

Restructuring and nominalization in Washo

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Intro. While restructuring phenomena have largely been studied in analytic-type languages, a lesser-studied type of reconstruction is observed in agglutinative-type languages, which likewise display robust restructuring effects in the domain of affixal predicates (e.g., Japanese; Wurmbrand 2001; Wurmbrand & Shimamura 2015). We present novel data from Washo, an isolate SOV language spoken in the western US, contributing to this line of research as well as to research on the interaction between restructuring and nominalization, particularly with *-ing* gerunds (Chomsky 1970).

Overview. Restructuring is observed in Washo in that certain verbs appear to select for bare verbal complements. In (1) for example, the verbs ‘eat’ and ‘stop’ form a single predicate, and tense marking is disallowed on the lower verb. As is typical in Washo, person marking is a prefix and all TAM (and optional number) marking is suffixal and final. Restructuring verbs in Washo include ‘want’,

- (1) 1-émlu [-iweʔ]-ášaʔ-i ‘try’, ‘stop’, ‘finish’, ‘start’, ‘pretend’, and other motion
 1-eat-stop-NEAR.FUT-IND verbs, much in line with Wurmbrand’s (2001) survey results
 ‘I’m going to stop eating.’ for cross-linguistically common restructuring verb classes.

The interaction between restructuring and nominalization is largely unexplored (cf. Cable 2004), but poses an exciting question, particularly in agglutinative languages. Washo is an ideal language for testing this interaction, as it exhibits restructuring effects at the clausal level that also turn up in nominalizations, one of which is on a par with the high *-ing* type. Below, (2)-(3) show this with the subject of an underspecified modal, *-éʔ* (Bochnak 2015), (2) and the object of *want* (3):¹

- (2) [mé:hu šáwlamhu wágayáŋaʔ [-gáŋaʔ]] k’-éʔ-i (3) [1-émlu [-iweʔ]] di-gaʔlám-i
 boy girl 3.talk-start 3-MOD-IND 1.eat-stop 1/3-want-IND
 ‘The boy should start talking to the girl.’ ‘I want to stop eating.’
 (=‘The boy’s starting to talk to the girl should be’) (=‘I want my stopping to eat.’)

I argue that the bracketed structures are nominalizations on a par with high *-ing* gerunds in English.

Restructuring in Washo. We propose that restructuring verbs such as *stop* and *start* in Washo select for VoicePs, following Wurmbrand & Shimamura’s proposal for Japanese. This is based on two assumptions: i) *v* hosts the causative marker (Folli & Harley 2005); and ii) causative *v* co-occurs with Voice (Alexiadou et al. 2006). As the following examples show, the causative morpheme *-ha* (4) can appear on the complement of a restructuring verb (5). Note that these facts support Wurmbrand’s (2001) et seq. claims that restructuring complements may involve different sizes.

- (4) ge-métu-**ha**-yi (5) di-dó:baš-**ha** [-duwéweʔ]-ši-tiʔgi
 3.OBJ-be.cold-CAUS-IND 1/3-burn-CAUS-try-DU.INCL-FUT
 ‘He’s freezing it.’ ‘We will try to burn them to death.’

I adopt the head-final structure in (6), in which the matrix verb selects for a VoiceP complement. The lack of an agent specification on embedded Voice explains why no external argument is merged (on this account, semantic sharing of the matrix agent is facilitated between Voice heads via Agree). Note that Washo lacks a passive altogether (Jacobsen 1979) and Voice is never overt. Head movement in the language from V to *v* to Voice (and potentially beyond) yields the surface morpheme order.

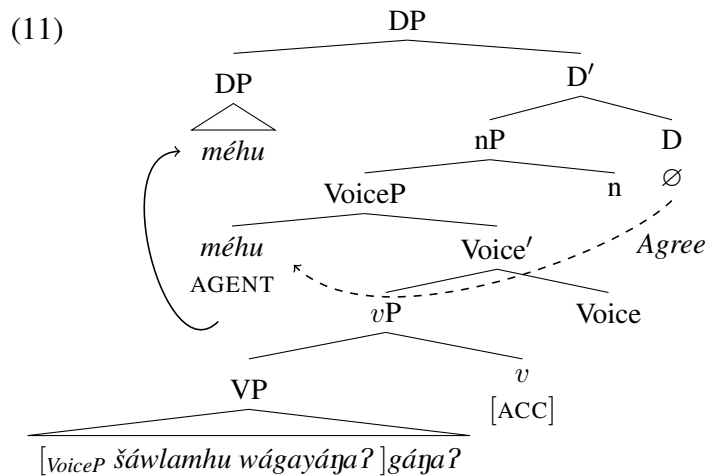
- (6) [VP [VoiceP [VP [VP *burn them*] [_v *-ha*]]] [Voice ∅]] [_v *try*]]

¹Glosses: CAUS: causative; DU.INCL: dual inclusive; FUT: future; IND: independent mood; MOD: modal. Data here come from the author’s fieldwork with three native speakers as well as from archival data.

Restructuring in nominalizations. Outside the clausal domain, restructuring is also found in *-ing* event nominalizations, as repeated in (7), which are characterized by the lack of right-peripheral TAM markers, as well as the presence of possessor agreement at the left edge (see simple possession in (8-10)), indicating that the bracketed structure is nominalized and predicated of the modal *éʔ*. Further evidence for the status of (7) and (9) as nominalizations comes from the fact that only nominals (and PPs) – both of type *e* – can be predicated by the copula *-éʔ* on its modal use.

- (7) [mé:hu šáwlamhu wágayáŋaʔ -gáŋaʔ] k'-éʔ-i (8) géwe máyap
 boy girl 3.POSS.talk.to-start 3-MOD-IND coyote 3.POSS.paw
 'The boy should start talking to the girl.' 'the/a coyote's paw'
 (= 'The boy's starting to talk to the girl should be')
- (9) [wádiŋ-hé:š ʔum-p'áyt'i-giš-uweʔ] k'-éʔ-i (10) ʔum-kétep
 now-Q 2.POSS-play-DUR-HENCE 3-be-IND 2.POSS-bottle
 'Now can you play?' 'your bottle'
 (= 'Now is your playing possible?')

I adopt the structure for restructuring as in (6), and propose the following structure based on Kratzer's (1996) proposal for high *-ing* nominalizations. (11) accounts for a variety of facts. First,



the presence of *v* licenses accusative case on the internal argument, 'the girl'. Second, the role of the subject as an agent follows from its introduction into Spec, Voice, while its role as a possessor follows from its movement to Spec, DP in order to receive case as a result of the lack of T. Finally, D agrees with the subject as usual, triggering possessor agreement on the verb, which occurs as a prefix following head movement from V to *v* to Voice to D, in which the restructured VoiceP selected by V participates.

Note that, following Kratzer, additional evidence for the high attachment of the nominalizing head outside VoiceP comes from the fact that these nominalizations can be modified by adverbials:

- (12) béverli wádiŋ wí:diʔ l-éšil k'-éʔ-i
 Beverly now this 1/3-give 3-be-IND
 'I need to give this to Beverly now' (= 'My giving this to Beverly now is necessary.')

Conclusion. We address in this talk questions surrounding the interaction between restructuring and nominalization, highlighting novel data from nominalizations in Washo as a test case. Relevant questions emerging from this data that will be addressed include questions of word building as well as the issue of parallel agent sharing effects across the verbal and nominal domains.

References Alexiadou et al. 2006. *The properties of anticausatives cross-linguistically*. • Bochnak. 2015. *Variable force modality in Washo*. • Cable. 2004. *Restructuring in English*. • Chomsky. 1970. *Remarks on nominalization*. • Folli & Harley. 2005. *Flavors of v*. • Jacobsen. 1979. *Why does Washo lack a passive?*. • Kratzer. 1996. *Severing the external argument from its verb*. • Wurmbrand & Shimamura. 2015. *The features of the voice domain: actives, passives, and restructuring*. • Wurmbrand. 2001. *Infinitives: Restructuring and clause structure*.