing case-marking pattern: the genitive subject of the active participle in (18a) appears in the *nominative* in the evidentials in (18b-c)).

(18) Estonian Reported Speech

- (a) Sai kuul-da seal ühe mehe ela-vat.
got to hear there one:GEN man:GEN live:PRES.ACT.PART
‘S/he heard a man lives there.’
- (b) Sai kuul-da seal üks mees ela-vat.
got to hear there one:NOM man:NOM live:PRES.REP.SPEECH
‘S/he heard it is said a man lives there.’
- (c) Ta tege-vat töö-d.
he:NOM do:PRES.REP.SPEECH work:PARTITIVE
‘They say he is working.’ [Campbell 1991:287]

¹² See Ambrazas 1990:227-228 and Holvoet 2001:84 on the areal (dialectal) distribution of the passive and perfect evidentials. Ambrazas (1990:228) notes that the greatest semantic differentiation is found in those dialect areas in which both forms are used (northern and northeastern dialects).

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To be sure, I am not suggesting that the perfect evidential in Lithuanian necessarily developed as a result of contact.¹³ Notice only that a similar process appears to be at work in Baltic and Finnic (see Izvorski 1997 for a broad typological survey of perfect evidentials with much relevant analysis). The pattern extends to Bulgarian (South Slavic), which has a “renarrated” perfect evidential formed by removing the third-person auxiliary from the perfect construction, as in (19).¹⁴ The example in (20), in which the auxiliary appears in participial form, has an emphatic reading, mirroring in both form and function the use of the auxiliary in the Lithuanian perfect and passive evidentials.

(19) Bulgarian Renarrated Perfect Evidential

Maria (*e) celunala Ivan.

Maria AUX kissed:PST.ACT.PART Ivan

‘Maria apparently kissed Ivan.’

(#I witnessed it / #I know it for a fact) [Izvorski 1997]

(20) Bulgarian Emphatic Renarrated Perfect Evidential (cf. (16b))

Včera v Sofia **bito** **valjalo**.

yesterday in Sofia be:PST.ACT.PART rain:PST.ACT.PART

‘It rained yesterday in Sofia.’

(I heard it said/I gather/#I witnessed it) [Pancheva 2005]

We thus take the relation between a non-finite predication and modal reading to be of some typological significance. Whereas finite T^0 asserts the truth of a proposition (it is either true or false), a non-finite predicate embedded under Mood makes no such assertion. It does not refer to actual events or states, but to a range of possible worlds, somewhere between the weak possibility of existential epistemic *can* (true in *some* possible world) and the necessity of universal epistemic *must* (true in *every* possible world).¹⁵

4. Toward an Analysis

Our primary task is to analyze an evidential system with no morphological marker. We know that Ev^0 bears no overt morphology (as opposed to the idea that it contains both passive and active participial morphology). Ev^0 is, however, finite (as noted earlier), accounting for the assignment of nominative to subjects in the perfect evidentials in (16-17). One way we know that Ev^0 does not host the morphology itself is that in the absence

¹³ And, indeed, the grammaticalization of a subordinate active participle does not account for the origin of the passive evidential, our principal concern.

¹⁴ See Friedman 1982, 2002 for a different view of the Bulgarian data. I follow Izvorski 1997, Pancheva 2005.

¹⁵ See Gronemeyer 1997 and Wälchli 2000 for discussion.

of auxiliaries, where long-distance head-movement should be possible, V does not overtly move through T^0 to Ev^0 , as illustrated by the verb's position relative to manner adverbs in (21-22).

(21) a. *Jono **sudeginta**_i [**visiškai** [_{VP} *t*_i namas]].
 Jonas:GEN burned-down:-TA completely house:NOM

b. Jono [**visiškai** [_{VP} **sudeginta** namas]].

‘Jonas apparently completely burned down the house.’

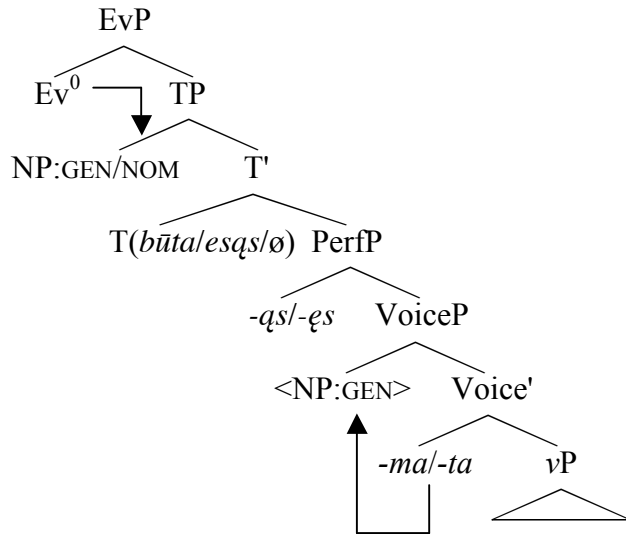
(22) a. *Mokytojo **ištaisyta**_i [**skubotai** [_{VP} *t*_i klaidos]].
 teacher:GEN corrected:-TA hastily mistakes:NOM

b. Mokytojo [**skubotai** [_{VP} **ištaisyta** klaidos]].

‘The teacher apparently hastily corrected the mistakes.’

This suggests that the verb needs a local source to pick up its morphology, given in (23) as $Perf^0$ and $Voice^0$ heads.

(23) Lithuanian Evidential (revised) (cf. Iatridou et al. 2001)



The Voice head is broadly construed—it potentially contains voice-altering morphology, but interacts with the rest of the clause, such that it may not necessarily cause a change in

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diathesis. Ev^0 selects a non-finite T^0 (T^0 optionally contains “matching” non-finite auxiliaries) and assigns nominative (ECM-style) to T ’s specifier. The *-ma/-ta* suffix is a quirky genitive case assigner.

The verb merges either with a Voice or Perfect head. The subject, regardless of its site of generation, moves to Spec, TP, presumably to satisfy T^0 ’s EPP-requirement. The main difference between (23) and (13) is that Ev^0 in the former is not responsible for providing evidential morphology. In the case of the passive evidential, an Ev^0 overtly headed by *-ma/-ta* falsely predicts that *all* impersonal passives in the language are evidential. Further, recall the case of singly-marked transitive agentives as in (9a-c). On the $Ev^0 = -ma/-ta$ analysis, the verb, with no intervening auxiliary, is falsely predicted to stack two iterations of the *-ma/-ta* affix (one from v^0 :PASS; the other from Ev^0). In contrast, on the analysis schematized in (23), the *-ma/-ta* affix is generated only once (although, to be sure, the mechanism responsible for enforcing this single marking just in case of the transitive agentive remains obscure). The primary syntactic function of the Evidential head is to select a non-finite TP complement.

Our principal observation is that whenever verb-final *-ma/-ta* or *-qs/-ęs* is combined with non-finite T^0 , the reading is evidential. This unifies the two evidential constructions in the language, without appealing to a passive evidential strategy.

5. Conclusion

A non-agreeing, non-finite “passive” predication is one instance of a larger evidential system, which does not involve passivization as a criterial property. That is, there is no passive evidential strategy in Lithuanian. Lithuanian provides interesting territory to explore evidential systems since the evidential value is encoded purely syntactically, rather than morphosyntactically or lexically. The evidential reading arises whenever a participial predicate appears in the main clause in the function of a finite verb with no finite auxiliary. Mood suppresses (or neutralizes) Tense, as in the case of certain epistemic modals in English (cf. (4)). Evidentiality in Lithuanian is, then, a conspiracy of suppressed Tense and the concomitant qualified assertion of the truth or falsity of a proposition reported from hearsay or by inference.

This analysis treats evidentiality in Lithuanian as *basic*, rather than derived (in the sense of Aikhenvald 2003); that is, evidentiality is treated here as the primary meaning of the grammatical marking that has been described. The analysis of the Lithuanian evidential as an extension of the passive is rejected on the following grounds: (i) the apparent base form of the passive evidential, the transitive agentive, is precisely the predicate type that is least extended—indeed, least felicitous in this non-passive function; and (ii) the constructional template of the Lithuanian evidential admits *active* participles as well.

Strikingly similar patterns for marking evidentiality were identified within Lithuanian itself, as well as in genetically-unrelated Estonian and distantly-related Bulgarian, the latter most certainly as an independent development. These observations call for further

scrutiny of the role of “tenselessness” in the cross-linguistic description of evidential marking.

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