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978-1-107-03851-6 - The Universal Structure of Categories: Towards a Formal Typology

Martina Wiltschko

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THE UNIVERSAL STRUCTURE OF CATEGORIES

Using data from a variety of languages such as Blackfoot, Halkomelem, and Upper Austrian German, this book explores a range of grammatical categories and constructions, including tense, aspect, subjunctive, case, and demonstratives.

It presents a new theory of grammatical categories – the Universal Spine Hypothesis – and reinforces generative notions of Universal Grammar while accommodating insights from linguistic typology. In essence, this new theory shows that language-specific categories are built from a small set of universal categories and language-specific units of language.

Throughout the book the Universal Spine Hypothesis is compared to two alternative theories – the Universal Base Hypothesis and the No Base Hypothesis. This valuable addition to the field will be welcomed by graduate students and researchers in linguistics.

MARTINA WILTSCHKO is a Professor in the Department of Linguistics at the University of British Columbia.

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TOWARDS A FORMAL TYPOLOGY

MARTINA WILTSCHKO

University of British Columbia, Vancouver



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**Dedicated to my elders
Gertrude, Thea
Yámelot, Th'áth'elexwot
and Tootsinaam**

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A note on the core languages of investigation

There are four main languages I investigate here: Blackfoot, Halkomelem, Squamish, and Upper Austrian German. If not otherwise indicated, the data from these languages come from my own fieldwork. All data are presented in the practical orthography of each language. The key to the Blackfoot orthography can be found in Frantz (1991); the key to the Halkomelem orthography can be found in Galloway (1993).

The particular choice of these languages is based on my expertise: Blackfoot and Halkomelem are the two languages I have conducted extensive fieldwork on. Blackfoot is a Plains Algonquian language, consisting of four mutually intelligible dialects, spoken on three reserves in southern Alberta and one reservation in northwestern Montana. In Alberta, the three dialects are Siksiká (aka Blackfoot), Kaináá (aka Blood), and Piikani (aka Peigan), and in Montana, the dialect is Blackfeet. Data from my own fieldwork stems from the Kaináá dialect. I wish to thank Heather Bliss for help with fieldwork, data glossing, formatting, and proofreading the data.

Halkomelem is a Central Coast Salish language, consisting of three mutually intelligible dialects: Halq'eméylem (aka Upriver Halkomelem), Hənqəminəm (aka Downriver Halkomelem), and Hulq'umín'um' (aka Island Halkomelem). It is spoken in the lower mainland of British Columbia and on Vancouver Island. Data from my own fieldwork stem from the Upriver dialect. I wish to thank Strang Burton for proofreading the data.

As for Squamish (Skwxwu7mesh), another Central Coast Salish language, I was fortunate enough to supervise Peter Jacobs' (2011) UBC dissertation on control in Squamish. Most data on Squamish come from his fieldwork.

And finally Upper Austrian German is my native language. It is spoken in the province of Upper Austria (Oberösterreich). The judgments reported here are my own; they have been confirmed with four other speakers of the same dialect.

Abbreviations

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
4	4th (obviative) person
acc	accusative
accom	accompany
adhort	adhortative
agr	agreement
ai	animate intransitive
Asp	Aspect
AspP	AspectPhrase
assert	assertion
aux	auxiliary
caus	causative
cl	clitic
clas	classifier
cnj	conjunction
cn	common noun connective
coin	coincidence
comp	complementizer
conj	conjunct
D	determiner
dat	dative
deic	deictic
dem	demonstrative
deon	deontic
dep	dependent tense
det	determiner
dir	direct
dist	distal
DP	determiner phrase

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ds	different subject
ECM	Exceptional Case Marking
emph	emphatic
EPP	Extended Projection Principle
erg	ergative
Ev	event
Eval	evaluation world
evid	evidential
excl	exclusive
exis	assertion of existence
fe	final event
fem	feminine
FOC	focus
fut	future
gen	genitive
hab	habitual
horiz	horizontal
ic	initial change
Ident	identity
ie	initial event
ii	inanimate intransitive
imp	imperative
impf	imperfective
imprs	impersonal
inan	inanimate
inch	inchoative
incl	inclusive
ind	indicative
inf	infinitive
int	intensifier
inv	inverse
irr	irrealis
lc	limited control
LCA	Linear Correspondence Axiom
LF	logical form
link	linker
loc	local person
locv	locative
masc	masculine

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mid	middle
NBH	No Base Hypothesis
neg	negative
neut	neuter
nmlz	nominalizer
nm.term	nominal terminative
nom	nominative
nonaff	non-affirmative
nonfact	non-factive
nonloc	non-local person
NP	noun phrase
nv	non-visible
obj	object
obl	oblique
obv	obviative
om	object marker
part	participle
pass	passive
perc	perceived
perf	perfective
PF	phonological form
pl	plural
pnf	perfective non past
poss	possessive
PoV	point of view
prep	preposition
pres	present
prn	pronoun
prosp	prospective aspect
prox	proximate
prt	particle
prtv	partitive
pst	past
q	question
redup	reduplicant
refl	reflexive
rep	reportative
rl	realis
s	subject

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sg	singular
SpecDP	specifier of Determiner phrase
SpecIP	specifier of IP
SpecKP	specifier of Kase phrase
ss	same subject
subj	subjunctive
ta	transitive animate
TAM	tense aspect mood
ti	transitive inanimate
top	topic
TP	tense phrase
tr	transitive
UBH	Universal Base Hypothesis
UG	Universal Grammar
unr	unreal
UoL	Unit of Language
USH	Universal Spine Hypothesis
Utt	utterance
VP	verb phrase
WALS	<i>World Atlas of Language Structures</i>