

## Small, Smaller and Even Smaller: Small Nominals in Kazym Khanty

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**Problem.** The status of DP in languages without articles has been a subject of debate in theoretical literature. Proponents of the Universal DP approach (Longobardi 1994) assume that D layer is always present in structure. At the same time, Parametrized DP approach (Bošković 2009) suggests that DP is absent in languages without articles. The current work, however, shows that both approaches do not hold. According to Pereltsvaig (2006), nominal phrases in languages without articles can be either full DPs or *Small Nominals* (SNs), such as NPs or NumPs. Pereltsvaig argues that some properties of full DPs are inaccessible for SNs due to their syntactic incompleteness. For instance, SNs cannot control PRO, bind reciprocal and reflexive pronouns, they do not take wide scope and never exhibit specific interpretation.

**Data.** The data from Kazym Khanty (Ob-Ugric < Uralic, henceforth KKh) were collected in several field trips in the village of Kazym (Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug, Russia) in 2019-24. The data show that in a number of contexts, nominal phrases in KKh face similar restrictions. In the talk, we are going to show that such restrictions may be imposed by a small size of syntactic structure of the nominal phrase.

**Contexts.** We examine the properties of nouns in the following contexts: (a) *unmarked nominal dependents* (UND, henceforth): nouns modifying other nouns and expressing non-referential relationships such as material or origin), (b) *attributivized nouns*: denominal adjectives derived with suffixes *-əŋ* and *-əp*, (c) *numeral + noun* subjects that do not trigger dual or plural agreement on the predicate, (d) preverbs (adverb-like preverbal entities) that are decomposable into a nominal stem and a dative marker, (e) locative-marked *theme in secundative alignment*<sup>2</sup>, (f) bare nouns, which are non-referential direct objects that exhibit semantic properties of pseudo-incorporated nominals (Dayal 2011).

**Functional Sequence.** The full DP structure that we assume is [DP [ PossP [ NumP [ ClP [ NP ] ] ] ] ]. Adjectives and unmarked nouns merge in specNP while numerals are base-generated in specClP (Dékány 2021). Next, the number morpheme is Num head. In specPossP, non-

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<sup>2</sup> Ditransitive constructions in Kazym Khanty make use of either indirective (Theme in the unmarked case, Recipient in the dative) or secundative (Recipient in the unmarked case, Theme in the locative) strategy of argument marking.

agreeing possessors merge, and in specDP we find universal quantifiers, agreeing possessors and demonstratives.

**Main idea.** We argue that in Kazym Khanty, there are NP-, ClP- and PossP-sized small nominals (cf. Table 1 for results). NP-sized small nominals include unmarked nominal dependents and bare nominals. They are only compatible with adjectives and other unmarked nominal dependents, and cannot bear number or possessive marking. Moving further, ClP-sized nominals are attributivized nouns, *numeral* + *noun* constructions and preverbs. They can be modified not only by adjectives and unmarked nominal dependents but also by numerals. PossP-sized nominals are themes in secundative alignment. In addition to being compatible with adjectives, unmarked nominal dependents and numerals, they can also be modified by non-agreeing possessors and can be marked for number.

	Bare nouns	UND	Attr nominals	Numeral + Noun	Preverbs	Theme of permutative
Adj	ok	ok	ok	ok	ok	ok
UND	NA	ok	ok	NA	ok	ok
Numerals	*	*	ok	ok	ok	ok
PL	NA	*	*	*	*	ok
Possessors	*	*	*	*	*	ok
Univ Q	*	*	*	NA	*	*
Dem	*	*	*	*	*	*

Table 1. Modification of Small Nominals.

**Theoretical Implications.** Kazym Khanty data (a) provide evidence for the existence of small nominals of various sizes and support (b) the claim made by Pereltsvaig (2006) that small nominals can appear in argument positions. Moreover, the data constitutes an argument in favour of (c) analyses of the nominal functional sequence involving different projections for number and numerals. More precisely, our data show that numerals are base-generated below NumP, i.e., in specClP (Dékány 2021).

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