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ВВЕДЕНИЕ АРГУМЕНТОВ: САМОДИЙСКИЕ (ЛЕСНОНЕНЕЦКИЕ) ПРЕДЕСТИНАТИВЫ КАК СОВМЕЩЕНИЕ ВЕРШИН D И I^{**}

Г.Н. Бубнов

Национальный исследовательский университет «Высшая школа экономики»

Аннотация: Эта статья исследует категорию **предестинатива** в самодийских языках, с фокусом на лесном ненецком. Рассматриваются синтаксические и семантические особенности предестинативных форм, а также проводится их сравнение с **именным временем** и низкими **апликативами**. В статье предлагается объяснение в рамках гипотезы **совмещения вершин**, согласно которому маркеры предестинатива озвучивают вершину, совмещающую вершину i^* , вводящую внешний аргумент, и вершину D . Этот анализ объясняет смешанные свойства предестинативных посессоров и открывает еще одно возможное совмещение вершин с его синтаксическими последствиями.

Ключевые слова: предестинатив, самодийские языки, формальный синтаксис, введение аргументов, лесной ненецкий

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INTRODUCING ARGUMENTS: SAMOYEDIC (FOREST NENETS) PREDESTINATIVE AS A BUNDLE OF *D* AND *I*^{**}

Gleb Bubnov
HSE University

Abstract: This paper explores the **predestinative** category in Samoyedic languages, focusing on Forest Nenets. It examines the syntactic and semantic properties of predestinative forms, comparing them with **nominal tense** and low **applicative**. The study proposes a **bundling** hypothesis, suggesting that predestinative markers spell out a bundle of an argument-introducing *i*^{*} head and the *D* head. This analysis explains the mixed properties of predestinative possessors and unveils another possible bundle along with its syntactic effects.

Keywords: predestinative, Samoyedic languages, formal syntax, introducing arguments, Forest Nenets

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1. Introduction

In this paper I examine the Samoyedic category traditionally called (pre)destinative, which expresses **intended possession**. I consider various theories proposed in the literature about this category, describe its nominal and verbal properties and explain its mixed character via bundling of an argument-introducing (applicative) head and *D*.

Predestinatives were first described in [Prokofyev 1937] for Tundra Nenets, Nganasan, and Forest Enets. The descriptions were next provided in [Tere-

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ščenko 1956] for Forest Nenets, [Salminen 1997; Nikolaeva 2009, 2010] for Tundra Nenets; [Tereščenko 1979; Katzschmann 2008] for Nganasan, and [Tereščenko 1966; Khanina, Shluinsky 2010] for Forest Enets.

This paper mostly relies on primary fieldwork data collected in the city Tarko-Sale for the Pur dialect of the Forest Nenets language. Where possible, I refer to and provide examples of corresponding phenomena in other Samoyedic languages.

Predestinative forms except for the predestinative marker itself obligatorily have possessive suffixes¹, which follow the predestinative morpheme. An example of the predestinative is given in (1) for Forest Nenets. In this sentence, the cake that I baked is intended by me to be Vasya's property, but it is not yet.

- (1) *mǎñ°* *Vaśa-ŋ* *ńańǎ-t°* *ǃĩł'ĩ-ŋa-t°*
 1SG Vasya-GEN bread-DEST bake-GFS-1SG
 'I baked Vasya a cake.'

Predestinative phrases can only be **nominative**, **accusative**, or **genitive**; never dative, ablative, locative, or prolativ. As for the nominative and accusative cases, their distribution for predestinative phrases is the same as for other nominals. Genitive predestinative phrases are used as secondary predicates. In this paper, I consider only the distribution of nominative and accusative predestinative phrases.

The most comprehensive theory regarding predestinatives is presented by [Nikolaeva 2012, 2015] for Tundra Nenets and [Leisiö 2014] for Nganasan, where nominal tense criteria proposed by [Nordlinger, Sadler 2004, 2008] were used to argue against predestinatives. In contrast, the applicative hypothesis was introduced by [Siegl 2008] and later maintained in [Siegl 2013] for Forest Enets, although it is not thoroughly developed. This hypothesis suggests that predestinatives represent a nominal counterpart to well-known verbal applicatives.

What makes the predestinative category not fully nominal and compels researchers to interpret it as a form of tense or applicative? This paper aims to address and clarify this question.

In Section 2, I examine the nominal properties of the predestinative possessor. In Section 3, I discuss the **applicative** hypothesis, and, in Section 4, I expand the applicative hypothesis by unifying argument-introducing heads and

¹ The possessive marker of third person singular can be omitted.

by incorporating the bundling hypothesis to explain the Samoyedic data. I argue that the predestinative marker spells out a **bundle** of the argument-introducing head *i** and the *D* head, which explains the mixture of verbal and nominal properties of predestinative possessors.

2. Nominal properties

Let's examine the arguments that can be posited for the nominal status of the predestinatives. In Section 2.1, we consider the nominal properties of the predestinative possessor's syntax in relation to their similarity with regular possessors, and in Section 2.2, we compare predestinatives and nominal tense.

2.1. Nominal domain

In this section, we explore arguments for nominal status of the structures that predestinative morpheme spells out and the arguments they introduce (henceforth **predestinative possessors**).

Predestinative possessors behave syntactically exactly like **regular** possessors [Malchukov et al. 2010; Nikolaeva 2015]. They cannot be separated from the nominal head [Nikolaeva 2015], they are cross-referenced by the possessive marker the same way regular possessors are, and they appear in the genitive case.

The fact that the **predestinative** requires a possessive marker after it (optional for 3SG as everywhere else) means that the **predestinative** and **regular** possessors are in complementary distribution. In other words, there can neither be two possessive markers nor a regular possessor with a predestinative without corresponding marker, as can be seen for Tundra Nenets in (2). A sentence (2a) demonstrates the ungrammaticality of the cooccurrence of regular and predestinative possessors when cross-referencing is provided for only one of them. In such a situation, where two possessors are present, a possible strategy² to resolve the ungrammaticality is to replace the predestinative one with a dative argument, as shown in (2b).

- (2) a. *[(*mən* °) *kniga-də-mt*°] *m'ija-d'm*
 I book-PRED-ACC.2SG give-1SG
 Int.: 'I gave you my book.'

² This strategy is only available with proper ditransitive verbs like 'give', but not with verbs like 'bake'.

- b. (mən°) kniga-m' i n' aənt° m' iŋa-d° m
 I book-ACC.1SG 2SG.DAT give-1SG
 'I gave you my book.' [Nikolaeva 2015]

That complementary distribution indicates that predestinative possessors occupy the same position as regular possessors, that is they are **NP-internal**.

Further, predestinative markers precede not only possessive markers, but also case markers (where they are not fused with possessive ones) in Forest Nenets, Tundra Nenets, Nganasan and Forest Enets [Bakró-Nagy et al. 2022] (see Table 1 for Tundra Nenets). Although it is a consequence of the fact that possessive markers by themselves in regular possessive come after case markers or are fused with them, it poses a bigger problem for an approach that treats predestinatives as verbal categories. It requires a sufficient explanation for the low position of the predestinative morpheme in the nominal spine.

Table 1. Tundra Nenets predestinative forms [Adapted from Nikolaeva 2015]³

| | 1SG | 2SG | 3SG |
|-----|---|---|---|
| NOM | <i>ŋəno-də-w°</i> boat-PRED-1SG.POSS | <i>ŋəno-də-r°</i> boat-PRED-2SG.POSS | <i>ŋəno-də-da</i> boat-PRED-3SG.POSS |
| ACC | <i>ŋəno-də-w°</i> boat-PRED-1SG.POSS | <i>ŋəno-də-m-t°</i> boat-PRED-ACC-2SG.POSS | <i>ŋəno-də-m-ta</i> boat-PRED-ACC-3SG.POSS |
| GEN | <i>ŋəno-də-n°</i> boat-PRED-1SG.POSS.GEN | <i>ŋəno-də-n-t°</i> boat-PRED-GEN-2SG.POSS | <i>ŋəno-də-n-ta</i> boat-PRED-GEN-3SG.POSS |

2.2. Nominal Tense

In [Nikolaeva 2012, 2015] for Tundra Nenets and [Leisiö 2014] for Nganasan, Samoyedic predestinatives are compared to temporal nominal phrases found in other languages. Nikolaeva and Leisiö follow the typological criteria for nominal tense proposed in [Nordlinger, Sadler 2004, 2008]. However, our focus will be solely on the structural properties of Samoyedic predestinatives, examining how they differ from and resemble nominal temporal markers. Guaraní is perhaps the best-known language cited as having nominal temporal markers. It features two such markers, *-ra* and *-kue*, which are interpreted as future and past tense-aspect markers, respectively [Tonhauser 2007].

³ The bold highlighting and separating case and possessive morphemes are my own.

- (3) *ko-va petei pa'i-ra*
 this-RC one priest-RA
 ‘This is a **future** priest.’ [Tonhauser 2007]
- (4) *Che-vesino-kue che-visita hĩna. Ko'agã oi-ko Buenos Aires-pe*
 B1SG-neighbor-KUE B1SG-visit PROG now A3-PASS Buenos Aires-PE
 ‘My **former** neighbor is visiting me. He now lives in Buenos Aires.’
 [Tonhauser 2006]

There are several properties that distinguish the Guaraní markers' behavior from the predestinative one's. The first is that, unlike Guaraní, the Samoyedic predestinatives cannot express nominal predicate temporal relation as in (3), but only possession temporal relation as in (4), according to [Nikolaeva 2015] for Tundra Nenets. The same holds for Nganasan [Daniel 2009]. It means that the temporal relation of predestinatives always takes scope over the possessor, unlike that of Guaraní markers, which can have a lower scope (even in the presence of the possessor [Tonhauser 2006]). That means the temporal operator in Samoyedic languages applies later; therefore, the corresponding syntactic structures always occupy a higher position in the functional sequence.

Also, the predestinative's distribution is much more restricted. Here I provide my own Forest Nenets data. A predestinative phrase cannot be a **predicate** (5) as opposed to (3). The phrase *pušatǎj°* ‘my wife’, in order to be attributed to the phrase ‘this girl’, should be embedded within a verb phrase and function as a genitive case-marked secondary predicate, as in (5b).

- (5) a. **čikæ ńe mǎń° puša-tǎ-j°*
 this girl 1SG wife-DEST-1SG.POSS
 Int.: ‘This girl is my future wife.’
- b. *^{OK}čikæ ńe [mǎń° puša-tǎ-j° me-w°nta-j°]_{VP}*
 this girl 1SG wife-DEST-1SG.POSS take-PROSP-1SG.POSS
 ‘This girl is the one I will take as a wife in the future.’

A predestinative phrase cannot be the **subject** of a **transitive** verb, see (6) as opposed to (4).

- (6) **l'ekaλ-ta-j° jablaka-m ηamuλ'a*
 doctor-DEST-1SG.POSS apple-ACC eat
 Int.: ‘The doctor who will treat me is eating an apple.’

A predestinative phrase cannot be the **subject** of an **unergative** verb. Compare (7)⁴ with the unaccusative verb ‘to arrive’ and (8) with the unergative verb ‘to run’.

- (7) *l'ekaλ'-ta-j°* *šulpe-š° S to-ηa*
 doctor-DEST-1SG.POSS run-CVB arrive-GFS
 ‘The doctor ran for me.’

- (8) *l'ekaλ'-(%ta)-j°* *šulpi*
 doctor-DEST-1SG.POSS run
 ‘The doctor is running (%for me).’

Additionally, whether the predestinative phrase and verb combine depends on the semantics of the verb. As noted by [Nikolaeva 2014: 75],

«...predestinatives are absolutely impossible with verbs of destruction and manipulation which imply that the predestinative possessor will not become the owner of the predestinative object, such as e.g. ‘the child broke the cup meant for me’, ‘I sold the house meant for you’, ‘I tore the shirt meant for you’.»

Moreover, although as argued by [Tonhauser 2007] the Guaraní markers are not strictly speaking tense markers (but rather aspectual ones) since their temporal interpretation depends on the clausal one, [Nikolaeva 2015] argues that it is not true for Tundra Nenets. She provides an example and posits that Samoyedic predestinatives can have an independent temporal interpretation, see (9).

- (9) *t'en'ana* [*ηan'i po-xi°* *l'ekarə-d°-waq*] *to°*
 yesterday other year-ATTR doctor-PRED-1PL come.3SG
 ‘Our next year’s doctor arrived yesterday.’ [Nikolaeva 2015]

She writes that the person in question becomes our doctor only next year but arrived yesterday, indicating a mismatch between the tense of the main clause

⁴ The converb *šulpe-š°* ‘running’ can be omitted here, and the example will remain acceptable. My aim was to demonstrate that the difference between (7) and (8) lies not in their semantics (both examples share the same manner semantics) but in the syntax of the verbs *to-š°* ‘to arrive’ and *šulpe-š°* ‘to run’, which constitute the event structure (rather than an adjunct converb). These verbs are cross-linguistically categorized as unaccusative and unergative, respectively; however, this distinction has not been fully explored in Nenets and requires further investigation.

and the tense associated with the change of possession. However, I argue that this sentence can be reanalyzed in terms of phrase structure as follows: the person does not become our doctor next year but rather became our “next year’s doctor” yesterday, see (10).

- (10) *t'en'ana* [ʏan'i po-xi° l'ekarə]-d°-waq to°
 yesterday other year-ATTR doctor-PRED-1PL come.3SG
 ‘Our next year’s doctor arrived yesterday.’ [Nikolaeva 2015]

The following data provides supporting evidence **against** the **independent** temporal interpretation of intended possession. In example (11) from Forest Nenets, it is impossible to interpret the sentence as referring to a girl whom the speaker plans to marry in the future; instead, the only available interpretation suggests that the girl becomes a wife for the speaker through the very act of arrival, such as entering the speaker’s family. Similarly, in example (12), the interpretation is not about a potential romantic partner but exclusively about a woman who becomes “possessed” by the act of arriving. The most pragmatically salient interpretation provided by native speakers implies a scenario where the girl is a sex worker who, by entering someone's apartment, becomes symbolically “owned” by the inhabitant.

- (11) *puša-ta-j°* to-ŋa
 wife-DEST-1SG.POSS arrive-GFS
 *‘My future wife arrived.’
 OK‘A girl entered my family.’

- (12) *ñe-ta-j°* to-ŋa
 girl-DEST-1SG.POSS arrive-GFS
 *‘My future girlfriend arrived.’
 OK‘A sex worker came to me (a girl came to become mine).’

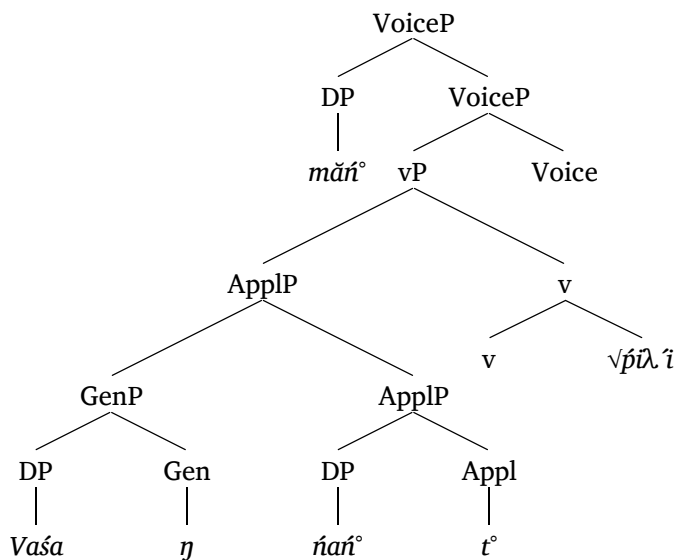
The analyzed data — characterized by the absence of predicate interpretation, usage restricted by the positioning within the verbal structure, and dependent temporal interpretation — suggest that predestinative possessor markers exhibit **more verbal** characteristics compared to traditional possessive markers.

3. The applicative hypothesis

The distribution of Samoyedic predestinatives aligns with the distribution of **low applicatives** [Pylkkänen 2008]. Low applicatives are vP-internal and introduce Goals, which are arguments expressing a recipient. I suggest that the **predestinative possessor** represents another instantiation of Goal.

The syntactic derivation proceeds as follows. The predestinative morpheme *-ta* realizes the *Appl* head, which is merged above the theme DP to which it attaches. *Appl* itself is merged above by the *v* head. The tree in (13) illustrates this derivation for Forest Nenets⁵.

- (13) *mǎń°* *Vaśa-ŋ* *ńańa-t°* *ǎł'í-ŋa-t°*
 1SG Vasya-GEN bread-PRED bake-GFS-1SG
 ‘I baked Vasya a cake.’



First, the applicative hypothesis explains why a predestinative phrase can only be the subject of an unaccusative verb or the object of a transitive verb: a predestinative phrase is an **internal argument** of the verb, since Goals can only be introduced inside vP, as argued in [Pylkkänen 2008]. This explains why predestinative phrases appear in nominative or accusative cases. As mentioned earlier, genitive phrases are left for future research.

Low applicatives form part of the verbal structure and lack their own **temporal** reference, rendering the predestinative tense **dependent** on the clausal

⁵ Until Section 4.2.3, we consider only predestinative phrases without possessive markers on the head and, correspondingly, without a surface case marker.

tense⁶. Furthermore, this semantics explains why the distribution of predestinatives is restricted by the semantics of the verb, as discussed in Section 2.2. If the semantics of the verb does not combine with the transfer of possession, it cannot take ApplP as its complement.

There is, however, clear evidence indicating that accepting the applicative hypothesis while setting aside the nominal possessive hypothesis fails to account for all the observed facts. As argued by Nikolaeva herself, the low applicative hypothesis, briefly proposed in [Siegl 2008] and [Siegl 2013] for Forest Enets, presents several clear challenges. As discussed in Section 2.1, predestinative possessors behave, at least to some extent, **more like regular possessors** than like verbal arguments. In addition to their genitive case marking, possessive marking on the noun head, and internal position within the nominal phrase, Nikolaeva notes that predestinative possessors, **unlike direct objects** (14) in Tundra Nenets, cannot be passivized or relativized through participles (15) [Nikolaeva 2015]. I suggest that Nikolaeva associates predestinatives with potential direct objects due to the similar treatment of low applicative arguments in, for example, English or Bantu languages.

(14) a. *kniga Maša-n°h m'i-wi°*
 book Masha-DAT give-PASS.3SG
 'The book was given to Masha.' [Nikolaeva 2015]

b. [*Maša-n°h m'i-wi°*] *kn'iga-m'i*
 Masha-DAT give-PERF.PART book-1SG
 'the book I gave to Masha.' [Nikolaeva 2015]

(15) a. **pidər° kn'iga-də-mi° m'i-wer°*
 you book-PRED-ACC.2SG give-PASS.2SG
 Int.: 'You were given a book.' [Nikolaeva 2015]

b. **[kn'iga-d° m'i-wi°] ηəc'ekem'i*
 book-PRED.ACC give-PERF.PART child.1SG
 Int.: 'the child to whom I gave a book.' [Nikolaeva 2015]

⁶ As noted by Darya Sidorkina (p.c.), the low applicative semantics, as posited in [Pylkkänen 2008], implies (1) that the possession relation forms part of the assertive content, rather than being presupposed. As a consequence, we expect that the possession relation will be cancelled under negation, in questions, in protases of conditional sentences and in other non-veridical contexts; (2) what is asserted is not the possession relation itself but rather an intended possession relation, meaning the actual possession relation can be negated in the right context. Therefore, additional data is needed to compare predestinative possessors to Goals in this respect.

Furthermore, Nikolaeva argues that predestinative possessors **differ** from **indirect arguments** as well: unlike indirect arguments, they are unable to control the subject of purpose clauses, as demonstrated by the comparison between examples (16) and (17), respectively.

(16) *Maša-n^h pəne-mⁱ [PRO səd^orəbta-wənc^o] mⁱiqŋa-dəm-c^o*
 Masha-DAT coat-ACC.1SG sew-PURP give-1SG-PAST
 ‘I gave my coat to Masha to sew.’ (Adapted from [Nikolaeva 2015])

(17) (*pidər^o*) *ŋəno-də-mt^o [(^{*}PRO) s^oertə-wənc^o] mⁱiqŋa-dəm-s^o*
 you boat-PRED-ACC.2SG make-PURP give-1SG-PAST
 ‘I gave the boat meant for you to be made (by somebody else).’ (Adapted from [Nikolaeva 2015])

In the next section, we address these issues by refining the applicative hypothesis.

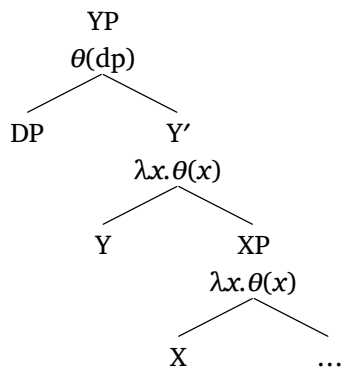
4. Refining the applicative analysis

In this section, we explore how the current applicative analysis can be refined to capture not only the verbal properties of predestinative possessors but also their nominal properties. This attempt seeks to assign both the low applicative and possessor syntactic positions to the predestinative possessor. In Subsection 4.1, I examine the phenomenon of *delayed gratification*, as discussed by [Myler 2014], and demonstrate that it does not apply to our case. In Subsection 4.2, I consider the unification of the argument-introducing heads and the bundle hypothesis and show that this approach works well with our Samoyedic data.

4.1. Unsaturated possessor

[Myler 2014] demonstrates that the saturation of arguments introduced by heads can be delayed and accomplished higher in the derivation by a specifier of another head, which may contribute no specific semantics on its own and thus may function as an expletive. Myler refers to this phenomenon as *delayed gratification*. Example (18) shows how the saturation of possessor relation can be delayed. If a head (X in the example) semantically introduces argument but, for some syntactic reasons, cannot have a specifier, its argument can be introduced syntactically later, as the specifier of the head Y in the example.

(18) Delayed gratification [Myler 2014]



Let us consider the structure for the English example of existential possession proposed by [Myler 2014] in (19). The possessor is semantically introduced inside DP, via the *Poss* head, but syntactically inserted saturating the predicate's semantic role only as the specifier of vP. This makes the verb BE transitive and spelled out as *have*.

(19) *I have a book.*

[_{vP} I [_{vP} be_v [_{PossP} Poss book_{NP}]]

This analysis is unsuitable for the Samoyedic predestinative for the following reason. The **predestinative possessor** is semantically introduced outside of DP, which makes it a **predestinative possessor** rather than a regular **possessor**. The analysis positing that the higher head, which is capable of having a specifier, is not expletive and provides its own semantics is also unsatisfactory, since predestinative forms cannot express regular possession which holds in the reference time. On the other hand, the **predestinative possessor** is syntactically introduced inside DP, as discussed in Section 2.1.

If predestinative were to be analyzed in a similar way, it would be rather a case of *preliminary gratification* instead of *delayed gratification*, so I set this analysis aside. In the next section, we consider an alternative analysis that offers a uniform treatment of all argument-introducing heads, thereby simplifying the explanation of the mixed properties of predestinative possessors.

4.2. *i**

I adopt the view, as argued by [Wood, Marantz 2017], that **all external arguments** are introduced as specifiers of an abstract head *i** which in different configurations is traditionally called different names such as: applicative, voice, p, poss etc.

This head is **not specifically verbal**. It can be found inside the nominal domain. For example, when it attaches to *nP*, it introduces an alienable possessor; when it attaches to the *n*, it introduces an inalienable possessor [Myler 2014]. This abstraction allows us to explain the mixture of the predestinative's properties, having the goal (low applicative) semantics, and the possessive (nominal modifier) syntax.

In this section, I implement such an account to explain the Samoyedic data. In Subsection 4.2.1, I present the argument-introducing head bundle hypothesis. In Subsection 4.2.2, using Korean Addressees as an example, I demonstrate the syntactic effects that bundling can cause. Finally, in Subsection 4.2.3, I apply this analysis to the Samoyedic data.

4.2.1. Head bundling

[Pylkkänen 2002, 2008; Harley 2017; Akkuş 2022, Lohninger et al. 2022; Lee 2024] propose that the argument-introducing head *i** (or just *Voice* or *Cause* in earlier works) can form a **bundle** with another head in syntax. I argue that the predestinative morpheme is a spellout of a bundle consisting of the head *D* and the head *i**.

Sometimes it is assumed that the concept of bundling is, to a great extent, a way of modeling the spellout of multiple heads in Distributed Morphology, as, for example, discussed in [Harley 2017: 4]:

«Alternative technical formulations of the bundling parameter are possible, e.g., a Spanning view (Svenonius 2012; Merchant 2015)...»

Along with the evident morphological consequences of bundling, there are some syntactic ones as well. In Section 4.1.1 we will examine the effect of bundling on Korean Addressee interpretation described in [Lee 2024] and in Section 4.1.2 we propose that a similar syntactic configuration is responsible for both nominal and verbal properties of Samoyedic Predestinatives.

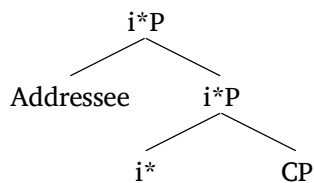
4.2.2. Korean Addressees

Let us explore the implications for domain properties when *i** is bundled, using Lee's Korean data [Lee 2024] as a case study. Lee argues that Addressees are external arguments and introduced in the CP domain, since, in Korean, vocative phrases pattern with other external arguments, as vocative phrases have two forms depending on their honorificity, as demonstrated in (20).

- (20) a. *Mina-ya, halmeni-kkeyse cip-ey ka-si-ess-e(*-yo).*
 Mina-VOC grandmother-HON.NOM house-LOC go-HON-PST-DECL(*-yo)
 ‘Mina, grandmother went home.’
- b. *Halmeni-Ø, Mina-ka cip-ey ka-ss-e-yo.*
 grandmother-HON.VOC Mina-NOM house-LOC go-PST-DECL-yo
 ‘Grandmother, Mina went home.’ [Lee 2024]

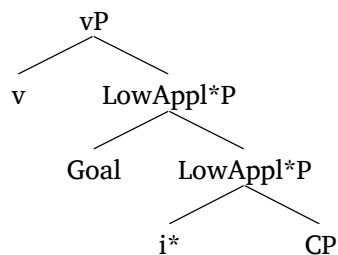
Lee proposes that Addressees, like other external arguments, are introduced by the head i^* . In the case of Addressees, this i^* merges above CP, taking scope over the entire clause and thereby receiving the corresponding addressee-introducing interpretation, see the tree in (21).

- (21) i^* introduces Addressee when merged with CP

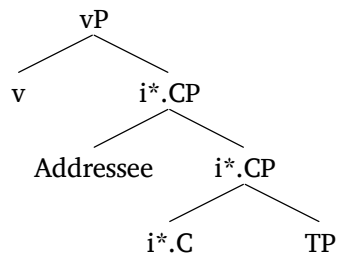


However, if the CP is embedded within another clause, a different interpretation arises due to the configuration: the head i^* is merged below the v node and can thus be interpreted as a low applicative head, introducing a Goal rather than an Addressee, see (22).

- (22) i^* not bundling with embedded C



According to Lee, this Goal interpretation arises in Korean. In contrast, some languages, such as Meadow Mari, permit Addressees in embedded clauses. In order for i^* to escape the low applicative configuration and achieve an Addressee interpretation for its specifier, it can be bundled with the head C (23). In this way, it becomes unavailable for interpretation within the main clause, as it resides in a separate domain.

(23) *i** bundling with embedded C

The same bundling can occur within an independent clause; however, it does not result in any difference in terms of interpretation. The possible interpretations of the specifier of *i** are provided in Table 2.

Table 2. Semantics of an argument being introduced by *i** [Lee 2024]

| | Embedded | Unembedded |
|--------------------|-----------|------------|
| Bundled with C | Addressee | Addressee |
| Not bundled with C | Goal | Addressee |

The parameter of whether the Addressee-introducing head bundles with C accounts for the variation across languages in permitting Addressees in embedded clauses (as seen in Meadow Mari, Galician, and southern dialects of Basque) versus those that do not (such as Korean) [Lee 2024].

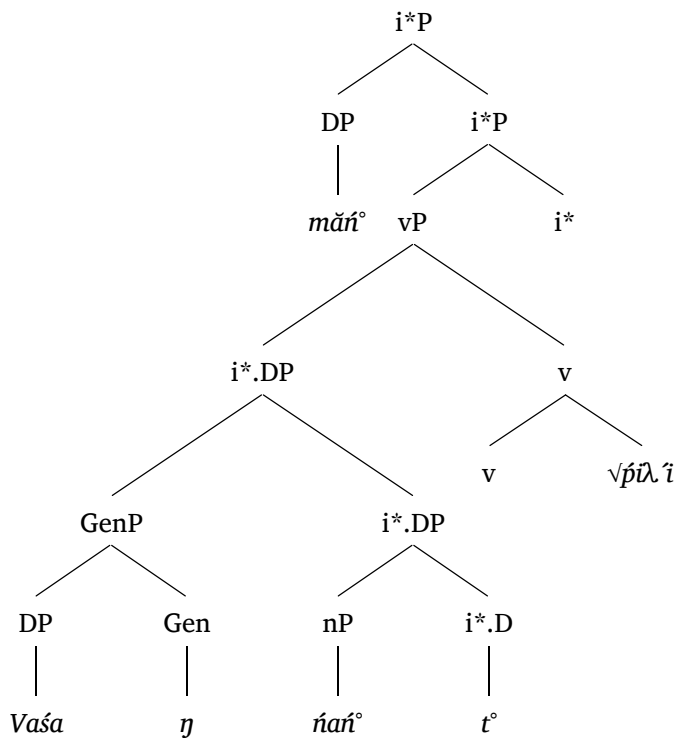
In the next section, we explore the potential syntactic consequences concerning domain properties arising from the bundling of *i** and *D* in Samoyedic languages.

4.2.3. Samoyedic bundle of *i** and *D*

I suggest that the head that introduces predestinative possessors in Samoyedic languages is actually an *i** bundled with the head *D*, as in (24).

Bundling in our case means that the Goal interpretation is still preserved as *i** attaches to *D*. However, unlike in a plain low applicative analysis, as described in Section 3, bundling with *D* results in the specifier of the head *i** being introduced **inside the nominal domain**.

- (24) *mǎń°* *Vaša-ŋ* *ńańǎ-t°* *ǰĩł i-ŋa-t°*
 1SG Vasya-GEN bread-DEST bake-GFS-1SG
 ‘I baked Vasya a cake.’



First of all, the nominal status of the predestinative possessor argument explains why it **cannot** be **separated** from the noun phrase, including passivization or relativization, which are expected for direct objects (see Section 3)⁷. Additionally, the inability to control PRO in purpose clauses can be explained by the position within the DP, as the predestinative possessor in this position cannot c-command the subject of an adjunct purpose clause.⁸

Moreover, bundling explains why predestinative possessors receive the genitive case rather than the dative, as might be expected for a Goal. The **genitive** case is **unmarked** in the nominal domain and is assigned to nominal phrases that have not yet been assigned any lexical case or the dependent case [Marantz 1992]. This is precisely what happens with predestinative possessors.

⁷ Actually, the predestinative possessor can be relativized but only using the resumptive strategy, just like the regular possessor [Nikolaeva 2014: 328–329].

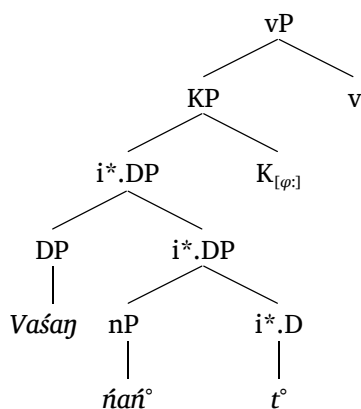
⁸ As noticed by an anonymous reviewer, it is interesting to explore whether the predestinative possessor can control the subject of a noun complement clause. [Nikolaeva 2014] writes that there are two strategies to form a noun complement clause: (1) the action nominal stands in the genitive case as a possessor to the noun head and has a genitive subject possessor, or (2) the action nominal is juxtaposed to the noun head and the subject is realized as a possessor to the noun head and not to the action nominal. The second strategy can be seen as a control construction, and it requires future work to explore whether the predestinative possessor to the head noun can control the embedded subject as well as the regular one.

Regarding the issue of possessive marking on the head noun in the case of predestinative possessors, I suggest that the possessive markers arise due to agreement between the *K* head⁹ (or some other head above *K*) and the possessor. This relatively **high** position of the **agreement** probe explains why it agrees with the predestinative possessor, which occupies the Spec,DP position. This also predicts that possessive agreement will follow or will be fused with the case markers, which is indeed the case, as discussed in Subsection 2.1. The agreement modeling for example (25) is illustrated in examples (26) and (27).

The very idea of possessive markers spelling out a node above *D* or *K* can, however, be questioned. Notably, this node is not the one introducing the possessor, such as *Poss* (or *i**). Instead, the agreement node is not expected to occupy the same position as the argument-introducing one and, correspondingly, does not merge with *nP* or *n*. The agreement head can be compared to the possessor-introducing head in examples (28) and (29) from Hungarian [Szabolsci 1981]. In these examples the argument-introducing morpheme is *-ja*, while the agreement morpheme is *-m* or *-d*, depending on the phi-features of the possessor.

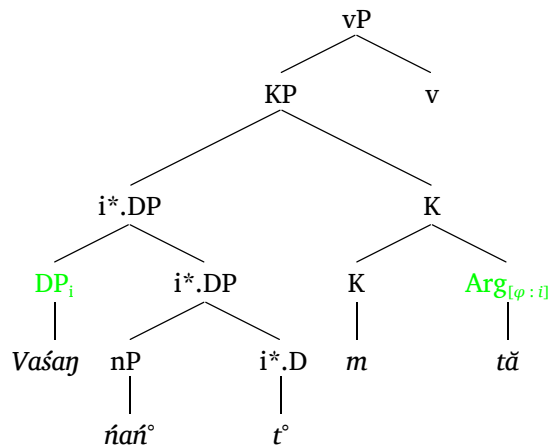
- (25) *mǎń°* *Vaša-ŋ* *ńań°-tǎ-m-tǎ* *ǫil'ŋa-t°*
 1SG Vasya-GEN bread-DEST-ACC-3SG.POSS bake-GFS-1SG
 'I baked Vasya a cake.'

- (26) An agreeing probe on *K*



⁹ This may raise the question of why, in non-possessive nominal phrases, there is no agreement marker, such as one produced by the agreement of the head noun. I believe this can be explained by the concept of **agreement failure**, which can lead to a more marked form [Preminger 2014]. If the probe agrees with the genitive phrase (the possessor), it fails to agree due to the oblique status of the genitive phrase [Shushurin 2021; Marantz 2022]. This failure results in the copying of the full phi-feature set, which leads to the occurrence of possessive markers. If there is no possessor, the probe agrees with the head noun, resulting in successful agreement and, consequently, no marker.

(27) After agreeing with the closest DP



(28) *Az éñ-∅ kar-ja-i-m*
 the I-NOM arm-POSS-PL-1SG
 ‘my arms’

(29) *Az te-∅ kar-ja-i-d*
 the you-NOM arm-POSS-PL-2SG
 ‘thine arms’ [Szabolsci 1981]

The **higher** syntactic status of the agreeing head, as opposed to being merely a peculiarity of linearization, is evidenced by data from Tundra Nenets [Nikolaeva 2014]¹⁰. In this data (30), a regular possessor that enters into agreement is obligatorily followed by a demonstrative when the latter is present, unlike a regular possessor that does not agree, which is preceded by it. This means that an agreeing possessor moves to the left periphery of the nominal phrase, preceding the demonstrative.

(30) a. *t’uku° Wera-h ti*
 this Wera-GEN reindeer
 ‘this reindeer of Wera’s’

b. **t’uku° Wera-h te-da*
 this Wera-GEN reindeer-3SG
 Int.: ‘this reindeer of Wera’s’

c. *Wera-h t’uku° te-da*
 Wera-GEN this reindeer-3SG
 ‘this reindeer of Wera’s’

¹⁰ This data, however, does not prove that this higher position of the agreeing node should be higher than *K*.

- d. **Wera-h t'uku° ti*
 Wera-GEN this reindeer-3SG
 Int.: 'this reindeer of Wera's' [Nikolaeva 2014]

The final issue to address is why the predestinative possessor and the regular possessor are in **complementary distribution**. I do not have a definitive solution to this problem, so it remains unresolved. One possible path to consider is that the possessor obligatorily moves to the Spec,DP position, as possessors do in English [Myler 2014] or as full nominal possessors in Tatar [Lyutikova, Pereltsvaig 2015]. This solution, however, does not work for Samoyedic languages. As shown in (30), the positions of agreeing and non-agreeing possessors differ, with only the former being potentially located in the left periphery. Therefore, there is no reason why a regular possessor and a predestinative possessor cannot co-occur if one of them does not agree. This is not the case, as illustrated in (31), where regular and predestinative possessors cannot co-occur, although one of them does not agree. Thus, the problem remains for future research.

- (31) **Vaša mǎñ° Vera-ŋ kniga-tǎ-j° míʔ-ŋa*
 Vasya 1SG.GEN Vera-GEN book-PRED-1SG.POSS give-GFS
 Int.: 'Vasya gave me Vera's book.'

The consequences of the bundling hypothesis, particularly regarding the behavior of predestinative phrases that we have not yet addressed in the previous section, pertain to the **absence** of a **proper DP level**¹¹. Since the *i** merges with the DP to form a bundle with *D*, there cannot be a specifier introduced by *D* itself, and thus, no demonstrative phrase. This prediction is indeed borne out, as illustrated by the unacceptability of sentences with a demonstrative placed right before the nominal head and before the entire DP, as shown in examples (32) and (33) for Forest Nenets, respectively.

- (32) *Vaša-ŋ (*čikæ) náñǎ-t° píʔ i-ŋa-t°*
 Vasya-GEN this bread-PRED bake-GFS-1SG
 'I baked Vasya (this) cake.'

- (33) #*čikæ Vaša-ŋ náñǎ-t° píʔ i-ŋa-t°*
 this Vasya-GEN bread-PRED bake-GFS-1SG
 'I baked this Vasya a cake.'
 Int.: 'I baked Vasya this cake.'

¹¹ Thanks to audience of the TMP conference and to Soo-Hwan Lee for noticing this prediction.

The defectiveness of the DP¹² level is also evidenced by the fact that predestinative phrases are **non-specific** [Nikolaeva 2015]. Nikolaeva supports this by noting that predestinative phrases cannot be passivized (34), since in Nenets passivization occurs only with specific noun phrases.

- (34) *kniga-r°* / **kniga-də-r°* *pad°-wi°*
 book-2SG/book-PRED-2SG write-PASS.3SG
 ‘Your book is written / *A book for you is written.’ [Nikolaeva 2015]

In conclusion, the bundling hypothesis is the most reasonable theory regarding the Samoyedic data, as it accounts for the data more effectively than the possessive or applicative hypotheses alone.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have explored the complex nature of the **predestinative** category in Samoyedic languages, particularly focusing on Forest Nenets. By examining both nominal (Section 2) and verbal properties (Section 3), we have argued that the predestinative marker spells out a **bundle** of the argument-introducing head *i** and the *D* head, which explains the mixed properties of predestinative possessors (Section 4). This approach accounts for the similarity between **regular** possessors and **predestinative** possessors, specifically in terms of the position of the predestinative possessor, its agreement with the head noun, and assignment of the genitive case to it. It also explains the similarity between **predestinative** possessors and typical **goal** arguments, concerning their attachment only to internal arguments and their temporal interpretation being dependent on the clausal one. The unresolved issue remains the genitive predestinative phrases, which serve as secondary predicates. Additionally, a more elaborated theory is required to explain the complementary distribution of regular and predestinative possessors.

Overall, this paper demonstrates how modern syntactic theories can capture phenomena that were traditionally considered mostly typologically, relying on comparative criteria without addressing the nature of the phenomenon itself.

¹² I propose that this indicates that *i** merges with the *D* head marked as [-specific], or, following [Dekier 2021], which decomposes the DP layer, *i** merges with a lower subhead within the DP structure.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 — 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; ACC — accusative case; ATTR — attributive; CVB — converb; DAT — dative case; DEST — destinative marker; GEN — genitive case; GFS — general finite stem; HON — honorific; NOM — nominative case; PART — participle; PASS — passive; PERF — perfect aspect; PL — plural; POSS — possessive; PROG — progressive aspect; PROSP — prospective aspect; PURP — purpose; SG — singular; VOC — vocative case.

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Глеб Николаевич Бубнов

Национальный исследовательский университет «Высшая школа экономики»

Gleb Bubnov

HSE University

gnbubnov_1@edu.hse.ru