

Here and there, now and then: Locative predicates in Sk̓w̓x̓wu7mesh

In this talk I provide an account for two morphemes in Sk̓w̓x̓wu7mesh (a Coast Salish language), **na7** 'there' and **i** 'here' which I will call locative predicates or LC's. LC's occur in three different syntactic contexts: as main predicates (1a), in prepositional-like constructions (1b) and as aspectual marker in the verbal domain (1c). The following three examples show these three different uses for the locative predicate **na7**, as the main predicate (1a), in a preposition-like context (1b) and as an aspectual clitic in the verbal domain.

- 1) a.    na     wa           **na7**        t-tay̓.  
           RL     IMPF        be.there    OBL-DEM  
           'He is right over there.'
- b.    lixw-t chexw        ta     x̓elten        **na7**    t-ta        latam  
           lay-TR 2SG.SUB    DET   pencil        on     OBL-DET    table  
           'Put the pencil on the table.'
- c.    **na**     wa     lulum  
           RL     IMPF   sing  
           'S/he is/was singing.'

In this paper, I will examine the distribution of both LC's in these three contexts. I pay particular attention to their function as aspectual marker, examining their syntax and semantic contribution to the clause. I utilize the Universal Spine Hypothesis (Wiltschko 2014) to examine the properties of these LC in their three different contexts. I also extend Ritter and Wiltschko's (2009) account for cognate LC's in Halkomelem (a closely related Salish language) to Sk̓w̓x̓wu7mesh. I will demonstrate that LC's require that their complement to be located spatially or temporally distant for **na7** 'there' or specially/temporally proximate for **i** 'here'. Take for example, the LC **i** 'here' can, which can take either a proximal (2a) or medial demonstrative for its oblique case complement (2b), but not a distal one (2c).

- 2) a.    wa     **i**        t-tiwa  
           IMPF   here    OBL-DEM  
           'S/he is here (within reach of the speaker).'
- b.    wa     **i**        t-tay̓  
           IMPF   here    OBL-DEM  
           'S/he is there (medially distant from speaker).'
- c.    \*wa     **i**        t-kwetsi  
           IMPF   here    OBL-DEM

The distal LC **na7**, though, cannot take a proximal demonstrative (3a), but it can take a medial (3b) or distal one (3c).

- 2) a.    \*wa     **na7**    t-tiwa  
           IMPF   there   OBL-DEM
- b.    wa     **na7**    t-tay̓

- IMPF    there    OBL-DEM  
'S/he is there (medially distant from speaker).'
- c.    wa    **na7**    t-kwetsi  
IMPF    there    OBL-DEM  
'S/he is there (distally distant from speaker).'

By paying attention to the syntactic arguments of these LC's in their three different syntactic context, and the semantic restrictions on these argument, it is possible to provide a unified account for them instead of proposing homophony. Furthermore, understanding the different physical restrictions on the complements of these LC's, allows a fuller account of the temporal restrictions they have, particularly when they operate as aspectual markers.

### References

Ritter, E. & Wiltschko, M. (2009). 'Varieties of INFL: TENSE, LOCATION, and PERSON.'  
In: H. Broekhuis., J. Craenenbroeck, H. van Riemsdijk (eds.) Alternatives to  
Cartography. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Wiltschko, M. (2014). The Universal Structure of Categories: Towards a Formal Typology.  
Cambridge: Cambridge University.