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WHAT'S PROPER?

Workshop on binominal denominative NPs, June 2, 2012

Issue 1: close apposition: restrictive vs. non-restrictive

(1) close apposition: $[[PN]] \in [[NP]]$

a. le Président Mitterand
 the President Mitterand
President Mitterand

b. Jeanne la papesse
 Jeanne the pope-F
the Pope Joan

(2) restrictive modification

a. le van Gogh peintre restrictive: multiple name bearers
 the van Gogh painter
the painter van Gogh (as opposed to *the art dealer van Gogh*, his brother)

b. Odile jeune fille coercive: aspects or slices of the name bearer
 Odile young girl
Odile the young girl (i.e., *Odile as a young girl*)

Issue 2: appositive obliques:

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

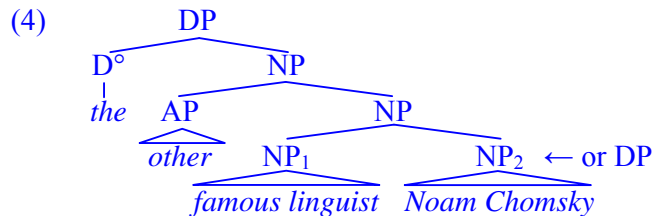
Some thoughts on the syntax and the semantics of names introduced by NPs:

- close apposition vs. appositive obliques
- restrictive vs. non-restrictive modification and part-whole coercion

Set aside for now: categorized mention (*the verb "run"*, *the question "Who is the culprit?"*)

1. THE SYNTAX OF CLOSE APPPOSITION

The **constituency** everyone agrees upon:



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

- (5) 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**:

- (6) 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):

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

Jackendoff 1984, Acuña Fariña 1996, McCawley 1998: the common noun can't be followed by a PP or a relative clause

- (8) a. *the word you mentioned *apple*
 b. *the author of this book Georgette Heyer

McCawley 1998:473 provides a (journalese) counterexample showing that the proper name is not the complement as the common noun may have one:

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

However, the common NP cannot be pronominalized by *one* (Jackendoff 1984):

- (10) a. *the (lovely) song *Entzweiflung* (by Schubert) and the (trite) one *Wiegenlied* (by Brahms)
 b. *the famous male detective Sherlock Holmes and the famous female one Miss Marple

Matters are more complicated with the joined NP-NP constituent (no Jackendoff 1984, sort of McCawley 1998):

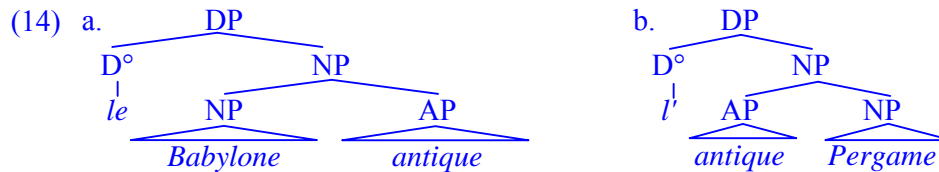
- (11) a. *the song *Wer nur die Sehnsucht kennt* by Schubert and the one by Tchaikovsky
 b. the poem *The Raven* that E.A. Poe wrote and the one that my cousin Sam wrote

1.1. Restrictive vs. non-restrictive modification

Jackendoff and McCawley presuppose the same underlying structure for restrictive and non-restrictive modification, but are they right?

- (12) a. le **Président** Mitterand
 the President Mitterand
President Mitterand
 b. le van Gogh **peintre**
 the van Gogh painter
the painter van Gogh (as opposed to *the art dealer van Gogh*, his brother)
- (13) a. l' **antique** Pergame nonrestrictive
 the ancient Pergamon
Ancient Pergamon (the city has ceased to exist)
 b. le Babylone **antique** restrictive
 the Babylon ancient
the ancient Babylon (as opposed to the modern Babylon in Illinois)

The obvious answer: linearization:



Problem: headedness

1.2. Headedness

Traditional view (Haugen 1953, Burton-Roberts 1975, Noailly 1991, Keizer 2005): as proper names may be non-restrictively modified by APs, PPs or relative clauses, the proper name must be the head in close apposition as well:

- (15) a. No case was too hard for **the famous detective Sherlock Holmes**.
 b. Bravely **bold Sir Robin** rode forth from Camelot.
 c. Our next speaker is **Noam Chomsky from MIT**.
 d. **Samuel Clemens, (who was) better known as Mark Twain**, was American.

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

Jackendoff 1984: the proper name/sound may be followed by a further restrictive modifier:

- (16) a. the song cycle *I Hate Music* by Leonard Bernstein Jackendoff 1984
 b. the banal phrase *in the house* that begins the poem

McCawley 1998: N_1 can be plural:

- (17) a. the well-known operas *Norma* and *Tosca*
 b. the Japanese postpositions *yori* and *kara*

N. B: What he might have meant is that N_2 cannot be, except that in Russian, surnames can be plural

Predicate agreement in Russian is with the common noun:

NB: With [+ human] proper names both options are available for independent reasons.

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

Case-marking in Russian is obligatory for the common noun, but depends on the toponym for the proper name:

- (19) 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.

Article agreement is with the common noun:

- (20) a. le/*la brigadier-chef Marie Poumart
 the-M/F lance sergeant.M Marie Poumart
the lance sergeant Marie Poumart
 b. le chanteur de Maroon 5 Adam Levine et le/*la mannequin Anne Vyalitsyna
 the-M/F singer of Maroon 5 Adam Levine and the-M/F model.M Anne Vyalitsyna

- (21) a. il/*la medico Ciara
the-M/F physician.M Ciara
the physician Ciara
- b. il/?la judische Ciara
the-M/F judge.M Ciara
the judge Ciara
- Italian (Giuseppe Longobardi, p.c.)

How does this extend to restrictive modification?

- (22) a. *le/✓la Susanne médecin
the-M/F Susanne physician.M
the *PHYSICIAN* Susanne
- b. ✓le/*la Pierre victime
the-M/F Pierre victim.F
the *VICTIM* Pierre

But also:

- (23) a. Susanne ✓le/*la médecin
Susanne the-M/F physician.M
the PHYSICIAN Susanne
- b. Pierre *le/✓la victime
Pierre the-M/F victim.F
the VICTIM Pierre

Is determiner agreement determined by proximity?

2. CONTRASTIVE CLOSE APPPOSITION

English: two options:

- (24) a. the SCIENCE-FICTION WRITER Norton (not the programmer Norton)
 b. Norton the science-fiction writer
 → = (24a)
 → as opposed to *Norton the librarian*; two aspects of the same individual

Both are generally subsumed under close apposition

2.1. Interpretation (Noailly 1991)

The NP need not be contrastive or visibly restrictive:

- (25) a. Satie l' ermite
Satie the hermit
- b. Felix the Cat
- McCawley 1998

... but it may be:

- (26) a. Jeanne la pucelle
Jeanne the maid
Jeanne, the Maid of Orleans
- b. Jeanne la papesse
Jeanne the pope-F
the Pope Joan

The **NP must denote a singleton set** (Noailly 1991): only the bearer of the proper name may aspire to the description provided by the NP.

NB Official names of royalty (*Henry III*, *Richard III*) appear to contradict this generalization, but the ordinal is usually taken to imply *of that name*, sometimes made explicit. More difficult is the simultaneous occurrence of *Peter the Great* and *Catherine the Great* in Russian history, though interpretable gender marking would make them unique

Prediction: profession names and office titles are not very felicitous in this construction: they don't naturally define singleton sets

- (27) a. le procureur Molinier
the public prosecutor Molinier
Noailly 1991
- b. ?Molinier le procureur
Molinier the public prosecutor

The fact that at an earlier stage of the language office titles and profession names gave rise to such surnames as *Levebvre*, *Lemaréchal*, etc., is due to social rather than linguistic factors: the smaller size of a community made them to naturally denote singleton sets

No determiner other than the definite article is possible here:

- (28) a. *Molinier ce procureur
Molinier this public prosecutor
- b. ce procureur Molinier
this public prosecutor Molinier
this public prosecutor Molinier

The definite article is therefore likely to form a constituent with the NP -- **to the exclusion of the proper name**.

2.2. Is (24b) denominative and/or binominal (though obviously an NP)?

The French of Noailly 1991: four grammatically distinguished binominal NPs:

- (29) a. l' orateur Cicéron nonrestrictive (1x : Cicero(x) . orator (x))
the orator Cicero
the orator Cicero
- b. Cicéron l' orateur nonrestrictive (1x : orator (x) . Cicero (x))
Cicero the orator
Cicero the orator
- c. le Cicéron orateur intersective restrictive only
the Cicero orator
Cicero the orator (as opposed to another Cicero, e.g., a philosopher)
- d. Cicéron orateur et Cicéron philosophe coercive only
Cicero orator and Cicero philosopher
Cicero the orator and Cicero the philosopher

For my speaker pool (29d) is only available for temporal stages; the coercive interpretation is obtained via (29b) or (29c), perceived as contrastive and interchangeable for both individual and aspect. (29c) fully qualifies for being a binominal denominative NP

Coercion (Paul 1994, Gärtner 2004) or **fractioning** (Jonasson 2005) is not restricted to NPs and appears to distinguish between proper and common nouns:

- (30) a. The upper Rhine is polluted. material part
b. The upper river is polluted.
- (31) a. The young W. A. Mozart visited Paris. temporal stage
b. The young composer visited Paris.

- (32) a. I will show you the secret Paris. aspect/guise
 b. I will show you the secret city.
- (33) The Somerset Maugham that his nephew describes is a lot more disagreeable proxy?
 than the Somerset Maugham described by Somerset Maugham.

The common core seems to be the notion of a part.

The lexical category of the modifier constrains the available interpretations.

2.3. The role of the lexical category

NP modifiers yield aspects (cf. Landman 1989), a.k.a. facets (Kleiber 1981, 2005; see also Jonasson 2005) or manifestations (von Heusinger and Wespel 2007), or guises:

- (34) a. Chomsky the linguist
 b. Lolita the adolescent

The lack of temporal parts can be made to follow from the fact that NPs are individual-level (Carlson 1977)

Aspects can also result from non-NP modifiers (cf. Paul 1994):

- (35) a. the **short** Mark Smith (not the tall one) individual
 b. the Davy Jones **from *The Monkees*** (not the pirate)
 c. the Lewis **that wrote about Narnia**
- (36) a. the #young/#nervous/?Spanish Picasso aspect
 b. the Picasso ?of Guernica/*in the United States
 c. the Picasso that painted Guernica

... which may allow an additional option:

AP modifiers yield temporal stages or spatial parts (cf. Carlson 1977). I have been unable to construct a definite example involving a guise:

- (37) a. the young Mozart (= Mozart when he was young)
 b. the upper Rhine (= the upper part of the Rhine)
 c. the Spanish Pyrenees (= the Spanish part of the Pyrenees)

PP modifiers appear to allow temporal stages (Paul 1994), but definitely not spatial parts:

- (38) a. Paris at night is absolutely charming.
 b. The Paris of the 80s was a fun place to be.
 c. The Picasso of the Blue Period is clearly a genius.
- (39) a. *the Rhine in Germany
 b. *the Pyrenees in Spain

I'm unsure if examples (38) involve stages (rather than aspects); they are characterizing, and a short-duration temporal modifier is infelicitous:

- (40) a. *(the) Ora at 1 PM September 3, 2011
 b. *(the) Jesus Christ on December 25, one A.D. (cf. ✓*the newborn Jesus*)

RC modifiers yield guises only:

- (41) a. the Picasso that painted Guernica
 b. the France that we know
- (42) a. *the Pyrenees that are in Spain
 b. *the Mozart who was 16/young

Reminder: NP, AP, DP and RC modifiers can all distinguish between individuals

2.4. Common nouns

Aspect/guise interpretation is not available with common nouns:

- (43) a. the secret city
 b. #the linguist of his parents
 c. the painter that painted Guernica
 d. *the professor the teacher

Spatiotemporal slices of kinds are individuals (Carlson 1977).

Modification of singular kinds yields the taxonomic interpretation (Krifka et al. 1995):

- (44) a. *The house of the forties housed Bill's aunt and her extended family.
 b. **The human of that era** was not yet fully bipedal.
 (45) a. #My young sister is much happier than my middle-aged sister.
 b. **The giant panda** is smaller than **the Himalayan brown bear**.

Plural kinds can also yield aspects and proxies:

- (46) a. fake diamonds and plastic ducks (cf. Partee 2003)
 b. **The Japanese described by Clavel** are not very realistic.

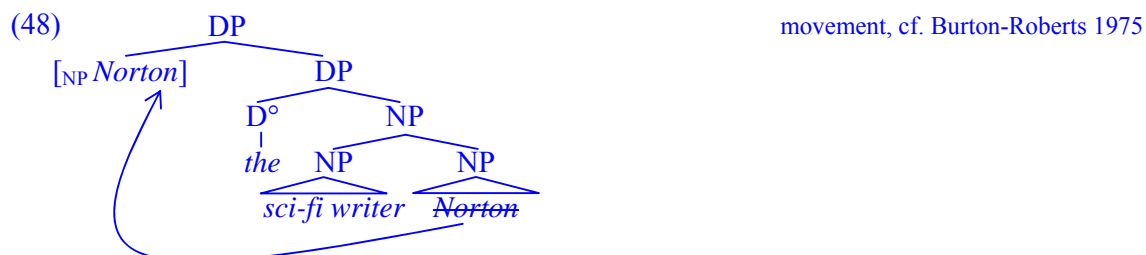
Hypothesis: **aspects of proper names correspond to sub-kinds** (cf. Kripke 1980).

The correspondence between spatiotemporal slices of individuals (proper names) and kinds (common nouns) is well-established.

2.5. The "name DP" constituent

What are the origins of *Sherlock Holmes the detective*?

Two possible routes: "when I got it, it was already broken" & "it's not a bug, it's a feature":



Possible arguments **against the derivation approach**:

- determiner restriction: only the definite article is possible (cf. Noailly 1991)
- non-complementary distribution (restrictive interpretation is available for both in English, the head noun doesn't have to be "noteworthy" in the inverted structure)
- the coercive interpretation not available for the "base" option
- multiple determiners (e.g., *the Emperor Charles V, the young King Richard the Lionheart*)

Besides, English (I don't know about Germanic in general) allows definite NPs as apparently non-definite predicates (Berman 1973:118):

- (49) a. "So. You're not **the complete optician** after all.
R. A. MacAvoy, *Lens of the World*, p. 138
- b. His brother-in-law, Mr. Hurst, merely looked **the gentleman**...
Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, p. 11
- c. You're **quite the philosopher**, aren't you?
Theodore Sturgeon, *A Way Home* - Tiny and the Monster, p. 162
- d. "So I'm left **the great monster** to plague their dreams..."
Samuel Delany, *Neveryona*, p. 240
- e. "Oh, Mr. Holmes, **always the comedian**, you were."
Laurie R. King, *The Beekeeper's Apprentice*, p. 243

Possible arguments **for the derivation approach**:

- one structure instead of two
- "headless" DPs (e.g., *Henry the Eighth*, *Catherine the Great*)
- semantics: Predicate Modification below the determiner

For now, I feel more inclined towards the base-generation approach

2.6. The underlying DP-DP

DP-DP adjunction must be possible to account for:

- (50) a. *those bastards the Lancasters* expressives
b. *my friends the Miss Boyds* kinship terms

The **expressive** *that* is equally compatible with common nouns:

- (51) a. *that difficult instrument the tongue* (George Eliot, *Silas Marner*)
b. *that famous politician our president*

NP₂ is an appositive cataphoric on the demonstrative; the presupposition is accommodated

Kinship terms (taken broadly) are also compatible with a common noun N₂:

- (52) a. *my brother the poet*
b. *my friends the Russians*

This is why kinship terms are also the only common nouns that allow close apposition to be stacked (though only once):

- (53) *my friend the famous detective Sherlock Holmes*

Inversion is impossible here.

Outside these contexts, the proper name may not be preceded by either an AP or a determiner (Molitor 1979 as cited in Heringa 2011):

- (54) a. **the famous river the (mighty) Nile*
b. **the brilliant singer (the) incomparable Maria Callas*

...which suggests that non-restrictive close apposition does not involve DP-DP adjunction.

3. THE APPOSITIVE OBLIQUE

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

NB The term *appositive oblique* (a.k.a. *pseudo-possessive*, McCawley 1998) is preferable to the term *binominal denominative NP* (Van de Velde 2001), since the latter also includes the classic close apposition

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

| | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| (55) the city of/?0 Toledo | the country (of) Canada | McCawley 1998 |
| | the country *of/?0 the United States | |
| the country of Russia | *the country of the Soviet Union | |
| the planet (?of) Mars | the star (?of) Sirius | |
| the poet (*of) Robert Frost | the name (of) Robert Frost | |
| the role of/?0 Hamlet | the office of/?0 president | |
| the amount of/?0 \$10 | the number (*of) 10 | |
| the year (of) 1971 | the date (?of) November 3, 1971 | |
| the sin of/?0 gluttony | the feature (of) stridency | |
| the vowel (*of) /a/ | the word (*of) <i>apple</i> | |
| the key of/?0 E ^b major | the note (?of) E ^b | |

Appositive obliques are impossible with categorized mentions:

- (56) a. the concept of truth/**truth*
 b. the word/noun/monosyllable (*of) *pear*

...or with nouns that are either not abstract or not mass (cf. Van de Velde 2001):

- (57) a. the virtue of patience
 b. *the animal of dog
 c. *the liquid of water

My intuition: the preposition *of* in appositive obliques is not vacuous and the relation between N₁ and the proper name is restrictive: N₁ specifies one **aspect** of the complex entity denoted by the proper name (e.g., *the city of New York* vs. *the municipality of New York*) -- or the kind name (*the feature of stridency* vs. *the property of stridency*):

- (58) a. The concept of love and the sentiment of love are not the same thing.
 b. The concept "love" and the sentiment "love" are not the same thing.

The final denotation is the same, but the routes taken to achieve it are different.

Names and titles (in both senses): both are entities:

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

Proper names may appear in the genitive in Russian as well:

- (60) 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.

The apparent counterexample from French, *le nom de mère* 'the word *mother*' (Van de Velde 2001), does not involve mention

Is my intuition is correct, then we are observing a syntactic distinction between proper names and common nouns in the gray area where the distinction between a kind and an individual is blurred: abstract mass nouns (cf. Van de Velde 2001)

- (61) a. the city of New York vs. the municipality of New York
 b. the state of New York

And it is highly suggestive that city names and country names, both denoting (actually rather abstract) entities, share the same syntax as abstract mass nouns

Though the **cross-linguistic variation in appositive obliques** requires more work

4. REIFIED QUOTATION/CATEGORIZED MENTION

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

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

In **Japanese**, these are clearly syntactically distinguished (Sode 2004):

- (63) 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
- (64) 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):

- (65) 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.

Of the three options available, categorized mentions allow only direct quotation.

In **Russian**, categorized mentions are grouped with less prototypical (non-anthropomorphic -- cf. Turkel 2000) proper names, such as book titles, in resisting case-marking

5. SUMMARY

On the syntactic side:

- close apposition: an NP categorizing a proper name in apparent adjunction, or an NP categorizing a quotation. Both find parallels in modified proper names, but there, the head is not the NP
- appositive obliques: the categorizing NP combines with the concept-denoting NP or proper name introduced by *of*

On the semantic side:

- Predicate Modification: assuming that proper names can be *bona fide* predicates (cf. Matushansky 2008), no special assumptions needed
- coercion: the proper name denotes an entity, which is then converted into a set of its parts; common nouns are incompatible with categorizing NPs

(Some of) outstanding questions:

- In examining the cross-linguistic syntax of binominal denominative NPs, are we dealing with an arbitrarily partitioned scale from people names to quotations, or are there, say, three clear discrete categories (e.g., names, quasi-referential terms (Moltmann 2012a) and quotations)?
- Whence the impossibility of iterating close apposition?
- How does this all link to close apposition with names of types (*the number 16*, *the letter S*, but also perhaps *the novel Death in Venice*)?

To be continued...

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