# On participial relative clauses with overt subjects in Meadow Mari

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It is generally assumed that the syntactic structure of participial relative clauses (pRCs) is impoverished in comparison to that of regular RCs (Burzio 1981, Hazout 2001, Siloni 1995, Stowell 1981, a. o.). PRCs are often analyzed as VP-like structures. The pRCs typically (i) don't license usual CP-material (*wh*-phrases, complementizers); (ii) don't have an independent temporal reference; (iii) don't have subjects. In this talk I will argue against generalizations (ii) and (iii) on the basis of data from Meadow Mari (Uralic).

I will focus on two Meadow Mari participial forms: a participle derived with *–me* and a negative participle *-dəme*. Both these participles can have subjects. The subject of the *–me* and *-dəme* pRCs can be marked with Genitive (available for all noun types) or with Nominative (only the lower part of the animacy hierarchy (1), see Brykina & Aralova 2012 for details). In case of +human nouns, both Genitive and Nominative marking is possible (2).

(1) 1&2 person > other pronoun > proper name > human > non-human > inanimate

(2) Jəvan [buxgalter(-ən) {pu-əmo /pu-ədə-mo}] pašadar nergen šon-a.
    Ivan bookkeeper(-GEN) give-NZR /give-NEG.CONV-NZR wages about think-PRS.3SG
*Ivan is thinking about the wages that the bookkeeper {gave / did not give} to him.*

The time adverb *teŋgeč'e* 'yesterday' can both precede and follow the Genitive subject in a pRC (3), while it can only precede, but not follow the Nominative subject (4).

(3) Jəvan [(teŋgeč'e) buxgalter-ən (teŋgeč'e) pu-əmo] pašadar-ž-əm šotl-a.
    Ivan (yesterday) bookkeeper-GEN (yesterday) give-NZR wages-P.3SG-ACC count-3SG
*Ivan is counting the wages that the bookkeeper gave (to him) yesterday.*

(4) Jəvan [(teŋgeč'e) buxgalter (??teŋgeč'e) pu-əmo] pašadar-ž-əm šotl-a.
    Ivan (yesterday) bookkeeper (yesterday) give-NZR wages-P.3SG-ACC count-3SG
*Ivan is counting the wages that the bookkeeper gave (to him) yesterday.*

From that I conclude that Genitive subject is assigned Case within the embedded clause and that Nominative is assigned lower in the structure than Genitive. I propose that Meadow Mari pRCs have a more complex syntactic structure than is generally assumed which involves a T-layer. One argument in favour of this is that the participle form *-dəme* is historically derived from a negative converb *-de* and the participle form *-me* and serves as sentential negation form for *-še* and *-me* participles (see Zanuttini 1996 who argues that sentential negation is a head that selects the tense phrase as its complement).

I use reflexivization as a test for subject properties. As (5) shows, only genitive-marked subjects can bind the reflexive *škenže*, while the nominative cannot.

(5) Jəvan$_i$ [buxgalter*(-ən)$_j$ ška-lan-že$_{j/*i}$ pu-əmo] pašadar-ž-əm šotl-a.
    Ivan bookkeeper-GEN self-DAT-P.3SG give-NZR wages-P.3SG-ACC count-PRS.3SG
*Ivan is counting the wages that the bookkeeper gave to himself.*

To conclude, as Meadow Mari pRCs can have subjects and allow sentential negation, it follows that they have a T-layer. Based on the evidence from time adverb placement and binding I conclude that non-finite T in Meadow Mari assigns structural Genitive case (see Vainikka 2016 for a similar treatment of Finnish). By taking into account differences in functional structure as realized in Meadow Mari we arrive at a more finely grained typology of pRCs.

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