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ON MODIFIED PROPER NAMES

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French is more transparent than English in demonstrating the four varieties of proper names forming a prosodic and syntactic constituent with a common noun:

- (1) nonrestrictive modification: presupposition: $[[PN]] \in [[NP]]$
 - a. le Président Mitterand D° NP PN
 the President Mitterrand
President Mitterand
 - b. Cicéron l' orateur PN D° NP
 Cicero the orator
Cicero the orator
- (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. Chomsky linguiste coercive: aspects or slices of the name bearer
 Chomsky linguist
Chomsky the linguist (i.e., *Chomsky as a linguist*)

My goal in this talk is to examine the properties of these four constructions and determine their syntax and compositional semantics.

They will turn out to be naturally compatible with the hypothesis that proper names denote predicates.

1. PROPER NAMES AND NONRESTRICTIVE MODIFICATION

Proper names may be non-restrictively modified by NPs, APs, PPs or relative clauses:

- (3) 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.

NP and AP modification takes three different forms in English:

- (4) a. the famous detective Sherlock Holmes
 b. President Lincoln
 c. Macbeth the King

Nonrestrictive NP modification of proper names (and some common nouns) is also known as *close apposition* (as opposed to *loose apposition*, created by relative clauses). See Haugen 1953, Burton-Roberts 1975, Keizer 2005, among others.

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- (5) a. the incomparable Maria Callas
b. good old John
c. Henry the Eighth

Only two options are available in French (article absence is impossible):

- (6) a. le Président Mitterand D° NP PN
the President Mitterrand
President Mitterand
b. Cicéron l' orateur PN D° NP
Cicero the orator
Cicero the orator
- (7) a. l' antique Pergame D° AP PN
the ancient Pergamon
Ancient Pergamon
b. Gilles des Rais l' infâme PN D° AP
Gilles des Rais the infamous
the infamous Gilles des Rais

Questions:

- (i) What are the semantic or pragmatic differences between the three patterns?
(ii) How does French match up with English?
(iii) How are the attested patterns derived?

The core of the answer: **the proper name can be a modifier as well as be modified.**

1.1. Nonrestrictive modification of common nouns: an overview

An intersective AP need not yield a proper subset of the denotation of the NP it modifies:

- (8) a. The industrious Greeks built beautiful monuments. Solt to appear
b. Her valuable books were destroyed in the fire.

Non-restrictive adjectives are obligatorily prenominal in Romance and cannot be postnominal in English (cf. Bolinger 1967, Larson 1998, 2000, Cinque 2003, 2010, Morzycki 2005, 2008):

- (9) The visible stars include Aldebaran and Sirius.
a. = The stars that are generally visible include Aldebaran and Sirius.
b. = The stars that happen to be visible at the moment include Aldebaran and Sirius.
- (10) The stars visible are Aldebaran and Sirius.
a. ≠ The stars that are generally visible are Aldebaran and Sirius.
b. = The stars that happen to be visible at the moment are Aldebaran and Sirius.
- (11) a. Le **noiose** lezioni di Ferri se le ricordano tutti. Cinque 2003
the boring lectures of Ferri REFL PRON remember all
*Everyone remembers Ferri's lectures that are boring.
Everyone remembers Ferri's lectures, which are all boring.
b. Le lezioni **noiose** di Ferri se le ricordano tutti.
the lectures boring of Ferri REFL PRON remember all
*Everyone remembers Ferri's lectures that are boring.
Everyone remembers Ferri's lectures, which are all boring.

The same generalization has been observed for proper names in French (Noailly 1991):

- (12) 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)

Explanation: **the postnominal position in English and in French is contrastive.**

1.2. The famous detective Sherlock Holmes

The default pattern for nonrestrictive modification of proper names in English and in French fits the generalization:

- (13) a. the famous detective Sherlock Holmes
 b. the incomparable Maria Callas
- (14) a. le linguiste célèbre Noam Chomsky
 the linguist famous Noam Chomsky
 the famous linguist Noam Chomsky
- b. l' antique Pergame
 the ancient Pergamon
 Ancient Pergamon

Assuming that proper names are underlyingly predicates syntactically converted into definite descriptions (Geurts 1997, Elbourne 2002, Matushansky 2008) correctly predicts that:

- both APs and NPs have their standard semantic type (predicates)
- if the proper name denotes a singleton set (which is what it does by default), the modifier has to be nonrestrictive
- common nouns are also possible in this construction (but only if they denote mass terms -- Haugen 1953; numbers, etc. (*the letter a*, *the participle running*), should be assimilated to proper names -- Burton-Roberts 1975)

- (15) a. the drug aspirin
 b. *the car Buick
 c. *the horse Percheron

The syntactic structure seems straightforward: the proper name is the head (Haugen 1953)

- (16) a.
- b.

The Nuclear Stress Rule (Cinque 1993) is correctly predicted to place the main stress on the proper name (Haugen 1953).

If proper names do not denote (singleton) sets, a different analysis is required.

1.2.1. Article omission

Titles and assimilated terms generally force article omission (Haugen 1953, Tse 2004):

- (17) a. (*the) President Lincoln
b. Emperor William
c. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher
d. the Emperor Charles V

Titles are very similar to proper names:

- many of them can be used as vocatives
- they are capitalized
- many of them (e.g., *Earl*, *Ms.*) have no lexical content beyond indicating that the bearer may be called by that title

Assuming that [proper name] and [common noun] are grammatically represented features, it may be that titles are not specified either way, which enables the propagation of the feature [proper name].

Problem: most adjectives block this propagation, although they should not be specified for a nominal feature.

Important: the constituency in (16) is compatible with the fact that article omission depends on both the type of the NP modifier and the presence of the proper name.

Job-denoting nouns occasionally appear without a determiner at the beginning of a sentence (Tse 2004) ("the Dan Brown effect", <http://itre.cis.upenn.edu/~myl/languagelog/archives/001628.html>):

- (18) a. Jockey Greville Starkey was allegedly unseated by an ultrasonic stun gun.
b. Physicist Leonardo Vetra smelled burning flesh, and he knew it was his own.

This is a separate phenomenon: phonological material, including articles, is often omitted in the beginning of a sentence (cf. Gerken 1991, De Lange 2008).

Attitudinal adjectives (e.g., *sweet*, *poor*, *little*, *beautiful*, *brave*, *old*, *young*, *dear*) may force or allow the omission of the definite article:

- (19) a. Let's talk to (our/*the) dear/poor Thomas about it.
b. Bravely bold Sir Robin rode forth from Camelot.
c. I want to invite (that/*the) sweet/good old/little Annie as well.

In disallowing the definite article they resemble expressive adjectives (cf. Potts 2003).

All of them appear to the right of other determiners.

1.2.2. Modification at the DP level

Non-restrictive relative clauses, unlike their restrictive counterparts, are generally taken to adjoin to the DP rather than to the NP (Jackendoff 1977, Demirdache 1991, Potts 2003, etc.)

Evidence: appositive relative clauses only attach to referential NPs:

- (20) a. *Every proper name, which may be modified, is underlyingly a predicate.
b. Some adjectives, which are expressive, allow article drop. specific only

Support: Scandinavian **double definiteness** with relative clauses (Mikkelsen 1998, Hankamer and Mikkelsen 2002, 2005).

Danish: unmodified NPs appear with the suffixal definite article; prenominal adjectives and numerals require a freestanding NP-initial article:

- (21) a. hest-en
horse.def
the horse
b. *den hest
def horse
c. den *(røde) hest
def red horse
the red horse

Nonrestrictive relative clauses appear with the suffixal definite article:

- (22) a. hest-en som vandt løb-et Danish, Hankamer and Mikkelsen 2005
horse-DEF that won race-DEF
the horse, which won the race [all speakers]
the horse that won the race [some speakers]
b. den hest som vandt løb-et
the horse that won race-DEF
the horse that won the race [all speakers]

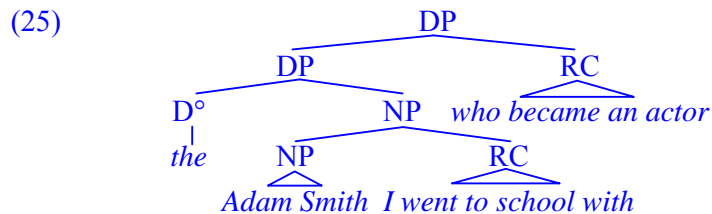
Appositive relative clauses do **not trigger article insertion** with proper names:

- (23) a. (*the) Noam Chomsky, who created generative linguistics
b. (*the) Noam Chomsky, the creator of generative linguistics

...unlike restrictive relative clauses:

- (24) a. **The Adam Smith that I went to school with** became a programmer.
b. This is not ***(the) Mary I know**.

⇒ the syntactic structure of proper names allows these two attachment sites (cf. Geurts 1997, Elbourne 2002 and Matushansky 2005, 2006, 2008):



If proper names can only be referential, their modifiers must attach to the DP (but see Burton-Roberts 1975 for arguments against assimilating close apposition and loose apposition).

Where does the definite article come from?

- (26) a. the famous detective Sherlock Holmes
b. the incomparable Maria Callas

One possible answer: it forms **part of the modifier**:



Undesirable consequences:

- the modifier is incorrectly predicted to denote a singleton set (or the presence of the definite article is inexplicable: the indefinite article is also possible, but then modification becomes restrictive)
- English and French are incorrectly predicted to freely allow NP ellipsis with any AP (otherwise the presence of the definite article with APs is inexplicable)
- definite article omission with titles and expressive adjectives in English cannot be conditioned not to apply in the absence of a proper name

Alternative: adopt the structure in (16):



Undesirable consequences:

- the semantic type of the modifiers must be changed (or the proper name become a predicate as a result of the IDENT type-shifting rule (Bach and Partee 1980, Partee and Bach 1984, Partee 1986))
- an AP or an NP modifier should also be able to combine with a regular definite description (a DP)
- more than one DP layer in an extended NP is available

Conclusion: **nonrestrictive modification of proper names by AP and NP predicates is not easily compatible with the hypothesis that the underlying type of proper names is *e*.**

1.3. Henry VIII, Jack the Ripper, etc.

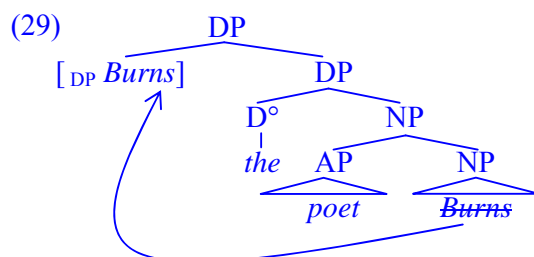
The constituent [PN D° NP] is somewhat unproductive and generally occurs in titles, where its role is to define the protagonist or the subject matter or in conventionally fixed nicknames.

In English the same phonological sequence is used for coercive modification. French shows that coercive modifiers have different syntax (see below):

- (28) a. Cicero the orator is superior to Cicero the philosopher. ex. from Noailly 1991
 b. Chomsky le linguiste
 Chomsky the linguist
 Chomsky the linguist (i.e., *the linguist Chomsky*)
 c. Chomsky linguiste
 Chomsky linguist
 Chomsky the linguist (i.e., *Chomsky as a linguist*)

Burton-Roberts 1975 derives the [PN D° NP] appositives from [D° NP PN] appositives via extraposition of the [D° NP] sequence, which doesn't form a constituent in his analysis either

In modern terms the proper name could be preposed:



However, they have different truth-conditions and thus are not transformationally related.

1.3.1. Interpretation (Noailly 1991)

The NP need not be contrastive:

- (30) Satie l' ermite
Satie the hermit

... but it may be:

- (31) 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.

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

- (32) a. le procureur Molinier
the public prosecutor Molinier
b. [?]Molinier le procureur
Molinier the public prosecutor

Noailly 1991

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

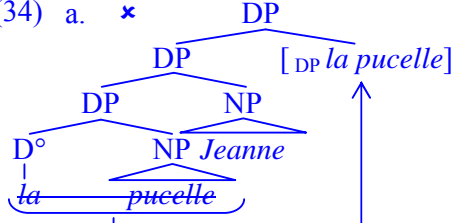
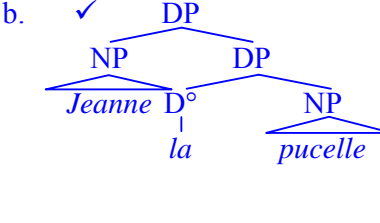
No determiner other than the definite article is possible here:

- (33) 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**.

1.3.2. Syntactic derivation

Two options can be envisaged:

- (34) a. ✗
- 
- b. ✓
- 

In both of them it is the determiner of the common noun that projects, i.e., **the proper name is syntactically a modifier of the DP!**

Despite the presence of an article, **the DP is semantically a predicate** (type $\langle e, t \rangle$).

Conversely, **the proper name projects an NP rather than a DP**: proper names containing determiners are ungrammatical here:

- (35) a. *(the) Mississippi (river)
b. ?(*the) Mississippi the river (cf. *Mississippi the state*)
- (36) a. the Borgias
b. ?(*the) Borgias the poisoners

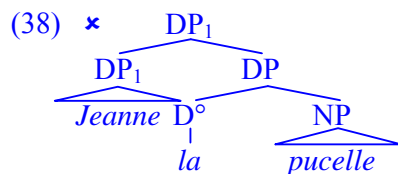
Explanation: Matushansky 2006: in languages where proper names in argument positions are introduced by an article, they appear a without an article in the predicate position.

Furthermore, the fact that this construction can be used contrastively, i.e., with a proper name that does not denote the singleton set, shows that the proper name is not a DP here:

- (37) Both van Gogh brothers lived in Paris in 1886. **Van Gogh the painter** left in 1888.

Since the proper name is a nonrestrictive modifier, it must be prenominal, as in (34b).

If proper names are not semantic predicates, the DP rather than the proper name should be the modifier:



Undesirable consequences:

- the ungrammaticality of proper names containing the definite article still needs to be explained
- the exclusion of determiners other than the definite article with the common noun remains a puzzle
- this semantic type of the common noun DP should be adjusted: it must become a reduced relative
- if the proper name is an appositive reduced relative, why does it not exhibit the characteristic prosody?

- (39) a. Jeanne la pucelle "nonrestrictively modified proper name"
b. Jeanne, la pucelle appositive reduced relative

Conclusion: **nonrestrictive modification of NP predicates by proper names is not easily compatible with the hypothesis that the underlying type of proper names is *e*.**

1.3.3. AP "modifiers"

Apparent problem: APs may also appear in this construction:

- (40) a. Pline l' ancien
Pliny the Elder
- b. Gilles des Rais l' infâme
Gilles des Rais the infamous

NP-ellipsis in French is restricted (Barbaud 1976, Lobeck 1993, 1995, Sleeman 1993, 1996, Kester 1996, etc.) to color adjectives, superlatives, ordinals, measuring adjectives and a few others:

- (41) a. Je prendrai la grande Ø.
 I take-FUT the big-FSG
 I will take the big one.
- b. *Le facile se trouve à la page 40.
 the easy REFL finds at the page 40

However, Grevisse 2006: §217 provides multiple exceptions/counterexamples, showing that intersective adjectives can be forced into ellipsis.

English blocks NP ellipsis with adjectives other than superlatives and ordinals (Lobeck 1993, 1995):

- (42) a. *I will take the big/great.
 b. We were interested in the biggest/greatest/fourth.

It is therefore unsurprising that English does not allow AP "modifiers" of proper names.

NB Official names of kings are exception to that: *Alfred the Great*, *Aethelred the Unready*, etc. Note, however, that adjectival sobriquets are quite rare in British monarchy. Burton-Roberts 1975 also provides the example *Chomsky the ingenious*, which seems to me to be an imitation of a king's title, unlike *Chomsky the linguist*.

1.4. PP modification of proper names

PPs can also be nonrestrictive:

- (43) a. Strict rules governed the behavior of **the samurai warriors of ancient Japan**.
 b. The wonders of Skype! Wherever I am, I can talk to **my family in Darmstadt**.

Like appositive relative clauses (and unlike APs) nonrestrictive PP modifiers of proper names do not trigger article insertion:

- (44) a. I want to read about the Davy Jones from *The Monkees* (not the pirate). restrictive
 b. Our next speaker is (*the) Noam Chomsky from MIT. nonrestrictive

Nonrestrictive PP modifiers are clearly distinct from reduced PP relatives:

- (45) a. Noam Chomsky from MIT
 b. Noam Chomsky, from MIT

Scandinavian **double definiteness**: nouns followed by (argument or adjunct) PPs behave like unmodified nouns (Mikkelsen 1998, Hankamer and Mikkelsen 2002, 2005).

- (46) a. hest-en
 horse.def
 the horse
- b. *den hest
 def horse
- c. den *(røde) hest
 def red horse
 the red horse
- (47) a. gris-en med blå pletter
 pig-DEF with bluespots

- b. *den gris med blå pletter
the pig with bluespots
the pig with blue spots

Hankamer and Mikkelsen 2005: PPs are attached above the DP level (even though they can be restrictive)

1.5. Summary

Nonrestrictive modification provides two separate arguments for the hypothesis that proper names can denote predicates:

- nonrestrictive modification below a determiner (cf. *the famous detective Sherlock Holmes*) is not expected if proper names have the semantic type *e*
- the ability of proper names of themselves to function as nonrestrictive modifiers of definite descriptions (cf. *Warwick the Kingmaker*) is incompatible with type *e*

Possible alternative: the predicate interpretation of proper names results from the application of IDENT type-shifting operator (Bach and Partee 1980, Partee and Bach 1984, Partee 1986):

$$(48) \llbracket \text{IDENT} \rrbracket = \lambda x . \lambda y . y=x$$

This hypothesis does not explain why argument but not predicate proper names should bear the definite article in languages like Catalan, Maori, etc. (Anderson 2002, 2003, 2004, 2007, Matushansky 2006, 2008)

It also incorrectly predicts that in common noun equivalents of these constructions we should see DPs rather than NPs.

It also doesn't explain restrictive modification of proper names.

2. RESTRICTIVE MODIFICATION OF PROPER NAMES

Proper names normally carry the presupposition of uniqueness. But sometimes...

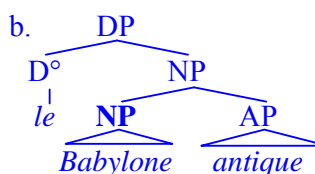
- (49) a. the science-fiction writer Norton (not the programmer Norton)
b. the Adam Smith that I went to school with (not the economist)
c. the famous Mr. Clarke (not your neighbor)

If proper names in argument positions are concealed definite descriptions with a predicative core, restrictive modification is straightforward.

Hypothesis: the presupposition of uniqueness associated with proper names is cultural rather than linguistic: their *raison d'être* is to uniquely identify an individual.

- (50) a. the author of *Waverley*
b. an author of *HMS Pinafore*

I would assign uniqueness to the nature of naming conventions (cf. Matushansky 2008).

- (51) a. 
- b. 

Nonrestrictive modification of proper names is a special case of restrictive modification.

Although French clearly distinguishes restrictive and nonrestrictive modification of proper names by the **position of the modifier**:

- (52) a. l' orateur Cicéron nonrestrictive ($\lambda x : \text{Cicero}(x) . \text{orator}(x)$)
the orator Cicero
the orator Cicero
- b. Cicéron l' orateur nonrestrictive ($\lambda x : \text{orator}(x) . \text{Cicero}(x)$)
Cicero the orator
Cicero the orator
- c. le Cicéron orateur restrictive only
the Cicero orator
Cicero the orator (as opposed to another Cicero, e.g., a philosopher)

... different linearization does not imply different structure.

More problematic for the unified treatment is the fact that an article is obligatory for all cases of restrictive modification of proper names, including PP modification:

- (53) a. the **short** Mark Smith (not the tall one)
b. the **god** Jupiter (not the planet)
c. the Davy Jones **from *The Monkees*** (not the pirate)
d. the Lewis **that wrote about Narnia**

... but this could be due to the fact that with nonrestrictive modification the proper name does not denote a singleton set.

Strikingly, some apparently restrictive PPs trigger no article insertion:

- (54) a. Roger looks like (*the) Stalin without the mustache.
b. Paris is just (*the) Rome with all the good parts taken out.

Hypothesis: these are actually nonrestrictive: losing a material part does not change identity.

3. COERCIVE MODIFICATION OF PROPER NAMES

Modification of proper names may maintain the presupposition of uniqueness.

This results in coercion (Paul 1994, Gärtner 2004) or **fractioning** (Jonasson 2005):

- (55) a. The upper Rhine is polluted. material part
b. The upper river is polluted.
- (56) a. The young W. A. Mozart visited Paris. temporal stage
b. The young composer visited Paris.
- (57) a. I will show you the secret Paris. aspect/guise
b. I will show you the secret city.
- (58) 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.

3.1. Which part?

NP modifiers yield aspects (cf. Landman 1989), a.k.a. guises:

- (59) a. Chomsky linguiste
Chomsky linguist
Chomsky the linguist (i.e., Chomsky as a linguist)

b. Lolita the adolescent

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

- (60) 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)
d. the European Polanski (= Polanski when he was living in Europe)

NB Postnominal participles and certain stage level adjectives (e.g., *Jake Barnes drunk*, or *Lady Brett sad*) seem to yield guises, but this could be due to the fact that they usually appear with stative main predicates, which would make them stages. They would seem to be best analyzed as reduced relative clauses (cf. Cinque 2010). I rather suspect it is this phenomenon that correlates with the "counterfactual" use of modified proper names in French (*Manon fidèle ne serait plus Manon*, Noailly 1991). I set them aside here.

Paul 1994: Landman's analysis of guises (intensional individuals, in his terms) doesn't work for modified proper names.

Paul 1994 examines proper names modified by APs and PPs only.

Point-of-the-compass adjectives often yield article omission:

- (61) a. (the) Northern Alps
b. (*the) Central France

These might be becoming proper names in their own right.

PP modifiers allow temporal stages or guises, but not spatial parts:

- (62) a. The Picasso of the Blue Period is clearly a genius.
b. The Chomsky of *Pirates and Emperors* is angrier than the Chomsky of *Barriers*.

I'm not sure whether PP modifiers allow temporal stages (contra Paul 1994):

- (63) a. Paris at night is absolutely charming.
b. The Paris of the 80s was a fun place to be.

My problem: I'm not sure if these are stages (rather than aspects); they are characterizing, and a short-duration temporal modifier is infelicitous:

NB If anything, I would rather ascribe stage interpretation to English postnominal participles and stage-level APs (*Julia drunk*).

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

Paul 1994 suggests that stages (63a) can be merged to form another stage (63b). Interestingly, in such cases a PP modifier does not seem to yield the definite article. I will not attempt to analyze the apparent similarity of such cases to bare plurals.

RC modifiers yield guises only:

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

A guise introduced by a relative clause may correspond to a spatiotemporal stage:

- (67) a. the Brodsky that worked in the United States
b. the Chomsky that visited us in Utrecht

Interestingly, guises may be named (cf. Saul 1997, Forbes 1997, 1999, Zimmermann 2005):

- (68) a. Mark Twain vs. Samuel Clemens
b. Clark Kent vs. the Superman

I don't think stages or parts can be: *Constantinople* or *Byzantium* are not viewed as stages of *Istanbul*, and *Karl-Marx-Stadt* denotes something more than simply a spatiotemporal slice of *Chemnitz*. Even *Lutecia* does not stand in the part-of relation to *Paris*.

Coercive modification may also create indefinite NPs, which may denote instantiations of the entities denoted by their definite counterparts:

- (69) a. an adolescent Picasso an instantiation of the adolescent Picasso guise
b. an Elizabeth that we haven't seen before guise

In fact, many intensional modifiers yield indefinites (e.g., *an unfamiliar Paris*, *a London not yet popularized by guidebooks*, etc.), cf. Gary-Prieur 1991.

3.2. This syntax of coercive modification

Being contrastive, coercive modifiers of proper names are obligatorily postnominal in French (Noailly 1991):

- (70) a. l' énigmatique Timbouctou nonrestrictive
the enigmatic Timbuktou
b. le président Mitterrand
the president Mitterrand
- (71) a. Odile lointaine coercive
Odile distant
the distant Odile
b. le Philippe de mes parents restrictive or coercive
the Philippe of my parents

Coercive and restrictive NP and AP modifiers have different syntax:

- (72) a. le Cicéron orateur et le Cicéron philosophe two people (restrictive)
the Cicero orator and the Cicero philosopher
the orator Cicero and the philosopher Cicero
b. Cicéron orateur et Cicéron philosophe two aspects of the same person (coercive)
Cicero orator and Cicero philosopher
Cicero the orator and Cicero the philosopher
- (73) a. l' Odile réelle restrictive
the Odile real
the real Odile (as opposed to the imaginary one)
b. Odile lointaine coercive
Odile distant
the distant Odile

The lack of the article in (72b) seems to be due to the fact that French allows bare predicate NPs (see Kupferman 1979, Pollock 1983, Boone 1987, Longobardi 1994, Chierchia 1998, Roy 2001, Matushansky and Spector 2005, and Beyssade and Dobrovie-Sorin 2005).

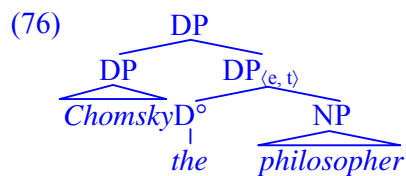
Dutch and German predicate NPs are also bare (de Swart, Winter and Zwarts 2005), though not in coercive NP modification:

- (74) Chomsky *(de) filosoof
Chomsky *(the) philosopher

Possible alternative: English (I don't know about Germanic in general) does allow definite NPs as apparently non-definite predicates (Berman 1973:118):

- (75) 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

My guess is, it is such uses that are at the core of the phenomenon:



NB The proper name clearly starts out as definite and referential, then probably coerced into denoting a set of its own proper parts.

3.3. Common nouns

Aspect/guise interpretation is not available with common nouns:

- (77) 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):

- (78) 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.
- (79) a. #My young sister is much happier than my middle-aged sister.
b. **The giant panda** is smaller than **the Himalayan brown bear**.

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.

4. CONCLUSION

Modified proper names teach us many interesting things about their semantics.

The syntax and semantics of nonrestrictive modification of proper names requires that they should be able to denote singleton sets.

Restrictive modification of proper names strongly suggests that predicative meaning is their basic denotation; the uniqueness presupposition associated with proper names seems more like a conventional phenomenon.

The syntax of coercive modification of proper names shows clear similarities with the syntax of common nouns denoting kinds (cf. Kripke 1980).

5. APPENDICES

5.1. My brother the poet

Animate relational nouns also allow NP-NP adjunction, in a fixed order:

- (80) a. *the poet my brother
b. my brother the poet
c. my poet brother

Burton-Roberts 1975 derives (80b) from the underlying (80c), which we cannot do

Unlike with proper names, nouns denoting singleton sets are impossible as NP₁ here (Burton-Roberts 1975)

- (81) a. *my father the pensioner
b. *the pensioner my father
c. my pensioner father

Prosodic effect: a longer NP₁ requires an intonational break:

- (82) a. Mary's brother the poet
b. *my friend Mary's brother the poet

Potentially related case:

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

Claim: NP₂ is an appositive cataphoric on the demonstrative: although it is not presupposed, it is accommodated

French superlatives and Greek determiner spreading also appear to involve modification of a DP by a DP:

- (84) la maison la plus à gauche/ la plus jolie
the house the more to left the more pretty
the leftmost/prettiest house

- (85) a. to spiti to megalo
the house the big
the big house
b. to megalo to spiti
the big the house
the big house

Lekakou and Szendroi 2007: Greek determiner spreading is a kind of close apposition (which they analyze in terms of R-role identification (Higginbotham 1985)).

Fanselow and Čavar 2002: split NPs in German start out as NP-NP adjunction:

- (86) Interessante Bücher hat sie mir keine aus Indien empfohlen.
interesting books has she me none from India recommended
She has not recommended any interesting books from India to me.

I don't have anything interesting to add at the moment.

5.2. Conversion to proper names

Nonrestrictive modifiers can become conventionalized as part of names:

- (87) a. Long John Silver
b. Little Richard
c. Bloody Mary (of Tudor)
- (88) a. Mack the Knife
b. Jack the Ripper
c. Dennis the Menace
- (89) a. Catherine of Aragon
b. Anne d'Autriche (cf. *Leonardo da Vinci*)

The fact that reanalysis towards a proper name has occurred is shown by the possibility of secondary modification:

- (90) a. the young Richard the Lionheart
b. This Henry the Eighth has never been described.

Multiple definite determiners are otherwise impossible in English.

Unsurprisingly, only NP "modifiers" can function as nicknames in the absence of a proper name.

5.3. Common noun use of proper names

Gouet 1976, Herschensohn 1978, Marmaridou 1989, Jonasson 1992, 1994, 2005, Wee 2006, De Clercq 2008:

- (91) a. They have several Picassos here.
b. I'd like a Heineken, please.
c. She's the new Madonna.

De Clercq 2008: these are nominalizations of proper name roots

I have some doubts about the "root" part:

- (92) a. They're putting on another Gilbert and Sullivan, would you like to go?
b. I'd like a "Fruit of the Loom", please.
c. This book is a new "War and Peace".

Vocabulary/encyclopedia entries may be syntactically complex:

- (93) a. Our Lady's slipper
b. a fool's paradise
c. St. Elmo's fire

So common noun use may involve nominalization of a referential proper name with all its accompanying syntactic structure.

Marmaridou 1989: non-unique proper names undergo the same process as proper names used as common nouns: in both cases the meaning is shifted towards the set of individuals sharing some characteristic properties with the bearer of the name (in this case, being so-called)

Objection: metaphorical use of proper names presupposes the existence of the name bearer. Indefinite or modified proper names don't.

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