

ИМЕННЫЕ НАРЕЧИЯ С ТЕМПОРАЛЬНОЙ СЕМАНТИКОЙ В ГОРНОМАРИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ*

П. С. Плешак¹, Д. О. Петелин²

¹Университет Мэриленда

²МГУ имени М. В. Ломоносова

В данной статье рассматриваются синтаксические свойства именных наречий с темпоральной семантикой в горномарийском языке. Хотя именные наречия данного типа в основном имеют наречную дистрибуцию, они также могут встречаться в позициях глагольных компонентов, то есть могут выступать в качестве именных групп. Тем не менее, поиск единого источника лицензирования таких именных групп осложнен, потому что некоторые темпоральные выражения имеют форму, совпадающую с беспадежной формой существительных, а другие присоединяют аккузатив, считающийся структурным падежом. В статье показывается, что оба типа темпоральных наречий демонстрируют синтаксические свойства послеложных групп (PP). Таким образом, подход, изложенный в статье, позволяет единообразно анализировать как беспадежные, так и аккузативные темпоральные выражения.

Ключевые слова: темпоральные выражения, именные наречия, падеж, горномарийский.

* Работа выполнена при финансовой поддержке РФФИ, грант № 19-012-00627.

NOMINAL ADVERBIALS WITH TEMPORAL SEMANTICS IN HILL MARI^{*}

Polina Pleshak¹, Dmitry Petelin²

¹University of Maryland

²Lomonosov Moscow State University

This paper explores the syntax of Hill Mari nominal adverbials with temporal semantics. While these adverbials have the general distribution of adverbs, they can also be used as NPs in argument positions. However, the search for the NP licenser becomes problematic as some temporal adverbials in Hill Mari seem to be “bare” nominals while others seem to be marked with the structural accusative. In this paper we show that both types of adverbials demonstrate syntactic properties of PPs. The proposed analysis of the adverbials with temporal semantics as PPs makes possible to treat both “bare” and accusative-marked temporal expressions uniformly.

Keywords: temporal expressions, nominal adverbials, case, Hill Mari.

^{*} The research has been supported by Russian Foundation for Basic Research, grant № 19-012-00627.

1. Introduction

In this paper, we consider the syntax of Hill Mari nominal adverbials with temporal semantics (1).

- (1) *šošâm mæn'-än äškal-em šäl-än*
 spring I-GEN cow-POSS.1SG hide-PRET
 'In spring, my cow has run away.'

Haspelmath defines NP-based time adverbials as "...adverbials based on noun phrases which serve as temporal qualifications of situations..." [Haspelmath 1997: 5]. Their semantics was also considered in [Erschler 2009]. However, there is almost no discussion about the morphosyntactic properties of such expressions. Rozhanskiy and Markus [2018] describe the system of temporal adverbials in minor Finnic languages, showing the competition of case forms that mark the adverbials denoting parts of day and seasons, but they do not provide any formal analysis. In contrast to that, there are a number of formal accounts of English bare nominal adverbials [Bresnan, Grimshaw 1978; Larson 1985, 1987; Kobayashi 1999, among others], as well as analyses of other languages (e.g., Bešlin [2018] on the accusative-genitive contrast in Serbian).

Although temporal expressions have the general distribution of adverbs (1), they can be used as NPs in argument positions as well (2).

- (2) *mæn' tä šošâm-äm äšt-em*
 I that spring-ACC remember-NPST.1SG
 'I remember that spring.'

This means that phrases with words with temporal semantics are not pure adverbials but NPs, that have to receive Case in order to satisfy the Case Filter, which says that all visible NPs have to receive Case [Chomsky, Lasnik 1977; Vergnaud 1977]. Therefore, we have to understand what the source of the case for these expressions in adverbial positions is, and what the nature of that case is: whether it is structural, inherent or lexical [Woolford 2006].

Temporal expressions are hardly ever discussed in Mari grammars [Alhoniemi 1993; Savatkova 2002]. The data that we present and analyze here were collected in the village of Kuznetsovo and its surroundings in 2018–2019 (elicitation, the corpus of oral narratives available at <http://hillmari-exp.tilda.ws/en/corpus>).

We argue that temporal expressions in question do not share properties of nominals in structural cases and pattern with PPs in both syntax and morphology. Therefore, Hill Mari data support the analysis of temporal adverbials as PPs.

Unlike English, Hill Mari (Finno-Ugric, Uralic), which is spoken by approximately 30000 people in the Volga Region of Russia (Mari El Republic), has rich nominal morphology, and adverbials can be marked with different cases. This adds more issues as compared to those explored in English, namely, (i) how these cases are related within the system of temporal adverbials; (ii) what their relation is to morphologically equivalent cases appearing on different categories.

The structure of the paper is as follows. First, we show the inventory of temporal expressions in question in Hill Mari (section 2). Then we present an overview of previous approaches to nominal adverbials (section 3). Next, we investigate the syntactic properties of temporal adverbials and determine their category, based on language-internal data (section 4). In our conclusion (section 5), we argue that the data support the analysis of these expressions as PPs, and present open questions for future research.

2. Temporal nominal adverbials in Hill Mari

In this section, we describe nominal adverbials in Hill Mari. We concentrate on those which express simultaneous temporal localization. According to the classification offered by Haspelmath, it “...refers to markers that locate a situation with respect to a reference time (i.e. another situation or canonical time period) which is simultaneous with the situation” [Haspelmath 1997: 29].

The nouns that can occur in the constructions in question can be divided into classes according to the case that they bear in their temporal function. The classifications are: (i) “bare” (*irok* ‘morning’; *šošəm* ‘spring’; *cäš* ‘hour’), as in (1); (ii) accusative-bearing (*jäd* ‘night’; *tel* ‘winter’, *kängəž* ‘summer’, *šəžə* ‘autumn’) as in (3); (iii) the word *vadə* ‘evening’, which takes lative marking (4) and (iv) genitive-bearing (*kečə* ‘day’, *ärn’ä* ‘week’, *tälzə* ‘month’, *i* ‘year’)¹.

- (3) *šəžə-m* *mən’* *pi-m* *näl-ən-äm*
 autumn-ACC I dog-ACC take-PRET-1SG
 ‘In autumn, I bought a dog.’

¹ The full list is given in Table 1 below.

- (4) *vad-eš mən' kok karas'-əm kăčă-š-əm*
 evening-LAT I two crucian-ACC catch-AOR-1SG
 'In the evening, I caught two crucians.'

- (5) *sotă-gečă-n mən' jăr-eš nüštăl-ăš kašt-ăn-am*
 light-day-GEN I lake-LAT bathe-INF walk-PRET-1SG
 'In the daytime, I went to take a bath in the lake.'

Furthermore, when modified, all the nominal adverbials listed above can be in genitive as well (6)².

- (6) *tă vadă-n / vad-eš mən' kok karas'-əm kăčă-š-əm*
 that evening-GEN evening-LAT I two crucian-ACC catch-AOR-1SG
 'That evening, I caught two crucians.'

The distribution of different lexical items across case-marked forms is given in Table 1.

Table 1. Nominal adverbials by case form

lexeme	nominative	genitive	accusative
<i>irok</i> 'morning', <i>šoșăm</i> 'spring'	+	—	—
<i>căș</i> 'hour'	+	+	—
<i>sekundă</i> 'second', <i>minut</i> 'minute', <i>kečă</i> 'day', <i>ăr'n'ă</i> 'week', <i>tălză</i> 'month', <i>i</i> 'year', <i>kurăm</i> 'century', <i>sotăgečă</i> 'midday', <i>șart'al</i> 'Christmas', <i>kășkăžmă</i> 'Tuesday', <i>fevral</i> 'February'	—	+	—
<i>kečăvăl</i> 'middle of the day'	—	+	?
<i>jăd</i> 'night', <i>tel</i> 'winter', <i>kăngăž</i> 'summer', <i>șăžă</i> 'autumn'	—	—	+

² The set of syntactic environments where the marking is in the genitive, as well as the morphosyntactic properties of such temporal expressions, call for a separate discussion, which is beyond the scope of this paper. However, some nominal adverbials can assume different case forms in some environments, and that is relevant for the choice of the set of nouns with temporal semantics that we consider here.

Some temporal expressions are encoded with postpositional constructions (7), but these are used in different semantic contexts than the bare and the case-marked ones. The former express, for example, posterior temporal localization (e.g. *after war*), atelic temporal extent (e.g. *for two month*) or temporal distance-past (e.g. *two hours ago*). The full classification can be found in [Haspelmath 1997].

- (7) *ti irok paštek män' a-m šâpš*
 this morning after I NEG.NPST-1SG smoke
 'From this morning I won't smoke.'

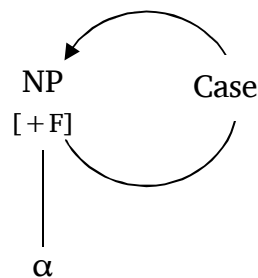
Below, we examine only those nominal adverbials which are “bare” or bear the accusative suffix. They were chosen for this study, both for semantic and morphosyntactic reasons. They express simultaneous temporal localization and share some morphosyntactic properties. On the one hand, the case forms that they attach at least phonologically are similar to the structural cases (nominative being unmarked in Hill Mari); on the other hand, under some circumstances, they can bear genitive instead.

3. Previous approaches

There are two influential approaches proposed in the literature in order to explain the occurrence of bare nominals in adverbial positions. One of them treats such adverbials as nominals, the other one considers them to be PPs.

3.1. Adverbials as nominals

Larson [1985] proposed a mechanism that allows some particular lexical heads, having a particular feature, to inherently assign Case to the NPs that contain them (Scheme 1). So, they do not need a case assigner and the Case Filter is satisfied.



Scheme 1. Mechanism of self-case-assignment

Moreover, in order to satisfy the Theta-criterion, Larson assumes that there is an adverbial theta-role, and that it can be assigned to any NP in the clause.

As was noticed by Emonds [1987] and Kobayashi [1987], if the Case is assigned by the NP itself, it remains unclear how these NPs receive structural cases in argument positions.

Kobayashi [1999], maintaining the idea that such adverbials are nominals, does not adopt the mechanism of the self-case-assignment, and instead proposes a more general principle. According to this principle, an Inherent Case feature can be interpretable at the LF in case the phrase contains a head that assigns a corresponding theta-role. Kobayashi considers null nouns like TIME to be such theta-role assigners. These nouns can take PPs as their complements and remain silent (e.g. PP subjects: [_{NP} \emptyset [_{PP} **After lunch**] *suits me fine*). Alternatively, they can be realized within a larger DP as a closed set of nouns like *time* or *day* (bare temporal expressions: [_{DP} **That** [_{NP} **day**]] *she was sick*).

3.2. Adverbials as PPs

A different approach was proposed in [Bresnan & Grimshaw 1978] and [Emonds 1987]. The underlying idea is that nominal adverbials are complements of null adpositions. The adposition agrees with its complement in a feature, e.g. [+Temp] (for Bresnan and Grimshaw) or [+P, +Location] (for Emonds). How this adposition is treated by syntax varies across different accounts. Bresnan and Grimshaw propose that, being null, the adposition is deleted in course of the derivation. Emonds proposes the Invisible Category Principle [Emonds 1987: 615], which allows the head P, as the sister of NP with particular features, to remain empty. Emonds notes that in contrast to P deletion analysis, this case is a part of a broader principle, which is also relevant, for example, for the I(nflection) head, which can remain empty, realizing its feature in a verb.

3.3. Nominal adverbials in structural cases

In the accounts cited above, the case received by a temporal expression was treated as lexical, related to an adverbial theta-role. In contrast, Baker [2015] notes that some nominal adverbials seem to receive structural cases. He adopts configurational models of case [Marantz 1991; Bittner, Hale 1996]. According to these models, the case is assigned in particular configurations of NPs within

some domain. For instance, accusative is a so-called Dependent case, that is assigned in a configuration when there is another NP in a higher position within the domain (mainly clause) which had not received a case yet. Baker noticed that in some languages temporal adverbials can undergo dependent case assignment, as they are sensitive to their position in the clause and presence of other cased and caseless NPs.

Later in this paper, we will examine the syntactic properties of Hill Mari temporal expressions in order to understand whether they are NPs or PPs. We also test the hypothesis that they can undergo dependent case assignment. The data show that the proposals that treat them as PPs seem to be on the right track.

4. Morphosyntactic properties of temporal adverbials

According to existing accounts, there are four possible sources of case for adverbial nominals: a nominal head, a null postposition assigning an inherent case, some functional head assigning a structural case or a structural configuration in which a Dependent case is assigned. In addition, some NPs in Hill Mari are caseless (as will be shown in 4.1.1), which means we should explore whether temporal adverbials can also be caseless. We will start with this latter option, by showing that temporal adverbials have to receive Case (4.1). Next, we will compare syntactic properties of unmarked nominal adverbials to those of argumental nominative phrases and of PPs (4.2). After that, we will compare accusative-marked adverbials and direct objects, which also bear accusative (4.3). Finally, we compare accusative-marked temporal adverbials and PPs (4.4).

4.1. Unmarked adverbials are not caseless bare nominals

Finno-Ugric languages are known to have unmarked caseless nominals [Burchich 1947]. The status of such forms in Hill Mari was broadly discussed by Tuzharov [1984, 1987]. The most evident context for caseless nominals is the direct object (DO) of non-finite forms [Tuzharov 1986]. Below, after providing a brief description of DO marking in Hill Mari, we compare unmarked DOs and “bare” temporal adverbials. We show that the latter do not behave as caseless forms in Hill Mari.

4.1.1. Basics of DO marking in Hill Mari

Any DO in a finite clause has to bear the accusative marker.

- (8) *män' päl-em što ädär šarâk-âm / *šarâk näl-än*
 I know-NPST.1SG that girl sheep-ACC sheep take-NPST.3SG
 'I know that the girl bought a sheep.'
 (example courtesy Anastasia Sirotina)

In non-finite clauses, such as nominalizations, the DOs can be unmarked.

- (9) *män' päl-em ädär-än šarâk-âm / šarâk näl-mä-žä-m*
 I know-NPST.1SG girl-GEN sheep-ACC sheep take-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC
 'I know that the girl bought a sheep.'
 (example courtesy Anastasia Sirotina)

The reason why DOs such as in (9) are considered to be caseless rather than nominative is that they have some peculiar morphosyntactic properties. First, in contrast to nominative subjects, they cannot bear a possessive affix. Second, they are restricted to the verb-adjacent position, and exhibit restrictions on modification. Forms with cases do not show such restrictions. For more discussion on the restrictions exhibited by unmarked DOs, see [Tuzharov 1986; Pleshak, Sirotina, in prep]. Here, we have chosen the three most prominent properties of unmarked DOs and used them as diagnostics to test the status of “bare” temporal adverbials. The diagnostics are the following: (i) adjacency to the verb; (ii) particle attachment; (iii) modification with a universal quantifier.

4.1.2. Comparison of morphosyntactic properties of unmarked DOs and temporal adverbials

The first diagnostic has to do with adjacency to the verb. Unlike DOs marked with accusative, unmarked DOs have to be verb-adjacent: no other clausal element can intervene between the verb and its unmarked object (10a-b). In contrast to that, temporal adverbials do not require verb adjacency (11).

- (10) a. *ävä-m tengečä sâkâr näl-äš kašt-â*
 mother-POSS.1SG yesterday bread take-INF walk-AOR.3SG
 'My mother went to buy some bread yesterday.' {a = b}
- b. **ävä-m sâkâr tengečä näl-äš kašt-â*
 mother-POSS.1SG bread yesterday take-INF walk-AOR.3SG

- (11) *irok män' püšängä-m ro-en-äm*
 morning I tree-ACC cut-PRET-1SG
 'In the morning, I cut a tree.'

Another distinguishing property has to do with particle attachment. Unmarked DOs cannot combine with particles: compare (12a) where the emphatic particle =*ok* cannot appear on the unmarked DO and (12b) where this particle can combine with a marked object. Temporal expressions can co-occur with this particle (13).

- (12) a. *män'ä päl-em, tän'-än âškal(* = ok) näl-m-et-äm*
 I know-NPST.1SG you-GEN cow = EMPH take-NMLZ-POSS.2SG-ACC
 'I know that it was a cow that you bought.'

- b. *män'ä päl-em, tän'-än âškal-äm = ok näl-m-et-äm*
 I know-NPST.1SG you-GEN cow-ACC = EMPH take-NMLZ-POSS.2SG-ACC
 'I know that it was a cow that you bought.'

- (13) *irok = ok ke-t = ät vadâ jakte*
 morning = EMPH go-NPST.2SG = ADD evening until
 'You go in the morning and stay until evening.'

Finally, unmarked DOs cannot be modified by a universal quantifier. In (14), the interpretation where the quantifier *každâj* 'each' modifies the object is impossible. The only possible reading is such that the nominalization itself is modified by *každâj*. Temporal expressions do not have this restriction and can be modified by *každâj* directly (15).

- (14) *#ävä-m-än každâj âškal šâpš-âl-mâ-žâ-m*
 mother-POSS.1SG-GEN every cow pull-ITER-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC

män' päl-em
 I know-NPST.1SG

1. *'I know that my mother milked every cow.'
2. 'I know about every milking of the cow by my mother.'

- (15) *každâj irok män' šärâš-äm kačk-am*
 every morning I porridge-ACC eat-NPST.1SG
 'Every morning I eat porridge.'

Thus, we see that temporal adverbials are not caseless forms, as they show contrasting behavior in comparison to caseless forms in the language (see the summary of properties in Table 2).

Table 2.

Summary of morphosyntactic properties of unmarked DOs and “bare” temporal adverbials

	bare NPs (unmarked DOs)	“bare” nominal adverbials
Attachment of particle	*	OK
Non-adjacency to the verb	*	OK
Modification with a quantifier	*	OK

Temporal adverbials therefore have to receive a case which happens to be morphologically null. There is indeed such a case in Hill Mari: it is nominative. In the next section, we compare properties of temporal adverbials with nominative nominals in Hill Mari.

4.2. “Bare” adverbials and nominative nominals

Aside from nominal predication, which we do not consider here, nominals in the nominative occur in two contexts in Hill Mari. These are clausal subjects (16) and complements of postpositions (17).

- (16) *ti edem u pöken-vlä-m näl-ne-žä*
 this man new chair-PL-ACC take-DES-3SG
 ‘This man wants to buy new chairs.’

- (17) *moskva gač-ân ke-n-nä*
 Moscow through-FULL go-PRET-1PL
 ‘We went through Moscow.’

This suggests that there are two sources of nominative: the inflectional head T and the postpositional head P. The case assigned by postpositions might be a special postpositional case, not identical to the structural nominative. We call it nominative, as it is syncretic with nominative. The crucial point is that it is a case and complements of postpositions are not bare forms, having no morphosyntactic restrictions (see discussion on bare forms in 4.1.1).

The hypothesis that temporal expressions receive nominative from the same source as subjects do can be rejected immediately: the two can co-occur within one clause (11), repeated below as (18).

- (18) *irok mən' püšängə-m ro-en-äm*
 morning I tree-ACC cut-PRET-1SG
 'In the morning I cut the tree.'

In contrast, the hypothesis about a null P head as the source for case does not face these problems. There is no restriction on how many PPs can be in a clause and, as (19) shows, nominative temporal expressions can be coordinated with PPs, what is expected from phrases of the same type.

- (19) *mən' irok dä päšä pašteḱ a-m kač*
 I morning and work after NEG.NPST-1SG eat
 'I don't eat in the morning and after work.'

In sum, there is strong evidence in favor of considering Hill Mari “bare” temporal adverbials to be PPs. First, they are not caseless and need a source of case, which cannot come from the finite T. Second, the temporal expressions can be coordinated with PPs. This supports the proposal that there is a silent P in nominal adverbials, and the case assigned by that P to its complement is nominative case, whose morphological exponent in Hill Mari is null.

However, there is another group of adverbials, which is marked with accusative. Are they also PPs, or do they receive the structural accusative? The next section addresses this question.

4.3. Accusative temporal expressions and DOs

As argued by Baker [2015], some adverbial nominals can undergo dependent (structural) case assignment. The accusative case on Hill Mari nominals, being the case of DOs, is a good *prima facie* candidate for this type of explanation.

However, this assumption faces immediate problems. The accusative of temporal expressions precedes possessive markers, while the accusative of DOs follows them. Here, possessive markers are used in their discourse function (marking of topic or contrast), as any expression of possession with temporal expressions would be periphrastic; but the argument remains valid, as the affix order in discourse and possessive usage is the same [Khomchenkova 2017]. Moreover, possessive affixes are used in the same discourse function for both DOs (20) and temporal expressions (21).

(20) *lašaš-âžâ-m* / **lašaš-âm-žâ* *kid* *dono* *nüštäl-ät*
 flour-POSS.3SG-ACC flour-ACC-POSS.3SG hand with stir-NPST.3PL
 ‘(They) stir flour with hands.’

(21) *tel-âṁ-žä* / **tel-žä-m* *veremä*
 winter-ACC-POSS.3SG winter-POSS.3SG-ACC time

šo-eš *kož-âṁ* *käčäl-äš*
 come-NPST.3SG spruce-ACC seek-INF

‘At winter will come the time for seeking the spruce.’

Moreover, if the temporal accusative is a Dependent case, it has to be assigned in a specific structural configuration, where the NP that undergoes the case assignment is lower than another caseless NP in the domain. Baker shows that in Quechua a temporal expression bears accusative obligatorily only if it follows the subject [Baker 2015: 2015]. Hill Mari does not exhibit such a difference: the accusative is obligatory in both positions (22a–b).

(22) a. *tel-*(âṁ)* *män'* *kok* *kol-âṁ* *kâč-en-âṁ*
 winter-ACC I two fish-ACC catch-PRET-1SG
 ‘In winter, I caught two fish.’

b. *män'* *tel-*(âṁ)* *kok* *kol-âṁ* *kâč-en-âṁ*
 I winter-ACC two fish-ACC catch-PRET-1SG
 ‘In winter, I caught two fish.’

Another example of a Dependent case on adverbials comes from Finnish, where the marking of a temporal expression depends on the case of the subject (non-nominative subjects cannot be case competitors for other nominals in the clause) [ibid: 217]. In Hill Mari, the marking on temporal adverbials remains the same in clauses with nominative (23a) and genitive (23b) subject (the latter is possible in nominalizations).

(23) a. *män'* *už-âṁ-am,* *maša* *tel-âṁ* *nüštäl-âṁ*
 I see-PRET-1SG Masha winter-ACC bathe-PRET
 ‘I saw, Masha took a bath in winter.’

b. *maša-n* *tel-âṁ* *nüštäl-mä-žä-m* *män'* *už-âṁ-am*
 Masha-GEN winter-ACC bathe-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC I see-PRET-1SG
 ‘I saw that Masha took a bath in winter.’

In addition, the explanation why other temporal expressions like *irok* ‘in the morning’ (see sections 4.1-4.2) do not undergo the same Dependent case assignment as expressions like *jâdâm* ‘in the night’ do. A uniform analysis for all these nominal adverbials would be more elegant, and we propose such an analysis in 4.4.

Finally, accusative temporal expressions do not share the properties of DOs. First, as we showed in section 4.1, the accusative DOs can be substituted for by caseless forms in non-finite clauses (24). Such substitution is impossible for temporal adverbials (25).

- (24) *mân'ä päl-em, tән'-ән äškal-äm / äškal*
 I know-NPST.1SG you-GEN cow-ACC cow

näl-m-et-äm

take-NMLZ-POSS.2SG-ACC

‘I know that you bought a cow.’

- (25) *maša-n jâd-äm / *jâd mäğärä-mä-žä-m mân' kol-än-am*
 Masha-GEN night-ACC night cry-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC I hear-PRET-1SG
 ‘I heard Masha cried at night.’

Another property of accusative DOs is that they can attach appositive modifiers, and the latter also bear the accusative marker (26). This is not possible with temporal adverbials (27).

- (26) *maša kol-äm, üštä-m, kačk-än*
 Masha fish-ACC cold-ACC eat-PRET
 ‘Masha ate the fish, cold.’

- (27) **maša jâd-äm, üštä-m, kâdal-än*
 Masha night-ACC cold-ACC drive-PRET
 Intended: ‘Masha drove out at night, cold.’

Based on a series of morphosyntactic properties, we conclude that accusative-marked temporal expressions do not belong to the same category as DOs. In the next section we show that most of the properties examined here make temporal adverbials pattern with PPs.

4.4. Accusative temporal expressions and PPs

In contrast to DOs (28), PPs cannot have appositive modifiers (29). So, temporal adverbials pattern with the latter.

- (28) *mən'* *tengečä* *kol'mâ-m*, *kogo-m*, *näl-än-äm*
 I yesterday shovel-ACC big-ACC take-PRET-1SG
 'Yesterday I bought a shovel, big.'

- (29) **stöl* *väl-nä*, *kogo* *väl-nä*, *äväm-än* *vazâ-žâ*
 table on-IN2 big on-IN2 mother-POSS.1SG-GEN vase-POSS.3SG

šalg-a

sit-NPST.3SG

Intended: 'The vase is on the table, on my mother's.'

In addition, accusative temporal expressions can be coordinated with PPs:

- (30) *mən'* *jâd-âm* *dä* *kečäväl* *pašte* *amal-am*
 I night-ACC and noon after sleep-NPST.1SG
 'I sleep at night and in the afternoon.'

Further support for the analysis of temporal adverbials as PPs comes from their morphological behavior: as was shown in section 4.3, the affix order of case markers and possessive markers is -CASE-POSS. The same affix ordering is attested for locative cases, which are also instances of P heads, as demonstrated in [Pleshak 2019]. In addition to affix ordering, temporal expressions share other properties with PPs (and contrast with DO accusative expressions), such as the inability to be modified by appositive modifiers, and the independence of case and theta-role assignment from the presence of other nominal phrases in the clause. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, temporal expressions marked with nominative and accusative can be coordinated with PPs. This leads us to the conclusion that the accusative of temporal expressions is not a structural case, but a lexical case.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have shown that despite the fact that some temporal adverbials in Hill Mari might seem to be caseless bare nominals and others might seem to be marked with the structural accusative, they all have to be analyzed

as PPs. As evidence that “bare” nominal adverbials are not caseless forms, we show that they can combine with emphatic particles, appear non-adjacent to the verb, and take modifying quantifiers. We have provided arguments in favor of the hypothesis that forms with a null suffix are nominative forms. This nominative is the case assigned within PPs, as evidenced by the fact that nominative adverbials can co-occur with a nominative subject and can be coordinated with PPs. We have also shown that temporal expressions marked with accusative share syntactic properties with PPs. Morphologically, they behave like nominals in lexical cases, which are also analyzed as PPs in Hill Mari [Pleshak 2019]. We leave open the question whether overt lexical cases (e.g. lative) are assigned by some kind of a null postposition or realize the P head themselves. The question whether the null postposition gets deleted in course of the derivation or is just phonologically null remains open as well. Answers to these questions do not affect the main point, that all temporal adverbials in question have to be analyzed as PPs, which facilitates a uniform analysis of this class of temporal expressions.

Abbreviations

1–3 — person; ACC — accusative; ADD — additive particle; ADV — adverbializer; AOR — aorist; CAUS — causative; CVB — converb; DES — desiderative; EMPH — emphatic particle; FULL — full form; GEN — genitive; IN2 — second inessive; INF — infinitive; ITER — iterative; NEG — negation; NMLZ — nominalization; NPST — nonpast; PL — plural; POSS — possessive; PRET — preterite; SG — singular.

References

- Alhoniemi 1993 — Alhoniemi A. *Grammatik des Tscheremissischen (Mari)*. Hamburg: Buske, 1993.
- Baker 2015 — Baker M. *Case. Its principles and its parameters*. (Cambridge studies in linguistics 146) Cambridge: CUP, 2015.
- Bešlin 2018 — Bešlin M. *The Case of Temporal Bare-NP Adverbials in Serbo-Croatian*, manuscript, 2018.
- Bubrich 1947 — Bubrikh D.V. *Erzja-mordovskaja grammatika-minimum [Erzja-mordvin grammar-minimum]*. Saransk: Mordovskoje knizhnoje izdateljstvo, 1947
- Bresnan, Grimshaw 1978 — Bresnan J., Grimshaw J. *The syntax of free relatives in English*. *Linguistic inquiry*. 1978. Vol. 9. No. 3. Pp. 331–391.
- Chomsky, Lasnik 1977 — Chomsky N., Lasnik H. *Filters and control*. *Linguistic inquiry*. 1977. Vol. 8. No. 3. Pp. 425–504.
- Emonds 1987 — Emonds J.E. *The invisible category principle*. Vol. 18. No. 4. Pp. 613–632.

- Erschler 2009 — Erschler D.A. K tipologii nepatsientivnykh znachenij akkuzativa [Towards the typology of non-patientive meanings of accusative]. *Voprosy jazykoznanija*. 2009. Vol. 13. No. 3. Pp. 32–49.
- Haspelmath 1997 — Haspelmath M. From space to time: Temporal Adverbials in the World's Languages. *Lincom Europa*, 1997.
- Kobayashi 1987 — Kobayashi K. A note on bare-NP adverbs. *English Linguistics*. 1987. Vol. 4. Pp. 336–341.
- Kobayashi 1999 — Kobayashi K. Another Approach to Bare-NP Adverbials as Nominals. *English Linguistics*. 1999. Vol. 16. No. 2. Pp. 353–380.
- Khomchenkova 2017 — Khomchenkova I.A. Discourse use of the possessive affix 3SG in Hill Mari. 50th annual meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea (10–13 September 2017, University of Zurich, Switzerland). *Book of abstracts: Zurich, 2017*. Pp. 381–383.
- Larson 1985 — Larson R.K. Bare-NP adverbs. *Linguistic inquiry*. 1985. Vol. 16. No. 4. Pp. 595–621.
- Larson 1987 — Larson R.K. “Missing prepositions” and the analysis of English free relative clauses. *Linguistic inquiry*. 1987. Vol. 18. No. 2. Pp. 239–266.
- Pleshak 2019 — Pleshak P.S. Morfosintaksis imennoj gruppy v finno-ugorskikh jazykakh Povolzhja [The morphosyntax of noun phrases in the Finno-Ugric languages of the Volga region], MA thesis, Moscow, 2019.
- Pleshak, Sirotina (in prep) — Pleshak P.S., Sirotina A.Yu. Differencirovannoe markirovanie objekta. *Elementy grammatiki gornomarijskogo jazyka*. Moscow: Az Buki Vedi.
- Rozhanskiy, Markus 2018 — Rozhanskiy F.I., Markus E.B. Nominal forms with temporal meaning in minor Finnic languages of Ingria. Talk at the conference SLE 2018 (Tallinn, 29 August – 1 September 2018).
- Savatkova 2002 — Savatkova A.A. Gornoje narechije marijskogo jazyka [Hill Mari language]. *Savariae*, 2002.
- Tuzharov 1984 — Tuzharov G.M. Problema nemarkirovannogo imeni v marijskom jazyke [The problem of unmarked nominals in the Mari language]. *Sovetskoe finno-ugrovedenie*. 1984. No. 4. Pp. 282–289.
- Tuzharov 1986 — Tuzharov G.M. Problema nemarkirovannogo akkuzativa v marijskom jazyke [The problem of an unmarked acusative in the Mari language]. *Sovetskoe finno-ugrovedenie*. 1986. No. 2. Pp. 99–107.
- Tuzharov 1987 — Tuzharov G.M. K voprosu o suschestvovanii nemarkirovannykh padezhej v marijskom jazyke [To the question of the existence of unmarked cases in the Mari language]. *Sovetskoe finno-ugrovedenie*. 1987. No. 1. Pp. 19–27.
- Vergnaud 1977 — Vergnaud J.-R. Letter to Noam Chomsky and Howard Lasnik (1977). Published as: Vergnaud J.-R. Letter to Noam Chomsky and Howard Lasnik. *Syntax: Critical concepts in linguistics*. Freidin R., Lasnik H. (ed.). London: Routledge, 2006. Vol. 5 Pp. 21–34.
- Woolford 2006 — Woolford E. Lexical case, inherent case, and argument structure. *Linguistic inquiry*. 2006. Vol. 37. No. 1. Pp. 111–130.

Статья поступила в редакцию 25.11.2019

The article was received on 25.11.2019

Полина Сергеевна Плешак

аспирант 1 года обучения, Университет Мэриленда

Polina S. Pleshak

1st year Ph.D. student, University of Maryland

ppleshak@umd.edu

Дмитрий Олегович Петелин

студент 3 курса бакалавриата, МГУ имени М. В. Ломоносова

Dmitry O. Petelin

3rd year B.A. student, Lomonosov Moscow State University

d.petelinsk@gmail.com