



The numbered positions H1, H2, H3 and H4 indicate slots which might be targeted by overt N-raising crosslinguistically. In Sardinian, Celtic and Semitic (not in construct state structures though) the noun moves to H1. H2 is targeted by common nouns in most Romance, whereas in Walloon the noun is raised to H3. German, Greek and Slavic nouns (as well as suffixed nouns in Scandinavian) end up in H4. D is also a possible landing site for an overtly raised noun: it is targeted by Romance proper names, Rumanian common nouns with enclitic articles, and nouns in Semitic construct state structures. These parameters explain surface word-order differences between various languages.

In most European languages, non-prepositional genitives occur either relatively high in the DP structure (before attributive adjectives and the head noun) or postnominally (cf. Rijkhoff 2002:310). Thus, Longobardi 2001 proposes that there are two distinct DP-internal non-prepositional genitival slots: GenS and GenO. He tentatively assumes that they are specifier positions. Their labels are related to the fact that, if both of them are occupied in deverbal structures, GenS is more likely to host the subject of the action denoted by the head noun, whilst the object will be located in GenO.

Whether both GenS and GenO are activated in a given language is a parametric choice. According to Longobardi 2001, the higher genitival position is active in Semitic, Romance and Hungarian, the lower one is occupied in Celtic, whereas several Germanic languages activate both of them. He illustrates the latter case with examples such as the following sentence from German:

- (3) Marias sorgfältige Beschreibung Ottos  
 Maria-GEN accurate-NOM description-NOM Otto-GEN  
 ‘Maria’s accurate description of Otto’

From the point of view of the present analysis, the most important aspect of Longobardi’s 2001 model is where he places the two genitival positions. A simplified version of the structure in (2) is given in (4).

- (4) [GenS [AP [GenO [NP]]]]

Following Crisma 1993, Longobardi 2001 distinguishes several types of attributive adjectives (with two types of manner adjectives: appositive and restrictive ones, located in  $M_1$  and  $M_2$ , respectively). The whole adjectival complex is located below GenS and above GenO. In the simplified structure in (4), the label AP indicates where attributive adjectives reside (this layer might be iterated, if several adjectives are stacked in one nominal expression). I will not distinguish various kinds of attributive adjectives because, as I will show in Section 6, what matters in Lithuanian is the distinction between attributive and classifying adjectives (which is not covered by Longobardi’s 2001 model).

In what follows, I will confront the universal DP structure outlined above with the syntax of Lithuanian nominals. I will argue that, although Longobardi’s 2001 model was not meant to account for the structure of nominal expressions in languages belonging to the type in (1c), Lithuanian data provide strong evidence supporting his proposal, especially as far as his predictions concerning the positions of genitives are concerned. Although Longobardi 2001 refers to GenO as the “postnominal” genitive, I will show that the phrase occupying this slot does not surface postnominally in Lithuanian, which means that the noun does not even reach H4.

### 3 Pre-nominal Genitives

Unlike in other European languages, Lithuanian prenominal genitives need not be placed in (or close to) the left periphery of the nominal complex: the unmarked word order of an expression with one genitival phrase and an adjective is as shown in (5a).

- (5) a. juodas Reginos automobilis  
 black-NOM Regina-GEN car-NOM  
 ‘Regina’s black car’  
 (5) b. \*Reginos juodas automobilis  
 Regina-GEN black-NOM car-NOM  
 (5) c. \*juodas automobilis Reginos  
 black-NOM car-NOM Regina-GEN

As noted by Christen 2001, the word order in (5b) is also possible if it reflects a marked information structure (e.g. (5b) would be acceptable if the word *Reginos* were stressed). However, in this paper I will focus on pragmatically unmarked syntactic configurations only.

Lithuanian nouns and adjectives inflect for number and case. Adjectives also inflect for gender (nouns are marked for gender, i.e. they are either masculine or feminine). There are seven cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental, locative and vocative), two genders (masculine and feminine) and two numbers (singular and plural). The glosses I give in this paper do not provide exhaustive morphological descriptions of particular words; instead, they are limited to the most relevant information.

I will refer to the basic word order in (5a) as the “sandwich” configuration (the adnominal genitive is sandwiched between the adjective and the head noun). Its schematic structure is given in (6).

(6) [AP [Gen [NP]]]

This surface word order is exactly parallel to the underlying universal structure proposed by Longobardi 2001 (cf. (4)). Therefore, I argue that, in unmarked pragmatic contexts, Lithuanian nouns surface in their base position, i.e. there is no overt raising from N. This means that adnominal genitives are not expected to appear in postposition with respect to the head noun.

It should be noted that, unlike in English, pre-nominal possessive genitives and demonstratives do not compete for the same syntactic slot; if they co-occur, the demonstrative, similarly to adjectives, precedes the genitival phrase:

(7) šis juodas Reginos automobilis  
 this-NOM black-NOM Regina-GEN car-NOM  
 ‘this black car of Regina’

The structure of expressions such as (7) can be represented as in Figure 1.

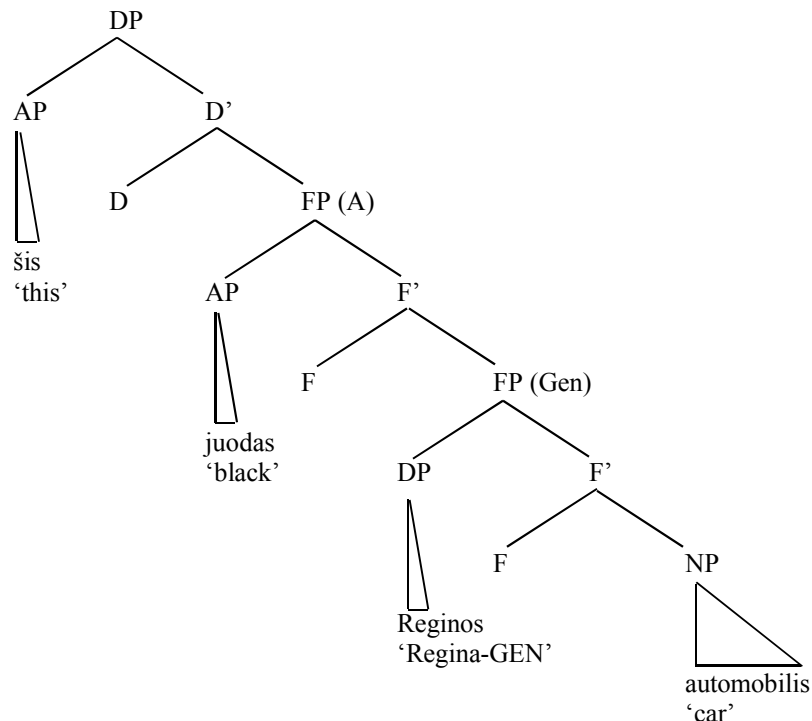


Figure 1. Syntax of Lithuanian genitives – basic structure

Lithuanian demonstratives are adjectival in terms of morphology and agreement (they agree with the head noun in terms of number, case and gender). Therefore, I propose that, being strongly referential, they occupy the highest

specifier in the nominal complex (I take adjectival agreement to be an instance of spec-head relation). I use the label “FP” to refer to any functional projection in the nominal domain. I assume that such projections host various modifiers of the head noun in their specifiers.

The genitival position is occupied by a full DP. Therefore, its internal structure may also be complex; in particular it may include other genitival phrases:

- (8) a. *dramos teatro bilietų kasa*  
drama-GEN theater-GEN tickets-GEN box-office-NOM  
‘a box office of a drama theater’
- (8) b. *dramos teatro bilietų kasos direktorius*  
drama-GEN theater-GEN tickets-GEN box-office-GEN manager-NOM  
‘a manager of a box office of a drama theater’
- (8) c. *dramos teatro bilietų kasos direktoriaus žmona*  
drama-GEN theater-GEN tickets-GEN office-GEN manager-GEN wife-NOM  
‘the wife of a manager of a box office of a drama theater’

Structures (9a-c) correspond to examples (8a-c); they show that the genitival configuration is iterative:

- (9) a. [[[Gen] Gen] Gen [NP]]
- (9) b. [[[[Gen] Gen] Gen] Gen [NP]]
- (9) c. [[[[[Gen] Gen] Gen] Gen] Gen [NP]]

It should be noted that such iterated genitives occupy a single syntactic slot, located just above the head NP. Therefore, they always follow adjectives and other adnominal pre-modifiers (such as demonstratives) – see example (10).

- (10) *ši nuostabi dramos teatro bilietų kasos direktoriaus žmona*  
this-NOM wonderful-NOM drama-GEN theater-GEN tickets-GEN office-GEN manager-GEN  
wife-NOM  
‘this wonderful wife of a manager of a box office of a drama theater’

As shown in (11), the “sandwich” configuration is not disrupted even by very complex sequences of stacked genitives:

- (11) [DP [AP [[[[[Gen] Gen] Gen] Gen] Gen [NP]]]]

Although the adjective in examples such as (5a) is separated from the head noun by the pre-nominal genitive phrase, its interpretation is unambiguous because of case marking. If the adjective refers to the genitival noun, they are both marked genitive – see (12) vs. (13), and their structural representations in (14) and (15), respectively.

- (12) *linksmas mergaitės brolis*  
cheerful-NOM girl-GEN brother-NOM  
‘a girl’s cheerful brother’
- (13) *linksmos mergaitės brolis*  
cheerful-GEN girl-GEN brother-NOM  
‘a cheerful girl’s brother’
- (14) [AP [Gen [NP]]]
- (15) [[AP Gen] [NP]]

However, sometimes the fact that genitival phrases are bracketed by adjectives and the head noun may lead to ambiguity. Note that the adjective *nuostabi* ‘wonderful’ in (10) unambiguously refers to the head noun *žmona* ‘wife’ because both of them are nominative. However, the genitival form *nuostabaus* ‘wonderful’ in (16) can be linked either to the noun *direktoriaus* ‘manager’ or to the noun *teatro* ‘theater’.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the form *nuostabaus* ‘wonderful’ is singular and masculine, therefore it could not refer to the nouns *dramos* ‘drama’, *kasos* ‘office’ (which are feminine) or *bilietų* ‘tickets’ (which is plural). However, in principle this structure

- (16) nuostabaus dramos teatro biletų kasos direktoriaus žmona  
wonderful-GEN drama-GEN theater-GEN tickets-GEN office-GEN manager-GEN wife-NOM  
'the wife of a wonderful manager of a box office of a drama theater'  
or 'the wife of a manager of a box office of a wonderful drama theater'

The bracketing in (17-18) illustrates these two possible structural interpretations:

- (17) [[A [[[Gen] Gen] Gen] Gen] Gen] N]  
(18) [[[[[[A Gen] Gen] Gen] Gen] Gen] N]

In such cases of ambiguity, some speakers of Lithuanian accept examples like (19), in which the adjective is placed immediately before the noun that it refers to.

- (19) dramos teatro biletų kasos nuostabaus direktoriaus žmona  
drama-GEN theater-GEN tickets-GEN office-GEN wonderful-GEN manager-GEN wife-NOM  
'the wife of a wonderful manager of a box office of a drama theater'

The structure in (20) shows that (19) is unambiguous: the adjective *nuostabaus* 'wonderful' can only be interpreted as a modifier of the noun *direktoriaus* 'manager'.

- (20) [[[[[[Gen] Gen] Gen] Gen] A Gen] N]

This kind of construction does not comply with the general "sandwich" pattern illustrated in (6). A similar phenomenon has been noted by Christen 2001. He points out that genitival phrases tend not to be bracketed by attributive adjectives and the head noun if the whole expression includes more than two adjectives referring to different nouns – cf. (21) and its simplified representation in (22).

- (21) \*senas gražios naujo mokytojo žmonos draugas  
old-NOM pretty-GEN new-GEN teacher-GEN wife-GEN friend-NOM  
int. 'the old friend of the new teacher's pretty wife'  
(22) [A [A [A Gen] Gen] N]

Instead, adjectives are placed next to their respective heads, as in (23) (cf. also (24)).

- (23) senas naujo mokytojo gražios žmonos draugas  
old-NOM new-GEN teacher-GEN pretty-GEN wife-GEN friend-NOM  
'the old friend of the new teacher's pretty wife'  
(24) [A [[A Gen] A Gen] N]

However, the above disambiguation operations are conditioned pragmatically, and not syntactically. Therefore, I conclude that the base structure of Lithuanian genitival expressions corresponds to Longobardi's 2001 model, as represented in (4) and that there is no overt N-raising in this language. The syntax of Lithuanian genitives (and its iterative potential) is illustrated in Figure 2, corresponding to example (10).

#### 4 Structures with Two Genitives

The universal DP structure proposed by Longobardi 2001 finds confirmation also in those Lithuanian expressions which include more than one genitival phrase. When two non-prepositional genitives co-occur, both of them must precede the head noun – see (25).

- (25) Renuaro jaunos paryžietės portretas  
Renoir-GEN young-GEN Parisian-GEN portrait-NOM  
'Renoir's portrait of a young Parisian'

could be even more ambiguous if all genitival phrases were singular masculine.

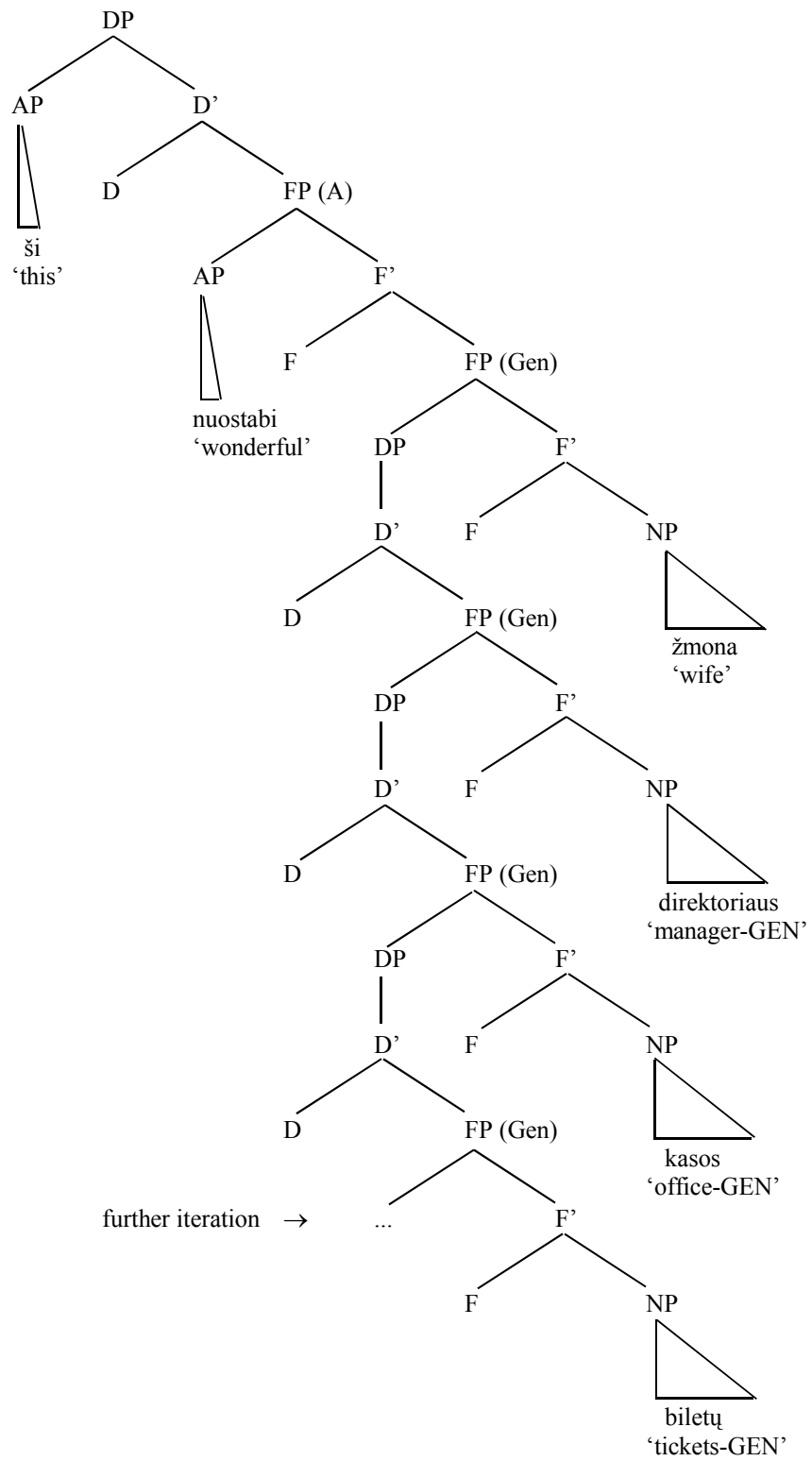


Figure 2. Syntax of Lithuanian genitives – complex structure

This is exactly what the model in (4) predicts. Moreover, examples such as (26-27) support Longobardi's 2001 claim that attributive adjectives are bracketed by two genitival positions (GenS and GenO).

- (26) tas van Gogo nuostabus ovalus mano gydytojo portretas  
that-NOM van Gogh-GEN wonderful-NOM oval-NOM my-GEN doctor-GEN portrait-NOM  
'that wonderful oval portrait of my doctor by van Gogh'
- (27) simpatiško Andriaus maža spalvotų pieštukų dėžutė  
pleasant-GEN Andrius-GEN small-NOM colored-GEN pencils-GEN box-NOM  
'the pleasant Andrius's small box of colored pencils'

It is also worth noticing that although, as illustrated in Figure 2, genitival phrases iterate easily, structures with more than two genitives attached to the same nominal head are usually ungrammatical (cf. Christen 2001). This restriction provides evidence for Longobardi's 2001 assumption that the number of DP-internal genitival positions is limited.

Similarly to Longobardi 2001, I do not assume that the GenS and GenO positions must always be related to the external and internal argument, respectively. If only one genitival phrase is present, it must appear in the lower position (no matter what its thematic function is – see (28a) vs. (28b)).

- (28) a. nuostabus Kolumbo atradimas  
wonderful-NOM Columbus-GEN discovery-NOM  
'Columbus's wonderful discovery'
- (28) b. nuostabus Amerikos atradimas  
wonderful-NOM America-GEN discovery-NOM  
'wonderful discovery of America'

Therefore, in order to account for the data discussed in the present paper, I postulate the following assumption: two genitival positions are available in Lithuanian, however, it is always the lower one that must be occupied first. This restriction might be argued to follow from the fact that, if the syntactic distance between the genitive and the head noun is reduced, the process of feature checking becomes more economical.

## 5 Postnominal Genitives

In Section 3, I argued that there is no overt N-raising in Lithuanian, which means that the noun always surfaces in situ, i.e. below GenO. This proposal seems to be questioned by examples such as (29-33).

- (29) truputis pinigų  
a-bit money-GEN  
'some money'
- (30) litras pieno  
liter milk-GEN  
'a liter of milk'
- (31) dauguma žodžių  
majority words-GEN  
'a majority of words'
- (32) glėbys gėlių  
armful flowers-GEN  
'an armful of flowers'
- (33) maišas miltų  
sack flour-GEN  
'a sack of flour'

In the above examples the head noun precedes the genitival phrase. According to Longobardi's 2001 model such a configuration is assumed to result from N-raising (from N to a higher functional projection located above GenO). However, as shown in Rutkowski 2006, Lithuanian genitives are admitted in postposition in one context only, namely in pseudo-partitive expressions. Pseudo-partitives are bi-nominal constructions referring to an

amount/quantity of some (indefinite) substance. They should be distinguished from regular partitives because the latter refer to a part/subset of a (definite) superset (cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001). These two types of structures may differ syntactically in a number of ways; for instance, in Swedish no articles or prepositions are allowed to occur between the two nouns in pseudo-partitives, whereas they do appear in regular partitives. This difference is illustrated in (34a-b).

- (34) a. en kopp av detta goda te (partitive)  
 a cup of this good tea  
 ‘a cup of this good tea’
- (34) b. en kopp te (pseudo-partitive)  
 a cup tea  
 ‘a cup of tea’

Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001 points out that, in Lithuanian, the difference between partitives and pseudo-partitives is reflected in word order: the head noun appears either before or after the genitival noun – see (35a-b).

- (35) a. pieno stiklinė (partitive)  
 milk:GEN glass:NOM  
 ‘a glass of this milk’
- (35) b. stiklinė pieno (pseudo-partitive)  
 glass:NOM milk:GEN  
 ‘a (full) glass of milk’ (amount)

Rutkowski 2006 argues that various cross-linguistic differences between partitives and pseudo-partitives derive from the fact that the latter are “lighter” syntactically – i.e. they consist of one DP only (whereas regular partitives include two separate DPs). Therefore, the first noun of pseudo-partitive structures (the measure element) must be analyzed as base generated in a functional position above the NP, labeled MP (Measure Phrase) – see also Stickney 2004. Being a functional element, the head noun cannot appear in postposition with respect to the genitival phrase. This structure is illustrated in Figure 3.

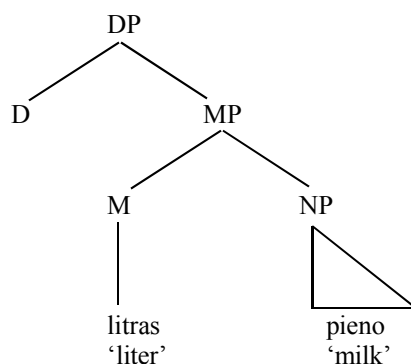


Figure 3. Syntax of pseudo-partitives

Therefore, examples such as (29-33) do not contradict the proposal that there is no overt N-raising in Lithuanian. However, Longobardi's 2001 model has to be extended to include the functional projection MP, as in (36).

- (36) [D [GenS [Num [Measure [H1 [S-or [M<sub>1</sub> H<sub>2</sub> [M<sub>2</sub> H<sub>3</sub> [Arg H<sub>4</sub> [GenO [<sub>a</sub>P [S [O ...N... ]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

## 6 Adjectives below GenO

As shown in Section 3, adnominal genitives are usually sandwiched between the head noun and attributive adjectives. Therefore, I argued that the structure of Lithuanian nominals confirms Longobardi's 2001 proposal that GenO is located immediately above the NP. Note, however, that in examples such as (37a-39a), genitival phrases precede



the adjective, which seems to suggest that GenO is base generated above the position occupied by attributive modifiers.

- (37) a. Reginos žalioji arbata  
Regina-GEN green-NOM tea-NOM  
'Regina's green tea'
- (37) b. \*žalioji Reginos arbata  
green-NOM Regina-GEN tea-NOM
- (38) a. Povilo Pirmoji Komunija  
Povilas-GEN first-NOM communion-NOM  
'Povilas's First Communion'
- (38) b. \*Pirmoji Povilo Komunija  
first-NOM Povilas-GEN communion-NOM
- (39) a. būdvardžių niekatroji giminė  
adjectives-GEN neuter-NOM gender-NOM  
'the neuter gender of adjectives'
- (39) b. \*niekatroji būdvardžių giminė  
neuter-NOM adjectives-GEN gender-NOM

This phenomenon has been analyzed by Rutkowski and Progovac 2006. They show that not all adjectives may appear after a genitival phrase. This position is available to classifying adjectives only, i.e. those adjectives which classify the noun as belonging to a certain type/category (cf. Warren 1984). Bosque and Picallo 1996 argue that classifying adjectives differ from regular attributive ones by being NP-internal (they are base generated in the specifier of NP).

It should be noted that there are two adjectival declensions in Lithuanian: the simple declension (Table 1) and the pronominal one (Table 2). Historically, the endings of the pronominal declension derive from the personal pronoun *jis* 'he'/*ji* 'she'.

Case	Singular	Plural
Nominative	baltas	balti
Genitive	balto	baltų
Dative	baltam	baltiems
Accusative	baltą	baltus
Instrumental	baltu	baltais
Locative	baltame	baltuose

Table 2. Simple declension of the adjective *baltas* 'white' (masculine forms only)

Case	Singular	Plural
Nominative	baltasis	baltieji
Genitive	baltojo	baltųjų
Dative	baltajam	baltiesiems
Accusative	baltąjį	baltuosius
Instrumental	baltuoju	baltaisiais
Locative	baltajame	baltuosiuose

Table 3. Pronominal declension of the adjective *baltas* 'white' (masculine forms only)

In structures such as (37-39) classifying adjectives must appear in their pronominal forms. This generalization is intriguingly similar to the restriction observed in Serbian classifying expressions. Rutkowski and Progovac 2005 show that classifying adjectives in Serbian obligatorily take the so-called "long" inflectional form (the "short" form is not grammatical in this context) – see (40).



Stickney, Helen. 2004. *The Pseudopartitive and Its Illusory Projections*. Ms., University of Massachusetts, Amherst.  
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