Topics in Meadow Mari Information Structure

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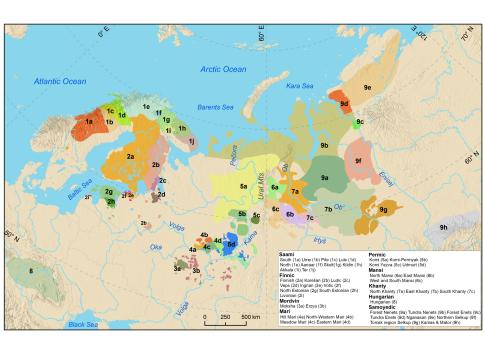
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The Meadow Mari language

- Two varieties: Meadow Mari + Hill Mari
- Meadow Mari: 258 722 speakers (2020)
- Rigid head-finality:
 - head-final compounds
 - postpositions
 - lexical verbs > modal verbs
 - clausal complements > matrix verb
 - SOV word order
- Morphology + syntax well researched, but only little on information structure



Aims of this talk

- General description of morphosyntactic marking of Mari information structure:
- Foci
- Topics
- The Postverbal Field
- 3sg Possessive Suffix žE

Special thanks to

Elena Vedernikova & Andreas Pregla

Roadmap

- Foci
- Topics
- The Postverbal Field
- 4 3sg Possessive Suffix že

Roadmap

- Foci
- 2 Topics
- The Postverbal Field
- 3sg Possessive Suffix že

Focus - Preliminaries

Krifka (2008) and Rooth (1985)

Focus indicates the presence of alternatives relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions

- Focus types:
 - Information Focus (= wide focus)
 - Presentational Focus
 - Identificational Focus (= contrastive focus, narrow focus): predicate holds only of exhaustive subset
 - Correction Focus
- Common tests:
 - Answers to wh-questions, alternative questions, polar questions
 - Corrections
 - CT-F / F-F sequences

Mari Focus – General

- Constituent focus marking is underspecified for type of focus (information, identificational, ...)
- Information focus:
 - In situ via prosodic marking (preferred strategy in spoken language)
 - Immediately preverbal (FOC v either clause-final or clause-medial)
 - Postverbal
- Other types of focus:
 - Presentational Focus: postverbal
 - Verum Focus: clause-initial
 - (Identificational focus: Pseudocleft)
 - Negative constituent focus with particle ogəl

Word order basics / Full clausal focus

- (1) SUBJ DAT.OBJ ACC.OBJ V
- (2) TIME ADV PLACE ADV MODAL ADV
- (3) (Why is there so much animal hair here?)

 Ašnaše erdene jočalan pörtaštö parasam puaš.

 caregiver in.the.morning child.dat in.house cat.acc gave

 'The caregiver gave a cat to the child in the house in the morning.'

Constituent Focus 1: in situ

- (4) a. **Kö** təlat futbolkəm pöleklen? who you.dat football.dress.acc gifted 'Who gifted you the football dress?'
 - b. Ačam futbolkom pöleklen. father.Px1sG football.dress.Acc gifted
 'My father gifted me the football dress.'
- (5) a. **Mom** ačat pöleklen? what.Acc father.Px2sg gifted 'What did your father gift you?'
 - b. Ačam FUTBOLKƏM pöleklen. father.Px1sG football.dress.ACC gifted 'My father gifted me the FOOTBALL DRESS.'

Constituent Focus 2a: preverbal (clause final)

(6) (Pregla 2023)

Ikeče jaləšte jočalan jomak-vlakəm коvа /
recently village.INE child.DAT tale.PL.ACC grandmother

*kova ojləš.
grandmother told

'Grandma / *Grandma recently told stories to the children in the

village.'

Strategy 2b: preverbal (clause medial)

(7) (Pregla 2023)

Poškudo TENGEČE ERDENE **puəš** jočalan pörtəštö pərəsəm.

neighbor yesterday morning gave child.DAT house.INE cat.ACC

'The neighbor gave a cat to the child in the house YESTERDAY MORNING.'

Strategy 3: postverbal

(8) (Pregla 2023) *Poškudo erdene jočalan pörtəštö риәš рэгазэм.*neighbor yesterday child.DAT house.INE give.PST1.3SG cat.ACC

'The neighbor gave A CAT to the child in the morning.'

Presentational focus

- (9) Eastern Meadow Mari, Petrušino (Beke 1938, p. 257)
 Ožnô ik ťšerkan jalôštô ulmažô POP.
 once one church village.INE was priest
 'Once upon a time in a church village there was a PRIEST.'
- (10) (Serdobol'skaya and Toldova 2012, p. 712)

 Memnan pört voktene əle TəGAJ KLAT.

 2sg.gen house besides be.pst1.3sg such storage

 'Next to our house there was a THIS STORAGE.'

Verb Focus / Verum Focus

(11) Tudo jaləšte ILEN? – Üke, tudo jaləšte KOLEN. 3sg village.ine lived no 3sg village.ine died 'Did s/he live in the village? – No, s/he died in the village.'

Verb Movement – Preliminaries

- Unmarked order in verbal complex: CVB NEG AUX
- NEG must precede highest verb
- NEG and AUX can move, but must stay adjacent
- (12) (Georgieva, Salzmann, and Weisser 2021, p. 464)
 - a. Tudəm užən om kert. CVB NEG AUX
 - b. * Tudəm užən kert om.
 - c. Tudəm om kert užən. NEG AUX CVB

'I cannot see her.'

Verb Focus / Verum Focus

- (13) CLM, News text

 OM KERT məj tidəm ńiguze əšten.

 NEG.1SG can.CNG 1SG this.ACC no.way do.CVB

 'I can not do this in any way.'
- (14) Tenij məj Budapestəške šəm kaj. KAJəšəč təj this.year 1sg Budapest.ILL DID.NOT go.CNG you.went 2sg tenij Budapestəške! this.year Budapest.ILL

'I did not go to Budapest this year. – You did go to Budapest this year!'

Identificational Focus

- Regular constituent focus
- Pseudocleft ("like Russian")
- (15) MIHAIL pəčaləm kuča.
 Mihail rifle.Acc hold.3sg
 'MIHAIL is holding the rifle.'



(16) Kö pəčaləm kuča, tide MIHAIL. who rifle.Acc hold.3sG this Mihail 'It is MIHAIL who is holding the rifle.'

Identificational Focus

(17) #Kö lampəm kuča, tide who lamp.ACC holds this Jəvan. Jəvan

'It is IVAN who is holding the lamp.'



Constituent Focus and Negation

- (18) Anna končəmašəm ok pukšo.
 Anna ghost.ACC NEG.3sG feed.CNG
 'Anna doesn't feed a/the ghost.'
- (19) Anna KONČƏMAŠƏM ok pukšo.
 Anna ghost.ACC NEG.3SG feed.CNG
 'Anna doesn't feed a/the GHOST.'
- (20) Anna KONČƏMAŠƏM ogəl pukša.
 Anna ghost.ACC NEG feed.3sG
 'Anna doesn't feed a/the GHOST.'

Mari Focus – Summary

- Constituent focus marking is underspecified for type of focus (information, identificational, ...)
- Information focus:
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Mari Focus - Open Questions

- Distribution of strategies for constituent focus?
 - Prosodic marking: least marked strategy?
 - Preverbal: clause final vs. clause medial?
 - Postverbal: correction contexts?
 - Negation particle ogal vs. prosodic marking?
- Any ordering principles for pre-focal categories?

Roadmap

- Foci
- Topics
- 3 The Postverbal Field
- 3sg Possessive Suffix že

Topics

Reinhart (1981)

A topic is what a sentence is about.

- Topic types:
 - Newly introduced, newly changed, newly returned / shift topics
 - Continuous / familiar topics
 - (Contrastive Topics)
- Common tests:
 - Aboutness-Test
 - Topic marking phrases (as for ...)
 - Topic progression in narrations
 - Effects of topicality, e.g. anaphor resolution

Mari Topics – General

Topics are generally left-peripheral:

- Aboutness-test
- Non-subject topics in topic progression
- More likely antecedent for null subject
- Topic-marking phrase manmašte
- Left dislocation
- (Contrastive Topics)

Aboutness-test

- (21) Have you heard anything about Serge?

 (Serge), pialeš, (Serge) u pašam (Serge) muən, (*Serge).

 Serge fortunately Serge new work.ACC Serge found Serge

 'Serge fortunately found a new job.'
- (22) Tell me something about the garden. What is happening there?

 Sadəšte üdəramaš rvezəm šeleš.

 in.garden woman boy.ACC hit.3sG

 'In the garden, the woman is hitting the boy.'

Non-Subject Topics

(23) CCWLM, Journal Kidšer (26.03.2016)

Tunam, koncert ertarəme dene kok šüdö tüžem tenge
then concert carry.out.PTCP.PASS with 200 000 ruble

pogənen. Tide šijvundə-m murəzo onkologij čer dene
were.gathered this money.ACC singer oncology illness with
čerlanəše joča-vlakəm emlaš kusaren.
sick child.PL-ACC cure-INF donated

'In the course of the concert 200 000 rubles were gathered. **This money**, the singer donated to the treatment of children with cancer.'

PP and adverbs

- Higher adverbs can precede fronted topics
- (24) CCWLM, Journal Kidšer (29.03.2016)

 Tačəse kečəlan tə somələm murəzo Šakmaeva Svetlana šukta.
 today this duty.ACC singer Šakmaeva Svetlana leads

 'Today, these duties are fulfilled by the singer Svetlana Šakmaeva.'

Null Subject Antecedents

- Meadow Mari: Consistent null subject language
- Resolution of 3sg Null Subjects wrt Aboutness Topic (Frascarelli 2018; Holmberg 2010)
- (25) $Jelu_1$ tengeče $Serge_2$ dene kutəren. ənde $\emptyset_{1/2}$ sajən malen kerteš. Jelu yesterday Serge with spoke now well sleep can 'Yesterday Jelu₁ talked with Serge₂. Now s/he_{1/2} can sleep well.'

	Subject	Topic	Preferred antecedent
Jelu	✓	✓	79.1%
Serge	X	X	20.9%

Null Subject Antecedents

(26) Serge₂ dene Jelu₁ tengeče kutəren. ənde $\emptyset_{1/2}$ sajən malen kerteš. Serge with Jelu yesterday spoke now well sleep can 'With Serge₂, Jelu₁ talked yesterday. Now s/he_{1/2} can sleep well.'

	Subject	Topic	Preferred antecedent
Jelu	✓	X	54.3%
Serge	X	✓	37.0%

Topic Marking Phrase

- manmašte (man-ma-šte 'say-PTCP-INE') 'concerning, as regards, about'
- Typically clause-initial
- Marked constituent can have clause-internal correlate
- (27) *CCWLM*, Newspaper *Marij El* (01.09.2007)

Paša manmašte,Sergej ńiməńarat jara ok šinče,work aboutSergej no.amount.of idle NEG.3sG sit

pükenlam, kuxńəlan škafəm əštəleš. chair.pl-Acc kitchen cupboard.Acc makes

'Speaking about work, Sergej doesn't sit around idly either, he's building chairs, and kitchen cupboards.'

Topic Marking Phrase

- manmašte (man-ma-šte 'say-PTCP-INE') 'concerning, as regards, about'
- Typically clause-initial
- May have clause-internal correlate
- (28) CCWLM, Newspaper Marij El (04.06.2003)
 (Why aren't the plays 'Salika' and 'Orjen melna' continued?)

 Salika manmašte, tudo scena goč ok korandalt,
 Salika about it scene from NEG.3sG be.removed

 möngešla.
 on.the.contrary

'As for 'Salika', it will not be removed from the scene, on the contrary.'

Left dislocation

Syntactically (and prosodically?) detached from main clause

(29) SCMM

A tunam jaləštəže, kö təšte en pervəj televizoržo, and then in.village.px3sg who here sup first television.px3sg kön lijən əle?

kön lijən əle? whose was AUX

'And at that time in the village, who had the first television, whose was it?'

Contrastive Topics

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(30) (What food do your pets like to eat?)

PIJ-EM(-ŽE) pəzəm kočkaš jörata, PəRƏS-EM(-ŽE) koləm
dog-Px1sg-Px3sg meat.Acc eat loves cat-Px1sg-Px3sg fish.Acc
kočkaš jörata.
eat loves
```

'My dog likes to eat meat, (and) My CAT likes to eat fish.'

Mari Topics – Summary

Topics are generally left-peripheral:

- Aboutness-test
- Non-subject topics in topic progression
- More likely antecedent for null subject
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Roadmap

- 1 Foci
- 2 Topics
- The Postverbal Field
- 4 3sg Possessive Suffix že

The postverbal field

- In SOV languages: usually backgrounded, non-topical constituents
- Mari postverbal field (surface structure): not uniform
 - Afterthoughts and completions
 - Familiar topics
 - Heavy XP shift
 - "Altruistic postverbal elements"

Afterthoughts and Completions

• Optional correlate in the main clause

(31) (Serdobol'skaya and Toldova 2012, p. 740) (You're never coming along!)

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Jaləštəže ala-gušto ilet kilometr torašte
village.INE.PX3SG somewhere live.2SG kilometer distance.INE
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memnan deč.

1PL.GEN from

'You live in the countryside somewhere, kilometers away from us.'

Familiar Topics

(32) SCMM
(In Aleksej's house, there lives a fox, apparently.)

Eše uremoš lektot da malat vel, maneš, rəvəžše.
still street.ill leave.3pl and sleep.3pl just say.3sg fox.px3sg
'And also they go on the street and just sleep, apparently, the foxes.'

"Altruistic postverbal elements"

• Constituents can end up postverbally (on the surface) after focus driven verb movement (Pregla 2023)

(33) (Pregla 2023)

Poškudo TENGEČE ERDENE **puəš** jočalan pörtəštö pərəsəm. neighbor yesterday morning gave child.dat house.ine cat.acc

'The neighbor gave a cat to the child in the house YESTERDAY MORNING.'

Heavy XP Shift

(34) CCWLM, Newspaper Marij El (28.03.2007)

Təgajrak mutlanəmaš erten marij kaləknan tüŋ mer such.kind.of talk went Mari people.PX1PL.GEN main social organizacijžən jubilej šotan konferencijəštəže.

organization.PX3SG.GEN jubilary type conference.INE.PX3SG

'Such was the talk that went in the jubilary conference of our main Mari community organization.'

Mari Clause Structure - Summary

- (35) SUBJ DAT.OBJ ACC.OBJ V
- (36) TIME ADV PLACE ADV MODAL ADV
 - Focus via word order:
 - Immediately preverbal
 - Postverbal
 - Clause-initial (verum)
 - Left periphery: Various kinds of aboutness-topics
 - Postverbal field: Various reasons, non-topical position
 - Pre-focal constituents: no special interpretation (Pregla 2023)

Roadmap

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Discoursive Functions of Possessive Suffixes

- Possessive suffixes indicate possession, kinship relations, part-whole relations, identifiability, topic shift, emotional connection, ...
- Mari, Permic, Ob-Ugric, Samoyedic
- Most frequently 3sg, but also 2sg, 1sg, 3pl
- Mari 3sG suffix žE (Georgieva 2022; Nikolaeva 2003; Riese et al. 2019; Simonenko 2014, 2017; Tuzharov 1987)
 - Contrast + Contrastive Topics
 - Identifiability
 - Topic Shift
 - Enimitive Function

Possessive Suffixes

- Possession in the narrow sense
- Agreement with subject of non-finite clause
- (37) Pušenge-vlak ləštaš-**əšt**-əm tarvanat. trees leaf-px3pl-ACC move 'The trees are moving **their** leaves.'
- (38) Təj-ən kajə-mek-**et**, pel ij gəč üdərna šočo. 2SG-GEN go-CVB.ANT-PX2SG half year from daughter.PX1PL was.born 'After you left, our daughter was born half a year later.'

Possessive Suffixes - Distribution

že can be attached after regular possessive suffixes

(39) (What food do your pets like to eat?)

```
PIJ-EM-ŽE pəzəm kočkaš jörata, pərəs-EM-ŽE koləm dog-px1sg-px3sg meat.Acc eat loves cat-px1sg-px3sg fish.Acc kočkaš jörata. eat loves
```

'My dog likes to eat meat, (and) my CAT likes to eat fish.'

Possessive Suffixes - Distribution

- žE attaches to any phrase or constituent
- (40) CSMM, VKontake
 [Araka deč posna]-že veselitlaš ok lij mo?
 vodka without-px3sg have.fun Neg.3sg be.cng Q
 'Can't you have a good time without alcohol?'
- (41) CLM, Fiction text

 [Təgaj pis'malan vašeštə-de]-ž-at ńiguze ok
 such letter.dat answer-cvb.neg-px3sg-add no.way neg.3sg

 lij.
 be.cng
 - 'One can't just not respond to a letter like that, either.'

No Definiteness Marker

- Licit on non-nouns no referent, no definiteness
- Licit on indefinite pronouns
- Not licit on unique referents (the sun, the door)
- (42) *CLM*, News text *Jüšö-šaməč kokla gəč ala-kö-žö jüləšö sortam*drunk-pl among from INDEF-who-px3sG burning candle.Acc

spirtan stakanəš jonələš kamvozəkten [...] alcohol.with glass.ILL by.mistake dropped

'Among the drunk, **someone** by mistake dropped the burning candle into a glass containing alcohol.'

Anaphora / Identifiability

(43) (Simonenko 2017)

Məj kum knigam nalənam. Ik kniga#(-žə)-m Kost'alan 1sg three book.acc bought one book-px3sg-acc Kost'a.dat pöleklem. give.present

'I bought three books. I will give one of them to Kost'a.'

- (44) (Georgieva 2022, p. 6) (Mom baked pancakes. She put three (of them) into the fridge and two (of them) on the table.)
 - % Maša kokət-**šə**-m kočkən, a Tańa kumət-**šə**-m. Maša two-px3sg-Acc ate and Tańa three-px3sg-Acc
 - 'Masha ate **the two** (from the table), and Tanya **the three** (from the fridge).'

Contrast

(Simonenko 2014) (45)Memnan školna u, a

tengeče ala-kö school.px1pl new but yesterday somebody that our

okna-ža-m šalalten. window-px3sg-acc broke

'Our school is new, but yesterday someone broke that [pointing to one window] window.'

tide

Contrastive Topics

• Indicate presence of alternative questions: "What does your dog like to eat?", "What does your cat like to eat?"

(46) (What food do your pets like to eat?)

PIJ-EM(-ŽE) pəzəm kočkaš jörata, pərəs-EM(-ŽE) koləm
dog-px1sg-px3sg meat.Acc eat loves cat-px1sg-px3sg fish.Acc
kočkaš jörata.

eat loves

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'My dog likes to eat meat, (and) My CAT likes to eat fish.'

Contrastive Topics

• Indicate presence of alternative questions: "Who cooked the soup? Who cooked the X? Who cooked the Y?"

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(47) Maša kočkašam jamdalen mo? – Šür-ža-m tudo
Maša food-ACC prepare-PST2.3SG Q soup-PX3SG-ACC 3SG

šolten. Ves kočkašam tudo jamdalen ale uke – om
cooked other food.ACC 3SG prepared or NOT NEG-1SG
pale.
know.cng
```

'Did Maša prepare food? – The soup she cooked. Whether she cooked other food, I don't know. (= But some other food was cooked as well.)'

Marker of Topic Shift

- Contexts without clear contrast set or clear implicit question
- žE often in left periphery, position for topics
- Marks a topic shift: newly introduced, newly changed, or newly returned topic

Marker of Topic Shift

(48) A. Pamaš šuko ulo tušto, srazu pamaš gəč vüdəm spring many EXIST there at.once spring from water.Acc numalət.

carry.3PL

'There's lots of springs, people just go right away to get some water from the springs.'

- B. Memnan pamaš-əže ńimat kodən ogəl [...]

 1PL.GEN spring-PX3SG nothing stay-CVB is.not

 'At our place, springs, there is nothing left ...'
- A. **Sńegə-že** vet čot šuko ulo [...] wild.strawberry-3sg see very much exist '(And) wild strawberries, you know, there's lots of [...]'

Marker of Topic Shift

(49) (Once, there was a brick factory besides this spring. In addition to the brick factory, they built a shed.)

No ikana šorgəkten jogəmo šošo vüd sarajəm muškən but once beating.down flowing spring water shed.Acc washing

nangajen. Tiddeč vara levašəm ves vere čoŋenət. took.away from.this then shed.ACC other to.place built

Revolucij žapošte kermoč jamdolomaš čarnenot. **Sarajže** revolution at.time brick production stopped shed.Px3sG

šuko žap eše šinčen. much time still sat

'But one time the wildly flowing water in spring washed away the shed. After that they built the shed in a different place. After the Revolution they stopped making bricks. (But) **the shed** was still standing for a long time.'

Left dislocated Topics

(50) Marij televidenij-že tidəmak vele ončəktat kuze Mari television-рх3sG this.ACC.ЕМРН only show.ЗрL how ubiratlat. harvest.ЗрL

'Mari television – they only show such stuff, how people harvest crops.'

(51) A.-že tide podružka-žo mo?
A.-px3sG that female.friend-px3sG Q

'(And what about) A. – (is) this his/her friend?'

Contrast vs. Topic Marking

Non-topical, contrastive usage seems to be syntactically more flexible

(52) ..., a tengeče ala-kö tide okna-žə-m šalalten.
but yesterday somebody that window-px3sg-ACC broke
but yesterday someone broke that [pointing to one window] window.

Contrast vs. Topic Marking

- No topic shift, no contrast set → ungrammatical
- Contrast set "rescues" the suffix
- (53) (What about your cat that went missing, have you looked for it?)

 Da, i muən luktənam, pərəs-em-əm / *pərəs-em-žə-m.

 yes and find-cvb lead.out.pst2-1sg cat-px1sg-Acc cat-px1sg-px3sg-Acc

 'Yes, and I did find (him), my cat.'
- (54) (What about your cat and your dog that went missing, have you looked for them?)

Da, i muən luktənam, pərəs-em-əm / pərəs-em-**žə-**m. yes and find.cvb lead.out.pst2.1sg cat-px1sg-acc cat-px1sg-px3sg-acc

A pij-em-əm eše muən oməl. but dog-px1sg-acc yet find.cvb neg.1sg.be

'Yes, and I did find (him), my cat. But I have not found my dog yet.'

Enimitive function

- Mari že homophonous with Russian discourse particle že
- Some overlapping functions: discourse organization, contrast, identifiability
- Differences: expression of emphatic identity; *enimitive* function (Panov 2020): marking a proposition as uncontroversial
- (55) My ne uspeem domoj. Metro že zakryto.

 1PL NEG make.it.1PL home subway že closed

 'We'll not be able to get home. The subway is closed [, as you probably know].'

Enimitive function

- No identifiability, no topic shift, no contrast
- (56) Tače təlat ńimogaj munəm konden om kert. Rəvəž-še today you no.kind.of egg.ACC bring NEG.1SG can.CNG fox-Px3SG čəvənam kočkən.

 chicken.Px1PL.ACC ate

'I cannot bring you any eggs today. A fox has eaten our chicken, **you know**.'

Possessive suffix – Summary

- Main discoursive functions:
 - Identifiability
 - Contrast
 - Topic Shift
 - Enimitive
- Usage mostly optional
- Open questions:
 - Are there any contexts where its discoursive usage is *obligatory*?
 - Enimitive semantics as clitic (vs. "regular" possessive suffix)?

Summary

- Description of morphosyntactic marking of information structure in Meadow Mari
- Foci
 - Various different marking strategies (in-situ, immediately preverbal, postverbal)
 - Distribution of constituent focus strategies unclear
- Topics
 - Various kinds of aboutness-topics in the left periphery
- The postverbal field
 - Non-topical position, but placement also epiphenomenal
- 3sg possessive suffix žE
 - Contrast + Contrastive Topics
 - Identifiability
 - Topic Shift
 - Enimitive Function



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