NOUN PHRASE IN ENETS

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Abstract: The paper presents a corpus-based description of the noun phrase structure in Enets dealing with both Enets dialects – Forest Enets and Tundra Enets. An Enets noun phrase has six slots for modifiers: determiner, relative clause, possessor NP, numeral, adjective phrase, apposed NP. Determiners, relative clauses, and adjective phrases are subject to linear recursion, other modifiers are not. All modifiers precede the head NP. In Enets, there is no agreement between head noun and modifiers, but numerals have different patterns in the choice of head noun number form.

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the noun phrase (NP) structure in Enets. The goal of the paper is primarily descriptive, so I aim to provide a summary of Enets NP syntax based on existing data.

Enets is a North Samoyedic, Uralic language traditionally spoken in the north of central Siberia, in the Tajmyr municipal region of Russia. Today, approximately 45 speakers, all over the age of 50, have full or nearly full command of Enets; the language is not used on an everyday basis, nor is it transmitted to children. The Enets people are represented by two groups with different self-nominations and different identities, Forest Enets (FE) and Tundra Enets (TE), each speaking a separate dialect. Sometimes Enets dialects are claimed to be two different languages (cf. Siegl 2013). Still, linguistically, the two dialects are quite close, the most salient differences between them being in phonology, basic lexicon, and pronominal system. Since no difference in NP structure is attested between FE and TE, in this paper I speak of Enets in general, although of course I mark the dialect of every provided example. The main references for Enets include Castrén 1854, Tereščenko 1966,

Sorokina 2010, and Siegl 2013, the latter three of them being descriptions of FE only. Typologically, Enets is a rather typical Uralic language with suffixal morphology, SOV word order, accusative alignment, double marking (both head and dependent marking) in the clause and NP, extensive verbal morphology specified for various tenses and moods, and non-finite verb forms used for subordination.

This study uses a corpus of glossed texts recorded from two generations of Enets speakers: from modern speakers, collected in 2005–2010 by the author, Olesya Khanina, Maria Ovsjannikova, Natalya Stoynova, and Sergey Trubetskoy, and from their parents' generation, collected in the 1960s–early 2000s mainly by linguists Kazimir Labanauskas, Eugene Helimski, Irina P. Sorokina, and Darja S. Bolina, musicologist Oksana E. Dobzhanskaja, and local radio journalist Nina N. Bolina. Altogether, the corpus consists of 32 hours of glossed texts (25 for FE, 7 for TE) containing ca. 40 000 clauses or ca. 200 000 tokens.[1] Since almost three times more data on FE are available, some facts are attested in FE only and more FE than TE examples are provided, but I assume that since no counterevidence is found for TE, one can make claims on NP structure for Enets in general.

The only earlier work on Enets NP structure is a chapter in Siegl's book (2013: 222–246). My study has found no contradiction to Siegl's grammar and can be regarded as an elaboration of his description. First, my study is based on naturalistic data and therefore verifies Siegl's results that are based on elicitation and on a relatively small text collection. As Enets is not used on an everyday basis, in general elicitation of Enets data is quite unreliable, since grammaticality judgements sometimes contradict real linguistic structures attested in the corpus. Therefore it is really necessary to make a corpus-based description, and it is an important point that for NP such a description repeats results of an earlier elicitation-based study. Second, my study takes into account TE data and therefore when possible verifies Siegl's results against this second Enets dialect that is significantly less studied than FE.

This paper is a framework-free description of the superficial syntactic structure of Enets NP. In my cross-linguistic assumptions on NP structure, I take into account existing general linguistic and typological

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[1]   The corpus continues to be updated, edited, and corrected, and the authors are always ready to share the latest version with anyone interested in the language. Besides, the corpus is archived at the ELAR archive http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/0302.

research done in terms of different theoretical frameworks, such as e.g. Rijkhoff 2002, Dryer 2007, Alexiadou 2014. Still, since this is a descriptive paper, I do not discuss theoretical implications that can be made from the Enets data.

The rest of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 presents existing slots of NP modifers and their ordering. Sections 3 to 8 describe each of the slots. Section 9 mentions non-standard word order. Section 10 discusses issues of marking syntactic relations. Section 11 draws the conclusion.

2. Generalized structure of the Enets NP

Enets has a consistently head-final syntax. As mentioned, Enets basic word order is SOV, and all other types of consituents are also head-final. NP is not exceptional, and all the modifiers normally precede a head noun in the linear order.

(i) shows the existing slots of possible NP modifiers and their linear order. This structure repeats the one given by Siegl (2013: 239–240), but is deduced independently from the texts. Some of the slots presented in this scheme (determiners, adjective phrases and maybe relative clauses) are subject to a linear recursion, so that more than one modifier of the slot in question is possible in the same NP. Other slots are not recursive, so that only one modifier of the particular slot can be present. Note that the terms used as labels for the slots are to some extent conventional and their used does not presuppose any threoretically valid assumptions.[2]

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

All the slots are not attested to be filled at the same time, since most often NPs do not have a complex structure. Still, I assume that in principle it could be possible to attest a NP that would have all slots filled, if one had a substantially bigger corpus and a more vigorous language. That is why in this description I do not make a distinction between 'simple' and 'complex' NPs, as proposed e.g. by Dryer (2007: 151). Based on the text collection data, NP's complexity turns out to be a

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[2]   Especially this concerns the term *determiner* that is used here in a significantly more broad sense than it is usually done in formal syntax.

scalar parameter, and NPs can be characterized as 'less complex' when have less filled slots and 'more complex' when have more filled slots. Having the task to describe the ordering of NP modifiers I paid no attention on most simple NPs with no overt modifiers or only one overt modifier, but, of course, such NPs are the most frequent ones in texts.

Similar to many other languages, Enets has pronominal and nominal forms that have an NP distribution, but cannot have any modifiers, these are personal pronouns like FE *modʲi* / TE *mɔdʲi* '1sɢ' and proper names. Such NPs are not discussed in this paper.

In a clause, Enets NPs can be subjects, direct or indirect objects, obliques, modifiers of other NPs, modifiers of postpositional phrases or be used as nominal predicates. An NP's own syntactic function does not influence its internal structure.

3. Determiner slot

The first linear slot that I label 'determiner' can be filled by modifiers that belong to closed pronominal lexical classes and semantically fall into two groups. As shown below, these two groups are analyzed as belonging to the same slot, because their relative order is variable.

The first group is illustrated by (1) and consists of quantifiers: FE, TE *dʲɔgode* 'other'; FE *kusaa* 'every'; FE *kutuj*, TE *kutoo*, *kutoj* 'some'; FE *nɛku*, TE *eŋa* 'one of, the second, the other'; FE *segimid*, TE *segemede* 'every'; FE *tʃuku*, *tʃukutʃi*, TE *tʃuko*, *tʃukotʃi* 'all'[3]; FE *ɔbu-xoa*, TE *mii-goa* 'any'.

(1)   [**nɛku**]   [[piʔi-da]   [budi]][4]
      other   trousers-ᴏʙʟ.sɢ.3sɢ   trouser_leg
      'one trouser-leg of her trousers' (FE)

The second group is illustrated by (2)–(3) and contains most, but not all demonstratives (see Section 7): FE *ɛke*, TE *eke* 'this'; FE, TE *tʃike*

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[3]   Morphologically, FE *tʃukutʃi*, TE *tʃukotʃi* 'all' is clearly derived from FE *tʃuku*, TE *tʃuko*, but the affix *-tʃi* is not a regular one in Enets. As NP modifiers, the two forms exhibit no apparent syntactic or semantic difference, but FE *tʃukutʃi*, TE *tʃukotʃi* 'all' can be also used independently in the sense 'all, everyone', in contrast to FE *tʃuku*, TE *tʃuko*.

[4]   In order to make the constituent structure of NP examples transparent, square brackets are used.

'this'; FE, TE *edⁱuu* 'that, opposite'; FE *tʃidⁱi/tʃidⁱu* 'that'; FE *tɛxɛ*, TE *texoo* 'that'.

(2)　**[tʃike]**　　[[lⁱiza-d]　　　　[nⁱe-xiʔ]]
　　　this　　　　Liza-OBL.SG.2SG　　child-DU
　　　'these Liza's (lit. your Liza's) sons' (FE)

(3)　**[tʃike]**　　[[kare-da]　　　　[baʃe]]
　　　this　　　　fish-OBL.SG.3SG　　half
　　　'this half of the fish (lit. of its fish)' (TE)

The determiner slot is recursive. Examples with more than one modifier of the listed groups are rare, but definitely possible, as (4). Moreover, they can go in different order, as can be seen from comparing (5) and (6), and this shows no apparent difference in meaning. This possibility makes an evidence that the two groups discussed in this section indeed belong to the same modifier slot.

(4)　**[tʃike]**　　[[nɛku]　　[[kasa-da]　　　　[nadu]]]
　　　this　　　　other　　man-OBL.SG.3SG　　antler
　　　'this other antler of its mate' (FE)

(5)　**[tʃike]**　　[[tʃuku]　　[ti-naʔ]]
　　　this　　　　all　　　reindeer-PL.1PL
　　　'all these our reindeer' (FE)

(6)　**[tʃukutʃi]**　　[[ɛke]　　[[rosa]　　[entʃeu-ʔ]]]
　　　all　　　　　this　　Russian　person-PL
　　　'all these Russian people' (FE)

4. Relative clause slot

The second linear slot can be filled by a relative clause. Enets uses participles as the only relativization strategy, and relative clauses precede head nouns, as all other NP modifiers, see (7).

(7)　**[[poga　　muj-ta]**　　　　　[entʃeu-ʔ]]
　　　fishing_net　make(IPFV)-PTCP.SIM　person-PL
　　　'people who make nets' (FE)

Examples where NPs with relative clauses have any other modifiers are very rare, but enough to conclude that their slot is closer to the head noun than the one of determiners, but more distant than any other slot. I have only a handful of examples where a relative clause is combined with any other NP modifiers, but it is enough to understand the place of a relative clause in the linear order of NP modifiers.

Examples (8)–(9) show that a determiner precedes a relative clause.

(8)   [tʃike]   [[**kadʲa-da**]   [ɔburu-ʔ]]
      this   hunt(IPFV)-PTCP.SIM   thing-PL
      'these tools used for hunting' (FE)

(9)   [tʃike]   [[**bago-da**   **miʔ**   **pɔkuru-j**]
      this   pit-OBL.SG.3SG   into   climb_into(PFV)-PTCP.ANT
      kasa-ziʔ]]
      man-NOM.SG.3DU
      'this their mate who who climbed into the pit' (FE)

Examples (10)–(13) show that a relative clause precedes other NP modifiers, such as a possessor NP (10), an adjective phrase (11), an apposed NP (12) or a combination of them (13).

(10) [ɔre   **bazisu-j**]   [[arkaʃka-d]   [ɛse-kuji]]
      before   tell(PFV)-PTCP.ANT   Arkashka-OBL.SG.2SG   father-POOR
      'the late Arkashka's father I have already spoken of' (FE)

(11) [**tɔɔ-noju**   **baze-j**]   [[nɛbe]   [tabu-da]]
      summer-ADV   grow(PFV)-PTCP.ANT   new   hair-NOM.SG.3SG
      'the new hair grown in summer' (FE)

(12) [**aga-an**   **tara-da**]   [[oo-da   mu]
      big-PROL.SG   necessary(IPFV)-PTCP.SIM   eat(IPFV)-PTCP.SIM   PLC
      [bɛse-r]]
      iron-NOM.SG.2SG[5]
      'your very necessary money for food' (FE)

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[5]   *mu* is a placeholder that can replace both nouns and verbs and is most typically followed by the corresponding lexical item. Still, the expression *ooda mu* is lexicalized as 'food-stuff', has the same syntactic behaviour as any noun, and is used in this example as an apposed NP.

(13) [**baze-tuuj**]   [[modʲi]   [[aga]   [[nɛ]
      tell(PFV)-PTCP.ANT.PASS   I   big   woman
      [nʲe-jʔ]]]]
      child-NOM.SG.1SG
      'my elder daughter I have spoken of' (FE)

Only very rare examples, as (14), are attested that could be considered as an example of linear recursion of relative clauses. Relative clauses are expected to be a structure that allows linear recursion (cf. de Vries 2002: 74). Still, from the experience of other languages, for this slot recursion is not expected to be realized regularly, so it is not surprising that such examples are not typical.

(14) [[**ko-duuj-ziʔ**]   [**bazezu-da**]
      find(PFV)-PTCP.ANT.PASS-NOM.SG.3DU   grow(IPFV)-PTCP.SIM
      [ɔdi-kin]]
      verdure-LOC.PL
      'near the growing plant found by them' (FE)

Relative clauses headed by participles behave differently from lexicalized participles that fill the adjective phrase slot (see Section 7).

5. Possessor NP slot

The third linear slot that follows the determiner slot is the slot of the possessor noun phrase. This is an open slot that has its own NP structure and can consist of any lexical items. In particular, this slot can be filled by a full NP, as in (15)–(16), and by a personal pronoun in Nominative, as in (17).

(15) [**aga   kasa-d**]   [nʲiʔ]
      big   man-OBL.SG.2SG   name
      'your elder brother's name' (FE)

(16) [tʃike]   [[**ese-nʲiʔ**]   [ese]]
      this   father-OBL.SG.1SG   father
      'this my grandfather (= my father's father)' (TE)

(17) [**uuʔ**]   [ɛɛ-r]
      you(SG)   mother-NOM.SG.2SG
      'your mother' (FE)

The possessor NP slot is not recursive, and a NP cannot contain more than one possessor. But since a possessor NP has an internal NP structure, it can have its own possessor NP, as shown in (18).

(18) [[**ɛɛ-nʲiʔ**]   [ɛɛ]]   [kixu]
      mother-OBL.SG.1SG   mother   idol
      'the idol of my mother's mother' (FE)

6. Numeral slot

The fourth slot, that follows the possessor NP, is the slot of numerals. First, this slot can be occupied by lexical numerals, as shown in (19)–(20). (20) illustrates that a numeral follows a possessor NP.

(19) [tʃike]   [[**nexuʔ**]   [menʲeɔ-dʲa]]
      this   three   old_woman-PEJ
      'these three old women' (TE)

(20) [kaʃi-nʲiʔ]   [[**ʃize**]   [bɔlko-ziʔ]]
      mate-PL.1SG   two   sledge_house-NOM.SG.3DU
      'the two sledge houses of my mates' (FE)

A second option are numeral pronouns: FE *sɛn*, TE *seno* 'how many'; FE *sɛn-xoo*, TE *seno-xoa* 'a handful'; FE, TE *oka* 'many', as shown in (21)–(22). Still, for numeral pronouns only poor data is attested on their compatibility with the other modifiers.

(21) [tʃike]   [[**oka**]   bɔgulʲi-z]
      this   many   bear-NOM.PL.2SG
      'these many bears' (FE)

(22) [**oka**]   [[aga]   [koli-ʔ]]
      many   big   peat_bog-PL
      'many big peat bogs' (FE)

The numeral slot is not recursive, and more than one numeral is not possible in an NP. The two following structures are not considered here to be instances of numeral recursion. First, Enets has complex numerals, as in (23), that form a single consitutent that fills a single numeral slot. Second, Enets has a construction of approximation that is formed through juxtaposition of a full numeral and of a numeral pronoun, as in (24); although the structure of this construction may be questionable, it does not seem to be an example of a simple NP with a number of modifiers.

(23)   **ʃizeuʔ**   **teto**   pɔa-za
       twenty   four   year-NOM.SG.3SG
       'he is 24 years old (lit. his 24 years)' (TE)

(24)   tɔri   **nexuʔ**   **sɛn**   dʲeri   ɛ-bu-ta
       so   three   how_much   day   be(IPFV)-CVB.COND-OBL.SG.3SG
       'So it makes about three days.' (FE)

7. Adjective phrase slot

The fifth slot is labelled here adjective phrase, but in fact can be filled by items from three lexical groups.

The first group consists of demonstratives that do not fill the determiner slot (see Section 3): FE *ɛlse*, TE *eloj* 'such'; FE *tɔrse*, TE *tɔroj* 'such' (25)–(26). As seen from (26), such demonstratives follow numerals in the linear order.

(25)   [**tɔroj**]   [[aga]   [tsifra]]
       such   big   digit
       'such big numbers' (TE)

(26)   [ŋoʔ]   [[**ɛlse**]   [pizi-da]]
       one   such   nest-OBL.SG.3SG
       'one such nest (of this bird species)' (FE)

The second group are adjective phrases proper, i.e. syntactic constituents whose heads are lexical (27) or derived (28) adjectives. As shown by (29), adjective phrases follow numerals.

(27)   [ɛɛ-nʲiʔ]   [[**aga**]   [kasa-za]]
       mother-OBL.SG.1SG   big   mate-NOM.SG.3SG
       'my mother's elder brother' (FE)

(28)   [tʃike]   [[ɔdi-tʃaj]   [dʲa-d]]
       this   verdure-COM   place-DAT.SG
       'to this land with the plant (FE)

(29)   [mɔtuʔ]   [[**aga**]   [bunik]]
       six   big   dog
       'six big dogs' (FE)

Typically, adjective phrases consist only of their syntactic heads; occasionally adjective phrases with their own constituent structure, as in (30)–(31), are also attested.

(30)   [[**ŋulʲ**]   [**sɔjza**]]   [tʃaj]
       very   good   tea
       'a very good tea' (FE)

(31)   [[**modʲi**   **nɔzunʲiʔ**]   [**aga**]]   [entʃeu-ʔ]
       I   I.ABL   big   person-PL
       'people elder than me' (FE)

The third group are adjective phrases headed by special semantic types of participles, as in (32)–(33).

(32)   [ʃize]   [[**dʲiri-da**]   [entʃe-giʔ]]
       two   live(IPFV)-PTCP.SIM   person-DU
       'two alive (lit. living) persons' (FE)

(33)   [tɛtu]   [[**pɔlze-da**]   [te-ʔ]]
       four   be_black(IPFV)-PTCP.SIM   reindeer-PL
       'four black reindeer' (FE)

Such constructions fill a different slot than relative clauses (see Section 4) that are also formed with participles, in particular follow the numeral slot, as seen from (32)–(33). Semantically, participles used in adjective phrases express a stable quality in contrast to participles in

relative clauses that express different types of events. Syntactically, in adjective phrases participles can have the same modifiers that adjectives do, as in (34), in contrast to relative clauses that have a clause structure. However, attributing a given example with a participle where no syntactic evidence is attested as a NP with a relative clause or a NP with an adjective phrase is not always possible, if semantically one deals with a borderline case, as in (35).

(34)   [[[ŋulʲi]   [**nalze-da**]]   [[mazavi]   [page]]
       very   be_red(IPFV)-PTCP.SIM   tracery   outerwear
       'a very red outerwear with traceries' (FE)

(35)   **kade-da**   ti-za?
       be_ill(IPFV)-PTCP.SIM   reindeer-NOM.PL.2PL
       'your ill reindeer' (FE)

The adjective phrase slot is recursive, and with adjective phrases linear recursion is attested regularly. First, adjective phrases of different lexical groups can go together, see (36)–(38) for demonstratives and participles. Note that a demonstrative of this group and an adjective or a participle can go in different order with no apparent difference in meaning. (39) shows a combination of an adjective and a participle. Second, at least with adjectives, structures with more than one adjective phrase are also regular (40).

(36)   [ʃize]   [[**ɛlse**]   [[**aga**]   [banka]]]
       two   such   big   jar
       'two such big jars' (FE)

(37)   [tʃike]   [[ʃize]   [[**amoke**]   [[**ɛlse**]   [saxar]]]]
       this   two   evil   such   sugar
       'two such huge pieces of sugar' (FE)

(38)   [**tɔrse**]   [[**dʲiri-da**]   [sama]]
       such   live(IPFV)-PTCP.SIM   animal
       'such a tenacious animal' (FE)

(39)   [**aga**]   [[**nalze-da**]   [kare]]
       big   be_red(IPFV)-PTCP.SIM   fish
       'big red fish' (FE)

(40)   [**meju**]   [[**silʲɛjgu**]   [pɛɛ-ʔ]]]
       new   white   shoe-PL
       'new white shoes' (FE)

8. Apposed NP

The last, sixth, slot that immediately precedes the head noun is the slot of an apposed NP. Most often, it consists only of a head noun that makes a lexicalized expression with the higher head noun (41)–(42). Rare apposed NPs with their own constituent structure, as in (43), are also attested, but the head noun in an apposed NP never gets its own inflexion.

(41)   [tʃike]   [[ʃize]   [[aga]   [[**kasa**]   [nʲe-xu-nʲiʔ]]]]]
       this   two   big   man   child-DU-PL.1SG
       'these my two elder sons' (FE)

(42)   [ulʲajgu]   [[**ne**]   [neɔ-ku-za]]
       small   woman   child-DIM-NOM.SG.3SG
       'her small girl' (TE)

(43)   [[**aga**]   [**sej**]]   poga
       big   eye   fishing_net
       'a fishing net with a big mesh' (FE)

No evidence for recursion of the slot of apposed NP is attested.

9. Position after the head noun

Having described the normal structure of an Enets NP, one should mention that there are examples that deviate from it and from the head-final structure in general. Modifiers following the head noun, as in (44)–(46), are evidently driven by a non-standard information structure. These cases require special research.

(44)   aga   tɛbu   **ɛlse**
       big   nail   such
       'such a big nail' (FE)

(45)   vit'ka   **eke**
       Vit'ka   this
       'this Vit'ka' (TE)

(46)   ʃize   kare   **tɔrse**
       two   fish   such
       'two such fish' (FE)

Instances of NPs with a head noun followed by their modifiers have a specific morphosyntactic feature: right-dislocated modifiers take the number markers instead of the head noun, as in (47).

(47)   segimid   ɔburu   tʃike-ʔ
       every   thing   this-PL
       'these various things' (FE)

10. Marking of syntactic relations in the NP

There is no agreement in case or number between a head noun and a modifier in Enets NPs.

Numerals have the following patterns in the choice of the number form of the head noun. The numeral FE *ŋoʔ*, TE *ŋuʔ* takes only singular form of the noun (48). With the numeral FE, TE *ʃize* 'two' singular, dual, and occasionally plural of the noun are attested (49). With numerals other than FE *ŋoʔ*, TE *ŋuʔ* 'one' and FE, TE *ʃize* 'two', singular is normally used (50a), although marginal examples with plural are also attested (50b). With FE *sɛn*, TE *seno* 'how much' and *sɛn-xoo*, TE *seno-xoa* 'a handful' only singular is attested (51). With *oka* 'many', plural is usually used (52), though singular is also possible (53).

(48)   ŋoʔ   bɔgulʲa
       one   bear
       'one bear' (FE)

(49)   a. ʃize   nɛ   b. ʃize   nɛ-xiʔ   c. ʃize   nɛ-ʔ
           two   woman   two   woman-DU   two   woman-PL
           'two women'   'two women'   'two women'   (FE)

(50) a. nexuʔ   nɛ   nʲe-za   b. nexuʔ   nʲi-nʲiʔ
          three   woman   child-NOM.SG.3SG   three   child-PL.1SG
          'her three daughters'   'my three children' (FE)

(51) sɛn   pɔ-za
       how_much   year-NOM.SG.3SG
       'How old is he? (lit. How many his years?)' (FE)

(52) oka   bɔgulʲi-z
       many   bear-NOM.PL.2SG
       'many bears' (FE)

(53) oka   entʃe-l
       many   person-NOM.SG.2SG
       'a lot of people' (FE)

If the possessor slot in a possessive NP is filled by a full NP, first, the head noun normally has no possessive marker, and, the possessive NP takes oblique, not nominative case[6], as in (54). Examples where the possessor takes nominative and the possessee takes a possessive marker are also attested, as (55), but, as shown by Ovsjannikova (2020), in such structures a possessor and a possessee do not constitute one NP constituent.

(54) kasa   nʲe-nʲiʔ   mense
       man   child-OBL.SG.1SG   old_woman
       'my son's wife' (FE)

(55) ŋoʔ   entʃeʔ   nʲeza   ɔzima   ɛuʔ
       one   person   child-NOM.SG.3SG   appear(PFV).3SG.S here
       'One man's child came here.' (FE)

If the possessor slot is filled by a personal pronoun, the head noun obligatorily takes the possessive marker (56).

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6   As shown by Khanina and Shluinsky (2013), Enets can be analyzed as a language with
     two core cases – nominative vs. oblique. For the purposes of this paper one can use the
     label 'genitive', since the label 'oblique' is related to the choice of the case form for a
     direct object.

(56)   modʲi   ɛse-jʔ
       I   father-NOM.SG.1SG
       'my father' (FE)

11. Conclusion

Enets noun phrase has been described in this paper based on data of a text collection both from Forest Enets and Tundra Enets. Six slots of NP modifiers preceding the head noun have been found: determiner, relative clause, possessor NP, numeral, adjective phrase, apposed NP. Three of these slots are subject to linear recursion, although frequency of structures where the slot is repeated is different: adjective slots are often recursive, determiner slots are less so, and the recursion is very rare for the relative clause slot. Lexically, the determiner slot includes quantifiers and some demonstratives, and adjective phrase slot includes the other demonstratives, adjectives and participles. Distinction between participles that are used to form relative clause and participles that are used to form adjective phrase is syntactically and semantically clear, but not always transparent for a given example.

All the six slots precede the head noun and have a strict ordering. Still, there are examples where some modifiers follow their head noun.

There is no agreement in Enets NP. Numerals have different patterns in the choice of the number form of the head noun. Possessor NP influences the choice of the possessive marking of the head noun.

The corpus data for both Forest and Tundra Enets completely confirm descriptive generalizations earlier made by Siegl (2013). Interestingly, in other Samoyedic languages, such as Nenets (Nikolaeva 2014: 141–173) and Nganasan (Wagner-Nagy 2019: 308–333) the structure of noun phrase is significantly different both in the ordering of modifiers and marking syntactic relations.

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Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 – 1st, 2nd, 3rd person, ABL – ablative, AdjP – adjective phrase,
ADV – adverbializer, COM – comitative adjective, CVB.COND – condi-
tional converb, DAT – dative, DIM – diminutive, DU – dual, FE – Forest
Enets, IPFV – imperfective, LOC – locative, NOM – nominative, NP –
noun phrase, OBL – oblique, PEJ – pejorative, PFV – perfective, PL – plu-
ral, PLC – placeholder, POOR – the suffix meaning 'poor' (typically uses
with the names of the deceased), PROL – prolative, PTCP.ANT – anterior
participle, PTCP.ANT.PASS – passive anterior participle, PTCP.SIM – simul-
taneous participle, Rel – relative clause, SG – singular, TE – Tundra
Enets

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Kokkuvõte. Andrej Šluinski: Noomenifraas eenetsi keeles. Artikkel esitab korpuspõhise kirjelduse eenetsi keele noomenifraasi struktuurist mõlemas eenetsi keele murdes – metsaeenetsi ja tundraeenetsi. Eenetsi noomenifraasil on kuus täiendikohta: määratleja, relatiivlause, omajat väljendav NP, numeraal, omadussõnafraas, appositsiooniline NP. Määratlejad, relatiivlaused ja omadussõnafraasid alluvad lineaarsele rekursioonile, teised täiendid mitte. Kõik täiendid eelnevad põhisõnale. Eenetsi keeles puudub põhisõna ja täiendi ühilduvus, kui numeraalid nõuavad noomenifraasi põhisõnalt erinevaid arvuvorme.

Märksõnad: noomenifraas, süntaks, eenetsi keel, samojeedi keeled

Аннотация. Андрей Шлуинский: Именная группа в энецком языке.
В статье представлено выполненное на материале корпуса текстов описание структуры именной группы в обоих диалектах энецкого языка – лесном тундровом. Энецкая именная группа содержит шесть позиций для модификаторов вершинного существительного: детерминатор, относительное предложение, именная группа посессора, числительное, группа прилагательного, соположенная именная группа. Детерминаторы, относительные предложения и группы прилагательного подлежат линейной рекурсии, в отличие от других модификаторов. Все модификаторы предшествуют вершинному существительному. В энецком языке отсутствует согласование между вершинным существительным и модификаторами, но представлены разные модели выбора числовой формы вершинного существительного в именных группах с числительными.

Ключевые слова: именная группа, синтаксис, энецкий язык, самодийские языки