



# **58. Linguistisches Kolloquium**

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Sprachenvielfalt in der Welt und für die Welt

Linguistic Diversity in the World and for the World

La diversité linguistique dans le monde et pour le monde

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## Implications of Rizzi's (1997) Split-CP hypothesis: What the placement of grammatical verbal prefixes in Baltic suggests about the non-canonical case marking of subjects and objects

Within the generative syntactic framework, the complementizer phrase CP has been viewed as responsible for clause-level information, storing categories like mood, question words, and subordinate conjunctions. In his analysis for Italian, Rizzi (1997) demonstrates that, in fact, the CP is not uniform and consists of as many as four functional projections: the Force Phrase (ForceP), the Topic Phrase (TopP), the Focus Phrase (FocP), and the Finiteness Phrase (FinP), thereby proposing the split-CP hypothesis. The present analysis stems from the generative syntactic analysis of the Baltic verb (Korostenskiene 2017, 2022). More specifically, we further investigate two properties of the Baltic verb: a) its syntactic, rather than lexical, composition and b) its active employment of the split-CP projections, as manifested by the grammatical prefixes.

Assuming a largely conventional perspective on the subject, previous generative syntactic analyses of case marking in Lithuanian by Lavine (Lavine 2006, 2010, 2021), such as inferential evidential (*netiesioginė nuosaka su neveikiamosios rūšies dalyviais* (Ambazas et al. 2006: 311), *inferencinis evidencialumas* (Pakerys 2014: 63)) and adverbial use of the gerund (*padalyvis*), do not incorporate the split-CP phenomena or the peculiarities of the morphosyntactic alignment of the Baltic verb on the syntactic tree. Seeking to fill in this gap, the present study examines the position and non-canonical case marking of core arguments in several Baltic constructions in which the CP region is manifested, viz., the inferential evidential, the adverbial use of the gerund, and the standard and non-standard variants of the Latvian debitive. The relevant constructions to be discussed are exemplified below:

1. a) *Vaiko sudaužyta puodelis.* (Gronemeyer 1997: 103) Lithuanian  
b) *Mums besiņekant atsidarė durys.* (Lavine 2010: 129)
2. a) *Man jā-las-ot grāmat-a.* Latvian  
1.SG.DAT DEB-read-OBL book-NOM.SG.F  
'It seems that I have to read the/a book.'  
b). *Man jā-las-a grāmat-u.* Non-Standard Latvian  
1.SG.DAT DEB-read book-ACC.SG.F  
'It seems that I have to read the/a book. (Metuzāle-Kāngere & Boiko 2001, 489–490, glosses slightly adjusted; Lokmane, Kalnača 2021)

The proposed analysis seeks to show that the process of case assignment for Baltic has two implications: a) Baltic facts invite for a refinement of the generative case theory (Chomsky 1991, 1993, 2000, 2001) with respect to case assignment in English non-finite embedded clauses and b) the non-canonical case-marking of the subjects and objects in Baltic is suggestive of their specific placement on the generative syntactic tree.

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