Subject encoding in participial relative clauses
Anna Volkova
Linguistic Convergence Laboratory –
National Research University Higher School of Economics

Participial relative clauses (pRCs) in Meadow Mari (Uralic) allow overt subjects and encode them in a number of ways: (i) with a possessive suffix on the head noun; (ii) with nominative; or (iii) with genitive. The subject of a participle derived with –me can be marked with genitive (all argument types on the animacy hierarchy, AH (1)) or with nominative (only the lower part of the AH, Brykina & Aralova 2012) – cf. (2) & (3). In case of +human nouns, both genitive and nominative are possible (4).

(1) 1 & 2 person > other pronoun > proper name > human > non-human > inanimate
(2) Maj [taj-*{(ən)} / Vasja-*(n) purl-mo] melna-m kočkaš om tüŋal.  
    I you-gen Vasja-gen bite-nzr pancake-acc eat neg.prs.1sg will 
    ‘I will not eat the pancake nibbled by you / Vasja.’
(3) Maj [paras-(ən) purl-mo] melna-m kočkaš om tüŋal.  
    I cat-(gen) bite-nzr pancake-acc eat neg.prs.1sg will 
    ‘I will not eat the pancake nibbled by the cat.’
    Ivan bookkeeper-(gen) give-nzr wages about think-prs.3sg 
    ‘Ivan is thinking about the wages given to him by the bookkeeper.’

In my talk I will discuss fieldwork data from Meadow Mari on adverb placement and binding. These data support drawing finer differences in the syntactic structure of pRCs (contra Doron & Reintges 2005 and in line with Miyagawa 2011) resulting in a more adequate typology of pRCs.

References: