Nominalizations in Hill Mari*

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This paper deals with the two kinds of deverbal nouns that exist in Hill Mari: nominalizations derived using the suffix *-mə̑-* and those derived using *-maš-*. The aim of the study is to establish the functional structure in Hill Mari nominalizations. The data shows that the first kind of deverbal nouns found in Hill Mari, the *-mə̑-* nominals, retain a lot of clausal properties due to the many clausal projections embedded in the DP, the structure of these nominals thereby being [DP [PossP [PlP [nP -maš- [NegP [vP [LP]]]]]]]. The ambiguous results on the -maš- nominals suggest to analyse these as two different kinds of nominalizations, one of them functioning as a Referential Nominal and therefore including no functional verbal projections: [DP [PossP [PlP [nP -maš- [LP]]]]], the other having the same structure as *-mə̑-* nominalizations (and only being grammatical for a group of speakers).

Keywords: *Hill Mari, Finno-Ugric languages, nominalization, functional structure, argument encoding, verbal projections*

1 Introduction

Hill Mari is a language of the Uralic language family spoken by about 20,000 people in the Mari El Republic, Russia. This paper deals with two types of deverbal nouns found in Hill Mari, namely the nominals headed by the suffix *-mə̑-* (1a) and those headed by *-maš-* (1b).[1]

(1) a. *Mäläṅ-em* *kelš-ä* *televizor-äm* *anžə̑-mə̑.*
I.DAT-POSS.1SG please-NPST.3[SG] TV-ACC watch-NMZ
'I like watching TV.'

b. *Və̑rsə̑* *kogo* *pə̑də̑rtə̑-maš-ə̑m* *kod-en.*
war a.lot destroy-NMN.ACT-ACC leave-PRF.3[SG]
'The war has left a lot of destruction.'

In the grammars of Alhoniemi (1993), Savatkova (2002) *-mə̑-* is described as a passive participle suffix. However, even in those grammars sentences can be found in which *-mə̑-* is attached to an intransitive verb stem and acts as a means to encode an argument clause (e.g. (2)).

(2) *Tə̈n'-ə̈m* *ke-m-et-ə̑m* *užə̑-m.*
you.SG-ACC go-NMZ-POSS.2SG-ACC watch-AOR-1SG
'I saw you go.' (Alhoniemi 1993: 130)

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[1] The following abbreviations are used in the glosses: 1,2,3 = 1,2,3 person, ACC = accusative, AOR = aorist, ATT = attenuative, CAUS = causative, CMPR = comparative, CN = converb, CVB = converb, DAT = dative, GEN = genitive, IN = inessive, NEG = negation, NMN.ACT = deverbal noun, NMZ = nominalization, NPST = non-past tense, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PRF = perfect tense, SG = singular.

As for *-maš-*, both grammars consider it a lexicalized substantivizing morpheme. Research conducted on argument clauses in Meadow Mari (Serdobol'skaya 2005, Serdobol'skaya et al. 2012) has shown that the corresponding suffixes *-m-* and *-maš-* in Meadow Mari form nominalizations encoding argument clauses. It is stated in Serdobolskaja (2005) that *-maš-* nominals have more nominal properties than *-m-* nominals. Given these facts, it seems plausible that the Hill Mari *-mə̑-* and *-maš-* forms could appear to be nominalizations of some sort. The aim of this paper is to examine the properties of the two nominals and suggest an analysis of their syntactic structure.

The paper is structured as follows: in Section 2 I present the theoretical background of the study, in Section 3 I discuss the clausal and nominal properties of the nouns under investigation and posit the presence of certain functional projections in their structure. Section 4 concludes the results of the study.

The data presented were gathered between June 2016 and January 2017 during fieldwork with informants from Mikryakovo village of Gornomariysky District, Republic Mari El.

2 Theoretical background

One of the most intriguing properties of nominalizations is the presence of an argument structure. Grimshaw (1990) introduces diagnostics to distinguish between the nominals that license argument structure, AS-Nominals, and the ones that lack it, R(eferential)-Nominals. Firstly, AS-Nominals assign theta-roles to their arguments and the arguments are obligatory, while R-Nominals do not have any obligatory arguments and do not assign theta-roles. ASNs, unlike RNs, have an event reading. ASNs allow for agent-oriented modification as opposed to RNs. The subject of an ASN and/or a *by* phrase attached to it is an argument of the nominalization, while the subject and/or the *by* phrase of an RN is a possessive NP. The implicit argument of an ASN can control the PRO subject of an attached infinitive, while this is impossible with RNs. Aspectual modifiers can attach to ASNs and cannot attach to RNs. Modifiers like *frequent*, *constant* are only possible with plural RNs, while they are grammatical for ASNs without the plural. ASNs are count nouns as opposed to RNs, which are mass nouns. The diagnostics are summarized in (3–4).

(3) AS-Nominals:

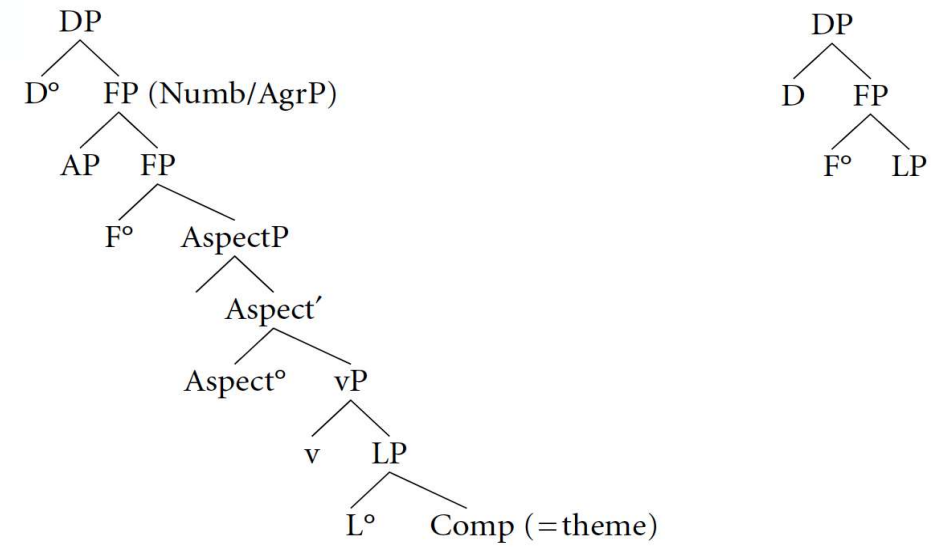
a. θ-assignors, Obligatory arguments
b. Event reading
c. Agent-oriented modifiers
d. Subjects are arguments
e. *by* phrases are arguments
f. Implicit argument control
g. Aspectual modifiers
h. frequent, constant etc. possible without plural
i. Mass nouns

(4) R-Nominals:

a. Non-θ-assignors, No obligatory arguments
b. No event reading
c. No agent-oriented modifiers
d. Subjects are possessives
e. *by* phrases are non-arguments
f. No implicit argument control
g. No aspectual modifiers
h. frequent, constant etc. possible only with plural nouns
i. Count nouns

According to Alexiadou (2001), these differences between ASNs and RNs result from the differences in their syntactic structure. Argument structure, adverbial modification and other verbal properties are a consequence of different clausal projections being present in the structure of an ASN. Alexiadou suggests the following structures (Alexiadou 2001: 19):

(5) a. ASNs b. RNs



The structure [$_{\text{AspectP}}$ Aspect° [$_{v\text{P}}$ *v* [$_{\text{LP}}$]]] is spelled out as either a verb or a noun depending on whether it is embedded in a DP or a TP. In Borer (2003) a nominalizer is assumed to be present in the structure of ASNs. Alexiadou (2010) argues that the presence of a nominalizer head is subject to parametric variation in ASNs, thus also postulating that certain ASNs include a nominalizer.

Regarding *v* in (5a), Alexiadou proposes that it can either project an external argument or not, hence being [+transitive] or [–transitive]. Thus, the logical subject of the nominalized clause is either base generated within the *v*P and then moved to Spec,DP or is generated right in Spec,DP.

3 Hill Mari nominalizations

In this section I will introduce the basic characteristics of the Hill Mari language and the nominalizations in Section 3.1. In Section 3.2 I present arguments for the presence of certain functional projections in the structure of *-mə̑-* nominals. In Section 2.3 I present the ambiguous data on *-maš-* nominals and also argue for the presence or absence of certain projections in their structure. I will assume the presence of the *n*P in both nominals since the suffixes under investigation seem to be acting as nominalizers.

3.1 Non-finite embedding in Hill Mari

Hill Mari is a language of the Uralic language family spoken by about 20,000 people in the Mari El Republic, Russia. It is an agglutinative SOV language.

There are three types of non-finites which often function as sentential complements: the infinitive (*-aš*), the converb (*-en*) and nominalizations. The two nominalizers are *-mə̑-* and *-maš-*:

(6) a. *ədər-žə̑-n* *jažo(-*n)* *kušt-ə̑maš-ə̑žə̑-m*
daughter-POSS.3SG-GEN good-ADV[2] dance-NMN.ACT-POSS.3SG-ACC
ävä *päl-ä.*
mother know-NPST.3[SG]

b. *ədər-žə̑-n* *jažo*(-n)* *kušt-ə̑mə̑-žə̑-m*
daughter-POSS.3SG-GEN good-ADV dance-NMZ-POSS.3SG-ACC
ävä *päl-ä.*
mother know-NPST.3[SG]
'Mother knows that her daughter dances well.'

In these sentences the subject of the embedded clause is marked as a possessor and the clause itself as a possessum. Similar double-marking can be found in noun phrases in Hill Mari: the possessor is genitive-marked and the possessum is marked by possessive suffixes.

(7) *Vas'a-n* *täng-žə̈*
Vasya-GEN friend-POSS.3SG
'Vasya's friend'

At first glance, since with the *-maš-* nominal only adjectival modification is possible and with the *-mə̑-* nominal – only adverbial, it appears that one of these nominalization types corresponds to an ASN, and the other to an RN. However, further data show that the division is not that clear. Judging by the properties discussed below in Section 3.2, I conclude that the structure of *-mə̑-* nominalization includes most of the clausal projections, hence being highly verb-like. Yet its *-maš-* counterpart, as I show in Section 3.3, divides the speakers into two groups: for one group, it only functions as an RN, for the other – as another ASN.

3.2 *-mə̑-* nominals

3.2.1 v

Nominals of this kind assign accusative case to the object of the nominalized verb (8). Since accusative is assigned by little *v,* this provides evidence for the presence of a *v*P in the nominal's structure.

(8) *Noski-**m*** *pid-mə-žə̑* *papa-n* *sənzä-žə̑-m*
socks-ACC knit-NMZ-POSS.3SG grandmother-GEN eyes-POSS.3SG-ACC
port'-ən.
damage-PRF.3[SG]
'Knitting of socks has damaged the grandmother's eyesight.'

[2] In Hill Mari most adverbs are derived from adjectives using the suffix *-n.*

Another piece of evidence is the possibility of adverbial modification: according to Alexiadou (2001), adverbs, especially manner adverbs, are licensed by *v*. *-mə̑-* nominals do not allow adjectival modification; they are modified by adverbs, which shows that they have a *v* layer.

(9) *Mäläm* *täng-em-ä̈n* ***kužə̑-n / *kužə̑***
I.DAT.POSS.1SG friend-POSS.1SG-GEN long-ADV/ *long
xovorajə̑-mə̑-ӟə̑ *a-k* *kelšə̈*.
be.ill-NMZ-POSS.3SG NEG.NPST-3SG please.CN
'I don't like my friend being ill for a long time.'

To determine where the subject of the nominalized clause is generated, let us consider the scope of an adverb modifying the nominal:

(10) *Tə̑mdə̑šə̑-m* *šə̈deštär-ä* [DP ***xot'*** ***ik*** *tə̑men'šə̈dä*
teacher-ACC annoy-NPST.3[SG] at.least one pupil
[vP ***sook*** *koktan-ə̑m* *näl-mə̈-ӟə̑*]].
always two-ACC take-NMZ-POSS.3SG
a. 'The teacher is annoyed that at least one pupil (per class) always gets bad marks.' (SUBJ > always)
b. 'The teacher is annoyed that there is always (at each test) a pupil who gets a bad mark.' (always > SUBJ)

The adverb can have either narrow or wide scope with respect to the subject, which means that the subject is generated lower than the adverb and is then moved to its surface position. This shows that the little *v* under consideration has the feature [+transitive]. Another argument for this can be drawn from Burzio's generalization (Burzio 1986): since this little *v* assigns accusative case, it projects an external argument.

3.2.2 Negation

Hill Mari has a special negative marker that is used to negate nominalizations (11) and differs from the negation of other non-finite forms (12–13).

(11) *Tə̑mdə̑šə̑* *päl-ä* *tə̑men'šə̈-ӟə̈-n*
teacher know-NPST.3[SG] student-POSS.3SG-GEN
*xovorajə̑-**də̑**-mə̑-ӟə̑* *gisän*.
be.ill-NEG-NMZ-POSS.3SG about
'The teacher knows that the student is not ill.'

(12) *Vas'a* *kə̑m* *keťə̈* *kač-de/* **kač-**d**-ə̑n* *kerd-eš*.
Vasya three day eat-CAR/ eat-NEG-CVB be.able-NPST.3SG
'Vasya cannot eat for three days.'

(13) *Maša* *obeš'š'aj-en* *dvojk-ə̑m* *polučaj-aš* *agə̑l/* **polučaj-**d**-aš*.
Masha promise-PRF[3SG] a.two-ACC get-INF NEG.3SG get-NEG-INF
'Masha promised not to get a two (a bad mark).'

The negation of nominalizations is not similar to negation in finite clauses:

(14) *Mən'* *a-m* *sirə.*
I NEG.NPST-1SG write.CN
'I'm not writing.'

(15) *Ti* *ədər* *cever* *agə̑l.*
that girl beautiful NEG.3[SG]
'That girl isn't beautiful.'

Based on The Mirror Principle (Baker 1985: 375), I propose that since the position of the negative marker is closer to the root than the nominalizer, the structural position of negation is also below the *n*P.

3.2.3 Tense

In Hill Mari, the subject of the nominalized clause can be either genitive marked or nominative marked. The properties discussed in this paper hold for both nominative and genitive constructions. In case of nominative marking, the possessive markers do not usually occur (16b). The acceptability of (16c), where a possessive marker is present although *Paša* is nominative, is degraded.

(16) a. *Pet'a* ***Paša-n*** *joškarola-štə̑* *ə̑l'-ə̑mə̑-ӟə̑-m*
Petya Pasha-GEN YoshkarOla-IN be-NMZ-POSS.3SG-ACC
päl-ä.
know-NPST.3[SG]

b. *Pet'a* ***Paša*** *joškarola-štə̑* *ə̑l'-ə̑mə̑-m* *päl-ä.*
Petya Pasha YoshkarOla-IN be-NMZ-ACC know-NPST.3[SG]

c. *ʔPet'a* ***Paša*** *joškarola-štə̑* *ə̑l'-ə̑mə̑-ӟə̑-m*
Petya Pasha YoshkarOla-IN be-NMZ-POSS.3SG-ACC
päl-ä.
know-NPST.3[SG]
'Petya knows that Pasha lives in Yoshkar-Ola.'

If we compare the data for nominalizations with Hill Mari NPs it is important to mention that there can also be found NPs with unmarked complements (17). However, as discussed in Pleshak (2017: 65–66), these NPs are more likely to be compounds.

(17) *pə̑rsa* *lem*
pea soup
'pea soup'

The data presented so far shows similarity between genitive subjects of nominalized clauses in Hill Mari and possessors.

The genitive-nominative alternation of the subject case in nominalized clauses of different Uralic languages has been widely discussed. For Beserman Udmurt, Serdobol'skaya et al. (2012) argue that the case of the subject depends on the syntactic position of the non-finite clause. For Meadow Mari, Serdobol'skaya (2008) suggests that the choice of the case is influenced by transitivity, animacy, thematic role, and more so by the referential status and discourse features of the subject. Georgieva (2016) analyses Udmurt and some Meadow Mari nominative subjects of nominalized clauses as non-heads

of deverbal compounds. This paper leaves the problem of the nature of nominative case of subjects in Hill Mari nominalizations for futher research.

3.2.3.1 Modification

-mə̑- nominals allow modification by adverbs which, according to Cinque's (1999) adverb hierarchy, are T-level adverbs.

(18) *Pi-n* *sola-štə̑* ***uže*** *və̑č-ə̑mə̑-ӟə̑-m* *Zina*
dog-GEN village-IN already wait-NMZ-POSS.3SG-ACC Zina
mond-en.
forget-PRF[3SG]
'Zina forgot that the dog is already waiting outside.'

(19) ***Pervi*** *puergə̈-vlä-n* *plat'ə̑* *don* *kašt-m-ə̑m* *učitel'*
once man-PL-GEN dress with walk-NMZ-ACC teacher
šajə̑št-ə̑.
tell-AOR[3SG]
'The teacher told (the class) that once men wore dresses.'

3.2.3.2 Raising-to-Subject

Further evidence of the presence of a TP comes from the fact that there is a raising-to-subject predicate that shows raising even when nominalized. Since the nominalization shows evidence of a movement associated with the T domain, a TP must be present in the structure of such nominalizations.

That the final position of the NP is Spec,TP of the matrix clause can be seen from the following data. First, the NP *mən'* 'I' is nominative and controls agreement on the verb *čučam* 'seem'.

(20) *Mən'(*-ən)* *[~~mən'~~* *xovoraj-en* *kolt-ə̑mə̑-la]* *čuč-a-m.*
I(*-GEN) be.ill-CVB send-NMZ-CMPR seem-NPST-1SG
'I seem to have fallen ill.'

Second, in (21) the reflexive pronoun is co-indexed with the NP *Van'a*, which, according to Principle A, means that the NP is situated in the matrix clause. The same conclusion follows from the ungrammaticality of a pronominal co-indexed with the NP. According to Morgunova (2017), *ške* is a subject-oriented anaphor, which confirms its antecedent's status as the subject of the matrix clause.

(21) *Van'a*$_i$ *škə̈-län-ӟə̈*$_i$ / *tədə̈-län*$_{*j}$ [*cerlän-ə̈mə̈-lə̈*]
Vanya REFL-DAT-POSS.3SG / he-DAT become.ill-NMZ-CMPR
čuč-eš.
seem-NPST.3[SG]
'Vanya$_i$ seems to himself$_i$ to have fallen ill.'

Thus the final position of the NP is Spec,TP of the matrix clause.

That the base position of the NP is in the embedded clause can be seen from the fact that the quantified subject of the matrix clause in (22) can have narrow scope with respect to an adverb in the embedded clause. Hence, the base position of the subject is below the adverb – in the embedded clause.

(22) *Kâdâ tidə tetä-vlä učite-lan* [*kânamžə̑ sir-en*
some kid-PL teacher-DAT sometimes write-CVB
näl-mə-lä] *čuč-â-t.*
take-NMZ-CMPR seem-NPST-3PL
a. 'Some kids seem to the teacher to sometimes cheat.' (SUBJ > sometimes)
b. 'It seems to the teacher that sometimes some kids cheat.' (sometimes > SUBJ)

The same properties hold for a nominalized *čučeš*-clause, meaning that the raising happens in the nominalization as well.

Firstly, *mən'(-ən)* controls possessive agreement on *čučmem,* hence it is in the same clause as the nominalization.

(23) [*Mən'(-ən)* [*cerlän-ämə-lä*] *čuč-m-em*] *ävi-m*
I-GEN fall.ill-NMZ-CMPR seem-NMZ-POSS.1SG mother-POSS.1SG
šətârlanâkt-a.
disturb-NPST.3[SG]
'It disturbs mother that I seem to have fallen ill.'

Secondly, an anaphor coindexed with *Van'an* is grammatical, which according to Principle A, means that they are in the same clause. Hence, *Van'an* is in the *čučeš*-clause.

(24) [*Van'a-n*$_i$ *škä-län-žə̑*$_i$ [*xovoraj-en kolt-âmâ-la*]
Vanya-GEN REFL.OBL-DAT-POSS.3SG be.ill-CVB send-NMZ-CMPR
čuč-mâ-žə̑ gišän] *ävä-žə̑ pop-âš.*
seem-NMZ-POSS.3SG about mother-POSS.3SG say-AOR[3SG]
'Mother says that Vanya$_i$ seems to himself$_i$ to have fallen ill.'

Thirdly, the fact that apart from narrow scope the adverbial *kânamžə̑* can have wide scope with respect to the subject *kâdâ tidə̈tetävlän* supports the claim that the base position of the subject is in the dependent clause (namely, [*kânamžə̑ siren nälmälä*]).

(25) *Učitel'-əm* [*kâdâ tidə tetä-vlä-n* [*kânamžə̑ sir-en*
teacher-ACC some kid-PL-GEN sometimes write-CVB
näl-mə-lä] *čuč-mâ-štâ*] *šədeštär-ä.*
take-NMZ-CMPR seem-NMZ-POSS.3PL annoy-NPST.3[SG]
a. 'It annoys the teacher that some kids seem to sometimes cheat.'
(SUBJ > sometimes)
b. 'It annoys the teacher that it seems that sometimes some kids cheat.'
(sometimes > SUBJ)

3.2.4 Number

According to Alexiadou et al. (2010), nominalizations can be pluralized if they have an nP layer and if the pluralization is not blocked by a [–count] feature on ClassP which is caused by atelic inner aspect. In Hill Mari, *-mâ-* nominals derived from telic stems, unlike those derived from atelic stems, can pluralize. Since I have assumed an nP layer present in these nominals, (26–27) are expected.

(26) *Val'a-n* *tokâžâ* *pozdan* *tol-mâ-**vlä**-žâ* *ävä-žä-m*
Valya-GEN home late come-NMZ-PL-POSS.3SG mom-POSS.3SG-ACC
šädeštär-ä-t.
annoy-NPST.3-PL
'Valya's comings home late annoy her mother.'

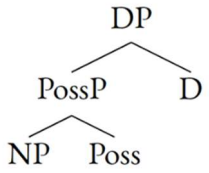
(27) *Paškudâ* *pi-n* *so* *mən'-äm* *optâ-mâ-(**vlä*)-žâ*
neighbour dog-GEN always I-ACC bark-NMZ-PL-POSS.3SG
mən'-äm *šädeštär-ä.*
I-ACC annoy-NPST.3[SG]
'The neighbourhood dog's always barking at me annoys me.'

Thus, NumberP is also present in the structure of *-mâ-* nominalizations. In this paper, I will follow Pleshak (2017) in naming the number projection PlP.

3.2.5 Possessive phrase and DP

Pleshak (2017) posits the following structure for a (singular) noun phrase in Hill Mari.

(28)



As can be seen from the examples above, a nominalization is marked with the same possessive suffix as a possessed noun. So, we can conclude that PossP is present in the structure of the nominalization.

As for the DP layer, Pleshak (2017) argues for its presence in Hill Mari nominals based on, firstly, the fact that demonstrative pronouns are restricted to a position above numerals and, secondly, that possessors need to have an assignor of the genitive case. Since, as also noted in Pleshak (2017), PossP does not appear to be this assignor because of the optional possessive marking on the head of a noun phrase, the only assignor left is the head D. Given the similarities in the properties of possessors and nominalization subjects and the fact that in nominalizations the possessive marking is also sometimes optional, although the genitive stays (29), I will assume in this paper that D is also the source of genitive in nominalizations. Hence, the subject's final position would be spec,DP. That woud mean that inside the nominalization case cannot be assigned in spec,TP. That could possibly be because the T is non-finite.

(29) *ârvezäš-än* *ädäräš* *gišän* *tumajâ-mâ-(žâ)* *urok* *gišän*
boy-GEN girl about think-NMZ-POSS.3SG lesson about
mond-âkt-a.
forget-CAUS-NPST.3[SG]
'The boy's thinking about a girl made him forget about the lesson.'

3.2.6 Summary

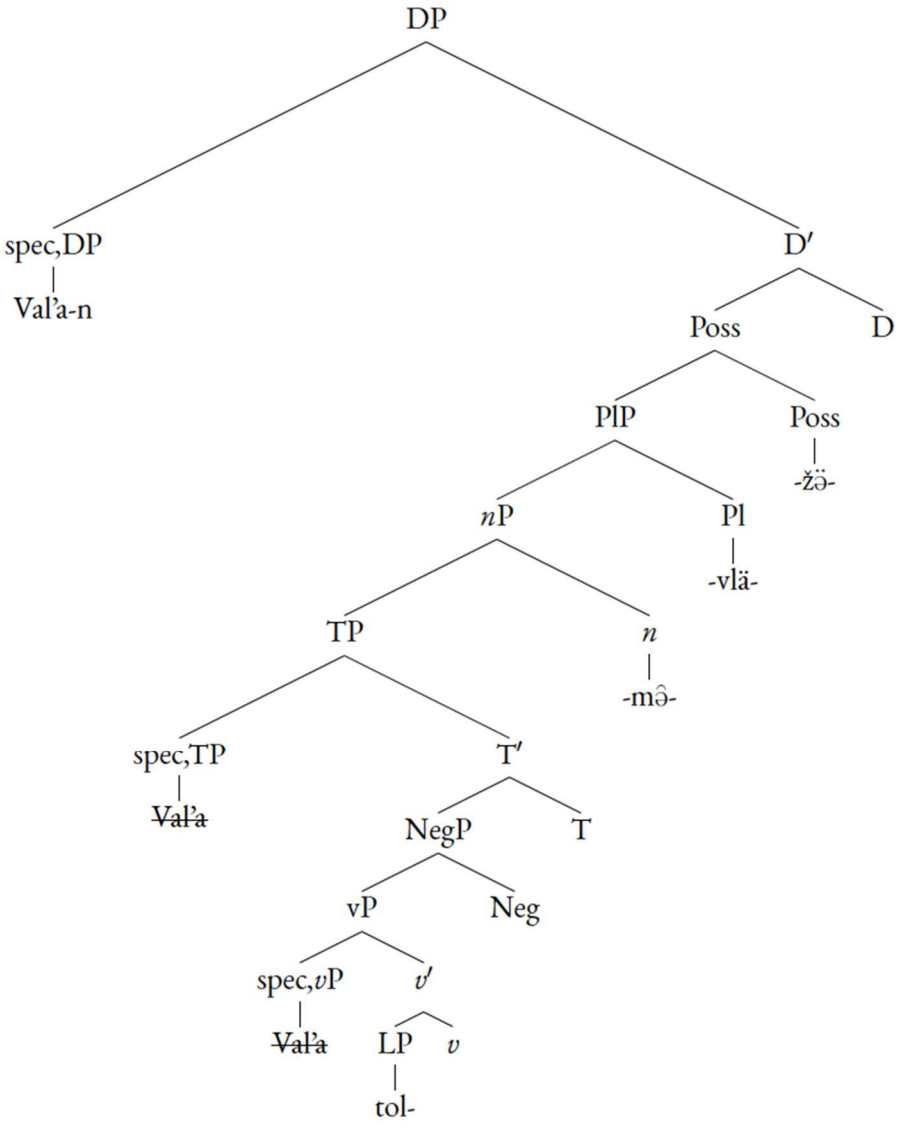
We have established that the *-mâ-* nominalization is an ASN with the possible structure containing a *v*P, a NegP and a TP causing all the verbal properties of the nominal and an

*n*P,[3] a PlP, a PossP and a DP responsible for the nominal properties. I will repeat (26) here in (30) to give an axample of the structure of the *-mə̑-* nominalizations in (31).

(30) *Val'a-n* *tokə̑ž̑ə̑* *pozdan* *tol-mə̑-**vlä**-ž̑ə̈* *ävä-ž̑ə̈-m*
Valya-GEN home late come-NMZ-PL-POSS.3SG mom-POSS.3SG-ACC
šədeštär-ä-t.
annoy-NPST.3-PL
'Valya's comings home late annoy her mother.'

In (31) the verb takes a nominalizer, a plural marker and a possessive marker while its underlying subject originates in spec,*v*P, moves to spec, TP and to spec, DP. Since there is no aspectual morphology or modification in Hill Mari, there is not yet enough data to speak about AspP within the nominalization structure.

(31)



[3] As already discussed in Section 3, I assume here that the nominalizer represents the *n* head.

3.3 *-maš-* nominals

Let us now turn to the other nominalization pattern – the *-maš-* nominals. These nominals appear to be more restricted in a few ways. *-maš-* nominals cannot be derived from an atelic stem:

(32) *Mən' Alina-n* *mägər-əmə-ӟə-m* / **mägər-əməš-əӟə-m*
I Alina-GEN cry-NMZ-POSS.3SG-ACC / cry-NMN.ACT-POSS.3SG-ACC
kol-ân-am.
hear-PRF-1SG
'I heard Alina cry.'

With respect to the clausal properties discussed in the following sections, the speakers fall into two groups: one considers all the sentences in 2.3.1–2.3.2 grammatical (Group ASN), the other does not (Group RN). For Group RN the suffix has very limited productivity, while for Group ASN any telic verb stem can take *-maš-*.

3.3.1 v

For speakers of the Group ASN, these nominals also assign accusative case to the object of the nominalized clause. Group RN speakers do not allow *-maš-* nominals to surface with an object.

(33) *Plof-**âm*** *əštə-məš* *məläm* *kelš-ä.*
pilaw-ACC make-NMN.ACT I.DAT.POSS.1SG please-NPST.3[SG]
'I like cooking pilaw.'

Just like for -mâ- nominals, adverbial modification is also possible for Group ASN:

(34) *Stroitel-vlä-n* *toma-m* ***jori*** *pâdârtâ-maš-âštə*
builder-PL-GEN house-ACC intentionally break-NMN.ACT-POSS.3PL
paškudâ-vlä-m *šədeštär-ä.*
neighbour-PL-ACC annoy-NPST.3[SG]
'The intentional destruction of the house by the constructors annoys the neighbors.'

3.3.2 Negation

The negation of the *-maš-* form looks exactly like the negation of *-mâ-* nominals with the ASN Group. Hence, by the same logic we can posit a NegP under the nP.

(35) *Tâmdâšâ* *Paša-n* *urok-âm* *əštə-**dä**-məš-əӟə-m*
teacher Pasha-GEN homework-ACC do-NEG-NMN.ACT-POSS.3SG-ACC
päl-ä.
know-NPST.3[SG]
'The teacher knows that Pasha didn't do the homework.'

3.3.3 Tense

Unlike *-mə̂-* nominalizations, *-maš-* nominals do not allow for a nominative subject either with or without possessive markers on the nominalization for both groups of speakers.

(36) *Maša-n irok kə̂rgə̂ẓtal-maš-ẓə̂ Pet'a-m*
Masha-GEN morning run-NMN.ACT-POSS.3SG Petya-ACC
örək-ən.
surprise-PRF.3[SG]

(37) **Maša irok kə̂rgə̂ẓtal-maš(-ẓə̂) Pet'a-m örək-ən.*
Masha morning run-NMN.ACT(-POSS.3SG) Petya-ACC surprise-PRF.3[SG]
'It surprised Petya that Masha runs in the mornings.'

They also, unlike *-mə̂-* nominals (38a), do not license T-level adverbial modification (38b).

(38) a. ***Vara*** *vrač dokə̂ ke-mə-əštə Al'ona-m šədeštär-ä.*
then doctor to go-NMZ-POSS.3PL Alena-ACC annoy-NPST.3[SG]
{Mom bought Alena an ice-cream only on the condition that they will go to the doctor later. She ate the ice-cream and is angry about the fact that she will have to go after.}
'Alena is angry about the fact that they will go to the doctor after.'

b. ? ***Vara*** *vrač dokə̂ ke-maš-əštə Al'ona-m*
then doctor to go-NMN.ACT-POSS.3PL Alena-ACC
šədeštär-ä.
annoy-NPST.3[SG]
Int.: 'Alena is angry about the fact that they will go to the doctor after.'

Although there is no data for *čučeš-*raising for *-maš-* nominals, the other discrepancies between the T-associated properties of the two nominals give reason to assume the absence of T in the structure of *-maš-* nominalizations.

3.3.4 Nominal projections

With respect to number and possessive markers, *-maš-* shows the same properties as *-mə̂-* nominalizations for both groups of speakers. Since these nominals can only be derived from telic stems, they can all pluralize.

(39) *Val'a-n tokə̂ẓə̂ pozda-n tol-maš-vlä-žə*
Valya-GEN home late-GEN come-NMN.ACT-PL-POSS.3SG
ävä-ẓə̂-m šədeštär-ä-t.
mother-POSS.3SG-ACC annoy-NPST-3PL
'Mother is annoyed by Valya coming home late.'

As we can also see in (39), *-maš-* nominals can take possessive markers, too. So, the nominal part of the structure is the same for both nominalizations.

3.3.5 Summary

The data on these nominals allow us to posit two structures for two groups of speakers. For ASN the maximal structure is as follows:

(40) [DP [PossP [PlP [nP -maš- [NegP [vP [LP]]]]]]]

For the RN group the structure of the nominal is simply:

(41) [DP [PossP [PlP [nP -maš- [LP]]]]]

The speakers of both groups speak the same dialect and live in the same village. The division might correlate with the age of the speaker. However, it is difficult to posit or refute the presence of this correlation because the number of speakers is rather small and most of the informants are of about the same age.

4 Conclusion

We have examined the properties of two types of Hill Mari nominals and proposed structures for both. *-mə̑-* nominals have a lot of clausal properties and their structure includes high-level verbal projections, namely TP.

As for *-maš-* nominals, speakers fall into two groups. Some speakers seem to use them as RNs and some – as ASNs which are less verbal than the other nominalization.

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