

# EXPLORING LITHUANIAN REFLEXIVE VERBS FROM THE GENERATIVE SYNTACTIC PERSPECTIVE



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**SUMMARY.** The present article seeks to examine some regularities of Lithuanian morphosyntactic interface within the generative syntactic tradition. This study examines Lithuanian reflexive verbs to provide an account for the appearance of the reflexive marker *-si-* in two positions relative to the verb phrase – word finally in prefixless verbs and after the prefix in prefixed verbs, as well as to examine the overall composition of the Lithuanian verb predicate in light of its relation to the negative element. The analysis relies on the premises of Distributed Morphology, Ramchand's approach to argument structure within the framework of First Phase Syntax and versions of X-bar theory. It is argued that the reflexive marker is a physical manifestation of the trace of the subject, following Baker's (1984) Internal Subject Hypothesis. The negative phrase (NegP) is shown to be incorporating into the vP structure in otherwise prefixless verbs.

**KEYWORDS:** reflexive verb, verb predicate, Distributed Morphology, syntax-morphology interface, argument structure.

## INTRODUCTION

Within the generative syntactic tradition, languages are divided into two large yet unequally studied groups: *configurational* and *non-configurational languages*, i.e., languages with a fixed word order and those with a free word order, in the sense that their word order is stipulated by the discourse, consequently postulating a special focus position in a sentence for the latter group, alternatively referred to as *discourse-configurational* (Kiss 1995). Consequently, formal syntactic analysis has been extended and fruitfully applied to a number of the so-called free word order languages, in the European continent most notably Hungarian (Kiss 1995, Kiss 1998, Kiss 2007, Kiss 2009, Puskas 1997, Puskas 2000, Kenesei 1984, Kenesei 2006), Finnish (Vilkuna 1989), and Russian (Bailyn 1995, Bailyn 2001, Sekerina 1997, Dyakonova 2009, etc.). The proponents of the applicability of generative syntax to non-configurational languages follow Baker who suggests that non-configurational

languages may underlyingly have “a ‘perfectly configurational structure’” (Baker 2001: 418, see also Webelhuth 1992). Lithuanian, however, remains understudied within this theoretical framework. The few works available deal with genitival noun phrases (Rutkowski 2007), modal comparatives (Grinsel 2010), and the verb raising parameter (Korostenskaja, 2014).

As is known, while in free word order languages word order within a sentence is largely stipulated by pragmatic factors, at the word level, the morphological parts are combined in an invariable, strictly defined order, and therefore are void of the combinatorial freedom the syntactic structures are exposed to. Setting out from the claim that “in the default case, morphological structure simply is syntactic structure” (Embick, Noyer 2005: 2), which in essence loosens constraints established by Baker’s (1985) Mirror Principle that argues for a mirror-like relationship between morphological and syntactic structures, the primary concern for the present study was to find a domain in Lithuanian morphology the analysis of which could be projected onto the syntactic domain. In light of the above, Lithuanian reflexive verbs, with the reflexive clitic taking either the word final position in prefixless verbs or following immediately after the prefix in prefixed verbs, are an excellent manifestation of the syntax-morphology interface and will be the subject of our analysis.

The article consists of the following parts. First, a brief overview of the range of *-si-* in Lithuanian is provided and the terminology is clarified. After that, the analysis proceeds in three steps. First, we apply principles of Distributed Morphology (DM), a domain within generative syntax that deals specifically with the syntax-morphology interface, to formulate a rule to account for the regularity of the reflexive clitic placement. Ramchand’s first-phase syntax framework (2007) is used to establish a correlation between the reflexive element and the argument structure. Finally, the negative form of reflexive verbs is examined in light of the versions of X-bar theory. The conclusions summarise the results.

## THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

### THE RANGE OF *-SI-* IN LITHUANIAN

While in previous relevant work, *-si-* was referred to as a *particle* (Jakulienė 1969), an *affix* without further distinction into the prefix and the suffix (Paulauskienė 2001), or *the reflexive-middle marker* (Geniušienė 2007), we follow an approach applied to, e.g., Icelandic and Slavic, that labels elements like *-si-* as clitics due to the fact that they follow tense and person morphology (see, for example, Medová

2009, Slavcheva 2006, Wood 2014). In Lithuanian, the reflexive-middle clitic (hereinafter for convenience referred to as the reflexive clitic) has the main form *-si-*, which is always the form appearing in the pre-root position, and may also appear in certain forms word-finally alongside two word-final allomorphs *-is*, *-s*, which are phonetically conditioned (hereinafter we will be using the *-si-* form as the basic form of the clitic) (<http://ualgiman.dtiltas.lt>). The fact that in Lithuanian, the clitic *-si-* appears in two positions, verb-finally in prefixless verbs and after the prefix in prefixed verbs, is not essential here, but will be analysed in the relevant section below. Following the schemes laid out in relevant previous work (see, e.g., Wood 2014: 7; for a full range of meanings of *-si-*, see Geniušienė 2007), below we present major classes of verbs which may be reflexivised by *-si-* with respect to Lithuanian:

- (1) a. *Matilda praus-ia-si.* (reflexive)  
 Matilda wash-3P.PRES-SI  
 ‘Matilda is washing herself.’
- b. *Durys at-si-dar-ė.* (anticausative)  
 Door PREF-SI-open-3P.PAST  
 ‘The door opened.’
- c. *Knyga skait-o-si lengvai.* (mediopassive)  
 Book read-3P.PRES-SI easily  
 ‘The book reads easily.’
- d. *Lina ir Tomas bučiuo-ja-si.* (reciprocal)  
 Lina and Tomas kiss-3P.PRES-SI  
 ‘Lina and Tom are kissing.’
- e. *Jonas šyps-o-si.* (naturally reflexive)  
 Jonas smile-3P.PRES-SI  
 ‘John is smiling.’

In addition to these classes and polysemous nature of *-si-*, Lithuanian, alongside German and Icelandic, allows passivisation of reflexives (PoRs) (Nedjalkov 2007, Schäfer 2008). The German examples for active and passive below ((2)a. and (2)b., respectively, are from Schäfer (2008:1)):

- (2) a. *Zuerst küssen sie sich, später dann heiraten sie.*  
 first kiss they. NOM REFL.ACC, later then marry they  
 ‘First they kiss each other, later on they marry.’
- b. *Zuerst wird sich geküsst, später dann geheiratet.* (PoR)  
 first is REFL.ACC kissed, later then married  
 approx.: ‘First people kiss each other, later on they marry.’

The above examples for personal active and impersonal passive reflexives are replicated by analogous structures in Lithuanian below as (3)a. and (3)b., respectively. Notably, the impersonal passive form as illustrated by the example (3)b. is the only passive form of Lithuanian reflexives available, which goes contra Schaefer's claim that Lithuanian, alongside German and Icelandic, allows "PoRs which are not impersonal" (Schaefer 2008: note 3); which might have been a misinterpretation of what Geniušienė's refers to as potential-passive and perfective-passive reflexives (Nedjalkov 2007: 642-643).

- (3) a. *Pirma žmonės buč-iuoja-si, o paskui tuok-ia-si.*  
 First people kiss-3P.PRES-SI and then marry-3P.PRES-SI  
 'First people kiss, and then marry.'
- b. *Pirma yra buč-iuoja-ma-si, o paskui tuok-ia-ma-si.*  
 First be-3PPRES. kiss-3PPRES-PASS-SI and then marry-3PPRES-PASS-SI  
 'First it is kissed, and then it is married.'

In the discussion that follows the primary focus is placed on the uniform morpho-syntactic properties all Lithuanian reflexives share: the position of the clitic with respect to the lexical verb.

While it is obviously impossible to appreciate all the advancements of the syntactic theory of the past few decades in this article, below we will briefly introduce a few most fundamental distinctions widely used in this field to be referred to in the relevant sections that follow.

Lithuanian reflexive verbs have been selected as the object of this analysis as they conveniently grasp the (morpho-)syntactic variation of the event structure without raising order issues of the Lithuanian sentence, yet constituting a syntactic microcosm stipulated by the ability of the reflexive marker to change its position. Given the theoretical principles of Distributed Morphology and assuming the idea of the canonical structures of generative syntax, it may be suggested that the canonical structure of the middle/reflexive reflects the canonical, i.e., neutral, Lithuanian sentence thereby postponing the examination of pragmatically stipulated word order permutations to a later stage.

#### THE STATUS OF *-SI-*

The reflexive clitic and in particular its semantic and syntactic status have evoked ample discussion in the generative tradition. The debate, primarily focused on the data from Romance languages, revolves around the issue of whether the reflexive component is to be treated as "the syntactic argument or a valence reducing morpheme" (Alboiu et.al., 2004:110; cf. Lidz 2001, Miličević 2009). The treatment of the reflexive as a syntactic

argument applies to both transitive and intransitive verbs, and, primarily due to the problems arising in the latter group (where there is only one argument and which due to its further division into unaccusative and unergative produces controversial results), posits the question of whether this argument is to be regarded as the internal (Sæbø 2001, von Stechow 1996) or the external argument (Rizzi 1988a, Alboiu 2002, Kayne 1975, 1988, Sportiche 1998), or whether it is to be identified with anaphoric relations (Schäfer 2008), or voice-related relations (Embick 1998, Wood 2013). This syntactic approach is contrasted by the lexicalist perspective which suggests that reflexivisation, depending on the language, may be perceived either as an operation taking place in the lexicon (e.g., English, Russian, Hebrew), or in the syntax (Romance languages, German, Greek) (Reinhart, Siloni 2005).

Considering the dichotomy of the clitic vs “valence reducing morpheme”, the Lithuanian data opt for the former option, since the presence of the reflexive does not block the direct object which provides further specification as to the direction of the action while the reflexive highlights the actor as the sole, or unassisted, owner of the event. In fact, omission of the direct object seems to only be possible in verbs placing semantic restrictions on the object, as in (4) below:

- (4) a. Nu-si-praus-iau.  
 PREF-SI-wash-1P.PAST  
 ‘I washed myself.’
- b. Nusiprausiau                      veidą.  
 PREF-SI-wash-1P.PAST      face-SG.ACC  
 ‘I washed my face.’

Given the diversity of meanings of reflexive constructions in Lithuanian and relying on the intuition of constructions combining a reflexive verb and a reflexive pronoun in the Dative (see discussion below), which, although frowned upon by grammarians, are nevertheless widely widespread in everyday use among the native speakers, we follow the argumental approach to the reflexive element, supported by, e.g., Sæbø’s (2001) and Hasegawa (2004), according to which the reflexive is an argument, “a *pro forma* DP”, which “occupies the argument position” and “syntactically... causes an argument to be saturated elsewhere” (Sæbø 2001:7; cf. Paulauskienė 2001). We will present our arguments which go contra Lidz (2001) who argued that the reflexive is to be considered “semantically vacuous.” While the morpho-syntactic paradigm of the Lithuanian reflexives never fails, semantically we are going to account for sentences like the one above excluding the lexicon from analysis, but following the classical internal subject hypothesis (Baker 1988) and developing a finer grain of argument structure as proposed by Ramchand (2007).

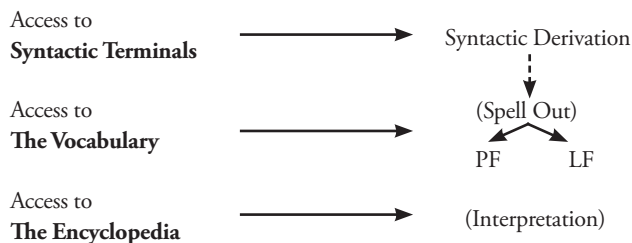
## THE DISTRIBUTED MORPHOLOGY FRAMEWORK

Distributed Morphology is a domain in generative syntax specifically concerned with the interaction and rules that determine the interaction of “primitive elements” conventionally referred to as the morphemes, at the morphological, syntactic, and phonological levels. The theory focuses first, on how morphological elements contribute to the formation of syntactic structures and second, on their interaction with the phonological form PF (Embick, Noyer 2009). The DM theory is a representative of the non-lexicalist approach to language and is primarily concerned with rules that are generated at the syntactic level, hence the syntactic approach and hierarchical structure. The word is seen as the result of the application of two major syntactic operations: Merge and Move. Subsequent operations, which are regarded as “ornamental” since they have no syntactically-relevant information (Embick, Noyer 2009: 12), but are otherwise relevant for word formation, may take place at the phonological form PF and the lexical form LF. The lexical form LF is filled by means of Vocabulary insertion and Encyclopedia and will not be examined in detail in this article (Embick, Noyer 2009:1).

The nodes in the hierarchical syntactic structures are of two types. First, they may be represented by *abstract morphemes*, which are universal and consequently void of phonetic form, referring to grammatical functions, such as tense and number. Abstract morphemes are supplied with the language-specific phonological content through the Vocabulary Insertion rule. Nodes of the second type are represented by *roots*. These are language-specific, e.g.,  $\sqrt{\text{RUN}}$ . Roots are believed to be “empty” categories void of grammar-related information, but are accompanied with a category-determining operator functional head, e.g., *v, n, a* (Marantz 1997). Before they get the perceptual form, roots are supplied with the relevant abstract morphemes, which is referred to as the Late Insertion rule.

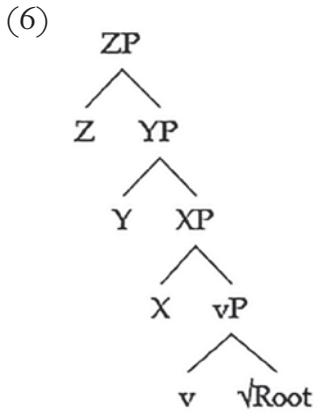
The overall architecture of DM is a serial process: first the syntactic rules are generated (Syntactic derivation); then they are supplied with phonological content (Vocabulary insertion) and finally, are given semantic interpretation (the Encyclopedia). The schematic representation as postulated by Embick and Noyer (2009: 10) is given below:

(5)



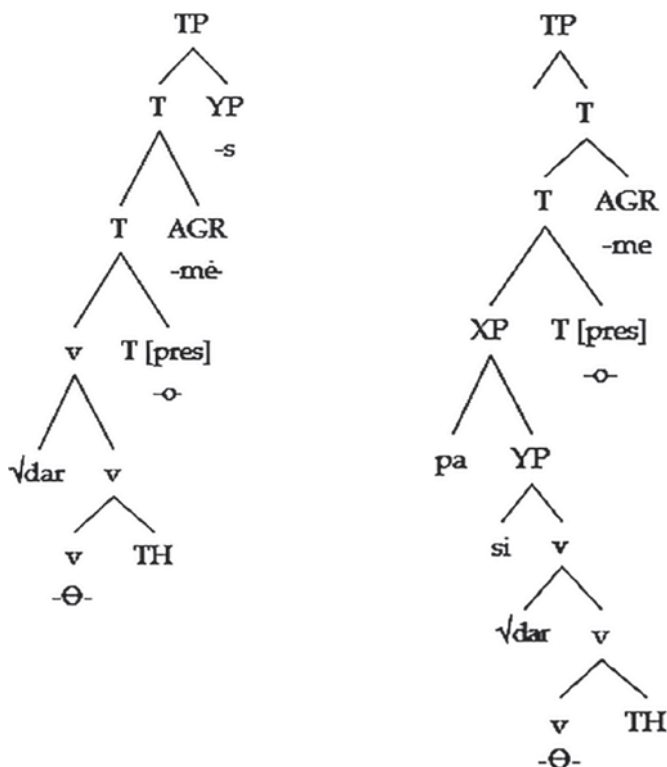
It is notable that, while syntax may induce changes in the morphology, this will only be relevant at the morphological level (Anderson 1989). Under this approach, any word may be represented by means of syntactic notation and, given the tight relation between syntax and morphology, DM postulates that the morphological structure of the word is primarily syntactic, governed by the Mirror Principle.

In DM, every part of speech is graphically represented by the notation  $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ , which is filled with the lexical form and a formal element, marked as  $v$ , in the figure below, which produces the relevant part of speech. On this view, the tree for a morphological representation can be represented as below with ZP, YP, and XP being the relevant functional projections and  $v$ , the so-called *light verb*, responsible for the causal component of the meaning of the verb (based on Embick, Noyer 2005: 11, 13; Marantz, n.d.: 8; Carnie, 2013:414):



It is notable that, depending on the form of the word, the functional categories ZP, YP, and XP, responsible for tense and agreement, for example, may be realized to the right of the root (for suffixation) or to the left of the root (for prefixation). To illustrate, below two tree structures are provided for the Lithuanian reflexive forms *daromės* and *pasidarome*, both translated as ‘we are doing’ but with an aspectual difference: the latter form has an aspectual prefix *pa-* adding the perfective meaning. As can be seen, while in the prefixless form *daromės* in (7)a. all functional categories are realized to the right of the verb, in the prefixed form *pasidarome* in (7)b. the functional categories split to frame the verb on both sides. The symbol  $-\emptyset$  below stands for “zero” which, alongside other phonological information, specifies the actions to be performed by the articulatory/perceptual system” (Embick, Noyer 2005: 6). TH is used after Embick and Noyer to refer to the “theme position” of the verb (ibid., 13), which is essentially the vowel delimiting the type of verbal conjugation. Below TH is left unfilled since the thematic

- (7) a. DM tree structure for “daromės”      b. DM tree structure for “pasidarome”



information coincides with the tense marker of the verb. As can be seen, the YP node stores the reflexive component in both (7)a. and (7)b.:

Since in Lithuanian the reflexive clitic *-si-* always follows tense and agreement morphology in prefixless verbs and precedes the root in prefixed verbs, it seems to be dependent not so much on the root, but rather on the location of affixed material. Hence, the DM account for the placement of the reflexive marker in Lithuanian may be presented as follows:

- (8) DM account for the placement of *-si-* in Lithuanian:

The middle/reflexive *-si-* immediately follows the left-most affixal material.

It is notable that affixal material is not subdivided into minor subgroups, such as suffixes and inflections, which accounts for the placement of the middle-reflexive *-si-* in word-final position in prefixless verbs, in accordance with the characteristic features of clitics. By analogy, in prefixed verbs, *-si-* right-adjoins prefixal material regardless of the fact whether the latter is constituted by prefixes *per se* (i.e., lexical/



aspectual prefixes), or particles, such as the Lithuanian negative particle *ne-*, which consequently becomes part of the verb structure by virtue of incorporation.

Summarising this section, it should also be pointed out that, while it may be induced both by the syntax (e.g. by a negative clitic) and the morphology (e.g., a prefix with a lexical or aspectual meaning), the change in the structure of the reflexive verb, i.e., the exact position of the reflexive clitic relative to the verbal root, only affects the morphological level (cf. Anderson 1989: 302). Therefore, it may be suggested that in Lithuanian, the boundary between the verbal prefix, taken broadly, and the reflexive clitic manifests the transition from syntax to lexicon.

#### TOWARDS THE ARGUMENT STRUCTURE IN LITHUANIAN REFLEXIVE VERBS

We shall now examine the relationship between the reflexive clitic and the argument(s) of the verb. As is known, the reflexive clitic may supply either a) the meaning captured by the reflexive pronoun in the Accusative case ‘*save*’ or b) the meaning captured by the reflexive pronoun in the Dative case ‘*sau*’ (Paulauskienė 2001). The former suggests that the external argument (i.e., the grammatical subject of the sentence) is also the Experiencer of a particular event while the latter suggests that the external argument is the Beneficiary of an event. Thus Lithuanian reflexive verbs confirm an idea that there holds an anaphoric-like relation between two types of DPs: the external argument and the nominal component encoded in the clitic *-si-* within the structure of the verb or the overt pronominal reflexive (cf. Asudeh 1998). In this section, an attempt is made to capture the resulting argument structure within the generative perspective.

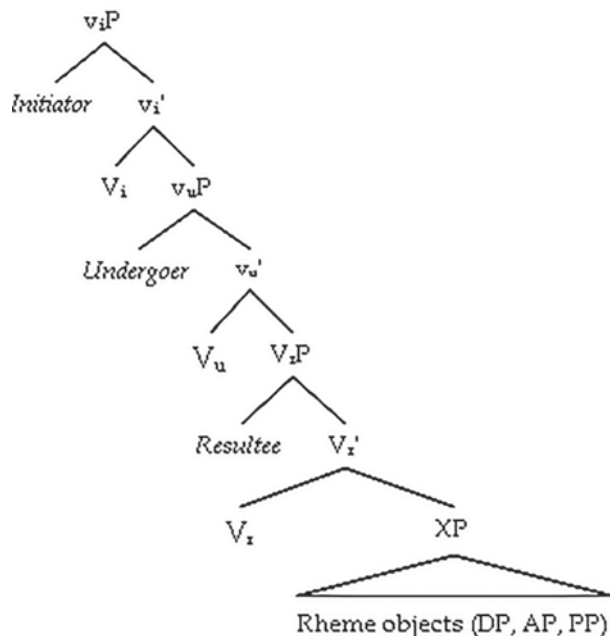
In terms of the theoretical framework, we rely on two developments. The first is Baker’s (1988) Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH), which suggests that overt arguments can be described as conveying certain thematic roles, while these occupy particular structural positions at deep structure:

(9) *The Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH):*

Identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-structure (Baker 1988: 46).

The second is Ramchand’s first-phase-syntax theory which views the Verb phrase as possessing a multi-layered argument structure consisting of the Initiator, Undergoer, and Resultee (Butt, Ramchand 2002; Ramchand 2007: 46, 117; the scheme as presented below is cited from Wilbur 2008: 225):

(10)



Ramchand’s model makes it possible to construct “subevental decompositions of dynamic events: the INITIATOR is the direct argument related to the causing subevent (when it exists); the UNDERGOER is the direct argument related to the process subevent; and the RESULTEE is the direct argument related to the result state (when it exists)” (Ramchand 2007: 40). In the case of the *-si-/ reflexive pronoun* dichotomy, it is clear that *-si-*, in the semantic domain, comprises information that the Undergoer and the Resultee of the action is the same as the Initiator. Given this tripartite distinction, it may be suggested that, in distinguishing within the verbal meaning “subevental” phases and the relevant argument roles accounting for them, the Accusative meaning can be stored under the Undergoer argument, while the Dative meaning can be conveniently grasped by the Resultee argument.

The tripartite argument structure (when the Initiator exists) within the same event garners support from the fact that the reflexive form of the verb cannot be used when the indirect object (i.e., the Undergoer or the Resultee) is expressed by a different argument:

- (11) a. \**Pa-si<sub>i</sub>-dar-iau*                      *Jonui<sub>j</sub>*                      *kav-os.*  
 PREF-SI-do-1P.PAST                      Jonas-SG.DAT                      coffee-SG.PART  
 ‘I cooked-refl    coffee for John.’
- b. ? *Pa-si<sub>i</sub>-dar-iau*                      *sau<sub>i</sub>*                      *kav-os.*  
 PREF-SI-do-1P.PAST                      REFL.DAT                      coffee-SG.PART  
 ‘I cooked-refl    coffee for John.’

- c. [Aš]<sub>i</sub> pa-dar-iau                      Jonui<sub>j</sub>                      kav-os.  
 [I] PREF-do-1P.PAST                      Jonas-SG.DAT                      coffee-SG.PART  
 'I cooked-refl                      coffee for John.'

Coindexation of the clitic and the object argument, if they do not corefer to the same entity, produces an ungrammatical sentence (11)a., the corrected version of which, i.e., without the reflexive component, is provided in (11)c.. Note that, despite its fairly wide use in constructions like (11)b. in casual speech, native speakers nevertheless regard *sau* as redundant when it is placed in an unfocused position.

Sentences with a non-reflexive verb and a reflexive pronoun can be marginally tolerated by native speakers. For instance, some native speakers regard sentence (12) with the non-reflexive verb and the Accusative form of the reflexive pronoun as conveying an ironical meaning and hence marginally acceptable:

- (12) ? *Pagaliau jis skyrė sau dėmesio ir save nu-praus-ė.*  
 Finally he devote-3PPAST REFL.DAT attention-M.GEN and REFL.ACC PREF-wash-3PPAST  
 'Finally he took care of himself and washed himself.'

Consider, however, the following pair of sentences with the only difference being the case of the reflexive pronoun:

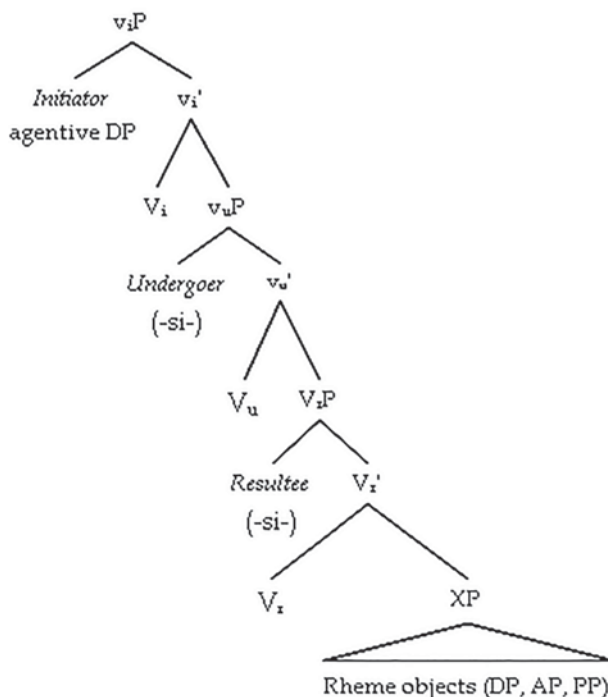
- (13) a. \**Jis save nu-si-praus-ė.*  
 He REFL.ACC PREF-SI-wash-3P.Past  
 'He washed himself.'
- b. ??*Jis sau nu-si-praus-ė.*  
 He REFL.DAT PREF-SI-wash-3P.Past  
 'He washed himself.'

In sentence (13)a., the use of the reflexive pronoun in the Accusative renders the entire sentence ungrammatical. Interestingly, the same sentence with the reflexive pronoun in the Dative (11)b. is perceived as far more acceptable.

Notably, the combination of the reflexive element appearing before and after the verb, whereby one of the elements stands for the reflexive pronoun, is attested both historically and dialectally (e.g., Zinkevičius 1996). As regards the examples above, the reflexive pronoun '*sau*' is regarded to be redundant in neutral contexts (but acceptable in emotive contexts, when either the reflexive or the verb occurs in the focused position), due to the fact that its meaning is already conveyed by the reflexive clitic *-si-*; hence, when both *-si-* and *sau* are used, the same meaning is conveyed twice (Paulauskienė, Miliūnaitė 2009). On this account, the above Lithuanian examples (11)b. and (13)b., in which both the

reflexive form of the verb and the Dative form of the reflexive pronoun “self” (*sau*) are used, when occurring in casual speech, can be explained: these speakers seek to overtly fill in all available thematic slots, hence the fact that the Initiator is the same as the Undergoer and the Resultee is evidenced by the reflexive clitic *-si-*, but the hierarchy of the argument structure provides grounds for the clitic *-si-* and the Dative form of the reflexive pronoun *sau* to compete overtly for the same Resultee role, which results in the “redundancy” of the pronoun, as it is the “external” material, unattached to the verb:

(14)

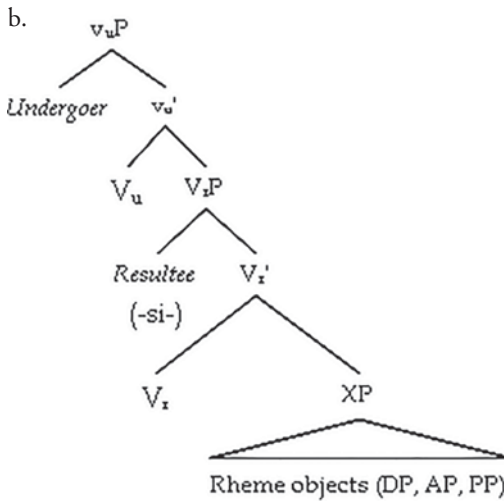


If so, then the Dative and Accusative pronoun forms *sau*, *save* “self” and the reflexive clitic *-si-* compete for the same semantic positions, which, following Ramchand’s phase analysis, are defined as Undergoer/Resultee. The Dative form *sau* seems to emphasize the Undergoer meaning component while the Accusative *save* the Resultee. On this view, the difference in the perception of the two sentences, containing the the Accusative *save* (13)a. or the Dative *sau* (13)b. can be explained: the Initiator and the Undergoer, standing in immediate proximity in the tree (14), are tolerated by native speakers better than the Initiator and the Resultee (13)b., which appear as more distant components of the DP argument in Ramchand’s argument structure. What this suggests may be interpreted in the following way: given the fact that the Initiator is the same as the Undergoer/Resultee of the action, the information about the latter may be conveniently reduced from an independent

lexical item to a morphologically bound form and reside in the verb, thereby fulfilling considerations of economy.

Ramchand's tripartite argument structure also allows us to account for anticausative constructions which lack an agentive DP. Hence they would be treated as void of the Initiator, i.e. having "a null causative head", but possessing the process and result stages, hence the Undergoer and Resultee roles, respectively, manifest under *process* ( $v_uP$ ) and *result* ( $v_rP$ ) functional projections (Ramchand 2007: 96). An example is given in (15) below:

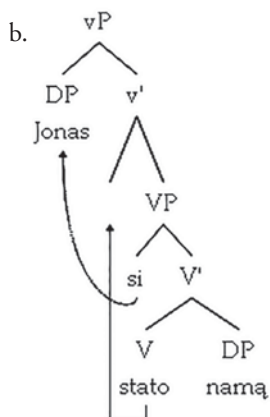
- (15) a. *Karas*                      *pra-si-dė-jo.*  
 War                                PREF-SI-put-3P.PAST  
 'The war broke out.'



DEFINING THE TREE STRUCTURE OF THE LITHUANIAN VERB

The position of the reflexive clitic offers interesting insights into the position of the Lithuanian verb on the syntactic tree. As is known, languages with a rich morphology and agreement system generally have their verb positioned low on the syntactic tree (see, e.g., independent research by Svenonius (2008) and Veselovská (1995) for Russian). The fact that the reflexive clitic may precede the verb, and hence appear above the verb on the syntactic tree, suggests that the Lithuanian verb is also to be placed low, following Baker's (1988) Internal Subject Hypothesis according to which the subject is generated inside the VP, viz. in the specifier of the VP (spec-VP). Consider a common sentence with a transitive reflexive verb in (16)a., and the simplified tree in (16) b. below:

- (16) a. *Jonas stat-o-si nam-q.*  
 Jonas build-3P.PRES-SI house-SG.ACC  
 ‘John is building a house.’



As can be seen from the tree and in line with the generative approach, the base-generated lexical verb raises to the (causative) light v. The dotted arrow in the tree shows the trajectory of the external VP-generated argument to the vP with the subsequent raising of the noun to the spec-CP, which, for space considerations is not shown here (Carnie 2013). Meanwhile the residual part of the external argument, i.e., the reflexive clitic, bears part of its Initiator-Undergoer-Resultee semantics and is a physically manifest trace of the subject DP. This analysis goes contrary to Chomsky's (2001) requirement that the moved element take all its information with it; however, there has been evidence against this idea (e.g. Hasegawa 2004). If this view is accepted, what can account for the ability of the reflexive clitic to appear in different positions relative to the verb? To answer this question, let us consider some properties of the negation in Lithuanian verbs.

#### PREFIXED REFLEXIVE VERBS AND THE NEGATIVE MARKER *NE-*

We shall now turn to verbal pre-root material in order to account for the processes within the structure of the verb.

In the traditional terminology, a distinction is made between the prefix (which conveys a lexical or aspectual meaning, or both) and the (negative) particle. Following the generative framework, we will offer the distinction of the clitic vs prefix bearing in mind morphemes such as *ne-* and *nebe*, meaning “not” and “not any

more” respectively and lexical prefixes as defined above. Below we will only examine the behaviour of *ne-* and extend our conclusions to the largely similar behaviour of *nebe-* and *tebe-* (the latter roughly meaning “still”). The ambiguous status of the negative marker *ne-* and elements alike is also reflected in the orthography: while each is an independent syntactic constituent, it nevertheless attaches to the verb to form a full form.

As is known, Lithuanian belongs to the group of languages with double negation, the negative element being able to attach both above the TP and the vP (Korostenskaja, to appear):

- (17) *Tomas ne-gal-i ne-si-stat-y-ti nam-o.*  
*Tomas not-can-3P.PRES not-SI-build—TH-INF house-SG.GEN*  
 ‘Tom cannot but be building a house / It is inevitable that Tom is building the house.’

In this analysis, we will only be concerned with what happens at the *vP* level and below. Thus the ellipsis test helps illustrate the constituency of the negative morphemes in Lithuanian and serves as a minimum criterion for an item to be categorized as a clitic. Let us consider the status of the negative clitic *ne(-)* on the basis of the sentences below:

- (18) a. *Jonas ne-si-stat-o nam-o.*  
*Jonas not-si-build-3P.PRES house-SG.GEN*  
 ‘Jonas is not building a house.’
- b. *Tomas stat-o-si nam-a, o Jonas ne-[si-stat-o nam-o].*  
*Tomas build-3P.PRES-si house-SG.ACC, and Jonas not.*  
 ‘Tomas is building a house and Jonas is not.’
- c. *Tomas stat-o-si nam-a, o Jonas ne-[si-stat-o nam-o].*  
*Tomas build-3P.PRES-si house-SG.ACC, and Jonas not-[SI-build-3P.PRES house-SG.GEN].*  
 ‘Tomas is building a house, and Jonas is not building a house.’

Consider also the tree for the verb form with both the negative and the aspectual prefix:

- (19) *Jonas ne-pa-si-stat-ė nam-o.*  
*Jonas not-PREF-SI-build-3P.PAST house-SG.GEN*  
 ‘John did not build the house.’

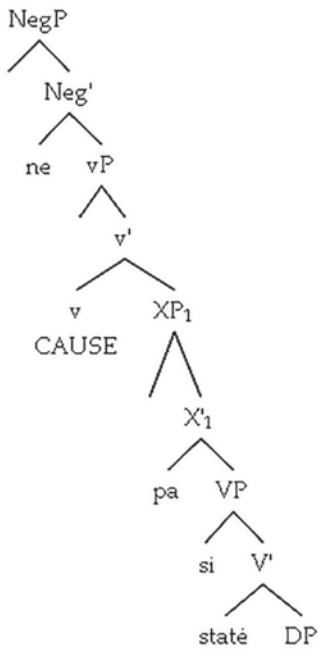
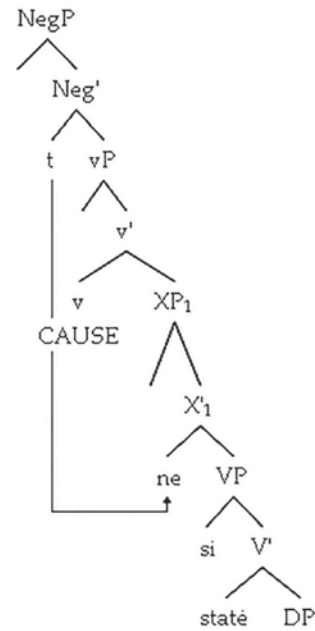
According to the ellipsis test, the elided part in (18)b. as compared to (18)c. forms a constituent. The fact that in (18)b. *ne* may appear on its own with the component

[*sistato namo*] deleted, proves that each of the relevant elements are constituents, i.e., have their own branches on a syntactic tree. However, the form *-sistato* is only possible when preceded by a prefix and does not form an independent constituent. Following the VP-internal subject hypothesis and having identified *-si-* as a physically manifest trace of the moved VP-internally generated subject bearing the semantic meaning of the Undergoer and the Resultee, we can state that the element *-sistato* is an intermediate projection of the vP. From this we can draw the conclusion that, if the verb does not have a lexical/aspectual prefix, the negative clitic *ne-* undergoes lowering and gets incorporated into the verbal material below vP, as evidenced by its unconstrained behaviour at the syntactic level reflected in the orthography. Consequently, the lowering and incorporation of the negative clitic results in the preservation of the VP-internal subject order since the lexical root cannot raise to the *v* position of the vP, contrary to prefixless cases. It is also noteworthy that on this view, we are also consistent with the economy principle treating phenomena like the one above as manifestations of one and the same, rather than two different, morphological parts. This may also be used as an illustration of an idea that syntax competes with morphology and that “the syntactic combination blocks morphological combination if all else is equal” (Ackema and Neeleman 2007[2004]: 9). In either case, the reflexive clitic *-si-* resides below the prefixal material.

As is known, Lithuanian prefixes may express either lexical or aspectual meaning, or both. Therefore, for convenience we can mark the node for the prefix as XP, avoiding further specification as to exactly which meaning is conveyed. This treatment is justified by virtue of the fact that the subsequent layout of morphemes in the verb does not depend on the nature of the prefix, but solely on whether it is present or not. Contrarily, the negative clitic *ne-*, by virtue of its independent status as a constituent, is to be placed above the vP.

Below two simplified trees for the behaviour of the negative marker are provided: in the tree (20)a., *ne-* does not lower due to the presence of the lexical-aspectual prefix in the verb; in the tree (20)b., *ne-* undergoes lowering due to the absence of a lexical/aspectual prefix and is thereby incorporated into the verb structure:



(20) a. *Ne* does not lower because of a prefixb. *Ne* lowers in the absence of a prefix

Therefore, the conclusion may be drawn that in prefixed verbs, the lexical verb *V* cannot raise to the light verb *v* due to the fact that the prefix, be it the lexical/aspectual prefix located *in situ*, or the lowered clitic, is located below the light verb *v*. According to the subadjacency principle, the lexical verb *V* cannot move across two obstacles – the prefix and the reflexive *-si-*, which remains *in situ*. Consequently, the movement of the lexical verb *V* is blocked and the resulting morpheme order is the one with the reflexive component found in the pre-root position. In negative sentences, the fact that the negative clitic technically appears as prefixed to the verb, provides a visual support for our argument that the negative clitic competes for the prefixed position within the verb structure, and when used together with the verb, in fact lowers from its original NegP position into the verb's prefixal slot XP under the light *v*. When the prefixal slot under XP is taken by the lexical/aspectual prefix, *ne-* shows up in its NegP position immediately preceding the light *vP*.

As can be seen in the trees (20)a. and (20)b., the reflexive *-si-* does not move out of its base position. We believe its movement is blocked by the lowering of the negative clitic, while *-si-*, by virtue of its residual argument nature, cannot move and stay at the XP or NegP level. It is possible then that prefixes in Lithuanian have a tendency of stacking onto one another. We have been able to find one example, however, where this regularity is broken, while the idea of the prefix incorporating into the structure

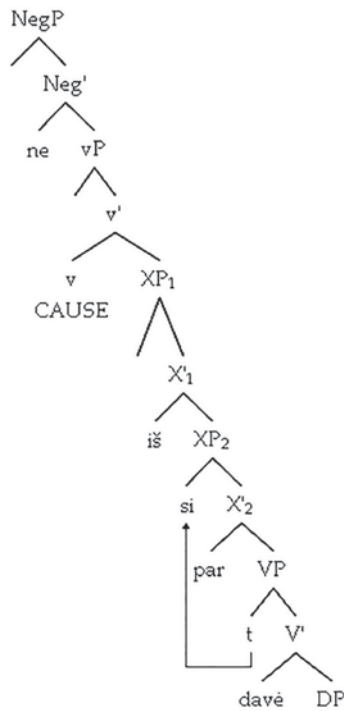
of the verb gets additional support. Consider the verb *parduoti* ‘to sell’ and its negative reflexive *neišsipardavė* ‘did not sell out’ in (21)(c) below, the prefixal material of which is composed of the negative clitic and two lexical-aspectual prefixes. While prefixes of the clitical nature can be augmented (e.g., *nebeišsipardavė* ‘did not sell any more’), to the best of our knowledge, *neišsipardavė* is the only example with two lexical-aspectual prefixes attested in Lithuanian in general. What makes this example even more notable is the fact that the reflexive clitic is placed between the second and third prefixes, which is quite unexpected given the perfectly consistent appearance of *-si-* in (21)a., immediately in the pre-root position, thereby proving that the prefix *par-* can be separated from the root.

Consider the following series of examples:

- |      |    |                               |   |                              |
|------|----|-------------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| (21) | a. | <i>Par-duo-ti</i>             | > | <i>par-si-duo-ti</i>         |
|      |    | PREF-give-INF                 | > | PREF-SI-give-INF             |
|      |    | ‘To sell                      | > | to sell oneself’             |
|      | b. | <i>Iš-par-duo-ti</i>          | > | <i>iš-si-par-duo-ti</i>      |
|      |    | Out-PREF-give-INF             | > | out-SI-PREF-give-INF         |
|      |    | ‘to sell out                  | > | to sell itself out’          |
|      | c. | <i>Bat-ai</i>                 |   | <i>ne-iš-si-par-dav-ė.</i>   |
|      |    | Shoe-PL.NOM                   |   | not-out-SI-PREF-give-3P.PAST |
|      |    | ‘The shoes did not sell out.’ |   |                              |

At this stage we believe that, under the pressure of two lexical-aspectual prefixes, the reflexive *-si-* does in fact manage to move up one level to the spec  $XP_2$  position, as in the tree below. Alternatively, it could be suggested that, for reasons unbenownst to us at the present stage, the lexical-aspectual prefix *par-* lowers to get incorporated into the structure of the verbal root under the weight of the other, “rival” lexical-aspectual prefix *iš-* “out”, basically repeating the behaviour of the negative clitic as it lowers to the otherwise prefixless verb as in *nesistato* “does not build”. In this analysis we tend to favour the former option, with the *-si-* moving up one level with the tree as (22) below:

(22)



## CONCLUSIONS

The present article presents an attempt to extend morphosyntactic theory from the generative perspective to Lithuanian reflexive verbs. In Lithuanian, the reflexive marker is notable for being able to appear in two positions: word-finally in prefixless verbs and after the prefix, in prefixed verbs. The phenomenon was examined first in the framework of the Distributed Morphology theory, seeking to provide a formal account of the distribution of the reflexive element; and then, at the syntactic level, Ramchand's decomposition of argument structure and versions of X-bar theory. It was argued that the Lithuanian reflexive clitic is the physically manifest trace of the argument which takes on the semantic roles of the Undergoer and the Resultee and moves out the spec-VP position following the general tendency of the argument to raise in the syntactic tree. The negative form of Lithuanian reflexive verbs is also examined to suggest that the negative clitic forms a head above the vP and undergoes lowering in verbal constructions. Given these facts, it is postulated that the Lithuanian lexical verb stands low on the syntactic tree and, in prefixal constructions, its movement to the vP position is blocked by the presence of the prefix, which explains the reflexive marker preceding the verb in relevant constructions.

Julija Korostenskienė

## LIETUVIŲ KALBOS SANGRAŽINIAI VEIKSMAŽODŽIAI GENERATYVINĖS SINTAKSĖS POŽIŪRIU

SANTRAUKA. Straipsnyje nagrinėjamas ryšys tarp sangražos dalelytės *-si-* ir veiksmažodžio taikant generatyvinės sintaksės metodus: skirstomąją morfologiją (angl. *Distributed Morphology*), Gillian Ramchand pirmosios fazės sintaksę (angl. *first phase syntax*) bei sintaksinio medžio *X-bar* teoriją (angl. *X-bar theory*). Lietuvių kalboje sangražos dalelytė *-si-* eina po veiksmažodžio fleksijos nepriešdėliniuose veiksmažodžiuose, o priešdėliniuose – po priešdėlio. Remiantis skirstomosios morfologijos principais formuluojama dalelytės vietos veiksmažodyje taisyklė. Toliau taikant Ramchand daiktavardžio grupės struktūros modelį (angl. *argument structure model*) siekiama nustatyti sangražos dalelytės suderinamumą su (ne)tiesioginio papildinio poziciją užimančia daiktavardžio grupe. Dėmesys kreipiamas į daiktavardžius bei sangražinį įvardį *sau / save*. Straipsnyje parodoma, kad sangražos dalelytė gali atsirasti tik tokiose konstrukcijose, kur, Ramchand terminais, veiksmo iniciatorius (angl. *Initiator*), patyrėjas (angl. *Undergoer*) ir rezultantas (angl. *Resultee*) apibūdina tą patį subjektą arba turi tą patį indeksą sakinyje (angl. *are coindexed*). Toliau remiantis Bakerio suformuluota vidinio veiksnio hipoteze (angl. *Baker's Internal Subject Hypothesis*), kuri, manoma, yra universali ir taikoma visoms pasaulio kalboms, analizuojamas sangražinio veiksmažodžio (morfo)sintaksinis medis. Analizė atskleidė, jog sangražos dalelytės pozicijos keitimas atspindi veiksnio judėjimą sintaksiniame medyje, o pati dalelytė yra išorinio veiksnio (angl. *external argument*) pėdsakas (angl. *trace*). Išanalizavus neigiamosios dalelytės jungimąsi su sangražiniais veiksmažodžiais teigiama, kad neigiama frazė (*NegP*) gali tam tikromis sąlygomis įsiterpti į sangražinio veiksmažodžio struktūrą.

RAKTAŽODŽIAI: sangražinis veiksmažodis, veiksmažodinis predikatas, skirstomoji morfologija, sintaksės ir morfologijos sąveika, argumentų struktūra.

## ABBREVIATIONS

A – adjective	PoR – passivisation of reflexives
ACC – Accusative	PP – prepositional phrase
AP – adjective phrase	PREF – prefix
DAT – Dative	PRES – present
DM – Distributed Morphology	REFL – reflexive
DP – determiner phrase	Sg – singular
GEN – Genitive	V – verb
N – noun	v – light verb
NegP – Negative Phrase	VP – verb phrase
PART – partitive	vP – light verb phrase
P – person	3P.PRES-PASS-SI
PASS – passive	Spec – Specifier
Pl – plural	

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