

Functional categories in Forest Nenets NP

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Introduction. The data for this presentation was collected in July 2023 in Tarko-Sale during the HSE and MSU Forest Nenets expedition. At the outset, I will briefly describe what Nenets NP may consist of and then I will focus on possible word orders and on the restrictions thereof. Word orders in the nominal domain have been scarcely discussed in the literature (see (Bakró-Nagy et al., 2022; Sammallahti, 1974)) and were just said to be strictly **noun-final**, which I will show to be **incorrect**. We will be interested in quality **Adj(ectives)**, cardinal **Num(erals)** and, properly, **Nouns**. We will see that their interaction is evidence of **functional richness of the NP structure** (Cinque, 2002).

Problem. Forest Nenets is a language with primarily Dependent-Head word order, however, there is some freedom in the linear position. The (im)possible word orders for noun and one of its dependents are:

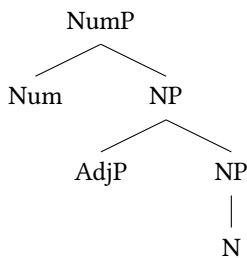
- (1) ^{OK}kasa ŋas'k'i dǎmp pá-m me-ŋǎ
 male child long stick-ACC take-GFS
 'The boy took a long stick' (^{OK}Adj Noun)
- (2) ^{OK}kasa ŋas'k'i pá-m dǎmp me-ŋǎ
 male child stick-ACC long take-GFS
 'The boy took a long stick' (^{OK}Noun Adj)
- (3) ^{OK}síča to-dǎʔj°-m čed'í-ŋǎ-t°
 two lake-AUG-ACC remember-GFS-1SG
 'I remember two lakes' (^{OK}Num Noun)
- (4) *to-d'ǎʔj°-m síča čed'í-ŋǎ-t°
 lake-AUG-ACC two remember-GFS-1SG
 Intended: 'I remember two lakes' (*Noun Num)

When we consider the orders of all three elements, additional restrictions appear. The orders **Adj Noun Num**, **Noun Adj Num** and **Noun Num Adj** are predictably ungrammatical, since **Noun** is postposed by **Numeral**, which is impossible (4). The most notable puzzle is that the **Num Noun Adj** order is violated (5). This means that something prevents simultaneous occurrence of **Numeral** and the **Noun Adj** order (whereas **other dependents are possible** with this order). Why are they in **complementary distribution**?

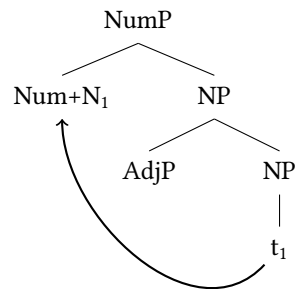
- (5) *kasa ŋas'k'i síča pá-m dǎmp me-ŋǎ
 male child two stick-ACC long take-GFS
 Intended: 'The boy took two long sticks'

Solution. During the presentation I will endeavor to explain the restriction (5) and the grammaticality of both (1) and (2). I will demonstrate that the base-generated structure, which also corresponds to the surface unmarked linear order, is (6), as argued to be universal (Cinque, 2005) (see (Abels and Neeleman, 2012) for an alternative analysis). Additionally, there is at least one optional movement (7), namely, **N-to-Num**, which permits the **Noun Adj** order, but precludes **Numerals** from being added to the resulting phrase, because the **Num₀** position is already occupied by **Noun**.

(6) Base-generated Forest Nenets NP structure



(7) N-to-Num movement



As it has been evidenced in (Ritter, 1991), Hebrew exhibits the same movement, although it is obligatory there. I will suggest possible reasons for the presence or absence of the **N-to-Num** movement and discuss other word order restrictions.

List of abbreviations. • **ACC** – accusative case • **AUG** – augmentative • **GFS** – general finite stem • **SG** – singular number • **1** – the first person

References. • Abels, K. and Neeleman, A. (2012). Linear asymmetries and the LCA. *Syntax*, 15(1):25–74. • Bakró-Nagy, M., Laakso, J., and Skribnik, E. (2022). *The Oxford guide to the Uralic languages*. Oxford University Press. • Cinque, G. (2002). *Functional structure in DP and IP*, volume 1. Oxford University Press, USA. • Cinque, G. (2005). Deriving Greenberg's universal 20 and its exceptions. 36(3):315–332. Publisher: MIT Press. • Ritter, E. (1991). Two functional

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