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# **PROPRIETIVE ATTRIBUTIVIZERS IN KAZYM KHANTY**

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## **PROPRIETIVE ATTRIBUTIVIZERS IN KAZYM KHANTY<sup>2</sup>**

This paper focuses on semantics and syntax of two attributivizers in Kazym Khanty. Both of the attributivizers have proprietive semantics and attach to a small nominal rather than a full DP. Proprietives are not completely interchangeable, therefore the difference between them is also explored in this paper. Moreover, we are going to show that both attributivizers significantly differ from cases. However, adjectives derived by proprietive markers differ from regular adjectives, as well.

Keywords: attributivizers, Khanty, noun phrase, proprietive, semantics, syntax

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## 1. Introduction

In this paper, I discuss semantics and syntax of attributivizers *-əŋ* and *-əp* in Kazym Khanty, a Finno-Ugric language of the Uralic language family. The data presented in this paper is of Kazym variety of Khanty, which is a Northern dialect of Khanty. The data come from two fieldtrips done in Kazym, Khanty-Mansi Autonomous region of Russia, in 2018 and 2019, with a team of researchers from HSE and MSU. Most of the data comes from elicitation.

Basic features of Kazym Khanty are the following: the word order in the clause is SOV; it is a head-final language (the head in the noun phrase follows its dependents); there are only three cases (unmarked nominative, dative and locative).

Attributivizers are affixes which derive adjectives from nouns. However, attributivized nouns often differ from other adjectives in that they can combine morphosyntactic properties of both nouns and adjectives (for example, the attributivized noun itself can be modified by an attribute; inflection specific to nouns or adjectives) [Spencer, Nikolaeva 2017], [Nikolaeva 2008]. Spencer and Nikolaeva [2017] consider such forms to be *mixed categories*.

Many Finno-Ugric languages have in their repertoire various attributivizers with diverse semantics. For example, Hill Mari has a destinative (‘for N’), privative (‘without N’), measure attributivizer (e.g., *two-year-old child*), proprietive (‘having N’) [Kozlov 2020:25]. For the overview of the attributivizing constructions in Finno-Ugric languages see [Kozlov 2020]. An example of a proprietive is given in (1).

HILL MARI

- (1) zont'ik-än      ödör  
umbrella-PROP girl  
‘girl with an umbrella’ [Kozlov 2020:26]

Northern Khanty has several attributivizers with proprietive semantics (‘having N’) and a privative attributivizer (‘not having N’) [Nikolaeva 1999]. The exact number of proprietive affixes and their morphosyntactic properties differ by dialect.

In Kazym Khanty, there are five different attributivizers:

- (i) two productive attributivizers with proprietive semantics: *-əŋ* and *-əp*;
- (2) χəw    lit -əŋ      /    lit-əp      jernas  
long sleeve-PROP / sleeve-PROP.P dress  
‘long-sleeved dress’
- (ii) productive attributivizer with privative semantics: *-li*;
- (3) tʌš-li      iki  
beard-CAR man  
‘man without a beard’
- (iii) unproductive attributivizer (which possibly comes from another dialect of Khanty<sup>3</sup>, it has the same morphosyntactic properties as *-əp*, therefore, it is interchangeable with it): *-pi*;
- (iv) lexicalized proprietive (used only with a few nouns): *-i*.
- (4) kārəs    pālāt-i      iki  
tall height-PROP.I man  
‘a tall man’

In this paper I focus only on the two productive attributivizers with proprietive semantics: *-əŋ* and *-əp*.

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<sup>3</sup> Some speakers deny its presence in Kazym Khanty. Moreover, some speakers claim that it comes from Obsk Khanty.

This work is based on the following theoretical assumptions. Firstly, I adopt the hierarchical model of the noun phrase. After Abney’s dissertation on English NP [Abney 1987] and Szabolsci’s work on Hungarian [Szabolsci 1984], where a DP (determiner projection) layer was introduced, several other nominal projections below DP were proposed (see [Alexiadou et al. 2007], [Lyutikova 2017]). Secondly, not all nominal phrases within the same language must contain the same amount of structure [Cinque 2002], [Déchaine, Wiltschko 2002]. Additionally, I use the term *small nominal* in the sense of [Pereltsvaig 2006] (that is, nominal phrases which lack all or some higher functional projections that DPs possess).

The structure of this paper is as following. In section 2, semantics of attributivizers and semantic difference between them is explored. In section 3, syntactic structure of attributivized phrase is discussed. Section 4 concludes this paper.

## 2. Semantics

In Kazym Khanty, there are two productive attributivizers with proprietive semantics: *-əŋ* and *-əp*. According to [Kaksin 2007], there is no semantic difference between them.

In some languages, proprietives have additional meanings. For example, in Hungarian attributivizer *-s* is used not only for proprietive relations but also to denote measure (5) [Kenesei 1998: 362]. Another meaning that proprietives in some languages can express is oblinative (‘covering substance’) as in Beserman Udmurt (6).

### HUNGARIAN

- (5) a harminc-öt év-es háború  
 the thirty-five year-PROP war  
 ‘the thirty-five-year war’ [Kenesei 1998: 363]

### BESERMAN UDMURT

- (6) buskel’-e-len bakč’a-jez pušn’er-eš’  
 neighbor-POSS.1SG-GEN garden-POSS.3SG nettle-OBLIN  
 ‘My neighbor’s garden is covered with nettle’. [Sorokina 2017]

For this reason, we find it worth examining the semantics of attributivizers *-əŋ* and *-əp* more closely. To account for different types of relations, I have used the classification of relations from [Rainer 2013]. Some additional relations turned out to be relevant based on the Kazym Khanty data and were added to the classification.

The main function of both attributivizers is to mark a part of a whole.

- (7) wər̄ti nər-əŋ / wər̄ti nər-əp an iλ pit-əs  
 red handle-PROP / red handle-PROP.P cup down fall-PST[3SG]  
 ‘A cup with a red handle fell down.’

Both attributivizers can also be used for measures of length, height, weight and volume (8-9). This additional function of proprietives can also be found in some other Finno-Ugric languages: Hungarian (cf. (5)), Komi-Izhem (10), Komi-Zyrian [Kozlov 2020: 28].

- (8) kăt metraj-əŋ / kăt metraj-əp χot pa ulicaj-ən oməs-λ  
 two meter-PROP / two meter-PROP.P house other street-LOC sit-NPST[3SG]  
 ‘A two-meter house is on the other street.’

- (9) mən̄ kăt kilaj-əŋ / kăt kilaj-əp pət λət-s-əw  
 we two kilo-PROP / two kilo-PROP.P pot buy-PST-1PL  
 ‘We bought a two kilo pot.’

### KOMI-IZHEM

- (10) a. *gorsa pu* ‘a tree with a hole’ PROPRIETIVE  
 b. *vyla ulq kerka* ‘two-story house’ MEASURE  
 [Sakharova, Selkov 1976: 60]

However, proprietives are not completely interchangeable. Only attributivizer *-ap* can be attached to body parts.

- (11) a. *wən pǎλ-əp aj iki kamən χəχəλ-əλ*  
 big ear-PROP.P small man outside run-NPST[3SG]  
 b. *\*wən pǎλ-əŋ aj iki kamən χəχəλ-əλ*  
 big ear-PROP small man outside run-NPST[3SG]  
 ‘A boy with big ears is running on the street.’

Some body parts, which are more easily alienable (e.g., *hair* or *beard*), are not completely prohibited from being used with the proprietive *-əŋ*, but still *-ap* is considered to be a much better option in this context.

- (12) *ma [wǔrti ɐpt]<sup>4</sup>-əp / ?[wǔrti ɐpt]-əŋ imi want-s-əm*  
 I red hair-PROP.P / red hair-PROP woman see-PST-1SG  
 ‘I saw a red-haired woman.’

One hypothesis would be that inalienable possession is preferred to be combined with the attributivizer *-ap*. However, it is so only with body parts, but is not the case with at least some of the other inalienable possession, e.g. kin terms. In (13) both of the attributivizers are possible.

- (13) *[kǎreś aŋk]-əŋ / [kǎreś aŋk]-əp ewi χaλ katλ-λ*  
 tall mother-PROP / tall mother-PROP.P girl fish catch-NPST[3SG]  
 ‘The girl with a tall mother is catching fish.’

The data suggest that the difference between the attributivizers *-əŋ* and *-ap* is not in fact based on inalienability. The main difference is that while the noun with the attributivizer *-əŋ* can have modifiers, but does not necessarily do so, *-ap* has to have at least one<sup>5</sup>. In (14) the attributivized noun does not have any modifiers, so only proprietive *-əŋ* is possible, while in (15) both proprietives can be used as the attributivized noun is modified by an adjective.

- (14) *pǔw-əŋ / \*pǔw-əp an pǎsan ɐχti-n oməs-λ*  
 handle-PROP / \*handle-PROP.P cup table on-LOC sit-NPST[3SG]  
 ‘A cup with a handle is on the table.’  
 (15) *wǔrti pǔw-əŋ / wǔrti pǔw-əp an pǎsan ɐχti-n oməs-λ*  
 red handle-PROP / red handle-PROP.P cup table on-LOC sit-NPST[3SG]  
 ‘A cup with a red handle is on the table.’

Although the two attributivizers are used in different syntactic structures, an explanation in syntactic terms seems problematic given the hierarchical model of the noun phrase. It would be plausible to suspect that some affix can only attach to small nominals, which would result in an additional restriction to possible modifiers. However, we see the opposite pattern here, as an affix cannot be attached to nominals that are too small.

I propose that the explanation of the difference between the attributivizers should be pragmatic. While proprietive *-ap* triggers a presupposition of the existence of the object

<sup>4</sup> Square brackets in examples indicate the boundaries of the attributivized phrase.

<sup>5</sup> Attributivizers similar to *-ap* in that they also require a modifier, can be found in some other Finno-Ugric languages: *-ú* in Hungarian [Kenesei et al. 1998: 363], *-p* in Mansi [Riese 2001:57].

expressed with the head of the attributivized phrase, proprietive *-əŋ* does not have such a presupposition. Therefore, if *-əp* modified a bare noun, the assertive component would be empty.

Thus, the difference between the attributivizers regarding the use with body parts (cf. example (11)) can be explained in the following way. We usually do not talk about solely having body parts, but rather name some characteristics of it (size, quality, etc.), because the presence of a body part is in the presupposition rather than assertion of the sentence, so we have to assert something else instead. Cf. example from English (16), where the presence of modifier is crucial, too.

- (16) a. long-haired girl  
b. \*haired girl

Notice, however, that in (11) only proprietive *-əp* is acceptable when attached to a body part (11a), while *-əŋ* is prohibited in this context (11b) (which is not expected due to any semantic or syntactic constraints). I suggest that the pragmatic principle of Maximize presupposition (see e.g. [Heim 1991], [Sauerland 2008]) plays a role here: both variants in (11) contribute the same new information; since (11a) carries stronger presupposition in this context (*-əp* having a presupposition of the existence of the head of the attributivized phrase, as discussed above), (11a) is preferred to (11b). However, the precise analysis of this matter is out of the scope of this paper.

### 3. Syntax

In the grammar of Kazym Khanty A. Kaksin [2007] claims that *-əŋ* is attached to nominal stems, while *-əp* can be attached to a ‘combination of words’. My data are somewhat different: *-əŋ* can be attached to phrases larger than a noun as well (17), whereas *-əp* is not compatible with a noun without a modifier (due to pragmatic reasons, see section 2).

- (17) [χᵐw ɔpt]-əŋ / [χᵐw ɔpt]-əp      ewi      χot      lipi      λuŋ-əs  
[long hair]-PROP / [long hair]-PROP.P      girl      house      in      come.in-PST[3SG]  
‘A girl with long hair came into the house.’

Although both attributivizers can be attached to nouns with their own modifiers, it is still not plausible to consider affixes *-əŋ* and *-əp* to be cases (e.g. comitative), which I argue for in section 3.1. In section 3.2, attributivized phrase is compared to other constituents in NP (therefore, the external syntax of the attributivized phrase is explored). Internal syntax of the attributivized phrase is described in section 3.3.

#### 3.1 Why it’s not a case

In this section I show that the attributivizers in Kazym Khanty have properties different from cases (for example, semantically we could suggest the affixes to be comitative case markers), and for this reason the syntactic structure of attributivized phrase is worth studying (sections 3.2 and 3.3).

First of all, the noun to which attributivizer attaches is always a bare stem: it can not take number or possessive affixes.

As shown in (18), the noun in an attributivized phrase cannot attach a number affix (cf. this criterion in [Tatevosov et al. 2017: 38]), whereas case markers in Kazym Khanty are compatible with number (19).

- (18) λᵐw aj      ᵐawrɛm-əŋ / ᵐawrɛm-əp      / \*ᵐawrɛm-t-əŋ      / \*ᵐawrɛm-əŋ-t  
he      small      child-PROP / child-PROP.P      / \*child-PL-PROP      / \*child-PROP-PL  
/ \*ᵐawrɛm-t-əp      / \*ᵐawrɛm-əp-t      imi-ja      jɪŋk      mə-s  
/ \*child-PL-PROP.P      / \*child-PROP.P-PL      woman-DAT      water      give-PST[3SG]  
‘He gave water to the woman with small children / with a small child.’

- (19) ime-t-a  
 woman-PL-DAT  
 ‘to the women’

Moreover, the noun in an attributivized phrase cannot attach any possessive affixes (cf. [Tatevosov et al. 2017: 38]). All of the forms in (20) are impossible (in either order for the two attributivizers), although the same attributivized phrase without possessive marker is acceptable (21). Again, in contrast to that, nouns can be marked both by possessive marker and case (22).

- (20) wṛti \*jɛrnas-ew-əŋ / \*jɛrnas-əŋ-ew / \*jɛrnas-ew-əp /  
 red dress-POSS.1PL-PROP / dress-PROP-POSS.1PL / dress-POSS.1PL-PROP.P /  
 \*jɛrnas-əp-ew ewij-ət woš ewəlt mǎn-s-ət  
 dress-PROP.P-POSS.1PL girl-PL town from go-PST-3PL  
 ‘Girls in our red dresses left the town.’

- (21) wṛti jɛrnas-əŋ / jɛrnas-əp ewij-ət woš ewəlt mǎn-s-ət  
 red dress-PROP / dress-PROP.P girl-PL town from go-PST-3PL  
 ‘Girls in red dresses left the town.’

- (22) im-ɛm-a  
 woman-POSS.1SG-DAT  
 ‘to my woman / wife’

Another argument against considering attributivizers to be cases is that the noun in attributivized phrase is not available for cross-reference by anaphoric pronouns. In example (23), anaphoric pronoun *λuw* ‘he/she’ can only refer to the noun phrase *imi* ‘a woman’, while the attributivized phrase *aj ḡawrem* ‘a small child’ is closed to anaphora. To be able to refer to the noun phrase *aj ḡawrem* ‘a small child’, it has to be used with the postposition *piła* ‘with’ (24).

- (23) #aj ḡawrem-əŋ / #aj ḡawrem-əp imi lapka-ja juχət-əs  
 small child-PROP / small child-PROP.P woman shop-DAT come-PST[3SG]  
 λuw kolaskaj-ən ul-λ  
 he/she stroller-LOC sleep-NPST[3SG]  
 \* ‘A woman with a small child came into the shop. He is sleeping in the stroller.’  
 ‘A woman with a small child came into the shop. She (the woman) is sleeping in the stroller.’

- (24) imi aj ḡawrem-əl piła lapka-ja juχət-əs  
 woman small child-POSS.3SG with shop-DAT come-PST[3SG]  
 λuw kolaskaj-ən ul-λ  
 he/she stroller-LOC sleep-NPST[3SG]  
 ‘A woman with a small child came into the shop. He is sleeping in the stroller.’

Furthermore, both attributivizers cannot attach to question words (25a). Instead, construction with the postposition *piła* ‘with’ is used (25b). However, it is possible for a case to mark question word in a sentence (26)<sup>6</sup>.

- (25) a. \*χuj-əŋ / \*χuj-əp im-en juχət-əs?  
 who-PROP / who-PROP.P woman-POSS.2SG come-PST[3SG]  
 b. χuj piła tǎm im-en juχət-əs?

<sup>6</sup> Example (24) is provided by P. A. Kasyanova.

who with this woman-POSS.2SG come-PST[3SG]  
 ‘With whom did this woman come?’

- (26) χuj-a      aŋk-εm      mil-əλ      tə-s-λε?  
 who-DAT    mother-POSS.1SG    hat-POSS.3SG    bring-PST-3SG>SG  
 ‘Whom did my mother bring the hat?’

To conclude, in this section I have argued that both attributivizers do not behave like cases. On the one hand, it seems that attributivized phrases should behave similarly to adjectives (as they are far from behaving like nouns). This question is the topic of the next section (3.2 *External syntax of the attributivized phrase*). On the other hand, attributivized phrases still have one noun-like feature: ability to have modifiers. What can modify the heads of attributivized phrases and what cannot is the question of section 3.3 (*Internal syntax of the attributivized phrase*).

### 3.2 External syntax of the attributivized phrase

In this section I compare behavior of attributivized phrases and adjectives and show that in some respects they are similar, while in others they differ.

Firstly, according to the fieldwork materials of P. Pleshak, the order of modifiers in noun phrase (NP) is the following. The left periphery is occupied by demonstrative pronouns and possessors. The next position can be filled with numerals, adjectives and attributivized phrases, while unmarked nouns are always adjoined to the head of the NP [Pleshak 2018].

Attributivized phrase follows a demonstrative pronouns (27a) and cannot be placed before it (27b).

- (27) a.      tām [wūrti jernas]-əŋ / [wūrti jernas]-əp      ewi      náχ-λ  
           this red    dress-PROP / red    dress-PROP.P    girl    laugh-NPST[3SG]  
       b.      \*[wūrti jernas]-əŋ / \*[wūrti jernas]-əp      tām      ewi      náχ-λ  
           red    dress-PROP / red    dress-PROP.P    this    girl    laugh-NPST[3SG]  
           ‘This girl in red dress is laughing.’

An unmarked noun can only follow an attributivized phrase in the noun phrase.

- (28) a.      [χəλəm išń]-əŋ      jux      χot      pa      ulicaj-ən      oməs-λ  
           three    window-PROP    tree    house    other    street-LOC    stand-NPST[3SG]  
       b.      \*jux      [χəλəm išń]-əŋ      χot      pa      ulicaj-ən      oməs-λ  
           tree    three    window-PROP    house    other    street-LOC    stand-NPST[3SG]  
           ‘Wooden house with three windows is on the other street.’

The order of a numeral and an attributivized phrase can vary. However, number marking differs in these constructions. If a numeral immediately precedes the noun, only a singular form of the noun is possible (which is the case in most numeral phrases) (29a). However, if the numeral phrase is separated by an attributivized noun, only a plural form of the head noun is acceptable (29b). The possibility of having both singular and plural form of the noun in quantity constructions is known typologically [Corbett 2000: 211-213]. At least in some other Finno-Ugric languages presence of modifiers also affects number marking, see [Sidorova 2018a: 330] on Moksha, and [Sidorova 2018b: 411] on Hill Mari.

- (29) a.      náwrəm-əŋ      wet      imi      /      \*ime-t      λapka-ja      män-s-ət  
           child-PROP    five    mother / mother-PL    shop-DAT    come-PST-3PL  
       b.      wet      náwrəm-əŋ      ime-t      /      \*imi      λapka-ja      män-s-ət  
           five    child-PROP    mother-PL / mother    shop-DAT    come-PST-3PL  
           ‘Five mothers with children came into the shop.’



Most importantly, the order between an adjective and an attributivized phrase is also free: both orders are equally accepted (30 and 31). To disambiguate between the two meanings in (30), the order in (31) can be more preferable to express the desirable meaning.

- (30) aj [wɔrti jɛnas]-əp / aj [wɔrti jɛnas]-əŋ ewi náχ-λ  
 small red dress-PROP.P / small red dress-PROP girl laugh-NPST[3SG]  
 ‘A small girl in a red dress is laughing.’  
 ‘A girl in a small red dress is laughing.’
- (31) [wɔrti jɛnas]-əp / [wɔrti jɛnas]-əŋ aj ewi náχ-λ  
 red dress-PROP.P / red dress-PROP small girl laugh-NPST[3SG]  
 ‘A small girl in a small red dress is laughing.’

Therefore, we can conclude that attributivized phrases occupy the same position in the NP as adjectives do.

Nevertheless, syntactic behavior of attributivized phrases does not completely correspond to the behavior of adjectives, which can be demonstrated by predicative position.

Adjectives can appear in a predicative position (32). Adjectives in predicative position are obligatory marked by number if the subject is plural (33).

- (32) tām χot-en wən  
 this house-POSS.2SG big  
 ‘This house is large.’
- (33) χot-ət woš-ən wən-ət / \*wən  
 house-PL town-LOC big-PL / big  
 ‘Houses in the town are large.’

An attributivized phrase can also occupy a predicative position (34). Unlike adjectives, it cannot receive number marking (35).

- (34) tām ew-en [χwɔw ɔpt]-əp  
 this girl-POSS.2SG long hair-PROP.P  
 ‘This girl has long hair.’
- (35) \*tām ew-et [χwɔw ɔpt]-əp-ət  
 this girl-POSS.2SG long hair-PROP.P-PL  
 ‘These girls have long hair.’

In this section I have shown that attributivized phrases share some of the syntactic properties of adjectives (position in the NP), but not all of them (number marking in the predicative position).

### 3.3 Internal syntax of the attributivized phrase

In this section I will show what kind of modifiers can and cannot modify the head noun of the attributivized phrase. As we will see, not all of the possible modifiers of the noun in NP are acceptable inside an attributivized phrase.

Firstly, phrases modified by proprietives can take one or several adjectives (which can also be modified by an adverb) as their dependents.

- (36) [wɛra aj wɔrti jɛnas]-əŋ / [wɛra aj wɔrti jɛnas]-əp  
 [very small red dress]-PROP / [very small red dress]-PROP.P

ewi    ńǎχ-əλ  
 girl    laugh-NPST[3SG]  
 ‘A girl in a very small red dress is laughing.’

Secondly, juxtaposition of nouns is possible in attributivized phrase if the noun expresses some quality, e.g. χə ńawrɛm ‘boyish’ in (37).

(37) [χə ńawrɛm putinkaj]-əη / [χə ńawrɛm putinkaj]-əp ewi  
 [man child shoe]-PROP / [man child shoe]-PROP.P girl  
 χəχəλ-λ            juχi  
 run-NPST[3SG]    home  
 ‘A girl in a boyish shoes is running home.’

However, the noun in an attributivized phrase cannot be a possessor (38). As was shown in section 3.1, possessive markers on the head noun of the attributivized phrase are also impossible. Example (39) shows that such a construction is acceptable if we omit the possessor.

(38) \*[kat’aj-en akan’]-əη / \*[kat’aj-en akan’]-əp aj iki ulica χɯwat  
 Kate-POSS.2SG doll-PROP / Kate-POSS.2SG doll-PROP.P small boy street along  
 χəχəλ-əλ  
 run-NPST[3SG]  
 ‘A boy with Kate’s doll is running along the street.’

(39) akan’-əη       aj            iki        kamən    χəχəλ-əλ  
 doll-PROP    small        man        outdoor   run-NPST[3SG]  
 ‘A boy with a doll is running outdoor.’

Thirdly, numerals also can modify the head of the attributivized phrase (40), although the noun in an attributivized phrase cannot attach a number affix (see section 3.1).

(40) [χəλəm λajəm]-əη / [χəλəm λajəm]-əp iki wənt-ən wəλ-λ  
 [three ax]-PROP / [three ax]-PROP.P man forest-LOC live-NPST[3SG]  
 ‘A man with three axes lives in the forest.’

In the attributivized phrase a numeral and an adjective can be found together. The order of the modifiers is fixed and is the same as in the noun phrase (adjectives follow numerals).

(41) [χəλəm aj ńawrɛm]-əη / [χəλəm aj ńawrɛm]-əp aηki wera wew-λi  
 three small child-PROP / three small child-PROP.P mother very strength-CAR  
 pit-əs  
 become-PST[3SG]  
 ‘A mother of three children got very tired.’

With reversed order of modifiers an adjective refers to the head of the whole NP, not to the head of the attributivized NP.

(42) #aj [χəλəm ńawrɛm]-əη / #aj [χəλəm ńawrɛm]-əp aηki wera  
 small three child-PROP / small three child-PROP.P mother very  
 wew-λi            pit-əs  
 strength-CAR    become-PST[3SG]  
 \* ‘A mother of three children got very tired.’  
 ‘A small mother of three children got very tired.’

Attributivized phrases themselves (43) and phrases with question words (44) can also be found in attributivized phrases.

- (43) [χuraməŋ əŋt-əp wəλ]-əŋ χə-jen went-ən wəλ-λ  
 [beautiful antler-PROP.P deer]-PROP man-POSS.2SG forest-LOC live-NPST[3SG]  
 ‘A man who has a deer with beautiful antlers lives in the forest.’

- (44) [mujsər əpt]-əp / [mujsər əpt]-əŋ imi want-s-ən?  
 [what hair]-PROP.P / [what hair]-PROP woman see-PST-2SG  
 ‘Woman with what hair colour have you seen?’

Although a lot of different types of modifiers are possible in the attributivized phrase, there are some that are not. First of all, attributivizers cannot be attached to proper names.

- (45) \*maša-ŋ / \*maša-p aŋki kamən šəš-ijəl-λ-əŋən  
 Masha-PROP / Masha-PROP.P mother outside walk-FREQ-PST-2DU  
 ‘A mother with Masha went for a walk.’

Secondly, the head noun in an attributivized phrase cannot be modified by a demonstrative or an indefinite pronoun.

- (46) #tām mis jīŋk-əŋ bankaj-en aŋk-en-a tə-e  
 this cow milk-PROP jar-POSS.2SG mother-2SG-DAT carry-IMP.SG.SG  
 \*‘Bring the jar with this milk to your mother.’  
 ‘Bring this jar with milk to your mother.’

In (47) the indefinite pronoun refers to the head of the whole NP (i. e. *aj iki* ‘boy’) and not to the attributivized NP marked by *-əŋ* (i. e. *juntut* ‘toy’), while the use of attributivizer *-əp* is ungrammatical altogether because *-əp* requires its own modifier (see section 2). To express this meaning an NP with the postposition *pīla* ‘with’ can be used instead (48).

- (47) #muλsər juntut-əŋ / \*muλsər juntut-əp aj iki  
 some toy-PROP / some toy-PROP.P small man  
 kim et-əs  
 outside go.out-PST[3SG]  
 #‘A boy with some toys went out of the house.’  
 ‘Some boy with toys went out of the house.’

- (48) aj iki muλsər juntut-ət pīla kim et-əs  
 small man some toy-PL with outside go.out-PST[3SG]  
 ‘A boy with some toys went out of the house.’

Thirdly, the head of the attributivized phrase also cannot be modified by quantifiers.

- (49) \*χuλ juntut-əŋ / \*χuλ juntut-əp aj iki kim et-əs  
 all toy-PROP / all toy-PROP.P small man outside go.out-PST[3SG]  
 ‘A boy with all the toys went out of the house.’

Moreover, negation cannot be found inside the attributivized phrase.

- (50) \*āntəm / \*ānt wən pāl-əp aj iki kamən χəχəl-əl  
 NEG.EX / NEG big ear-PROP.P small man outdoor run-NPST[3SG]  
 ‘A boy with little (not big) ears is running outdoor.’

Modifiers of the head in attributivized phrase are summarized in Table 1.

ok	*
adjectives	proper names
nouns (juxtaposition)	possessors
numerals	demonstratives & indefinite pronouns
attributivized phrase	quantifiers
question word phrase	question words
	negation

Table 1. Modifiers of the head in attributivized phrase.

As we can see, the head of the attributivized phrase cannot be modified by D-like elements. Therefore, I propose that proprietives in Kazym Khanty attach to a small nominal rather than a full DP. The fact that there is a clear morphosyntactic distinction between phrases of larger and of smaller structural size can serve as evidence for the existence of the DP projection in Kazym Khanty.

#### 4. Conclusions

Attributivizers *-əŋ* и *-əp* in Kazym Khanty have proprietive semantics. Both attributivizers can mark a part of a whole and also be used for measures.

While a noun with the attributivizer *-əŋ* can have modifiers, but does not necessarily do so, *-əp* has to have at least one. I propose that the explanation of the difference between the attributivizers is pragmatic.

Both attributivizers significantly differ from cases in that they cannot attach number or possessive affixes, the noun in attributivized phrase is not available for cross-reference by anaphoric pronouns and both of the attributivizers cannot attach to question words. However, adjectives derived by proprietive markers differ from regular adjectives, as well: the head of the attributivized phrase can be modified by an attribute and it cannot receive number marking in the predicative position. Therefore, attributivized nouns exhibit a range of nominal and adjectival properties and can also be called a *mixed category* in terms of [Nikolaeva, Spencer 2008].

Proprietives *-əŋ* and *-əp* attach to a small nominal rather than a full DP, which is indicated by the types of modifiers which the head noun in attributivized phrase can have.

#### Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 – 1, 2, 3 person, CAR – caritive, DAT – dative, DU – dual, FREQ – frequentative, GEN – genitive, IMP – imperative, LOC – locative, NEG – negation, NEG.EX – existential negation, NFIN – non-finite, NPST – non-past, OBLIN – oblinative, PL – plural, POSS – possessive, PROP – proprietive, PROP.P – phrasal proprietive, PST – past, SG – singular.

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