

IMPROPER NAMES

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1. CLOSE APPPOSITION

Close apposition can be defined as a linear juxtaposition of two noun phrases **with a shared referent and no intervening pause**:

- (1) a. the element engoopium [examples from Jackendoff 1984]
b. the material polyacrynilate
c. the actor John Gielgud
- (2) a. the name Harry
b. the color red
c. the letter A
d. the number 14
e. the play/opera/novel/movie *Death in Venice*

Jackendoff 1984: the *N-E* construction can also contain a quotation (henceforth, **categorized mention**):

- (3) a. the phrase *the phrase*
b. the word/verb *run*
c. the pattern *da-dum da-dum da-dum*
d. the symbol \$

The shape of things to come:

- **mention** is clearly syntactically distinguished, by case-marking in Russian and by the presence of an obligatory complementizer in Japanese
- surprisingly, syntax also clearly distinguishes **non-dedicated proper names**

In particular, case-marking in close apposition in Russian permits two options: case-marking failure (N_2 bears the default nominative case) and case-agreement (N_2 agrees in case with N_1)

Main empirical generalization: case-marking failure indicates a **secondary use of language**, when the name has a prior use as the name of something else or just a linguistic expression, as with names of railway stations, ships, books, etc.

Direct quotation has special syntax both in categorized mention and in argument positions; restrictions on its use (obligatory categorization) provide evidence for **semantic definition of lexical categories**.

2. CASE-MARKING IN CLOSE APPPOSITION IN RUSSIAN

Preview: case-agreement in close apposition can be

- obligatory: [+ animate] and kind-denoting common nouns
- ϕ - and/or lexical category-conditioned: toponyms
- impossible: titles and man-made objects (ships, hotels...)

When not preceded by a common noun, proper names and kind names in argument positions are assigned case by regular mechanisms

2.1. Obligatory case-marking on the proper name

[+ animate] close apposition shows obligatory case-agreement.

- (4) a. My govorili o ruskom poète *Cvetaeva/✓Cvetaevoj.
 we spoke about Russian-MSG-LOC poet-MSG-LOC Tsvetaeva.FSG-LOC
We spoke about the Russian poet Tsvetaeva.
- b. o kosmonavtax Tereškovoĵ/*Tereškova i Gagarine/*Gagarin
 about astronauts-LOC Tereshkova.FSG-LOC/NOM and Gagarin.MSG-LOC/NOM
about the astronauts Tereshkova and Gagarin

...except with group nouns, but the common nouns there is inanimate:

- (5) s gruppoj/ansamblem Zemljane/*Zemljanami
 with group.F-INST/band.M-INST Terran-PL-NOM/INST
with the group/band The Terrans

As we will see, these behave like titles.

Kind names behave like [+ animate] names:

- (6) a. o ximičeskom èlemente *radij/✓radie
 about chemical-LOC element.MSG-LOC radium.MSG-NOM/LOC
about the chemical element radium
- b. o ximičeskom èlemente *sera/✓sere
 about chemical-LOC element.MSG-LOC sulfur.FSG-NOM/LOC
about the chemical element sulfur

Obviously, proper names may be born by several people and kind names may be ambiguous

2.2. Toponyms

Without a categorizing noun case-marking is obligatory:

- (7) a. My govorili o *Moskva/Moskve.
 we spoke about Moscow.FSG-NOM/LOC
We spoke about Moscow.
- b. My doexali do *Popovka/Popovki.
 we reached until Popovka.FSG-NOM/GEN
We have reached Popovka.
- c. My govorili o *Francija/✓Francii.
 we spoke about France.FSG-NOM/LOC
We spoke about France.

Otherwise the case-marking on the toponym depends on the categorizing noun:

- (8) a. My govorili o velikom gorode Moskva/Moskve.
 we spoke about great-MSG-LOC city-MSG-LOC Moscow.FSG-NOM/LOC
We spoke about the great city of Moscow.
- b. My doexali do stancii Popovka/*Popovki.
 we reached until station.FSG-GEN Popovka.FSG-NOM/GEN
We have reached the station Popovka.
- c. My govorili o velikoj strane *Francija/✓Francii.
 we spoke about great-FSG-LOC country.FSG-LOC France.FSG-NOM/LOC
We spoke about the great country France.

...though not in any straightforward, on/off way.

Prescriptive view (e.g., Golub 2010): toponyms must agree in case unless the proper name is plural, is itself a complex NP or is both foreign and unfamiliar.

Optionality is conditioned by gender/number congruence, though in subtly different ways for different toponyms (Graudina, Ickovič and Katlinskaja 2001).

Underlying functionalist generalization: the more the proper name is likely to be "**proper**" to the entity denoted by the DP as a whole, the more likely case agreement is.

Note: This is not about the fact that proper names are generally perceived as unique!

Foreign toponyms, even if ϕ -congruent, tend to resist case-agreement: the less familiar they are, the more likely they are to retain the nominative form.

- (9) a. v šstate Nebraska/%Nebraske
in state.M-LOC Nebraska.F-NOM/-LOC
in the state of Nebraska
- b. v šstate Texas/%Texase
in state.M-LOC Texas.M-NOM/-LOC
in the state of Texas

The less familiar a name is, the more likely it is to be non-dedicated (else why categorize?)

For **syntactically simplex city names**, number congruence is an obligatory condition for case agreement but gender congruence is not:

- (10) a. v gorode Gagry/*Gagrax
in town.MSG-LOC Gagry.PL-NOM/LOC
in the city of Gagry
- b. v gorode ? Tallinn/Tallinne
in town.MSG-LOC Tallinn.MSG-NOM/LOC
in the city of Tallinn
- c. v gorode Moskva/Moskve
in city.MSG-LOC Moscow.FSG-NOM/LOC
in the city of Moscow

With syntactically complex city names (as well as with street names) both gender and number congruence is obligatory for case agreement:

- (11) a. v gorode Santa Barbara/*Santa Barbare
in town.MSG-LOC Santa Barbara.FSG-NOM/LOC
in the town of Santa Barbara
- b. v gorode Frankfurte na Majne/Frankfurt na Majne
in town.MSG-LOC Frankfurt am Main.MSG-NOM/LOC
in the city of Frankfurt am Main
- c. v gorode Velikie Luki/*Velikix Lukax
in town.MSG-LOC Velikie Luki.PL-NOM/LOC
in the city of Velikie Luki

For port names, station names, lake names, village names and some others case agreement is possible only with **morphologically adjectival** toponyms on the condition of both gender and number congruence:

- (12) a. do stancii Bologoe/*Bologogo
until station.FSG-GEN Bologoe.NSG-NOM/GEN
until the station Bologoe
- b. na stancii Moskva/*Moskvy
on station.FSG-GEN Moscow.FSG-NOM/GEN
on the station Moscow

- c. na stancii Tixoreckaja/Tixoreckoj
 on station.FSG-GEN Tixoreckaja.FSG-NOM/GEN
on the station Tixoreckaja

Toponyms preceded by the common nouns *aúl* ‘a village in the Caucasus and Central Asia’ and *kišlák* ‘a village in Central Asia’ are claimed to never agree for case, but this most likely results from the fact that the names of such villages are extremely unlikely to be adjectival: when they are, gender and number congruence is required:

- (13) v kišlake/aule Severnom/Severnyj
 in kishlak/aul.MSG-LOC Northern.MSG-LOC/NOM
in the kishlak/aul Severnyj

Summary: the possibility of case-agreement depends on the choice of N₁: categories that are likely to possess dedicated names are less dependent on the gender and number congruence of the proper name with the common nouns to allow case-agreement:

- cities, towns, countries, etc.: only number congruence is necessary
- syntactically complex toponyms: number and gender congruence is necessary
- stations, ports, lakes, etc.: the name should be morphologically adjectival

2.3. Titles

Titles preceded by a categorizing NP may never be case-marked; neither can names of ships, malls, hotels, restaurants, trademarks, etc.:

- (14) a. Èto kniga o romane "Nepobedimyj/*Nepobedimom".
 this book about novel.MSG-LOC Invincible.MSG-NOM/*LOC
This is a book about the novel The Invincible.
- b. Èto kniga o paroxode "Titanik/*Titanike".
 this book about steamer.MSG-LOC Titanic.MSG-NOM/*LOC
This is a book about the steamer Titanic.
- c. Èto kniga o restorane "Pariž/*Pariže".
 this book about restaurant.MSG-LOC Paris.MSG-NOM/*LOC
This is a book about the restaurant Paris.

Without a categorizing NP titles are obligatorily marked for case:

NB In the accusative case titles corresponding to animate masculine NPs may appear in the surface nominative (as do inanimate NPs) or in the surface genitive (as do animate NPs)

- (15) a. Do "Vlastelina kolec" ja ničego ne čitala.
 before [The Lord of the Rings]-GEN I nothing-GEN NEG read-PAST-FSG
Before The Lord of the Rings I read nothing.
- b. Do "Anny Kareninoj" ja ničego ne čitala.
 before [Anna Karenina]-GEN I nothing-GEN NEG read-PAST-FSG
Before Anna Karenina I read nothing.
- c. Do "Jarko-alogo" ja ničego ne čitala.
 before [Bright Red].MSG-GEN I nothing-GENNEG read-PAST-FSG
Before The Bright Red I read nothing.

Obviously, this is where group names (*The Beatles*, etc.) fit in. Note, however, that even if a group consists of animate individuals, nouns denoting groups are syntactically inanimate

2.4. Intermediate summary

Case-agreement of the proper name/kind name in close apposition can be

- obligatory: [+ animate] proper names and kind-denoting common nouns agree in case with N_1 if they are congruent for animacy
- ϕ - and/or lexical category-conditioned: place names agree or do not agree in case depending on the choice of N_1 and its congruence in ϕ -features and category
- impossible: titles and man-made objects (ships, hotels...)

What semantic or lexical factors affect the possibility or impossibility of case agreement?

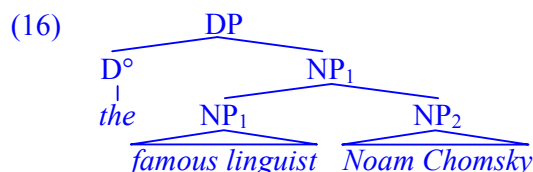
My hypothesis: **case-agreement failure marks the secondary use of language:**

- Books, restaurants, ships, etc., don't have dedicated names the way people and landmarks do, but instead reuse expressions of natural language, including proper names. The behavior of group nouns fits into the same category
- The divergent behavior of city names and railway station names comes from the fact that the latter are considerably less likely to have dedicated names; the same is true for lake names, mountain names, etc. -- even though the distinction itself is linguistic (more precisely, lexical-semantic), its roots are functional.

How is this achieved syntactically?

3. THE STRUCTURE OF CLOSE APPPOSITION AND THE NATURE OF CASE-AGREEMENT

Jackendoff 1984, Lasnik 1986, McCawley 1996, 1998: the head in close apposition is N_1 and the common noun is not the modifier.



Contra Haugen 1953, Burton-Roberts 1975, Noailly 1991, Keizer 2005, who assume that the head in close apposition is N_2 : close apposition is **nonrestrictive modification of the proper name**, which can also be achieved by APs, PPs, and relative clauses:

- (17) a. I dedicate this sentence to **the incomparable/late Maria Callas**.
 b. One of the speakers is **Noam Chomsky from MIT**.

Jan-Wouter Zwart, p. c.: the **primary stress** falls on the most deeply embedded element, thus N_1 must be the head

Even if covert nominalization is assumed, it is not expected to have gender: article agreement in French is with the common noun (though it may be a proximity effect):

- (18) le brigadier-chef Marie Poumart
 the-M lance sergeant.M Marie Poumart
 the lance sergeant Marie Poumart

Predicate agreement in Russian is with the common noun:

- (19) Kreiser "Aurora" plyl(*a).
 cruiser Aurora swam-M/F
 The cruiser Aurora was moving.

The article cannot form a constituent with a common NP to the exclusion of the proper name:

- (20) The methods of **the famous detective Sherlock Holmes** differed from those of **the famous detective Nero Wolfe**.

Lasnik 1986: in close apposition (unlike in loose apposition) **an AP can take scope over both nouns**:

The fact that this is not nonrestrictive is probably irrelevant.

- (21) a. My one cousin Bill is rich, but my other cousin Bill hardly has a penny to his name.
 b. ?My one cousin Bill is rich, but my other cousin John hardly has a penny to his name.

...or form a constituent with the common noun (McCawley 1998):

- (22) a. the actor and political activist Vanessa Redgrave
 b. the former president Ronald Reagan

McCawley 1998: the proper name is not the complement as the common noun may have one:

- (23) the former president of the United States and one-time Hollywood star Ronald Reagan

If the common noun is the head, the proper name can receive case only due to concord.

A very uninteresting solution is to hypothesize a functional head on a non-dedicated proper name, blocking the percolation of case

It would seem, however, that there is some independent evidence for just such a solution

4. USE VS. MENTION

Mentions preceded by a categorizing noun (categorized mentions) never agree in case:

- (24) a. s imenem Ruslan/*Ruslanom
 with name-INSTR Ruslan-NOM/INSTR
with the name Ruslan
 b. My govorili o russkom slove "teplo"/*"teple".
 we spoke about Russian-NSG-LOC word-NSG-LOC "heat".NSG-NOM/*LOC
We spoke about the Russian word "heat".

Mentions differ from titles, restaurant names, ship names, etc., by their lack of case-marking in argument positions as well:

- (25) a. Ja napisala na doske: "Zemlja"/#"Zemlju".
 I wrote on blackboard "Earth".F-NOM/ACC
I wrote "Earth" on the blackboard.
 b. Karknul voron: "Erunda!"/#"Erundu!".
 cawed raven nonsense.F-NOM/ACC
Quoth the Raven, "Nonsense!"

Why does case-marking fail?

Hypothesis: actually, mentions do **not** appear in argument positions:

- (26) a. *I'm working on "Gamblers reevaluate along the dotted line".
 b. I'm working on **the line** "Gamblers reevaluate along the dotted line".
 c. We have all gotten various cryptic lines to figure out. I'm working on "Gamblers reevaluate along the dotted line".

Apparent generalization: The categorizing noun must be salient or only "linguistic predicates" can be used (cf. Moltmann to appear for a similar generalization for number words).

It looks like in categorized mention N₁ functions as a nominalizer. When there is no overt N₁, the need for prior context suggests the presence of a null anaphoric nominalizer. However...

- (27) a. "The Demolished Man" is my favorite among Bester's books.
b. "Apple" rhymes with "dapple".

Is (27a) a case of cataphora? And what do "linguistic predicates" do?

5. SUMMARY AND FURTHER ISSUES

Case-marking in Russian close apposition provides further evidence that the proper name is not the head.

Case-agreement failure correlates with secondary use of language, including mention.

The difference in case-marking of [-animate] proper names in argument positions vs. in close apposition suggests that the different mechanisms are used to achieve case-marking: concord vs. assignment.

Alternatively, secondary use of language has strange and mysterious properties that we still have to investigate.

5.1. The appositive oblique

The appositive oblique is distinguished from close apposition by the preposition *of*:

- (28) a. the city of New York
b. the country of Russia

McCawley 1998: the distribution of the appositive oblique is idiosyncratic:

- (29) a. *the city ?(of) Toledo vs. the city *(of) New York*
b. *the country (of) Canada vs. the country *(of) the Soviet Union*
c. *the vowel (*of) /a/ vs. the feature (of) stridency*

My intuition: the preposition *of* in appositive obliques is not vacuous and the relation between N_1 and the proper name is restrictive: N_1 specifies one among the several entities denoted by the proper name (e.g., *the city of New York* vs. *the state of New York*, cf. also *the municipality of New York*) -- or the kind name (*the feature of stridency* vs. *the property of stridency*)

Hypothesis: appositive obliques in English are impossible with categorized mentions:

- (30) a. the city of New York
b. the word/noun/monosyllable (*of) *pear*

Names and titles present apparent counterexamples:

- (31) a. He became famous under **the pseudonym of David Bowie**.
b. In the States, *The Chrysalids* was published under **the title of Re-Birth**.

But these may appear with the proper name in the genitive in Russian as well:

- (32) Ivan Vasil'evič Groznyj carstvoval pod imenem Ivana IV.
Ivan Vasiljevič Terrible reigned under name-INST Ivan-GEN Fourth-GEN
Ivan the Terrible reigned under the name of Ivan the Fourth.

Whatever this is, it is not apposition.

5.2. Cardinal apposition

Names of **numbers** behave like titles: while they must be case-marked in argument positions, if preceded by a categorizing noun they show up in the nominative:

- (33) a. Pribav' k dvum tysjaču.
 add-IMP towards two-DAT thousand.F-ACC
Add a thousand to two.
- b. Otnimi ot sta dva.
 subtract-IMP from hundred-GEN two-ACC
Subtract two from a hundred.
- (34) a. o čisle tysjača/*tysjače
 about number.N-LOC thousand.F-NOM/LOC
about the number 1000
- b. o čisle sto/*sta
 about number.N-LOC hundred.N-NOM/LOC
about the number hundred

Relevant fact: cardinals have been argued **to not denote entities** (Landman 2003, Hofweber 2005, Ionin and Matushansky 2006, Moltmann to appear)

The fact that the semantics of the cardinal is evoked in the expression *the number 50* seems to argue against the hypothesis that it might be mentioned rather than used.

On the other hand:

- (35) a. The word *vase* in Chinese sounds much like the word for 'peace'.
 b. The Word for World Is Forest.

Mention appears to allow access to semantics!

5.3. The semantics of close apposition

If the common noun is the head, the proper name/kind name cannot denote an entity.

- (i) the proper name may turn into a semantic predicate as a result of the IDENT type-shifting rule (Bach and Partee 1980, Partee and Bach 1984, Partee 1986)
- (ii) the proper name may be a semantic predicate converted into a definite description by the addition of the definite article (Geurts 1997, Elbourne 2002, Matushansky 2008)

Only the former solution appears to extend to categorized mentions:

- (36) a. the not infrequent name *Robert Burns*
 b. the famous poet *Robert Burns*

Presupposition: prior to IDENT, the PF token (*Robert Burns*) must be coerced to mean the type that it is a token of.

And yet categorized mention differs from other kinds of close apposition, with respect to both case-marking (cf. Russian) and its introduction into argument positions (cf. Japanese).

6. JAPANESE

Three options are available (cf. Sode 2004):

- (37) a. syoosetsu/eiga Rasyomon
 novel/film Rashomon
the novel/film Rashomon

- b. syoosetsu/eiga -no Rasyomon
 novel/film -COP_N Rashomon
the novel/film Rashomon
- c. Rasyomon -to -iu syoosetsu/eiga
 Rashomon -COMP -say/call novel/film
the novel/film called Rashomon

Only (37a) exemplifies close apposition.

6.1. Categorized mentions

Japanese behaves as expected in setting quotations apart:

- (38) a. 'the phrase' -to -iu fureezu/hyooogen
 the phrase -COMP -say/call phrase/expression
- b. *fureezu/hyooogen (-no) 'the phrase'
 phrase/expression -COP_N the phrase
- (39) a. 'da-dum da-dum da-dum'-to -iu pataan
 'da-dum da-dum da-dum'-COMP -say/call pattern
- b. *pataan (-no) 'da-dum da-dum da-dum'
 pattern -COP_N 'da-dum da-dum da-dum'

-to is the general complementizer, used for both direct and indirect speech (Coulmas 1985):

- (40) a. asita made-ni kono sigoto-o yatte kudasai -to kare-wa iimasita.
 tomorrow until -DAT this work-ACC do please -COMP he -TOP said
He said, "Please finish the work by tomorrow".
- b. asita made-ni kono sigoto-o yaru yôni -to kare-wa iimasita.
 tomorrow until -DAT this work-ACC do thus -COMP he -TOP said
He told me to finish the work by tomorrow.

In Japanese the quotation is unambiguously not the head in categorized mention. But if the complementizer -to is necessary, does it mean that it is at nominalizer? Is the English *that*?

6.2. Relative clauses

Kuno 1973, Jorden and Noda 1988, Sode 2004: -no here is the attributive form of the copula (rather than the genitive case marker or the nominalizing morpheme *one*):

- (41) a. byoôki -no gakusei quality noun
 sick -COP_N student
a sick student/a student who is sick
- b. gakusei -wa byoôki da/datta.
 student -TOP sick COP_V/ COP_V-PAST
A student is/was sick.
- c. byoôki -datta gakusei
 sick -COP_V-PAST student
a student who was sick
- (42) a. gênki -na gakusei nominal adjective
 healthy-COP_N student
a healthy student/a student who is healthy

- b. gakusei -wa gēnki da/datta.
student -TOP healthy COP_V/ COP_V-PAST
A student is/was healthy.
- c. gēnki -datta gakusei
healthy-COP_V-PAST student
a student who was sick
- (43) a. gurūin -no hon quality noun
green -COP_N book
a green book
- b. ao -i/-katta hon regular adjective
green -PRES/PAST book
a green book

Jorden and Noda 1988:183-184: the attributive copula *-no* alternates with *-na* (for nominal adjectives) and corresponds to the regular verbal copula (*datta*) in the past tense

Sode 2004: the sequence NP-*no* is **a relative clause**. Evidence comes from the availability of temporal adverbs and a restrictive reading (see also Heringa 2011):

- (44) a. Itu-mo izimekko -no Atuo -wa mata sensei -ni sikar-are-ta. Sode 2004
always bully -COP_N Atuo -TOP again teacher-DAT scold-PASS-PST
Atuo, always a bully, was scolded by the teacher again.
- b. Nihonzin -no Tanaka-san -wa misosiru -ga suki da.
Japanese -COP_N Tanaka-HON -TOP miso.soup-NOM like COP_V
*The Japanese Tanaka likes miso soup, or
Tanaka, a Japanese, likes miso soup.*

Needless to say, not every sequence NP-*no* has the same analysis.

6.3. Proper apposition

Nearly all Jackendoff's examples can be translated into Japanese:

- (45) a. genso engoopium
element engoopium
- b. bussitsu polacrynilate
material polacrynilate
- c. haiyuu John Gielgud
actor John Gielgud
- d. *namae Harry
name Harry
- e. *iro aka
color red
- f. ?moji A
letter A
- g. ?suuji 14
number 14
- (46) a. kodai ejiputo -no syuto Memphis
[ancient Egypt] -COP_N capital Memphis
ancient Egypt's capital Memphis

- b. sinwajoo -no kuni El Dorado
mythical -COP_N country El Dorado
the mythical country of El Dorado

Sode 2004: the juxtaposition construction cannot be interpreted contrastively:

- (47) a. Syuto -no Wasinton zya-naku-te, daitooryoo -no Wasinton -no
capital -COP_N Washington is-not-GRD president -COP_N Washington-GEN
koto -o itteru-n-desu
thing -ACC saying-NOMIN-COP
I am talking about Washington the president, not Washington the capital city.
- b. */? Syuto Wasinton zya-naku-te, daitooryoo Wasinton -no koto -o
capital Washington is-not-GRD president Washington-GEN thing -ACC
itteru-n-desu
saying-NOMIN-COP

If it is not the common noun that is contrasted, the effect disappears:

- (48) syoosetsu (-no) "Death in Venice" -wa syoosetsu (-no) "Death of an Expert Witness"
novel -COP_N "DiV" -TOP novel -COP_N "DoaEW"
-to ikutsu-ka-no men-de kotonat-tei-ru
-COM how.many-Q-GEN aspect-in differ-PROG-PRES
The novel DiV differs from the novel DoEW in several ways.

With titles the juxtaposition construction is highly marked (Sode 2004):

- (49) a. */? Sityoo Tanaka -ni atte ki-ta.
mayor Tanaka -DAT meet come-PAST
I went to see Tanaka THE mayor.
- b. Sityoo -no Tanaka-ni atte ki-ta.
mayor -COP_N Tanaka-DAT meet come-PAST
I went to see Tanaka, the mayor.
- c. Tanaka sityoo -ni atte ki-ta.
Tanaka mayor -DAT meet come-PAST
I went to see Mayor Tanaka.

But apparently not with just profession names (Sode 2004):

- (50) Keisityoo Soosa-ikka-no keizi Katayama
Tokyo Metropolitan PD investigation-section.1-GEN detective Katayama
K., detective at Investigation Section 1 at Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department

On the other hand, the appearance of a comma in the translation suggests that (50) and (49) do not have the same structure.

To be continued...

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