Локативы это не падежи: данные лакского языка

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Генеративистский подход к падежам как к признакам именной группы, отражающим ее связь с другой составляющей, несовместим с местными падежами, которые и кодируют семантические соотношения, и наслаиваются друг на друга, заставляя предположить наличие независимых синтаксических вершин. Я предлагаю анализировать лакские местные падежи как именные суффиксы с осевой семантикой, как *top* в *tabletop*.

Ключевые слова: падеж, местные падежи, нахско-дагестанские языки, лакский язык.

Locatives are not cases: Evidence from Lak

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The generativist view of cases as features of an NP reflecting a relation to another constituent is incompatible with locative cases, which both encode semantic relations and stack in ways that indicate an independent syntactic projection. I will argue that Lak locative cases are best treated as nominal suffixes with axial semantics, like *top* in *tabletop*.

Keywords: Case, locative cases, Nakh-Dagestanian, Lak.

1. Introduction: Case, locative cases, and Lak

Case is usually defined as a system of marking a relation established between an NP and another element in the structure, as in [Blake 1994: 6]: "Case is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads". In the generative syntax Case has been implemented as a *feature* (or a feature bundle) on the noun phrase that varies in function of what that noun phrase establishes an (agreement) relation with (a functional head in a certain configuration for structural cases, the theta-assigner for inherent cases).[1] As is easy to see, this basic view is incompatible with semantic cases, of which locative cases are a principled subpart. In this paper I will argue that the so-called "locative cases" of Lak are in fact contentful morphemes.

Lak (*lbe*, a Nakh-Dagestanian language of Northeast Caucasus) has a rich system of locative affixes. While [Муркелинский 1971] advances the hypothesis that these affixes are postpositions, they are far more usually described as cases ([Жирков 1955; Казенин 2013; Тестелец 2019], etc.). The locative specification of a noun phrase is constructed, as is usual for this group of languages, by the combination of a "series" marker (indicating the spatial relation) and a "mode" marker (indicating the type of movement or lack thereof). The spellout of locational affixes is agglutinative (1): all dynamic (directional, or "mode") suffixes are added on top of the essive (locative, "series") ones. The affixes are attached to the noun in its oblique form (indicated by the suffixal augment to be discussed below), while adjectives, demonstratives, etc., are not marked for case ([Жирков 1955: 45]).

(1)   a. *q:at-lu-v(u)*   inessive, I-a
          house-OBL-IN
          'in the house' [Жирков 1955: 36]

       b. *q:at-lu-vu-x*   intranslative, IV-a
          house-OBL-IN-TRS
          'through the house' [Жирков 1955: 36]

       c. *q:at-lu-lu-x*   subtranslative, IV-f
          house-OBL-SUB-TRS
   'across under the house' [Жирков 1955: 37]

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[1] One variant of this view (e.g., [Toman 1994; Watanabe 2006]) is that Case is not a property of the noun phrase (NP, DP) but rather of a special functional projection KP taking that noun phrase as a complement. For our purposes this makes no difference.

This highly agglutinative nature of Nakh-Dagestanian case systems (see [Mel'čuk 2006; Daniel, Ganenkov 2009; Radkevich 2010; Казенин 2013; Тестелец 2019], among many others) has led [Comrie, Polinsky 1998] to conclude the locative sub-domains of this case system should not be viewed as a list of cases on a par with the core cases of Indo-European languages and structural case.

Table 1. Lak locative cases

		essive	allative	elative	translative	versative
a.	*-v(u)* 'in'	∅	*-n*	*-a(tu)*	*-x*	*-maj*
b.	*-j* 'on'	∅	*-n*	*-a(tu)*	*-x*	*-maj*
c.	*-lu* 'under'	∅	*-n*	*-a(tu)*	*-x*	*-maj*
d.	*-x* 'behind'	∅	*-n*	*-a(tu)*	*-x*	*-maj*
e.	*-č'a* 'near'	∅	*-n*	*-a(tu)*	*-x*	*-maj*
f.	*-c'* 'next to'	∅	*-n*	*-a(tu)*	*-x*	*-maj*
		'at'	'to'	'from'	'via'	'towards'

In fact, as already noted in [van Riemsdijk, Huybregts 2002], locative case composition follows the usually assumed syntax for paths ([Jackendoff 1973; 1983; 1990; Koopman 2000; den Dikken 2003], etc.): paths are constructed on the basis of places, as shown in (2). The fact that the static (essive) mode in Lak does not have an overt suffix (1a) supports this intuition.[2]

(2)   PathP   general consensus

        Path°   PlaceP

        from   Place°   NP

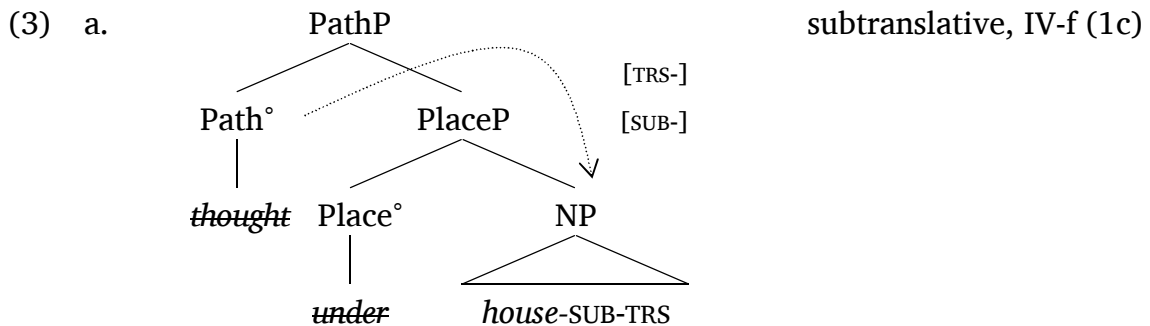   *under*   *the sink*
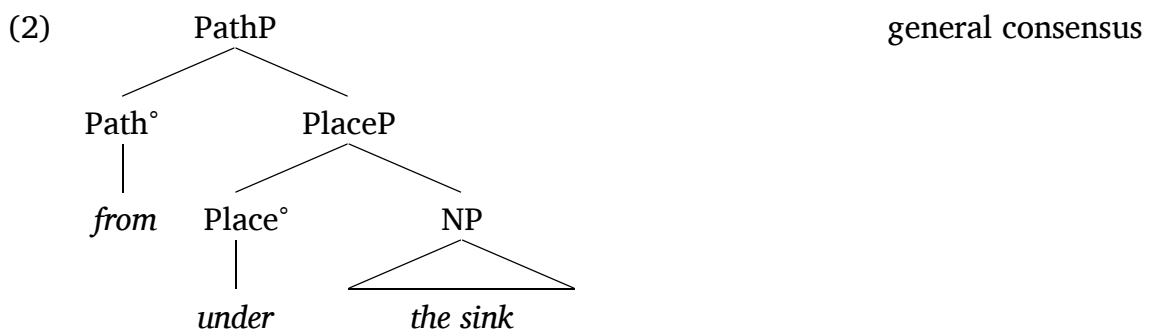
One view of Lak (and generally, ND) locative systems is that the locative affixes are in fact the functional heads Place° and Path° in (2), i.e., adposi-tions ([Муркелинский 1971] for Lak, [van Riemsdijk, Huybregts 2002] for

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[2] Such is not always the case in ND languages: in Akhvakh and Tindin essives are marked ([Radkevich 2010: 4] without reference; [Магомедбекова 1967: 61]: Akhvakh essive is marked with *-e*- alternating with *–i-*).

Lezgian).[3] If, however, they are regarded as cases, i.e., as features of the noun phrase ([Жирков 1955; Казенин 2013; Тестелец 2019], etc.), several problems arise.

As is obvious from both its semantics and its morphology, a dynamic case, such as a sublative, consists of two sub-features: [sub] 'under' and [trs] 'through' reflecting the features of Place (*under*) and of Path (*through*). Supposing the structure in (3), in order for the two features to be realized agglutinatively in the order in (1c), it is necessary to assume that they are ordered already on the NP. In other words, we need a structured case-feature bundle, and its structure has to reflect the order of assignment.

(3) a.   PathP   subtranslative, IV-f (1c)

                                               [TRS-]

          Path°   PlaceP   [SUB-]

     ~~thought~~ Place°   NP

            ~~under~~   *house*-SUB-TRS

The need for this structure appears to be successfully resolved under the view (e.g., [Caha 2007; 2008; 2010]) where each case corresponds to some *functional projection* KP on top of an NP. Under this view, there is no case-feature assignment, there is selection for a certain KP, and the specific morphemes *-lu* 'under' and *-x* 'via' are realizations of the relevant KPs:

(3) b.   KP₂   subtranslative, IV-f (1c)

        KP₁   K_{TRS°}

     NP   K_{SUB°}   TRS

   house   SUB

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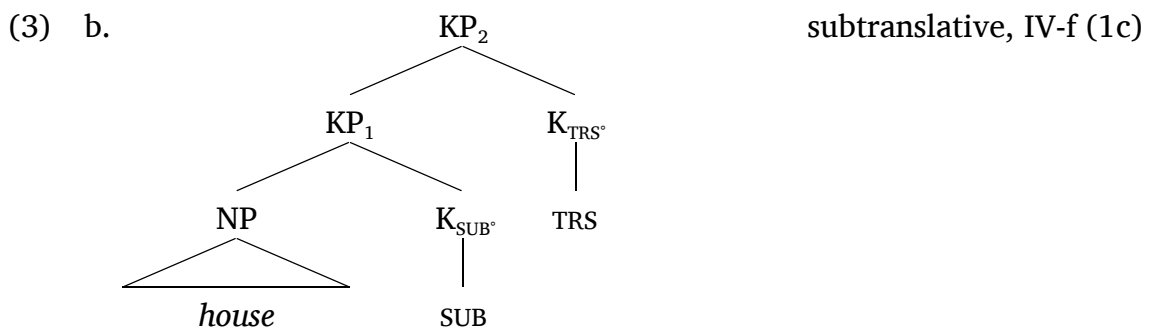
[3] Lak has "postpositions" that are distinct from "case markers", we will return to this issue in section 2.3.

The same questions arise, however: how come the order of the two KPs reflects the order of the functional P-heads assigning the relevant cases? Note that if the semantics of 'under' and 'through' is present at $K_{SUB}°$ and $K_{TRS}°$, respectively, the question arises of how these K-heads are different from adpositions.

It seems therefore reasonable to hypothesize with [Муркелинский 1971] that Lak locative cases are actually adpositions. It turns out, however, that this solution is insufficient.

2. Lak locative affixes as heads rather than features

As discussed above, Lak locative suffixes have clear semantic import, which is not the case for prototypical cases, such as dative or genitive.[4] Treating them as cases, i.e., as reflections of another element in the derivation, would entail postulating at least nine phonologically null prepositions with different semantics (the five localizing ones and the four non-stative modes).

It would also mean the existence in the language of several cases that can *only* be assigned by these null prepositions: thus, for instance, the elative suffix *-a* does not occur anywhere except on top of some localizing affix (as well as of certain locative adverbials, like *šava* 'home' or *lagma* 'around', on which see [Жирков 1955: 127; Муркелинский 1971: 246]). It seems unreasonable to have a case assigned by only one null morpheme. In addition to these logical arguments, we also have some morphosyntactic reasons against treating Lak locative suffixes as cases.

2.1. Versative

The versative "mode" suffix is special in two ways (4)–(5). Firstly, unlike the allative, elative and translative suffixes, it combines with allatives rather than with essives. Secondly, it contains a class marker agreeing with the absolutive argument ([Жирков 1955: 39–40; Муркелинский 1971: 87]), which is most often also the subject of motion.[5] This kind of agreement also characterizes some other Lak spatial expressions, including *šava* 'home' (which can be lexically specified to bear uninterpretable class features).

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[4] Though, as shown by [Cysouw, Forker 2009; Daniel, Ganenkov 2009], locative cases may have non-spatial uses approaching them to core structural cases, the same is true of adpositions (cf. *on* in *depend on*).

[5] On agreeing adpositions, focus particles and adverbials in languages of the same area see [Кибрик 1999: 182–183, 376, 410–412, 608–620] on Tsakhur, [Bond, Chumakina 2016], [Polinsky et al. 2017] on Archi, [Rudnev 2020] on Avar, among others.

(4) a. *oˤrč'*   *q:at-lu-vu-n-∅-aj*   *lavgunni.*
         boy_I.ABS   house-OBL-IN-ALL-AGR_I-VERS   went
         'The boy went towards the inside of the house.'

     b. *ssil*   *ninu*   *q:at-lu-vu-n-**n**-aj*   *durcunni.*
         sister.GEN = ERG mother_II.ABS   house-OBL-IN-ALL-AGR_II-VERS   brought
         'The sister brought the mother inside the house.' [Жирков 1955: 42]

(5) a. *o'rč'*   *aqu-∅-vu-n-∅-aj*   *lavgunni.*
         boy_I.ABS   garden-OBL-IN-ALL-AGR_I-VERS   went.AGR_I
         'The boy went towards the garden.'

     b. *š:arrsa*   *aqu-∅-vu-n-**n**-aj*   *largunni.*
         woman_II.ABS   garden-OBL-IN-ALL-AGR_II-VERS   went.AGR_II
         'The boy went towards the garden.'

     c. *baˤrč*   *aqu-∅-vu-n-**m**-aj*   *lavgunni.*
         calf_III.ABS   garden-OBL-IN-ALL-AGR_III-VERS   went.AGR_III
         'The calf went towards the garden.' [Муркелинский 1971: 66]

On the assumption that inflectional affix ordering by default reflects the order of syntactic merge, the position of an agreement affix indicates that the versative is not a feature on an NP but an independent functional head. Indeed, other forms of the NP do not agree, so the class agreement marker cannot be a property of the NP itself. If the versative suffix were not an independent head, the class marker would have to appear on an additional functional head (i.e., the versative adposition assigning it). However, the class marker is located between the versative suffix and the NP, while the putative versative P° would necessarily appear either on the left or on the right periphery, leading to an incorrect order:

(6) a. *[_FP **n**- [_NP   *q:at-lu-vu-n-*   *aj*]]   if P is right-branching
           P_VERS°III   house-OBL-IN-ALL-   VERS

     b. *[_FP [_NP *q:at-lu-vu-n-*   *aj*-] **n**]   if P is left-branching
               house-OBL-IN-ALL-   VERS   P_VERS°III

We conclude that the versative affix must be an independent functional head. The fact that it combines with allatives rather than with essives can then be explained in two ways: either as case-assignment (if the versative P° assigns the allative case) or as semantic role (if the versative is regarded as a non-intersective modifier of the allative). Under the latter view, the semantics of

versative would be defined as in (7): taking a set of paths p and returning another set of paths, r, such that there exists in that set a path, p′, that r is part of yet does not include its endpoint. In Lak, however, independent evidence may be provided in favor of the former hypothesis.

(7) $[[\text{VERS}]] = \lambda p \in D_{\langle path,\ t \rangle}.\lambda r \in D_{path}.\exists p' \in p.r \subset p' \wedge \text{ENDPOINT}(p') \in r,$
        where the endpoint of a path is defined as in [Zwarts, Winter 2000].

One problem with (7) is that it does not extend to the related language Avar, where, as noted by [Тестелец 2019: 40], the same suffix may combine with allative (yielding the versative, 'towards') or with elative (yielding the directive elative, 'from the direction of'). In this latter case the starting point rather than the endpoint would have to be excluded.[6] This strongly suggests that semantically the versative/terminative suffix combines directly with the locus rather than with the corresponding paths, and independent evidence may be provided in favor of this hypothesis.

2.2. Mode markers

There is evidence that unlike other mode suffixes, allative (-*n*) is a case-marker. Firstly, as discussed above, it can be embedded (4)–(5), and it is the only mode with this ability. Secondly, as noted by [Бокарев 1948: 63; Жирков 1955: 39], the allative case in Lak is syncretic with the dative:

(8) a. *butta-l   duš-ni-**n**   lu   lavsunni.*   dative
        father.OBL-ERG   girl-OBL-DAT   book.ABS gave
        'The father gave the girl a book.' [Жирков 1955: 41]

     b. o*'rč'   q:at -lu-vu-**n**   uvx:unni.*   allative
        boy₁.ABS house -OBL-IN-ALL   entered.AGR₁
        'The boy entered the house.' [Жирков 1955: 41]

The assumption that the "allative" is actually the dative solves the versative issue: the versative can be straightforwardly defined modally as a set of paths that would end at its locus argument in the normal course of events, while the

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[6] Furthermore, as also noted by Testelets, the Avar directive elative does not exclude the starting point, which suggests that it subsumes the elative it is based on and only receives its non-initiative interpretation pragmatically: when the starting point is known to be excluded, bare elative is used and directive elative is used otherwise. We leave the precise interpretation of the versative and of the directive is an issue for future research.

allative use of the dative can be assumed to arise from case-assignment by the verb.[7] The elative ('from') and the translative ('via') markers, on the other hand, seem most reasonably analyzable as postpositions, as suggested by [Муркелинский 1971]: while we see no independent evidence for or against this view, treating them as cases necessitates the postulation of the corresponding null postpositions, which seems like a less economical solution.

2.3. Series markers

The major argument against treating series markers as cases is the fact that they feed derivational processes: as illustrated in (9), they appear in complex nouns formed with the location suffix *-alu-* ([Жирков 1955: 33; Абдуллаев, Эльдарова 2000: 27]).[8] Similar nominalizations in Russian (e.g., *primorje* 'seaside', from *pri* 'by, near' and *more* 'sea') are derived from locative PPs.

(9) a. *lamu-x-alu*
        bridge-POST-area
        'the area beyond the bridge'

  b. *vi-v-alu*
        inside-IN-area
        'the interior'

A possible objection could be that Lak postpositions combine with the NP in the genitive case, whereas series markers combine, like the core cases, with the so-called oblique stem, derived with a root-specific augment (glossed as OBL in (1), (4), (5), (8)) or even suppletive, as in (8a): the absolutive form for 'father' is *ppu* ([Жирков 1955: 43]).

This objection is easily met, as this oblique stem is also what is used in compounds (10)–(11) ([Жирков 1955: 41; Муркелинский 1971: 124]), which entails that it is simply the Elsewhere form.

(10) a. *ttar-li-l*
         conifer-OBL-GEN
         'of {a/the} pine, fir-tree'

  b. *ttar-li-x'a-v*
         conifer-OBL-copse-IN
         'in {a/the} conifer copse'

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[7] Alternatively, a null dative-assigning null preposition can be hypothesized. The choice between the two solutions would be determined by the possibility of having an allative NP inside a noun phrase, as in *the road to Paris*.

[8] It should be noted that what looks like genitive case morphology can be found in compounds, e.g., in numeral-containing compounds like *trëxnogij* 'three-legged', from *tri* 'three' and *noga* 'leg' in Russian. Yet here the genitive ending seems to be a marker of the specific configuration rather than a derivational suffix and alternates with the usual compound linker *o/e* (e.g., *odnonogij* 'one-legged', from *odin* 'one', or *tysjačenogij* 'thousand-legged', from *tysjača* thousand').

(11) a. *lasn-a-l*   b. *lasn-a-ussu*
     husband/spouse-OBL-GEN   husband/spouse-OBL-brother
     'of the husband'   'brother-in-law'

Irrespective of the status of this augment, stative locative forms can be reasonably assumed to have the syntax of compounding, with Lak series markers viewed as bound nominal roots (like the English *-ware* in *silverware* or *-top* in *tabletop*, *rooftop*, etc.). From the point of view of their semantics, they can be assimilated to axial parts ([Svenonius 2006; 2008]), which Matushansky and Zwarts [2019] argue to be nouns denoting locations rather than entities. Essive forms can therefore be nominal compounds with the semantics of loci (places): their syntax is that of locative adjuncts (or arguments), though they also exhibit nominal properties (see [Matushansky 2019] for the hypothesis that both denotations are available for a noun).

If the stative locative "series" create nouns, it is unsurprising that these derived nouns can be case-marked with dative. The fact that they are marked with no other case is explained by the fact that they cannot appear in argument positions (where entity-denoting NPs would be required).

Independent support for this view comes from the so-called "spatial postpositions" in Lak: freestanding morphemes with the same spatial semantics and often, a similar phonological form:

Table 2. Lak postpositions ([Жирков 1955: 50, 129; Муркелинский 1971: 247])

"series markers"	"postpositions"
-v(u) 'in'	*viv* 'inside'
-j 'on'	*jalu* 'in top of'
-lu 'under'	*lu* 'underneath'
-x 'behind'	*maq* 'behind' *qiriv* 'at the back of'
-č'a 'near'	*č'arav* 'nearby, beside'
-c' 'next to'	*čulux* 'close by'

Four out of the six series markers are transparently connected to the corresponding "postpositions": most clearly, the superessive *jalu* consists of the "series" marker *j-* 'on' combined with the aforementioned nominalizer *-alu-* used to create names of locations ([Муркелинский 1971: 103]).

Just like the locus-denoting compounds that we have hypothesized above, all these "postpositions" combine with the mode suffixes (e.g., *vivu-naj* 'towards

the inside', *viv-atu* 'from the inside'), yet with no other "cases" of Lak. Just like nouns, they all assign genitive case to their complements, which can always be omitted (and then these "postpositions" would function as spatial adverbials with a deictic or anaphoric reference point, cf. the English *behind*). Like series markers, they lend themselves to temporal meanings (e.g., *maq* can also mean 'after'), further supporting the hypothesis that they belong to the same semantic domain.

All these facts can be explained if these "postpositions" are free locative nouns (e.g., *č'arav* 'side', *jalu* 'top'), while the "series markers" (-*v*, -*j*) are their bound counterparts. Both denote in the locative domain and are therefore incompatible with argument positions.[9]

2.4. Summary

We have offered evidence against treating Lak locative affixes as cases. For the versative marker, the fact that it agrees with the absolutive argument strongly suggests that it is an independent syntactic head, and the position of the class marker further shows that it is the affix itself that realizes this head.

The semantics of the versative argues that it combines with a location rather than a path, contrary to what its morphosyntax suggests: the allative marker that the versative requires is unlikely to encode the allative semantics. However, given that the allative and the dative are syncretic in Lak, it seems reasonable to assume that allative is in fact dative. The other "mode" suffixes, the elative and the translative, can be readily analyzed as postpositions.

The remaining class of locative suffixes, the so-called "series" suffixes, have been argued to be bound nominal counterparts of locative nouns denoting axial parts. Evidence for this view comes from both the existence of purely spatial nouns (adverbs, in traditional terminology) and from the ability of both bound and free localizers to be marked with the dative case. While in other languages (e.g., Chalcatongo Mixtec ([Brugman 1981], see also [Svorou 1994]), Kîîtharaka ([Muriungi 2006])) axial nouns have been shown to mix nominal properties with locative semantics, referring in both domains, it is only in Lak that they would be assumed to have a purely locative semantics.

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[9] Lak has other locative adverbials that only have locative cases ([Жирков 1955: 129], see [Daniel, Ganenkov 2009] for the same phenomenon in Bagvalal), e.g., *x̂:ič'* 'in front', *daˤniv* 'between', as well as some toponyms ([Муркелинский 1971: 103]).

3. Analysis

Putting together what has been suggested so far, Lak stative locative suffixes can be described as phrasal affixes: from the semantic standpoint they combine with entire noun phrases, even though morphologically they form a nominal compound with the head noun. The nominal head (N°) is marked oblique as the non-absolutive default. The versative adposition (with its unvalued class feature) takes NP$_{Place}$ as its complement, to whose head it assigns dative case:

(12) a.
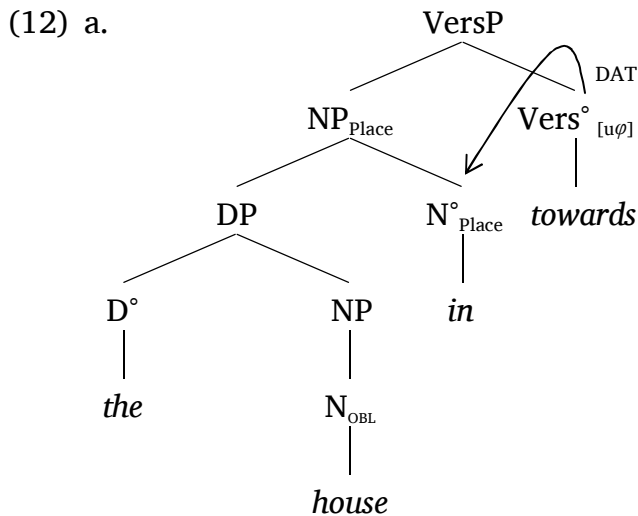
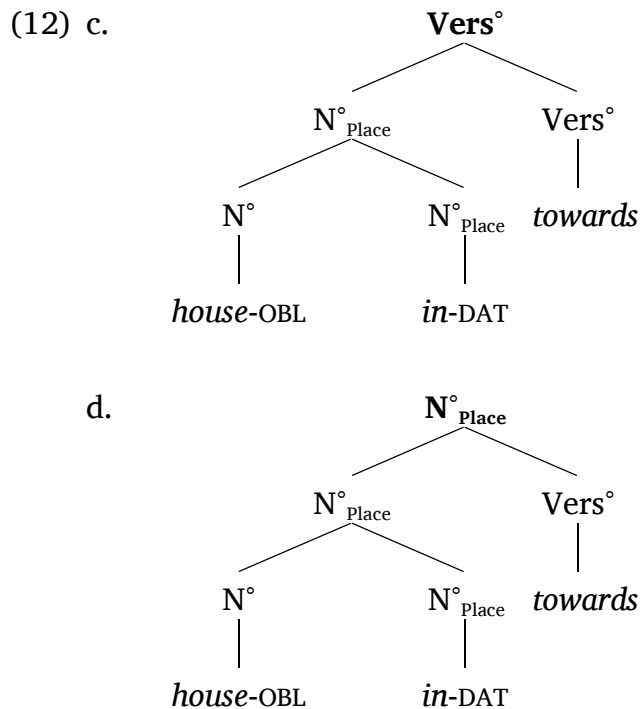The linear sequence *q:at-lu-vu-n-∅-aj* in (4a) can arise in a variety of ways. The versative adposition [φ]-*aj* might be a phonological clitic and cliticize to the essive-cum-dative suffix *vu-n*. The syntactic structure remains intact.

Alternatively, the oblique-marked noun head-moves into the dative-marked locative nominal head N°$_{Place}$, yielding a complex head (*house-in*):

(12) b.
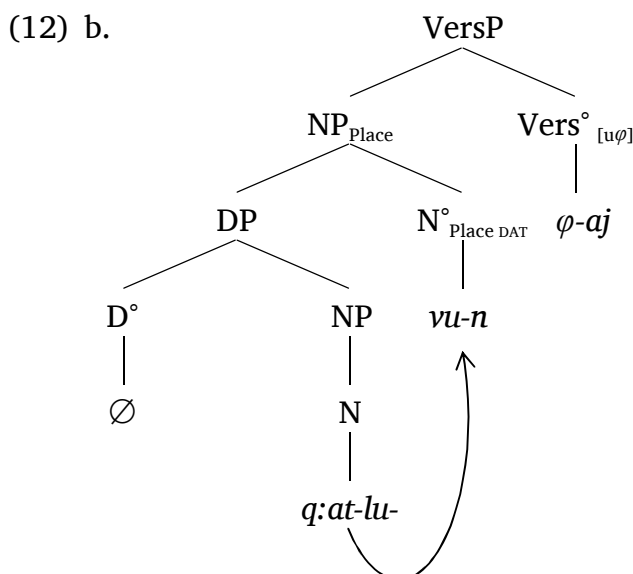
The resulting complex can head-move into the versative head (12b) or merge with it by any of the known morphosyntactic mechanisms like m-merger or Lowering (12d); the only difference is in the label:

(12) c.

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\textbf{Vers}^{\circ} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
N^{\circ}_{Place} \qquad Vers^{\circ} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \qquad | \\
N^{\circ} \qquad N^{\circ}_{Place} \quad towards \\
| \qquad\qquad | \\
house\text{-}OBL \qquad in\text{-}DAT
\end{array}
$$

d.

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\textbf{N}^{\circ}_{\textbf{Place}} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
N^{\circ}_{Place} \qquad Vers^{\circ} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \qquad | \\
N^{\circ} \qquad N^{\circ}_{Place} \quad towards \\
| \qquad\qquad | \\
house\text{-}OBL \qquad in\text{-}DAT
\end{array}
$$

As is easy to see, the structure and the derivation would be the same if we were to assume that the inessive suffix *-v(u)* 'in' is a P° rather than an N°. The problem with this alternative would be the status of the allative/dative suffix: as adpositions cannot be case-marked, *-n* 'to' would have to be a contentful postposition, with the subsequent issues for the semantics of the versative as discussed above.

Finally, the hypothesis that locative morphemes can be a type of nominal heads forming a compound with the GROUND nominal explains the peculiar syntax of Lak locative affixes and supports adding a new route to the grammaticalization cline in [Lehmann 1985]: adpositions can also develop from axial part nouns. The case of Lak, whose locative suffixes seem to occupy an intermediate position between functional (P°) heads and lexical axial parts would be a case in point.

3.1. Further questions: the approximative series

Zhirkov claims an additional incomplete locative case, the approximative (aka, apudlocative) one with the interpretation similar to the Russian *u* 'at/by':

(13) a. *q:at-lu-x̂* b. *q:at-lu-x̂:-un*

      house-OBL-APPROX   house-OBL-APPROX-ALL

      'by the house' [Жирков 1955: 37]   'towards the house'

As a further point of similarity to the Russian *u* 'at/by', [Муркелинский 1971: 86] calls this case the possessive one and claims that the general ablative case *š:a* 'from' (treated by Zhirkov as being outside the locative paradigm) is formed from it, with the reduplicated *x̂:* turning into *š:* by a more general phonological process and *a* regarded as the elative suffix. The same analysis is proposed in [Бокарев 1948: 63], hypothesizing that the original meaning of this case was 'before'. If these analyses are right, the full locative paradigm should look as follows:

Table 3. Lak locative marking

	ESS	ALL	ELA	TRS	VERS	**P**
'in'	*-v*	*-vun*	*-va(tu)*	*-vux*	*-vunmaj*	*viv*
'on'	*-j*	*-jn*	*-ja(tu)*	*-jx*	*-jnmaj*	*jalu*
'under'	*-lu*	*-lun*	*-la(tu)*	*-lux*	*-lunmaj*	*lu*
'behind'	*-x*	*-xun*	*-xa(tu)*	*-xux*	*-xunmaj*	*maq, qiriv*
'near'	*-č'a*	*-č'an*	*-č'a(tu)*	*-č'ax*	*-č'anmaj*	*č'arav*
'next to'	*-c'*	*-c'un*	*-c'a(tu)*	*-c'ux*	*-c'umaj*	*čulux*
'by'	*-x̂*	*-x̂:un*	*-š:a*	—	—	*x̂:ič'* 'before'
	'at'	'to'	'from'	'via'	'towards'	

The connection between the apudlocative and the possessive meanings has also been explored in [Matushansky 2021], noting the same drift in languages as diverse as Russian (*u* 'at/by'), Hebrew (*ecel* 'chez', 'near/at' in Biblical Hebrew) and Dutch (*bij* 'at/by').

3.2. Potential objection: vacuous locatives

One potential argument against treating Lak locative suffixes as adpositions rather than cases is that locative forms can be used in non-locative senses. Thus [Тестелец 2019] considers the dative/allative syncretism in Lak or Avar or the genitive-elative syncretism in Bezhta and Hunzib as evidence for treating both as cases (see also [Бокарев 1948; Казенин 2013]; as well as [Forker 2010] for Tsez, [Ганенков, Ландер 2011] for Dargwa), similar conclusions can be drawn from the use of superessive as an instrument, as in (14)).

(14) a. *žul   kolxoz-ra-vu   **traktor-da-x**   ğaj   učajs:ar.*
      our   kolkhoz-OBL-IN   tractor-OBL-POST   till   LV
      'In our kolkhoz they till with a tractor.' [Бокарев 1948: 62]

    b. ***rik'-ira-x**   murx̂   buvtunni.*
      axe-OBL-POST   tree.ABS   cut.PAST
      'He cut the tree with an axe.' [Жирков 1955: 43]

This counter-argument, however, is rather weak, as regular adpositions (e.g., the English *to* for many datives) may introduce core arguments, and l-selected PP complements (as in *depend on*) have as little or as much of the semantics of the preposition as do quirky objects. The fact that even "complex prepositions" may acquire non-compositional meanings ((15a) in both Russian and English, see also [Marelj, Matushansky 2015] on *for* and *in* in non-verbal predication) and introduce arguments ((15b) in Hebrew) further shows that the semantic distinction is rather nebulous.

(15) a. *po- mimo*   b. *'al   yadey*
     along past/by   on   hands.CS
     'besides'   'by' (demoted external argument)

We conclude that Murkelinsky's hypothesis cannot be rejected on semantic grounds and emphasize once again that the proposal advanced here (differing from Murkelinsky's only in the assumption that locative suffixes are nominal rather than adpositional) is motivated in this difference by the necessity to deal with the allative/dative case in versatives.[10]

Abbreviations

I, II, III — classes; ABS — absolutive; AGR — agreement morpheme; ALL — allative; APPROX — approximative; CS — construct state; DAT — dative; ELA — elative; ERG — ergative; ESS — essive; GEN — genitive; IN — inessive; LV — light verb; OBL — oblique; PAST — past; PL — plural; POST — postessive; SUB — subessive; TRS — translative; VERS — versative.

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[10] One far-fetched stipulation might be that the versative suffix *-φ-maj-* should be regarded along the same way as the English 'on one's way to'. It seems superficially that such an analysis accounts for the semantics, the class morphology (the possessive), the final [j], which can be viewed as identical to the locative morpheme *-j* 'on', and even the interpretable allative. It can furthermore also explain the Avar directive elative (fn. 6) as 'on one's way from'. The disadvantage of this view is that it is to one's peril that one attempts a phonological analysis in a language that one has a little knowledge of as I do of Lak. Hence this hypothesis is relegated to a footnote and thus I am not required to explain why Lak would not have the directive elative that it predicts.

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