Lithuanian *si* is not in second position

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One of the main case studies that has been used as an example of a certain type of second-position phenomena is Lithuanian reflexive *si* (Nevis and Joseph 1993, Embick and Noyer 2001, Embick 2007). Based on the data in consultation with native speakers and building on previous studies (Arkadiev 2012, Korostenskienė 2017, Author 2017, 2018), I provide empirical arguments against treating *si* as a second position element and establish a new empirical generalization that raises important considerations for theories of movement.

Nevis and Joseph 1993 (hereafter N&J 1993) and Embick and Noyer 2001 (hereafter E&N 2001) claim that Lithuanian *si* has two distributions: it occurs as an outermost suffix in unprefixed verbs e.g., *verb-tense-**si***, and in prefixed verbs, it appears in second position after the left-most prefix e.g., *prefix-**si**-prefix-verb-tense*. N&J (1993) view Lithuanian *si* as a type of mobile affix supporting Wackernagel's Law - a tendency for an element to occur in second position - at the word level. In the Distributed Morphology framework, E&N (2001) have used this pattern as evidence for Local Dislocation (LD) – a local string-adjacent movement that takes place late in the derivation, at PF. The second-position characterization of Lithuanian *si* has guided linguistic theory and has been discussed in various studies e.g., Adger 2006:629–632, Williams 2007, Arregi and Nevins 2012, Watanabe 2013:479-480, Bruening 2019, and Crysmann and Bonami 2016:267, Gleim et al. 2023:148–149.[1]

I show that (i) *si* appears as an outermost suffix at the end of the host if there is no verbal prefix or (ii) if one or multiple verbal prefixes are present, *si* appears as a prefix immediately preceding the smallest verbal stem ie., the smallest verbal unit to which the verbal prefix can attach. I show that (ii) applies at all times (with two lexical exceptions which were the basis for the older generalization), regardless of how many verbal prefixes are present. My

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[1]All of these studies (apart from Crysmann and Bonami 2016:267) cite Lithuanian *si* in relation to LD. Some e.g., Adger 2006, Watanabe 2013, discuss the nature of LD and to motivate this movement use the Lithuanian data presented in N&J 1993 and/or E&N 2001. Others e.g., Williams 2007 and Bruening 2019, discuss the disadvantages of employing LD to account for the placement of *si*. What all of these studies have in common is that they assume that *si* always shows second-position effects, which, as I argue, is not the case.

generalization makes correct predictions for the placement of *si* across verbal and nominal domains: verbs with multiple verbal prefixes, verbs derived from nouns with nominal prefixes, and complex nominalizations, which have not been fully taken into consideration previously. The new generalization cannot be fully accounted for by LD and requires a new analysis, questioning the need for and validity of post-syntactic movement.

1 Background

Lithuanian *si*[2] is a valency-reducing morpheme that has different uses including but not limited to reflexive (2) and reciprocal (4) (Geniušienė 1987). (1) introduces a transitive clause with a nominative subject and an accusative object. When *si* is added, the verb becomes reflexive, (2), no overt object is present, and the DP subject *Ieva* is interpreted both as an agent and as a theme. (3) is also a transitive clause with two overt arguments. (4) is a reciprocal version of (3), which has *si* and lacks an accusative object.

(1) Ieva praus-ė vaikus.
Ieva.NOM wash-PST.3 children.ACC
'Ieva washed the children.'

(2) Ieva praus-ė-si.
Ieva.NOM wash-PST.3-RFL
'Ieva was washing.'

(3) Jonas bučiav-o Ievą.
Jonas.NOM kiss-PST.3 Ieva.ACC
'Jonas was kissing Ieva.

(4) Jonas ir Ieva bučiav-o-si.
Jonas.NOM and Ieva.NOM kiss-PST.3-RFL
'Jonas and Ieva were kissing each other.'

Even though syntactically reciprocals and reflexives may be distinct constructions, *si* has the same distribution in each: i) in unprefixed verbs, *si* appears as the final suffix after the inflectional affix i.e., Tense (T) plus Agreement (Agr) node, which encodes tense, person, and sometimes number, (2-4), and ii) as a prefix in prefixed verbs, (5-6).

(5) Ieva nu-si-praus-ė
Ieva.NOM PFV-RFL-wash-PST.3
'Ieva washed/has washed.'

[2]The reflexive marker appears either as *si*, *s* or *is*. When the marker is a prefix, then typically its phonological exponent is *si*. The allomorphs *s* and *is* tend to occur as suffixes at the end of a verbal complex or a nominal complex (also see Geniušienė 1987:16). This is a phonological alternation that is outside the scope of this squib and I am not offering an analysis for it here.

(6) Jonas ir Ieva pa-si-bučiav-o
Ieva.NOM and Jonas.NOM PFV-RFL-kiss-PST.3
'Ieva and Jonas kissed/have kissed each other'

Thus, the placement of *si* is determined by the morphological shape of the verb rather than the nature of the syntactic construction itself. At least from a morphological standpoint, both constructions have the same type of *si* given that *si* behaves identically in both of them in terms of its position.

Regarding the distribution of *si*, the generalization proposed by N&J (1993:95–96) and E&N (2001:567) can be summarized as in (7).

(7) Second Position Generalization (2PG): *In unprefixed verbs, si appears as the outermost suffix. In prefixed verbs, si appears as the second prefix from the left.*

(2) and (4) are consistent with the 2PG: *si* occurs as a suffix at the end of the verb. In the case of one prefix e.g., an aspectual prefix, *si* appears between the prefix and the verb in (5-6), which is also correctly captured by the 2PG. However, in the case of two prefixes N&J (1993:95–96) report that *si* occurs between them as in (8-9). These data (with my own glosses, (8-9) have not been glossed in the original source) are correct, but, as I will argue in Section 3, they are not representative of the main pattern.

(8) su-si-pa-žin-ti
PFV-RFL-PFV-know-INF
'to become acquainted with'

(9) at-si-pa-sak-o-ti
PFV-RFL-NOMP-sak-TH-INF
'to be restored (as in a tale)'[3]

For N&J (1993), *si* is a mobile affix as opposed to a clitic. Its mobile nature is explained by Wackernagel's Law – a tendency for an element to occur in second position. This law has been claimed to apply at the sentence and phrase level. They take the Lithuanian case to show that Wackernagel's Law can also operate at the word level. A clitic for N&J (1993) is a bound word that can never attach word-internally since its distribution is governed by the syntactic component of grammar. This reasoning is built on the Lexical Integrity Principle according to which 'no syntactic rule can have access to or affect the internal structure of a word' (Kanerva 1987 via N&J (1993:97)). If *si* were a clitic, it would violate this principle since *si* can occur word-internally. According to N&J (1993), *si* is an affix that should be derived by the morphological component of grammar that is separate from syntax.

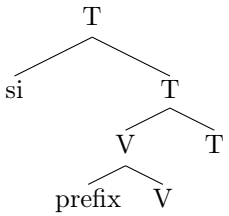
Relying on N&J's (1993) characterization of *si*, E&N (2001) argue that *si* provides evidence for a particular post-syntactic movement, namely LD. After

[3] *sak-* is a bound root whose meaning is highly dependent on other elements in the word. The literal translation of bound roots will not be included in the glossing.

the hierarchical tree structure is converted into a linear order of morphemes (linearization), LD manipulates locally adjacent elements that are either M-words i.e., complex heads not dominated by other head projections, or Sub-Words (SWds) that are terminals nodes i.e., roots and feature bundles. The main function of this operation is to adjoin one element to another, which may reverse their order. LD is restricted: M-words can undergo LD only with M-words and SWds can only dislocate with SWds. No skipping of string-adjacent elements is possible.

Lithuanian *si* is a SWd, which E&N also view as a "dissociated" morpheme (similar to an Agr node). During the derivation, the complex verbal head to which aspectual prefixes are adjoined raises to T (tense). Being a dissociated morpheme, *si* then left-adjoins to the verbal complex, the M-word, as in (10).[4] *si* has one underlying position: it is always linearized as the leftmost element in the M-word as in (11).

(10)



(11) After the linearization of (10)
[**si** * [prefix*V*T]]

si then undergoes LD with an adjacent SWd, which is a prefix in (12a-12b). This rule derives (5-6) and (8-9).

(12) a. [**si** * [prefix*V*T]] → After LD [prefix ⊕ **si**...V*T] = (5-6)

b. [**si** * [prefix*prefix*V*T]] → After LD [prefix ⊕ **si**...prefix*V*T] = (8-9)

If the same rule is applied to the unprefixed verb, then *si* should appear between V and T, which are two distinct SWds. However, this prediction is incorrect given that *si* is a suffix to the unprefixed verb, e.g., (4), and the ungrammaticality of V-RFL-T combinations as in e.g., **bučiav-si-o* 'kissed each other'. To derive the correct order of elements, E&N argue that first V and T undergo string-vacuous LD making them an impenetrable unit, a single SWd, (13a).[5] After that, LD applies again moving *si* to the end of the verb, (13b).

(13) a. V*T→ After LD [V⊕T]

[4] *a*b* means that *a* must linearly precede *b*, and be adjacent to *b*. a ⊕ b means adjunction of one SWd to another.

[5] According to E&N, another empirical motivation for applying LD to V and T comes from the fact that inflectional suffixes are in a closer phonological relation with stems as opposed to prefixes and stems.

b. [**si** * [V⊕T]] → After LD [[V⊕T]⊕**si**] = (2)-(4)

The motivation for E&N postulating this particular post-syntactic movement is built on the 2PG. I now turn to the revised generalization based on more representative data.

2 The Revised Generalization

The 2PG has played a central role in theoretical studies related to movement. However, our linguistic theory should of course be guided by the 2PG only if it is correct. In this section, I formulate the predictions made by the 2PG and E&N's analysis of *si*, and show that these predictions are not borne out. I revize the 2PG by proposing the following:

(14) *Innermost Prefix Generalization (IPG): In the absence of any* ***verbal*** *prefixes, si appears as the outermost suffix. In the presence of verbal prefixes, si immediately precedes the smallest verbal stem.*

According to IPG, regardless of how many verbal prefixes are present, *si* always appears as a prefix immediately preceding the verbal stem. If no verbal prefix is present, *si* appears as a suffix at the end of the host. I discuss these examples in detail below and demonstrate that the IPG correctly captures all relevant patterns with multiple prefixes and suffixes.

PREDICTION 1. The 2PG predicts that in the case of three or more prefixes, we should get orders like prefix-si-prefix-prefix-verb-T/Agr.[6] In contrast, the IPG predicts that the order should be prefix-prefix-prefix-si-verb-T/Agr, assuming all prefixes are verbal. Below, I extensively show that the former prediction is not borne out whereas the latter is (also see Arkadiev 2012; Korostenskienė 2017, author 2017, 2018, Stump 2022 for data).

Two main groups of verbal prefixes can be found in Lithuanian: so-called super-lexical ones and lexical ones, see Table 1 (adapted from Arkadiev 2011:2).

Super-lexical			**Lexical**		
Permissive, Restrictive Affirmative	Negation	Aspectual	Lexical Perfective	Reflexive	
te-	ne-	be-	iš-, pa-, su-, etc	si	Verbal Stem

te- and *be-* are *super-lexical* prefixes: the former can have a permissive meaning representing high ModalP and the latter has a progressive meaning representing Outer Aspect, and follows the negation prefix *ne-*. These prefixes originate outside *v*P since they have a transparent meaning, stack outside lexical prefixes, and do not affect the argument structure of the verb (see Arkadiev 2012; Korostenskienė 2017, author 2016, 2017, also Svenonius 2004 for Slavic). When super-lexical prefixes are present, *si* appears as a prefix adjacent to the

[6] T and Agr in most cases are fused in Lithuanian. To represent that, I am using a T/Agr notation. In E&N's (2001) analysis, T stands for both T and Agr.

verbal stem regardless of whether there is a single super-lexical prefix (15-17) or multiple ones (18). (19) shows that *si* cannot occur in second position as a prefix contrary to what is predicted by the 2PG.

(15) te-si-slepi-a
PRM-RFL-hide-PRS.3
'let them hide'

(16) ne-si-slepi-a
NEG-RFL-hide-PRS.3
'they are not hiding'

(17) be-si-slepi-a
CNT-RFL-hide-PRS.3
'they are still hiding'

(18) te-ne-be-si-slepi-a
PRM-NEG-CNT-RFL-hide-PRS.3
'don't let them no longer hide'

(19) te-(*si)-ne-(*si)-be-slepi-a

Lexical prefixes like *iš-*, *pa-*, *su-*[7] realize Inner Aspect and originate inside *v*P: in addition to adding a perfective meaning to the verb, they can also affect the argument structure of the predicate. Only one lexical prefix can be attached to the verb.[8]. Lexical prefixes follow super-lexical prefixes, but still precede *si*, (21). According to the IPG, *si* should stand next to the minimal verbal stem, it should not occur immediately after the left-most verbal prefix, which is correct, given (21-22). According to the 2PG, examples like (21) should be ungrammatical, which is not the case.[9]

(20) pa-si-slepi-a
PFV-RFL-hide-PRS.3
'they are able to hide'

[7]For a full list of these prefixes see Korostenskienė 2017. Lexical prefixes have been referred to as preverbs in the literature (see N&J 1993, E&N 2001, Arregi and Nevins 2012).

[8]There are two exceptions to this pattern which I discuss in Section 4.

[9]In fact N&J 1993:106 fn.6 acknowledge that in the examples with negation and a lexical prefix, *si* appears after the two prefixes, and further proceed by saying that they 'have no explanation to this "schizophrenic" behavior.' According to them, this may be a case of fusion i.e., the negation and the prefix are fused, and treated as one element. However, these two elements are definitely not fused because they can occur independently of each other. This is exemplified with the lexical prefix *pa-*: *ne-si-slepia* 'they are not hiding', *pa-si-slepia* 'they are able to hide' and *ne-pa-si-slepia* 'they are not able to hide.' In addition, verbs with lexical prefixes and negation are very widely attested, and therefore this pattern should be taken into careful consideration when establishing the empirical generalization.

(21) ne-be-pa-si-slepi-a
NEG-CNT-PFV-RFL-hide-PRS.3
'they are no longer able to hide'

(22) ne-(*si)-be-(*si)-pa-slepi-a

Lastly, the same behavior of *si* is attested in complex event nominalizations that, as argued by Author (2023), have some verbal structure. These constructions allow negation, lexical prefixes, and *si*, which appears as a prefix immediately preceding the verbal stem, and therefore supporting the IPG as in (23)-(25). In the absence of verbal prefixes in nominalizations, *si* surfaces as a suffix at the end of the deverbal noun as in (24).

(23) pa-si-daug-in-im-as
PFV-RFL-many-*v*-NMLZ-NOM
'reproduction' (complete)

(24) daug-in-im-as-is
many-*v*-NMLZ-NOM-RFL
'reproduction'

(25) ne-su-si-prat-∅-im-as
NEG-PFV-RFL-prat-*v*-NMLZ-NOM
'a misunderstanding'

The empirical facts show that *si* behaves identically in the examples with one or multiple prefixes. If there is one verbal prefix, *si* appears as a prefix between that verbal prefix and the minimal verbal stem. In the presence of multiple verbal prefixes, *si* also immediately precedes the verbal stem. The IPG correctly captures the distribution of *si*, whereas the 2PG does not. The established pattern has important consequences for E&N's analysis of *si*. According to E&N, in the presence of multiple prefixes, LD applies to derive the placement of *si*. To derive cases with multiple prefixes, we would need to apply LD multiple times to turn verbal prefixes into one SWd or apply LD multiple times to *si* which raises several questions regarding the limits of this movement as well as the notion of a SWd.[10]

PREDICTION 2. Both the 2PG and the IPG suggest that in unprefixed verbs, *si* always appears as a final suffix. This is correct: complex verbs can include a verbalizer, which is a causative suffix *-in*, and a habitual aspect suffix followed by T/Agr, and then *si* as in (26a). In nominalizations with a complex verbal structure as in (26b), *si* is always a final element. It can never occur

[10] We saw in Section 2 that two elements can be turned into one SWd. How many elements can become an impenetrable unit of this kind? If we can apply LD without any limits to turn multiple elements into one SWd, then how do we draw the difference between M-words and SWds? Furthermore, if *si* itself undergoes LD multiple times, then the question is why it stops preverbally.

between suffixes as in (27a-27b). *si*'s outermost position is confirmed by verbal compounds with two roots followed by multiple verbal suffixes and *si* as in (28).

(26) a. deg-in-dav-au-si
burn-*v*-HAB-PST.1SG-RFL
'I used to suntan'

b. deg-in-im-as-is
burn-*v*-NMLZ-NOM-RFL
'suntanning' (n)

(27) a. deg-(*si)-in-(*si)-dav-(*si)-au

b. deg-(*si)-in-(*si)-im-(*si)-as

(28) Mums labai gerai bendra-darb-i-au-j-a-si.
us.DAT very well common-work-TH-*v*-EP-PRS.3-RFL
'Our collaborative work is going very well.'[11]

For N&J (1993), *si* is a mobile affix whose distribution follows Weckernagel's Law. However, they do not explain how exactly the mobility of *si* is derived. In contrast, E&N (2001) provide an explicit analysis of how *si* appears as a suffix, recall (13): V+T undergoes LD and becomes a single SWd, and then *si* dislocates with V+T becoming a suffix. If *si* undergoes LD from left to right by one SWd (V+T), then in cases with multiple SWds like (26-28) *si* should appear between the first two SWds (also Korostenskienė 2017, Author 2017, Bruening 2019, Williams 2007), which is ungrammatical (27). If we use LD to derive (26) or (28), we need to apply LD multiple times to make not only V+T a single SWd but the entire complex with nominal and inflectional affixes (also fn 10).

3 Revisiting the core 2PG data and further predictions

I now revisit the core 2PG data with two verbal prefixes that have erroneously led J&N (1993) to propose that in prefixed verbs *si* is always in second position. This claim was based on examples like (8a-9), repeated in (29) and (31). (30) is my own example, which belongs to this set of exceptional data. What these examples have in common is that they have what at first sight looks like two 'canonical lexical prefixes.' I demonstrate that (29-30) are lexical exceptions and examples like (31) represent a distinct pattern with two often homophonous, but distinct prefixes, one verbal and the other nominal (glossed as NOMP).

(29) su-si-pa-žin-ti
PFV-RFL-PFV-know-INF

[11] http://www.elibrary.lt/resursai/Ziniasklaida/Ausra/ausra/2007/489.pdf, Accessed, November 23, 2022. These examples are not common but accepted by native speakers.

'to become acquainted with'

(30) iš-[si]-par-duo-ti
PFV-RFL-PFV-give-INF
'to sell out'

(31) at-[si]-pa-sak-o-ti
PFV-RFL-NOMP-sak-TH-INF
'to be restored (as in a tale)'

Lithuanian generally disallows the stacking of multiple lexical prefixes. To my knowledge, there are only two exceptions, which are the examples in (29-30). It could be that in these instances, the lexical prefix adjacent to the root i.e., *pa-* in (29) and *par-* in (30), is fused with the stem and this verbal complex is treated like an unprefixed stem by the speakers (see Author 2017 and Stump 2022:198). In (29), the prefix *par-* and the root $\sqrt{duot-}$ 'give' form a non-transparent meaning i.e., *to sell*, suggesting that these elements at the very least are structurally adjacent to each other and occur in the innermost phase (given Marantz' 2001, 2007 theory of inner and outer affixation).[12] Whatever the reason, it is clear that such data should not be used to motivate the base distribution of *si*.

When super-lexical prefixes are added, *si* remains in the same position, appearing as a prefix next to the minimal verbal stem with prefixes like *pa-* in (32) and *par-* in (33). This is not predicted by the 2PG. Under the 2PG, *si* is expected to appear after the very first prefix, namely *ne-*. However, if we treat *pa-* in (29) and *par-* in (30) as part of the minimal verbal stem, then under the IPG, according to which in prefixed verbs, *si* is a prefix standing next to the verbal stem, we can capture the facts in (29-30) and (32-33).

(32) ne-be-su-[si]-pa-žin-o
NEG-CNT-PFV-RFL-PFV-know-PST.3
'they were no longer able to become acquainted with'

(33) ne-be-iš-[si]-par-dav-ė
NEG-CNT-PFV-RFL-PFV-give-PST.3
'they were no longer able to sell out things'

(31) is another instance where *si* appears between what looks like two lexical prefixes. These two prefixes have been treated as the same, namely as preverbs

[12] If the prefix like *pa-* and the verbal stem are reanalyzed by the speakers as an unprefixed stem in examples like (29), then *si* should appear as a suffix in the absence of other verbal prefixes. However, in these cases, we find variation. My consultants prefer (i). Examples like (ii) are also attested in the Lithuanian corpus (https://klc.vdu.lt/). This suggests that these instances are in the process of some kind of reanalysis.

(i) pa-žin-ti-[s]
PFV-know-INF-RFL
'to get to know something'

(ii) %pa-[si]-žin-ti
PFV-RFL-know-INF
'to get to know something'

by J&N 1993 and E&N 2001. However, (31) contains two distinct prefixes: a nominal one and a lexical one. Lithuanian nominal prefixes often overlap with lexical prefixes in their form e.g., *pa-* can be a lexical prefix or a nominal one (Author 2018). Nominal prefixes behave like nominalizing *n* heads: they assign a grammatical category to a bound root.[13] Merging the nominal prefix *pa-* with a bound root yields a noun (34-36). These nouns then can be turned into verbs as signaled by the presence of the verbal thematic vowel in (35) and the overt *v* head, the suffix *-in*, in (37). I use square brackets in (35)-(37) to indicate the structure, VS stands for a verbal stem.

(34) *(pa)-sak-a
NOMP-sak-NOM.F.SG
'a tale'

(35) [[pa-sak]-o]$_{vs}$-ti
NOMP-sak-TH-INF
'to narrate (about)'

(36) *(pa)-vidal-as
NOMP-vidal-NOM.M.SG
'a form'

(37) [[pa-vidal]-in]$_{vs}$-ti
NOMP-vidal-*v*-INF
'to form'

These derived verbs then can be merged with lexical prefixes and *si* as in (38-39), see also (40) for the structure. Instances with lexical and nominal prefixes occurring in a single verb are attested.[14] Importantly, *si* appears adjacent to the verbal stem that has a nominal prefix. These examples suggest that nominal prefixes are invisible to *si* (39).[15]

(38) pa-si-[[pa-sak]-o]$_{vs}$-ti
PFV-RFL-NOMP-sak-TH-INF
'to confess, avow'

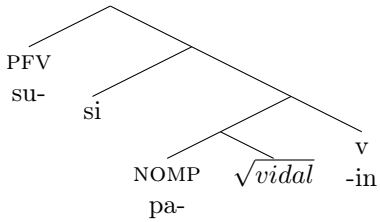
(39) su-si-[[pa-vidal]-in]$_{vs}$-ti
PFV-RFL-NOMP-vidal-*v*-INF
'to have formed'

[13] For additional argumentation see Author 2018. Author shows that these nominal prefixes can determine the gender of a noun, which is a property of an *n* head (Kramer 2015). These prefixes also do not encode the perfective meaning that is a common property of lexical prefixes (data not included).

[14] Here is a list of additional examples with nominal and lexical prefixes: *iš-pra-naš-au-ti* 'to foretell', *iš-pra-kait-uo-ti* 'to sweat out', *pa-už-darbi-au-ti* 'to earn for living for a little bit', *pa-pra-mog-au-ti* 'to have a nice time'. I thank Peter Arkadiev for discussing these examples with me.

[15] The question is why *si* does not follow nominal prefixes. I tentatively suggest that this is because of phases. Category-defining heads like *n* or *v* form a phase and trigger Spell-Out (see Marantz 2001, 2007). Lithuanian nominal prefixes are *n*s, thus phasal heads. If we assume PIC (Chomsky (2000)), then once the nominal prefix and the root are merged, they form a phase. This complex then is merged with a *v* e.g., *-in*, as in (40), which is also a phase head. *v* triggers the Spell-out of its complement, the nominal complex. This complex is not visible to *si* since by the time *si* is merged, the nominal prefix has already been shipped to PF.

(40) The structure of the complex head in (39)



In cases with multiple verbal prefixes and a nominal prefix as in (41-42), *si* appears in the same position next to the verbal stem as predicted by the IPG.

(41) ne-be-pa-si-[[pa-sak]-o]$_{vs}$-j-a
NEG-CNT-PFV-RFL-NOMP-sak-TH-EP-PRS.3
'they are no longer able to confess/avow about themselves'

(42) ne-be-su-si-[[pa-vidal]-in]$_{vs}$-a
NEG-CNT-PFV-RFL-NOMP-vidal-*v*-PRS.3
'they are no longer able to get a form'

If *si* can only see the verbalized complex, but cannot access the nominal structure (see fn 15), then in cases with a single prefix that is nominal, *si* should appear as a suffix. In contrast, the 2PG predicts the opposite: *si* should be adjacent to the first prefix. (43-46) show that *si* becomes a suffix in these types of situations supporting the IPG.[16]

(43) pa-sak-o-ti-s
NOMP-sak-TH-INF-RFL
'to narrate smth about oneself'

(44) pa-vidal-in-ti-s
NOMP-vidal-*v*-INF-RFL
'to get a form'

(45) *pa-si-sak-o-ti

(46) *pa-si-vidal-in-ti

4 Concluding Remarks

The distribution of *si* has been misinterpreted in the literature due to the lack of data with multiple prefixes and suffixes. I have provided a wide range of examples showing that the 2PG is not correct. The 2PG states that *si* is an outermost suffix in unprefixed verbs and in prefixed verbs, it appears as a second prefix from the left. I have proposed the IPG according to which in the absence of any verbal prefixes *si* appears as the outermost suffix and in the presence of verbal prefixes, *si* immediately precedes the smallest verbal stem. I have argued

[16] My consultants find (46) ungrammatical. Nevertheless, Google search shows that at least some speakers allow *si* to occur as a prefix following the nominal prefix as in *pa-si-sak-o-ti*. This suggests that my consultants treat nominal prefixes like phase heads whereas other speakers may not.

that LD cannot fully derive the distribution of *si*. Furthermore, N&J treat *si* as evidence for the existence of second-position affixes. The new findings show that *si* is not in second position questioning the existence of these types of affixes. How to exactly derive the placement of *si* is an open question that has not been satisfactorily answered yet.

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Notes