The Internal Structure of Nouns, Nominals, and Gerunds: An Analysis of Their Relationship and Representation

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Abstract: Spectrums of lexical categories in languages are well-documented phenomena. Some constructions are “nounier” or “verbier” than others, though they might not fit purely into the categories of nouns or verbs. While these middle-ground constructions are recognized in the literature (see Ross 1973, e.g.), their representation is less studied in modern frameworks. I build on Abney’s (1987) dissertation concerning the DP in English, and place it into a Minimalist framework. In doing so, I propose the insertion of nominal and verbal projections at varying points in the syntactic hierarchy to represent selected nominal constructions, based on parallelisms in the hierarchical structures of nominal and verbal structures. Though the parallelism is not exact, I propose a dP projection to aid in the symmetry, presenting evidence to complete the spectrum on the nominal end. My investigation maintains the universality of nouns and verbs while providing an analysis of nominal forms using preexisting categories.

0. Introduction

With regard to the grammar of language, it is important to consider every type of construction with a mindset of “everything in its place, and a place for every thing.” That is to say, it is not enough to analyze only constructions that fit neatly into a pre-existing framework. It is necessary to account for the entire grammar of a language. In this paper, I analyze different types of deverbative nominal structures alongside purely nominal structures. Some of these nominal structures have distinct verbal properties that need to be accounted for. The study of certain constructions whose properties seem to classify them as neither entirely nominal nor entirely verbal is by no means novel (see, e.g., Ross 1973 for early work), but has been, perhaps, understudied in modern frameworks.

It has been well established that such constructions lie somewhere on a continuum between pure nouns and verbs, but it is less clear how to account for each point on the continuum given generally accepted syntactic models. With the advent of the Minimalist framework (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001, 2008), we may now look at these constructions under a new lens. I first provide an analysis of the representation of nominal structures using uninterpretable and unvalued features to account for the nominal/verbal variation in these constructions across a spectrum of “nouniness.” In doing so, I refurbish Abney’s (1987) strategy of embedding verbal projections within nominal structures using a structure where mergers and movement are based on

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1 This work contains selected sections from a Master’s thesis. The full thesis may be found in the University of Georgia Thesis and Dissertation archives.
feature checking. As a consequence of my analysis, I also provide an entirely syntactic and fea-
ture-driven approach to the origin of the /-ing/ morphology in gerunds and how it comes to ap-
ppear in all the gerund constructions.

1. The Representation of Syntactic Categories
1.1. A Spectrum of Grammatical Categories
In his dissertation, Abney (1987) uses a spectrum of “nouniness” and “verbiness” to show differ-
ent environments that motivate his proposal of a DP functional head. He cites Ross (1973) in pro-
posing the following continuum:

Figure 1: Ross’s (1973) Noun-Verb Continuum

Concrete Noun  |  Action Nominal  |  Acc-ing  |  Indirect Question  |
               |                 |          |                    |
Derived Nominal | Poss-ing  | Infinitive | Tensed CP |

Examples of each point along this continuum are given below in (1):

(1)  
a. Concrete Noun:  The chair bothered me.
  
b. Derived Nominal:  His movement of the chair bothered me.
  
c. Action Nominal:  His moving of the chair bothered me.
  
d. Poss-ing:  His moving the chair bothered me.
  
e. Acc-ing:  Him moving the chair bothered me.²
  
f. Infinitive:  To move the chair was an arduous task.
  
g. Indirect Question:  I asked who moved the chair.
  
h. Tensed CP:  He moved the chair.

After the purely nominal concrete noun (1a), the next most verbal construction is the derived
nominal (1b), which is manifested by the addition of thematic arguments and nominal cases
(genitive and of-case),³ similar to the arguments and case assigned in verbal phrases. The action
nominal in (1c) then changes the head of the phrase from a derived noun to a gerund, which
more clearly shows the verbal root since the /-ing/ morphology is consistent for all gerunds.⁴

The /-ing/ ending in English is a multifaceted piece of morphology, in that it has multiple
uses. For the purposes of this paper, I distinguish the gerund from the present participle, which
may be used adjectivally (The dripping paint bothered me) or progressively (The paint was drip-

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² The Acc-ing construction can be marginal or, in some cases, ungrammatical for speakers of American English, es-
specially in subject position. It is, however, accepted in other literature. Because of this, and because of its important
place on the spectrum in (1), I feel it is important to include it as part of this analysis.
³ Following Adger (2003), I assume an of-case, which spells out an of for the complement to N. I further assume that
this case is valued by n (in a split NP analysis), consistent with the valuation of accusative case on complements to
V by v. Adger (forthcoming) further argues for of phrases as complement arguments in nominal structure.
⁴ The origin and significance of the /-ing/ suffix is discussed in more detail later. Until then, for ease of explaining
other parts of the paper, I assume /-ing/ to be already attached in the numeration.
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ping down the wall). Both of these represent an ongoing or incomplete action. The gerund, however, is a more nominal construction, the distribution of which is illustrated throughout this paper. Although I do not focus more on this distinction, it is important to keep in mind that the discussion will focus on the gerund, and not the present participle.

The Poss-ing construction in (1d) is more verbal in that it changes the case of its internal argument from of-case (nominal) to accusative case (verbal), while still maintaining the gerund ending found in the action nominal.

The next two elements on the spectrum, Acc-ing (1e) and the infinitive (1f), do not show as obvious a progression, since both value accusative case on their external arguments, and it might appear that the only overt difference seems to be the /-ing/ ending on the verb in (1e). I maintain (with Ross 1973, Abney 1987) that Acc-ing is the more nominal for two reasons. First, it is appealing to be able to group the constructions containing gerunds together, in hopes of finding some unifying level of structure that they all share. Secondly, the entire Acc-ing construction, unlike the infinitive, is able to receive an external theta role and case marking in a sentence, similarly to how concrete nouns (and, in fact, all the nominal elements we have seen so far) are able to receive them. The verb bother in (1e) assigns an agentive role, whereas be in (1f) does not assign an external argument. Pires (2006) further points out that Acc-ing constructions cannot occur in positions that are caseless. He specifically points out passive clause complements, like those in (2):

(2)  
  a. * It was expected [Frank reading this novel].
  b. It was expected [that Frank would read this novel].

For passives with an expletive subject fulfilling the EPP, the complement position needs to be filled by a finite clause, as in (2b). Since the complement does not receive case, it may be filled by a finite CP which does not require it. Acc-ing, which requires case, will not receive case in the complement position, hence the ungrammaticality of (2a). More theoretical evidence for the distribution of Acc-ing being more nominal than the infinitive is given below.

Moving toward the most verbal elements, the indirect question (1g) values both nominative and accusative case within its CP, though it must appear as the object of a verb of inquiry. Finally, the tensed CP (1h), being the most verbal, stands on its own and does not necessarily occur as an argument of another verb. Essentially, it has no nominal qualities, just as a concrete noun (1a) has no verbal qualities. These final constructions that lie on the verbal end of the spectrum (infinitive, indirect question and tensed CP) are outside the scope of this paper, and are included here only to round out the spectrum.

1.2. Motivating Parallel Structure

As previously mentioned, this continuum deals with the varying degrees of “nouniness” and “verbiness” of constructions using only nominal and sentential projections (as opposed to, say, prepositional phrases), since there are not any other phrase types that fall between pure nouns and pure verbs on this spectrum. The observation that the different types of constructions we saw in (1a-h) transition so fluidly suggests that nouns and verbs are constructed with a similar hierarchy. This has also been proposed in previous literature. Abney (1987) states that a similarity in structure is
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“[…] attractive for conceptual reasons, in addition to the empirical advantages it provides. Verb versus noun is the most fundamental opposition in grammar, and it is appealing to be able to assign the phrases built on the – sentence and noun phrase, respectively – parallel structure.” (Abney 1987:25–26)

With the nouns and verbs themselves being the building blocks of their respective phrases, it is natural that NPs and VPs should be the most embedded projections for concrete nouns and verbs, and that purely nominal or purely verbal phrases respectively form their hierarchical structures from these projections. In keeping with a Minimalist framework, I look at these structures beginning with the most embedded phrases (NP and VP), and work up from there. With respect to phrasal structure, above the most embedded level of structure (NP/VP), verbs have been proposed to need a vP in their representation. In keeping with Adger (2003, forthcoming), I extend this level of structure to nominal phrases as well, saying that a nP is needed to assign a theta role to external arguments of nouns, and to assign of-case to internal arguments. The split NP and VP analyses provide further symmetry in the hierarchical structures of nominal and verbal phrases, as well as allow for consistent argument structure across the spectrum in (1).

Moving further up in the structure, above the vP/nP level, the verbal structure contains a functional head, T, which bears the verbal inflection and licenses nominative case on the nominal in its specifier position. This level of structure is a crucial piece of evidence in Abney’s influential dissertation, which provides arguments for an equivalent functional head D for nominal phrases. In modern theory, D assigns genitive case to the “possessor” in its specifier. This level is further motivated by the fact that only one item can appear in the respective functional head position (T and D), namely a modal verb (or the English infinitive marker) in T and a determiner in D.

Verbal phrases also have a need for a higher level of structure, the CP, which values accusative case when it contains an overt for in C, serves as a key landing site for wh-movement, and acts as a phase boundary as discussed below. Nominal phrases, on the other hand, do not have a generally accepted projection above the DP. A possible hierarchy might then be (3):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Verbal:} & \quad \text{CP} \rightarrow \text{TP} \rightarrow \text{vP} \rightarrow \text{VP} \\
\text{Nominal:} & \quad \text{?P} \rightarrow \text{DP} \rightarrow \text{nP} \rightarrow \text{NP}
\end{align*}
\]

Notice that if we are arguing for absolute equivalence, then there is a missing level in the nominal structure that equates to the sentential CP. Since it has been possible to motivate symmetry in the other hierarchical levels, it seems reasonable that we should be able to do the same at this level. I therefore assume the parallelism in (3), and propose that the ?P is a level of structure which I will call dP, giving a final parallelism like that in (3’):  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Verbal:} & \quad \text{CP} \rightarrow \text{TP} \rightarrow \text{vP} \rightarrow \text{VP} \\
\text{Nominal:} & \quad \text{dP} \rightarrow \text{DP} \rightarrow \text{nP} \rightarrow \text{NP}
\end{align*}
\]

Megerdoomian (2008) proposes a different parallelism, correlating DP to AgrP. She does not, however, postulate a correlate for the CP projection, which serves as an important part of verbal structure.
This leaves open many questions, including why C and D share the property of acting as phase boundaries if they are not hierarchically equivalent structures. I return to this issue later.

2. A Survey of Individual Constructions

2.1. Concrete Nouns and Derived Nominals

In the following sections, I look individually at each construction and the features in its derivation. I then use these features to illustrate the placement of each construction on Ross’s spectrum. After brief descriptions of each construction, I provide Minimalist derivations to show the properties that each level of structure brings to the overall phrase. In doing this, I take a slight deviation from other work that has been done in this field. Pires (1999, 2006) begins on the verbal end of the spectrum, showing that infinitives and Acc-ing constructions (in his analysis, clausal gerunds) are verbal structures which are defective in certain areas, which makes them less sentential. I begin my analysis from the nominal end of the spectrum, showing that constructions that begin as nominals are essentially “infected” with verbal elements of structure, making them more sentential.

The concrete noun is a simple enough structure to represent syntactically. Using (1a) (repeated below) as an example, the noun appears in NP and the determiner appears in DP. There are no theta roles to be assigned, and there is no case valuation, at least at any level within the nominal domain.

(4) a. The chair bothered me. (= 1a; Concrete Noun)

b. 

The movement of chair to n parallels movements of verbs into the vP for reasons of word ordering when other elements are present. Thus, I preserve the head movement from NP to nP for consistency, even when word order is not an issue.

Looking now at (1b), the head of the derived nominal phrase, movement, is clearly a noun derived from the verb move. That is to say, these forms use various types of derivational morphology to create deverbal nouns (cf. destroy:destruction, baptize:baptism, etc.). However, if derivation from one lexical class to another at least partly exemplifies a dichotomy between derivational and inflectional morphology, then one might be able to argue that /-ing/ is also derivational, as it is present in three different constructions on the continuum we are using to bridge the two lexical classes. I return to this later.
Another difference that separates the derived nominal from a concrete noun structure is the need for case and argument structure. For a chair movement event, in a construction that requires two arguments (as in 1b-h, excluding the concrete noun), there is a mover (Agent) and something that is being moved (Theme). Following Adger (2003), these thematic roles are assigned by both n and N to the external (agentive) and internal (theme/patient) arguments, respectively (comparable to the roles assigned by v and V in the verbal domain).

Case also needs to be valued on both the internal and external arguments. The n values the of-case on the chair, and the D values genitive case on he, causing it to be spelled out as his.

(5) a. His movement of the chair bothered me. (= 1b; Derived Nominal)

b. 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{dP} \\
\text{d} \\
\text{DP \ [gen]} \\
\text{D} \\
\text{his \ [Case: \ gen]} \\
<\text{he}> \\
n' \\
n \ [of] \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{movement} \\
n \\
\text{N} \\
\text{DP} \\
\text{the chair \ [Case: \ of]}
\end{array}
\]

2.2. Action Nominals

I briefly discussed earlier that the action nominals differ from the derived nominals in that the most embedded head begins as a verb, rather than as a noun. Because of this, I propose that at the most embedded level of structure where moving needs to originate, there cannot be an NP. Rather, moving needs to start as a VP (assuming for now that the gerund morphology marking occurs already on the verb in the numeration) before it moves up into the next highest level, here the nP. The other requirements that we saw in the derived nominals earlier, however, remain the same. His is still valued with genitive case, so the DP needs to remain in the structure to value it. The chair is still valued with of-case, so the nP also needs to remain in the structure. Since we saw earlier that the NP and VP are equivalent levels of structure, we should be able to replace the NP level with a VP level, as shown in (6).
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(6)  a. His moving of the chair bothered me. (= 1c; Action Nominal)

b. 
\[ dP \]
\[ \underbrace{\begin{array}{c}
 d \\
 D \\
 DP \{ \text{gen} \}
\end{array}}_{\text{his [Case: gen]}} \]
\[ \underbrace{\begin{array}{c}
 nP \\
 \langle \text{he} \rangle \\
 n' \underbrace{\begin{array}{c}
 n \{ \text{of} \} \\
 VP
\end{array}}_{\text{moving}}
\end{array}}_{\text{the chair [Case: of]}} \]

We will see as we continue with further structures that we can easily move our way up the spectrum towards more sentential structures by replacing equivalent levels of structures so that each construction’s respective features can be checked. In each case, the next highest level of structure substitutes a verbal projection for a nominal one to account for new verbal features.

2.3. Poss-ing

Moving further towards the verbal end of the spectrum, there is another instance of the gerund in the Poss-ing construction. The difference in this structure from the action nominal structure is that the chair here is no longer receiving of-case, but accusative case. Following the proposal from the end of the last section, I replace \( nP \) with \( vP \). This works well, since \( v \) would then value the accusative case needed on the object the chair, while still leaving \( D \) to value genitive case to his. Since \( v \) also assigns theta roles like \( n \) did for the derived nominal and action nominal, requirements for argument structure are also satisfied.

(7)  a. His moving the chair bothered me. (= 1d; Poss-ing)

b. 
\[ dP \]
\[ \underbrace{\begin{array}{c}
 d \\
 D \\
 DP \{ \text{gen} \}
\end{array}}_{\text{his [Case: gen]}} \]
\[ \underbrace{\begin{array}{c}
 vP \\
 \langle \text{he} \rangle \\
 v' \underbrace{\begin{array}{c}
 v \{ \text{acc} \} \\
 VP
\end{array}}_{\text{moving}}
\end{array}}_{\text{the chair [Case: acc]}} \]
Abney (1987) cites Ross (1973) as saying that the generally accepted cut-off between nouns and verbs is between the Poss-ing and Acc-ing constructions. Abney, however, argues that Acc-ing constructions are actually slightly more nominal because of their occurrence in external argument position, and the need the phrase as a whole to be valued with case. Assuming the higher level of structure $dP$, I motivate this further in the following section.

2.4. Acc-ing

The Acc-ing construction changes the case of the subject from genitive (in Poss-ing) to accusative. In the Poss-ing construction, DP has a strong genitive case feature, but this is not assigned in Acc-ing. Since I am maintaining that the next highest level of structure changes to its verbal equivalent, then we need a TP in this functional position. It may be problematic, though, to determine where *him* gets accusative case in this construction. It is here that I resort to the $dP$.

We saw earlier that Abney (1987:21) states that “verb versus noun is the most fundamental opposition in grammar.” Taking this fundamental opposition to be NP and VP, it makes sense to say that, as we move higher in the equivalent structures of nouns and verbs, the levels of structure become more alike. With $dP$ and CP being at the top of the respective hierarchies, it is logical to assume that they should share many properties. One of these properties of CP is that it can value accusative case, which is seen clearly in infinitive clauses with an overt *for* in the complementizer (e.g. *I arranged for him to move the chair.*).

If $dP$ and CP are assumed to be alike enough to value the same case to the subject of their respective clauses, then the accusative case on *him* can be easily accounted for. In this case, it might be tempting to say that the $dP$ level does not actually exist, and that CP stands as the sole phrase at the highest level of structure. CPs, however, allow for overt complementizers, *that* and *for*, whereas the $dP$ does not (e.g. *For him moving the chair bothered me.*).

Proposing two different levels of structure (CP and $dP$) also allows us to assume that a projection exists above the TP in Acc-ing constructions. Pires (2006) uses the fact that Acc-ing cannot contain an overt complementizer to suggest that these constructions do not contain a CP. He also illustrates that these embedded clauses cannot appear as indirect questions. These are both sentential properties that a CP would introduce, so being able to propose a nominal head ($dP$) can illustrate that such constructions are nominal, in the sense that they do not have these necessarily verbal/sentential properties. This distinction between $dP$ and CP also results in a more pleasing symmetry between the nominal and verbal domains.

This means that the $dP$/CP level only values case in two constructions: $dP$ values Acc-ing and CP values the infinitive. In all the other constructions, it is the DP/TP level that values case. This means that for Acc-ing and infinitives respectively, there must be something about the TP level (since this level is consistent in both constructions) that is not allowing it to value its nominative case feature. For infinitives, this is an overt *to* in the T head, but the Acc-ing has nothing overt in T. One can account for these variables with some kind of null element sitting in T that blocks anything from appearing there overtly, and that T is non-finite, which would not allow T to value inflection on verbs. In order to encompass both of these properties, I propose that T is defective in Acc-ing constructions and that it is spelled out as $\emptyset$. This prevents T from valuing inflection on the verb and nominative case on the external argument.

Having now motivated the need for a $dP$ level of structure and the accusative case it values, I give here the structure for Acc-ing constructions as shown in the tree in (8) below.
a. **Him moving the chair** bothered me. (= 1e; Acc-ing)

b. \[
\begin{array}{c}
dP \text{[ase]} \\
d \\
TP \\
\text{him [Case: acc]} \\
T' \\
T \text{[def]} \\
<\text{he}> \\
\nu' \\
\nu \text{[ase]} \\
\text{moving} \\
\nu \text{[ase]} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{the chair [Case: acc]} \\
\end{array}
\]

The remaining constructions (1f-h) contain a full verbal hierarchy, and do not play into the continuum that I have shown thus far in this section. For this reason, their properties and features are not discussed here.

In my analysis thus far, I have assumed that the gerund marker /-ing/ is already attached to the verb in the numeration. In the following section, I investigate this idea further and provide an alternative solution, as well as an analysis for the distribution of all of these nominal constructions in necessarily case-marked positions.

### 3. **Feature Valuation**

#### 3.1 Valuing Inflection

Both nominal and verbal structures have unvalued features whose valuation is necessary for a complete derivation. I focus on inflection ([Infl:__]) in the verbal domain and case ([Case:__]) in the nominal domain. I show that, in building the derivation for the aforementioned constructions, these features need to be valued to account for the nominal and verbal properties of each.

Until this point, I have assumed gerund /-ing/ morphology to be attached already in the numeration. Since the morphology of the gerund is consistent across all verbs, I propose instead that there is a gerund feature that supplies the /-ing/ morphology for gerunds. A feature valuation rule like this would be less taxing on the memory and more economical for the derivation as a whole. It is necessary then to find the place where this feature originates, for all gerund constructions discussed in this paper, namely the action nominal, Poss-ing, and Acc-ing.

We have seen so far that there are two projections that are consistent among the action nominal, Poss-ing and Acc-ing: The dP and VP. It is appealing to include the dP as part of this analysis as well, not only because it is consistent across all the gerund constructions, but because it is a nominal projection, which explains why all gerund constructions still have the nominal property of appearing in necessarily case-marked positions. One might be hesitant, at first, to say...
that /-ing/ is a feature on $dP$, since $v$ falls outside of the search space of the probe on $d$. The T head below $d$, however, would then inherit case to value on $v$ (in the sense of Chomsky 2008).

On the other hand, /-ing/ has some strong traits that are characteristic of syntactic features. It cannot attach to just anything. It needs to attach to a verb. This means that the VP needs to be present in order to provide a verb for the gerund marker to attach to. The only structures that contain a $dP$ and VP in the same hierarchy are precisely the structures that contain gerunds. Thus, whenever a construction contains both of these levels of structure, the verb moves from V to the $n/v$ where the gerund /-ing/ marker presumably attaches. It is apparent that the appearance of the /-ing/ suffix is sensitive to the syntax, requiring the presence of two specific levels of structure, and that it determines the shape of a word in English.

I am proposing, then, that /-ing/ is a feature (say, [ing]), valuing the inflection feature [Infl:__] on the verb, since that feature is inherently present on verbs, and in the case of gerunds, it would be otherwise unvalued. This makes sense, since any other inflectional morphology would come from T, and my earlier proposal of a defective T would prevent this from being a problem for Acc-ing. If an [ing] feature is not valued by T, then the [Infl:__] feature remains unvalued at the time $dP$ is merged. This should also hold given that, for the Acc-ing construction, the [Case:__] feature on the external argument of Acc-ing also remains unvalued until $dP$ is merged.

This idea calls for a new kind of feature checking that crosses the morphology interface. This is a slightly more syntactic approach than other theories that have attempted to bridge this interface (e.g. Distributed Morphology). In the next section, (8’) depicts this feature.

### 3.2 Valuing Case

In the same way that I use [Infl:__] to account for verbal properties of gerunds, I also use feature valuation for nominal properties, namely [Case:__]. Acc-ing is the most verbal structure that must necessarily appear in a case-marked position, which means that there must be some level of structure on which an uninterpretable case feature can be valued. For that, I am proposing $dP$.

Since case is an inherently nominal feature, it should consistently appear with nominal projections. In all the trees above, the only projection that is consistent across all constructions is $dP$. Notably, this is also a nominal projection. I am proposing that not only is the $d$ head important for assigning accusative to the subject of Acc-ing and valuing [Infl:__] on V, but it also carries an unvalued case feature [Case:__]. Working under the assumption that $dP$ is a projection that appears in all nominal constructions, it then acts as a consistent projection on which case can be valued. (8’) shows a fully valued Acc-ing construction.
In this representation, I have even replaced the most embedded phrase *the chair* with a *dP*, since I assume this level to be necessary for all nominal case valuation. That is, case valuation on nominals always occurs at *dP*, which makes *dP* a necessary projection on all nominals.

4. **Implications for Phasehood**

A significant consideration for any proposal of additional structure to the syntax is whether the additional level is phase-defining or not, and how it fits into previous accounts of phase-defining categories of the nominal and verbal domains. The idea that syntax is built cyclically has been proposed by syntacticians for decades. In its most recent instantiation (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2008), the idea of the syntactic phase has been worked into the Minimalist framework. That is, as the derivation is being built, features are checked and valued along the way. As soon as a phase-defining head is merged, all the uninterpretable features in the complement to the phase-head must be checked and valued, so that this complement can be spelled out and become impenetrable to any further operation of the syntax that would be caused by further heads being merged. If features are left unchecked or unvalued when a phase-defining head is reached, the derivation will crash.

Much work has been done in the past on phases in sentential phrases, but phasehood in nominal phrases is significantly less studied. Each phase contains a phase-defining phrase, which includes its head, any adjuncts, and its specifier(s) which remain accessible to operations outside of that phase. This is known as the phase “edge.” Anything more embedded than this is not accessible to operations. Items within a phase have the ability to become accessible if they can move to this phase “edge.” This concept is known as the “Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC).” The most widely accepted phase-defining categories for the verbal domain are CP and *vP* (Chomsky 2000 and others). For nominal phrases, Chomsky (2001) writes:

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6 Gallego (2005) explores the possibility that *TP* serves as a phase-defining category in Romance languages.
While Chomsky does not elaborate much further on this topic, I assume (with Haegeman 2004, Lee-Schoenfeld 2007) that D also serves as a phase boundary. As stated above, this analysis, in conjunction with my analysis of dP, does not provide for absolute parallelism between nominal and verbal/sentential structures.

If this is assumed, however, we encounter a slight problem. Appealing first to the [Infl:__] and [ing] features that we have proposed for gerund structures, the derivation is complete at the dP projection. In this case, the [Infl:__] feature at the vP/nP level is not valued until the dP level is merged. Once that feature is valued, all the features on that head should be checked, and it is spelled out. If this is true, then phrases that contain a gerund would not be spelled out until the phase-defining head d is merged. However, when dP is merged, it is merged with an unvalued [Case:__] feature. As shown below, however, d does not have the ability to act as an intermediate landing site for cases of extraction. There are properties, then, that show that d should act as a phase and other that show that it cannot.

(9) a. * Sven doesn’t know [who, dating t]. (Acc-ing, d head in embedded clause)
b. Sven doesn’t know [who, to date t]. (Infinitive, C head in embedded clause)

There is more to be said about the role of phasehood with respect to the constructions on this continuum, and I hope that further analysis will reveal the accuracy of these claims. While theory may predict one outcome, empirical evidence will reveal the true nature of the beast.

5. Conclusion

This analysis has examined constructions along the nominal/verbal spectrum. I have shown that parallel hierarchies between nominal and verbal phrases can be used to create correspondences between them. By individually replacing these correspondences, I have shown that the features of nominal and verbal projections account for the properties of each construction along the continuum. In doing so, I used equivalent structures, as well as other motivations, to propose a new level of structure: the dP. I then used the structures I had built to propose the origin of the gerund marker [ing] in dP. The [ing] feature I proposed is able to assign inflectional morphology to the [Infl:__] feature on the verb in cases of the gerund, as it was not previously valued due to the defectiveness of T (specifically in Acc-ing constructions). In the same way, I proposed that the accusative case for the subject of an Acc-ing construction must also be valued by dP.

I then introduced certain consequences of my analysis that should be the subject of future research to be done in the area. I showed that, given the generally accepted view of phase boundaries, nominal constructions in my analysis do not fit a widely proposed analysis of DP (or, in fact, any nominal projection) as a phase boundary. This calls for significant work to be done in the field of nominal phases.

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7 See also Svenonius (2004) for further discussion of this and other similar ideas.
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While the analyses presented here are primarily Anglocentric, the principles of Universal Grammar predict that these properties should be represented in some manner in other languages, though their precise manifestation is yet to be determined. This provides for a variety of future research topics. For the time being, however, I hope to have been successful in extending previous analyses of English (more or less) nominal phrases into a Minimalist framework.

References
