

## SORTS OF PROPER NAMES

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Accepted wisdom: proper names are a subclass of common nouns

The syntax of close apposition demonstrates that:

- proper names can be **nominal or adjectival**, which affects their syntax
- the **lexical-semantic class** of a proper name can affect its case-marking (Russian) and the appearance of an overt definite article (German)
- the effect of the lexical semantic class can be accounted for in terms of inherent **phi-features** (gender, number, animacy)

In other words, **proper names can enter syntax with varying formal specification**

### 1. INTRODUCING 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*

Main focus: the default case in (1)

Terminology: following Moltmann 2012, 2013, I refer to NP<sub>1</sub> as **the sortal**: its linear position is determined by the language, as well as by whether it functions as a restrictive modifier of NP<sub>2</sub>:

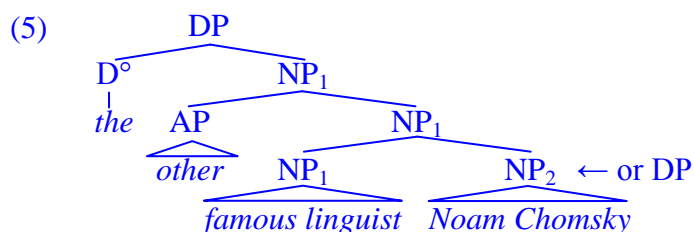
- (3) a. le peintre van Gogh non-restrictive: single name bearer  
the painter van Gogh  
the painter van Gogh
- b. le van Gogh peintre restrictive: multiple name bearers  
the van Gogh painter  
the PAINTER van Gogh (as opposed to *the art dealer van Gogh*, his brother)

While NP<sub>2</sub> can be a proper name, it clearly doesn't have to be. Below I will concentrate on the proper name case.

Jackendoff 1984: **a quotation** can also be preceded by sortal:

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

The **constituency** everyone agrees upon:



NP<sub>1</sub> is the head (see section 7.4).

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

- (6) 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**:

- (7) 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):

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

The proper name is not the complement as the sortal may have one (McCawley 1998:473):

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

- (10) a. le chanteur **de Maroon 5** Adam Levine  
the-M/F singer.M of Maroon 5 Adam Levine  
*the Maroon 5 singer Adam Levine*  
b. učitel' **mladšix klassov** Anna Ol'shanskaja  
teacher younger-PL.GEN classes-GEN Anna Ol'shanskaja  
*the primary school teacher Anna Ol'shanskaja*  
c. k gorodu **Šekspira** Stretfordu na Èivone  
towards city-DAT Shakespeare-GEN Stratford-DAT on Avon-LOC  
*towards the city of Shakespeare Stratford-on-Avon*

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

- (11) 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):

- (12) 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

And finally, two negative points that should not be missed: close apposition is **only possible with proper names and names of kinds**:

- (13) a. \*the very old settlement (the) city  
b. \*the bloody stupid dog (the) Chihuahua

...and the name may **not be preceded by an AP or by a determiner** (Molitor 1979 as cited in Heringa 2011):

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

There are two superficially similar constructions, also involving "close apposition", but they are constrained differently from the construction examined here and moreover clearly require NP-DP adjunction (see section 7.1).

Final cautionary note: restrictive and nonrestrictive close apposition may not have the same syntax in the languages considered here (though I haven't yet seen any evidence to that effect)

## 2. CASE-MARKING IN CLOSE APPPOSITION: RUSSIAN

Depending on the lexical-semantic category, the proper name can appear in the same case as the sortal (i.e., the case assigned to the entire NP) or in the default nominative case:

- (15) a. o russk-om poët-e Blok-e/\*Blok [+animate]  
 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  
 about novel.M-LOC City.M-NOM/\*LOC  
*about the novel The City*
- c. na ulic-e Jakimank-a/Jakimank-e toponym  
 in street.F-LOC Yakimanka.F-NOM/LOC  
*on the Yakimanka street*

Even when the lexical-semantic category is fixed, the lexical category and formal features ( $\phi$ -features) of the proper name can affect case-marking:

- (16) 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*

And this is just the beginning...

### 2.1. The syntax of reified quotations

Unlike proper names (or common nouns), reified quotations in argument positions are not case-marked (accusative is only possible below if it forms part of the quotation itself):

- (17) 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!"*

It is therefore not surprising that they never agree in case with the sortal:

- (18) a. s imenem Ruslan/\*Ruslanom  
 with name-ISTR Ruslan-NOM/ISTR  
*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".*

Why should this be the case?

Possibility 1: Quotations are not integrated (no lexical category, no  $\phi$ -features) and so they cannot function as targets of syntactic processes.

Possibility 2: Quotations are integrated (they are treated as deficient nouns), but do not have any phi-features and therefore cannot trigger agreement or assign case.

Possibility 3: Quotations in this context involve a null affix, and so the quoted content cannot be accessed from outside (precisely as is the case word-internally). This option seems highly unlikely, because the null-affix analysis needs to be assumed for the next case.

## 2.2. Man-made objects

Titles of books, songs, etc., may never be case-marked when preceded by a sortal; neither can names of ships, hotels, restaurants, trademarks, football teams, music bands, etc.:

- (19) 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 sortal 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)

- (20) 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 Crimson].NSG-GEN I nothing-GEN NEG read-PAST-FSG  
*Before The Bright Crimson I read nothing.*

Strikingly, names of numbers also fall into this category, unlike kind names (see section 7.5):

- (21) 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.*
- (22) 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*

Hypothesis: names of man-made objects are all morphologically derived by a nominalizing affix that inherits the phi-features of its base. As a result, they cannot trigger the agreement mechanism and therefore cannot get case by concord (though they can, by case assignment).

### 3. PLURALITY

A number mismatch between the sortal and the proper name systematically blocks agreement in case.

#### 3.1. [+animate] proper names

While most proper names are nominal, last names are frequently adjectival and must agree in number with the sortal. Nominal last names can appear in the singular with the plural sortal:

A singular sortal with a plural proper name is excluded for animate entities, probably for semantic reasons.

- (23) a.   bratja     Mann/Manny  
          brothers   Mann-SG/PL  
          *the Mann brothers*
- b.   bratja     Strugatskie/\*Strugatskij  
          brothers   Strugatsky-PL/MSG  
          *the brothers Strugatsky*

The availability of the singular nominal proper name with a plural sortal can be traced to the collective reading of the singular last name, also only available for nominal last names:

- (24) a.   semja     Mann/\*Manny/Mannov  
          family    Mann-SG/P-NOM/PL-GEN  
          *the Mann family*
- b.   semja   \*Ivanov/\*Ivanova/\*Ivanovy/Ivanovyx  
          family   Ivanov-MSG/FSG/PL-NOM/PL-GEN  
          *the Ivanov family*

**Number matching** between the sortal and the proper name is a both necessary and sufficient condition for case-agreement:

- (25) a.   s     bratjami     \*Manny/Mannami  
          with brothers-INS   Mann-PL-NOM/PL-INS  
          *with the Mann brothers*
- b.   s     bratjami     Mann/\*Mannom  
          with brothers-INS   Mann-SG-NOM/SG-INS  
          *with the Mann brothers*

Importantly, the singular last name cannot be treated as mention rather than use (cf. (23b))

Coordinated sortals or first names give rise to the same effect (cf. Graudina et al. 1976:154):

- (26) a.   s     Lilej     i     Osipom    Brik/Brikami  
          with Lilia-INS and Joseph-INS Brik-NOM/-PL-INS  
          *with Lilia and Joseph Brik*
- b.   Arkadij i   Boris   Strugatskie/\*Strugatskij  
          Arkady and Boris   Strugatsky-PL/MSG  
          *Arkady and Boris Strugatsky*

While gender mismatch in the coordinated sortal is unproblematic for last names, it leads to total ungrammaticality with first names or toponyms:

- (27) a.   otec   i   doč'     Puškiny  
          father and daughter Pushkin-PL
- b.   \*gorod i   selo     Puškiny  
          city.M and village.N Pushkin.M|Pushkino.N-PL

- c. \*brat i sestra Aleksandry  
brother and sister Alexander|Alexandra-PL

I conclude that plural last names can undergo genuine (semantic) agreement, but first names and toponyms don't have this option.

### 3.2. City and country names

There are two main routes by which a toponym can appear with a plural marker:

- **pluralization**: multiple entities with the same proper name
- **inherent plurality**: there is no singular version of the proper name

- (28) a. V Štatax est' ne men'se trëx Peterburgov.  
in States-LOC is NEG less three-GEN Petersburg-PL.GEN  
*There are no fewer than three Petersburgs in the States.*
- b. Afiny byli krupnym i moguščestvennym gorodom.  
Athens.PL were large-MSG-INS and powerful-MSG-INS city-INS  
*Athens was a large and powerful city.*

The interaction of pluralized proper names with close apposition is not straightforward; I set it aside here (see section 7.3) to concentrate on close apposition with inherently plural proper names, which can be separated into two categories:

- a morphologically plural proper name is borne by a semantically singular entity (e.g., *Athens*; singular agreement in English, no definite article)
- a morphologically plural proper name is borne by a complex or plural entity (e.g., island groups, mountain chains; plural agreement and obligatory definite article in English).

Both classes are specified as plural in the lexicon, but only in the latter case the plural marker is interpreted:

- (29) a. Afin-y plural morphology is part of the proper name: singular entity  
Athens.PL  
*Athens*
- b. Kuril-y plural morphology is part of the proper name: plural entity  
Kuril-PL  
*the Kurils*

The sortal is singular in the first case and plural in the second:

- (30) a. gorod Afiny  
city Athens  
*the city of Athens*
- b. ostrova Kurily  
islands Kuril-PL  
*the Kuril Islands*

As emphasized in a number of sources (cf. Graudina et al. 1976), a plural toponym doesn't agree in case with a singular sortal in Modern Russian:

- (31) a. v gorod-e Gagry/\*Gagrax \*phi-congruent (number)  
in city.MSG-LOC Gagry.PL-NOM/LOC  
*in the city of Gagry*
- b. v derevn-e Vasjuki/\*Vasjukax \*phi-congruent (number)  
in village.MSG-LOC Vasjuki.PL-NOM/LOC  
*in the village of Vasjuki*

Conversely, when the sortal is plural, agreement in case is possible:

- (32) gorami Al'pami  
       mountains-INS Alps-INS  
       *with the Alps*

In other words, number congruence is obligatory for agreement in case.

### 3.3. The syntax of number

A morphologically plural proper name must bear a valued number feature.

#### 3.3.1. Interpretable number

If the proper name bears an interpretable number marker (e.g., *the Kurils*), combining it with a singular sortal leads to uninterpretability:

- (33) a. \*ostrov Kurily  
       b.  $\lambda y [\lambda x : AT(x) . x \text{ is an island} \ \& \ \lambda x : \neg AT(x) . x \text{ is called } [kuril\dot{i}]] (y)$

Note: for the sake of simplicity, the phonology of the plural marker is included as part of the lexical entry for the proper name, despite the fact that the root is clearly attested an independent derivation (cf. *Kuril'-sk-ie ostrova* 'the Kuril Islands'). I leave the broader issue of morphologically or even syntactically complex proper names as a topic for future research, hypothesizing here that, since plural morphology is uniform across the three singular declension classes, it can be viewed as a declension class of its own and that therefore grammatical plurality of inherently plural proper names can be treated as an artifact of their declension class. On deriving formal gender from the declension class, see below.

Combining such a plural proper name with a plural sortal yields a number-congruent NP and concord becomes possible (though not obligatory).

#### 3.3.2. Uninterpretable number

If the plural morphology on the noun is not interpretable (e.g., *Athens*), no problem arises at the semantic level:

- (34) a. gorod Afiny  
       b.  $\lambda y [\lambda x : AT(x) . x \text{ is a city} \ \& \ \lambda x : AT(x) . x \text{ is called } [Afini]] (y)$

However, at the level of grammatical phi-feature specification the sortal and the proper name do not match, making concord impossible.

#### 3.3.3. Against an implicit sortal

Moltmann 2013 suggests that plural country names, such as *the Netherlands*, differ from e.g., city names in that the former contain a sortal (which is arguably overt, *lands*).

When Moltmann speaks of an implicit sortal, two options are available: the sortal is part of the lexical entry and not syntactically present, or it is syntactically present but phonologically null

A covert syntactically present sortal is unlikely (cf. De Clercq 2008):

- if plural proper names contained a covert sortal, an overt sortal would have been ungrammatical, contrary to fact
- if the covert and overt sortals were in complementary distribution, we wouldn't have expected any difference in case-marking between sorted and unsorted plural proper names, contrary to fact



A sortal forming part of the lexical entry is more mysterious:

- there is no attempt to formulate its contents: while in Germanic languages *-lands* is semantically transparent, in Russian it is not; for plural country names that are derived from (plural) names of island chains (e.g., *Bermudy* 'Bermuda') it would effectively amounts to just 'plural'
- postulating an implicit sortal still doesn't explain the plurality of the proper name

I therefore assume that number specification forms part of the lexical entry for inherently plural proper names

#### 4. GENDER

While congruence in number is a necessary condition for case-agreement in close apposition, congruence in gender may be optional: [+human] proper names must agree in case with their sortal, whereas different toponyms can be less or more strict requiring gender congruence.

##### 4.1. [+animate] proper names

Cross-linguistically, [+animate] nouns can be differentially marked for case or agreement (cf. Aissen 1999, 2003 for an overview). Animate proper names must agree in case in Russian...:

- (35) a. My govorili o russkom poète \*Cvetaeva/✓Cvetaevoj.  
we spoke about Russian-MSG-LOC poet-MSG-LOC Tsvetaeva.FSG-LOC  
*We spoke about the Russian poet Tsvetaeva.*
- b. pro sobaku Trezora  
about dog-ACC Trezor-ACC  
*about the dog Trezor*
- c. o kosmonavtax Tereškovoj/\*Tereškova i Gagarine/\*Gagarin  
about astronauts-LOC Tereshkova.FSG-LOC/NOM and Gagarin.MSG-LOC/NOM  
*about the astronauts Tereshkova and Gagarin*

**Two classes of exceptions:**

- number incongruence (see above)
- mismatch in declension class

One **core distinction**: nominal vs. adjectival (last) names

##### 4.1.1. Adjectival names

Native Russian last names are all morphologically adjectival and must reflect the number and the sex of the referent:

- (36) a. Ora Matushanskaja/\*Matushanskij  
Ora Matushansky-FSG/MSG
- b. Arkadij i Boris Strugatskie/\*Strugatskij  
Arkady and Boris Strugatsky-PL/MSG  
*Arkady and Boris Strugatsky*

The sortal doesn't have to match the adjectival last name in gender, but must -- in number:

- (37) a. o russk-om poèt-e Matve-ev-oj  
about Russian-MSG-LOC poet.M-LOC Matvej-POSS-F-LOC  
*about the Russian poet Matveeva*



- b. otec i syn Mixalkovy/\*Mixalkov  
father and son Mikhalkov-PL/-SG  
*the father and the son Mikhalkov*
- c. bratja Strugatskie/\*Strugatskij  
brothers Strugatsky-PL/MSG  
*the brothers Strugatsky*

The intuitive reason why gender "doesn't count" is because the [+human] nouns usually used as sortals can trigger semantic agreement with the gender of the referent (Corbett 1979, 1983, 1991, 2006, Sauerland 2004, Steriopolo and Wiltschko 2008 and Matushansky 2013):

- (38) a. Vrač prišla. agreement  
doctor.MSG arrived-FSG  
*The doctor (female) has arrived.*
- b. Naša vrač – umnica. concord  
our-FSG doctor.M clever.person  
*Our doctor (female) is very clever.*

Note: this mixed agreement is only possible in nominative case positions (Doleschal and Schmid 2001).

Since a mismatch between syntactic and semantic plurality is impossible in Russian, number congruence is required for all sortals, including with adjectival last names.

#### 4.1.2. Indeclinable proper names

A large number of loanwords fail to decline:

- (39) a. s (napitkom) kofe/viski/perno  
with (drink-INS) coffee/whiskey/Pernod
- b. o (jazyk-e) komi  
about (language-LOC) Komi
- c. iz-za redkogo životnogo kenguru/boa  
because.of rare-GEN animal-GEN kangaroo/python

Native toponyms that are morphologically short-form neuter adjectives also show a tendency to becoming indeclinable:

- (40) magazin v (sele) Puškino/\*Puškine  
shop in village-LOC Pushkino.N-NOM/LOC  
*a shop in the village of Pushkino*

A borrowing is indeclinable if

- its final vowel is [i], [u] or stressed [o] or [e] (i.e., when it cannot be assigned to a particular declension class), or
- its assignment to a declension class is blocked by its gender (e.g., a semantically feminine noun ending in a consonant (*frejlejn* 'Fräulein', cf. the declinable first-declension noun *frejlina* 'lady in waiting') or a grammatically masculine noun ending in [o] (cf. *sirokko* 'Sirocco'))
- it is neuter (cf. toponyms that are morphologically short-form neuter adjectives)

Exactly the same pattern is observed with proper names: foreign [+human] proper names can be declined only if they fit into the first ([a]) declension for feminine and some masculine proper names, and into the second ([i]) declension for masculine proper names. All others are indeclinable:

- (41) a. s Sirano/\*Siranom de Beržerakom/\*Beržerak  
with Cyrano-NOM/\*INS de Bergerac-INS/\*NOM
- b. s (pevic-ej) Èdit Piaf/Ljudmil-oj Gurčenko/\*Ljudmil-a Gurčenko  
with (singer.F-INS) Edith Piaf/Ljudmila-INS/\*NOM Gurčenko

Here the inability to decline seems to be morphological rather than syntactic and is therefore most likely irrelevant for our purposes.

Many interesting points can be made about the declension of [+feminine] proper names ending in a palatalized consonant and therefore fitting into the third declension class, as well as about the declension of masculine last names and common nouns that can in principle be assigned to the first declension, but not today.

#### 4.1.3. Summary

Declinable [+animate] proper names bring into focus the relevance of **phi-congruence**:

- all and only [+plural] proper names agree in case when combined with a [+plural] sortal
- all singular proper names agree in case when combined with a singular sortal
- the number and gender of adjectival [+animate] proper names must correspond to the number and the sex of the referent. Assuming a syntactic mechanism for this yields obligatory agreement in case

For future research: the behavior of indeclinable nouns is also motivated by the lack of phi-congruence, though at the morphophonological level rather than in syntax

Question: **Why and how is phi-congruence relevant for case assignment?**

Intuition: **Phi-congruence is somehow an acceptable substitute for phi-feature agreement** when it comes to concord

#### 4.2. **Toponyms**

The picture so far is as follows: case-agreement is

- impossible with man-made objects
- obligatory with [+animate] entities on the condition of number congruence

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.

Actually, case-agreement failure (a relatively novel option for Russian, thought to be dating from World War I) is possible with all toponyms.

Optionality is conditioned by gender/number congruence, though in subtly different ways for different categories of toponyms (Graudina et al. 1976): different lexical-semantic categories of proper names/sortals require **different degrees of phi-congruence**:

- (42) 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
- (43) a. na stanci-i Moskva/\*Moskvy \*phi-congruent (noun)  
on station.FSG-GEN Moscow.FSG-NOM/GEN  
on the station Moscow

- b. na stanci-i Tixoreckaja/Tixoreckoj ✓phi-congruent (**adjective**)  
 on station.FSG-GEN Tixoreckaja.FSG-NOM/GEN  
*on the station Tixoreckaja*
- (44) v gorod-e Moskva/Moskve ✓non-phi-congruent simplex  
 in city.MSG-LOC Moscow.FSG-NOM/LOC  
*in the city of Moscow*
- (45) v gorod-e Belaya Cerkov/\*Beloj Cerkvi \*non-phi-congruent **complex**  
 in city.MSG-LOC Belaya Cerkov.FSG-NOM/LOC  
*in the town of Belaya Cerkov (lit. White Church)*

Necessary conditions for case-agreement (number congruence presupposed):

- 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)

Note: there is notable cross-speaker variation in assigning different lexical-semantic categories of toponyms to these classes. I don't know whether there is any variation for individual proper names

Lack of familiarity makes case-agreement less likely.

Important: some lexical-semantic categories belong to different classes for different speakers

#### 4.2.1. Case-agreement impossible

Names of paths of any sort where the final and the initial points are specified cannot agree in case (Graudina et al. 1976:141):

- (46) a. v depo Moskva Passažir-sk-aja – Kurskaja  
 in depot Moscow-NOM passenger-ADJ-FSG-NOM Kursk-ADJ-FSG-NOM  
*in the depot Passenger Moscow-Kursk*
- b. na vozdušnoј trasse Moskva – Simferopol  
 on air-ADJ-FSG-LOC route-LOC Moscow Simferopol  
*on the air route Moscow-Simferopol*

Here the proper names are fully referential ((as if) they are in argument positions) and must therefore be specified for all phi-features; the sortal doesn't combine with them directly

#### 4.2.2. Case-agreement on the condition of number congruence

For **syntactically simplex** city and town names, as well as for names of countries and rivers, number congruence is required for case agreement but gender congruence is not:

- (47) a. v gorode Gagry/\*Gagrax  
 in city.MSG-LOC Gagry.PL-NOM/LOC  
*in the city of Gagry*
- b. v gorode ?Tallinn/Tallinne  
 in city.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*

- d. o strane Francija/Franci  
about country.FSG-LOC France.FSG-NOM/LOC  
*about the great country France*
- e. o strane Kitaj/Kitaje  
about country.FSG-LOC China.MSG-NOM/LOC  
*about the great country China*

Phi-congruent toponyms are more likely to agree.

Lack of case-agreement is more likely with recognizably foreign toponyms, which is usually associated with the lack of familiarity (see section 7.2):

- (48) a. My govorili o malen'koj strane Gabon/??Gabone.  
we spoke about small-FSG-LOC country.FSG-LOC Gabon.MSG-NOM/LOC  
*We spoke about the small country Gabon.*
- b. My govorili o malen'koj strane Birma/Birme.  
we spoke about great-FSG-LOC country.FSG-LOC Burma.FSG-NOM/LOC  
*We spoke about the small country Burma.*

Assuming that the agreeing case results from concord, the proper name should agree with the sortal.

Question: if matching phi-features are enough for case-agreement, why can inanimate proper names fail to agree, unlike animate proper names?

Intuition: animate NPs must have the feature [ $\alpha$  animate]. Inanimate NPs may (fail to) have it ([ $\neg$ animate] being the lexical default).

Formal intuition: an unvalued feature is necessary to trigger the agreement mechanism. Once agreement is triggered, it can be extended to formally matching features.

#### 4.2.3. Case-agreement on the condition of phi-congruence

Street names and syntactically complex toponyms do not agree in case unless phi-congruent (Graudina et al. 1976:142):

- (49) 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 \*phi-congruent  
in street.MSG-LOC Balčug.MSG-NOM/LOC  
*on the Balčug street*
- (50) a. v poseleni-i Dolgij Most/\*Dolgom Moste  
in settlement. MSG-LOC Long Bridge.MSG-NOM/LOC  
*in the settlement of Dolgij Most (lit. Long Bridge)*
- b. v gorod-e Belaya Cerkov/\*Beloj Cerkvi  
in city.MSG-LOC White Church.FSG-NOM/LOC  
*in the city of Belaya Cerkov (lit. White Church)*
- c. v gorod-e Petropavlovsk-Kamčat-sk-ij/Petropavlovsk-e-Kamčat-sk-om  
in city.MSG-LOC Petropavlovsk-Kamčatka-ADJ-MSG-NOM/LOC  
*in the city of Petropavlovsk-Kamčatskij (lit. Petropavlovsk of Kamchatka)*

Intuition: syntactically complex proper names containing agreeing modifiers necessarily bear formal gender features (to enable agreement internally to the proper name)

Syntactically or morphologically complex foreign toponyms always appear in the nominative case, with the exception of the pattern "city on the river":

- (51) 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*

Intuition: examples like (51b), while syntactically complex, can be clearly recognized to not involve agreement precisely due to their syntax (PPs do not agree).

Obligatory phi-congruence also constrains case-agreement with some other lexical-semantic classes of proper names, which we hypothesize to bear lexically specified gender features

#### 4.2.4. Case agreement with phi-congruent adjectival proper names only

For some categories of proper names case agreement is possible only with **morphologically adjectival** toponyms on the condition of both gender and number congruence:

- (52) 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*

Can this be a case of obligatory extraposition?

Most likely not, as in complex toponyms involving adjectives extraposition is generally ungrammatical:

- (53) a. na Krasnoj ploščadi  
 on Red-FSG-LOC Square.F-LOC  
*on the Red Square*
- b. \*na ploščadi Krasnoj  
 on Square.F-LOC Red-FSG-LOC
- (54) a. na Nevskom (prospekte)  
 on Nevsky-MSG-LOC avenue.M  
*on the Nevsky (Prospekt)*
- b. \*na prospekte Nevskij/Nevskom  
 on avenue.M-LOC Nevsky-MSG-NOM/LOC

An incomplete list of such proper names includes boroughs (*mestečko*), villages (*selo*), ports, lakes, bays, volcanoes (*vulkan*, *sopka*), mountains, planets and railway stations. Prescriptive grammars may insist that case-agreement is impossible with such proper names or include in it islands, republics, etc. Thus 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 is due to the fact that the names of such villages are extremely unlikely to be adjectival: when they are, case-agreement becomes possible on the condition of phi-congruence:

- (55) a. v kišlake/aule Čimgan/\*Čimgane nominal phi-congruent  
 in kishlak/aul.MSG-LOC Northern.MSG-NOM/-LOC  
*in the kishlak/aul Čimgan*
- b. v kišlake/aule Severnom/Severnyj adjectival phi-congruent  
 in kishlak/aul.MSG-LOC Northern.MSG-LOC/NOM  
*in the kishlak/aul Severnyj*

Intuition: the difference between adjectives and nouns is that the former must have unvalued phi-features

## 5. THE SYNTAX OF CASE-AGREEMENT

Empirical generalizations:

- close apposition is only possible with proper names or names of kinds
- case-agreement is obligatory with [+animate] singular proper names
- case-agreement is contingent on phi-congruence, with different lexical-semantic categories of proper names having different cutoff points

**Table 1: Case-agreement in close apposition**

sortal	case-agreement	example
man-made objects	impossible	(15)
paths	impossible	(46)
[+animate]	obligatory for number-congruent proper names	(35)
<i>stancija</i> 'station', etc.	with adjectival phi-congruent proper names only	(16)
<i>gorod</i> 'city', etc.	simple proper name: number congruence required	(47)
	complex proper name: phi-congruence required	(50)
<i>ulica</i> 'street', etc.	phi-congruence required	(42)

Core hypothesis: the reason why only proper names and names of kinds are possible in close apposition is because they may lack inherent phi-features

### 5.1. The inventory of phi-features

A Russian noun may be specified for number, gender and animacy. All of these features can be lexically specified or semantically determined.

**Gender:** the Russian gender system is a mixed one (Corbett 1991) with the following default assignment rules:

- **nouns denoting males are masculine**
- **nouns denoting females are feminine**
- declinable nouns of the declensional type *ž* are masculine
- declinable nouns of the declensional types *a* and *ī* are feminine
- declinable nouns of the declensional type *o* are neuter
- animate indeclinable nouns are masculine
- inanimate indeclinable nouns are neuter
- the gender of indeclinable acronyms is determined by the gender of the head

Individual nouns can be lexically specified with a given gender, overriding assignment from the declension class (e.g., *koala* 'koala' is masculine whereas *panda* 'panda' is feminine; in the native vocabulary this is probably impossible)

It seems natural to assume that **proper names can fail to be specified for gender**: they bear the [ $\alpha$  gender] feature, whose value is established syntactically

**Animacy:** nouns denoting humans (dead or alive), living animals and dolls are [+animate]. One-cell organisms (e.g., *mikrob* 'microbe', *bakterija* 'bacterium') can vary in function of the register and/or the speaker

My core assumption here is that **proper names are not lexically specified for animacy**: they bear the [ $\alpha$  animate] feature, whose value is established syntactically.

Common nouns, on the other hand, bear a valued [ $\alpha$  animate] feature (unless they denote the kind, in which case the feature is unvalued).

**Number:** Russian number is purely syntactic: the presence of a plural suffix always results in plural agreement, and plural agreement is impossible in the absence of a plural suffix, with two exceptions:

- polite plural: only used in imperatives in Modern Russian
- associative plural (Bogdanov 1968 via Corbett 2006:155): absent in the standard literary Russian

Lexical specification of [number] with singular proper names is irrelevant for our purposes

**Person:** to complete the picture, proper names, like other nouns, always yield third-person NPs, which is usually formalized as the absence of the [person] feature (Benveniste 1966)

## 5.2. The syntax of phi-congruence

Hypothesis: phi-feature agreement always triggers case-agreement

- phi-feature agreement  $\Rightarrow$  obligatory case-agreement
- phi-feature congruence  $\Rightarrow$  potential case-agreement

The core intuition that we want to capture is that phi-feature congruence **can be a necessary condition** for case-agreement, but it doesn't have to be.

Formal tool: valuation of inherent phi-features for proper names in function of their lexical-semantic category

### 5.2.1. Adjectival proper names

Core insight: adjectival proper names cannot not have unvalued gender and animacy features (except when they are nominalized, cf. null-derived deadjectival nouns: *zapjataja* 'comma.F', *portnoj* 'tailor.M'):

- (56) a.    o        russk-om            poèt-e            Matve-ev-oj            adjectival proper name  
           about Russian-MSG.LOC poet.M-LOC Matvej-POSS-F.LOC  
           *about the Russian poet Matveeva*
- b.    v    gorode            Grozn-om                                    nominal (deadjectival) proper name  
           in city.M-LOC Fearsome-MSG.LOC  
           *in the city of Grozny*

We run here into a very interesting issue of the formal interaction between proper names and their inflectional and derivational morphology

We generally assume that nouns are stored in the lexicon without inflectional morphology. With proper names, however, this inflectional morphology can clearly determine not only the pronunciation, but also the reference: *Puškino* (the village) is clearly distinct from *Puškin* (the city); adjectival last names, on the other hand, do not seem to have this property

Hypothesis: adjectival proper names are introduced with their inflectional morphology (and therefore with a valued gender feature). Their animacy feature, however, can be still unvalued and trigger agreement with the sortal



Once the agreement relation is established, other matching phi-features can be "drawn into" it, with case features becoming free-riders if and only if full phi-congruence is achieved

### 5.2.2. Nominal proper names: partial phi-feature specification

Since two phi-features, animacy and gender, are involved, it seems natural to assume that one or both of them can remain unvalued

See, however, Bobaljik and Zocca 2011 for optional gender specification on animate nouns

We have the following three patterns of case-agreement for (singular) nominal proper names to account for:

- no agreement: villages, mountains, volcanoes, etc.: lexically specified for gender; animacy either lexically specified ([+animate]) or absent altogether
- agreement possible with matching gender: street names, complex city names: the gender feature lexically specified, the animacy feature unvalued
- agreement possible regardless of gender: names of cities, towns, countries, rivers, etc.: the gender feature is absent, the animacy feature is unvalued
- agreement required regardless of gender: names of humans and animals: only the gender feature is unvalued

Question: why is lack of case-agreement impossible for [+animate] proper names?

- incongruence in [ $\alpha$  animate] is impossible: this feature is always interpreted
- incongruence in [ $\alpha$  gender] is possible but overridden by semantic (a.k.a. mixed) agreement at the DP level, since their sortals are probably not specified for gender (cf. Bobaljik and Zocca 2011)
- total lack of phi-features is not an option

Is there any independent evidence for partial phi-feature specification of proper names?

### 5.3. German proper names

Moltmann 2013 distinguishes several categories for proper names in German:

- names of people: no overt article in standard German, plural anaphora possible, d-series in the relative pronoun choice
- names of churches and palaces: no overt article, plural anaphora possible, d-series in the relative pronoun choice (i.e., just like names of people, but inanimate)
- most toponyms (cities, villages, countries, continents, churches, palaces): no overt article, plural anaphora impossible, w-series in the relative pronoun choice
- names of mountains, lakes, temples: obligatory definite article (the gender of the corresponding sortal), d-series in the relative pronoun choice

Hypothesis: there is no need to postulate a hidden sortal: presence or absence of pre-specified formal gender is enough

German doesn't have declensional classes, so the gender of common nouns is not predictable from the surface form (though see Corbett 1991:84-86 for references on gender assignment rules in German)

The gender of proper names is more complicated, but at least the following seems true:

- proper names denoting females are feminine, while proper names denoting males are masculine

- some proper names have a lexically fixed gender (e.g., *der Nil* 'the Nile' (M), *die Wolga* 'the Volga' (F))
- most [-animate] proper names have their gender fixed by a redundancy rule (e.g., rivers, mountains, lakes, temples are masculine unless specified otherwise). In the literature on gender assignment this is known as analogical gender (Poplack et al. 1982)

These generalizations have to be formalized in any framework

### 5.3.1. Proper names not specified for gender

Hypothesis: just like in Russian, in German proper names of animate entities or cities are not specified for gender; the same is true for names of palaces and churches

The feature [ $\alpha$  animate] may be valued, but does not have to be

Two more hypotheses:

- the overt definite article in standard German tracks inherent gender specification on proper names
- the w-series of relative pronouns is used in the absence of any phi-features

The difference between names of humans and names of cities comes from the fact that at the DP level the former acquire both gender and animacy from real-world reference

Thus the w-series relative pronoun is used with an unmodified city name because the proper name Munich doesn't have any phi-features

- (57) a. München, was/\*das ich sehr gut kenne Moltmann 2013  
 Munich REL-W/REL-D I very well know  
*Munich, which I know very well*
- b. das schöne München, das/\*was ich gut kenne  
 the-NSG beautiful-NSG Munich REL-NSG/REL-W I well know  
*the beautiful Munich, which I know well*

When an AP or a determiner is added, it has unvalued gender features which must be valued, and as a result, the proper name is marked as inanimate by a redundancy rule (by virtue of referring to an inanimate entity)

In other words, this is precisely the situation that we have observed for syntactically complex proper names in Russian

Note: this view presupposes a derivational approach to gender: it is calculated (as a formal feature) only when it is syntactically required, i.e., for agreement. As a result, syntactically inherent gender features are systematically distinct from non-inherent ones (cf. Matushansky 2013).

Names for churches and names for palaces have no definite article but combine with a neuter (d-series) relative pronoun:

Noting that the common nouns *Kirche* 'church' is feminine and *Palast* 'palace' masculine, Moltmann 2013 suggests that the proper names in these lexical-semantic categories contain a (non-specified) sortal concept as part of their lexical content

- (58) a. Sanssouci, das kleiner ist als Versailles Moltmann 2013  
 Sanssouci REL-NSG smaller is than Versailles  
*Sanssouci, which is smaller than Versailles*
- b. Zarskoe Selo, das/??was grösser ist als Pavlovsk  
 Tsarskoye Selo REL-NSG/REL-W bigger is than Pavlovsk  
*Tsarskoye Selo, which is bigger than Pavlovsk*

To distinguish these cases from names of cities I propose that, while still lacking gender, they are lexically specified as [-animate].

The neuter morphology is chosen for the d-series because it is the Elsewhere case.

The same hypothesis accounts for gender agreement with diminutives:

- (59) 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*

Assuming once again that the diminutive suffix is lexically specified as [-animate] correctly predicts both the lack of the definite article and the use of the d-series

On the assumption that [+animate] proper names are not lexically specified for gender, a bare proper name in an argument position has no grammatical gender. To enable agreement with the relative pronoun, it is assigned semantic gender (determined by the real-world sex of the referent)

This agreement mechanism is not available NP-internally, but extends to personal pronouns, in accordance with Corbett's Agreement Hierarchy

Corbett 1991:228 notes that for the noun *Mädchen* 'girl' personal pronouns can be either feminine or neuter, but the relative pronoun must be neuter, just like in (59b)

As a result, the situation is different in (59b), where the grammatical gender of the proper name has to be determined NP-internally, and as a result, the proper name receives its phi-features from the [-animate] suffix *-chen*.

Note: it's not possible to claim that semantic gender overrides grammatical one in (59a) because it would then be incomprehensible why it does not do so in (59b)

To account for the distinction between those proper names of humans and cities that appear without a definite article unless modified, and other toponyms, which both require a definite article and appear with a d-relative pronoun, we assume that the latter are lexically specified for gender:

- gender feature: *der Nil* 'the Nile' (M), *die Wolga* 'the Volga' (F)
- gender feature assigned by a redundancy rule (*der Fujiyama* 'Fujiyama' (M), *der Vesuv* 'Vesuvius' (M), *der Etna* 'Etna' (M); *der Parthenon* 'the Parthenon' (M); *der Lago Maggiore* 'Lake Maggiore' (M), etc.)

It is the latter category that Moltmann argues to always appear as close apposition containing a syntactically present but phonologically null sortal

Problem (Moltmann 2013): why must these proper names always appear with a sortal? In the formal approach advocated here, the question must be restated in the terms of phi-features -- and also answered.

Comparison-shopping:

- Assuming optional formal gender specification explains why some proper names in a given lexical-semantic category are not given the default gender
- Redundancy rules for gender assignment are independently motivated
- Assuming a null sortal doesn't explain the Russian facts (in a nutshell, as we have seen, only in close apposition the proper name may fail to be case-marked)

For future research: the interaction between the gender of proper names and mixed agreement

## 6. CONCLUSION

I have argued that case-agreement in close apposition in Russian is always contingent on the standard syntactic agreement mechanism

As proper names (unlike common nouns) may bear unvalued phi-features, they can appear as NP-internal modifiers and agree with the head noun

Matching phi-features can be reinterpreted as agreeing

Case-agreement is only possible when all phi-features agree

Independent evidence that proper names do not always bear the full set of phi-features comes from German

## 7. APPENDIX

### 7.1. Close apposition with common nouns denoting entities

NP-DP adjunction must be possible to account for:

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

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

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

NP<sub>2</sub> is an appositive cataphoric on the demonstrative; the presupposition is accommodated

**Kinship terms** (taken broadly) are also compatible with a common noun N<sub>2</sub>:

- (62) a. my brother the poet  
 b. our friends the Russians

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

- (63) 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):

- (64) 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 NP-DP adjunction.

### 7.2. The semantic effect of case-agreement

While in a number of cases no difference can be detected between a proper name agreeing in case with the sortal and the same proper name in the nominative, in other instances there is an apparent pragmatic effect: the proper name in the nominative case is taken to be unfamiliar.

**Foreign toponyms**, even if  $\phi$ -congruent, tend to resist case-agreement:

- (65) a. v štate Nebraska/%Nebraske  
 in state.M-LOC Nebraska.F-NOM/-LOC  
 in the state of Nebraska

- b. v štate Texas/%Texase  
 in state.M-LOC Texas.M-NOM/-LOC  
*in the state of Texas*

On the other hand, making the sortal "heavier" renders the default nominative case noticeably more awkward:

- (66) a. v našem zamečatel'nom gorode Moskve/\*Moskva  
 in our-LOC remarkable-LOC city-LOC Moscow-LOC/NOM  
*in our remarkable city of Moscow*
- b. My govorili o velikoj strane Francii/\*Francija.  
 we spoke about great-FSG-LOC country.FSG-LOC France.FSG-LOC/NOM  
*We spoke about the great country France.*

Intuitively, with the heavier sortal the proper name is familiar.

The syntactic analysis proposed above does not account for these effects.

### 7.3. Pluralization of proper names

As noted by McCawley 1998, close apposition can be headed by a plural noun:

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

However, when the proper name is itself plural and inanimate, the result is awkward at best:

- (68) a. \*grečeskij i amerikanskij goroda Afiny  
 Greek-SG and American-SG cities Athens.PL
- b. \*goroda Peterburgi % if the proper name is used in the singular  
 cities Peterburg-PL

Without the sortal a plural proper name is not impossible; the singular marking on the proper name also leads to an improvement:

- (69) a. V Štatax est' ne men'se trëx Peterburgov.  
 in States-LOC is NEG less three-GEN Petersburg-PL.GEN  
*There are no fewer than three Petersburgs in the States.*
- b. ?V Štatax est' tri goroda Peterburga.  
 in States-LOC is three city-PAUC=SG.GEN Petersburg-PAUC=SG.GEN  
*There are three Petersburg cities in the States.*
- c. ??V Štatax est' ne men'se trëx gorodov Peterburg.  
 in States-LOC is NEG less three-GEN city-PL.GEN Petersburg-NOM  
*There are no fewer than three Petersburgs in the States.*

Why the formal plural marking should matter remains a mystery.

### 7.4. 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:

- (70) 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<sub>1</sub> and the common noun is not the modifier.

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

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

Predicate agreement in Russian is with the common noun:

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

- (72) Kreiser “Aurora” plyl(\*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:

- (73) 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:

- (74) 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  
 (75) a. il/\*la medico Ciara Italian (Giuseppe Longobardi, p.c.)  
 the-M/F physician.M Ciara  
*the physician Ciara*  
 b. il/?la judische Ciara  
 the-M/F judge.M Ciara  
*the judge Ciara*

How does this extend to restrictive modification?

- (76) 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:

- (77) 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*

Though it is not impossible that determiner agreement is determined by proximity, it is quite unlikely

### 7.5. Case-agreement with kind terms

Close apposition is possible not only with proper names as NP<sub>2</sub>, but also with common nouns denoting natural kinds, which must agree in case:

- (78) 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*
- (79) a. na dereve \*vjaz/vjaze  
 on tree-LOC elm.MSG-NOM/-LOC  
*on the elm tree*
- b. na dereve \*berëza/berëze  
 on tree-LOC birch.FSG-NOM/-LOC  
*on the birch tree*

Common nouns denoting man-made objects require case-agreement; the default nominative is used when the kind term is recognized as a brand name:

- (80) a. o populjarnom krepkom alkohol'nom napitke kal'vadose  
 about popular-LOC strong-LOC alcoholic-LOC drink-LOC Calvados-LOC  
*about the popular strong alcoholic drink Calvados*
- b. o vsemirno izvestnom napitke Koka-kole/«Koka-kola»  
 about all-world-ADV famous-LOC drink-LOC Coca-Cola-LOC/NOM  
*about the world-famous drink Coca-Cola*

There are some apparent exceptions (Graudina et al. 1976:174):

- (81) a. sumčatogo medvedja koala/koaly  
 marsupial-MSG-GEN bear.M-GEN koala-NOM/GEN  
*of the marsupial bear koala*
- b. sórta kolbásy zernistye  
 type-GEN sausage-PL.NOM grainy-PL.NOM  
*of the type "grainy sausages"*
- c. u tropičeskix cvetov viktorija regija  
 at tropical-PL.GEN flowers-GEN Victoria Regia  
*with tropical flowers Victoria Regia*

However, apparent lack of case-agreement in these examples is due to number mismatches in (81b, c) or the choice of a noun in (81a), vacillating between declinable and indeclinable.

Further investigation is necessary.

### 7.6. The naming construction

I have also checked whether proper names can be distinguished by their case-marking in the naming construction, which allows both nominative and instrumental on the proper name (cf. Matushansky 2008):



- (82) a. Moju sestru zovut Nina/?Ninoj.  
 my sister-Acc call-3pl Nina-Nom/Instr  
*My sister is called Nina.*
- b. Septimija prozvali Sever/Severom.  
 Septimius-Acc nicknamed-pl Severus-Nom/Instr  
*Septimius was nicknamed Severus.*

The naming construction clearly sets apart names of man-made objects, which do not allow instrumental case, from all other proper names:

- (83) Gončarov nazval ètot roman “Oblomov”/\*“Oblomovym”.  
 Goncharov named this novel Oblomov-NOM/INS  
*Goncharov named this novel Oblomov.*

It seems that names of man-made objects only get their phi-features in argument positions

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