

(Under)grammaticalization of spatial markers: locative nouns in Nanai¹

0. Introduction

♣ The Nanai language: Tungusic, Khabarovskij Kraj, RF.

♣ The system of locative nouns:

- items, which are used to specify the localization of Trajector (with respect to Landmark);
- intermediate class between standard nouns and postpositions;
- the point of crosslinguistic interest: a very abstract, “auxiliary” meaning || very low degree of formal grammaticalization (if attested at all): very close to standard nouns; Uralo-Altaic pattern.
- the class of locative nouns seems to be non-homogeneous from the point of view of grammaticalization:

the continuum: standard nouns \leftrightarrow adpositions (>case affixes);

possible correlations between the degree of formal grammaticalization and spatial semantics of a particular locative noun.

NB Cf. Svorou 1994 on paths and stages of grammaticalization of spatial expressions in crosslinguistic perspective, cf. also Ovsjannikova on very similar case in Enets (Samoyedic) Ovsjannikova 2015.

♣ Data used

- elicitation: Naikhin Nanai (2 speakers), Gorin Nanai (1 speaker);
- text sample: folk-tales from (Beldy, Bulgakova 2012).

1. The inventory of spatial expressions

0) General system features:

- no verbal spatial markers;
- direction: case affixes, a postposition;
- localization: locative nouns (and standard nouns with spatial semantics).

1) Spatial cases

Table 1. Spatial cases

affix	meaning	example
-dO	essive+dative	koŋsa-du ‘in the basket’
-či	lative	koŋsa-či ‘into the basket’
-žiA(ži) (gorin. -dOki)	elative	koŋsa-žiA(ži) ‘from the basket’
-lA~-dOlA	prolative (+some other spatial functions, «locative case»)	koŋsa-la ‘through the basket, along the basket’

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● Case forms:

- express directional meanings without specification of localization,
- are used to express the “default” localization.

NB In default localization context case forms compete with postpositions, locative nouns. The rules are quite complicated, they will not be discussed further.

2) One postposition:

barō-(ni) -- a lative postposition, interchangeable with the lative case *-či*.

3) Locative nouns:

A short list of main locative nouns from the Nanai grammar Avrorin 1961: 237 ff. (see the grammar for the full (?) list).

Table 2. The inventory of locative nouns

marker	meaning	example
do-	IN	muə dolani ‘in the water’
oja-	AD	dərə ojalani ‘on the table’
ujə-	SUPER	dərə ujələni ‘above the table’
pəgiə-	SUB	dərə pəgiələni ‘under the table’
žuliə-	ANTE	takto žuliələni ‘in front of the barn’
xamea-, čea-	POST	takto čealani ‘behind the barn’, sī xamealasi ‘behind you’
xəŋgea-	ULTRA	buə xəŋgealapu ‘far from us’
žakpa-	APUD	takto žakpadoani ‘near the barn’
xoldon-	LATER	sī xoldondoasi ‘at your side’
aldan-	INTER	pəžiran aldandoani ‘in the hole of the wall’
poron-	TOP	xurən porondoani ‘on the top of the rock’
and some others		

NB Etymological connection between case affixes and locative nouns: the essive-dative *-dO* and *do-* ‘inside’.

4) Other nouns with spatial semantics:
sanġar ‘hole’, *gujčə* ‘roof’...

5) A special closed class of frozen spatial nouns / adverbs with the meaning of absolute direction (cf. Avrorin 1959):

- non-standard paradigm of frozen case-forms: *-si* (lative), *-pA* (prolative), *-lA* (essive).

- for example: *dujsi* ‘to the forest’, *dujlə* ‘in the forest’, *dujpə* ‘across the forest’.

2. Locative nouns: formal features

• Locative noun construction (1a):

TRAJECTOR_i + LOC_NOUN-case-(obl)-pers_number_i

• Its formal structure is the same as the structure of possessive group with standard noun (1b).

POSSESSOR_i + POSSESSEE-case-(obl)-pers_number_i

(1a) *sī takto-si žakpa-do-a-ni*
2SG barn-2SG APUD-ESS-OBL-3SG
‘near (lit. in the environs of) your barn’

(1b) *sī takto-si gujčə-du-ə-ni*
2SG barn-2SG roof-ESS-OBL-3SG
‘on the roof of your barn’

• One and the same locative noun can be compatible with different case affixes: a series «direction (expressed by case) + localization (expressed by locative noun)», cf. (2):

(2) *takto žakpa-do-a-ni / takto žakpa-če-a-ni*
barn APUD-ESS-OBL-3SG / barn APUD-LAT-OBL-3SG
‘near your barn’ (essive) / ‘to your barn’ (lative)

• Locative nouns can be used in non-spatial cases (at least in nominative and in accusative) => they cannot be interpreted as “full” postpositions. Cf.:

(3) *takto žakpa-wa-ni ičə-ž-u!*
barn APUD-ACC-3SG see-RES-IMP
‘Look around / near the barn!’ (accusative)

3. Locative nouns vs. postposition(s)

• One undoubted spatial postposition in Nanai: the lative *barō-(ni)*.

• The features are radically different from those of locative nouns:

- functionally closer to cases than to nouns with spatial semantics;
- higher degree of formal grammaticalization.

Table 3. Locative nouns vs. the postposition(s) in Nanai

	locative nouns	postposition <i>barō-</i>
function	localization	direction (lative)
case series	yes	no
marking with case affix	yes	etym.: a frozen accusative case affix (<i>barōni</i> ~ <i>baroani</i>)
possessive affix	yes: = person-number of the Landmark	yes: = person-number of the Landmark or the default 3sg form (especially in younger generation speech)

+ A further grammaticalization process in Ulch (a sister language): the clitic *bAnI*~*bAn*.

Table 4. The postposition *barō-* in Nanai vs. =*bAn* in Ulch: continuum from word to morpheme

	nan. <i>barō-</i>	ulc. <i>bAn</i>	case affix	examples (nan. ulc.)
reduction	no	yes		<i>baroani</i> ~ <i>barōni</i> <i>bAnI</i> ~ <i>bAn</i>
morpheme structure	partial loss: frozen accusative form, (almost) safe possessive paradigm	complete loss: frozen 3sg form	no	<i>mī barō-i</i> (~ <i>mī barō-ni</i>) <i>mim=bən</i> 'to me'
prosody (+/- stress)	autonomous word-form	clitic	affix	
phonetic processes similar to those inside the word-form	no	yes/no	yes	
-vowel harmony	no	facultative, rather for one-syllable form	yes	ACC: <i>palam-ba</i> 'floor-ACC'; <i>mim-bə</i> 'me' PSTP: <i>palam=ban</i> 'to the floor'; <i>mim=bən</i> ~ <i>mim=ban</i> ~ <i>mim-bani</i> 'to me'
-o-allomorph for stems with o	---	no	facult.	ACC: <i>χotom-ba</i> ~ <i>χotom-bo</i> 'town-ACC' PSTP: <i>χotom=ban</i> , ??? <i>χotom=bon</i>

				‘to the town’
-assimilation n>m	no	facult. (more consistently for pronouns; for one-syllable variant)	yes	mim=bən~mim=bani min=bani, χotom=ban~χoton=ban~χoton=bani
possessive affix on Landmark (‘to your house’)	X-poss PSTP	*X-poss PSTP (lative case is preferred) ???X- “PSTP”-poss (NB accepted by younger speakers)	X-CASE-poss	sī xoton-si barō-ni *sin χoton-si=ban, ???sin χotom-ba-si, sin χoton-ti-si (lative)

4. Locative nouns vs. standard nouns with spatial meaning

- Natural borderline:

the (im)possibility of bare use (without possessive affixes), cf. *sangar* and *aldan-* ‘hole, space inter X and Y’ in (4):

- (4a) palan sangar-do-a-ni / palan aldan-do-a-ni
 floor hole-ESS-OBL-3SG / floor INTER-ESS-OBL-3SG
 ‘in the floor hole’
- (4b) sangar-du / ???aldan-du
 hole-ESS / INTER-ESS
 ‘in the hole’

5. The continuum of locative nouns: formal and semantic features

The following tests let us estimate the similarity to standard nouns and the degree of grammaticalization.

- underlined = the option expected for standard nouns (or for less grammaticalized items);
- illustrative examples with standard nouns (possessive groups)

1) The possibility / impossibility of use without possessive affixes (see above).

♣ For all these locative nouns the independent use without possessive markers are rejected by speakers.

However:

- a) *ujə-* SUPER: can be used independently in frozen adverbial forms (*ujsi* ‘upwards’)
- b) some of (unmarked) locative nouns function also in attributive position (*pəgiə* X = ‘lower / bottom X’)
- c) NB Unexpected occasional unmarked uses within the construction «Landmark + Locative Noun» in texts: (i)dialectal features?

(5)	Тəj	pəgiə	ičə-n=təni,	təj	jaŋni	dolin-dola
	that	SUB	see.PRS-3SG=PTCL	that	mountain	MIDDLE-LOC
	čagžan	sugbum	koari	tō-xa-ni=tani		
	white	swirling	???	get.up-PST-3SG=PTCL		
	Тəj	jaŋni	poron=tani	simata		
	that	mountain	TOP=ptcl	snow		

‘Вниз (букв. этого вниз) смотрит, до середины горы сплошной белый туман поднимается. На вершине той горы снег’. [Beldy, Bulgakova 2012, text 5]

2) The possibility / impossibility of use in the plural form.

(6)	takto	gujčə-səl-ni	*takto	do-sal-dola-ni
	barn	roof-PL-3SG	barn	IN-PL-LOC-3SG
	‘barn roofs’		in the barns	

♣ Accepted for *aldan* ‘inter’ and *poron* ‘top’.

3) Morphological peculiarities. Some locative nouns have a common feature: they end with *-iə~ea*. The other ones do not differ from standard nouns.

♣ *pəgiə-*, *žuliə-*, *čea-*, *xamea-*, *xanġea-* (+ *ujə*, *oja*)

Any common semantic feature?

4) The expression of the essive meaning

by the essive-dative *-du~do* (= standard nouns)

by the «locative» *-lə~la* (with standard nouns: the prolativ meaning).

♣ Results:

- *iə*-stems (including *ujə-*, *oja-*: the neutral essive form is *-la*)

- *do-* ‘inside’: *-la* (NB ?morphophonological reasons: **do-do-*)

- the other locative nouns: the neutral essive form is *-dO*

- parameters of variation:

- *dO* competing with *-la* in essive contexts: not attested;

- *-la* with prolativ meaning (together with the essive *-dO*): *aldan* ‘inter’, *poron* ‘top’,

**žakpa* ‘near’.

5) The set of possible spatial case forms: full vs. reduced: +/- elative

♣ elative forbidden: *do-*, *oja-* = contact localizations (IN, AD), more grammaticalized

(7)	*dərə	oja-žiaži-a-ni	/	^{OK} dərə-žiaži
	table	AD-ELAT-OBL-3SG	/	table-ELAT
	‘from the table’			

♣ elative accepted (all the other locative nouns):

contact localizations, less grammaticalized (TOP, LATER, INTER)

non-contact localizations;

Why elative? Why contact localizations?

6) The possibility / impossibility of use in non-spatial case forms (nominative, accusative), cf. above:

- possible for all locative nouns.

7) The choice of singular vs. plural form of possessive affix in combination with plural Landmark.

- standard nouns: agreement

(8)	takto-sal	gujčə-či/-?ni
	barn-PL	roof-LOC-3PL/-SG

- locative nouns: a frozen (?) SG-form as a default option

- plural agreement is rejected for all *iə*-stems and accepted for other locative nouns

NB Plural agreement as a marked option which is chosen to emphasise the distributive reading:

(9a) takto-sal žakpa-do-a-ni
barn-PL APUD-ESS-OBL-SG

‘near (the groups of) barns’

(9b) takto-sal žakpa-do-a-či
barn-PL APUD-ESS-OBL-PL

‘in each separate space near each of the barns’ - distributive reading

=> So conventionalized, but not simply frozen?

8) The choice of 1, 2 person possessive affix vs. 3 person possessive affix in combination with Landmark = 1, 2 p.

All locative nouns consistently demand personal agreement.

9) The behavior in context of contrastive focus particle:

the contrastive clitic =*tAni*

a) the first component of the construction (Possessor / Landmark) is in (narrow) focus:

(10a) takto=tani gujčə-ni
barn=PTCL roof-3SG

‘{The roof of the house is red,} and the roof of the barn {is green}’

b) the second component of the construction (Possessee / Locative noun) is in (narrow) focus:

(10b) takto gujčə-ni=tani
barn roof-3SG

‘{The walls of the barn are red,} and the roof of the barn {is green}’

♣ standard nouns in the possessive construction:

the host of the clitic reflects its semantic scope

♣ locative nouns:

- the first component cannot be marked with =*tAni* at all

- contexts a): =*tAni* on the second component (locative noun)

- contexts b): =*tAni* (on the locative noun) is accepted only for few locative nouns

(11a) *dərə=təni oja-la-ni
table=PTCL AD-LOC-3SG

expect.: ‘{On the shelf there are books} and on the table there are papers’

(11b) dərə oja-la-ni=tani
table AD-LOC-3SG=PTCL

‘{On the shelf there are books} and on the table there are papers’

‘{Under the table there are books} and on the table there are papers’

10) Semantics:

a) space of the Landmark,

b) a part of the Landmark.

crosslinguistic expectations: grammaticalization stages (cf. [Svorou 1994])

part > space

(12) mī sī xamea-wa-si ičə-j-i
1SG 2SG POST-ACC-2SG see-PRS-1SG

‘I see your back / the space behind you’

Test: the context of adjectives (mostly color-adjectives)

Problems: quite heterogenous and disputable class of “adjectives”

(12) dərə pəgiə-ni saxari bi-i-ni
table SUB-3SG black be-PRS-3SG

‘The bottom part of the table is black’

♣ Results:

- accepted for those locative nouns that logically compatible with such meaning
- the difference between POST1 and POST2?

6. Conclusion

- Standard nouns > Locative nouns > Postposition > Spatial case affixes
- Locative nouns: an intermediate class
- Very close to standard nouns (in possessive construction):
 - uses in non-spatial case-forms
 - a consistent possessive paradigm
 - the semantics of Part of Lm is accepted almost for all locative nouns (if logically possible)
- Continuum:
 - *do* (IN): one of the most central localizations
 - *iə*-class: central localizations
 - *žakpa* (APUD): why?
 - *aldan, poron* (INTER, TOP): peripheral localizations

Table 5. Different locative nouns: parameters of variation

marker	meaning	pl	morphology	essive function	elative	pl. agreement	narrow focus (=tAni)	'part of Lm'
do-	IN	*	stand.	loc	???	ok	?	ok
oja-	AD	*	?	loc	???	*	ok	ok
ujə-	SUPER	*	?	loc	yes	*	ok	#
pəgiə-	SUB	*	iə	loc	yes	*	?	ok
žuliə-	ANTE	*	iə	loc	yes	*	?	ok
čea-	POST	*	iə	loc	yes	*	?	?
xamea-	POST	*	iə	loc	yes	*	?	ok
xanġea-	ULTRA	*	iə	loc	yes	*	0	#
žakpa-	APUD	*	stand.	dat (*loc)	yes	ok	?	ok
xoldon-	LATER	*	stand.	dat	yes	ok	0	0
aldan-	INTER	ok	stand.	dat (loc=prol)	yes	ok	?	ok
poron-	TOP	ok	stand.	dat (loc=prol)	yes	ok	0	ok!

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