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## Noun phrase in Enets<sup>1</sup>

The paper deals with the noun phrase structure in Enets that is the same in both Forest Enets (F) and Tundra Enets (T) dialects. The research is based on an extensive text corpus.

Enets NP contains the following possible slots for modifiers, which normally precede the head nouns:

(i) determiner 1 – possessor NP – numeral – determiner 2 – AdjP – apposed NP – head noun

The first slot of determiners can be occupied by quantifiers and some demonstrative pronouns, such as F  $\varepsilon ke$ , T  $\varepsilon ke$  'this', F, T  $\varepsilon t jike$  'this'. Examples where more than one determiner is present, as in (1) are rare, but possible.

The slot of possessors follows the first slot of determiners and has its own full NP structure. This slot can be filled by a full NP (2) or by a personal pronoun in Nominative (3). If the possessor slot in a possessive NP is filled by a full NP, most typically, the head noun has no possessive marker, but examples with a possessive marker are also regular (4). If the possessor slot is filled by a personal pronoun, the head noun obligatorily takes the possessive marker.

The slot of numerals (5) can be filled by numerals or by numeral pronouns, such as F sen, T seno 'how many', F, T oka 'many'.

The second slot of determiners can be occupied by another group demonstrative pronouns, such as F  $\varepsilon lse$ , T eloj 'such', F torse, T toroj 'such' (6).

The slot of adjectival phrases (7) is filled by a phrase headed by an adjective phrase proper or by a relative clause More than one adjectival phrase is possible in the same NP (8).

Apposed NPs immediately precede the head noun. Most often, they consist only of a head noun that makes a lexicalized expression with the higher head noun (9). However, apposed NPs with their own constituent structure are also possible (10).

There are instances of NPs that have a non-standard word order, in particular with modifiers following the head noun, not preceding it. Such word order is driven by a non-standard information structure. When a modifier is abnormally postposed, it may take a Plural marker instead of the head noun (11).

With the numeral F, T fize 'two' Singular, Dual, and occasionally Plural of the noun are attested. With numerals other than F  $\eta o ?$ , T  $\eta u ?$  'one' and F, T fize 'two', and with F  $s \varepsilon n$ , T seno 'how much', usually Singular is used. With F oka 'many', Plural is usually used, though Singular is also possible.

Except for the mentioned cases, there is no agreement in case or number between a head noun and a modifier in an NP.

The paper will present the data on Enets NP structure with more details, and discuss some interesting cases of variation in the word order and marking of features on particular nominals within an NP.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The research was conducted in terms of the project supported by Russian Foundation for Basic Research, grant No. 17-34-01068-OGN.

## Examples

(1)	4G.1-4G	a.l. a		4C	1	
(1)	tʃuktʃi		rosa	entse		
F	all	this	Russia	-	on-PL	
(2)	'all these Russian people'					
(2) T	[[tʃike		e-n <sup>j</sup> i?]	00 100	[ese]]]	
1	this father-OBL.SG.1SG father					
(2)	'this my grandfather (= my father's father)'					
(3)	u?		ε-r		.n.c	
F	you(sg) mother-NOM.SG.2SG					
(4)	•	mother'	7	0		
(4)	tſike	təbiku		fi-za	DI 200	
F	this mouse mate-NOM.PL.3SG					
. <del>.</del> .	'the mates of this mouse'					
(5)	kafi-n <sup>j</sup>		3	bəlko-zi?		
F	mate-PL.1SG two sledge_house-NOM.SG.3DU 'the two sledge houses of my mates'					
(-)					es′	
(6)	ſize	εlse	0	banka		
F	two	such	big	jar		
	'two such big jars'					
(7)	$[[\varepsilon\varepsilon-n]]$	_			[kasa-za]]	
F	mother-OBL.SG.1SG big mate-NOM.SG.3SG					
'my mother's elder brother'						
(8)	теји	sil <sup>j</sup> ejgu				
F	new white shoe-PL					
'new white shoes'						
(9)		-	_		n <sup>j</sup> e-xu-n <sup>j</sup> i?	
F		two	big		child-DU-PL.1SG	
'these my two elder sons'						
(10)		ı] [sej		_		
F	big eye fishing_net					
'a fishing net with a big mesh'						
	segimid		tsike-?			
F	every		this-PI	_		
'these various things'						