Celtic Mixed Categories: A Phase–bounded Approach?

Andrew Carnie
University of Arizona
carnie@u.arizona.edu

0.   INTRODUCTION:

Welsh data is taken from Borsley 1993, unless otherwise noted. Irish data is from my own work, unless otherwise noted. Related facts are found in all the Celtic languages, but I will focus on Welsh and Irish here.

0.1   EMPIRICAL CONCERN: THE CELTIC VERBAL NOUN (VN)

1) **Argument VNs   (AVN)**
   a)   Clywais I 'r canu   (Welsh)
         heard–1s I the singing
         "I heard the singing"

   b)   Chuala mé an canadh   (Irish)
         heard   I   the singing
         "I heard the singing"

2) **Predicative VNs (PVN)**

   i) Periphrastic Constructions[1]

   a)   Mae Rhiannon yn canu'r anthem   (Welsh)
         is   R.   prog sing the anthem
         "Rhiannon is singing the anthem"

   b)   Tá Seamus ag canadh an amhráin   (Irish)
         Is James   prog sing the song
         "James is singing the song"

   ii) Non–finite Clauses (including complements to Modals)

3)   a)   Dylai Rhiannon ganu'r anthem   (Welsh)
            ought R   sing the anthem
   "Rhiannon out to sing the anthem"

---

[1] I've translated the periphrastic as a progressive here. This is true for Irish, but for Spoken Welsh this is most typically the form used in the present tense. In Scots Gaelic, these periphrastic constructions are the ***only*** way to produce a present tense.

b)   Ba mhaith liom Seamus an amhráin a chanadh   (Ulster Irish)
       Cop good with.1s James the song   his sing
       "I want James to sing the song"

- These Constructions have different properties (nominal vs verbal) both looking inward on the construction and looking outwards at the interaction of the constructions with the rest of the syntax.

- Traditional "these are nouns" (e.g. Willis 1988) or "These are sometimes purely nouns and sometimes purely verbs" (e.g. Borsley) types of account fail to explain the mix of categorial properties within a single instance of a VN.

- More recent accounts (e.g. Borsley and Kornfilt) posit mixed properties such that outwards-looking nominal properties and inward looking verbal properties due to a nominal functional category (such as a DP) dominating a verbal predicate:

4)

F_NP
F_N'
F_N ...
VP
V
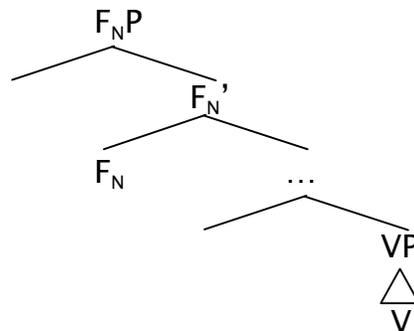
A similar explanation can be given in terms of the acategorial system of roots and categorial functional categories of Distributed Morphology.

Problems: i) This predicts (as Borsely and Kornfilt note); that VNs should not exhibit any of the internal properties of N heads -- only the properties associated the nominal functional category.
    e.g. VNs should not assign genitive case if they also take adverbs.
ii) relatedly, VNs should not exhibit any outwards of verbal functional categories.

My empirical claim: *both (i) and (ii) are arguably false in some cases.* (section 1 of this talk).

> Part of my theoretical claim: *not all VN constructions involve nominal functional categories. In particular, PVNs do not.*

1.0 MIXED PROPERTIES OF VNS IN CELTIC

I should preface this with the comment that what I consider "internal" and "external" properties is based on my intuitions about this rather than on any rigorous definition, but I think they correspond to most people's description of these phenomena.

1.1 INTERNAL VERBAL PROPERTIES

1.1.1 ARGUMENT REALIZATION.

☞*PVN take arguments the way that their fully verbal counterparts do:*

5) a) Tá Seán ag phógadh an Garda   (Irish PVN)
        Is Sean prog kiss the policeman
        "Sean is kissing the policeman"

        cf. Phóg Seán an Garda (Seán kissed the policeman)

    b) Mae Rhiannon yn canu 'r anthem   (Welsh PVN)
        is   R.   prog sing the anthem
        "Rhiannon is singing the anthem"

        cf. Canodd Rhiannon yr anthem (Rhiannon sang the anthem)

☞*AVNs have argument structures, but the arguments are optional (in the same way that arguments are optional in typical English nominalizations):*

6) a) Is maith liom *a* gcanadh   (Irish AVN)
        Cop good with.1s their singing
        "I like their singing"

    b) Is maith liom canadh Seáin   (Irish AVN)
        Cop good with.1s. singing John–gen
        "I like John's singing"

    c) Tá an canadh go deas   (Irish AVN)
        Is the singing adv nice
        "the singing is nice"

☞*Relatedly in PVNs, the status of an argument as agent or theme is unambiguous, where as in AVNs as with English poss-ing gerunds, an argument may be interpreted as either:*

7) a) Tá a mbualadh go huafásach   (Irish AVN)
        Is his beating adv horrible
        "His beating was horrible"
        (Easy reading his = theme, harder reading his = agent)

    b) Tá a mbhualadh Seáin go huafásach   (Irish AVN)
        Is his beating   Sean-gen adv awful
        "His beating of Sean was awful"
        (His = agent, Sean = theme)

1.1.2 ADVERBIAL MODIFIERS

☞*PVNs take adverbial modifiers* (however cf. section 1.2.2 below, where it is seen that AVNs take adjectives)*:*

8) a) Dylai Rhiannon ganu   *(yn) hyfryd   (Welsh PVN)
        ought R   sing   adv   pleasant
        "Rhiannon ought to sing pleasantly"

    b) Mae Rhiannon yn canu *(yn) hyfryd.   (Welsh PVN)
        Is   Rhiannon prog sing adv pleasant
        "Rhiannon is singing pleasantly"

    c) Tá sé ag canadh an amhráin *(go) binn   (Irish PVN)
        Is he prog sing the song adv nice
        "He is singing the song nicely." (B&K; data corrected)

1.1.3 CASE

☞*In Irish, SOME instances of PVNs take clear accusative case on their objects (see Guilfoyle 1997 and Bobaljik and Carnie 1996 for theoretical discussion).*
  o *The NP appears to have shifted leftwards into the specifier of some accusative case assigning FP*

9) a) Tá Seán tar éis <u>an teach</u>   a thógáil
        Be John after   the house-acc 3s build-VN
        "John has just built the house"

b)   Is   maith liom   [an teach   a   thógáil]
Cop good with.1s the house.acc 3s build–VN
"I want to build the house"

o *The accusative noun must be accompanied by a 3rd person masculine possessive pronoun on the VN-- this is typical of Irish; if you have an overt NP then you must have 3rd person masculine agreement on the verb, even if the noun is feminine or not 3rd person. (see below for cases where non-3s pronouns appear in this position)*

10) a)   Táim go deas   b)   Tá mé go deas
Is.1s adv nice   Is.3s I adv nice
"I am nice"   "I am nice"

11) a)   *Is maith liom an teach *(a) t(h)ógáil.

o *The accusative option does NOT exist for the PVN in the progressive form (ag). In these cases a genitive (or something like a genitive is used).*

12) a)   Tá mé ag ól an leanna.   (written Irish) PVN
Is I prog drink–vn the beer–gen
"I am drinking the beer."

b)   Tá mé ag ól an leann   (spoken Irish) PVN
Be I   prog drink–vn the beer–acc??[2]
"I am drinking the beer"

o *nor does it appear in Munster Irish in clauses <u>with an overt subject</u>.*

13) a)   Is maith liom Seán a thógáil an tí   (Munster Irish) PVN
Cop good with.1s Sean 3s build the house–gen
"I want Sean to build the house"

b)   *Is maith liom Sean an teach a thógáil (*Munster irish – ok in
the house–acc   Connacht and Ulster)

c)   Is maith liom an teach a thógáil (ok in all dialects)

---

[2] Whether this is accusative case or something between accusative and genitive is tricky -- more on this below.

1.1.4 FUNCTIONAL PROJECTIONS.

☞*PVNs may NOT take determiners, demonstratives, or any other related nominal functional material:*

14)   a)   *Tá mé ag an tógáil   (Irish PVN)
                     Be I   at the build–vn
                     "I am the building" (this might be ok with a AVN
                     interpretation, meaning "I'm located at the event of building).

       b)   *Dylai Rhiannon y canu (o)'r anthem (Welsh PVN)
                     Ought Rhiannon the sing–vn (of) the anthem
                     "Rhiannon ought the singing (of) the anthem

1.2 INTERNAL NOMINAL PROPERTIES

1.2.1 FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES

☞*AVNs but not PVNs can appear with a determiner:*

15)   a)   Clywais i 'r canu.   (Welsh AVN)
                     Heard   I   the singing.
                     "I head the singing"

       b)   Chuala mé an canadh   (Irish AVN)
                     Heard I the singing
                     "I heard the singing"

1.2.2 ADJECTIVAL MODIFIERS

☞*AVNs but not PVNs express modification with an adjective, not an adverb:*

16)   a)   Clywais i 'r canu (*yn) hyfryd.   (Welsh AVN)
                     heard   I the singing adv nice
                     I heard the pleasant singing.

       b)   Chuala mé an canadh (*go) deas   (Irish AVN)
                     Heard   I   the singing adv nice
                     "I heard the plesant singing."

1.2.3 CASE WITH PRONOMINALS

☞Both PVNs and AVNs obligatorily express pronominal objects with possessive pronouns. In Welsh (& Scots Gaelic??) this can be with or without doubling (as in NPs):

17) a) Mae Megan yn <u>ei</u> weld (<u>ef</u>).   (Welsh PVN)
         megan at his seeing (him.gen)
         "Megan is seeing him."

     b) Tá Seán á bhualadh   (Irish PVN)
         is Sean prog+his hitting.
         "Seán is hitting him"

     c) Is maith liom Seán a phógadh   (Ulster Irish)
         Cop good with–1s John his kiss–VN.
         Ambiguous between:
               I want to kiss Sean and
               I want Sean to kiss him.
         This is unambiguously an object in Munster Irish.

     d) … mo phógadh/do phógadh/a pógadh/ar bpógadh
            my kiss/your kiss/her kiss/our kiss
         /bhúr bpógadh/a bpógadh
         your-pl kiss/their kiss
         " I want Sean to kiss me/you/her/our/you-pl/them"

☞*The presence of this genitive pronoun is required if the verb is stative or unaccusative, and the non–agentive subject has raised from object position to Subject position (and bears nominative case.)*

18)   Tá$_k$ mé i   mo shuí t_k
         Be   I stative my sit–vn
         "I am sitting"

☞*The nominal demonstrative, emphatic & reflexive morphology associated with pronouns can also appear. These modify the pronouns but follow the head noun. McCloskey & Hale (1984) take these to be evidence of a genitive PRO following the head noun in typical genitive position.*

19) a) Tá mé mo mharú <u>féin</u> ag obair
         Is I my kill–vn Self at work
         "I am killing myself working"

      b)   An bhfuil tú á dhéanamh <u>sin</u> le fada
               Q   are   you its doing   this with long
               "Have you been doing that for a long time"

1.2.4 CASE WITH FULL NP OBJECTS

☞*Irish has two distinct genitive constructions: The construct state and the free (*de *"of") genitive. Construct states disallow determiners on the possessed noun and require genitive case on the object (more on this below) and take a special genitive form of the determiner -- see appendix A. Welsh also has a construct but the form of the genitive noun doesn't change, so we'll concentrate on Irish for those forms; Welsh does have an "of" (*o*) genitive as well.*

20)   a)   hata an fhir   (Irish Construct)
              hat   the-gen
              "The man's hat"

      b)   an hata den fhear   (Irish Free)
              the hat of.the man.Prep[3]
              "The hat of the man"

☞*To a certain degree construct state genitives are the norm with objects of PVNs in Welsh, and in Irish PVNs marked with* ag *(progressive), but no other aspect. Most of the time in Irish, as noted above in section xx, the object of a verbal noun in a PVN requires accusative case, assigned in a shifted position.*

21)   a)   Darfu i Gwen ddarllen y llyfr   (Welsh Construct)
              Happen to Gwen read-vn the book.?gen?
              "Gwen happened to read the book"

      b)   Tá Seán ag tógáil an tí
              Is Sean prog build the house
              "Sean is building the house"

SIDEBAR ON BORSLEY & KORNFILT'S ANALYSIS OF THESE FACTS.
B&K claim that these aren't true genitives (because VNs are not N heads, so they couldn't have the properties of N heads such as governing Genitive case). Their solution? This isn't genitive case. They claim that construct DPs such as (i) are "Passive nominals" like "the horse's picture" in English.

---

[3] "prepositional" case, often but not always homophonous with the accusative and nominative. Only found after prepositions. See appendix A.

i)   pictiúr an chapaill
        picture the.gen horse.gen
        "the picture of the horse"

They are partly right, but they are *more wrong* that they are right (Sorry Jaklin!). Their evidence for this is that they claim the only way to create a complex possessive with both a subject and an object is to use a combination of a construct and a free genitive as in (ii).

ii)   pictiúr Chathail den chapall
        picture C.gen   of.the horse.acc
        "Cathal's Picture of the horse"

They claim that (iii) is ungrammatical. It is… but not for the reason they state. This has nothing to do with the fact that this has both arguments. It's ungrammatical because they got (a) the word order wrong and (b) the case marking wrong. (iii) if it means anything means "the horse's picture of Cathal", not "Cathal's picture of the horse."

iii)   *pictiúr Chathail chapaill
        picture C.gen   horse.gen

The grammatical form which has BOTH arguments, (just like a PVN) is:

iv)   Pictiúr Chapall Chathail.
        picture horse-acc Cathal-gen
        "Cathal's picture of the horse". (Cathal's horse-picture)

They are partly right in that in constructions like (iv), the "object" isn't strictly in the genitive case case. This is part of a larger pattern called "Common in form, Genitive in function" (CFGF) which pervades Irish Grammar. In CFGF constructions are characterized by two properties. (a) They appear in contexts where genitive would typically be found, and (b) while the root takes accusative/nominative case, it gets a different consonant mutation than would normally be found in pure accusative/nominative contexts (Doyle 2001: 64):

v)   teach Mháire
        house-acc Mary-gen
        Mary's house

vi)   doras tí   (doras an tí)
        door   house-gen   door   the house-gen
        "A house's door"   "The house's door"

vii)   doras theach Mháire
        door house-acc Mary
        "Mary's house's door"

Second, it should be noted that apart from these CFGF contexts, the genitive morphology on the root is disappearing from the language generally. This isn't a case assignment issue, it's an issue of the development of syncretism between the two cases. Where the distinction between genitive and nominative is shifting from the case endings to the initial consonant mutations. This is true in *all* contexts in the spoken register:

viii)   teach an   ghasúir mhóir   (Written Irish)

---

house the-gen boy-gen   big-gen
"The big boy's house (Data from Doyle 2001)

ix)   teach an <u>gh</u>asúr <u>mh</u>ór
house the-gen boy-acc big-acc
"The big boy's house" (Data from 2001).
(accusative root, but genitive initial consonant mutation)

See Duffield (1996) for an analysis of these DP types where the case endings are indicative of spec–head agreement, but the mutations are indicative of case position.

1.2.5 "OF COMPLEMENTS"

☞*In Welsh Complements of AVNs (like usual Ns) require an "of" (o); but PVNs disallow this:*

22)   a)   Gwelais i 'r disgrifiad *(o)'r llun   (Welsh N)
Saw   I the description of the picture
"I saw the description of the picture"

      b)   Clywais i 'r ganu *(o)r anthem   (Welsh AVN)
heard   I the singing of the song
"I heard the singing of the song"

      c)   Mae ef yn disgrifio (*o)'r llun   (Welsh PVN)
Is   he prog describe-vn of the picture
"He is describing (*of) the picture"

This last fact is true of Irish too:

      d)   Tá sé ag insint *den phictiúr
be he prog describe-vn of.the picture

1.2.6 BEARING OF CASE (AS OPPOSED TO ASSIGNMENT)

☞In Irish, AVNs but not PVNs, can bear genitive case (Guilfoyle 1997). (the lack of genitive Morphology in Welsh makes this impossible to prove for that language)

23)   a)   fonn troda   (Irish AVN)
desire fight-vn-gen
"The desire to fight"

      b)   lá breithe   (Irish AVN)
day birth-vn-gen
"Birth day"

> (NB: not a compound; it does not have morphology
> associated with compounding in Irish)

24) a)   Tá mé ag iarraidh seasamh/*seasimh (Irish PVN+PVN)
           is I   prog try–vn stand–vn-acc/*vn-gen
           "I'm trying to stand"

    b)   Tá mé ag brath dul/*duil abhaile   (Irish PVN+PVN)
           Is I   prog intend go-vn-acc/*go-vn-gen home
           "I am intend to go home"
                   (Data from Christian Bros 1980)

1.3   EXTERNAL VERBAL PROPERTIES

1.3.1 POSITIONS WHERE VNS CAN APPEAR

☞*A variety of positions where PVNs can appear but AVNs (and other
NPs) cannot appear (All of the following are true of both Welsh and Irish; I
give only the Welsh examples (from Borsley1993) here):*

  o *Non–finite complements to modals:*

25) a)   Dylai Gwyn ddisgrifio 'r llun
           ought Gwen describe the picture
           "Gwn ought to describe the picture

    b)   *Dylai Gwyn ddisgrifiad o 'r llun
           ought   Gwen description of the picture

  o *Periphrastic tenses*

26) a)   Mae Gwyn yn disgrifio 'r llun
           Is   Gwyn prog describe the picture
           "Gwen is describing the picture"

    b)   *Mae Gwyn yn disgrifiad o'r llun
           Is   Gwyn prog describe of the picture

(don't let the homophony of the two yns here confuse you, they don't
participate in the same morphological alternations Det: yn~y~'r
depending upon the phonology, Prog is always yn)

  o *PVNs but not AVNs appear with o 'from' and i 'to' as complements
     of certain (raising & control) adjectives*:

27)   a)   Mae Gwyn yn debyg o ddisgrifio 'r llun
            Is   Gwyn pred likely of describe-vn the picture
            "Gwyn is likely to describe the picture"

      b)   *Mae Gwyn yn debyg o ddisgrifiad o 'r llun

      c)   Mae Gwyn yn awyddus i ddisgrifio 'r llun
            Is   Gwyn pred eager   to describe the book
            "Gwyn is eager to describe-vn the book."

      d)   *Mae Gwyn yn awyddus i ddisgrifiad o'r llun

   o *Similarly control verbs:*

28)   Disgwyliodd Gwyn I Emrys ddisgrifio/*ddisgrifiad o'r llun
      expected   Gwyn to Emrys describe the picture
      "Gwyn expected Emrys to describe the picture."

   o *PVNPs can't be the subject of a passive:*

29)   a)   Ceisiodd pawb ganu'r anthem
            tried   everyone sing the anthem
            Everyone tried to sing the anthem

      b)   *Cafodd canu'r anthem ei geisio gan bawb
            got sing 'the anthem 3sm try by everyone
            Singing the anthem was tried by everyone

☞*PVNs in Irish exhibit the same anti-agreement effect as tensed verbs, except with objects instead of subjects (realized through possessive pronouns instead of suffixes). Overt agreement is only possible with a null subject/object*

30)   a)   Táim *pro* go deas   b)   Tá mé go deas
            Is.1s   adv nice   Is.3s I adv nice
            "I am nice"   "I am nice"

31)   a)   Is maith liom an bhean a phógadh.
            Cop good with-1s the woman 3sm kiss-vn
            "I want to kiss the woman"

      b)   *Is maith liom an bhean a pógadh
            Cop good with-1s the woman 3sf kiss-vn
            I want to kiss the woman

c)   Is maith liom   *pro* a pógadh
Cop good with–1s 3sf kiss–vn
"I want to kiss her"

☞*PVNs exhibit aspect morphology (albeit in the form of prepositions -- see section 1.4 below)*

32)   a)   Tá Seán ina shuí   (Irish PVNs)
Is Sean stative–3s sitting
"Sean is sitting"

b)   Tá Seán ag dúl abhaile
Is Sean prog go–vn home
"Sean is going home"

c)   Tá Seán le dúl abhaile
Is Sean prosp go–vn home
"Sean is about to go home"

d)   Bhí Seán tar–eis dúl abhaile
Was Sean rec.perf go–vn home
"Sean has just gone home"

e)   Bhà Iain air falbh[4]   (Scots Gaelic PVN)
Was Iain perf leave
"Iain had left"

1.4   EXTERNAL NOMINAL PROPERTIES

☞*AVNs, but not PVNs (obviously) can function as arguments:*

33)   Clywais i 'r canu
heard–1s I the singing
"I heard the singing"

☞*The aspect markers in Welsh and Irish are homographs (and sometimes homophones) with prepositions:*

34)   a)   mae hi wedi mynd adref
be she after go home
She has gone home

---

[4] I'm using Scots Gaelic here because the Irish perfective is created using a passive structure involving a verbal-adjective (see McCloskey 2005)

b)   Roedd ef ar fynd
        was he on go
        He was about to go

35)   Irish:

Form	Aspectual usage	Prepositional Meaning
ag	Progressive	At
i(n)	Stative	In
tar-eis *or* i ndiadh	Recent "after" perfect	After
le	Prospective	With
ar (Scots Gaelic)	Perfective	on

☞*However McCloskey (1983) argues that 'ag' progressive is not identical to the preposition 'ag'*

- o The preposition is always pronouns /əg/ (and can be stressed as /ɛg/), but the aspect marker is usually pronounced /ə/ except before vowels.
- o The preposition *ag* does not take a special agreeing form when it is attached to a possessive pronoun (36a), but the progressive marker does (36b)

36)   a)   ag a   'at his...'
       b)   á[L1]   'prog 3sm-poss"

1.5   A WEIRD PROPERTY THAT I DON'T KNOW HOW TO CLASSIFY

☞*In Welsh AVNs & Ns can be take resumptive pronouns, but PVNs cannot (this is not true of Irish)*

37)   a)   y dyn yr hoffwn I ei wed (*ef)
               the man prt would like I 3s see he
               The man I would like to see

       b)   y dyn y gwelais I ei fab (ef)
               the man prt saw I 3sm son he
               The man whose son I saw.

1.6 SUMMARY

	AVN		PVN	
	Irish	Welsh	Irish	Welsh
"Verbal" Properties				
Oblig Arg Structure	No	No	✓	✓
Adverbial Modification	No	No	✓	✓
Object takes Acc	??	??	Sometimes	??
Appears in Periphrastics	No	No	✓	✓
Nonfinite Complement	No	No	✓	✓
Anti–agreement effects	No	No	✓	✓
Bear Aspect	No	No	✓(P?)	✓(P?)
"Nominal" Properties				
Optional Arg Structure	✓	✓	No	No
Ambiguity in GF	✓	✓	No	No
Adjectival Modification	✓	✓	No	No
Determiners	✓	✓	No	No
Subjects of Passives	✓	✓	No	No
Possessive Pronoun objects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Modifiers of poss pronouns	✓	✓	✓	✓
Genitive Object/Construct	✓	No but possible with Ns	Sometimes	???
"of" genitive	possible	✓	No	No
BEAR genitive case	✓	???	No	???

WHAT TO TAKE AWAY FROM THIS:

a)   an B&K account in terms (nominal) functional categories can't work for PVNs because they exhibit no external nominal characteristics and plenty of verbal external properties

b)   PVNs also exhibit both internal nominal properties (e.g. possessive pronouns and genitive case) and internal verbal properties (e.g. adverbial modification).

c)   AVNs, by contrast do lend themselves to a B&K account, they are uniformly externally nominally, and only have minor inward verbal characteristics (although genitive case is still an unexpected problem here too.)

2.0 THE OUTLINES OF AN ANALYSIS

Official Confession: The details of this are not well worked out at this stage and may still come crumbling down around me.

38) a)   Borsley and Kornfilt are partly correct, some properties of AVNs are derived from the D (and/or little *n* head). Similarly some verbal properties are functions of the fact that we are starting with a verb (or even a little *v*) (e.g. taking arguments)

 b)   However, other "nominal" properties are due to the fact that the verbal head remains within its phase rather than raising into a TP/CP phase.
  - Please take "raise" to mean either move overtly or involve an AGREE relation.

39) *The intuition:*
  o Phases represent complete semantically interpretable structures that can be sent to an LF.
  o DPs are complete phases where the N does not raise out of the phase.

 a)
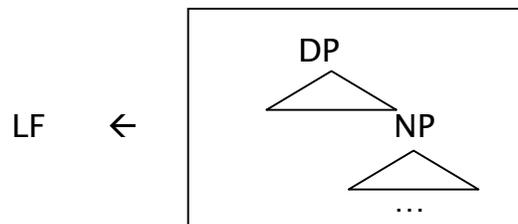
 Let's call phases like this "Internally Complete Phases" (ICPs)

  o vPs/VPs are also phases, but they are defective in a crucial way. When the verb is tensed it must enter into some kind of relationship (either via move or AGREE) with T in the TP phase.

b)

→ LF
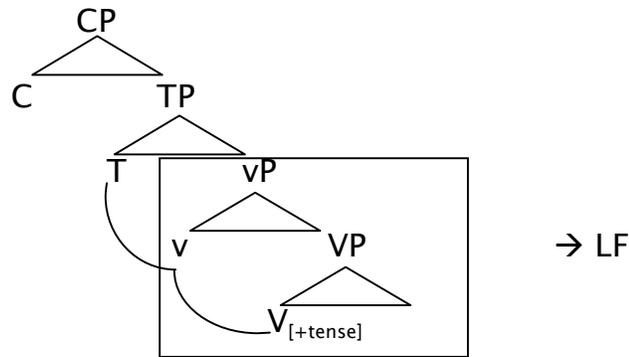
Let's call phases like these "Externally Dependent Phases" (EDPs)

- o When, for some reason such as lacking tense, the head does not raise out of its phase it will have "nominal" properties that parallel the DP phases' properties. i.e. it will be an ICP.

c)

→ LF
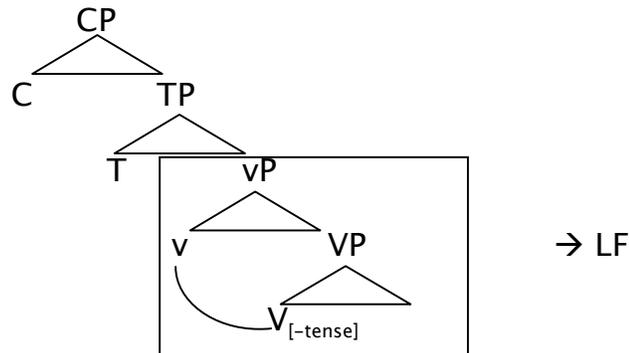
This may be the phasal equivalent of Holmberg's generalization -- more on this below

- o In other words some of the mixed properties VNs exhibit are due to domination by a nominal functional category (a là Borsley & Kornfilt)-- when they are AVNs, and some is due to the fact that these VPs are ICPs (in both AVNs and PVNs)

40) What we need to look for:
- The SHARED nominal properties of AVNs and PVNs -- these are the properties of ICPs.
  - o Genitive Case (in some circumstances)
  - o Possessive Pronoun objects
  - o ?Prepositions -- Assume not after McCloskey
- The nominal properties of AVNs (and not PVNs) -- these are the properties of Functional Categories like D.
  - o Adjectives not Adverbs
  - o Determiners

- o Argumenthood
- The verbal Properties of PVNs (and not AVNs) -- these are the properties of NOT having a nominal functional category.
  - o Agreement
  - o Accusative Case (in some circumstances)
  - o Adverbs not adjectives.

2.1 EXPLAINING THE FACTS.

2.1.1 GENITIVE CASE & POSSESSIVE PRONOUN OBJECTS -- AN ICP FACT.

41) Genitive case in PVNs cannot follow from little n (these don't have the properties of little *n* -- since they have many externally little v like properties.)

42) Genitive case in PVNs cannot follow from the Determiner -- determiners are not allowed with PVNs

43) In Irish "real" verbs always raise out of the VP into T. "Real" Verbs never take genitive case; they always take accusative.
   - Despite the critics maybe some version of Holmberg's Generalization is right.
     - o If the verb doesn't leave the phase, then the object can't raise to get accusative case.
     - o In DPs because of they are an ICP, the object can NEVER leave to get Accusative case.
     - o Genitive case is then a repair strategy that comes in to license ICP internal arguments.

44) Problem -- the cases where accusative IS assigned -- perhaps these contain a special phase internal AgrP, which for selectional reasons is not available in the cases where the genitive occurs (e.g. with the progressive marker).

2.1.2 ADJECTIVES VS. ADVERBS. A PROPERTY OF FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES

Still vague...

Following Kratzer (and many others) and against Fu, Roeper and Borer in making this a property of the functional categories.

Perhaps we can assume that adjectives and adverbs are really the same category, but differ in their realization as to whether they are in the domain of little n or D.

2.1.3 Verbal Functional Morphology (Aspect, Agreement); Full required argument structure.

Again still very vague....

but maybe this is due to the lack of little n in these constructions?

3.0 Conclusions

- *Empirical Observation 1:* Partly following Borsley (1993) the VN in Celtic exhibits different properties whether it is an AVN or a PVN

- *Empirical Observation 2:* In both cases we see both inward–looking (internal) nominal properties and outward–looking (external) nominal properties, the same is true for verbal properties

- The account therefore cannot (entirely) lie in a B&K style nominal functional category over verbal category structure.

- *Theoretical Claim:* Perhaps some "nominal" properties (e.g. genitive case/possessive pronoun objects) in Celtic VNs aren't due to functional categories but are the result of the verb failing to raise out of it's phase (in parallel to all Ns (including AVNs)).

- The details are still vague and speculative.

SELECTED REFERENCES (INCOMPLETE)

Borsley, Robert (1993) "On So-called 'Verb Nouns' in Welsh" *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 2. 35–64.

Borsley, Robert D and Kornfilt, Jaklin (2000) "Mixed Extended Projections" in Borsley (ed) *The Nature and Function of Syntactic categories. Syntax and Semantics 32.* Academic Press. pp 101–132.

Borsley, Robert D. (1997) "On a nominal analysis of Welsh Verb-Nouns" in Anders Ahlqvist and Věra Čapková (eds) *Dán do Oide: Essays in Memory of Conn R. Ó Cléirigh.* Baile Átha Cliath (Dublin): Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éirinn. pp 39–40.

Christian Bros. (1980) *New Irish Grammar.* Baile Átha Cliath: C.S. Ó Fallúin, teo.

Doyle, Aiden (2001) *Irish.* Lincom Europa.

Duffield, Nigel (1996) "On Structural Invariance and lexical diversity in VSO languages: arguments from Irish noun phrases". in Robert D. Borsley and Ian Roberts *The Syntax of the Celtic Languages.* Cambridge University Press. pp: 314–340.

Fu, J. Roeper, T. and Borer H (2001) The VP within process nominals: Evidence from adverbs and the VP anaphor do-so" NLLT 19:549–82

Guilfoyle, Eithne (1997) "The Verbal Noun in Irish Nonfinite Clauses" in Anders Ahlqvist and Věra Čapková (eds) *Dán do Oide: Essays in Memory of Conn R. Ó Cléirigh.* Baile Átha Cliath (Dublin): Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éirinn. pp 187–200

Harley, H -- This conference.

Kratzer, Angelika (1996) "Severing the External Argument from its verbs, in J. Rooryck and L. Zaring (eds.) *Phrase Structure and the Lexicon.* Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Lees, R (1960) *The Grammar of English Nominalizations.* Bloomington Indiana University Press.

Malouf, Robert P. (2000a) Mixed Categories in the Hierarchical Lexicon. Stanford: CLSI Publications.

Malouf, Robert P. (2000b) Verbal Gerunds as Mixed Categories in Head Drive Phrase Structure Grammar. " in Borsley (ed) *The Nature and Function of Syntactic categories. Syntax and Semantics 32.* Academic Press. pp 133–166.

McCloskey, James (1983) "A VP in a VSO language". In Gazdar, G., Pullam G. and Sag, I. (eds.), *Order Concord and Constituency.* Dordrecht: Foris.

Rouveret, Alain (1994) *Syntaxe du gallois: principes generaux et typologie,* Paris: CNRS.

Willis, Penny (1988) "Is the Welsh Verbal noun a verb or a Noun?" *Word* 39.3: 201–224.

Yoon, James H. (2005) "Dual Lexical Categories and Inflectional Morphology." in C. Orhan Orgun and Peter Sells (eds.) *Morphology and the Web of Grammar.* CSLI Publications. pp. 139–168.

APPENDIX A –– THE DETERMINER SYSTEM OF IRISH.

i) Irish has a complicated set of initial consonant (and vowel) mutations. There are two kinds of lenition, three kinds of nasalization/voicing (called eclipsis), t-prefixation and h-prefixation (also known as "anti-lenition or historically "gemination"). These mutations are LEXICALLY triggered by particular functional categories that precede the word that bears the mutation.

Lenition₁ (^{L1}):
p → ph	broad: [f]	slender: [fʲ]
b → bh	broad: [β]	slender: [v]
m → mh	broad: [β]	slender: [ṽ]
f → fh	not pronounced	
t → th	broad: [h]	slender: [hʲ]
d → dh	broad: [ɣ]	slender: [j]
s → sh	broad: [h]	slender: [h⁽ʲ⁾]
c → ch	broad: [x]	slender: [ç]
g → gh	broad: [ɣ]	slender: [j]

Lenition₂ (^{L2}):
p → ph	broad: [f]	slender: [fʲ]
b → bh	broad: [β]	slender: [v]
m → mh	broad: [β]	slender: [v]
f → fh	not pronounced	
s → ts	broad: [t]	slender: [tʲ]
c → ch	broad: [x]	slender: [ç]
g → gh	broad: [ɣ]	slender: [j]

Eclipsis₁ (^{E1}):
p → bp	broad: [b]	slender: [bʲ]
b → mb	broad: [m]	slender: [mʲ]
f → bhf	broad: [β]	slender: [v]
t → dt	broad: [d]	slender: [dʲ]
d → nd	broad: [n]	slender: [nʲ]
c → gc	broad: [g]	slender: [gʲ]
g → ng	broad: [ŋ]	slender: [ɲ]
vowel → n-vowel		

Eclipsis₂ (^{E2}):
p → bp	broad: [b]	slender: [bʲ]
b → mb	broad:[m]	slender: [mʲ]
f → bhf	broad: [β]	slender: [v]
c → gc	broad: [g]	slender: [gʲ]
g → ng	broad: [ŋ]	slender: [ɲ]

Eclipsis₃ (^{E3}):
p → bp	broad: [b]	slender: [bʲ]
b → mb	broad: [m]	slender: [mʲ]
f → bhf	broad: [β]	slender: [v]
c → gc	broad: [g]	slender: [gʲ]
g → ng	broad: [ŋ]	slender: [ɲ]
s → ts	broad: [t]	slender: [tʲ]

t-prefixation (^{T}):   vowel → t-vowel
h-prefixation (^{H}):   vowel → h-vowel

Syracuse/Cornell Workshop on the Internal Syntax of Nominalized Clauses

THE DETERMINERS AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS OF IRISH:

ii. Possessive Pronouns:

mo^{L1}	*my*	ár^{E3}	*our*
do^{L1}	*your*	bhúr^{E3}	*your*
a^{L1}	*his*	a^{E3}	*their*
a^{H}	*her*		

iii. Determiners:

Masculine:	*Singular*	*Plural*
Common	an^{T}	na^{H}
Genitive	an^{L2}	na^{E1}
Vocative	a^{L1}	a^{L1}
Prepositional	an^{E2}	na^{H}

Feminine:	*Singular*	*Plural*
Common	an^{L2}	na^{H}
Genitive	na^{H}	na^{E1}
Vocative	a^{L1}	a^{L1}
Prepositional	an^{E3}	na^{H}

iii. Determiners in combination with prepositions

without article	5	masc. sing.	masc. pl.	fem. sing.	fem. pl.
ag 'at'	P	ag an^{E2}	ag na^{H}	ag an^{E3}	ag na^{H}
ar^{L1} 'on'	P	ar an^{E2}	ar na^{H}	ar an^{E3}	ar na^{H}
as 'out of'	P	as an^{E2}	as na^{H}	as an^{E3}	as na^{H}
chuig 'to'	P	chuig an^{E2}	chuig na^{H}	chuig an^{E3}	chuig na^{H}
chun 'to'	G	chun an^{L2}	chun na^{E1}	chun na^{H}	chun na^{E1}
cois 'beside'	G	cois an^{L2}	cois na^{E1}	cois na^{H}	cois na^{E1}
de^{L1} 'of'	P*	den^{L1}	de na^{H}	den^{L2}	de na^{H}
do^{L1} 'to'	P*	don^{L1}	do na^{H}	don^{L2}	do na^{H}
faoi^{L1} 'under'	P	faoin^{E2}	faoi na^{H}	faoin^{E3}	faoi na^{H}
fearacht 'like'	G	fearacht an^{L2}	fearacht na^{E1}	fearacht na^{H}	fearacht na^{E1}
gan^{L3} 'without'	C	gan an^{T}	gan na^{H}	gan an^{L2}	gan na^{H}
go^{H} (go dtí) 'to/until'	C	go dtí an^{T}	go dtí na^{H}	go dtí an^{L2}	go dtí na^{H}
idir^{6} 'between'	C	idir an^{T}	idir na^{H}	idir an^{L2}	idir na^{H}
i^{E1} 'in' (in)	P*	sa^{L1} (san)	sna^{H}	sa^{L2} (san)	sna^{H}
le 'with'	P	leis an^{E2}	leis na^{H}	leis an^{E3}	leis na^{H}
ó^{L1} 'from'	P	ón^{E2}	ó na^{H}	ón^{E3}	ó na^{H}
roimh^{L1} 'before'	P	roimh an^{E2}	roimh na^{H}	roimh an^{E3}	roimh na^{H}
thar 'over'	P	thar an^{E2}	thar na^{H}	thar an^{E3}	thar na^{H}
timpeall 'around'	G	timpeall an^{L2}	timpeall na^{E1}	timpeall na^{H}	timpeall na^{E1}
trasna 'across'	G	trasna an^{L2}	trasna na^{E1}	trasna na^{H}	trasna na^{E1}
trí^{L1} 'through'	P	tríd an^{E2}	trí na^{H}	tríd an^{E3}	trí na^{H}
um^{L1} 'about'	P	um an^{E2}	um na^{H}	um an^{E3}	um na^{H}

---

[5] The 2nd column refers to the case form that the following noun takes. P stands for prepositional; C for common; G stands for genitive. P* means that the ending on the following noun is prepositional, but the initial consonant mutation is not the one usually found in the prepositional case.

[6] *Idir* can also mean 'both' in which case it lenites (^{L1})