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ON THE GENDER OF PROPER NAMES

Göttingen, June 5-6, 2014

1. INTRODUCTION

Purpose of this talk: investigate gender on proper names and its effect on their syntax

Main findings:

- proper names may have different underlying gender specifications, both within a lexical-semantic category and across lexical-semantic categories
- the underlying gender specification may be default yet give rise to agreement for a specific gender (e.g., proper names in French may trigger masculine agreement when they are formally masculine or when they are unspecified for gender; this is a well-known property of gender for common nouns as well)
- the presence of a definite article on the proper name in German is conditioned by its underlying gender specification
- the phenomenon cannot be reduced to the semantics of proper names: in French and Romanian, the article may be realized in one morphosyntactic environment, but null in another
- it can be accounted for on the assumption that proper names are syntactically DPs and that D° is not realized under certain circumstances (Matushansky 2006, see also Ghomeshi and Massam 2009)

Bottom line: the realization of the definite article on proper names is a morphosyntactic issue

1.1. Animate proper names

Like with common nouns, the gender of proper names can be interpretable (animate proper names only) or formal

The gender of animate proper names is usually determined by their reference. However, there are exceptions: diminutives may formally belong to one gender and still trigger agreement on the basis of the gender of their referent:

Corbett 1979, 2006 does not distinguish between restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses for the purposes of semantic agreement, but there is a difference: unsurprising, since only the latter are adjoined to the DP

- (1) a. Fritzchen, den/*das ich so lange nicht gesehen habe Moltmann 2013
 Fritzchen REL-MSG/REL-NSG I so long NEG seen have
 Fritzchen, whom I have not seen in such a long time
- b. das kleine Fritzchen, das/*der heute sicher kommt
 the-NSG little-NSG Fritzchen REL-NSG/REL-MSG today sure comes
 the little Fritzchen, who is surely coming today
- (2) a. (kleine) Alies-je, die/*dat Dutch
 little-AGR Alies-DIM which-CSG/NSG
 little Alies, who...
- b. het kleine Alies-je, dat/?die
 the-NSG little-AGR Alies-DIM which-NSG/CSG
 the little Alies, who...

Likewise, in Russian diminutives can be formally masculine with a feminine referent:

- (3) Kuda že podevalsja/podevalas' naš Len-č-ik/Len-ok? Russian
where EMPH disappeared-MSG/FSG our-MSG Lena-DIM-DIM_M/Lena-DIM_M
Where could our little Lena have gone?

Even for animate proper names gender may be an uninterpretable formal property.

1.2. Inanimate proper names

Russian seems uninteresting: the gender of [-animate] proper names is generally determined by their declension class (unless they are indeclinable) -- but see section 6

The gender of Romance and Germanic inanimate proper names can be determined by:

- absence of gender, e.g., masculine in Romance
- analogical gender: e.g., names of temples are masculine in German
- lexically: e.g., river names can be feminine (*la Seine, die Donau*) or masculine (*le Rhône, der Rhein*)

More than one strategy can be used within the same lexical-semantic category: for instance, names of mountains in German are masculine, but there are lexically specified exceptions:

- (4) a. der Fujiyama, der Etna, der Vesuv, der Kailash...
b. die Zugspitze

Apparent double dissociation: all non-neuter country names bear an overt definite article and there is no country name with the definite article that would be neuter

In addition, there appears to be a tendency towards simultaneously dropping the article and switching the gender to neuter (Van Langendonck 2007:208 discusses the article drop with *the Ukraine, the Sudan*, etc., in Dutch and German and the accompanying subtle change of attitude, but does not note the corresponding gender switch)

- (5) a. der Irak, der Jemen... masculine
b. die Schweiz, die Türkei... feminine
c. die USA... plural

I am aware of one exception, *Das Vereinigte Königreich* 'the United Kingdom', which, on the one hand, contains a common noun and on the other, is modified. For a discussion of proper names based on definite descriptions see Rabern [to appear]

These gender features are formal in the sense that the masculine or feminine gender does not correlate with any real-world properties

2. THE SYNTAX OF GENDER ON PROPER NAMES: GERMAN

Moltmann 2013 distinguishes three categories for proper names in German on the basis of the following criteria:

- the presence of an overt article
 - the availability of plural anaphora
 - the choice of the relativizer
- (6) a. München, was/*das ich sehr gut kenne, ist wirklich schön.
Munich what/which-NSG I very well know is really beautiful
Munich, which I know very well, is really beautiful.
- b. Zarskoe Selo, das/?was groesser ist als Pavlovsk,
Zarskoe Selo which-NSG/what bigger is as Pavlovsk
Zarskoe Selo, which is bigger than Pavlovsk

- (7) a. Ich kenne Berlin und München. Anna kennt sie auch. city
I know Berlin and Munich Anna knows them too
I know Berlin and Munich. Anna knows them too.
- b. Ich liebe Zarskoe Zelo und Pavlovsk. Anna liebt sie auch. palace
I like Zarskoe Zelo and Pavlovsk Anna likes them too
I like Zarskoe Zelo and Pavlovsk. Anna likes them too.

Proper names containing a definite article both allow plural anaphora and disallow *was*.

I will argue that Moltmann's categories reflect the presence of implicit gender on the proper name

2.1. Moltmann's empirical generalizations and analysis

[+animate] proper names in standard German appear without the definite article, though in a number of dialects the definite article is obligatory

Even in these dialects names of countries, cities, villages, continents and some others appear bare (although names of some individual countries require the definite article)

Moltmann notes that most categories of obligatorily bare place names are incompatible with plural anaphora and that they allow the *w*-relativizer *was* 'what' (not in all dialects)

All in all, there are the following four categories:

- names of people: no overt article in standard German, plural anaphora possible, d-series in the relative pronoun choice
 - Moltmann: a sortal (= person) implicit in the meaning of the proper name
- names of churches and palaces: no overt article, plural anaphora possible, neuter d-series in the relative pronoun choice (i.e., like names of people, but inanimate)
 - Moltmann: likewise; the semantic content of the sortal is not specified
- most toponyms (cities, villages, countries, continents, etc.): no overt article, plural anaphora impossible, relativizer *was*
 - Moltmann: the meaning of the proper name contains no sortal
- names of mountains, lakes, temples: obligatory definite article (the gender of the corresponding sortal), d-series in the relative pronoun choice
 - Moltmann: the proper name is actually a mention (quotation), which cannot be used without a sortal, which may be overt (e.g., *das Erzgebirge* 'the Ore Mountains') or phonologically null, but assumed to be syntactically present (e.g., *der Fujiyama* 'the Fuji')

Alternative hypothesis: there is no need to postulate a hidden sortal: the presence or absence of pre-specified formal phi-features (**gender**, **number**, animacy) is enough

2.2. Proper names of animate entities, churches and palaces

Moltmann: such proper names contain an implicit sortal

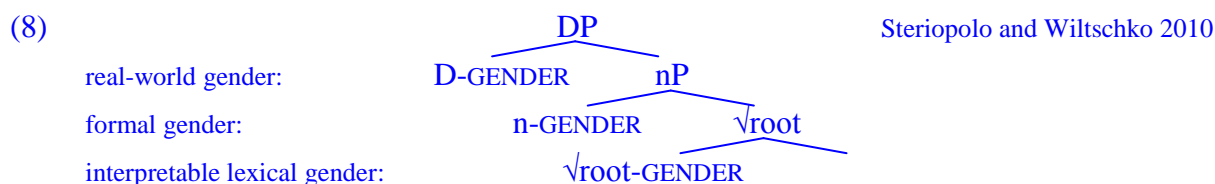
Problems:

- what is the lexical content of the putative sortal? Note that for the two inanimate categories the surface gender (neuter) differs from that of the noun corresponding to the relevant lexical-semantic category: *Kirche* 'church' (F), *Palast* 'palace' (M)

- how does the absence of an article follow from the presence of an implicit sortal? Note that modification renders the article obligatory
- why is there a dialectal difference for [animate] proper names? Do proper names of people in, e.g., Bavarian German have a different meaning?

My proposal: the presence of an article correlates with the presence of a gender feature on the proper name predicate (i.e., formal gender). Names of animate entities, churches and palaces are not specified for formal gender (n-gender, in the terms of Steriopolo and Wiltschko 2010)

Presupposition: gender is encoded more than once in the DP (Sauerland 2004, Steriopolo and Wiltschko 2010, Matushansky 2013b, etc.):



If d-pronouns consist of a bound D morpheme and agreement morphemes (Wiltschko 1998), d-relativization is dependent upon the presence of gender features at the DP level

Assuming that proper names of animate entities, churches and palaces bear gender features at the DP level, where these latter are established from their reference (a phenomenon known as *semantic agreement*), d-relativization is expected

Plural anaphora doesn't need to be explained, as it is expected to be possible

2.3. Relativizers and plural anaphora with bare place names

Most names of cities, countries, continents, towns, villages, etc., are bare, do not allow plural anaphora in German and require/allow w-relativization:

- (9) a. München, was/[%]das ich sehr gut kenne Moltmann 2013
Munich what/which-NSG I very well know
Munich, which I know very well
- b. Ich kenne Berlin und München. Anna kennt ??sie auch.
I know Berlin and Munich Anna knows them too
I know Berlin and Munich. Anna knows them too.

Moltmann 2013 relates the w-relativizer and the lack of plural anaphora to mass denotation. These proper names lack an implicit sortal and as a result, are interpreted as number-neutral or mass

Plural anaphora is therefore correctly predicted to be impossible; the w-relativizer is claimed to be sensitive to mass denotation and therefore possible with number-neutral proper names

Problems:

- dialectal variation: for some speakers *das* 'which-NSG' is possible or even required in (9)¹
- language-internal variation: w-toponyms differ from other w-items in section 7.1 for plural anaphora (in English) and for w-relativization with further modification (in German)

¹ For German judgments and insights I am indebted to Patricia Cabredo Hofherr, Berit Gehrke, Hans Obenauer and Dolf Rami, with some help from Thomas Leu.

English allows plural anaphora for place names, but not for mass nouns and other w-items in section 7.1:

- (10) a. I know Berlin and Munich. Ann knows them too. Moltmann 2013
b. John needs a secretary and an assistant. Mary needs that/#them too.

Moltmann will have to assume that English place names contain an implicit sortal, differing in their meaning from German place names

The w-relativizer appears with toponyms **only without further modification**, be it restrictive or non-restrictive (examples from Moltmann 2013):

- (11) a. das Berlin der 20iger Jahre, das/*was ich nicht kenne
the-NSG Berlin DEF.PL.GEN 20-ADJ years which.NSG/what I not know
the Berlin of the Twenties, which I do not know well
b. das schöne München, das/*was ich gut kenne
the-NSG beautiful-NSG Munich which.NSG/what I well know
the beautiful Munich, which I know well

How would modification provide bare toponyms with a sortal they otherwise lack?

My proposal: in German toponyms in this category are not specified for gender at the level of the proper name predicate, **but also not at the DP level**

How do they fail to obtain the same (neuter) gender features at the DP level?

I propose that the two sets of lexical-semantic categories of inanimate proper names differ in whether they are specified for the feature [animate]:

- animate proper names may bear this formal feature or lack it: at the DP level their gender is determined by the sex of their referent
- assuming that names of palaces and churches are inherently specified [-animate], a lexical redundancy rule will assign to them the feature [neuter] at the DP level (the correlation between the two can be shown to exist on independent grounds). The w-relativizer cannot then be used because a more highly specified d-pronoun can
- all other toponyms do not bear any inherent phi-features and, being inanimate and lacking real-world gender, cannot acquire gender on the basis of their reference. The variation in (9a) would be due to whether *das* is [neuter] (*9a; the toponym doesn't bear this feature) or [-animate] (✓9a; the toponym is inanimate by virtue of its reference)

Modification changes the picture because of the presence of an overt D°, which obligatorily bears the full set of phi-features. Being semantically inanimate, the toponym DP becomes [neuter] by the same lexical redundancy rule

All this assumes a dynamic system of establishing feature values in multiple positions inside the extended NP

To achieve this result, we need to distinguish between an overt D° (which is morphologically specified for gender features) and a null/absent D° (which, presumably, is not specified at all)

On the assumption that d-relativization is dependent on the presence of formal gender at the DP level, **the presence of a definite article automatically renders d-relativization possible**

Corollary: proper names with the definite article must be inherently specified for gender

2.4. Inherently fixed gender and non-bare inanimate proper names

A category of proper names that Moltmann does not discuss are those with non-fixed gender, e.g., planets or rivers. **All proper names in these categories bear the definite article**

Furthermore, **all country names with an obligatory definite article have a gender/number specification that is distinct from neuter singular** (in German and in Dutch)

The only city name with a definite article in German that I'm aware of (*der Haag* 'the Hague', a variant of *Den Haag*) is masculine

Even for proper names of animate entities, gender may lead to variation:

- in many (northern?) dialects of Italian feminine given names are preceded by the definite article; masculine given names appear with the definite article in a subset of these dialects
- in Spanish and French women's surnames (used to) appear with a definite article (Meyer-Lübke 1890:187); the rule is active in Modern French for the surnames of famous female singers and actors (Gary-Prieur 1994); in modern standard Italian women's surnames require the definite article (Longobardi 1994)

The masculine gender is the default in Romance languages, the feminine is not

- (12) *(La) Callas ha cantato. Longobardi 1994
DEF-FSG Callas AUX sing-PART
Callas sang.

On the assumption that (certain lexical-semantic categories of) toponyms may be inherently specified for gender, those toponyms will appear with an obligatory definite article. In fact, all the obligatorily non-bare place names that Moltmann discusses (mountains, temples and lakes) are masculine, which is a non-default value for inanimate entities:

- (13) a. *der Fujiyama, der Etna* (but also: *die Zugspitze*) mountains
 b. *der Mansarovar, der Lago Maggiore* lakes
 c. *der Parthenon, der Houriaji* temples
 d. *der Atlantik* (cf. *der Atlantische Ozean*), *der Indik...* oceans

The claim is not that non-bare neuter proper names are impossible, just that they are unlikely. It is possible to show for Russian is that the value [neuter] is not the absence of value (Matushansky 2013a). If in German such is not the case (i.e., if [neuter] = [-animate]), then non-bare neuter proper names are predicted to be impossible

How is this preferable to the claim that non-bare proper names contain a syntactically explicit null sortal and a quotation (Moltmann 2013)?

- unification with plurals: the obligatory definite article in plural proper names has the same nature
- unification with non-bare proper names belonging to lexical-semantic categories lacking a default gender specification
- cross-linguistic coverage: the link between an obligatory article and a non-default gender in Romance [animate] proper names
- no need to specify the distribution of the putative null sortal

If d-relativization is sensitive to the presence of gender features, non-bare proper names are correctly predicted to be incompatible with w-relativization

2.5. The issue of plural anaphora

It is clearly not the case that lack of gender blocks anaphora, since singular anaphora is okay

It is also not about the interpretation of proper names, since English and German differ in this respect, and furthermore, modification and the concurrent definite article improve the plural anaphora:

- (14) Ich kenne das schöne Berlin und das hässliche München.
I know the-NSG beautiful-NSG Berlin and the-NSG ugly-NSG Munich
Anna kennt sie beide auch.
Anna knows them both too
I know the beautiful Berlin and the ugly Munich. Anna knows them too.

Once again the presence of an overt definite article is crucial, but surely it doesn't change the denotation, especially since modification is non-restrictive here (see Matushansky [to appear] for an analysis of non-restrictive modification of proper names in the terms of IDENT)

An additional factor is the choice of the verb:

- (15) Berlin und München liegen in Deutschland.
Berlin and Munich lie in Germany
Sie sind 500 km voneinander entfernt.
they are 500 km from each other distant
Berlin and Munich are in Germany. They are 500 km away from each other.
- (16) Ich liebe Berlin und München. ?Sie sind meine beiden Lieblingsstädte.
I like Berlin and Munich they are my both favorite cities
I love Berlin and Munich. They are my two favourite cities.

Plural anaphora is not excluded with bare place names, but its interaction with the choice of the predicate remains mysterious. One possible venue of research is the subject/direct object asymmetry (Hans Obenauer, p.c.)

3. CONCLUSION

I have argued that the syntax of German proper names is determined by their inherent gender specification:

- no phi-features: proper names of animate entities. Reference-based gender at the DP level: d-relativization
- [-animate] specification: proper names of churches and palaces. Reference-based gender ([animate] → [neuter]) at the DP level: d-relativization
- [masculine] specification: proper names of mountains, temples, lakes and oceans. Formal gender at the DP level: d-relativization; obligatory definite article
- no phi-features: proper names of cities, countries, continents, towns, villages, etc. No gender at the DP level: w-relativization

Modification triggers an overt definite article, which is obligatorily specified for gender (at a different stage in this dynamic approach)

4. FURTHER COMPLICATIONS

German provides a very simple and clear empirical generalization about the role of gender in the realization of the definite article on proper names, for which independent evidence can be found in languages where the presence of inherent gender on proper names can be shown to influence other syntactic phenomena (e.g., in Russian, see section 6; Matushansky 2013a)

In other languages additional factors may intervene

The mechanism linking gender specification and the overt article remains to be specified (in different ways for different languages), but the core insight can be taken from Matushansky 2006b: the m-merger of D° and N° (leading to the absence of an overt definite article) can be blocked by the featural specification of D° (and the lexical-semantic class of N°)

4.1. French countries and islands: the default gender & the role of syntactic context

The gender of French country and region names is not established by default, but is fixed for each proper name. The definite article is generally obligatory:

There is one lexical exception: *Israël*, which is [feminine]. Names of countries that are islands follow a different set of rules.

- (17) J' aime la France, l' Angleterre, le Pérou, les Pays-Bas.
I like DEF-FSG France DEF-FSG England DEF-MSG Peru DEF-PL Netherlands
I like France, England, Peru, the Netherlands...

Cornulier 1972, Zwicky 1987, Miller et al. 1997: with the locative prepositions *à* 'to' and *de* 'from' the definite article disappears unless it is conflated with the preposition:

- (18) a. en France, en Mauritanie... feminine
b. **au Canada, au Pérou...** **masculine**
c. en Arménie, en Egypte... feminine/vowel
d. en Afghanistan, en Angola, en Iran... masculine/vowel
- (19) a. de France, de Mauritanie... feminine
b. **du Canada, du Pérou...** **masculine**
c. d'Arménie, d'Egypte... feminine/vowel
d. d'Afghanistan, d'Angola, d'Iran... masculine/vowel

Modification blocks these effects cold

- (20) de/à la France de mon enfance
of/to DEF-FSG France of my childhood

Three puzzles:

- what happens to the preposition (why does *à* turn into *en*)?
- what happens to the definite article?
- why do vowel-initial country names behave as if they are feminine?

This is not phonological, since when the PPs are not interpreted as locatives, nothing special happens:

- (21) a. lié à la France/*en France/ au Pérou
linked to DEF-FSG France in France to+DEF-MSG Peru
related to France
- b. parler de *(la) France/ du Pérou
speak of DEF-FSG France of+DEF-MSG Peru
to speak of France

Moreover, with names of islands the masculine is bare, while the feminine is as above:

- (22) a. la Corse, la Sicile, la Réunion feminine
b. Madagascar, Malte, Bornéo, Mayotte masculine
c. l'Irlande, l'Islande feminine/vowel
d. Haïti, Hawaï masculine/vowel
- (23) a. en Corse, en Sicile (mais à la Réunion) feminine
b. à Madagascar, à Malte, à Bornéo, à Mayotte (mais au Groenland) masculine
c. en Irlande, en Islande feminine/vowel
d. à Haïti, à Hawaï masculine/vowel
- (24) a. de Corse, de Sicile (mais de la Réunion) feminine
b. de Madagascar, de Malte, de Bornéo, de Mayotte masculine
c. d'Irlande, d'Islande feminine/vowel
d. d'Haïti, d'Hawaï masculine/vowel

Intuition: in French, **the surface masculine may reflect the absence of gender specification** or the positive [masculine] gender:

- masculine country names + Greenland: [masculine]
- feminine country and island names: [feminine]
- masculine island names: no gender specification

However, this is still not enough to explain the behavior of *La Réunion* in locative PPs (and a couple of other unusual effects)

And we still need a mechanism for the preposition alternation, but see Miller et al. 1997

4.2. Romanian first and last names: markedness reversal

A similar pattern obtains in Romanian (Meyer-Lübke 1890, Hoffman 1989, Cojocaru 2003, Gönczöl-Davies 2008): feminine proper names form the syncretic genitive-dative in the same way as common nouns, while masculine animate proper names and feminine animate proper names ending in a consonant, -i, -u, etc., have a periphrastic form with the definite article *lui*:

- (25) a. Maria – Mariei, Ilinca – Ilincăi, etc.
 b. lui Ion, lui Vasile, lui Alexandru, lui Mircea, lui Luca
 c. lui Carmen, lui Mimi, lui Irinel, lui Alice, lui Milagros, etc.

With place names the same *lui* appears after the name under the same conditions:

- (26) a. România – României, Timișoara - Timișoarei Gönczöl-Davies 2008
 b. Egipt – Egiptului, București - Bucureștiului

Independently known: feminine proper names contain the definite article in all cases, but it is undetectable for phonological rather than syntactic reasons

The emergence of the definite article in the masculine is conditioned by Case; its postnominal position is due to an independently attested process realizing the definite article on the first constituent in the NP (Grosu 1988, Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti 1998, Dobrovie-Sorin and Giurgea 2006, among others)

Why does it fail with first names is not ending in *-a*?

4.3. The role of the definite article with proper names

In a number of languages all proper names appear with the definite article. Among these, Greek (Anderson 2007) has three genders, and Fijian, none, showing that the definite article on proper names is not necessarily conditioned by gender:

- (27) a. a oro b. a gone Fijian, Alderete 1998
 D village D child
 the village the child
- (28) a. o Waitabu b. o yau c. o Jone Fijian, Alderete 1998
 D Place D 1sg D Name
 Waitabu me! John

The overtness of the preproprial definite article in Fijian depends on the syntactic position of the proper name/pronoun: it is absent in the direct object position immediately after the verb:

- (29) Ia, sa+na mai 'aba-ti Boumaa o Waini'eli Alderete 1998
 WELL ASP+FUT COME besiege-TR Place D Place
 And finally, that Waini'eli would come and fight Boumaa.

Tentative hypothesis: definite articles with proper names are correlated with the presence of a formal feature on the definite article (i.e., we do not expect to find a language with only one form of the definite article that is also obligatorily realized with proper names)

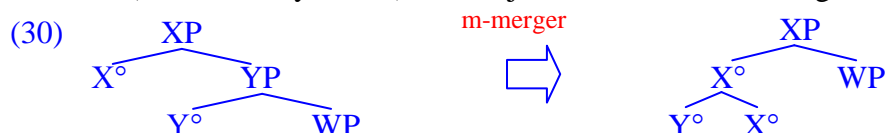
In Seri, where proper names also appear with the definite article, the definite article does not distinguish gender and does not reflect the proper/common distinction, but rather classifies objects according to their position in space, either temporary or inherent (Moser and Marlett 1994). In other words, Seri has a positional equivalent of gender, which can be interpretable or formal

In Niuean (Ghomeshi and Massam 2009) the definite articles (preproprial and common) are fused with case morphology

Important: this is about the realization of the definite article, not about its presence/absence in syntax or semantics

5. ANALYSIS: CONDITIONS ON M-MERGER

Intuition (Matushansky 2006a): two adjacent heads can be merged into one as follows:



The morphosyntactic operation of m-merger can be made conditional on both formal features of heads X° and Y° and on particular lexical items

Novel assumption: **the presence of a formal feature on X° or Y° can also block m-merger**

German:

- no phi-features: obligatory m-merger, no definite article
- inherent [α animate] feature: no effect on m-merger
- inherent [feminine] or [masculine] feature: m-merger blocked (obligatory definite article)
- a modifier: m-merger is blocked for structural reasons

French (country and island names):

- no phi-features: obligatory m-merger, no definite article: masculine island names with the exception of *le Groenland*
- inherent [feminine] or [masculine] feature: m-merger blocked (obligatory definite article): all country names, feminine island names
- a modifier: m-merger is blocked for structural reasons
- *le Groenland*: m-merger blocked for an individual lexical item or this island name is exceptionally specified as [masculine]
- *La Réunion*: m-merger blocked for an individual lexical item; *en* (hypothetically arising in the context of the m-merged $D^\circ + N^\circ$) excluded as a result
- a modifier: m-merger is blocked for structural reasons

Romanian first and last names:

- in the nominative case masculine proper names undergo m-merger
- in the dative-genitive case m-merger is blocked; the position of the definite article is determined by an independent mechanism, which may also fail
- a modifier: m-merger is predicted to be blocked for structural reasons

English: m-merger fails in certain lexical-semantic classes and with modification, as always

Alternatives:

- Longobardi 1994: overt definite article if N-to-D movement fails. Why should it fail with, e.g., Italian feminine proper names in a certain lexical-semantic class?

- Thomsen 1997: bare proper names are derived from predicates by a type-shifting rule (cf. Chierchia 1998). Can such a rule fail in the presence of a formal feature and/or in a given lexical-semantic class?
- Borer 2005: a root is interpreted as a proper name if merged with the preproprial article: realization conditioned by phi-features impossible to express
- Ghomeshi and Massam 2009: a null preproprial definite article: how to force its appearance with proper names that are **not** marked with a certain feature?

Given the roles of the lexical-semantic class of a proper name, its syntactic environment and featural specification, the solution should be morphological rather than syntactic or semantic

6. FURTHER EVIDENCE: THE ROLE OF GENDER IN RUSSIAN CLOSE APPPOSITION

While with names of animate entities both nouns in close apposition must be marked with the same case, for inanimate entities several lexical-semantic classes emerge:

- (31) a. o russk-om poët-e Blok-e/*Blok [+animate]: always
about Russian-MSG.LOC poet.M-LOC Blok.M-LOC/*NOM
about the Russian poet Blok
- b. o roman-e "Gorod/*Gorod-e" man-made object: never
about novel.M-LOC City.M-NOM/*LOC
about the novel The City
- c. na ulic-e Jakimank-a/Jakimank-e toponym: varies
in street.F-LOC Yakimanka.F-NOM/LOC
on the Yakimanka street

For toponyms, the lexical category and the ϕ -features of the proper name can affect case-marking:

- (32) a. na ulic-e Jakimank-a/Jakimank-e ✓phi-congruent
in street.MSG-LOC Yakimanka.FSG-NOM/LOC
on the Yakimanka street
- b. na ulic-e Balčug/*Balčug-e *non-phi-congruent
in street.MSG-LOC Balčug.MSG-NOM/LOC
on the Balčug street
- (33) a. ot stanci-i Moskva/*Moskvy nominal proper name
from station.FSG-GEN Moscow.FSG-NOM/GEN
from the station Moscow
- b. ot stanci-i Tixoreckaja/Tixoreckoj adjectival proper name
from station.FSG-GEN Tixoreckaja.FSG-NOM/GEN
from the station Tixoreckaja

Empirical generalization: case-agreement depends on ϕ -congruence between the sortal and the proper name

Otherwise the degree of gender congruence is determined by the sortal:

- gender congruence not required (city, country, river names)
- gender congruence required (street names, syntactically complex city names with internal agreement)
- only with phi-congruent adjectival proper names (railway station, cape, peninsula, etc., names)

Matushansky 2013a: different lexical-semantic categories of Russian toponyms bear different specifications for animacy and gender features

7. APPENDIX

7.1. German relativizers: *what* vs. *which*

Relative clauses in German are formed either with d-pronouns (which are homophonous with demonstratives, see Wiltschko 1998) or, when they are free relatives, with wh-words (Müller 1999):

- (34) a. der Mann, der Maria küßt Müller 1999
the man who Maria kisses
the man who is kissing Maria
- b. Wer schläft, sündigt nicht.
who sleeps sins not
He who sleeps does not sin.

Appositive relative clauses require d-pronouns, except when the invariable *was* 'what' must be used (Moltmann 2013): with the so-called *honorary NPs*, including *that*-clauses, with VP- and NP-predicates, with intensional NPs, with mass nouns denoting kinds and with single-word quantifiers and pronouns (e.g., *alles* 'everything', *das* 'that', etc.):

- (35) unter dem Bett, was ein guter Ort ist, um Koffer zu verstauen
under the bed what a good place is in-order suitcases to store
under the bed, which is a good place to store suitcases
- (36) a. Hans sang, was/*das Maria auch tat. Moltmann 2013
Hans sang, what/which-NSG Maria too did
Hans sang, which Maria did too.
- b. Hans sucht eine Sekretär-in, was/*die Maria auch sucht.
Hans seeks a-FSG secretary-F what/which.FSG Maria too seeks.
Hans is looking for a secretary, which Maria is looking for too.
- c. Magnesium, was lebenswichtig ist,
magnesium what vital is
magnesium, which is of vital importance
- d. alles/ nichts/ viel/ vieles, was/*das
everything nothing much many things what/which-NSG

Moltmann claims that most (though not all) toponyms cannot combine with d-relativizers: According to my informants, the neuter *das* 'which' is also possible -- see below

- (37) a. München, was/*das ich sehr gut kenne, ist wirklich schön.
Munich what/which-NSG I very well know is really beautiful
Munich, which I know very well, is really beautiful.
- b. Ich liebe Italien, was/*das dir ja auch gut gefällt.
I love Italy what/which-NSG you-DAT PRT also good pleases
I love Italy, which pleases you too.

While for proper names the overt definite article blocks w-relativization, with non-referential NPs definiteness does not help:

- (38) Judith sucht den besten Sekretär, den sich die Firma leisten
Judith seeks DEF.ACC best secretary which.MSG.ACC REFL the firm afford
kann, was/*den Julius auch sucht.
can what/which.MSG.ACC Julius also seeks
Judith is looking for the best secretary that the company can afford, which Julius is also looking for.

Moltmann 2013: the w-relativizer only combines with mass or number-neutral terms

Most place names, cardinals and quotations are therefore assumed to be mass or number-neutral. See below

Note: most of w-relativized items (with the exception of mass nouns) do not denote entities. Appositive relative clauses, however, are known to only combine with referential NPs (type e) (Jackendoff 1977)!

Solution: the appositive relatives with the w-relativizer do not syntactically relativize the NP they appear to:

- (39) a. Marcelle est très fatiguée, ce que Marie n' est pas. De Vries 2006
 Marcelle is very tired DEM REL Marie NEG is not
Marcelle is very tired, which Marie is not.
- b. Marcelle est arrivée en retard, ce qu' elle ne fait jamais.
 Marcelle is arrived in delay DEM REL she NEG does never
Marcelle arrived late, (something) which she never does.

Confirmation: free relatives are relativized with wh-words, where was 'what' is specified as [-animate] (rather than as [neuter])

The demonstrative clearly lacks a sortal (and therefore, gender) and the apparent antecedent does not supply one, since the w-appositive does not refer to the entity that is characterized by the nominal sortal: e.g., the property of being a secretary in (36b) is not itself a secretary

7.2. Plural anaphora

Moltmann 2013: the w-relativized items also disallow plural anaphora

- (40) a. Gold und Silber werden zum Schmuckherstellen verwendet. *Sie glänzen.
 gold and silver are to make.jewelry used they shine
*Gold and silver are used to make jewelry. *They are shiny.*
- b. Maria wurde eine gute Geigenspielerin und eine ausgezeichnete Künstlerin.
 Maria became a good violinist and an excellent artist.
Maria became a good violinist and an excellent artist.
- Anna wurde das/*sie auch.
 Anna became that/them too
*Anna became that/*them too.*

Mass nouns cannot pluralize!

8. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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