**S. A. Oskolskaya, N. M. Stoynova**

# ABLATIVES IN NANAIC LANGUAGES[1]

The article deals with the markers expressing ablative semantics in Nanaic varieties, including several Nanai dialects (Naikhin, Dzhuen, Gorin, and Bikin), Ulcha, Uilta, and Kili (Kur-Urmi). The study compiled a list of contexts with ablative and closely related semantics and analyzed which grammatical element is used in each context in each language variety. The study draws on textual data from a variety of sources, including our own field recordings, archival texts, and published texts. The final dataset shows several clusters of language varieties, meanings, and ablative markers. There are three clusters of Nanaic varieties based on the attested ablative cases: Naikhin and Dzhuen Nanai, Gorin Nanai and Uilta, and a random cluster of Bikin Nanai and Ulcha. The Kili variant stands out from these. The observed ablative markers cluster according to the meaning groups they cover: proper ablative markers, the ablative/instrumental marker *-ǯi*, prolative case markers *-ki* and *-kki*, which cover a near-prolative subset of the ablative domain, and a broader locative/prolative marker *-la*, which combines near-prolative meanings and sources of information or transmission. The Nanaic varieties show three stable polysemy patterns: ablative core meanings, near-prolative meanings, and physical and metaphorical transfer. Finally, there are two clusters based on the distribution of markers within the ablative domain: The first cluster includes Naikhin Nanai, Dzhuen Nanai, Kili, and possibly Bikin Nanai, while the second cluster includes Uilta and Ulcha. Gorin Nanai stands apart.

**Key words:** *Tungusic languages, Nanaic languages, Nanai, Ulcha, Uilta, Kili, ablative*

## 1. Introduction

Tungusic languages display the great variability in expression of the source role (starting point of motion), i.e., ablative (elative) semantics. One language variety may comprise several competing markers with ablative function, e.g. *-ǯea*[2], and *-ǯeaǯi* in Naikhin Nanai. In some languages, one marker combines the ablative function with other ones, cf., e.g., the instrumental-ablative case marker *-ǯi* in Ulcha. A list of the Tungusic ablative case markers is given in Table 1; see also an overview in (Sunik, 1982: 160–161).

**Table 1**

**Ablative markers in Tungusic languages**

| | Nanai | Ulcha | Uilta | Udihe | Oroch | Even | Negidal | Evenki | Khamnigan Evenki | Solon | Oroqen |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| * *-gī(+ǯi)* | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | *-ǯi(ǯi)* | | *-digi* | *-ǯiǯi* | *-gič* | | *-git* | *-gi:ǯi* | *-gi:ǯi* | *-jin* |
| * *-dū+ki* | | | *-du:* | | *-doi* | *-duk* | *-duk(i)* | *-duk* | *-du:k(i)* | *-duxi* | *-(ki)duk* |

The origins of the ablative markers were discussed in (Benzing, 1955: 60, 87–88; Ramstedt, 1957: 50; Avrorin, 1959: 177; Novikova, 1960: 226–227; Sunik, 1982: 216–218) among others. The ablative marker * *-dū+ki* was combined from the dative case marker **-dū* and the locative suffix **-ki*. The ablative marker **-gī(+ʒi)* might go back to the derivational suffix *-gī* 'side' combined with instrumental marker *-ǯi*, cf. Solon *-gīǯi*.

The Ulcha ablative marker *-ǯi* coincides with the instrumental marker *-ǯi* that is attested in most Tungusic languages. It is unclear whether it is a mere coincidence or an instrumental marker that replaced of a rarer ablative marker *-ǯiǯi*. See Section 3.3 for more detailed discussion.

Kili (or Kur-Urmi) does not employ a dedicated ablative suffix. Special ablative postpositions are used instead.

Solon and Oroqen have an additional marker of the ablative domain: the complex delative suffix *-(du)la:xi* (Solon) or *-dola:k* (Oroqen). It denotes motion from the area or side of something.

[1] The study is supported by the grant of the Russian Science Foundation № 22-28-01336, https://rscf.ru/en/project/22-28-01336/.

[2] The markers discussed in the paper usually have allomorphs with different vowels which occur according to the vowel harmony rules of a language. We use only one of the allomorphs since this variation is not relevant for the study.

The delative marker was historically combined from the locative case marker *-*(do)la:* and the suffix *-*ki*, which also appears in the ablative case marker (See Benzing, 1955: 84–85).

Manchu and Hezhe employ markers *či* and *-tigi* to express ablative semantics. These markers are cognates to lative markers in other Tungusic languages, cf. lative *-či* in Xibe or Nanai, lative *-tigi* in Udihe. Xibe ablative marker *-dəri* originates from the verb *dərif-* 'to begin' (Zikmundová, 2013: 64).

The article aims to observe the markers that express ablative semantics in Nanaic varieties (languages and some dialects)[3]. They comprise the Nanai, Ulcha, and Uilta (Orok) languages. We also include data from the mixed language Kili (Kur-Urmi) since it has many Nanaic grammatical features. Nanai is presented in the study in four dialects: Bikin (Ussuri), Naikhin (~ Standard Nanai), Dzhuen, and Gorin. The case systems of the listed language varieties are rather similar in general. However, there are significant differences in the expression of ablative semantics.

Section 2 of the paper provides information about the data and methodology of the research. Section 3 describes the expression of ablative semantics in each language variety. A general analysis and discussion of the collected data are given in Section 4.

## *2. Data and methodology*

To study the expression of ablative semantics in Nanaic, we compiled a list of contexts with ablative and closely related semantics, as shown in (1). The contexts 1, 2, 4, and 6 (locality, building/room, surface, and container as a source of motion) are considered proper ablative meanings. First, we checked which grammatical markers occur in these contexts in each language variety. Then, we compiled a list of contexts where these grammatical markers are attested, see (1). The list also includes some more specific contexts that are easily identifiable and frequent in our text samples, such as 'tears falling out of smb's eyes' (10–14 in the list). There were also a number of occasional contexts that were found only for one language variety. They were not included in the list. Finally, we determined which grammatical item is used in every context from the list in each language variety. Therefore, the final dataset includes not only proper ablative case markers, other case markers, and some postpositions.

(1)

1) locality 'He came from Khabarovsk.'
2) building / room 'He went out of the school building.'
3) neighbourhood 'He moved away from the house.'
4) surface 'He took smth. off the table.'
5) falling from X 'He fell down from the tree.'
6) container 'He took smth out of the bag.'
7) environment 'It came out of the water'.
8) dense environment 'A finger is bleeding (lit. blood is coming out of a finger).'
9) opening 'A fox came out of the hole.'
10) take out of one's bosom
11) from the mouth / from the eyes / from the nose (about some organic liquid: blood, foam, food etc.)
12) out of the hands 'He took smth out of smb's hands.'
13) from under the floor
14) out of the ground 'Some creatures appeared out of the ground.'
15) starting point (distance) 'There is 30 km from the city to the lake.'
16) starting point (time period) 'I have not seen him since last summer.'
17) part (separation) 'She cut a piece from a cloth.'

[3] In this paper, we use the label "variety" as an umbrella term for languages, dialects, and sub-dialects (cf. also the term "lect" used in the same meaning). The differentiation between Nanaic languages vs. dialects vs. sub-dialects is out of the research scope: for this study, the only relevant point is whether the "variety" has a system of ablative encoding distinctive enough to be considered separately.

18) source of sound/light ‘Some sound came from the house.’
19) from person (transfer) ‘I received smth from my sister.’
20) source of information ‘I learnt smth from my sister.’
21) ancestor (descend from) ‘This person was born of a rat.’
22) standard of comparison ‘He is taller than me.’
23) standard of superlative ‘He is the tallest of us.’
24) fear of (stimulus) ‘I am afraid of dogs.’

The study is predominantly based on textual data from various sources, including our own field recordings, archival texts, and published texts (see Table 2). Different amounts of data were available for different varieties. For Uilta, Kili, and Bikin Nanai, for which we have no data, we relied more on the data reported in published materials.

***Table 2***

***Textual data used in the study***

| Nanaic variety | Data source(s) | N of ablative contexts analyzed |
|---|---|---|
| Naikhin Nanai | (Bel′dy, Bulgakova, 2012); our field recordings | 258 |
| Dzhuen Nanai | our field recordings | 65 |
| Gorin Nanai | Putintseva, 1935 (archive); our field recordings | 52 |
| Ulcha | (Petrova, 1936; Avrorin, 1981; Sunik, 1985); Sem (archive); our field recordings | 113 |
| Uilta | (Ikegami, 1956; Ikegami, 2007; Tsumagari, 2009) | 37 |
| Kili | (Sunik, 1958); Kalinina et al. (http://nanai.web-corpora.net/) | 42 |
| Bikin | (Sem, 1976) | 5 |

### *3. Ablative markers in Nanaic: data*

This section provides a detailed description of the expression of ablative semantics and related contexts in Nanaic varieties. These meanings can be expressed by the proper ablative case marker and by other spatial case markers or postpositions. Table 3 presents a relevant part of the spatial case paradigm for all Nanaic varieties. In some Nanaic varieties, there is a single ablative-instrumental case (see Section 1), so Table 3 also contains the instrumental case marker.

***Table 3***

***Nanaic varieties: A fragment of the case paradigm***

| | instrumental | ablative | locative (ESS&ABL&LAT&PROL) | prolative | dative (ESS&DAT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Naikhin and Dzhuen Nanai | *-ǯi* | ***-ǯea(ǯi)*** | *-la*[4] | | *-do* |
| Gorin Nanai | *-ǯi* | ***-doki*** | *-la* | | *-do* |
| Ulcha | ***-ǯi*** | | *-la* | *-ki* | *-do* |
| Uilta | *-ǯi* | ***-dū*** | *-la* | *-kki* | *-do* |
| Kili | *-ǯi* | ***(əd’gəǯi)*** | *-la* | *-li* | *-do* |
| Bikin Nanai | ***-ǯi*** | | *-la* | | *-do* |

[4] The marker is realized as *-la* after vowel-final stems and as *-dola* after consonant-final stems. Below, it is referred to as *-la*.

### *3.1. Naikhin Nanai*

In Naikhin Nanai, ablative functions are expressed by the ablative markers *-ǯeaǯi* and *-ǯea*. The locative marker *-la* is also used in some ablative contexts, as shown in Table 4. The dative case marks a dense environment, while a possessive construction expresses separation of a part. Additionally, a dedicated suffix expresses the standard of comparison and superlative.

***Table 4***

***Ablative markers in Naikhin Nanai: Distribution across contexts***

| function | marker | function | marker | function | marker |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| locality | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | opening | *-la* | part (separation) | POSS |
| building / room | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | take out of one's bosom | *-la* | source of sound/light | *-ǯea(ǯi)* |
| neighborhood | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | from the mouth / from the eyes | *-la / (-ǯea(ǯi))* | from person (transfer) | ND |
| surface | *-ǯea(ǯi)* / (DAT *-do*)5 | out of the hands | *-la* | source of information | *-la* |
| falling from X | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | from under the floor | *-la* | ancestor (descend from) | *-la* |
| container | *-ǯea(ǯi) / (-la)* | out of the ground | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | standard of comparison | COMP *-doj* |
| environment | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | starting point (distance) | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | standard of superlative | COMP *-doj* |
| dense environment | DAT-*do* | starting point (time period) | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | fear of (stimulus) | *-ǯi* |

The *ǯea*-form (2) and the *ǯeaǯi*-form (3) act as the main ablative forms covering most of the semantic functions typical of ablatives. There is no clear semantic distribution between these two forms, cf. (2) and (3), where they have exactly the same meaning; the *ǯea*-form is slightly more frequent (see Section 3.4 below).

(2) *Buri* *bāro-ni* *gaǯo-xa,* *təj* *Buri-**ǯiə*** *təj*
Khabarovsk to-3SG carry-PST that Khabarovsk-**ABL** that
*naj* *caoxa* *sori-ni* *bāroni*[6]
human war battle-3SG to-3SG
'They used to transfer {people} to Khabarovsk, and then **from Khabarovsk** to the front' (Naikhin, our field data, kmb[7])

(3) *mašina-ǯi* *pulsi-i* *bi-či-ni* *Buri-**ǯiəǯi***
car-INS walk-PRS be-PST-3SG Khabarovsk-**ABL**
'They used to come **from Khabarovsk** by car.' (Naikhin, our field data, kmb)

The locative *-la* is used in near-prolative ('opening', 'from the mouth / from the eyes', 'from under the floor'), (4), and non-spatial contexts ('source of information', 'ancestor'), (5), which are

[5] When two or more competing markers are possible, those less frequent are marked with brackets. Such marginal uses are not discussed in the paper and are not included in summarizing Tables 13–16.

[6] In examples coming from our own field data, we use our own transcription system. In examples coming from published texts, we use the same transcription as in the source (the Cyrillic script was changed into the Latin script), without any unification. Therefore, the surface forms of ablative markers in question can be different in different examples. In all examples, except for those coming from Kalinina et al., glosses are ours. In examples from Kalinina et al., glosses were partly changed for consistency reasons.

[7] Combinations of 3 or 4 letters identify a speaker who produced the sentence in our own field records.

often covered by prolatives in languages of the world (see (Ganenkov, 2002)). It should be noted that there is no dedicated prolative form in Nanai, and the majority of proper prolative contexts are also covered by the locative *-la* (see Stoynova, 2015).

(4) *oŋgbo-**la**-ni=tani* *lur* *učə-či-i-ni*
bottom-**LOC**-3SG=and all.the.time suffer.from.diarrhea-IPFV-PRS-3SG
'One would always have diarrhea **from one's anus**.' (Naikhin, our field data, itg)

(5) *ča-**la*** *xaj=da* *mədə-wə-ni,* *kurkunžiə,* *dolže-ža-či*
this-**LOC** what=EMPH news-ACC-3SG IDEOPH hear-FUT-2SG
'You will hear **from her** some news, kurkundie.' (Naikhin, (Bel′dy, Bulgakova, 2012: 246, sentence 5))

### *3.2. Dzhuen Nanai*

In Dzhuen Nanai, the set of markers used in ablative contexts is the same as in Naikhin Nanai, i.e., the ablatives *-žeažʲi* and *-žea*, and the locative *-la*. See their semantic distribution in Table 5.

***Table 5***

***Ablative markers in Dzhuen Nanai: Distribution across contexts***

| function | marker | function | marker | function | marker |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| locality | *-žeažʲi / (-žea)* | opening | *-la* | part (separation) | ND |
| building / room | *-žeažʲi / (-žea)* | take out of one's bosom | ND | source of sound/light | ND |
| neighborhood | ND | from the mouth / from the eyes | *-la* | from person (transfer) | *-la* |
| surface | ND | out of the hands | ND | source of information | *-la / (-žea(ži))* |
| falling from X | *-žeažʲi (-žea)* | from under the floor | ND | ancestor (descend from) | ND |
| container | ND | out of the ground | ND | standard of comparison | COMP *-doj* |
| environment | *-žeažʲi (-žea)* | starting point (distance) | ND | standard of superlative | ND |
| dense environment | ND | starting point (time period) | DAT? *-do* | fear of (stimulus) | *-ži* / ACC |

Like in Naikhin Nanai, most ablative contexts are shared by *-žeažʲi* and *-žea*, and there is no clear semantic distribution between the markers. In contrast to Naikhin Nanai, *-žea* is much less frequent than *-žeažʲi* (see Section 3.4 below). The locative *-la* marks the contexts of 'opening', 'source of transfer', and 'source of information' contexts. A dedicated marker (as in Naikhin Nanai) encodes the' standard of comparison' context.

Therefore, Dzhuen Nanai shows the same pattern as Naikhin Nanai, except for the difference in frequency distribution between *-žea* and *-žeažʲi*.

### *3.3. Ulcha*

The set of Ulcha case markers attested in ablative functions is as follows: the ablative/instrumental *-ži*, the dedicated ablative *-žiži* (which is a marginal form), the locative *-la*, and the prolative *-ki*. The usage of these markers is shown in Table 6.

***Table 6***

***Ablative markers in Ulcha: Distribution across contexts***

| function | marker | function | marker | function | marker |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| locality | *-ǯi* | opening | *-ki* | part (separation) | *-la* |
| building / room | *-ǯi* | take out of one's bosom | *-ǯi* / (*dō-ǯi-* inside-INS-) | source of sound/light | *-la* |
| neighborhood | *-ǯi* | from the mouth / from the eyes | *-ki* | from person (transfer) | *-la* / (*dō-ǯi-* inside-INS-) |
| surface | *-ǯi* | out of the hands | *-ki* | source of information | ND |
| falling from X | *-ǯi* | from under the floor | ND | ancestor (descend from) | *-la* |
| container | *-ǯi* | out of the ground | ND | standard of comparison | *-ǯi* |
| environment | *-ǯi* | starting point (distance) | *-ǯi?* | standard of superlative | *-la* |
| dense environment | *-ki* | starting point (time period) | *-ǯi* | fear of (stimulus) | *-ǯi* |

The main range of ablative contexts is covered by *-ǯi* (6), also used as the instrumental marker (7).

(6) *xaj-**ǯi**=da* *xaj=da* *di-di-wə-ni* *čupal* *sā-ri-i*
what-**ABL/INS**=EMPH what=EMPH come-PRS-ACC-3SG all know-PRS-1SG
'Whatever **wherever** comes **from**, I know everything' (Ulcha, Sunik, 1985: 84, text 7) – *-ǯi* in the ablative use

(7) *sirəktə-**ǯi*** *xaj-**ǯi*** *urp-i-n*
thread-**ABL/INS** what-**ABL/INS** sew-PRS-3SG
'She sews **with thread** or **with something** like this.' (Ulcha, our field data, oab) – *-ǯi* in the instrumental use

There are only rare uses of the ablative *-ǯiǯi*attested in early texts, as mentioned in section 3.4 below, see example (8), recorded in the 1960s.

(8) *Xaj-**ǯiǯi**=nu* *largi* *ākta* *agbun-či-ni*
what-**ABL**=Q nice woman appear-PST-3SG
'A nice woman appeared **from somewhere**'. (Ulcha, Sunik, 1985: 93, text 11)

The prolative *-ki* is attested in the context 'opening', which is semantically close to the prolative domain.

(9) *ombo-**ki**-n* *počok* *ńə-ǯu-xə-n*
bottom-**PROL**-3SG IDEOPH go.out-REP-PST-3SG
'{A berry} sharply dropped out of its (frog's) bottom.' (Ulcha, our field data, lpd) ~ 'through its bottom'

The locative *-la* covers peripheral ablative contexts such as 'separation' (10), 'transfer', 'source of sound' and 'source of information', 'standard of superlative'.

(10) *gaksi* *tarpi-**dula*** *kučən-ǯi* *ŋuj-xə-ni*
one.of thigh-**LOC** knife-INS cut-PST-3SG
'She cutted (a part) **from one leg**.' (Ulcha, Sunik, 1985: 63, text 2)

The main difference between Naikhin Nanai and Dzhuen Nanai is that in Ulcha, the contexts covered by the locative *-la* are split in these dialects between *-la* and the prolative *-ki* (which is not present in Nanai). There are also some minor differences in functions.

### *3.4. Naikhin Nanai, Dzhuen Nanai, and Ulcha: Long vs. short ablatives*

Naikhin Nanai, Dzhuen Nanai, and Ulcha all have the same distinction between the short ablative form (ablative/instrumental in Ulcha) and the long form (which is believed to have diachronically derived from the short form by adding an instrumental case marker, as stated by(Sunik, 1982: 216–218) among others). These forms are used in the same range of contexts. However, their frequency distribution between the long and short forms varies in different language varieties. In Dzhuen Nanai, the long form is predominant, while the short form is marginal. In Naikhin Nanai, both forms are comparable in frequency. Lastly, in Ulcha, the short form is the main one, while the long form is very rare.

***Table 7***

***Long vs. short ablative forms in different Nanaic varieties***

| variety (ablative forms) | short | long | % long |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dzhuen Nanai (*ǯea~ǯeaǯi*) | 5 | 32 | 86,49 % |
| Naikhin Nanai (*ǯea~ǯeaǯi*) | 42 | 20 | 32,26 % |
| Ulcha (*ǯi~ǯiǯi*) | 105 | 8 | 7,08 % |

* For Ulcha, only ablative uses of *-ǯi* (not instrumental ones) were counted.

A diachronic change in frequency might be suspected. In Ulcha, the long form is attested, though rare, in the texts collected in the 1930s–1970s, while it is not attested at all in the texts collected by our team in the 2010s (Table 8). Probably, in the situation of language endangerment, only the short form remained as the more frequent one.

***Table 8***

***Long vs. short ablative forms in Ulcha: early texts vs. late texts***

| | short (*ǯi*) | long (*ǯiǯi*) | text collection(s) |
|---|---|---|---|
| early texts | 77,78%(28) | 22,22%(8) | Petrova 1936; Sunik 1985; Sem's archive: the 1930s–the 1970s |
| late texts | 100%(77) | 0%(0) | our field recordings: 2017–2019 |

### *3.5. Gorin Nanai*

The ablatives *-ǯeaǯi~-ǯea* are absent (or at least very rare) in Gorin Nanai. In the ablative domain, the case marker *-doki* is used instead, along with the locative *-la*. The *doki*-form presumably comes from Northern Tungusic: it is attested with the ablative meaning in all Northern Tungusic varieties, but not in Nanaic ones (except for Uilta, which also was influenced by Northern Tungusic, see Section 3.6 below). This aligns with the sociolinguistic knowledge on Gorin Nanai: the Gorin area is reported to have been inhabited by a community speaking a Northern Tungusic language variety (the "Samagir"), which later shifted to Nanai (see (Schmidt, 1928: 219)). The distribution of the ablative forms is given in Table 9.

***Table 9***

***Ablative markers in Gorin Nanai: Distribution across contexts***

| function | marker | function | marker | function | marker |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| locality | *-doki* | opening | *-la* | part (separation) | ND |
| building / room | *-la* | take out of one's bosom | *-la* | source of sound/light | *-la* |
| neighborhood | ND | from the mouth / from the eyes | *-la* | from person (transfer) | *-la* |
| surface | *-la* | out of the hands | ND | source of information | *-la* |
| falling from X | ND | from under the floor | ND | ancestor (descend from) | *-doki / (-la)* |
| container | *-la* | out of the ground | ND | standard of comparison | *-doki* |
| environment | ND | starting point (distance) | ND | standard of superlative | *-la* |
| dense environment | *-la* | starting point (time period) | *-doki* | fear of (stimulus) | *-ǯi* |

The *doki*-form expresses the meaning ‘from locality’ and several secondary meanings from the list, such as the ‘standard of comparison’ function in (12):

(11) *Kaur-**duki*** *ǯi-či-pu*
Kaur-**ABL** come-PST-1PL
‘We came **from Kaur**.’ (Gorin, Putintseva archive, 1935, text 19) – ‘locality’

(12) *Tuj=baki* *gasan-**duki**=da* *turgən-ǯi* *dəgdə-gu-j*
so=PTCL duck-**ABL**=EMPH quick-ADV fly-REP-PRS
‘{Flying women} flew up even more quickly **than ducks**.’ (Gorin, Putintseva archive, 1935, text 26)

It also partly covers the essive semantic domain: ‘to find somewhere’ (13), ‘to be born somewhere’, cf. also the frozen pronominal form *čadoki* [this.ABL] ‘there (essive)’.

(13) *tujtara* *na-**duki*** *ba-ra* *aŋgo-mi* *dəru-xə*
then ground-**ABL** find-CVB.NSIM make-CVB.SIM.SG start-PST
‘Then he found {material} **on the ground** and started to make {a bow and arrows}.’ (Gorin, Putintseva archive, 1935, text 23) – *-doki* in the essive (or essive/ablative) context

The locative *-la* covers in Gorin Nanai many more ablative contexts than in other Nanaic varieties (14).

(14) *təj* *ǯog-**dola*** *əmun* *mamačan* *mataxa-wa*
this house-**LOC** one old.woman birch.vessel-ACC
*təmbə-mi* *niə-xə*
drag-CVB.SIM.SG go.out-PST
‘An old woman with a full mataha (birch vessel) went **out of this house**.’ (Gorin, Putintseva archive, 1936, text 28)

The standard Nanai *ǯeaǯi*-form was attested in our text sample only 6 times, see (15): all its occurrences come from speakers with ancestors in the Amur region (the area where most other Nanai dialects are spoken).

(15) *ča-**duki*** *tuj* *tuə-wə-ni* *pulsi-ra* *ǯok-či*
this-**ABL** so winter-ACC-3SG walk-CVB.NSIM house-LAT
*ǯi-ǯu-xə-ni* *tawanki* *bimi* *boa-wa-ni*
return-REP-PST-3SG then be-CVB.SIM.SG place-ACC-3SG
*uləsi-mi,* *Gərin-**ǯiəǯi*** *boatoače-j-ni* *goro* *bi-či*
like-CVB.SIM.SG Gorin-**ABL** hunt-PRS-3SG far be-PST
'And, having hunted the whole winter, he returned home. Then he liked that place so much that he went hunting **from Gorin** for a long distance' (Putintseva archive, 1935, text 30)

For instance, Djapi Samar, who produced sentence (15), was born in the Kondon village (the Gorin area), as well as his father and grandparents. However, his mother comes from the Amur region (the Melku settlement near the Permskoje village). This speaker uses a mixed pattern: in neighboring sentences, he combines both the Gorin *-doki* and the Amur Nanai *-ǯeaǯi*.

### *3.6. Uilta*

According to (Ikegami, 1956; Tsumagari, 2009), the ablative meanings in Uilta are expressed by the ablative *-dū*[8] (the reflexive forms *-dukki* [SG] / *-dukkēri* [PL] show that this marker is cognate to the Gorin Nanai and Northern Tungusic *-doki*, see (Ikegami, 1956: 79)). Some of the contexts from the list are expressed with the prolative *-kki* and, marginally, with the locative *-la*.

***Table 10***

***Ablative markers in Uilta: Distribution across contexts***

| function | marker | function | marker | function | marker |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| locality | *-dū* / (-PLACE-LOC *-ǯǯē-la* / LOC *-la*) | opening | *-kki* | part (separation) | ND |
| building / room | ND | take out of one's bosom | ND | source of sound/light | -PROL-LOC *-kkē-la* / -PLACE-LOC *-ǯǯē-la* |
| neighbourhood | ND | from the mouth / from the eyes | *-kki* | from person (transfer) | ND |
| surface | *-dū* | out of the hands | *-kki* | source of information | ND |
| falling from X | *-dū* | from under the floor | ND | ancestor (descend from) | ND |
| container | *-dū* | out of the ground | ND | standard of comparison | INS *-ǯi* |
| environment | ND | starting point (distance) | ND | standard of superlative | ND |
| dense environment | ND | starting point (time period) | *-dū* | fear of (stimulus) | ND |

Core ablative contexts are covered by *-dū*, (16).

[8] In (Petrova, 1967) the ablative suffix coincides with the dative one *-du*. It might be because Petrova does not distinguish short and long vowels.

(16) *čiktə* *mərkə-**duu*** *tukki-ni*
louse comb-**ABL** fall.PRS-3SG
'A louse is falling from the comb.' (Ikegami, 1956: 80)

The prolative *-kki* is used in near-prolative contexts ('from/through the opening', 'from/through the eyes' and others), cf. (17):

(17) *...aŋma-**kkē**-ni* *sāksə* *xəjə-mi...*
...mouth-**PROL**-3SG blood flow-CVB.SIM...
'{The old shaman dies} with blood leaking **out of his mouth**'. (Ikegami, 2007: 36)

The locative case covers the periphery of the ablative domain, i.e., 'source of light/sound' and 'source of information'.

(18) *xōni-ddā* *dōlzē-ji-ni* *bō-kkē-**la*** *uisini-n-də*
how-PTCL listen-PRS-3SG outside-PROL-**LOC** sound.PRS-3SG-PTCL
'{He entered the house.} How attentively he is listening, some sound is coming **from outside**.' (Ikegami, 2007: 77)

The distribution of forms within the ablative domain is similar to that attested in Ulcha (see Section 3.3 above), although the set of forms itself is different.

### *3.7. Kili*

In Kili, case forms do not tend to express the meanings of the ablative semantic domain. The main ablative markers are the postpositions *əd'gəžji* and *dō-žį*-PERS [inside-INS-PERS]. The locative *-la* covers a part of the semantic domain, as in other Nanaic varieties. Sunik (Sunik, 1958: 75) reports the prolative *-li* and the instrumental *-ži* in the ablative function. However such examples are not attested in our text sample. The distribution of the above-mentioned markers is shown in Table 11.

***Table 11***

***Ablative markers in Kili: Distribution across contexts***

| function | marker | function | marker | function | marker |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| locality | *əd'gəžji* | opening | *-la / əd'gəžji* | part (separation) | ND |
| building / room | *əd'gəžji* | take out of one's bosom | ND | source of sound/light | *dōžį- / (dōla-)* |
| neighborhood | *əd'gəžji* | from the mouth / from the eyes | *-la* | from person (transfer) | *-la* |
| surface | ND | out of the hands | *əd'gəžji* | source of information | ND |
| falling from X | *əd'gəžji* | from under the floor | *əd'gəžji* | ancestor (descend from) | ND |
| container | *dōžį-* | out of the ground | *dōžį-* | standard of comparison | LAT *-tki* |
| environment | *əd'gəžji / (dōžį-)* | starting point (distance) | LAT *-tki / (əd'gəžji)* | standard of superlative | DAT *-do* |
| dense environment | *əd'gəžji* | starting point (time period) | LAT *-tki* | fear of (stimulus) | *-ži* |

The majority of ablative contexts are marked by the postposition *əd'gəžji*, (19):

(19) *xas* *tuj* *niu-xə-ń* *tuj* *falã* ***əd'gəžį***
again so go.out-PST-3SG so floor **from**
'He went out again **from under the floor**.' (Kalinina et al.)

The postposition *dōžį-* is used in a smaller set of contexts (e.g., 'out of the ground' (20)), which includes, however, the core context 'container'.

(20) *nā* ***dowo-d'i-****ni* *n'iu-gi-xə-l*
ground **inside-INS-**3SG go.out-REP-PST-3PL
'They went **out of the ground**.' (Sunik, 1958: 140)

The *la*-form refers to near-prolative contexts ('opening', (21)), as well as a source of transfer.

(21) *gə,* *ti* *sįn-****dola*** *niu-rə* *ē-xa-ni...*
well that ice.hole-**LOC** go.out-CVB.NSIM what-PST-3SG
'She went **out of the ice-hole** and {became a girl}' (Kalinina et al.)

The meanings 'starting point of a time period' and 'standard of comparison' are interestingly expressed by the lative *-tki* (which is semantically opposed to the ablative in its core uses).

(22) *gə,* *tunəkə-rə* *tį* *takto-****tkį*** *di-ski-lə,*
well do.so-CVB.NSIM that barn-**LAT** taiga-LAT-LOC?
*sīlə* *bīrə* *fokto*
? be-CVB.NSIM path
'{He sees that} there is a path **from the barn** farther to taiga' (Kalinina et al.)

### *3.8. Bikin Nanai*

Like in Ulcha (see Section 3.3 above), the main marker used in ablative contexts coincides with the instrumental suffix *-ǯi*.

For Bikin Nanai, we have very restricted textual data (i.e., several short texts published in (Sem, 1976)), so only the information on the most frequent contexts was obtained, see Table 12. The ablative use of *-ǯi* is exemplified in (23).

***Table 12***

***Ablative markers in Bikin Nanai: Distribution across contexts***

| function | marker | function | marker | function | marker |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| locality | ND | opening | ND | part (separation) | ND |
| building / room | *-ǯi* | take out of one's bosom | ND | source of sound/light | ND |
| neighborhood | *-ǯi* | from the mouth / from the eyes | ND | from person (transfer) | ND |
| surface | ND | out of the hands | ND | source of information | ND |
| falling from X | *waiǯi-* 'from a surface' | from under the floor | ND | ancestor (descend from) | ND |
| container | *dokiʒi-* 'from inside' | out of the ground | ND | standard of comparison | DAT *-do* |
| environment | ND | starting point (distance) | ND | standard of superlative | ND |
| dense environment | ND | starting point (time period) | ND | fear of (stimulus) | ND |

(23) *Əm* *naį* *ʒog-ǯį* *bā-čį* *n'ə-xə-n'į.*
one human house-**ABL/INS** outside-LAT go.out-PST-3SG
'One person went **out of his house** outdoors.' (Sem, 1976: 43)

Interestingly, the ablative/instrumental suffix *-ǯi* can also occur in the lative function in Bikin Nanai (Sem, 1976: 43).

### *4. Discussion*

The data on the expression of ablative semantics in Nanaic is summarized in Table 13. It is simplified: only the most frequent marker is presented for contexts that can be expressed with different markers in the same language variety. For those varieties for which there is a lack of data, the choice of the main marker might be accidental.

***Table 13***

***Distribution of markers across ablative contexts in Nanaic***

| | **Naikhin Nanai** | **Dzhuen Nanai** | **Gorin Nanai** | **Uilta** | **Ulcha** | **Bikin Nanai** | **Kili** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| locality | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | *-doki* | *-dū* | *-ǯi* | | *əd'gəǯi* |
| building/room | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | *-la* | | *-ǯi* | *-ǯi* | *əd'gəǯi* |
| neighbourhood | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | | | | *-ǯi* | *-ǯi* | *əd'gəǯi* |
| surface | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | | *-la* | *-dū* | *-ǯi* | | |
| falling from X | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | | *-dū* | *-ǯi?* | *waiǯi-* | *əd'gəǯi* |
| container | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | | *-la* | *-dū* | *-ǯi* | *dokiʒi-* | *dō-ǯi-* |
| environment | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | | | *-ǯi* | | *əd'gəǯi* |
| dense environment | DAT *-do* | | *-la* | | *-ki* | | *əd'gəǯi* |
| opening | *-la* | *-la* | *-la* | *-kki* | *-ki* | | *-la* |
| take out of one's bosom | *-la* | | *-la* | | *-ǯi* | | |
| from the mouth / the eyes | *-la* | *-la* | *-la* | *-kki* | *-ki* | | *-la* |
| out of one's hands | *-la* | | | *-kki* | *-ki* | | *əd'gəǯi* |
| from under the floor | *-la* | | | | | | *əd'gəǯi* |
| out of the ground | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | | | | | | *dōǯi-* |
| starting point (distance) | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | | | | *-ǯi?* | | LAT *-tki* |
| starting point (time period) | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | | *-doki* | *-dū* | *-ǯi* | | LAT *-tki* |
| part (separation) | (POSS) | | | | *-la* | | |
| source of sound / light | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | | | -PROL-LOC *-kkē--la* / -PLACE-LOC *-ǯǯē-la* | *-la* | | *dōǯi-* |
| from person (transfer) | | *-la* | *-la* | | *-la/ dō-ǯi-* | | *-la* |
| source of information | *-la* | *-la/ -ǯea(ǯi)* | *-la* | | | | |
| ancestor (descend from) | *-la* | | *-doki/-la* | | *-la* | | |
| standard of comparison | COMP *-doj* | COMP *-doj* | *-doki* | *-ǯi* | *-ǯi* | DAT *-do* | LAT *-tki* |
| standard of superlative | COMP *-doj* | | *-la* | | *-la* | | DAT *-do* |
| fear of X (stimulus) | *-ǯi* | *-ǯi* / ACC | *-ǯi* | | *-ǯi* | | *-ǯi* |

The first conclusion that can be drawn from Table 13 is a great variability in the expression of ablative meanings across Nanaic. Even core ablative meanings (contexts 1, 2, 4, and 6) are expressed with different markers in different language varieties.

The data presented in Table 13 can be analyzed from various perspectives.

First, Nanaic language varieties **cluster according to the morphological means** of expressing ablative semantics, as shown in Table 14. Naikhin Nanai and Dzhuen Nanai share the same set of markers: *-ǯea(ǯi)* for central ablative meanings, *-la* for near-prolative meanings, *-doj* for standard of comparison, and *-ǯi* for a stimulus of fear. This similarity is not surprising since both dialects are located relatively close to each other in the Middle Amur River area. Gorin Nanai and Uilta employ cognate ablative suffixes *-doki* and *-dū*, which emerged due to contacts with Northern Tungusic languages reported for both varieties. Both Bikin Nanai and Ulcha have morphologically the same marker *-ǯi* for ablative and instrumental semantics. Bikin Nanai and Ulcha are far apart, have never been in contact, and do not know how to share many lexical and/or grammatical features. Therefore, it is highly likely that the observed situation is merely a coincidence. Lastly, Kili has developed a special ablative marker not used as the main one ablative marker in other language varieties. Additionally, it is the only variety that uses postpositions instead of a case marker to express ablative semantics.

***Table 14***

***Clustering of Nanaic varieties according to the morphological means used in the ablative domain***

| | **Naikhin Nanai** | **Dzhuen Nanai** | **Gorin Nanai** | **Uilta** | **Ulcha** | **Bikin Nanai** | **Kili** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| central ablative meanings | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | | * *-dūki/-la* (Gorin) | | *-ǯi* | | *əd'gəǯi* |
| near-prolative meanings | *-la* | | *-la* | *-kki* | *-ki* | | *-la* |
| standard of comparison | COMP *-doj* | | *-doki* | *-ǯi* | *-ǯi* | DAT *-do* | LAT *-tki* |
| fear of X (stimulus) | *-ǯi* | | *-ǯi* | | *-ǯi* | | *-ǯi* |

Second, Table 13 allows us to **identify the typical semantic domain of each marker**. The markers *-ǯea(ǯi)*, *-ǯi*, *-doki* and *-dū*, *əd'gəǯi* cover the central ablative meanings (contexts 1–6). Each of these markers can also occur in some secondary ablative contexts (e.g., all of them except for *əd'gəǯi* can mark the starting point in a time period). The suffix *-ǯi* (included in the list since it acts as the main ablative marker in Ulcha and Bikin) has broader semantics, encoding both the instrument role (see Table 3 above) and the stimulus of fear in all Nanaic varieties. In the ablative domain, the locative suffix *-la* generally expresses the source of information or transferring, and it also covers part of the near-prolative contexts. The prolative case marker *-ki* covers a set of prolative contexts (‘from an opening’). The Kili prolative case marker *-li* is not attested in the ablative semantic domain in our dataset. This is schematically shown in Table 15:

***Table 15***

***Semantic domains associated with each of the Nanaic ablative markers***

| | **Naikhin Nanai** | **Dzhuen Nanai** | **Gorin Nanai** | **Kili** | **Uilta** | **Ulcha** | **Bikin Nanai** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| proper ablative meanings | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | *-doki* | *əd'gəǯi* | *-dū* | *-ǯi* | *-ǯi* |
| fear of X (stimulus) | *-ǯi* | *-ǯi* | *-ǯi* | *-ǯi* | | *-ǯi* | |
| near-prolative meanings | *-la* | *-la* | *-la* | *-la* | *-kki* | *-ki* | |
| from person (transfer) | | *-la* | *-la* | *-la* | | *-la* | |
| source of information | *-la* | *-la* | *-la* | | | | |

Some of the meanings listed in Table 13 (see also list (1) in Section 1) form stable polysemy patterns, i.e., clusters **according to their co-expression with the same means**, see Table 16. We examined such clusters in each variety separately and then summarized the data across the varieties by selecting the smallest clusters of meanings, i.e., those expressed uniformly in each variety.

***Table 16***

***Clustering of the ablative meanings according to their co-expression across Nanaic varieties***

| | | **Naikhin Nanai** | **Dzhuen Nanai** | **Gorin Nanai** | **Uilta** | **Ulcha** | **Bikin Nanai** | **Kili** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Core ablative meanings | building/room | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | *-la* | | *-ǯi* | *-ǯi* | *əd'gəǯi* |
| | neighbourhood | | | | | | | |
| | surface | | | *-la* | *-dū* | | | |
| | environment | | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | | | | | |
| Near-prolative meanings | opening | *-la* | *-la* | *-la* | *-kki* | *-ki* | | *-la* |
| | from the mouth / the eyes | *-la* | | | | | | |
| Transfer | from person (transfer) | | *-la* | *-la* | | *-la* | | *-la* |
| | source of information | *-la* | *-la* | | | | | |

**The first cluster** includes the core ablative functions, i.e., motion from a building/room, neighborhood, surface, and environment. These contexts are marked with the same suffix in all Nanaic varieties. It is interesting to note that in Gorin Nanai, this is not expressed with the dedicated ablative marker *-doki*, but with the non-dedicated marker *-la*.

The meaning ‘container as a source of motion’ is not part of the core ablative cluster. This is not surprising, as Kili uses a dedicated postposition that specifies localization (‘from inside’) in this context. In Kili, postpositions, which generally tend to have more specific meanings than grammaticalized case forms, are consistently used in the ablative domain. The postposition ‘from inside’ is also attested in the ‘container’ context in Bikin Nanai. However, with a limited data, we cannot be certain that the ablative marker *-ǯi* is not possible in this context either.

The ‘locality’ context does not fit into the core ablative cluster because Gorin Nanai employs the marker *-doki* in this context, while the locative case marker *-la* is used in other proper ablative meanings. This can be considered from the perspective of a more general cross-linguistic trend: names of places tend to have non-standard encoding (sometimes zero encoding or reduced encoding) in spatial roles cross-linguistically (Haspelmath, 2019). In the case of Gorin Nanai, it might also be relevant that the suffix *-doki* comes from Northern Tungusic (see Section 3.5). It is probable that it first entered Nanai as part of northern toponyms.

**The second cluster** refers to near-prolative functions (i.e., those ambiguous between source and trajectory), such as different openings including mouth and eyes. The language varieties that have a dedicated prolative case employ it to express this cluster of meanings (e.g., Ulcha and Uilta). Kili is an exception: although it has a dedicated prolative case marker, it uses the locative case for these meanings. Other Nanaic varieties have a single case marker for locative and prolative meanings, the suffix *-la*, which also occurs in the contexts of this cluster.

**The third cluster** combines the transfer of physical objects and information. These meanings can be expressed with the locative case in all Nanaic varieties.

The remaining contexts do not form such robust clusters. Still, one can conclude that the ‘starting point of distance or a time period’, ‘source of sound’, ‘ancestor’, and ‘standard of comparison’ are often (although not always) co-expressed with the core ablative cluster. On the other hand, the ‘separation of a part’ and ‘standard of superlative’ contexts tend not to be co-expressed with this cluster.

Finally, the stimulus of fear, included in our preliminary list of ablative contexts (list (1)), does not form any stable clusters with ablative meanings. The instrumental marker marks it *-ǯi* in all Nanaic varieties (in Ulcha and Bikin Nanai, *-ǯi* is the single instrumental-ablative case).

Language varieties **form clusters based on the distribution of different markers used to express ablative semantics**, see Table 17. Naikhin and Dzhuen Nanai share the same suffixes in the same contexts, forming a single cluster. Kili may also be included in this cluster as it also uses a locative case marker to express ablative-prolative meanings (‘openings’, including ‘mouth and eyes’). Bikin Nanai might also join this cluster. However, there is very limited data to prove it. Another cluster includes Ulcha and Uilta, astheir prolative suffixes cover the same set of contexts, including ‘opening’, ‘mouth, eyes’, ‘hands’, and, probably, ‘dense environment’. Additionally, unlike other Nanaic varieties, both Ulcha and Uilta employ the instrumental case marker to express the standard of comparison. Finally, Gorin Nanai has a unique distribution of markers and cannot be grouped with any other Nanaic varieties, as the locative case marker *-la* is used extensively in proper ablative contexts.

***Table 17***

***Clustering of Nanaic varieties according to the distribution of ablative markers***

| | **Naikhin Nanai** | **Dzhuen Nanai** | **Kili** | **Bikin Nanai** | **Gorin Nanai** | **Uilta** | **Ulcha** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| locality | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | *əd'gəǯi* | | *-doki* | *-dū* | *-ǯi* |
| core ablative meanings | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | *-ǯea(ǯi)* | *əd'gəǯi* | *-ǯi* | *-la* | *-dū* | *-ǯi* |
| near-prolative meanings | *-la* | *-la* | *-la* | | *-la* | *-kki* | *-ki* |
| source of information + from person (transfer) | *-la* | *-la* | *-la* | | *-la* | | *-la* |
| standard of comparison | COMP *-doj* | COMP *-doj* | LAT *-tki* | DAT *-do* | *-doki* | *-ǯi* | *-ǯi* |
| fear of X (stimulus) | *-ǯi* | *-ǯi* | *-ǯi* | | *-ǯi* | | *-ǯi* |

## *5. Conclusion*

The expression of ablative meanings varies greatly across Nanaic languages and dialects. Considering the ablative semantic domain, the paper reveals some nontrivial groupings in language varieties, in markers, and in meanings according to different parameters. 1) Nanaic varieties form three clusters based on their sets of ablative cases: Naikhin and Dzhuen Nanai (*-ǯea(ǯi)*); Gorin Nanai and Uilta (*-doki* and *-dū*, which are cognates); and an accidental cluster of Bikin Nanai and Ulcha (*-ǯi*). Kili, which does not use case forms in the ablative domain, stands apart (the postposition *əd'gəǯi*).

2) The semantic domains covered by each of the observed markers across Nanaic varieties are as follows: there is a set of dedicated ablative markers expressing proper ablative meanings (*-ǯea(ǯi)*, *-doki* / *-dū*, *əd'gəǯi*), the ablative/instrumental marker *-ǯi*, prolative case markers *-ki* and *-kki*, which cover a near-prolative subsection of the ablative domain, and the broader locative/prolative marker – *la* that combines near-prolative meanings with the source of information or transferring.

3) Looking for cross-linguistic polysemy patterns within the ablative domain irrespectively to the specific markers used, we observe three stable patterns in Nanaic varieties: core ablative meanings related to motion from ‘building / room’ and ‘neighborhood’ and ‘surface’ and ‘environment’; near-prolative meanings (‘openings’ & ‘mouth and eyes’); physical and metaphorical transfer (‘from person’ & ‘source of information’).

4) Finally, Nanaic varieties themselves form clusters based on the distribution of markers within the ablative domain. The first cluster includes Naikhin Nanai, Dzhuen Nanai, Kili, and possibly Bikin Nanai. The second cluster includes Uilta and Ulcha. Gorin Nanai stands apart.

It is not surprising that Naikhin and Dzhuen Nanai, the genetically and geographically closest varieties, exhibit almost no difference in the expression of ablative semantics. Uilta and Ulcha

behave similarly and are areally and genetically distant from Nanai varieties at the same time they are genetically close to each other and have been reported to have been in contact. When looking at the data of Nanaic varieties, presented in the paper, several less trivial observations can be made in the broader perspective of the Tungusic family. First, Uilta and Gorin Nanai have undergone the influence of Northern Tungusic languages, and both of them employ an ablative marker that is cognate to the ablative marker in Northern Tungusic. Second, the most western Nanaic varieties, Bikin Nanai and Kili, reveal similarities with Manchu and Hezhe, which are spread farther west in northeastern China: the ablative marker "confuses" with the lative marker (Manchu and Hezhe employ a historically lative marker to express ablative semantics, and in Kili, lative marker occurs in some peripheral ablative contexts, while the Bikin Nanai ablative/instrumental suffix *-ǯi* can also occur in a lative function).

An interesting feature of Nanaic, which went beyond the main topic of the paper and was only briefly mentioned here and needs further discussion, is the co-expression of source and instrument roles, attested in Ulcha and Bikin Nanai (with the marker *-ǯi*). The ablative-instrumental polysemy is quite widespread in languages worldwide (see (Creissels, 2008: 624)). What is striking in the case of Nanaic is that usually, it is the ablative that develops secondary instrumental uses (see, e.g., (Narrog, 2010: 243)), while in Nanaic, at first glance, the diachronic scenario seems to be the opposite. The instrumental meaning of *-ǯi* is shared by all Nanaic varieties (and other Tungusic languages), while the ablative meaning is only attested in two of them and seems to be innovative (in Section 3.4, we show how in Ulcha *-ǯi* replaces the earlier marker *-ǯiǯi* in the ablative function). If so, the data of Nanaic contradict not only cross-linguistic generalizations on instrumentals and ablatives but also a more general assumption known as the "localist hypothesis", which suggests that non-spatial meanings tend to develop from spatial ones and not vice versa (cf., e.g., (Cienki, 1996) for a discussion). In fact, the contradiction is alleged. The probable explanation is as follows: the ablative *-ǯi* in Ulcha and Bikin Nanai can be traced back to the Proto-Tungusic marker **-gī*. It is cognate to the ablative *-ǯia* (attested, e.g., in Naikhin Nanai), but not to the instrumental *-ǯi*. Thus, the synchronic ablative-instrumental polysemy results not from a typologically unexpected development of 'instrumental > ablative', but from contamination of two independent *ǯi*-markers. Interestingly, Bikin Nanai and Ulcha, which are genetically distant and not in contact, seem to follow this scenario independently. The next stage of development of the case markers, which follows the stage of coincidence of the ablative and instrumental markers observed in Ulcha and Bikin Nanai, seems to be represented in Kili, where a new ablative postposition emerges.

### *Abbreviations:*

1, 2, 3 – 1, 2, 3 person, ABL – ablative, ACC – accusative, ADV – adverb, COMP – comparative, CVB – converb, DAT – dative, EMPH – emphatic (particle), ESS – essive, FUT – future, IDEOPH – ideophone, INS – instrumental, IPFV – imperfective, LAT – lative, LOC – locative, ND – no data, NSIM – non-simultaneous (converb), PL – plural, POSS – possessive, PROL – prolative, PRS – present, PST – past, PTCL – particle, Q – question (particle), REP – repetitive, SG – singular, SIM – simultaneous (converb).

### *References:*

***Avrorin V. A.*** Grammatika nanajskogo jazyka [The Nanai grammar]. Vol. 1. 1959. Moscow–Leningrad: Izdatelstvo Akademii nauk SSSR (in Russian).

***Avrorin V. A.*** Ulchskie teksty. Materialy dlya grammaticheskikh i etnograficheskikh issledovanij (Morfologiya imeni v Sibirskikh yazykakh) [Ulcha texts. Materials for grammatical and ethnographic studies]. Novosibirsk, 1981 (in Russian).

***Bel'dy R. A., Bulgakova T. D.*** Nanajskie skazki [Nanai fairy tales] (Jazyki i kul'tury narodov Dal'nego vostoka Rossii). Fürstenberg: Verl. der Kulturstiftung Sibirien, SEC Publ., 2012 (in Russian).

***Benzing J.*** Die tungusischen Sprachen: Versuch einer vergleichenden Grammatik. Wiesbaden: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, 1955. P. 949–1099.
***Cienki A.*** Sovremennye kognitivnye podkhody k semantike: skhodstva i razlichiya v teoriyakh i tselyakh [Contemporary cognitively oriented approaches in semantics: Similarities and differences in theories and goals] // Voprosy Yazykoznanija. No. 2. 1996. P. 68–78 (in Russian).
***Creissels D.*** Spatial Cases // Malchukov, A. L., Spencer A. (eds.) The Oxford Handbook of Case. 1st ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. P. 609–625.
***Ganenkov D. S.*** Tipologiya padezhnykh znachenij [Typology of the case semantics: Semantic area of the prolative case]. // Plungian, Vladimir A. (ed.), Grammatikalizaciya prostranstvennykh znachenij (Issledovaniya po teorii grammatiki 2). Moscow: Russkie slovari, 2002. P. 35–56 (in Russian).
***Haspelmath M.*** Differential place marking and differential object marking. STUF – Language Typology and Universals. 2019. No. 72(3). P. 313–334.
***Ikegami J.*** The Substantive Inflection of Orok. Gengo Kenkyu // Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan. 1956. No. 30. P. 77–96.
***Ikegami J.*** Skazanija i legendy naroda uilta [Ullta Oral Literature: A Collection of Texts] // Tungusic Languages and Cultures. 2007. No. 38 (in Russian).
***Kalinina E., Goussev V., Sumbatova N. Toldova S.*** Documentation of endangered Tungusic languages of Khabarovskiy Kray. URL: http://hdl.handle.net/2196/00-0000-0000-0002-2FAD-A
***Narrog H.*** A Diachronic Dimension in Maps of Case Functions // Linguistic Discovery. 2010. No. 8(1). DOI: 10.1349/PS1.1537-0852.A.352
***Novikova K. A.*** Ocherki dialektov evenskogo jazyka [Sketches of Even dialects]. Moscow: Izdatelstvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1960 (in Russian).
***Petrova T. I.*** Ul'čskij dialekt nanajskogo jazyka [The Ulcha dialect of the Nanai language]. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoje Uchebno-Pedagogicheskoje Izdatelstvo, 1936 (in Russian).
***Petrova T. I.*** Jazyk orokov (ulta) [Language of the Orok (Uilta)]. Leningrad: Nauka, 1967 (in Russian).
***Putintseva A. P.*** Texts in Gorin Nanai recorded in 1935. Manuscripts // The personal archive of Evgenia Danchenko.
***Ramstedt G. I.*** Vvedenie v altajskoe yazykoznanie: morfologiya [An introduction to Altaic linguistics: morphology]. Moscow: Foreign Literature Publ., 1957 (in Russian).
***Schmidt P.*** The language of the Samagirs. Acta Universitatis Latviensis. 1928. No. 19. P. 219–249.
***Sem L. I.*** Texts in Ulcha collected in the 1970s. Audio-recordings // Archive of the Institute for Linguistic Studies RAS.
***Sem L. I.*** Ocherki dialektov nanajskogo jazyka. Bikinskij (ussurijskij) dialect [Outlines of the Nanai dialects. The Bikin (Ussuri) dialect]. Leningrad: Nauka, 1976 (in Russian).
***Stoynova N. M.*** Essive, lative i prolativ: "lokativnyj" padezh v nanajskom jazyke [Essive, Lative, and Prolative: the «locative» case in Nanai]. Ural-Altaic Studies. 2015. No. 4(19). P. 59–80 (in Russian).
***Sunik O. P.*** Kur-urmiyskiy dialekt. Issledovaniya i materialy po nanajskomu yazyku. [The Kur-Urmi dialect. Studies and materials on the Nanai language]. Leningrad: Uchpedgiz, 1958 (in Russian).
***Sunik O. P.*** Suchshestvitel'noe v tunguso-manchzhurskikh jazykakh [Noun in the Tungus-Manchu languages]. Leningrad: Nauka, 1982 (in Russian).
***Sunik O. P.*** Ul'čskiy yazyk: issledovaniya i materialy [The Ulcha language: studies and materials]. Leningrad: Nauka, 1985 (in Russian).
***Tsumagari T.*** Grammatical Outline of Uilta // Journal of the Faculty of Humanities and Human Sciences. 2009. No. 4. P. 1–21.
***Zikmundová V.*** Spoken Sibe: morphology of the inflected parts of speech. Prague: Karolinum Press, 2013.

Oskolskaya Sofia Alekseevna.
Candidate of Philology, senior research fellow.
**Institute for Linguistic Studies RAS.**
Tuchkov lane, 9, St. Petersburg, Russia, 199053.
Email: sonypolik@mail.ru

Stoynova Natalya Markovna.
Candidate of Philology, guest researcher.
**University of Hamburg, Fakultät für Geisteswissenschaften, Institut für Finnougristik/Uralistik.**
Überseering 35, 22297, Hamburg.
Email: stoynova@yandex.ru

*Материал поступил в редакцию 12 мая 2023 г.*

## *Выражение аблативных значений в нанийских языках*

Рассматриваются средства выражения аблативных значений в нанийских языках: в найхинском, джуенском, горинском и бикинском диалектах нанайского языка, ульчском, уильтинском, а также в кур-урмийском языке. В рамках исследования был составлен список контекстов с аблативными и смежными с аблативными значениями. Исследование выполнено на базе текстовых данных из разных источников: полевых записей авторов, архивных и опубликованных текстов. Полученная база данных позволяет выявить несколько кластеров языков, значений и самих аблативных показателей. Так, на основании набора аблативных показателей можно выделить три группы идиомов: найхинский и джуенский нанайский; горинский нанайский и уильтинский, а также случайная группа из бикинского нанайского и ульчского. Кур-урмийский не попадает ни в одну из групп. Аблативные показатели, представленные в нанийских идиомах, распадаются на следующие группы по набору выражаемых ими значений: собственно аблативные показатели, аблативно-инструментальный суффикс *-ǯi*, пролативные падежные показатели выражающие около-пролативные значения в аблативной зоне, и более широкий локативно-пролативный показатель *-la*, сочетающий около-пролативные значения и источник информации и передачи. В нанийских языках можно выявить три стабильных модели полисемии внутри аблативной зоны: центральные аблативные значения, около-пролативные значения, физическую и метафорическую передачу. Наконец, языки делятся на два кластера по дистрибуции средств выражения внутри аблативной зоны: первая группа включает в себя найхинский и джуенский нанайский, кур-урмийски и, возможно, бикинский нанайский; второй кластер формируют уильтинский и ульчский. Горинский нанайский выделяется среди всех нанийских идиомов.

**Ключевые слова:** *тунгусо-маньчжурские языки, нанийские языки, нанайский язык, ульчский язык, уильтинский язык, кур-урмийский язык, аблатив*

## *Литература:*

***Аврорин В. А.*** Грамматика нанайского языка. Т. 1. М.– Л.: Изд-во Академии наук СССР, 1959.
***Аврорин В. А.*** Ульчские тексты. Материалы для грамматических и этнографических исследований (Морфология имени в сибирских языках). Новосибирск, 1981.
***Бельда Р. А., Булгакова Т. Д.*** Нанайские сказки (Языки и культуры народов Дальнего Востока России). Fürstenberg: Verl. der Kulturstiftung Sibirien, SEC Publ., 2012.
***Ганенков Д. С.*** Типология падежных значений // В. А. Плунгян (ред.). Грамматикализация пространственных значений (Исследования по теории грамматики 2). М.: Русские словари, 2002. С. 35–56.
***Икегами Дз.*** Сказания и легенды народа уйльта // Tungusic Languages and Cultures. 2007. No. 38.
***Новикова К. А.*** Очерки диалектов эвенского языка. М.: Изд-во Академии наук СССР, 1960.
***Петрова Т. И.*** Ульчский диалект нанайского языка. М.: Государственное учебно-пед. изд-во, 1936.
***Петрова Т. И.*** Язык ороков (ульта). Л.: Наука, 1967.
***Путинцева А. П.*** Тексты на горинском нанайском, записанные в 1935 г. Рукопись // Личный архив Е. П. Данченко.
***Рамстедт Г. Й.*** Введение в алтайское языкознание: морфология. М.: Изд-во иностранной литературы, 1957.
***Сем Л. И.*** Очерки диалектов нанайского языка. Бикинский (уссурийский) диалект. Л.: Наука, 1976.
***Сем Л. И.*** Тексты на ульчском языке, записанные в 1970-х гг. Аудиозаписи // Коллекция Ин-та лингвистических исследований РАН.
***Стойнова Н. М.*** Эссив, латив и пролатив: «локативный» падеж в нанайском языке // Урало-алтайские исследования. 2015. № 4(19). С. 59–80.
***Суник О. П.*** Кур-урмийский диалект. Исследования и материалы по нанайскому языку. Л.: Учпедгиз, 1958.
***Суник О. П.*** Существительное в тунгусо-маньчжурских языках. Л.: Наука, 1982.
***Суник О. П.*** Ульчский язык: исследования и материалы. Л.: Наука, 1985.
***Ченки А.*** Современные когнитивные подходы к семантике: сходства и различия в теориях и целях // Вопросы языкознания. 1996. № 2. С. 68–78.
***Benzing J.*** Die tungusischen Sprachen: Versuch einer vergleichenden Grammatik. Wiesbaden: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, 1955. P. 949–1099.
***Creissels D.*** Spatial Cases // Malchukov, A. L., Spencer A. (eds.) The Oxford Handbook of Case. 1st ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. P. 609–625.
***Haspelmath M.*** Differential place marking and differential object marking. STUF – Language Typology and Universals. 2019. No. 72(3). P. 313–334.

***Ikegami J.*** The Substantive Inflection of Orok. Gengo Kenkyu // Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan. 1956. No. 30. P. 77–96.
***Kalinina E., Goussev V., Sumbatova N. Toldova S.*** Documentation of endangered Tungusic languages of Khabarovskiy Kray. URL: http://hdl.handle.net/2196/00-0000-0000-0002-2FAD-A
***Narrog H.*** A Diachronic Dimension in Maps of Case Functions // Linguistic Discovery. 2010. No. 8(1). DOI: 10.1349/PS1.1537-0852.A.352
***Schmidt P.*** The language of the Samagirs. Acta Universitatis Latviensis. 1928. No. 19. P. 219–249.
***Tsumagari T.*** Grammatical Outline of Uilta // Journal of the Faculty of Humanities and Human Sciences. 2009. No. 4. P. 1–21.
***Zikmundová V.*** Spoken Sibe: morphology of the inflected parts of speech. Prague: Karolinum Press, 2013.

Оскольская Софья Алексеевна.
Кандидат филологических наук, старший научный сотрудник.
**Институт лингвистических исследований РАН.**
Тучков пер., 9, Санкт-Петербург, 199053.
Email: sonypolik@mail.ru

Стойнова Наталья Марковна.
Кандидат филологических наук, приглашенный исследователь.
**Гамбургский университет.**
Überseering 35,
22297 Hamburg.
Email: stoynova@yandex.ru