

Derived Proper Names in German¹

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Abstract: This paper studies the morpho-syntax of proper names like *Deutsche Bank* ‘German bank’ in German. It is shown that these types of proper names, called derived proper names here, are lexically frozen and depending on the phenomenon, are morpho-syntactically frozen or transparent. To capture these hybrid properties, it is proposed that the elements to be merged in the derivation are taken from a stored set in the lexicon. Second, these elements form a CHAIN during the syntactic derivation. More complex cases are discussed in the context of German and Norwegian. Given this discussion, it seems unlikely that referentiality is located in the DP-level.

Key words: morpho-syntax; DP; proper names

1. Introduction

Proper names (PN) as in (1a) refer to individual entities. In contrast, common nouns (CN) as in (1b) have descriptive meaning:

- (1) a. *Maria*
Mary
- b. *Bank*
bank

I label the type of PN in (1a) INHERENT PN. In addition, there is another kind of PN. The latter consists of a head noun and other elements, often adjectives, (2). Like in (1a), these PN refer to individual entities and like (1b), they have descriptive meaning. I will refer to these types of PN as DERIVED PN:

- (2) a. *Deutsche Bank*
German Bank
- b. *Deutsches Historisches Museum*
German Historical museum

The basic semantics of these three types of nominals is summarized in table 1 below:

¹ All examples in German and Norwegian are authentic (identified by searches in the German *Gelbe Seiten* ‘Yellow Pages’ and in the Norwegian [Nettkatalogen.no](http://nettkatalogen.no)) or, if constructed, were checked for grammaticality. I thank Marit Julien for providing the Norwegian data. I am also grateful to the audiences at the University of Buffalo and the University of Cambridge for questions and comments.

Table 1: Semantics of the Different Nominals

Primary semantics	Inherent PN	Common Nouns	Derived PN
Descriptive meaning	-	+	+
Reference (to individual)	+	-	+

Besides having both semantic traits, we will see that derived PN show an intriguing interaction between properties that are on the one hand lexically frozen and on the other morpho-syntactically regular or frozen. With regard to their linguistic behavior, we will see that derived PN are situated between inherent PN and CN.

Despite their inbetween properties, these constructions have not received due attention thus far: either they are not discussed (e.g., Longobardi 1994, Anderson 2004) or only briefly (e.g., Karnowski & Pafel 2005: 52, Sturm 2005: 72). In this paper, I investigate this largely unexplored empirical domain in an attempt to make progress in the understanding of these types of nominals. I propose that these PN are built in a regular fashion. However, the derivation is constrained by two factors: on the one hand, the elements to be merged in the derivation are taken from a stored set in the lexicon; on the other, these elements form a CHAIN during the syntactic derivation. Taken together, this will account for their hybrid semantic and morpho-syntactic characteristics.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I briefly discuss previous work on this topic, I provide basic data and catalogue some diagnostic properties. Section 3 offers a proposal. After the basic assumptions are laid out, I discuss some Norwegian data, which will lead to the analysis of more complex cases and some refinements of the proposal. Section 4 discusses some consequences for Longobardi's work on reference and section 5 summarizes the paper.

2. Cataloguing Morpho-Syntactic Diagnostics: Some Generalizations

Kripke (1971) observes that PN are rigid designators; that is, they denote the same entity in all possible worlds. If PN are semantically special, one may expect that they are also morpho-syntactically different from regular DPs. We will see that this is indeed the case with derived PN.

Unlike inherent PN (e.g., Longobardi 1994, 2005; Anderson 2004), derived PN have not received much attention in the literature at all. If they are addressed, they are only briefly discussed.² To mention four works, Anderson (2003: 372, 386) states that while names tend to be desemanticized in general, complex names like *the University of Queensland* retain some descriptive content although they are listed lexically. Karnowski & Pafel (2005: 52) state that “phrasal” proper names like *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft* ‘German Society for Linguistics’ have the same semantic properties as inherent PN (for these authors, PN are predicates). Following work by Kripke, Sturm (2005: 72) classifies cases like *the Holy Roman Empire* as a borderline case in that formally they belong to definite expressions but semantically they belong to rigid designators. Finally, Weber (2004: 286-287) observes that new (i.e., derived) PN conform to regular morpho-syntactic patterns of DPs.

² A notable exception is Allerton (1987). Focusing on English, Allerton classifies (complex) PN into four groups: pure (only proper nouns), mixed (proper nouns and common nouns), common-based (common nouns), and coded (initial letters and numbers). Here I focus on pure (= inherent) and common-based (= derived) PN. I discuss relevant insights of this paper below.

Given these very brief discussions, I begin this section by providing some basic data. This is followed by some diagnostics, which are meant to bring out the main morpho-syntactic properties of derived PN.

2.1. Basic Data

Besides the typical presence of head nouns, derived PN may also involve prepositions (3a), articles (3a-b'), possessives (3c), numerals (3d), adjectives (3e), and conjunctions (3f):³

- (3)
- a. *Zur Waldschänke*
To.the Forest.inn
 - b. *Der Seehof*
The Lake.yard
 - b'. *Ein Himmel voller Betten*
A Heaven Full.of Beds
 - c. *Dein Telefonladen*
Your Phone.store
 - d. *Drei Tannen*
Three Fir.trees
 - e. *Deutsche Bank*
German Bank
 - f. *Darmstädter- und Nationalbank*
Darmstädter And National.bank

Considering the elements in (3), one may observe that derived PN involve both lexical and functional words. These elements can be combined in a wide range of ways. A representative sample is given below:

- (4)
- a. *Institut für Deutsche Sprache*
Institute For German Language
 - b. *Juppis gemütlicher Treff*
Juppi's Cozy Get-together
 - c. *Das kleine Weinlokal*
The Little Wine.pub
 - d. *Die Zehn Gebote*
The Ten Commandments
 - e. *Die Welt als Bett*
The World As Bed
 - f. *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung für Rumänien*
General German Paper For Romania
 - g. *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*
German General Paper

³ I exclude from the discussion cases that only involve a head noun. As a sole word, they do not lend themselves to many syntactic tests. This includes proper name-like elements such as *Dad*, which have no determiner in argument position.

Examining (3) and (4), one can side with Weber (2004) and others that all of these PN involve regular DP patterns. This includes different word orders of adjectives as in (4f) and (4g), which are possible with regular DPs in certain contexts (note though that derived PN with degree elements or demonstratives seem to be absent). If proper names have surface forms identical to regular DPs, we are in need of some morpho-syntactic diagnostics to establish their special status as PN. These diagnostics are meant to stand independently of the semantic property of PN being rigid designators. I begin with some general properties, which are later followed by some more specific ones.

2.2. General Diagnostics: PN and Determiners

This section discusses the role of determiners and determiner-like elements with regard to their general presence in PN and their accessibility to Binding relations.

2.2.1. Presence of Determiners

As is well known, common count nouns in the singular must occur with an overt article in argument position:

- (5) **(Das) Auto ist schön.*
 the car is beautiful.

Derived PN have an optional article in non-argument position, cases where PN appear, for instance, on companies' logos, in listings, or as subtitles in reference works, (6a). I label these instances CITATION FORMS. In contrast, when derived PN function as arguments in a sentence, a determiner is required. Compare (6b) to (6c):

- (6) a. *(die) Deutsche Bahn*
 the German Railroad
 b. * *Deutsche Bahn ist nie pünktlich.*
 German Railroad is never on time
 c. *Die Deutsche Bahn ist nie pünktlich.*
 the German Railroad is never on time

This is different for inherent PN. For instance, personal names tolerate an optional article in both contexts in Northern dialects of German (Sturm 2005: 74):⁴

- (7) a. *(der) Peter*
 the Peter
 b. *Peter kommt an.*
 Peter arrives
 c. *Der Peter kommt an.*
 the Peter arrives

⁴ Note that the article in (7a) is not possible in vocatives.

Turning to plural, common count nouns exhibit a difference in meaning: if a (definite) determiner is present, the DP is interpreted as definite; if a determiner is absent, its reading is indefinite:

- (8) *(Die) Autos sind schön.*
 the cars are beautiful.

Like in the singular, derived PN in the plural also allow optional determiners in non-argument position, (9a). While a determiner can, in principle, be absent in argument position, (9b), this surface string does not have the interpretation of a PN (# indicates that the nominal is grammatical but lacks the interpretation of a PN). The presence of a determiner is required for such an interpretation, (9c):

- (9) a. *(die) Schlesische(n) Kriege*
 the Silesian Wars
 b. # *Schlesische Kriege waren grausam.*
 Silesian wars were cruel
 c. *Die Schlesischen Kriege waren grausam.*
 the Silesian wars were cruel

As far as I know, with the possible exception of cases like *die Azoren* ‘the Azores’, genuine plural inherent PN do not seem to exist. The different morpho-syntactic requirement of derived PN with respect to determiners can be summarized as follows (the plus sign indicates the required presence of an overt determiner in argument position):

Table 2: Presence of Determiners in Argument Position

	Inherent PN	Common DPs	Derived PN
Singular	+/-	+	+
Plural	N/A	meaning difference	+

2.2.2. Anaphoric Islands

Postal (1969) argues that words are anaphoric islands. To make this claim, he distinguishes two cases: “inbound” and “outbound” anaphors (note that Postal defines the term anaphor very broadly). In the first case, the word X contains an anaphor like *he* but the anaphor cannot be bound by its antecedent. This constellation is schematically provided in (10). One of Postal’s examples, (50c), is given in (10a). A similar case can be made for derived PN, (10b):

- (10) antecedent_i – {anaphor_i+Y}_X
 a. * when Murphy_i entered the room all of the {him_iists} began to applaud
 b. * *Ich habe dich_i gestern besucht. War das {Dein_i Telefonladen}?*
 I have you yesterday visited. Was that Your Phone.store?

As for outbound anaphors, here the word X contains the antecedent of an anaphor. This constellation is illustrated in (11) and exemplified by Postal's example (43b) in (11a). Again, this interpretative relation is not possible for derived PN either, (11b):

- (11) {antecedent_i+Y}_X - anaphor_i
- a. * {Murphy_iists} are agreed that he_i is going to lose
 - b. * *Wir sind zu {Conny_i's Container} gegangen. Sie_i war nicht da.*
 We have to Conny's Container gone. She was not there.

2.3. Specific Diagnostics: PN are Frozen

In this subsection, we will see that derived PN are lexically and syntactically frozen; that is, their forms cannot be manipulated. At the end of this subsection, I will show that derived PN are not necessarily frozen in two respects.

2.3.1. Lexically Frozen

Allerton (1987: 64) points out that, while other elements can, in principle, be added, the presence of an additional adjective, quantifier, or degree word changes the status of a derived PN to a common DP. The most widely discussed element in this regard is a restrictive adjective (for inherent PN in this respect, see Longobardi 1994: fn. 43, Gallmann 1997: 75, von Heusinger & Wespel 2009: 18, Sturm 2005: 74). In particular, the addition of an adjective may lead not only to a different interpretation but even to the generation of a new derived PN. The (a)-example below shows the German name for the Roman Empire. Adding *Heilige* 'holy', the (b)-example refers to the German Empire in the Middle Ages:⁵

- (12) a. *das Römische Reich*
 the Roman Empire
 b. *das Heilige Römische Reich*
 the Holy Roman Empire

The same goes for numerals (also Gallmann 1990: 150):⁶

- (13) a. *Die Eisbären (Berlin) haben gewonnen.*
 The Polar.bears Berlin have won
 b. # *Die drei Eisbären haben gewonnen.*
 the three Polar.bears have won

Third, degree words cannot be added either:

⁵ Allerton (1987: 71) points out that proper names are sometimes partly transparent where the descriptive content is not entirely clear (anymore). A case in point is the special status of attributes such as *Heilige* 'holy' and *Römische* 'Roman' in (12b) (see Sturm 2005: 72 citing Kripke).

⁶ Note that *Die Eisbären Berlin* is one of the few cases where a derived PN is different from a regular DP. In fact, if *Berlin* is added to (13b), the example becomes ungrammatical.

- (14) a. *die (#ganz) Neue Welt*
 the entirely New World
 b. *das (#sehr) Alte Testament*
 the very Old Testament

In sum, derived PN are lexically frozen.

2.3.2. Syntactically Frozen

Derived PN are also syntactically opaque. They cannot undergo pluralization/singularization, reordering, subextraction, and substitution. With simple derived PN, ellipsis is only possible with regard to the head noun but not higher elements of the nominal structure. I briefly illustrate each of these properties.

First, singular derived PN cannot be pluralized comparing the (a)-examples below, and plural PN cannot be singularized contrasting the (b)-examples (also Allerton 1987: 65):

- (15) a. *der Deutsche Sprachatlas*
 the German Language.atlas
 b. *die Schlesischen Kriege*
 the Silesian Wars
- (16) a. # *die deutschen Sprachatlanten*
 the German language.atlases
 b. # *der Schlesische Krieg*
 the Silesian war

Second, adjectives in regular DPs can be reordered when focused. Compare (17a) to (17b), where the context of the second example involves the presence of two big balloons, one of which is red:

- (17) a. the big red balloon
 b. the RED big balloon

This type of reordering is out with derived PN:

- (18) a. *Deutsches Historisches Museum*
 German Historical Museum
 b. # *HISTORISCHES Deutsches Museum*
 Historical German Museum
- (19) a. *das Deutsche Historische Museum*
 the German Historical Museum
 b. # *das HISTORISCHE Deutsche Museum*
 the Historical German Museum

One may object that reordering due to focus is out for a semantic reason, namely there is no natural set of alternative entities. In other words, the reordering would not be motivated by focus explaining the status of the (b)-examples. However, adjectives in PN can be focused when there are two such entities and their adjectives are in the regular order (for the discussion of non-restrictive adjectives like *jüngere* ‘younger’ and *ältere* ‘older’ in (20), see below):

- (20) *der jüngere FRANZÖSISCHE Dom* *und der ältere DEUTSCHE Dom...*
 the younger French Cathedral and the older German Cathedral...

If this is so, then the impossibility of the reordering of adjectives in (18b) and (19b) above cannot be blamed on the inability of derived PN to contain focused elements. I conclude that elements of derived PN cannot undergo reordering.

Third, parts of derived PN cannot undergo subextraction (cf. Postal 1969: 228 on words). Since DPs in Germanic are subject to the ban on Left-Branch extraction (Bošković 2005), there are only limited options to test this. With specifiers out, the extraction of complements is testable. While extraction out of common nominals is possible, (21b), derived PN do not tolerate such an operation, (22b). The example in (22c) is fine when *die Vereinigten Staaten* is interpreted as “partitive” of the continent of America; that is, when *von Amerika* is not part of the name itself. This becomes very clear with PN like *Kanada* ‘Canada’:⁷

- (21) a. *das Buch von Peter*
 the book of Peter
 b. *Von Peter habe ich das Buch gelesen.*
 of Peter have I the book read
- (22) a. *die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*
 the United States Of America
 b. ?? *Von Amerika habe ich die Vereinigten Staaten besucht.*
 Of America have I the United States visited
 c. ✓ *Von Amerika habe ich die Vereinigten Staaten/Kanada gesehen.*
 of America have I the United States /Canada seen

Fourth, parts of derived PN cannot be substituted by other elements (Allerton 1987: 64). This can be seen in interrogation where the echo-question in (23b) attempts to elicit the answer below it. As a short answer, the name *Conny* can only be the actual possessor (but it cannot be part of this particular company’s name):

- (23) a. *Ich bin in {Conny’s Container} gegangen.*
 I have in Conny’s Container gone
 b. # *Du bist in wessen Container gegangen?*
 you have in whose Container gone
 Connys.
 Conny’s

⁷ Note that *von Amerika* can be left out of the PN in (22c) if the reference of *die Vereinigten Staaten* is clear.

Finally, with simple derived PN, ellipsis only seems to be possible with head nouns. Starting with regular DPs as in (24a), both an adjective and noun, (24b), or only a noun, (24c), can be elided:

- (24) a. *das rote deutsche Auto*
the red German car
- b. *Welches rote Auto ist besonders cool?*
which red car is especially cool
Das deutsche.
the German
- c. *Welches Auto ist besonders cool?*
which car is especially cool
Das rote deutsche.
the red German

Again, this is different for derived PN. Unlike above, here an adjective and noun cannot be elided. In other words, the answer in (25b) cannot mean (25a). Interestingly, the head noun by itself can undergo elision, (25c):

- (25) a. *das Deutsche Historische Museum*
the German Historical Museum
- b. *Welches Historische Museum hast du besucht?*
which Historical Museum have you visited
#*Das Deutsche.*
the German
- c. *Welches Museum hast du besucht?*
which Museum have you visited
?Das Deutsche Historische.
the German Historical

Noun ellipsis is possible in other context. Consider the following examples involving the coordination of two derived PN:

- (26) a. *Der Deutsche und der Französische Dom sind sehr schön.*
the German and the French Cathedral are very nice
- b. (?) *Der Deutsche Dom und der Französische sind sehr schön.*
the German Cathedral and the French are very nice

Furthermore, noun ellipsis is also possible with discontinuous DPs. To begin, note that an adjective and noun can be missing in the lower nominal of split common DPs (van Riemsdijk 1989: 122):

- (27) a. *ein neues amerikanisches Auto*
 a new American car
 b. *Ein amerikanisches Auto kann ich mir kein neues leisten.*
 an American car can I REFL no new afford

Like above, discontinuous derived PN do not tolerate the elision of adjectives and nouns, (28a), but only that of simple nouns, (28b):

- (28) a. # *Historisches Museum habe ich nur das Deutsche gesehen.*
 Historical Museum have I only the German seen
 b. ? *Museum/Museen habe ich nur das Deutsche Historische gesehen.*
 Museum/Museums have I only the German Historical seen

That head nouns can be elided may have to do with the fact that they are, perhaps, most easily recoverable.

2.3.3. *Derived PN are not Frozen in all Respects*

In the last subsection, I documented that derived PN are oblique in that they are syntactically frozen. Before I turn to my proposal, I will briefly illustrate that this is not categorically so. In other words, in some respects, derived PN may be syntactically “flexible”.

German seems to have two types of derived PN as regards the DP-layer. On the one hand, there are derived PN where the DP-level is obligatorily present:

- (29) a. *Zur Waldschänke*
 To.the Forest.inn
 b. *Dein Telefonladen*
 Your Phone.store
 c. *Die Zeit*
 The Time

One might claim that derived PN are frozen in this respect too and this could indicate simple lexicalization.

On the other hand, there is a second type of derived PN where the DP-layer is not lexicalized. In other words, these PN are “flexible” in that the definite article is optional in the citation form (i.e., in non-argument position). Above, I illustrated this with (30a). The same point can also be made in that the definite article can be replaced by a demonstrative and a non-restrictive adjective can be added as in (30b) (capital letters indicate stress):

- (30) a. *(die) Deutsche Bank*
 the German Bank
 b. *Diese verDAMMte Deutsche Bank hat schon wieder die Gebühren erhöht.*
 this damn German Bank has once again the fees raised.

Recall that the determiner becomes obligatory when the PN has argument function. This holds not only for arguments in sentences, as seen above, but also for PN inside PPs, (31b):

- (31) a. *(die) Vereinigte(n) Staaten von Amerika*
 the United States of America
 b. *in *(den) Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*
 in the United States of America

Second, the cases where the DP-layer is not frozen have another interesting property, namely they are not morphologically frozen as regards the strong/weak alternation of inflections on adjectives (for background, see Harbert 2007: 130-137). In fact, adjectives display regular inflectional behavior: strong adjectives appear in the absence of a determiner, (32a); weak endings surface if a determiner is present, (32b):

- (32) a. *Deutsches Historisches Museum*
 German(ST) Historical(ST) Museum
 b. *das Deutsche Historische Museum*
 the German(WK) Historical(WK) Museum

To sum up this section, first I documented that derived PN have regular DP patterns in terms of their individual elements and the combinations of them. Then I showed that with regard to some diagnostics, derived PN are lexically and syntactically frozen. Finally, I provided examples where some PN are not frozen with regard to the DP-level and the strong/weak alternation of adjectival inflection. One may conclude that derived PN exhibit hybrid properties: in some respects, they pattern like regular DPs; in others they do not.

3. Proposal

First I lay out my proposal for the simple instances of derived PN. In the second subsection, I turn to some more complex cases. Here I include some Norwegian data. The latter is meant to bring out two points: (i) proper name formation is recursive and (ii) depending on the language, the DP-level and adjectival inflection can be frozen in the entire inventory of derived PN.

3.1. Simple Derived Proper Names

Ordinary name giving, sometimes called NOMINATION, provides an individual with a unique label, often restricted to a certain social context (cf. given names vs. nicknames). With inherent PN, the name is typically (but not always) drawn from a common, existing stock (e.g., Anderson 2004: 442). Derived PN differ in that they usually involve new names. So, while the basic function of naming is the same, the mechanism must be different.

I propose that this type of naming, or what I call PROPRIALIZATION, involves two linguistic operations, a lexical one (CHOOSE) and a syntactic one (FORM A CHAIN). The first operation CHOOSES regular lexical and functional vocabulary items in the lexicon, assigns them an index marked here by an arbitrary number, and collects them in a set as part of the lexicon

marked here by curly brackets (unvalued [DEF] = indefinite; semicolon separates lexical from functional elements; round brackets indicate embeddings):⁸

- (33) a. *Deutsche Bank*: {BANK₃, DEUTSCH₃}
 German Bank
 b. *Schlesische Kriege*: {SCHLESISCH₁₆, KRIEG₁₆; [+PL]₁₆}
 Silesian Wars
 c. *Ein Himmel voller Betten*: {HIMMEL₁, ARTICLE₁, (BETT₁, VOLL₁; [+PL]₁); [DEF]₁}
 A Heaven Full.of beds

CHOOSE constitutes the first step in the formation of a new (i.e., derived) PN. Specifically, this operation accounts for the facts that derived PN are lexically frozen, they cannot be pluralized/singularized, it explains the hybrid character as regards derived PN being rigid designators with descriptive content (regular vocabulary items get an index), and it allows formally indefinite nominals to receive a definite interpretation. Note that all PN must have some kind of index that marks them as such. This can be seen with common nouns, which are not referential, inherent PN, which are, and some nouns that can function as both.⁹

- (34) a. *Rotte*
 gang
 b. *Lotte*₇
 Lotte
 c. *Motte*_([8])
 moth, Motte

As a second step, the indexed items are taken out of the set in the lexicon and are merged in the derivation in a regular fashion (in fact, one may speculate that the stored set is taken out of the lexicon as a whole and functions as the actual Numeration during the derivation in the sense of Chomsky 1995 and much subsequent work). In general terms, nouns project NPs, number morphology projects a NumP, adjectives are in Spec,AgrP and determiners reside in the DP (for detailed discussion, see Julien 2005, Alexiadou et al 2007).

To illustrate with a concrete example, consider the derivation of the example in (33c). Proceeding bottom-up in (35), the innermost subset indicated by round brackets in (33c) is built

⁸ In addition, in order to account for different adjective orders as in (4f-g), a precedence statement is presumably needed. For cases like in (ia-b), Culicover & Jackendoff (2005: 29) state that “a word can carry in its lexical entry a specific grammatical frame into which it fits”:

- (i) a. Arrowhead Lake
 b. Lake Michigan

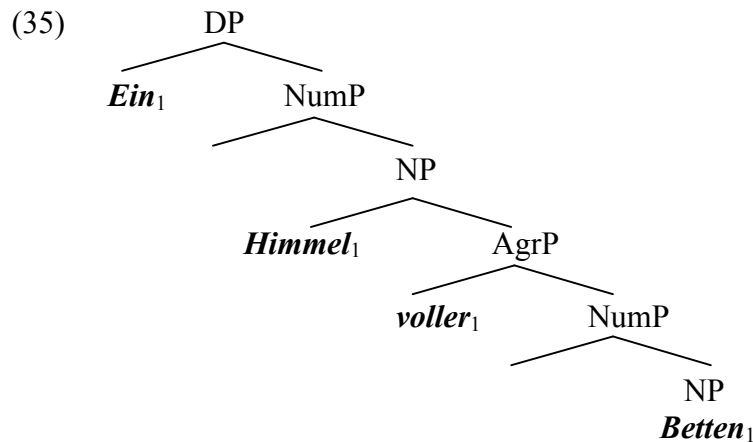
I believe a simple precedence statement is enough to account for (ia) vs. (ib). Below I argue against template-type explanations.

⁹ The cases in (34b) and (34c) are somewhat similar to (ia) and (ib). In the latter, only certain inherent PN can take on an “emotive” reading rendered as ‘idiot’ in the gloss:

- (i) a. * *Hey, du Peter!*
 hey, you idiot
 b. *Hey, du Willi!*
 hey, you idiot

This supports the idea that nouns are lexically marked (i.e., indexed) for certain properties.

first until all these elements are merged. This is followed by the remaining elements thereby embedding the first nominal under the head noun *Himmel* ‘heaven’. When merged in the syntactic derivation, these elements FORM A CHAIN on the basis of their indices (cf. Chomsky 1986):



Speaking informally, I assume that CHAINS cannot be broken. This explains that elements inside these DP cannot be reordered or substituted and that these PN are islands for subextraction. In other words, further syntactic operations are severely constrained. Considering (35) though, derived PN wind up with a regular DP structure.¹⁰ Note that this derivation immediately accounts for the transparency of derived PN to syntactic operations like agreement in gender, number, and case.

It is interesting to point out that functional elements by themselves seem to be unable to form derived PN:

- (36) a. * *Der*
The
b. * *Sehr*
Very

The absence of these patterns follows from the assumption that only lexical elements can build extended projections (e.g., Grimshaw 1991) and that functional elements reside in the higher layers of these projections. If a lexical element is absent, so is a related functional one. This explanation of (36) is in line with the proposal that derived PN have regular structures. Furthermore, as noted in section 2.1, certain elements seem to be absent even if a lexical item is present. While intensifiers are possible in derived PN based on PPs, there do not seem to be cases involving degree adverbs or demonstratives.¹¹ This may have to do with the referential

¹⁰ This is in contrast to Allerton (1987: 64, 66), who claims that individual parts of complex names are more similar to morphemes: they undergo the morphological operation of compounding forming a lexical unit.

¹¹ Norwegian has some attested examples where a derived PN is based on a PP that includes an intensifier. The example in (ia) is a café; the example in (ib) could be any kind of business considering that *midt i blinken* means ‘just perfect’:

(i) a. *Midt i Gata* (Norwegian)
Middle In Street-DEF

function of PN in general labeling a specific individual, which makes additional elements such as degree and indexical elements superfluous. To be clear though, despite the absence of these elements, one may state that derived PN are based on regular DP structures.

Note that if derived PN were simply “word-like” as in Allerton (1987), it would not be clear why derived PN cannot occur as pre-nominal possessives in German. Compare (37a-b) to (37c-d):

- (37) a. *Deutschlands Geschichte*
Germany’s history
b. *Frau Schmidts Katze*
Mrs Schmidt’s cat
c. * *Deutsche Banks Gebäude*
German Bank’s building
d. ?? *der Deutschen Bank Gebäude*
of.the German Bank building

In addition, it would not be clear why the presence of determiners is obligatory with derived PN in argument position as opposed to the optional presence of these elements with inherent PN like (*der*) *Peter* (cf. table 2). For the latter type of PN, we can follow Longobardi (1994: 653 fn. 50) that German has N-to-D movement at LF, (38a). If an expletive article is present, a CHAIN is built, (38b):

- (38) a. $[_{DP} \text{Peter}_i [_{NP} t_i]]$ (LF-chain)
b. $[_{DP} \text{der}_i [_{NP} \text{Peter}_i]]$ (CHAIN)

As for derived PN, I claim that German does not have phrasal movement to the DP-level at LF. This yields an obligatory determiner. In other words, in these cases, a CHAIN is always formed. I return to this in more detail in section 4.1.

If derived PN are indeed structurally regular DPs, then we have a prediction: Properialization should be recursive, the latter being a typical feature of regular syntactic derivations.

3.2. *Complex Derived Proper Names*

In order to obtain a more comprehensive picture, it is necessary to discuss a language other than German. Derived PN in Norwegian exhibit properties that German does not show as clearly. Before I turn to these specific properties, I start this subsection with some basic data of derived PN in Norwegian (for background information on Norwegian DPs, see Julien 2005).

All derived PN in Norwegian are frozen at the DP-layer. Besides ordinary DPs of high frequency, (39a-b), there are also distributional patterns identical, on the surface, to generic DPs. Consider (40a), where the suffixal article is missing. In addition, there are derived PN that are

-
- b. 'Right In The Street'
Midt i Blinken
Middle In Target-DEF
'Right on target'

similar to type-denoting DPs, which lack an indefinite article, (40b). Finally, there are derived PN that have the patterns involving definite adjectives, sometimes called adjectival determiners, where the free-standing definite article is missing, (41a-b):

- (39) a. *Den Røde Frakk-en* (Norwegian)
the red(WK) overcoat-DEF
b. *En Liten Butikk*
a small(ST) shop
- (40) a. *Den Røde Paraply*
the red(WK) umbrella
b. *Gul Sirkel*
yellow(ST) circle
- (41) a. *Norske Skog*
Norwegian(WK) forest
b. *Store Skarv-en*
big(WK) cormorant-DEF

Note that all these Norwegian PN can, as they are, occur in argument position. Illustrating with the pattern in (40b), the derived PN can be the subject or object of a sentence:

- (42) a. *Nytt Image er min favorittbutikk.*
New(ST) Image is my favorite.shop
'New Image is my favorite shop.'
b. *Du finner Nytt Image i Storgata.*
you find New(ST) Image in Big.street-DEF
'You'll find New Image on Main Street.'

With Longobardi (1994), I assume that syntactic arguments are DPs. Given the surface strings in (40b) and (41a-b), where (free-standing) determiners are missing, I claim that all derived PN in Norwegian are frozen at the DP-level (unlike in German, where only some PN are).

If this is so, then one might expect derived PN in Norwegian to contain two adjectives where either both of them exhibit weak inflection or both of them show a strong ending. This is indeed the case:

- (43) a. *Store Norske Leksikon*
big(WK) Norwegian(WK) encyclopedia
b. *Fin Gammel Årgang*
fine(ST) old(ST) vintage

With this background in mind, I turn to the facts that are important for the proposal of more complex derived PN.

Norwegian has an element, the adjective *nye* 'new', which can form another PN on the basis of an existing derived PN. While German also has this type of element, the properties to be

discussed are not as clear there. Besides the differences related to the obligatoriness of the DP-layer, this adds another distinction between the two languages. Note that the following data all lack a determiner in front of the word for ‘new’.

As expected from the discussion above, Norwegian derived PN can have two weak adjectives while German cannot, (44). What is interesting to point out here is that the Norwegian example in (44a) is ambiguous in interpretation. On the one hand, *nye* can be part of a regular derived PN; in this case, the PN refers to a store that sells new red hats (and presumably some other items). On the other hand, *nye* can form a new derived PN on the basis of an existing PN (*Røde Hatt*). I call the first reading of *nye* PRIMARY CORE INTERPRETATION (marked below by the superscript ¹) and the second reading of *nye* SECONDARY CORE INTERPRETATION (indicated below by the superscript ²):

- (44) a. *Nye Røde Hatt* ($\sqrt{\text{Nw}}^{1,2}$)
 new(WK) red(WK) hat
 b. * *Neue Ägyptische Museum* (*Ge)
 new(WK) Egyptian(WK) museum

Both languages can have two strong adjectives. Here, the adjective for ‘new’ can only have the primary core interpretation in Norwegian. In contrast, German allows both readings:

- (45) a. *Ny Gul Sirkel* ($\sqrt{\text{Nw}}^1$)
 new(ST) yellow(ST) circle
 b. *Neues Ägyptisches Museum* ($\sqrt{\text{Ge}}^{1,2}$)
 new(ST) Egyptian(ST) museum

Furthermore, the adjective for ‘new’ with a strong ending cannot be followed by an adjective with a weak ending in Norwegian. This combination seems to be possible for a few speakers in German:

- (46) a. * *Ny Greie Kafeteria* (*Nw)
 new(ST) nice(WK) cafeteria
 b. % *Neues Ägyptische Museum* (°Ge)
 new(ST) Egyptian(WK) museum

Conversely, Norwegian *nye* can be followed by a strong adjective. In this case, *nye* only has a secondary core interpretation. Note also that this surface string is usually ungrammatical in Norwegian, just as it is impossible in German even as a PN:

- (47) a. *Nye Grei Kafeteria* ($\sqrt{\text{Nw}}^2$)
 new(WK) nice(ST) cafeteria
 b. * *Neue Ägyptisches Museum* (*Ge)
 new(WK) Egyptian(ST) museum

There is a related difference between Norwegian and German. While the weak adjective for ‘new’ can be followed by a possessive in Norwegian, this is not possible in German. Again, note that this surface string is usually impossible:

- (48) a. *Nye Elses Blomster*
 new(WK) Else’s flowers
 b. * *Neue Marias Laden*
 new(WK) Mary’s shop

If the adjective for ‘new’ has a strong ending, Norwegian is out in this context but German, while quite marked, is not completely impossible:

- (49) a. * *Nytt Elses Hjem*
 new(ST) Else’s home
 b. ?*/?? *Neuer Marias Laden*
 new(ST) Mary’s shop

Finally, the adjective for ‘new’ can be preceded by a non-restrictive adjective and an accompanying determiner, (50). Assuming that possessives are in the DP-layer, note also that German *neu-* does not combine with a lower DP but a non-DP is possible. Compare (49b) to (50b):

- (50) a. *den berømte Nye Elses Blomster*
 the famous New Else’s Flowers
 b. *das berühmte Neue Ägyptische Museum*
 the famous New Egyptian Museum

The empirical differences between Norwegian and German can be summarized as follows. Unlike German, the DP-level in Norwegian is always frozen (albeit it is not always overt). Furthermore, there are some differences when the adjective for ‘new’ is followed by another adjective. Of the four logical inflectional combinations, three are possible in Norwegian with varying interpretative options while German allows only two, one of them being only marginally possible. Both languages share only one surface string (when both adjectives have a strong ending). Moreover, there are two unexpected surface strings in Norwegian: the adjective *nye* can be followed by a strong adjective or by a possessive. Finally, unlike in German, Norwegian *nye* combines with a lower DP.

Above, I proposed that derived PN involve regular syntactic derivations constrained by Choose and Form a chain. In view of the Norwegian facts just discussed, one might be tempted to suggest two other options to account for these contrastive data. First, OPTION B would, metaphorically speaking, take a “snapshot” of the string of words making up the derived PN. Here PN would be lexico-morpho-syntactically fixed, i.e., completely stored in the lexicon (Anderson 2003: 386 on place names). This option would work for the surface patterns in Norwegian. However, it would leave unexplained the different semantic effects of *nye* and the regular strong/weak alternation of adjectives in German shown in (32a-b).

As a second alternative, one could suggest that OPTION C would involve storing vocabulary items and abstract structures, call them TEMPLATES, in the lexicon (cf. Culicover & Jackendoff 2005: 29). During the derivation, the vocabulary items and templates would be taken out of the lexicon and the vocabulary items would be inserted into these templates. This option is not very attractive for Norwegian: eight templates would be needed for (39-41) and (43) and even more for derived PN involving the adjective *nye*. In addition, many ordinary structural patterns would be stored as templates and thus duplicated in the lexicon. Finally, regular syntactic processes (e.g., agreement in general and the strong/weak alternation in German) would have to apply inside frozen templates.

With these shortcomings in mind, I propose that the comparative facts from Norwegian, including the varying interpretative options and the unexpected surface strings, follow from the proposal laid out in section 3.1. once some refinements are made. Specifically, the Norwegian data indicate different structural domains with derived PN. The combinatory options can be stated as the following generalizations:

(51) Generalizations:

1. Derived proper names have a frozen primary core (marked by curly brackets). Elements can only be added in the left and/or right peripheries.
2. Focusing on the left periphery, there are two types of additions (leading to the embedding of the primary core):
 - a. Creation of a new proper name forming a secondary core (e.g., Norwegian: *Nye* ‘new’). This is marked by a second set of curly brackets.
 - b. Construction of a regular left periphery (e.g., Norwegian: *det/den berømte* ‘the famous’).
3. Linearly, the primary core follows a secondary core and the secondary core follows a regular nominal structure, the left periphery (resulting in three “domains”).

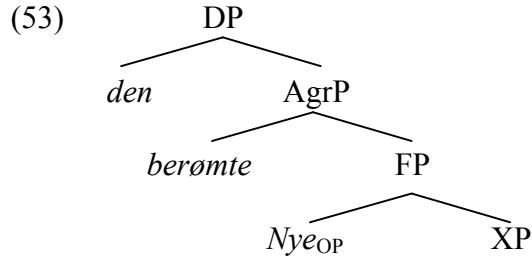
The first part of generalization 1 in (51) was derived in section 3.1 above proposing the operations Choose and Form a chain. In what follows, I derive the remaining generalizations by refining my structural assumptions from above.

Taking the Norwegian example from (50a) above, repeated here as (52a), I first illustrate the domains in (52b):

- (52) a. *den berømte* *Nye* *Elses Blomster*
 the famous New Else’s Flowers
- b. $\gamma[\text{regular left periphery}]_{\beta} \{ \text{secondary}]_{\alpha} \{ \text{primary core} \}_{\alpha} \}_{\beta}]_{\gamma}$

It is worth pointing out that unstressed, non-restrictive possessives are added in the left periphery. In contrast, non-restrictive relative clauses also appear in the domain γ but on the right (Allerton 1987: 65-66).

As a first approximation, the different domains can be related to the following more complex structure. I take *nye* to be an operator-type element in some functional phrase (FP) that selects the complement XP, where XP = DP in Norwegian but XP is smaller than DP in German:



Before I flesh out the above structure, I make some other remarks.

The primary core patterns like a regular DP; that is, ungrammatical surface orders are not attested for primary cores of derived PNs. For instance, there are no cases where an indefinite article is followed by a weak adjective or a definite article by a strong one, (54a-b). In addition, German does not exhibit cases where a weak adjective occurs without a definite determiner, (54c):

- (54)
- a. * [Indef.Art [Adj-WK [N]]]
 - b. * [Def.Art [Adj-ST [N]]]
 - c. * [Adj-WK [N]]
- (German)

As for the secondary core, one could claim that this domain is reserved for certain type-shifting operators. Besides *nye* discussed above, this could include a TYPE-operator quantifying over “manifestations” of an individual (e.g., *ein George Bush* ‘a George Bush’; see von Heusinger & Wespel 2009), a STAGE/PERIOD-operator quantifying over temporal subparts of an individual (e.g., *der junge Goethe* ‘the young Goethe’; see Longobardi 1994: 649 fn. 43), or certain classifiers as in Chinese (Uriagereka 1998: 366).

With the exception of *nye*, these elements behave as if they are part of regular DP patterns. I believe that this regular syntactic behavior of the primary and secondary cores explains why the three different domains have not been discussed before, as it is not easy to discover them. However, when one focuses on the transition from one domain to another, the different domains become clearly visible.

3.3. Support for the Proposal and Further Refinements

Above, I motivated the different domains with certain “irregular” patterns going from the primary core to the secondary core. For convenience, these important pieces of data are repeated here:¹²

¹² As for embeddings in German, *neu-* ‘new’ may be in the process of developing into a determiner/operator (cf. *folgendes* ‘following’ in Roehrs 2009:167-168). Recall first that unlike Norwegian, adjectives must have a strong ending if not preceded by a determiner, see the (a)-examples. Now, while (iiib) shows again that *neu-* only selects non-DPs, the difference between (ib) and (iib) may indicate a change of *neu-* into a determiner/operator:

- (i)
 - a. * *Neue Ägyptische Museum*
New(WK) Egyptian(WK) Museum
 - b. *Neues Ägyptisches Museum*
New(ST) Egyptian(ST) Museum
- (ii)
 - a. * *Neue Ägyptisches Museum*
New(WK) Egyptian(ST) Museum

- (55) a. *Nye Grei Kafeteria* (Norwegian)
 New(WK) Nice(ST) Cafeteria
 b. *Nye Elses Blomster*
 New(WK) Else's Flowers

In addition, recall the different interpretative effects with *nye* from above, which I also used to motivate the two different cores. There are more indications of different domains.

First, the claim of different domains can be corroborated further by making some more fine-grained statements for generalization 2 in (51) in the context of Norwegian. On the one hand, adding *nye* to a primary core (creating a secondary core) is always possible. However, if the primary core has a free-standing determiner, the result is clumsy (to different degrees). On the other, adding *den berømte* to a primary core (constructing a regular left periphery) is also always possible even if the primary core does have a free-standing determiner. While I will not illustrate these finer points in detail here, this distinction is in line with the proposal that there are different domains (i.e., secondary core vs. regular left periphery).¹³

Second, the transition from the primary core (via the secondary one) to a regular left periphery becomes evident with derived PN that have no frozen DP-level and occur in *non-argument function* (e.g., in listings or as section titles in reference books but not news headlines, which are different). Articles with adjectives in the primary core (56a) and articles with adjectives in the secondary core (56b-b') are generally optional (abstracting away from the change in inflections on the adjectives). However, the addition of a non-restrictive adjective as in (56c) makes the projection of a regular left periphery, including a determiner obligatory:

- (56) a. *(die) {Deutsche Bank}*
 the German Bank
 b. *{Neues {Ägyptisches Museum}}*
 New(ST) Egyptian(ST) Museum
 b'. *das {Neue {Ägyptische Museum}}*
 the New(WK) Egyptian(WK) Museum
 c. **(die) berühmte {Deutsche Bank}*
 the famous German Bank

-
- b. % *Neues Ägyptische Museum*
 New(ST) Egyptian(WK) Museum
 (iii) a. * *Neue Marias Laden*
 New(WK) Mary's Shop
 b. ?*/?? *Neuer Marias Laden*
 New(ST) Mary's Shop

¹³ Unlike in Norwegian, derived PN with a frozen DP-layer in German cannot easily be expanded. Compare (ia-b) to (ic), the latter involving an appositive:

- (i) a. * *die berühmte Die Zeit*
 the famous The Time
 b. ?? *Die berühmte Zeit*
 The famous Time
 c. *die berühmte Zeitung Die Zeit*
 the famous newspaper The Time

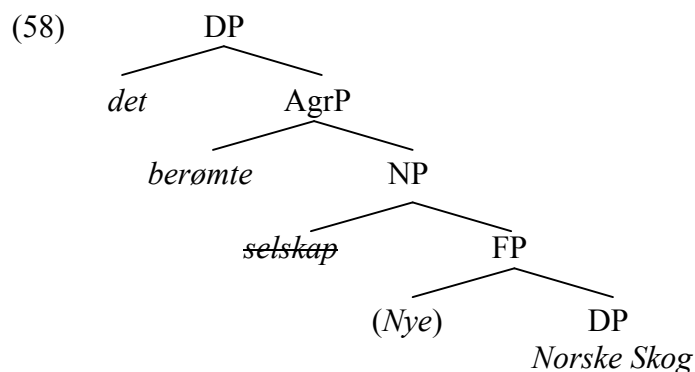
Note that the weak adjective following the definite determiner in (56b') indicates that these derived PN must have a regular syntactic structure in German (Roehrs & Julien 2014), even in the transition from one domain to another.

Third, the transition from the primary core to a regular left periphery shows other unexpected properties. For instance, while the Norwegian noun *skog* is of masculine gender, the article in the left periphery of the containing nominal is neuter, (57a). A similar point can be made with number in German where the derived PN is plural but the article and conjugated verb are in the singular, (57b):

- (57) a. *det berømte Norske Skog* (Norwegian)
 the(NEUT) famous Norwegian forest(MASC)
 b. *Das „Drei Tannen“ ist schön.* (German)
 the(SG) Three Tir.trees is nice.

Such failure in the agreement of features is not possible in common DPs.

At first glance, it is not clear if the relevant transition is between the primary and the secondary core or between the secondary core and a regular left periphery. Focusing on Norwegian, the inflection *-e* on an adjective, be it a non-restrictive modifier or *nye* itself, does not indicate differences in gender: since it occurs in a definite context, it is, most likely, a weak ending where gender differences in Norwegian are neutralized. However, recall that *nye* takes a DP complement in Norwegian. Note now that on the one hand, DPs constitute their own agreement domain but that on the other, adjectives do not have inherent gender. With the DP a complement of *nye*, the relevant transition is unlikely to be between the primary and the secondary core. This only leaves the second option, namely going from the primary core (via the secondary core) to the left periphery. Note that Enger (2009: 1285) argues that neuter (or feminine) could not plausibly be considered the default gender in Norwegian. To account for the neuter gender on the determiner, one could assume the presence of an unpronounced noun of that gender, for instance *selskap* 'company', which is above *nye*:



It seems clear that *skog* is not the head of the matrix nominal but rather it is located in a different, lower nominal. I assume that complex structures are involved with all derived PN that exhibit some type of irregular feature. This would also explain another unexpected pattern in Norwegian where a possessive is followed by a derived PN starting in a strong adjective:

- (59) *Vårt Nytt Hjem er det beste i verden.* (Norwegian)
 our Nytt(ST) Hjem is the best in (the) world

Again, this is not possible with common DPs. In sum, one can state that derived PN may project fairly complex structures.

4. Derived PN and Referentiality

In this section, I make some general remarks about the relation between nominal structure and referentiality.

4.1. Proper Names of Different Structural Sizes

Recall that the DP-level is not always lexicalized in German. If a noun, an adjective, or a numeral is present in the set stored in the lexicon, a NP, an AgrP, or a CardP-core is projected in the syntax (similar to common nominals). This primary core is expandable to the DP-level to achieve syntactic argumenthood, (60a-c). This expansion is not needed for PN that have a frozen DP-level, (60d):

- (60) a. [DP *der* {NP *Peter*}]
 the Peter
 b. [DP *der* {AgrP *Deutsche Sprachatlas*}]
 the German Language.atlas
 c. [DP *die* {CardP *Drei Tannen*}]
 the Three Fir.trees
 d. {DP *Die Zeit*}
 The Time

It is important to point out that besides in contexts of citation, PN without a determiner can occur in other environments. Here, however, a determiner is not even possible. For instance, inherent PN can occur as possessors, (61a), as close appositives, (61b), as part of compounds, (61c), or as a combination of two of the above (61d). Derived PN can easily appear as part of compounds, (61e):

- (61) a. (^{??}*des*) **Peters** Auto
 of.the Peter's car
 b. *der Sohn* (**der*) **Peter** meines Bruders
 the son the Peter of.my brother
 c. *ein großer* (**der*) **Obama-Anhänger**
 a big the Obama-supporter
 d. *der Obama-Anhänger* **Peter**
 the Obama-supporter Peter
 e. *ein neues* (**die*) **Deutsche Bank-Logo**
 a new the German bank logo

As far as I can tell, the non-argumental PN in (62a) and (62b) can refer to the same entities as the argumental PN in (62a') and (62b'):

- (62) a. *der Obama-Anhänger*
the Obama-supporter
a'. *der Anhänger von Obama*
the supporter of Obama
b. *das Deutsche Bank-Logo*
the German Bank logo
b'. *das Logo der Deutschen Bank*
the logo of the German Bank

Note that the following pair is different in this respect:

- (63) a. *das Stuhlbein*
the chair.leg
b. *das Bein des Stuhles*
the leg of the chair

Downing (1977) points out that the modifier part of a compound, *Stuhl* 'chair' in (63a), cannot refer to a specific entity, which is different from the genitive element in (63b).

Focusing on derived PN, one can summarize the data as follows: determiners must be present in argument function but must be absent in compound-like structures. In citation contexts, the determiner is optional (with some derived PN). There are two options to account for this interesting state-of-affairs: one option claims that all PN involve DPs; the other assumes that with PN there is no phrasal movement to the DP-level at all.

First, one could assume that all derived PN project to a full DP. This means that derived PN in argument position, which have a determiner, have no phrasal movement to the DP-level (section 3.1).¹⁴ In other words, the noun and adjective stay in situ. If part of a compound, derived PN lack determiners and involve phrasal movement to the DP-level. As for the citation forms, if a determiner is present, there is no phrasal movement; if a determiner is absent, there is phrasal movement. With all these cases involving a DP, one could state that referentiality co-incides with the DP-level. I believe this is in the spirit of Longobardi (1994), although he is not very clear on this.¹⁵

However, it is not clear why phrasal movement occurs only when the derived PN has a non-argument function. In other words, one may wonder why there is no phrasal movement when the derived PN is in an argument position, for instance. Given the fact that the DP-level is not frozen with some of the derived PN in German, one needs to exclude the possibility of phrasal movement when the derived PN is in argument position. If there were such movement,

¹⁴ Recall that Norwegian is different: derived PN are frozen at the DP-level but there is not always an overt determiner present. One could suggest that if a determiner is present in the stored set, there is no phrasal movement; if a determiner is absent, there is phrasal movement.

¹⁵ Empirically, this would also be in line with Greek, which shows articles with certain close appositives (Plank 2003: 341).

these PN would generally lack a determiner, contrary to fact. It is not clear to me how to rule out movement in this context. Note in this regard that even Norwegian has, at least, some derived PN with a determiner.

As an alternative option, one could suggest that if a determiner is present, a DP is projected; if no determiner is present, the DP-level is absent. This would mean that there is simply no phrasal movement to the DP-level at all. Argument PN have determiners and are DPs. Compound-like structures lack determiners and are non-DPs. As to the citation forms, if they have a determiner, they project a DP; if they lack a determiner, they do not. If so, then all PN in (61) are non-DPs but they are still able to refer to an individual recalling the difference between (62) and (63).

There is a theory-internal argument that speaks in favor of the second option. Note that in all “chains”, be they regular chains or CHAINS, the head of the “chain” is a syntactic head, the position D in Longobardi (1994), but the foot of the “chain” is not a simple syntactic head (e.g., an adjective and noun).¹⁶ Regular chains relate two positions of the same syntactic size by movement. This makes regular chains as a means to account for the *lack* of the determiner not very plausible. However, one could suggest that a CHAIN between a syntactic head position and something larger below is possible. Unlike movement, the second type of “chain” could be claimed to involve some kind of construal (independent of syntactic movement). This would explain the *presence* of the determiner.

Given that the explanation of the absence of a determiner due to movement is not straightforward, I believe it is more plausible to claim that the DP-level is simply absent in the cases that lack a determiner. If so, there is no tight connection between the DP-level and referentiality.

4.2. *Consequences of the Proposal for Reference*

Above, I documented that Proprialization (creating reference) is a recursive process, where Proprialization is a function of the selection process Choose, in this case involving the word for ‘new’. I also argued that Longobardi’s (optional) N-to-D movement at LF in German is not sufficient to explain derived PN, the latter being phrasal and requiring a determiner when in argument position. I agree with Longobardi that syntactic arguments are DPs. However, referring nominals, both inherent and derived PN, may turn out to be non-DPs in non-argumental contexts (under the second option discussed above). If correct, this would mean that syntactic argmenthood and semantic referentiality do not coincide in the DP-level.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I demonstrated that derived PN have intermediate status. They are hybrid in their general semantics, they are lexically frozen, and depending on the phenomenon, they exhibit either opaque or transparent morpho-syntactic behavior. I proposed that derived PN involve regular syntactic derivations that are constrained by two operations: Choose, which collects

¹⁶ I believe it is unlikely that the noun and adjective “fuse” into a head-like element during the derivation. This would undermine the proposal that derived PN involve regular DP structures as argued above.

regular lexical and functional vocabulary items in a set in the lexicon, and Form a chain, which “links” these elements when they are taken from the set and merged into the tree.

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