

The Samoyedic Predestinative as a bundle of D and Appl: Forest Nenets

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Introduction. This presentation provides data from Samoyedic languages, though it is primarily based on my own fieldwork data from the Forest Nenets language. Samoyedic languages have a category that expresses a **potential possessor**. This category is traditionally called the **(pre)destinative** and is considered a **nominal** category (Bakró-Nagy et al., 2022) (since the potential possessor behaves exactly like the regular possessor) with temporal semantics (see Nikolaeva (2015) for Tundra Nenets and Leisiö (2014) for Nganasan).

It was briefly proposed earlier for Forest Nenets that predestinatives may be considered nominal applicatives (Siegl, 2008). I will show, based on Forest Nenets data, that Samoyedic **predestinatives** are actually applicatives, and I will explain syntactically the nominal properties of **potential** possessors.

Data. The **tense** of the predestinative **matches** the clause tense.

- (1) puša-**tă**-j° to-ŋa
wife-**DEST**-1SG.POSS arrive-GFS
* ‘My future wife arrived’
OK ‘A girl entered my family’
- (2) né-**tă**-j° to-ŋa
girl-**DEST**-1SG.POSS come-GFS
* ‘My future girlfriend arrived’
OK ‘A **sex worker** came to me (a girl came to become mine)’

A predestinative phrase cannot be a **predicate**

- (3) a. *čikæ né mǎñ° puša-**tă**-j°
this girl 1SG wife-**DEST**-1SG.POSS
‘This girl is my future wife’
- b. ^{OK}čikæ né mǎñ° [puša-**tă**-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

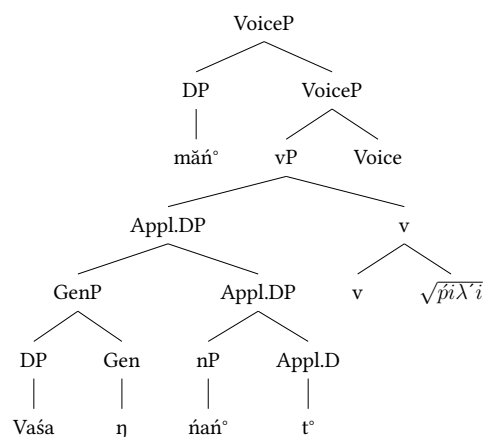
- (4) *I’ekaλ-**tă**-j° jablaka-m ŋamuλ’a
doctor-**DEST**-1SG.POSS apple-ACC eat
‘The doctor who will treat me is eating an apple’

A predestinative phrase can be the **object** of a transitive verb

- (5) Peča l'ekaλ-tă-j° kapta
 Petya doctor-DEST-1SG.POSS call
 'Petya called a doctor for me'

Analysis. Based on data demonstrating the close connection of the **predestinative** to the clause predicate, I propose analyzing the Samoyedic **predestinative** as a **low applicative** in the terms of Pylkkänen (2008). The predestinative head, *Appl*, can only appear **within the verb phrase**, specifically attaching to the internal argument. Moreover, following Lee (2024), who analyzes the **bundling** of *Appl* introducing Addressee with *C*, which has certain syntactic consequences, I propose that our *Appl* head is **bundled** with the head *D* and introduces a potential possessor inside DP, thereby explaining its nominal properties.

- (6) mǎń° Vaša-ŋ náńǎ-t°
 1SG Vasya-GEN bread-DEST
 píł'i-ŋa-t°
 bake-GFS-1SG
 'I baked bread for Vasya'



This presentation will also offer an analysis of possessive agreement with potential possessors and affix ordering in predestinatives.

List of Abbreviations. ACC — accusative; CVB — converb; DEST — predestinative; GEN — genitive; GFS — general finite stem; POSS — possessive; PROSP — prospective; SG — singular; 1 — first person

References. • Bakró-Nagy, M., Laakso, J., and Skribnik, E. (2022). *The Oxford guide to the Uralic languages*. Oxford University Press. • Lee, S. H. (2024). Introducing Arguments and Case. • Leisiö, L. (2014). Samoyedic predestinatives in a cross-linguistic perspective. *Ural-Altaic Studies*, 22:12–35. • Nikolaeva, I. (2015). On the expression of TAM on nouns: Evidence from Tundra Nenets. *Lingua*, 166:99–126. • Pylkkänen, L. (2008). *Introducing arguments*, volume 49. MIT press. • Siegl, F. (2008). Applicatives in Forest Enets. *Ural-Altaic Studies*, 17:45–60.