

The architecture of participial clauses in Meadow Mari

Anna Volkova

National Research University Higher School of Economics

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Overview

The dative experiencer predicate puzzle

Participial RCs vs. regular RCs

Participles in Meadow Mari

The dative experiencer predicate puzzle

Meadow Mari reflexive

- ▶ Meadow Mari *škenže* is subject-oriented and must be bound within the first finite clause (Volkova 2014):

(1) Üdər_i rveze_j de-č' [Ø_j ška-lan-že_{i/j}
 girl boy near-EL PRO self-DAT-P.3SG
 pört-əm əšt-aš] jod-ən.
 house-ACC make-INF ask-PRT

The girl asked the boy to build her / himself a house.

(2) [Jəvan_i šken-ž-əm_{i/*m} jörat-a,] Maša_m
 Ivan self-P.3SG-ACC like-PRS.3SG Masha
 šona.
 think-PRS.3SG

*Masha thinks that Ivan likes himself / *her.*

Very long-distance binding I

- ▶ However, *škenže* allows very long-distance binding as an argument of a dative experiencer predicate in an embedded relative clause (both finite and reduced).

- (3) a. [Ava-že_i Jəvan-əm_j [ška-lan-že_{i/p/?j}
 mother-P.3SG Ivan-ACC self-DAT-P.3SG
 kelš-əše] üdər_k de-ne
 appeal.to-PTCP.ACT girl near-INNESS
 pal-əm-əm əšt-en manən] Pötr ojl-en.
 know-NZR-ACC do-PRT that Pjotr say-PRT
*Peter said that the mother introduced Ivan to
 the girl that appealed to her/him.*

Very long-distance binding II

- b. [Ava-ž_{e_i} Jəvan-ə_{m_j} üdər_k de-ne
 mother-P.3SG Ivan-ACC girl near-INESS
 pal-ə_{m-ə_m} əšt-en [kudo ška-lan-ž_{e_{p/i/?j}}
 know-NZR-ACC do-PRT which self-DAT-P.3SG
 kelš-en] manən] Pötr_p ojl-en.
 appeal.to-PRT that Pjotr say-PRT
*Peter said that the mother introduced Ivan to
 the girl that appealed to her/him.*

Finite relative clauses

- (4) a. Pet'a_i imn'e-m [kudo ška-lan-že_{i/*j}
 Petja horse-ACC which self-DAT-P.3SG
 kelš-en] Van'a-lan_j pölekl-en.
 please-PRT Vanja-DAT give.as.a.present-PRT
*Petja gave to Vanja as a present a horse, which
 pleased him.*
- b. Petər_i pört-əm [kud-əm Van'u_j
 Peter house-ACC which-ACC Ivan
 ška-lan-že*_{i/j} č'oŋ-a] už-ən.
 self-DAT-P.3SG build-PRS.3SG see-PRT
Peter saw the house, that Ivan builds for himself.

Reduced relative clauses

- (5) a. Pet'a_i [ška-lan-žē_i/*_j kelš-əše] imn'-əm
 Petja self-DAT-P.3SG please-PTCP.ACT horse-ACC
 Van'a-lan_j pölekl-en.
 Vanja-DAT give.as.a.present-PRT
Petja_i gave to Ivan a horse that appealed to him_j.
- b. Pet'a_i [Ø_j *šken-ž-əm_i / tud-əm_i
 Petja PRO self-P.3SG-ACC / he-ACC
 üž-še] üdər_j de-ne kušt-en.
 call-PTCP.ACT girl near-INESS dance-PRT
Peter danced with the girl that invited him.

Discussion I

- ▶ The atypical behaviour of the semi-reflexive *škenže* has been observed with the dative experiencer predicates in Meadow Mari: *kelšaš* 'appeal to', and *č'uč'aš* 'seem, appear to'.
- ▶ The psych predicates of the *appeal to*-type have an unaccusative derivation, assigning inherent case to the experiencer argument VP-internally. The experiencer projects into a higher VP-internal position than the theme, but the latter can undergo a subsequent NP-movement (Belletti and Rizzi 1988).
- ▶ The dative experiencer verb case-marks the experiencer but fails to case-mark the target, which therefore has to move to a subject position (Pesetsky 1995).

Discussion II

- ▶ I assume that in modifying relative clauses, the theme does not move into the T-domain, whereas in complement and root clauses it does.
- ▶ Hypothesis: the left periphery in relative clauses is 'weaker' than in complement clauses, hence T is weaker, thus, there is no movement due to EPP feature in the former, whereas in the latter there is.
- ▶ Binding restrictions on *škenže* are defined by the Agree-mediated relation between the unsaturated argument position of *šken* on the one hand and the SpecTP on the other (for details see Volkova forthcoming).

Discussion III

- ▶ Given that SpecTP is not filled, no such link between *šken* and the low theme argument is created, hence no privileged local binding relation mediated by Agree is established.
- ▶ Being in a syntactic environment that disallows binding via Agree, *škenže* as an argument of a dative experiencer predicate in an embedded relative clause behaves as an exempt anaphor in the sense of Pollard & Sag (1992).
- ▶ Its interpretation in this case is determined by further properties of the environment (including discourse) in which it occurs. The relation to a higher subject is established by variable binding in logical syntax.

Participial RCs vs. regular RCs

Participial RCs vs. regular RCs

- ▶ Meadow Mari reflexive *škenže* behaves the same way as an argument of a dative experiencer predicate both in participial RCs and in finite RCs.
- ▶ Yet, participial clauses are usually taken to have a less articulate structure than the regular relative clauses.
- ▶ Cross-linguistically, their structure is taken to be “reduced” – impoverished in comparison to that of regular relative clauses (Burzio 1981, Chomsky 1981, Hazout 2001, Siloni 1995, Stowell 1981, a. o.).

Participial relative clauses

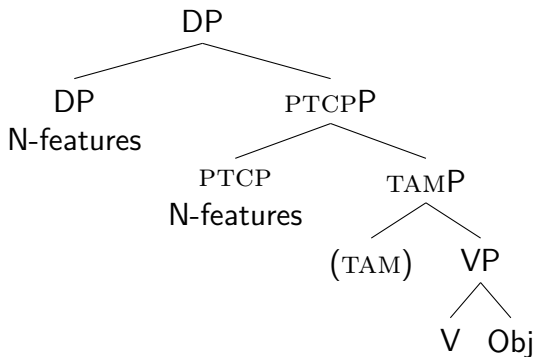
- ▶ Participial RCs are often analyzed as VP-like structures (for some, embedded under a nominalizing node, Doron and Reintges 2005, Hazout 2001, Siloni 1995, a. o., but see Kayne 1993, 1994 who argues that participial clauses have a C, but crucially not a T).
- ▶ The typical characteristics of the participial clauses are the following:
 - ▶ they don't license usual CP-material (*wh*-phrases, complementizers);
 - ▶ they do not have an independent temporal reference;
 - ▶ they do not have subjects

The architecture of participial RCs

- ▶ Doron & Reintges (2005) propose to distinguish three types of participial RCs based on their syntactic complexity:
 - ▶ lexical (V is directly dominated by the nominalizing PTCP node)
 - ▶ phrasal (PTCP node dominates VP, possibly with an extended projection including the TAM node; Spec,VP is not projected)
 - ▶ clausal (PTCP node dominates TAMP; Spec,VP is projected)

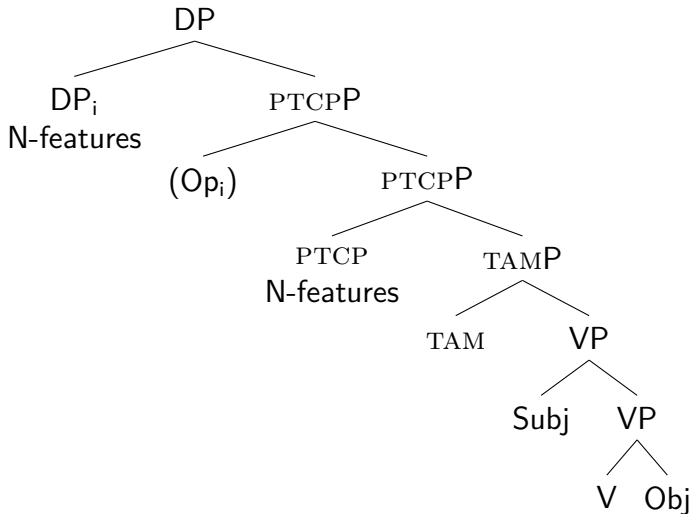
The architecture of phrasal participial RCs

(6) from Doron & Reintges (2005)



The architecture of phrasal participial RCs

(7)



The Accessibility Hierarchy

Keenan & Comrie 1977:

SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

- ▶ Any RC-forming strategy must apply to a continuous segment of the AH.
- ▶ Strategies that apply at one point of the AH may in principle cease to apply at any lower point.

Participles in Meadow Mari

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- ▶ active participle derived with the suffix *-še*;
- ▶ passive participle derived with the suffix *-me*;
- ▶ future participle derived with *-šaš*; and
- ▶ negative participle derived with *-dəme*.

Active participle -še

Active participle with -še can relativize only the subject position (Brykina & Aralova 2012, B&A 2012 henceforth):

- (8) [Čüč'kədən č'erlan-əše] rveze šuko urok-əm
 often fall.ill-PTCP.ACT boy many class-ACC
 kod-a.
 miss-PRS.3SG

The boy who is often sick misses many classes.

- (9) Me [korn-əm sajən pal-əše] šoför
 we road-ACC good know-PTCP.ACT driver
 de-ne mutlan-ena.
 near-INESS talk-PRS.1PL

We talk with the driver who knows the road well.

Passive participle *-me*

- ▶ Can be derived from many verbs, not necessarily transitive (Pengitov 1951)
- ▶ Does not relativize subjects

(10) [Tə-lat pu-mo] kniga məlam kül-eš.
 you-DAT give-NZR book I.DAT need-PRS.3SG
I need the book that I gave you. (B&A 2012)

(11) ?[Oza-ž-əm saj-ən pal-əme] pört vakte-č'
 owner-P.3SG good-ADV know-NZR house near-EL
 tudo č'üč'kədən ert-a.
 he often pass-PRS.3SG
He often passes the house the owner of which he knows.
 (B&A 2012)

Future participle -šaš I

- ▶ Relativizes both subject and non-subject positions.

(12) [Kastene mur-əm mur-əšaš] üdər peš
 evening song-ACC sing-PTCP.FUT girl very
 motor.
 beautiful

The girl who will sing in the evening is very beautiful. (B&A 2012)

Future participle -šáš II

- ▶ For instance, oblique postpositional phrases:

(13) [Jüd-ə̀m keč' ik mašina kudal-šáš]
 night-ACC just one car drive-PTCP.FUT
 korn-ə̀m mu-šáš ul-am.
 road-ACC find-PTCP.FUT be-PRS.1SG

I need to find a road along which at least one car drives at night. (B&A 2012)

Negative participle *-dəme*

- ▶ Relativizes both subject and non-subject positions.

(14) [Kok keč'e koč'-dəmo] pij-lan keč' lu
 two days eat-NEG.PTCP dog-DAT just bone
 padəraš-əm pu.
 piece-ACC give.IMP
Give at least a piece to the dog who hasn't eaten for two days. (B&A 2012)

(15) [Tud-ən il-ədəme] pört-šö petər-əme.
 he-GEN live-NEG.PTCP house-P.3SG close.down-NZR
The house in which he no longer lives is closed. (B&A 2012)

Syntactic position

- ▶ Inside the pRC the participle always occupies the final position.
- ▶ The participial RC is usually in preposition to the head.
- ▶ Under certain conditions pRC can follow the head. In that case, the participle agrees in person and number with its head (B&A 2012):

(16) Memna-n č'odəra-šte, [ümbalne
 we.OBL-GEN forest-INESS on.INESS
 verlan-əš-əšte], šuko ponŋo ul-o.
 lie-PTCP.AC-INESS a.lot mushroom be-PRS.3SG
*In our forest, which is situated further away, there is a lot
 of mushrooms.*

Encoding the subject I

- ▶ possessive marker on the head
 - ▶ only in case of personal pronouns
- ▶ Genitive NP
 - ▶ all kinds of NPs (personal pronouns, non-personal pronouns, proper names, animates, inanimates)
- ▶ Nominative NP
 - ▶ NPs denoting animates
 - ▶ NPs denoting inanimate objects
- ▶ Postpositional phrase with *dene*
 - ▶ NPs denoting inanimate objects

Encoding the subject II

- (17) [Milicioner(-ən) onč'-əkt-əmo] ajdeme
 policeman(-GEN) look-TR-NZR man
 jom-o.
 disappear-NARR.3SG

The person who was identified by the policeman disappeared.
 (B&A 2012)

- (18) [Imn'e / Imn'-ən šog-əmo] saraj-əšte pəč'keməš da
 horse / horse-GEN stand-NZR shed-INESS dark and
 noč'ko lij-ən.
 humid be-PRT

In the stable where the horse was standing, it was dark and humid. (B&A 2012)

Discussion

- ▶ Whether Meadow Mari participials project a TAM node (and can have independent time reference) has to be established in further research.
- ▶ Meadow Mari doesn't make use of resumptive pronouns.
- ▶ Active participle derived with the suffix *-še* is a phrasal pRC.
- ▶ Passive participle with *-me*, future participle with *-šaš*, and negative participle with *-dəme* are clausal pRC making use of an operator.

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