Ora Matushansky, SFL (CNRS/Université Paris-8)/UiL OTS/Utrecht University
email: O.M.Matushansky@uu.nl
homepage: http://www.let.uu.nl/~Ora.Matushansky/personal/

THE PROPER APPROACH TO DEFINITE ARTICLES
University of Rochester, February 12, 2018

1. INTRODUCTION

Contrary to accepted wisdom, proper names can very well combine with definite articles:

(1) a. the Seine, the Erie, the Atlantic   water bodies
     b. the Milky Way, the Broadway   former definite descriptions
     c. the Kennedys, the Netherlands   plurals
     d. the Bronx, the Ukraine   idiosyncratic cases

Two sides to the puzzle:
 ➢ (morpho)syntactic: why do some but not all proper names have the definite article and how is this reflected in their syntax?
 ➢ semantic: what is the interpretation of the proprial article and how does it relate to the regular definite article?

Majority view, in both syntax and semantics: the proprial article is a semantic fluke

My proposal: **the proprial article is structurally and semantically identical to the regular definite article, which is itself a marker of definiteness rather than its semantic source**:
 ➢ the differences lie in the predicate
 ➢ & in the feature [proper] (independently motivated by dedicated proprial articles)

2. APPROACHES TO THE STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION OF PROPER NAMES

Two types of approaches: simplex (simple meaning, simple structure) and complex

Syntactic and semantic complexity are not always taken to coincide

2.1. Semantics

Two views on the semantics of proper names:

Direct reference (Frege 1892, Marcus 1961, Kaplan 1979, Kripke 1980, Salmon 1986, also Abbott 2002, 2004, Leckie 2013, Rami 2014, Jeshion 2014a, b, 2015, Schoubye 2016, etc.): (in an argument position) *Alice* rigidly denote the individual Alice

Predicativism/quotation theories (Burge 1973, Geurts 1997, Thomsen 1997, Elbourne 2002, Matushansky 2005, 2006a, b, 2008, 2015b, Fara 2001, 2014, etc.): proper names are definite descriptions consisting of a null definite article and a restriction that is a **naming predicate**:

(2) ⟦the Alice⟧ = ιx [x IS CALLED [ælɪs]]

I obviously subscribe to the latter view

Matushansky 2008: proper names can appear in the predicate position
Further cross-linguistic evidence from Arabic, German, Greek, Icelandic, Hungarian, Korean, Latin, Pima, etc.

(3) a. Renowned Victorian author Lewis Carroll was born [PRO **Charles Lutwidge Dodgson**].
     b. Her uncle's death had made [her **Lady Anne**] and [her father **Lord Holbrook**].
     c. In the end of the 20th century the city was renamed **St. Petersburg**.

Given the independent evidence for the existence of predicate proper names, it is reasonable to assume that their argument uses are derived by normal means
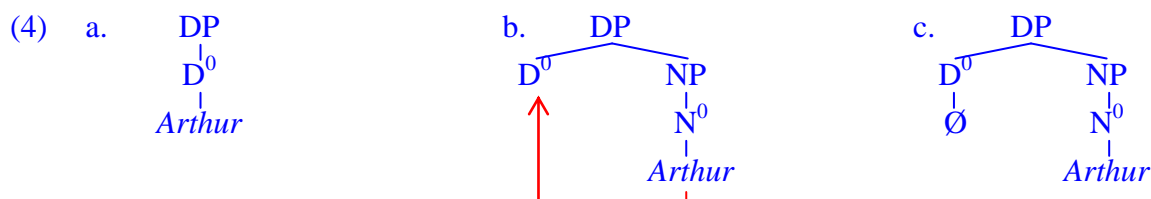For other evidence see Sloat 1969, Geurts 1997, Anderson 2003 et seq., Matushansky 2008 et seq.

2.2. Syntax

Three approaches:

➢ WYSIWYG (no structure): proper names are Ds
 Obvious problem: proprial articles

➢ head-movement (Longobardi 1994, 1999, Borer 2005, etc.)

➢ null determiner (Sloat 1969, Ghomeshi and Massam 2009, Fara 2015, etc.) or, as
 an alternative (Matushansky 2008), m-merger, Local Dislocation, conflation, etc.

General syntactic consensus: proper names are structurally DPs:

(4) a.

DP
|
D^0
|
Arthur

b.

DP
|
D^0 NP
|
N^0
|
Arthur

c.

DP
|
D^0 NP
|
Ø N^0
|
Arthur

First impression: syntax supports the predicativist view

But (some) syntacticians do not think so, hence the "expletive definite article"

2.3. Predicativist reconciliation

First stab: the structure in (4b) or (4c), with D^0 containing the iota operator

Complications:
  ➢ featural constraints on the realization of D^0
  ➢ morphologically conditioned realization
  ➢ the syntax of non-restrictively modified proper names

Eventual proposal: **the proprial definite article is a definiteness marker**

3. PHI-FEATURES AND AN OVERT D^0

Generalization: non-default phi-feature values trigger the realization of the definite article

English: **syntactically plural proper names require an overt definite article** (*Athens* is not
plural in English):

(5)	a. the Campbells, the Yorks	familial or political clan
	b. the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, the Monty Pythons	band, company
	c. the Mets, the Mikes, the Tigers	baseball or football team, Army regiment

(6)	a. the Alps, the Rockies	mountain chains
	b. the Hebrides, the Orkneys	archipelagoes
	c. the Netherlands	conglomerate countries
	d. the Pleiades, the Hyades	constellations

This is true for all languages where I have looked

Moltmann 2013 distinguishes several categories for **proper names in German**:
  ➢ names of people: no overt article in standard German
  ➢ names of churches and palaces: no overt article
  ➢ most toponyms (cities, villages, countries, continents, churches, palaces): no overt
   article
  ➢ names of mountains, lakes, temples: obligatory definite article

Matushansky 2015a: German proper names are **bare iff they are not specified for number or gender features**

> ➢ names of people: (may) have no formal gender
> ➢ names of churches and palaces: neuter (default)
> ➢ most toponyms (cities, villages, countries, continents, churches, palaces): neuter
> ➢ names of mountains, lakes, temples: (the gender of the corresponding sortal)

All plural proper names have an overt definite article

Near-ideal **double dissociation**: **all non-neuter toponyms require an overt definite article** and **there is no toponym without the definite article that is not neuter**:

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

(8)   München, Berlin, Frankfurt am Main…   no gender (neuter)

Now what about neuter toponyms with an obligatory definite article (names of sub-regions)?

(9) a.   *das Saarland* 'Saarland', *das Baskenland* 'the Basque country'…
     b.   *Deutschland* 'Germany', *England*

Proposal: [neuter] can be a feature (cf. Percus 2011)

In French, names of cities are bare, but names of countries are (mostly) overtly definite:

(10) a.   à Paris, à Nice, à Londres… (apparent exceptions: Le Caire, La Rochelle…)
     b.   la France, le Canada, l'Egypte… (exception: Israël)

Hasselrot 1943/1944, Edwardsson 1968, Lomholt 1983: complex gender agreement patterns, a high degree of speaker confusion and variation:

(11) **Fondée**   en 1869, Kemi est **devenu**   un centre industriel important.   E271
     founded.FSG in 1869, Kemi is   become.MSG a   center industrial important
     Founded in 1869, Kemi became an important industrial center.

French city names do not have gender!

Romanian (Meyer-Lübke 1890, Hoffman 1989, Cojocaru 2003, Gönczöl-Davies 2008, etc.): **overt article in some cases and for some genders**

Nominative/accusative: only feminine proper names ending in -*a*- are marked for definiteness (seen on the final vowel):

(12) a.   Maria, Ilinca, etc.
     b.   Ion, Vasile, Alexandru, Luca, Carmen, Mimi, Irinel, Alice, Milagros

Table 1: Romanian declension (simplified)

	indefinite M	**definite M**	**indefinite F**	**definite F**
NOM/ACC	un inginer	inginerul	o ingineră	inginera
GEN/DAT	unui inginer	inginerului	unei inginere	inginerei

Definite article is overt and marked for case, number and gender; **the noun declines as well**

Feminine proper names ending in -*a*- decline as definites

In the syncretic genitive-dative case all proper names are marked for definiteness: feminine proper names ending in -*a*- have a synthetic form with a case-marked definite suffix, but masculine proper names and feminine proper names ending in a consonant, -i, -u, etc., **have a periphrastic form with the definite article *lui*:**

(13) a.   Mariei, Ilincăi, etc.
     b.   lui Ion, lui Vasile, lui Alexandru, 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:
The postnominal position of the definite article is due to an independent factors: the definite article is always realized on the first constituent in the NP (Grosu 1988, Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti 1998, Dobrovie-Sorin and Giurgea 2006, among others)

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

> Empirical generalization: **the proprial article is overt when there are (more) features on it**

The features may vary from language to language
In English it is probably number and *in*animacy (or number and count)

4.   THE PROPRIAL ARTICLE AS THE ELSEWHERE REALIZATION

Generally asked question: what happens to D in anarthrous proper names?

Generally given answer: **it is a special case and goes unpronounced**:
- ➤   allomorphy: [definite] → Ø in the context of [proper]
- ➤   head-movement: D attracts N $_{[proper]}$
- ➤   morpho-syntactic process: m-merge/conflate/collapse [D+N $_{[proper]}$]

Question: what are **the conditions on article omission** then?
Answer: they **are negative**!

> "Realize D as zero/attract N to D/m-merge N and D when D has no features except [proper]"

No process can be triggered by an absence of features
- ➤   a head-movement account is untenable (e.g., for Romanian, case is unvalued on both D and N, and these are the unmarked values of case)
- ➤   an m-merger account is untenable unless phi-specification can block it

> Zero can only be an Elsewhere case of allomorphy

5.   FOR THE FORMAL ENCODING OF THE PROPER/COMMON DISTINCTION

Interim conclusion: **the overtness of the proprial article has nothing to do with semantics**

Reasonable proposal: the proprial article is special

Evidence for [proper]: **dedicated proprial articles**, e.g., in Catalan or Fijian (Alderete 1998):

(15) a.   la   Maria   Catalan, Gili 1967:26 via Ghomeshi and Massam 2009
         DEF Mary

     b.   l'   Enric   c.   **en**   Joan
         DEF Henry   DEF John

However, even in Catalan there are anarthrous proper names:
The dedicated proprial article is generally [+human] (but see Pons-Moll and Torres-Tamarit 2016)
- ➤   city names: *(*la/*na) Barcelona*
- ➤   [-familiar]: see Wheeler, Yates and Dols 1999 for dialectal differences
- ➤   in vocatives (very common cross-linguistically)
- ➤   in the predicate position (very common cross-linguistically)

The picture is quite plausibly the same: **the proprial article is overt when there are (more) features on it**

So the feature [proper] is morpho-syntactically quite real, but cannot be used to treat the zero allomorph as a non-default case

6.   THE SEMANTICS OF THE PROPRIAL DEFINITE ARTICLE

Standard wisdom: the definite article returns the unique entity corresponding to its restriction (definition from Heim and Kratzer 1998:75):
Variations: familiarity, GQ, etc.

(16) $[\![the]\!] = \lambda f : f \in D_{\langle e, t \rangle}$ and there is exactly one x such that $f(x) = 1$. the unique y such that $f(y) = 1$

Can this definition be used for the proprial definite article?

Clear evidence for treating proper names as definite descriptions comes from modification

Matushansky 2015b: restrictive modification is impossible if the restrictively modified proper name is treated as entity-denoting

(17)   DP   *the more famous Francis Bacon*

What about non-restrictive modification then?

(18) a.   And who can resist **the adorable Jane and Michael Banks**?
      b.   I came across this little clip of **the great Maria Callas** on youtube.

Two options:
  ➢   **incidental non-restriction** (set intersection equals one of the two sets)
  ➢   **structural distinction** (non-restrictive modifier is structurally distinct)
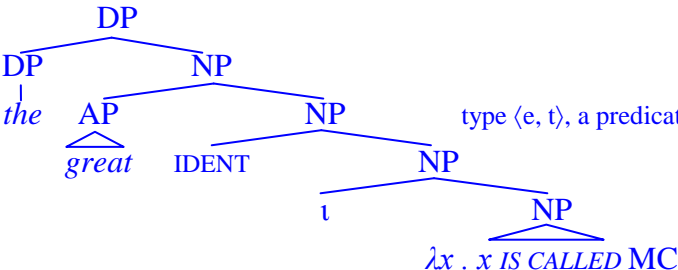
The former cannot be true:
  ➢   the DP *the famous Francis Bacon* is ambiguous, not vague
  ➢   non-restrictive modifiers are always higher than restrictive ones
  ➢   in Romance, genuinely non-restrictive APs are prenominal, restrictive APs must be post-nominal (same for proper names, see Noailly 1991)
  ➢   non-restrictive relative clauses have different syntax (but they attach to the DP)

Solution: the IDENT type-shift (Bach and Partee 1980, Partee and Bach 1984, Partee 1986) or the corresponding IDENT operator:

(19) $[\![IDENT]\!] = \lambda x . \lambda y . x = y$

Treating IDENT as a syntactic node here is for expository purposes only:

(20)   DP   *the great Maria Callas*

Of course, if proper names are entity-denoting to begin with (cf. Longobardi 1994), it becomes easier, but what to do then with restrictive modification?

Now: **the iota operator (the semantics in (16)) does not correspond to the overt *the***
Objection: because it is a proper name!
Counter-objection: let's look at Catalan

(21) a.   en/*el   Noam Chomsky
          DEF.PN.MSG/DEF.MSG Noam Chomsky
          Noam Chomsky

    b.   el/*en   famós   Noam Chomsky   non-restrictive
          DEF.MSG/ DEF.PN.MSG famous.MSG Noam Chomsky
          the famous Noam Chomsky

    c.   *el   famós   en   Noam Chomsky
          DEF.MSG famous.MSG DEF.PN.MSG Noam Chomsky
          the famous Noam Chomsky

Interim conclusion: **the meaning in (16) can be present without there being a proprial *the***

There exist a number of morphological and syntactic derivations based on a referential proper **name embedded in a larger NP structure** (cf. Boër 1975, Gary-Prieur 1991, 1994, Kleiber 1991, Jonasson 1992, see also Jeshion 2014a, b):

(22) a.   My daughter is such **a perfect little Ora**.
    b.   **Two Osama bin Ladens** came to the Halloween party.
    c.   Trafalgar Square is decorated by **an 18 foot Nelson**.
    d.   Putin is **a veritable Stalin**.

It seems unquestionable that **in all of these uses the reference of the proper name needs to be established**

In none of these cases does Catalan introduce an NP-internal proprial article (Coromina i Pou 2001:143-146)

> **With proper names, existential uniqueness can be present without there being an overt definite article**

The proprial article itself is present only on the condition of existential uniqueness (see Matushansky 2008: predicate proper names are often bare)

7.   THE SEMANTICS OF THE REGULAR DEFINITE ARTICLE

Non-restrictive modification is possible for common NPs as well:

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

And the semantics in (16) cannot explain what happens in the predicate position:

(24) Scott is not **the only author of *Waverley***.   Coppock and Beaver 2012

Stowell 1991: inherently **singleton role predicates** are bare:

(25) Jesse became **President/head of the department**.

But what about all the others?

Coppock and Beaver 2012, 2015: **the English definite article encodes only the uniqueness presupposition; existential force comes from elsewhere**
Other languages do not use the definite article in the predicate position at all

7.1. Double definiteness

There are three polydefinite structures that I am aware of:

> ➢ DP-apposition (Modern Greek, cf. Androutsopoulou 1995, Alexiadou and Wilder 1998, Kolliakou 2004, Lekakou and Szendroi 2007, etc.; cf. *Chomsky the linguist* and *Catherine the Great*, French superlatives (*l'étudiante la plus intelligente*))

> ➢ doubling affixal articles (Norwegian and Swedish: Delsing 1988, Taraldsen 1990, Giusti 1993, Hankamer and Mikkelsen 2005, Schoorlemmer 2009, etc.)

(26) den hungriga mus.en   Swedish
     DEF hungry mouse.DEF
     the hungry mouse

> ➢ definiteness agreement (Semitic: Borer 1988, 1999, Sichel 2002, Shlonsky 2004, Danon 2008, etc.; Albanian: Turano 2002)

(27) ha-baxura ha-intelligentit   Hebrew
     DEF-girl DEF-intelligent
     the intelligent girl

Treating definiteness as a formal feature that can be uninterpretable makes it possible to have more than one DP-internal marker of this feature (like with gender or number)

7.2. Bare kind names

Known at least since Carlson 1977a, b: in Germanic, kind names are bare, unlike in Romance (see Zamparelli 2002 for an overview of the literature):

True for kinds that have the lattice structure (bare plurals and mass nouns), not under the taxonomic reading (*the Indian elephant*)

(28) I/*Ø pitbull sono impopolari in Inghilterra.   Zamparelli 2002
     DEF.MPL pitbull are unpopular in England
     Pitbulls are unpopular in England.

Semantic explanations: Chierchia 1998, Dayal 2004, Farkas and Swart 2007, etc.

However, **adjectival kind names are not bare in Germanic** (cf. Glass 2014, McNally and de Swart 2015, de Swart, McNally and Richtarcikova [to appear], etc.):

(29) a.   **The creative** are more likely to be intrinsically (internally) motivated.   Glass 2014
     b.   **The familiar** is something dangerously wonderful

Adjectival modification is known to induce the presence of the article in proper names, but not in English kind names, in general

7.3. Exotic cases

Treating the definite article as a marker makes it possible for it to appear also on pronouns (in Fijian (Dixon 1988, Alderete 1998), Maori (Bauer 2003:109), Niuean (Massam, Gorrie and Kellner 2006), etc.)

…and fits in with what happens with pronominal articles (Postal 1969):

(30) we linguists, you guys

…and accounts for why it appears in DPs whose definiteness is semantically determined (cf. Löbner 1985):

What I want here is a connection to semantic agreement, where the presence of agreement morphology triggers the suitable constraint on the denotation

(31)   the best answer, the only solution, the first proposal, the king

Article omission in Norwegian "attributive" superlatives (Borthen 1998, 2000, 2003):

(32)   a.   Jeg tar   alltid   inn på dyreste   hotell.   Norwegian, Borthen 1998
              I   take always in   on   expensive.SUP.DEF hotel
              I always stay in the most expensive hotel.

        b.   Jeg tar   alltid   inn på det dyreste   hotellet.
              I   take always in   on   DEF expensive.SUP.DEF hotel.DEF
              I always stay in the most expensive hotel.

It is not impossible that in some language the definite article is the locus of the iota operator

But in more familiar languages we see a variation that argues against this view

8.   THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

If the definite article is only a marker of definiteness with no semantics, **then a null proprial article has no interpretation on both interfaces**

Does this mean that there is in fact no D there?
This question is also asked about languages that have no articles

Reasonable alternative: the definite article is only the locus of the uniqueness presupposition (Coppock and Beaver 2012, 2015)

But then why do you need it with singleton-denoting predicates, as in (31)?

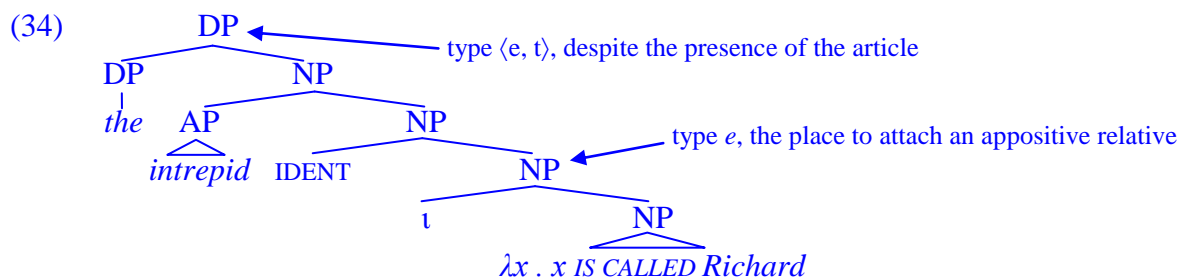## 9.   APPENDIX: ALTERNATIVE DERIVATIONS FOR PREDICATIVE NON-RESTRICTIVELY MODIFIED PROPER NAMES

The Duke-of-York ι-IDENT sequence could be absent (this doesn't preclude other syntactic differences)

Counter-objection: there is **evidence for NP-internal entity-denotation in non-restrictively modified proper names**:
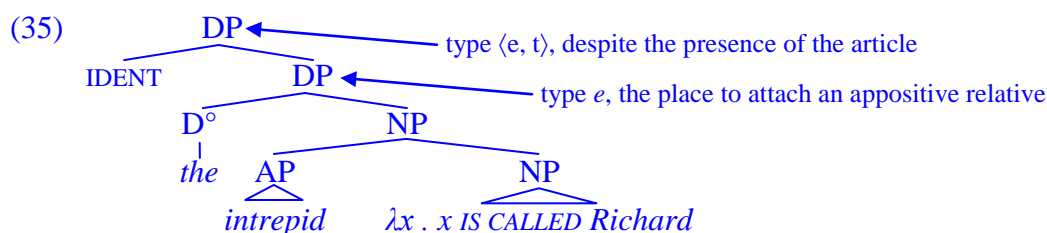
(33)   This boy was to become **the intrepid Richard Coeur-de-Lion**, who was rumored to not be afraid of anything.

Structure of the argument:
  ➢   the raising verb *become* takes a small clause as its complement, and therefore the modified proper name should be a predicate
  ➢   an appositive relative is only compatible with entity denotation (type *e*), therefore an *e*-type node mu
  ➢   st be present in the structure

(34)

Objection: It is, of course, possible that *the* corresponds to the iota operator (the semantics in (16)), the appositive relative is attached at the DP-level and there is IDENT on top of it

(35)

```
              DP ◄──────────── type ⟨e, t⟩, despite the presence of the article
      IDENT      DP ◄────────── type e, the place to attach an appositive relative
           D°          NP
           │
           the    AP              NP
              intrepid    λx . x IS CALLED Richard
```

Counter-objection: **post-nominal appositive nominal modifiers** (*Jack the Ripper*). If *the* has the semantics in (16), how does it compose with its sister?

Further counter-objection: IDENT doesn't seem to be available in the predicate position (Fara 2001: #*The love of my life is tall, handsome, and John*)

10. REFERENCES

Abbott, Barbara. 2002. Definiteness and proper names: Some bad news for the description theory. *Journal of Semantics* 19, pp. 191-201.

Abbott, Barbara. 2004. Proper names and language. In *Reference and quantification: The Partee effect*, ed. by Greg N. Carlson and Francis Jeffry Pelletier, pp. 1-19. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Alderete, John. 1998. Canonical types and noun phrase configurations in Fijian. In *Recent Papers in Austronesian Linguistics: Proceedings of AFLA III and IV*, ed. by Matt Pearson, pp. 19-44. Los Angeles: University of California.

Alexiadou, Artemis, and Chris Wilder. 1998. Adjectival modification and multiple determiners. In *Possessors, Predicates and Movement in the DP*, ed. by Artemis Alexiadou and Chris Wilder, pp. 303-332. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Anderson, John M. 2003. On the structure of names. *Folia Linguistica* 37, pp. 347-398.

Androutsopoulou, Antonia. 1995. The licensing of adjectival modification. In *Proceedings of WCCFL 14*, ed. by Jose Camacho, Lina Choueiri and Maki Watanabe, pp. 17-31. Stanford: CSLI.

Bach, Emmon, and Barbara H. Partee. 1980. Anaphora and semantic structure. In *Proceedings of CLS 16. Papers from the Parasession on Pronouns and Anaphora*, ed. by Jody Kreiman and Almerindo E. Ojeda, pp. 1-28. Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society.

Bauer, Winifred. 2003. *Maori*. London and New York: Taylor & Francis.

Boër, Steven E. 1975. Proper names as predicates. *Philosophical Studies* 27, pp. 389-400.

Borer, Hagit. 1988. On the morphological parallelism between compounds and constructs. In *Yearbook of Morphology*, vol. 1, ed. by Geert Booij and Jaap van Marle. Dordrecht: Foris.

Borer, Hagit. 1999. Deconstructing the construct. In *Beyond Principles and Parameters*, ed. by Kyle Johnson and Ian Roberts, pp. 43-90. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Borer, Hagit. 2005. *In Name Only*. Structuring Sense 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Borthen, Kaja. 1998. Linguistic evidence prompting the linguistic necessity of Donnellan's referential-attributive distinction? The distribution and interpretation of Norwegian bare superlatives. Ms., Norwegian University of Science and Technology.

Borthen, Kaja. 2000. The distribution pattern of Norwegian bare singulars. In *Proceedings of ConSole VIII*, ed. by Christina Czinglar, Katharina Köhler, Erica Thrift, Erik Jan van der Torre and Malte Zimmermann, pp. 29-44. Leiden: SOLE.

Borthen, Kaja. 2003. Norwegian Bare Singulars, Doctoral dissertation, Norwegian University of Science and Technology.

Burge, Tyler. 1973. Reference and proper names. *Journal of Philosophy* 70, pp. 425-439.

Carlson, Greg N. 1977a. Reference to Kinds in English, Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Carlson, Greg N. 1977b. A unified analysis of the English bare plural. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 1, pp. 413-457.

Chierchia, Gennaro. 1998. Reference to kinds across languages. *Natural Language Semantics* 6, pp. 339-405.

Cojocaru, Dana. 2003. *Romanian Grammar*. Durham: SEELRC, Duke University.

Coppock, Elizabeth, and David Beaver. 2012. Weak uniqueness: The only difference between defnites and indefnites. In *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory (SALT) 22*, ed. by Anca Chereches, pp. 527-544.

Coppock, Elizabeth, and David Beaver. 2015. Definiteness and determinacy. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 38, pp. 377-435.

Coromina i Pou, Eusebi. 2001. L'article personal en català. Marca d'oralitat en l'escriptura, Doctoral dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Danon, Gabi. 2008. Definiteness spreading in the Hebrew construct state. *Lingua* 118, pp. 872-906.

Dayal, Veneeta. 2004. Number marking and (in)definiteness in kind terms. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 27, pp. 393-450.

Delsing, Lars-Olof. 1988. The Scandinavian noun phrase. *Working papers in Scandinavian syntax* 42, pp. 57-80.

Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Mila, and Giuliana Giusti. 1998. Fragments of Balkan nominal structure. In *Possessors, Predicates and Movement in the Determiner Phrase*, ed. by Artemis Alexiadou and Chris Wilder, pp. 333-360. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Dixon, R.M.W. 1988. *A Grammar of Boumaa Fijian*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen, and Ion Giurgea. 2006. The suffixation of the definite articles in Balkan languages. *Revue roumaine de linguistique* 1, pp. 73-103.

Edwardsson, Roland. 1968. Le genre des noms de villes en français. *Studia Neophilologica* 40, pp. 265-316.

Elbourne, Paul. 2002. Situations and Individuals, Doctoral dissertation, MIT.

Fara, Delia Graff. 2001. Descriptions as predicates. *Philosophical Studies* 102, pp. 1-42.

Fara, Delia Graff. 2014. "Literal" uses of proper names. In *On Reference*, ed. by Andrea Bianchi, pp. 251-279. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fara, Delia Graff. 2015. Names are predicates. *Philosophical Review* 124, pp. 59-117.

Farkas, Donka F., and Henriëtte de Swart. 2007. Article choice in plural generics. *Lingua* 117, pp. 1657-1676.

Frege, Gottlöb. 1892. Über Begriff und Gegenstand. *Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie* 16, pp. 192-205.

Gary-Prieur, Marie-Noëlle. 1991. La modalisation du nom propre. *Langue Française* 92, pp. 49-62.

Gary-Prieur, Marie-Noëlle. 1994. *Grammaire du nom propre*. Paris: Le Seuil.

Geurts, Bart. 1997. Good news about the description theory of names. *Journal of Semantics* 14, pp. 319-348.

Ghomeshi, Jila, and Diane Massam. 2009. The proper D connection. In *Determiners*, ed. by Jila Ghomeshi, Ileana Paul and Martina Wiltschko, pp. 67-95. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Gili, Joan. 1967. *Introductory Catalan Grammar, 3rd edition*. Oxford: Dolphin.

Giusti, Giuliana. 1993. Enclitic articles and double definiteness: A comparative analysis of nominal structure in Romance and Germanic. *University of Venice Working Paperls in Linguistics* 3, pp. 83-94.

Glass, Lelia. 2014. Deriving the two readings of English determiner + adjective. In *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 18*, ed. by Urtzi Etxeberria, Anamaria Fălăuș, Aritz Irurtzun and Bryan Leferman, pp. 164-181.

Gönczöl-Davies, Ramona. 2008. *Romanian: an Essential Grammar*. London: Routledge.

Grosu, Alexander. 1988. On the distribution of genitive phrases in Roumanian. *Linguistics* 26, pp. 931-949.

Hankamer, Jorge, and Line Hove Mikkelsen. 2005. When movement must be blocked: A reply to Embick and Noyer. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36, pp. 85-125.

Hasselrot, Bengt. 1943/1944. Le genre des noms de villes en français. *Studia Neophilologica* 16, pp. 201-223.

Heim, Irene, and Angelika Kratzer. 1998. *Semantics in Generative Grammar*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hoffman, Christina N. 1989. *Romanian Reference Grammar*: US Department of State.

Jeshion, Robin. 2014a. Names not predicates. In *On Reference*, ed. by Andrea Bianchi, pp. 225-250. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jeshion, Robin. 2014b. A rejoinder to Fara's *'Literal' uses of proper names*. In *On Reference*, ed. by Andrea Bianchi, pp. 280-294. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jeshion, Robin. 2015. Referentialism and predicativism about proper names. *Erkenntnis* 80, pp. 363-404.

Jonasson, Kerstin. 1992. Les noms propres métaphoriques: construction et interprétation. *Langue française* 92, pp. 64-81.

Kaplan, David. 1979. Dthat. In *Contemporary Perspectives in the Philosophy of Language*, ed. by Peter A. French, Theodore e. Uehling, Jr. and Howard Wettstein, pp. 383-400. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Kleiber, Georges. 1991. Du nom propre non modifié au nom propre modifié: de cas de la détermination des noms propres par l'adjectif démonstratif. *Langue Française* 92, pp. 82-104.

Kolliakou, Dimitra. 2004. Monadic definites and polydefinites: their form, meaning and use. *Journal of Linguistics* 40, pp. 263-323.

Kripke, Saul. 1980. *Naming and Necessity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Leckie, Gail. 2013. The double life of names. *Philosophical Studies* 165, pp. 1139-1160.

Lekakou, Marika, and Kriszta Szendroi. 2007. Eliding the noun in close apposition, or Greek polydefinites revisited. *UCLWPL* 19, pp. 129-154.

Löbner, Sebastian. 1985. Definites. *Journal of Semantics* 4, pp. 279-326.

Lomholt, Jørgen. 1983. *Syntaxe des noms géographiques en français contemporain*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.

Longobardi, Giuseppe. 1994. Reference and proper names. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25, pp. 609-665.

Longobardi, Giuseppe. 1999. Some reflections on proper names. Ms., University of Trieste.

Marcus, Ruth Barcan. 1961. Modalities and intensional languages. *Synthèse* 13, pp. 303-322.

Massam, Diane, Colin Gorrie, and Alexandra Kellner. 2006. Niuean determiners: Everywhere and nowhere. In *Proceedings of the 2006 annual conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association*, ed. by Claire Gurski and Milica Radisic.

Matushansky, Ora. 2005. Call me Ishmael. In *Proceedings of SuB 9*, ed. by Emar Maier, Corien Bary and Janneke Huitink, pp. 226-240. Nijmegen: NCS.

Matushansky, Ora. 2006a. Call me an ambulance. In *Proceedings of NELS 35*, vol. 2, ed. by Leah Bateman and Cherlon Ussery, pp. 419-434. Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts, GLSA.

Matushansky, Ora. 2006b. Why Rose is the Rose. In *Empirical Issues in Formal Syntax and Semantics 6*, ed. by Olivier Bonami and Patricia Cabredo Hofherr, pp. 285-308.

Matushansky, Ora. 2008. On the linguistic complexity of proper names. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 31, pp. 573-627.

Matushansky, Ora. 2015a. On being [feminine] and [proper]. In *NELS 45: Proceedings of the 45th Meeting of the North East Linguistic Society: Volume 2*, ed. by Thuy Bui and Deniz Özyıldız, pp. 165-178. Amherst, Massachusetts: GLSA.

Matushansky, Ora. 2015b. The other Francis Bacon: on non-bare proper names. *Erkenntnis* 80, pp. 335-362.

McNally, Louise, and Henriëtte de Swart. 2015. Reference to and via properties: the view from Dutch. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 38, pp. 315-362.

Meyer-Lübke, Wilhelm. 1890. *Grammaire des langues romanes*, vol. III: Syntaxe.

Moltmann, Friederike. 2013. Names, sortals, and the mass-count distinction. Ms., Université Paris I.

Noailly, Michèle. 1991. "L'énigmatique Tombouctou": Nom propre et la position de l'épithète. *Langue Française* 92, pp. 104-113.

Partee, Barbara H. 1986. Noun phrase interpretation and type-shifting principles. In *Studies in Discourse Representation Theory and the Theory of Generalized Quantifiers*, ed. by Jeroen Groenendijk, Dick de Jongh and Martin Stokhof. *GRASS*, pp. 115-143. Dordrecht: Foris.

Partee, Barbara H., and Emmon Bach. 1984. Quantification, pronouns, and VP anaphora. In *Formal Methods in the Study of Language, Third Amsterdam Colloquium*, ed. by Jeroen Groenendijk, Theo M. V. Janssen and Martin Stokhof. Amsterdam: Mathematisch Centrum.

Percus, Orin. 2011. Gender features and interpretation: a case study. *Morphology* 21, pp. 167-196.

Pons-Moll, Clàudia, and Francesc Torres-Tamarit. 2016. Prosodically-driven morpheme non-realization in the Minorcan Catalan DP. Paper presented at *24th Manchester Phonology Meeting*, Manchester May 26-28, 2016.

Postal, Paul. 1969. On so-called "pronouns" in English. In *Modern Studies in English. Readings in Transformational Grammar*, ed. by David A. Reibel and Sanford A. Schane, pp. 201-224. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.

Rami, Dolf. 2014. The multiple uses of proper nouns. *Erkenntnis* 80, pp. 405-432.

Salmon, Nathan. 1986. *Frege's Puzzle*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Schoorlemmer, Erik. 2009. Agreement, dominance and doubling: the morphosyntax of DP, Doctoral dissertation, Leiden University. Utrecht: LOT Publications.

Schoubye, Anders J. 2016. The predicative predicament. Ms., University of Edinburgh.

Shlonsky, Ur. 2004. The form of Semitic noun phrases. *Lingua* 114, pp. 1465-1526.

Sichel, Ivy. 2002. Phrasal movement in Hebrew adjectives and possessives. In *Dimensions of Movement: From features to remnants*, ed. by Artemis Alexiadou, Elena Anagnostopoulou, Sjef Barbiers and Hans-Martin Gärtner, pp. 297-339. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Sloat, Clarence. 1969. Proper nouns in English. *Language* 45, pp. 26-30.

Solt, Stephanie. to appear. Attributive quantity words as nonrestrictive modifiers. In *Proceedings of NELS 39*, ed. by Suzi Lima, Kevin Mullin and Brian Smith.

Stowell, Timothy A. 1991. Determiners in NP and DP. In *Views on Phrase Structure*, ed. by Katherine Leffel and Denis Bouchard, pp. 37-56. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

de Swart, Henriëtte, Louise McNally, and Veronika Richtarcikova. [to appear]. Reference to and via properties: A cross-linguistic perspective. In *Proceedings of the 52nd Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*.

Taraldsen, Knut Tarald. 1990. D-projections and N-projections in Norwegian. In *Grammar in progress*, ed. by Marina Nespor and Joan Mascaró, pp. 419-431. Dordrecht: Foris.

Thomsen, Hanne Erdman. 1997. On the proper treatment of proper names. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 20, pp. 91-110.

Turano, Giuseppina. 2002. On modifiers preceded by the article in Albanian DPs *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics* 12, pp. 169-215.

Wheeler, Max W., Alan Yates, and Nicolau Dols. 1999. *Catalan: A Comprehensive Grammar*. New York: Routledge.

Zamparelli, Roberto. 2002. Definite and bare kind-denoting noun phrases. In *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2000; selected papers from Going Romance 2000*, ed. by Claire Beyssade, Reineke Bok-Bennema, Frank Drijkoningen and Paola Monachesi, pp. 305-342. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.