Lithuanian Evidentials and Passives of Evidentials
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1. Introduction: Lithuanian has been argued to exhibit passives of passives (Timberlake 1982, Baker et al. 1989, Bruening 2013, Kiparsky 2013, ia), thereby counterexemplifying Perlmutter and Postal's (1977) claim that passives cannot passivize. (1) illustrates; note that both the thematic subject and the theme appear in genitive case, as is characteristic of the passive 'by'-phrase.

(1) To   lapelio būta   vėjo   nupūsto.
    that.GEN leaf.GEN be.PASS.NOM wind.GEN blow.PASS.GEN
    'by that leaf there was blown down by the wind' (Kiparsky 2013:24) (glosses, translation retained)

An alternative analysis has been proposed (see Blevins 2003, Lavine 2006, 2010), whereby the construction in (1) is an evidential of a passive, with the evidential itself not passive in form. We provide extensive argumentation showing that the evidential analysis is correct, and provide a new syntactic analysis of the evidential that explains its properties. The construction is thus revealed to not require passives of passives to be accommodated into the theory of passives; rather the construction provides evidence for the structural position of evidentiality in the clause.

2. Evidential vs Passive: We begin by providing ten arguments to distinguish the passive from the evidential in Lithuanian. **I)** The evidential is interpreted as inferential based on visual evidence, (2), whereas the passive is neutral for evidentiality, (3). **II)** No finite auxiliary is possible in the evidential, (2), whereas the passive has a finite auxiliary, obligatory in the past tense, (3). **III)** The verb in both constructions occurs as a passive participle, marked by -m (present) / -t (past), but in the evidential this participle appears in the non-agreeing neuter form, (2), whereas in the passive it optionally agrees with the nominative subject, (3).

(2) Vėjo   (*buv-o)   nupsū-t-a   tas (3) Tas lapelis   *(buv-o) vėjo
    wind.GEN be.PST.3   blow-PTCP-N that   that leaf.NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 wind.GEN
    lapelis.   nupūs-t-as/-a.
    leaf.NOM.M.SG   blow.PTCP-NOM.M.SG/-N
    'The wind must have blown down that leaf.'   'That leaf was blown down (by the wind).'

IV) The genitive in the evidential patterns as a DP argument in being obligatory (modulo pro-drop), (4), while the genitive in the passive is optional as a PP adjunct, (5). **V)** The genitive in the evidential neutrally occurs clause initially, as a subject, (4), while the genitive in the passive neutrally occurs immediately before the participle, or finally, (5).

(4) *(Vėjo)   nupsū-t-a   tas lapelis.   (5) Tas lapelis   buv-o   (vėjo)
    wind.GEN blow-PTCP-N that leaf.NOM   that leaf.NOM.M.SG be-PST.3 wind.GEN
    'The wind must have blown down that leaf.'   nupūs-t-as   (vėjo).
                                                      blow.PTCP-NOM.M.SG wind.GEN
                                                      'That leaf was blown down by the wind.'

VI) The genitive in the evidential behaves like a subject in binding the subject-oriented anaphor *savo*, (6), whereas the genitive in the passive cannot, (7). **VII)** The nominative theme in the transitive evidential behaves as an object in binding the anti-subject-oriented pronoun, (6); the nominative theme in the passive behaves as a subject in binding the subject-oriented anaphor, (7).

(6) Vakar   Domant-o$_i$ rūšiuo-t-a   tarnautoj-ai$_k$ pagal   savo$_{i/*k}$ /
    yesterday Domantas-M.SG.GEN divide-PTCP-N employee-M.PL.NOM according.to self.GEN /
    jų$_k$ / *jo$_i$ įsitikinim-us.
    their.GEN / his.GEN belief-M.PL.ACC
    'Yesterday Domantas$_i$ must have divided employees$_k$ according to self's$_i$ / their$_k$ beliefs.'
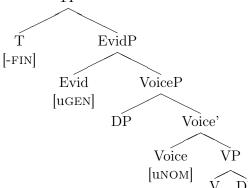
(7) Tarnautoj-ai$_k$ buv-o   rūšiuo-t-i   Domant-o$_i$ pagal
     employees-M.PL.NOM be-PST.3 divide-PTCP-M.PL.NOM Domantas-M.SG.GEN according.to
     savo$_{k/*i}$ / jo$_i$ / *jų$_k$ įsitikinim-us.
     self.GEN / his.GEN / their.GEN belief-M.PL.ACC
     'The employees$_k$ were divided by Domantas$_i$ according to self's$_k$ / his$_i$ beliefs.'

VIII) The genitive in the evidential patterns as a DP subject in that it triggers case, number, and gender agreement on nominal predicate, (8), while nominal predicates cannot passivize at all, (9).

(8) Tėvo   bū-t-a   pilot-o.   (9) *Tėvo   buv-o   pilot-o/-as.
     father.GEN.M.SG be-PTCP-N pilot-GEN.M.SG   father.GEN.M.SG be-PST3 pilot-GEN/NOM.MSG
     'The father must have been a pilot.'   'There was being a pilot by father.'

IX) The evidential may apply to unaccusative predicates (Timberlake 1982; Lavine 2006, 2010a; Spraunien et al. 2015) with the theme becoming genitive, (10), while the passive may not (11). **X)** Non-nominative subjects retain their case in the evidential, rather than becoming genitive, whereas predicates with non-nominative subjects cannot passivize, (examples omitted for space).

(10) Jono   numir-t-a vakar   (11) *Vakar   buv-o   numir-t-a Jono.
      Jonas.GEN die-PTCP-N yesterday   yesterday be-PST.3 die-PTCP-N Jonas.GEN
      'Jonas must have died yesterday.'   'Yesterday, it was died by Jonas.'

3. Evidential of a Passive: We apply all applicable tests to the construction in (1), and discover that it is an evidential of a passive, with the thematic subject demoted to a genitive 'by'-phrase, and the theme promoted to a genitive grammatical subject. **I)** The interpretation is inferential, (12), our glosses, translation. **II)** As a passive, it shows the auxiliary 'be', but as an evidential this auxiliary is a nonfinite, non-agreeing neuter, (12). **III)** As a passive, the lexical participle shows agreement with its grammatical subject, 'leaf', but as an evidential, that grammatical subject has genitive case, (12). **IV)** The genitive theme is obligatory (modulo pro-drop), as the grammatical subject of an evidential, while the genitive thematic subject is optional, as a passive 'by'-phrase, (12). **V)** The genitive theme is neutrally initial, as a subject, while the genitive thematic subject is neutrally before the participle, or finally, (12). **VI)** The genitive theme binds the subject-oriented anaphor, (12), whereas the genitive thematic subject binds the anti-subject-oriented pronoun, (omitted).

(12) *(To lapelio$_i$)   bū-t-a   (vėjo)   nupūs-t-o   (nuo savo$_i$ šakelės).
      that leaf.GEN.M.SG be-PTCP-N wind.GEN blow-PTCP-GEN.M.SG from self.GEN branch
      'That leaf$_i$ must have been blown off (its$_i$ branch) (by the wind).'

4. Analysis: The grammatical subject of the evidential bears genitive, be it the thematic subject of a transitive, or the theme of a passive/unaccusative. Hence, we analyse this as structural genitive case, assigned by an Evid(ential)P above the thematic subject position. A high position for EvidP also allows it to select a nonfinite T, accounting for the obligatorily nonfinite nature of the evidential. However, EvidP cannot appear in the CP domain (contra Cinque 1999, Speas 2004, Lavine 2006, 2010, i.a.), since it also selects for a VoiceP that assigns nominative rather than accusative case to the transitive object. Hence, we propose that EvidP appears between TP and VoiceP, allowing it to be in a selectional relationship with each. Lithuanian thus provides independent evidence for Blain and Déchaine's (2006) proposal that EvidP may be generated in lower clausal positions. The tree illustrates a transitive evidential.

5. Conclusions: We carefully showed that (1) is not a passive of a passive, but an evidential of a passive; consistent with Perlmutter & Postal's claim that passives do not passivize. We further argued that the Lithuanian evidential supports EvidP below TP, rather than only in the CP domain.

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