Derived proper names*

Dorian Roehrs, UNT

Abstract: This paper studies the morpho-syntax of proper names like *die Deutsche Bank* 'the German bank' in German. Semantically, these types of proper names, called derived proper names here, refer to entities but have descriptive meaning. Lexically, they are frozen and morpho-syntactically, they are frozen or transparent depending on the phenomenon. To capture these hybrid properties, it is proposed that regular vocabulary items are taken from the lexicon, that these individual elements receive each a referential pointer (i.e., an index), and that they are stored as a set in the lexicon. Second, these indexed elements build a regular structure during the syntactic derivation projecting the pointer to the entire structure. As is clear from proper names in Italian, certain syntactic operations are sensitive to these pointers. Consequently, linguistic operations cannot single out the individual parts (but only the entire structure). Regular vocabulary items and an ordinary derivation explain the transparent properties; the addition of referential pointers accounts for the referentiality and the frozen characteristics. More complex cases are discussed in the context of German and Norwegian suggesting a fairly involved structure. Given this discussion, it seems unlikely that the referentiality of derived proper names is located in the DP-level.

Key words: morpho-syntax; DP; proper names

1 Introduction

Proper names (PN) like *Maria* 'Mary' refer to individual, unique entities (1a). Apart from a few features (e.g., name for a female), they have no descriptive meaning; that is, they are opaque labels and refer to the entity directly (Allerton 1987). In contrast, common nouns like *Lehrer* 'teacher' do have descriptive meaning; that is, they denote sets of entities with the relevant properties. Given a certain linguistic and situational context, they allow the hearer to pick out the entity by the descriptive content of the noun (1b). That common nouns denote sets is particularly clear in predicative constructions (1c):

(1) a. *Er besucht Maria.*
he visits Mary
'He visits Mary.'

* All examples in German and Norwegian are authentic (identified by searches on the internet or in the German *Gelbe Seiten* 'Yellow Pages' and in the Norwegian 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. Abbreviations are as follows: NOM = nominative, ACC = accusative, DAT = dative, GEN = genitive; SGL = singular, PL = plural; MASC = masculine, NEUT = neuter, FEM = feminine, ST = strong ending, WK = weak ending, DIM = diminuative, PRT = particle.

b. *Er besucht den Lehrer.*
he visits the teacher
'He visits the teacher.'
c. *Er ist Lehrer.*
he is teacher
'He is a teacher.'

I label the type of PN in (1a) INHERENT PN and nominals involving common nouns as in (1b) COMMON DPs. Besides those PN, there are other kinds (see section 2 for a taxonomy). One type, the one in focus here, may consist of a head noun like a kinship term (2a). In addition to nouns, other elements, often adjectives, can also occur (2b-c). Like in (1a), these PN refer to individual entities and like in (1b), they have descriptive meaning. I will refer to this type of PN as DERIVED PN:[1]

(2) a. *Er besucht Vati.* [person]
he visits Daddy
'He visits Daddy.'
b. *Er besucht die Deutsche Bank.* [bank]
he visits the German Bank
'He visits the German Bank.'
c. *Er besucht das Deutsche Historische Museum.* [museum]
he visits the German Historical Museum
'He visits the German Historical Museum.'

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

Table 1: Semantics of the different nominals.

Primary semantics	Inherent PN	Common DPs	Derived PN
Descriptive meaning	-	+	+
Reference to individuals	+	-	+

Besides having both semantic traits, we will see that derived PN show an intriguing interaction between properties that are lexically frozen and morpho-syntactically regular or frozen. With regard to their linguistic behavior, it will become clear that derived PN are situated between inherent PN and common DPs.

[1] While the descriptive content of a derived PN is (usually) transparent, the actual reference may not be clear in all cases (e.g., *Juppis gemütlicher Treff* 'Juppi's Cozy Get-together' is a restaurant and *Conny's Container* 'Conny's Container' is a store). As Weber (2004: 287) states, descriptive content may be important at the time the name is given but it may become secondary and even opaque over time (also Allerton 1987: 71 and Sturm 2005: 72). It is for this reason that I provide the category of the reference of the PN in brackets in the main text. As pointed out by Zifonun (2009: 521), names for works of art seem to be very different: syntactically, they can involve clauses (e.g., *As you like it*) and semantically, the descriptive content of the elements involved in the title can be quite different from the reference of the work of art (e.g., paintings, books, etc.). Given this and another issue mentioned in Footnote 7, these type of PN will not be discussed in this paper.

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 underexplored domain in an attempt to make progress in the understanding of these types of nominals. In order to account for their special semantic and morpho-syntactic properties, I propose that the individual parts of the PN are taken from the lexicon, they receive each a referential pointer, and are collected as a set in the lexicon. During the derivation, these elements are merged in a regular fashion but project their pointer onto the entire structure. Given that certain syntactic operations are sensitive to these pointers, no such operation can single out an individual element. Taken together, this will account for the hyprid semantic and morpho-syntactic characteristics of derived PN.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I provide some basic data from German, I briefly survey some previous work on this topic and discuss one proposal in more detail. Section 3 catalogues some diagnostic properties of derived PN. In section 4, I offer a new proposal. After the basic assumptions are laid out, I discuss some German and Norwegian data, which will lead to the analysis of more complex cases and some refinements of the proposal. Section 5 summarizes the paper.

2 Basic data and previous proposals

There are many interesting phenomena in the study of PN (for the discussion of, for instance, the act of naming, the origin of names, categorization issues, spelling, and other background information, see Allerton 1987; Anderson 2003, 2007; Blanár 2001; Debus 2005; Kolbe 1995; van Langendonck 2007; Nübling 2005, 2012; Nübling *et al* 2012). Semantically, Kripke (1971) observes that PN are rigid designators; that is, they denote the same entity in all possible worlds. While the current paper is not about the referential semantics of PN *per se*, let us assume that there is a 1:1 relation between syntax and semantics. Thus, if PN are semantically special, one may expect that they are also morpho-syntactically different from common DPs. We will see that this is indeed the case with derived PN, even if only in certain aspects.

Focusing on English, Allerton (1987) classifies (complex) PN into four groups: pure PN only involve proper nouns (3a); mixed PN consist of proper nouns and common nouns (3b); common-based PN are made up of multiple common nouns (3c); and coded PN involve initial letters and numbers (3d). These four main types can be illustrated with the following examples (the latter actually instantiate subtypes in his taxonomy):[2]

(3) a. *Pure proper names*
Artistotle
the Hague
(Mount) Everest

[2] Many different taxonomies have been proposed. The above system is based on the lexical categories of the words, which is relevant for the present discussion (for a system based on the semantics, see Nübling *et al* 2012: 100 and many others).

b. *Mixed proper names*
   Mexico City
   the Suez Canal
   Latin America
   Catherine the Great
   the Isle of Wright
c. *Common-based proper names*
   the White House
   the Labour Party
   Green Lane
   Park Lane
d. *Coded proper names*
   the B.B.C.
   I.B.M.

The types in (3b) and (3c) involve elements with descriptive content. Thus, I agree with Anderson (2003: 371), Schlücker & Ackermann (2017: 320), and others that names can indeed involve transparent descriptive content. Given their hybrid properties (semantic reference and descriptive content), I focus on common-based and mixed PN. Since both consist, at least in part, of common nouns, I subsume them under the more general label 'derived PN' here. In this paper, these are, when deemed relevant, contrasted with common DPs, with inherent (= pure) PN, and in a few cases with coded PN. This paper does not compare inherent PN to commen nouns/DPs (for interesting discussion of German, see Nübling 2005, 2012, 2017; Schlücker & Ackermann 2017 and references cited therein).

With this in mind, I provide some basic data from German in the next subsection. The derived PN are given as they appear in their original context (more on that in section 3.2.1). In the second subsection, I briefly survey some previous work on this topic and discuss one proposal in more detail.

2.1 Basic data

Besides the typical presence of head nouns, derived PN may also involve articles – often called proprial articles (4a), possessive determiners (4b), and prepositions (4c):

(4) a. *Der Spiegel* [news magazine]
   The Mirror
   'The Mirror'
b. *Dein Telefonladen* [store]
   Your Phone.store
   'Your Phone Store'
c. *Zur Waldschänke* [restaurant]
   To.the Forest.inn
   'To the Forest Inn'

Considering the elements in (4), one may observe that derived PN involve both lexical and functional words. Indeed, lexical and functional elements can be combined in a wide range of ways yielding fairly complex strings. A representative sample is given below, where besides prepositions, determiners, and nouns, Saxon Genitives, adjectives, numerals, or particles can be present:

(5) a. *Juppis gemütlicher Treff* [restaurant]
Juppi's Cozy Get-together
'Juppi's Cozy Get-together'

b. *Das kleine Weinlokal* [restaurant]
The Little Wine.pub
'The Little Wine Pub'

c. *Die Zehn Gebote* [bible]
The Ten Commandments
'The Ten Commendments'

d. *Die Welt als Bett* [store]
The World As Bed
'The World as a Bed'

Like common DPs (see section 3.3.2), derived PN can involve several adjectives and these can occur in different orders:

(6) a. *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung für Rumänien* [newspaper]
General German Paper For Romania
'General German Paper for Romania'

b. *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* [newspaper]
German General Paper
'German General Paper'

Derived PN can be even more complex. They can involve coordinations and embeddings:

(7) a. *Darmstädter- und Nationalbank* [bank]
Darmstädter And National.bank
'Darmstädter and National Bank'

b. *Institut für Deutsche Sprache* [institute]
Institute For German Language
'Institute for the German Language'

In section 3.2.1, I discuss the presence of the articles and other determiner-like elements in (4-5) and their absence in (6-7).[3] Finally, it is well known that PN are semantically definite. Intriguingly, they can be syntactically indefinite. Examples can be found in the singular and plural:

[3] In their discussion of English, Payne & Huddleston (2002: 517) call the instances with a definite article 'weak PN' and the ones without a definite article 'strong PN'. We will see below that both cases basically behave the same in German.

(8) a. *Ein Himmel voller Betten* [store]
A Heaven Full.of Beds
'A Heaven Full of Beds'

b. *Drei Tannen* [restaurant]
Three Fir.trees
'Three Fir Trees'

Note that the above examples all consist of multiple individual words. As such, they seem to be "phrasal" in structure. They are different from cases like *Bahnhofstraße* 'Station Street', which appear to be compound-like and are briefly discussed in the next subsection.

Before we proceed, I would like to make a comment about spelling (also Nübling *et al* 2012: 85ff). In general, only nouns and adjectives based on geographical names are capitalized in German. Note that *deutsch* 'German' and *historisch* 'historical' are not such adjectives. Their capitalization in *das Deutsche Historische Museum* in (2c) indicates that these elements are part of the PN. In this paper, I follow the capitalization of words as they appear in their original context. Thus, the capitalization of determiner(-like) elements, adjectives, quantifiers and numerals indicate that these elements belong to the proper name. This means that *das* in (2c) is not part of the PN. Unfortunately, capitalization is not always consistent (see the examples containing *kleine* in (5b) or *voller* in (8a)). Particles like *als* are usually not capitalized, not even in proper names. Thus, spelling can only be used as an indication but not evidence *per se* of the proper namehood of these elements. Capitalization in the gloss indicates what belongs to the PN. As to the translation, it is not always clear how to render these proper names in English. For the most part, I provided a literal translation. With some minor adjustments, I retain the capitalization of the glossing in the translation line.

2.2 Previous proposals

Inherent PN have been discussed in much detail (e.g., Longobardi 1994, 2005; Anderson 2004), but derived PN much less so. If they are addressed, they are usually only briefly discussed, often just in passing. Detailed discussions are the exception. It is probably fair to state that derived PN have not received much attention in the literature. First, I summarize the insights of the works that only briefly address derived PN and then I turn to one analysis that provides more details.

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. Anderson (2007: 106) categorizes nouns like *University* as, in his terms, "classifiers". 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 syntactically they belong to the class of definite expressions but semantically they belong to the class of rigid designators. Finally, Weber (2004: 286-287) observes that new (i.e., derived) PN conform to regular morpho-syntactic patterns of DPs.

Formal, structural proposals are very rare. If they are provided, they usually do not involve many details. As one of the early works, Allerton (1987) provides a number of morpho-

syntactic arguments showing that derived PN are special (for detailed discussion, see section 3.3). He proposes that (derived) PN are "much more like … lexical unit[s], and the semantic status of [their] parts [are] more akin to that of the morphemes in a compound word." (p. 64) Importantly, the morphological derivation by compounding is not further elaborated on. Note that the author seems to realize though that this type of compounding is not of the regular kind using hedges like "more akin to" in his discussion.

A notable exception to the shortcomings pointed out above is Köhnlein (2015). This author provides a detailed proposal of place names in Dutch. He argues that names like *Amsterdam* are morphologically and semantically complex: *Amster-dam*. While Köhnlein takes as his point of departure the different accent patterns of these PN (see also Zwart 2003; for German, see Nübling *et al* 2012: 67), he also provides many syntactic and semantic details in his discussion.[4] Focusing on the syntax and semantics here, Köhnlein observes that the individual parts of these PN do not occur as independent words and that the meaning of the parts differs from their etymological origin. He proposes that the first element (*Amster*-) has no meaning at all but provides a referential pointer to a unique place; the second element (*-dam*) indicates that the name is a settlement. This yields the following general bipartide representation of the cases discussed in Köhnlein:

(9) [[referential morpheme]-[place name classifier]]

The different status of these two parts from their etymological origin is also reflected by their differing morphological gender (place names are all neuter in Dutch). Crucially, following Bermúdez-Otero (2012), elements of the type in (9) are claimed not to be computed online but are stored in the lexicon as complex units, that is, as analytical listings. The proposal is that the grammar still has access to the individual parts of this complex unit.

There are three components to the lexical entries in (9): a semantic, a syntactic, and a phonological one, all corresponding to the different modules of grammar: semantics, syntax, and phonology. Leaving the latter aside, let us illustrate this with the place name *Amsterdam* in more detail. Köhnlein parses this name as in (10a) providing the semantics in (10b) and the syntax in (10b'). Semantically, *Amster*- provides the referential pointer and the classifier *-dam* indicates that this name refers to a settlement (10b). As to the (morpho-)syntax (10b'), name morphemes are taken to have the syntactic feature [+proper], which distinguishes them from common nouns. Specifically, *Amsterdam* is a complex word that conists of two proper name stems combining into a proper name compound noun. Coindexation associates the different components of the

[4] For the derived PN discussed in this paper, I have not identified any differences in the accent pattern vis-à-vis their counterpart common DPs. Compare the common DP in (ia) to the derived PN in (ib), where both nominals have the same stress pattern:

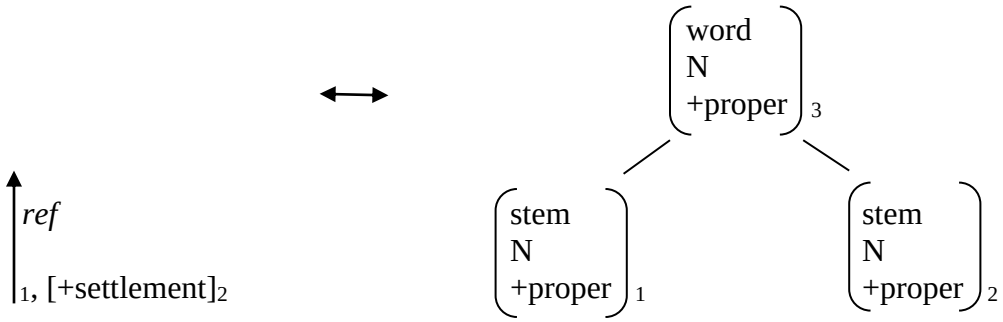
(i) a. *die 'englische 'Bank*
the English bank
'the English bank'
b. *die 'Deutsche 'Bank*
the German Bank
'the German Bank'

This is in line with section 4, where I propose that these derived PN involve regular phrases.

representation across the various modules (syntax, semantics). The double arrow indicates that the different modules interact with one another (i.e., the syntax interacts with the semantics):[5]

(10) a. [Amster$_1$-dam$_2$]$_3$

b. Semantics b'. Syntax



Note that both parts of the word *Amsterdam* are heavily underspecified in their semantics and this is taken to explain why these elements cannot occur as independent words. In sum, we can observe that unlike previous work, Köhnlein (2015) provides a very detailed structural analysis of PN, specifically of place names in Dutch.

Let me point out already here that the data discussed in Köhnlein (2015) are different from the cases in focus here. In the current paper, the individual parts typically have transparent meanings and they can occur independently as regular words. Thus, while the above proposal explains complex place names in Dutch, it does not transfer straightforwardly to all derived PN in German. As should be clear, Köhnlein's proposal does not involve a plain-vanilla type of derivation for compounds. Before I proceed, let me illustrate this with data from German. The differences between the above compound-type PN, which have exceptional features, and the regular compounds and (phrasal) PN discussed below, which have many regular features, call for a novel (but related) proposal.

Nübling *et al* (2012) provide observations that compound-type PN are not regular compounds. As in Dutch, regular compounds show the expected gender but their place name counterpart may be different:

(11) a. *die schöne Neustadt*
the.FEM beautiful new.town.FEM
'the beautiful new town'

b. *das schöne Neustadt*
the.NEUT beautiful Neustadt
'the beautiful Neustadt'

The right-hand head rule explains the gender of the regular compounds. From that perspective, it is unclear why the corresponding compound names exhibit a different gender (Nübling *et al* 2012: 75).

[5] Köhnlein (2015) argues for different subtypes; for instance, the second part of the complex name can also be a suffix. These subtypes will not be relevant here.

Second, compounds often involve a linking element. Nübling *et al* (2012: 53) observe that the common noun *Bahnhof* '(train) station' is always followed by the linking element *-s-* if it is the first part of a compound (12a). This is different if this element is part of a PN (12b) (see also *Hochzeit* 'wedding' in this regard):

(12) a. *Bahnhof-s-gaststätte*
station-s-restaurant
'restaurant at a station'
b. *Bahnhofstraße*
Station.street
'Station Street'

Third, if the diminuative suffix *-chen* is added to a noun that contains a vowel or diphthong that can be umlauted (e.g., *Maul* 'muzzle'), that sound has to undergo umlauting (13a). In contrast, this is not possible with PN (in contemporary German). Consider (13b) (Nübling *et al* 2012: 78):[6]

(13) a. *Mäulchen*
muzzle.DIM
'little muzzle'
b. *Paulchen*
Paul.DIM
'Little Paul'

Finally, regular compounds allow ellipsis in coordinations where the second element of the first compound is elided (14a). While more work has to be done here (Nübling *et al* 2012: 83; section 3.3.2), there are indications that this is not possible with PN such as *Freiburg* (14b):

(14) a. *Damen- und Herrenbekleidung*
lady- and gentlemen.clothing
'lady's and gentlemen's clothes'
b. * *Ich fahre erst nach Frei- und dann nach Hamburg.*
I go first to Frei- and then to Hamburg
'First, I go to Freiburg and then to Hamburg.'

Taken together, this shows that compound-type PN are different from regular compounds. As such, compound-type PN have a special status.

[6] In the main text, this is illustrated with a simple, inherent PN. So far, I have not found a compound-type PN that makes this point; for instance, (ib) seems to be bad with or without an umlaut:
(i) a. *im Städtchen*
in.the town.DIM
'in the little town'
b. * *in Neustädtchen/Neustadtchen*
in Neustadt.DIM
'in Little Neustadt'

To sum up, while Köhnlein (2015) makes a plausible, detailed proposal for complex proper names in Dutch, it seems clear that the proposed type of compounding is not of the regular kind when compared to ordinary compounds. As will become clear in the next section, the derived PN under discussion here also show many regular morpho-syntactic features. Most importantly, the individual parts can occur as independent words and (typically) have regular lexical meanings. In addition, unlike Köhnlein's compound cases, they seem to be phrasal in nature. Nevertheless, although Köhnlein's (2015) account does not extend to the current cases, I will make use of certain insights of that analysis providing a new proposal in section 4.1.

3 Cataloguing morpho-syntactic diagnostics: some generalizations

In this section, I discuss some diagnostics that are meant to bring out the main morpho-syntactic properties of the derived PN under discussion here. The important point to remember is that these nominals look like regular DPs on the surface but do not undergo certain syntactic operations. I exclude from the discussion cases that only involve a head noun, for instance, kinship terms of the type *Vati* 'Daddy'. As sole words, they do not lend themselves to many of the syntactic tests.

3.1 Derived PN look like regular DPs

Unlike the cases discussed in section 2.2, derived PN exhibit strings like common DPs. In fact, if we take the interplay of articles, adjectives, and nouns as an example, we can point out that just like common DPs, we only find instances patterning like (15a) where a determiner precedes an adjective and an adjective precedes a noun. There are no cases of (15b-f), where these elements are in an order different from (15a):

(15) a. *Das kleine Weinlokal*
The Little Wine.pub
'The Little Wine Pub'
b. * det N Adj
c. * Adj det N
d. * Adj N det
e. * N det Adj
f. * N Adj det

The same holds for other elements: only strings similar to common DPs are possible with derived PN.

Like common DPs, derived PN are integrated in their syntactic context with regard to case. In other words, PN can change their morphological forms. This goes for the change of the article as well as for case suffixes added to the noun. Compare the common DPs in (16) to the derived PN in (17) (for some fossilized forms, see Nübling *et al* 2012: 68):[7]

[7] Zifonun (2009) shows that there is a difference between names for restaurants and those for works of art. While the former are integrated in the syntactic context similar to what is discussed in the main text, the latter may or may not be integrated ((ib) is taken from Zifonun 2009: 526):

(16) a. *in den Berge-n*
in the.DAT.PL mountains-DAT
'in the mountains'
b. *der Verkauf des Auto-s*
the sale the.GEN car-GEN
'the sale of the car'

(17) a. *in den Niederlande-n* [country]
in the.DAT.PL Netherlands-DAT
'in the Netherlands'
b. *die Berichterstattung des Spiegel-s*
the reporting The.GEN Mirror-GEN
'the reporting of the Mirror'

Intriguingly, derived PN behave like common DPs as regards adjective endings as well. To begin, consider the following regular DPs (18). As is well known for German, if a definite article is present, a following adjective has a weak ending; if it is absent, the adjective has a strong ending (for background, see, among many others, Harbert 2007: 134-35 and references cited therein):

(18) a. *das kalt-e frisch-e Bier*
the cold-WK fresh-WK bier
'the cold fresh beer'
b. *kalt-es frisch-es Bier*
cold-ST fresh-ST bier
'cold fresh beer'

Again, like common DPs, adjectives in derived PN have a weak ending if the definite determiner precedes them (19a). We briefly mentioned above that derived PN can occur without an article. If the article is absent, adjectives have a strong ending (19b):

(19) a. *das Deutsch-e Historisch-e Museum*
the German-WK Historical-WK Museum
'the German Historical Museum'
b. *Deutsch-es Historisch-es Museum*
German-ST Historical-ST Museum
'German Historical Museum'

(i) a. *für den Englischen Patienten* [movie/novel]
for The.ACC English Patient (googled example)
'for the English Patient'
b. *für „Der englische Patient"*
for The.NOM English Patient
'for the English Patient'
Again, names for works of art are different from the PN discussed in the main text.

Thus, derived PN behave morphologically like common DPs as well. In fact, it is clear that these aspects of PN are not lexical but are computed during the derivation depending on the syntactic context. Similar to the syntactic restrictions on word order above, there are certain cases that are never found, neither with common DPs nor derived PN. Schematically illustrating, there are no instances in German where an adjective with a strong ending is preceded by a definite article (20a) or where an adjective with a weak ending is not preceded by a definite article (20b).[8] In addition, German does not exhibit instances (in the nominative masculine/neuter) where an adjective with a weak ending is preceded by an indefinite article (20c):

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

To take stock thus far, examining (15) though (20), we notice that there are no unexpected patterns in derived PN in German, syntactically or morphologically. We can side then with Weber (2004), Payne & Huddelston (2002: 517), and many others that all of these PN involve regular DP patterns. This is a strong indication that the derived PN discussed here are different from the compound-type PN in section 2.2. If proper names have surface forms similar to common 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. First, I discuss the interaction between derived PN and determiners and then I turn to the frozen aspects of derived PN.

3.2 Derived PN and determiners

Above, we have seen examples of derived PN where articles and determiner-like elements are present and some where they are not. In the next subsections, I discuss when the article can or must be left out and when it must be present. I also discuss determiner-like elements such as possessives and their accessibility to Binding relations.

3.2.1 Presence of determiners in non-argument position

Let us start with the context in which derived PN often appear in public, that is, on company logos, name signs, etc. It is perhaps not surprising that there are derived PN based on mass nouns that occur without an article (21a) and that there are derived PN containing singular count nouns that have an article (21b). It is interesting to note though that some PN derived from mass nouns may exhibit an article (21c) and that some PN derived from singular count nouns do not show an article even in the presence of an adjective (21d):[9]

(21) a. *Neue Post* [magazine]
New Mail
'New Mail'

[8] Genitives in the masculine and neuter are a well-known exception to (20b).
[9] Note that (21a,c) no longer involve ordinary mass nouns. This presumably has to do with their new status of being part of a PN, which implies the presence of a referential pointer (section 4.1).

b. *Der Spiegel*
The Mirror
'The Mirror'
c. *Die Zeit*
The Time
'The Time'
d. *Deutsche Bank*
German Bank
'German Bank'

Note that the PN are not used here as part of a sentence; that is, they occur in non-argumental position. Let us call this type of environment ORIGINAL CONTEXT. Looking at (21), one might conclude that there are two types of PN: some occur with an article and some without.[10] At first glance, this seems to be confirmed by a diagnostic, mentioned in passing by Kolbe (1995: 404), according to which the element elicitd by a question containing the verb *heißen* 'to be called' indicates the actual PN:

(22) a. *Wie heißt die Zeitung?*
what is.called the newspaper
'What is the newspaper called?'
Die Zeit. / ?*Zeit.*
The Time/ Time
'The Time'
b. *Wie heißt das Geldinstitut?*
what is.called the money.institute
'What is the financial institute called?'
Deutsche Bank. /?*Die Deutsche Bank.*
German Bank / the German Bank
'German Bank'

Judgements are suble though in that there does not seem to be a robust difference between the cases with or without the article.

As far as I have been able to establish, the presence or absence of the article in the original context seems to be somewhat random: it seems to depend on the name giver's specific choice. Intriguingly, the article can be left out in cases like (21c) and it can be added in instances like (21d). This can be seen in other non-argumental contexts like subtitles in reference works or other types of listings (also Nübling *et al* 2012: 79 and Kolbe 1995: 404; note that I do not consider news headlines here). Here, an article can be optionally deleted if present in the original context (23a) or it can be optionally added if absent in the original context (23b). Again, as far as

[10] While it is fairly easy to establish the original contexts for some PN (e.g., companies), it is less so for others (e.g., countries). If possible, I looked up the name to determine the presence of the article; if not, I assumed the article is not part of the PN.

can be established, this seems to depend, to a large degree, on the preference of the author of the subtitle or listing:[11]

(23) a. *(Die) Neue Frau* [magazine]
The New Woman
'The New Woman'
b. *(die) Deutsche Bank*
the German Bank
'the German Bank'

More generally, the proprial article is special in that it appears in the original context of some derived PN but it does not seem to be obligatorily present in other contexts. I claim that it is not part of the derived PN (in a sense to be made more precise below).

That the article in front of the PN is not part of the PN itself can be shown in other ways. Starting with inherent PN, it is well known that many northern German dialects allow an inherent PN to occur with an article (24a) (for the use of the article with inherent PN, see Nübling *et al* 2012: 122ff). Interestingly, Kolbe (1995: 406) observes that an expressive demonstrative can also be added to the left (24b). Allerton (1987: 65) points out that the presence of the demonstrative makes the proper noun "destressed". In addition, a stressed emotive adjective can also occur:

(24) a. *(die) Merkel*
the Merkel
'Merkel'

[11] There are some cases where the omission of the article in listings seems less straightforward. As far as I have been able to establish, (i) for *Die Zeit* 'The Time' is avoided in such contexts:

(i) *Zeit*
Time
'Time'

It is my impression that the omission of the article is avoided if the PN is simple in structure and the noun of the PN is based on a frequent common noun. The reason why cases like (i) seem to be avoided is that such a string could be mistaken for the corresponding common DP. Note though that given sufficient contextual support, such an ambiguity is less prominent and might allow *Die Zeit* to occur as in (i).

Let me make a brief cross-linguistic remark here. As mentioned as early as Chomsky (1965: 100), the article in *the Hague* in English cannot be dropped (examples from Payne & Huddleston 2002: 517):

(ii) a. * two Hague councilors
b. * an impressively modernised Hague

The same place name in Dutch, which involves the old case form *den*, can even combine with a regular article today (Broekhuis & Keizer: 2012: 22, also van Langendonck 2007: 122):

(iii) *Het Den Haag uit mijn jeugd was een prachtige stad.*
the The Hague from my childhood was a wonderful town
'The Hague from my childhood was a wonderful town.'

This shows that this particular article has become part of the PN in English and Dutch. More generally, this seems to indicate that the presence of the article in the original context has a different status in German and is not as "fixed" as in some cases in other languages (for the discussion of Norwegian, see section 4.2). I believe this explains why the grammaticality contrasts of cases with vs. without the article in the original context are not very sharp in German. Below, I propose that (definite) proprial articles are not part of PN. In section 4.1, I make this more formal by proposing that they do not belong to the referential part of the PN.

b. *diese (verDAMMte) Merkel*
this damn Merkel
'this darn Merkel'

Turning to derived PN, the definite article in the original context can also be replaced by a demonstrative (25a), or a demonstrative can be added if the definite article is not present in the original context (25b). Derived PN that are syntactically indefinite in the original context do not allow such a substitution (25c):[12]

(25) a. *Dieser (verDAMMte) Spiegel ist schon wieder teurer geworden.*
this damn Mirror is once again more expensive become
'This darn Mirror has become more expensive once again.'
b. *Diese (verDAMMte) Deutsche Bank hat schon wieder die Gebühren erhöht.*
this damn German Bank has once again the fees raised
'This darn German Bank has raised the fees once again.'
c. * *Dieser Himmel voller Betten ist einfach ein tolles Geschäft.*
this Heaven Full.of Beds is just a great store
'This Heaven Full of Beds is just a great store.'

Again, this shows that the proprial article is not part of the derived PN itself.

To complete the picture, note that one cannot add a non-restrictive adjective and another article in front of a PN that itself has an article, be it in the original context (26a) or not (26b):

(26) a. * *der berühmte Der Spiegel*
the famous The Mirror
'the famous Mirror'
b. * *die berühmte die Deutsche Bank*
the famous the German Bank
'the famous German Bank'

It is possible though to add a regular DP in front, such that the PN becomes an appositive. In this case, the article of the PN is optional, again showing it is not part of the PN:

(27) a. *die berühmte Zeitschrift (Der) Spiegel*
the famous magazine The Mirror
'the famous magazine The Mirror'

[12] Given the right context, a definite article can also be replaced by a Saxon Genitive (note that Bertelsmann is the name of a publishing company):
(i) a. *Bertelsmanns (*Der) Spiegel*
Bertelsmann's The Mirror
'Bertelsmann's Mirror'
b. *Merkels (*die) Deutsche Bank*
Merkel's the German Bank
'Merkel's German Bank'

b. *das berühmte Geltinstitut (die) Deutsche Bank*
the famous money.institute the German Bank
'the famous financial institute the German Bank'

Let us sum up thus far. Articles of PN can be omitted in non-argument position and they can be substituted by demonstratives. The omission or substitution of the definite article shows that the latter is not part of the derived PN. PN with indefinite articles in the original context are special in that they do not seem to be able to tolerate the substitution of the article by a demonstrative.

There are two contexts where an article cannot be present with derived PN. This holds for all PN, independent of the presence of the article in its original context. First, the article must be absent when the PN is part of a compound-like element (Payne & Huddleston 2002: 517, Schlücker 2017, 2018). This is shown for inherent PN in (28b) and for derived PN in (29). Note that the second part of the compound is preceded by its own regular article. Furthermore, the presence of an adjective that separates the two articles does not make the presence of the proprial article more felicitous:

(28) a. *(der) Obama*
the Obama
'Obama'
b. *der junge (*der) Obama-Fan*
the young the Obama fan
'the young Obama-fan'

(29) a. *der junge „(*Der) Spiegel"-Journalist*
the young The Mirror journalist
'the young Mirror-journalist'
b. *der erfahrene „(*der) stern"-Journalist*
the experienced the Star journalist
'the experienced Star-journalist'
c. *ein neues „(*die) Deutsche Bank"-Logo*
a new the German Bank logo
'a new German Bank-logo'

Second, in vocatives, articles cannot be present either. Again, this applies to both inherent and derived PN:

(30) *Hey, (*der) Peter, komm mal her!*
hey the Peter come PRT here
'Hey, Peter, come here!'

(31) a. *Hey, (*Der) Spiegel, was hast du schon wieder berichtet?*
hey The Mirror what have you once again reported
'Hey, Mirror, what did you report again?'

b. *Hey, (*die) Deutsche Bank, warum erhöhst du schon wieder die Preise?*
hey the German Bank why increase you once again the prices
'Hey, German Bank, why did you raise your prices again?'

There are two contexts then, where a proprial article is not possible, again indicating that the latter is not part of the PN.[13] All PN provided above refer, as they appear, to their entity. The absence of the definite article makes it clear that the definiteness or referentiality of these PN does not come from the (definite) article itself.

3.2.2 Presence of determiners in argument position

In this subsection, I illustrate the interaction between the determiner and the PN when the latter is in argument position. Let us set the stage by briefly discussing common DPs and inherent PN. Common count nouns in the singular must occur with an overt article in argument position, for instance, when they function as subjects. This is different with mass nouns where the presence of a definite determiner leads to definiteness and its absence results in indefiniteness:

(32) a. **(Das) Auto ist schön.*
the car is beautiful
'The car is beautiful.'
b. *Die(se) Zeit ist kostbar.*
the(se) time is precious
'The/this time is precious.'
c. *Zeit ist kostbar.*
time is precious
'Time is precious.'

[13] There is a third context where one might expect that derived PN (must) occur without an article. However, this does not seem to be the case. Starting with inherent PN, Löbel (1991: 9, 16) argues that as close appositions, PN can appear between certain head nouns and genitive elements (ia) provided the PN occurs without an article (ib). As for derived PN, the grammaticality contrast between the presence and the absence of the proprial article is not very sharp (iia). More complex derived PN as in (iib) seem to be marked to begin with but also show no sharp contrast. In each case of (iia-b), the presence of the article leads to a slightly (more) marked status but less so than in (ib):

(i) a. *die Hauptstadt Paris des EG-Staates Frankreich*
the capital Paris the.GEN EC-state France
'the capital Paris of the European Community state France'
b. *der Sohn (*der) Kai-Uwe meiner Nachbarin*
the son the Kai-Uwe my.GEN neighbor
'the son Kai-Uwe of my neighbor'

(ii) a. *die Zeitschrift (?Der) Spiegel des Bertelsmann-Konzerns*
the magazine The Mirror the.GEN Bertelsmann-company
'the magazine The Mirrow of the Bertelsmann Company'
b. ? *das Geltinstitut (?die) Deutsche Bank des EU-Staates Deutschland*
the money.institute the German Bank the.GEN EU-state Germany
'the financial institute German Bank of the European Union state Germany'

It is not clear to me why the presence of the proprial article in (iia-b) does not lead to stronger ungrammaticality. Importantly though, the article can be left out showing again that it is not part of the PN.

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 interpretation is indefinite:

(33) a. *Die(se) Autos sind schön.*
the(se) cars are beautiful.
'These/the cars are beautiful.'
b. *Autos sind schön.*
cars are beautiful
'Cars are beautiful.'

Thus, common noun phrases involving mass or plural nouns pattern similarly (something that is well known and will not be further commented on here; see Longobardi 1994 among many others).

PN often appear in non-argument positions (see previous section). In listings, for instance, inherent PN like *Ukraine* can occur with or without an article (34a). In argument position, a determiner must be present (34b):[14]

(34) a. *(die) Ukraine*
the Ukraine
'the Ukraine'
b. *??(Die) Ukraine ist groß.*
the Ukraine is big
'The Ukraine is big.'

As with singular inherent PN, plural inherent PN require an article when in argument position:

(35) a. *(die) Azoren*
the Azores
'the Azores'
b. **(Die) Azoren sind schön*.
the Azores are beautiful
'The Azores are beautiful.'

Note that semantically, this type of PN refers to a unique collection or group of entities (Nübling *et al* 2012: 58f). These instances are often called *pluralia tantum*.

[14] As regards the presence of the determiner in argument position, there are actually three types of country names in German: either they require the presence of the article, as seen in (34b) in the main text, they do not tolerate its presence (ia), or they take an optional article:

(i) a. *(*Das) England ist groß.*
the England ist big
'England is big.'
b. *(Der) Irak ist groß*.
the Irak is big
'Irak is big.'

In section 3.2.1, we discussed cases of derived PN occurring in non-argument position where the article could or had to be left out. Now, when a derived PN functions as an argument in a sentence, a determiner is required (36a) (also van Langendonck 2007: 18). The same goes for other argument contexts (36b-c):[15]

(36) a. **(Die) Deutsche Bank ist groß.*
the German Bank is big
'The German Bank is big.'
b. *für *(die) Deutsche Bank*
for the German Bank
'for the German Bank'
c. *Wer ist dafür verantwortlich?*
who is for.that responsible
'Who is responsible for that?'
**(Die) Deutsche Bank.*
the German bank
'The German Bank.'

Like in the singular, derived PN in the plural also have optional determiners in non-argument position (37a). While a determiner can, in principle, be absent in argument position (37b), 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 (37c):

(37) a. *(die) Schlesische(n) Kriege* [historical events]
the Silesian Wars
'the Silesian Wars'
b. # *Schlesische Kriege waren grausam.*
Silesian wars were cruel
'Silesian wars were cruel.'
c. *Die Schlesischen Kriege waren grausam.*
the Silesian wars were cruel
'The Silesian Wars were cruel.'

The differences in argument position between common DPs, inherent PNs, and derived PNs with respect to determiners can be summarized in Table 2. We note that with the exception of certain inherent PN in the singular (see Footnote 14), PN require an article in argument position (the plus sign indicates the required presence of an overt determiner when the nominal is in argument position; the minus sign means that an article cannot be present; meaning difference signifies that the presence or absence of the definite article has an interpretatory effect):

[15] The judgements for syntactically indefinite cases seem to be less sharp:
(i) ??*(Ein) Himmel voller Betten ist ein großes Geschäft.*
A Heaven Full.of Beds is a big store
'A Heaven Full of Beds is a big store.'

Table 2: Presence of determiners in argument position.

	Common DPs	Inherent PN	Derived PN
Singular	+[count]//mean. diff.[mass]	+(*Ukraine*)//-(*England*)	+
Plural	meaning difference	+	+

The obligatory presence of the article in argument position has an interesting syntactic consequence for derived PN occurring as Saxon Genitives.

Roehrs (2020) establishes the generalization for German that if a PN can occur without an article in argument position, it can occur in Saxon Genitive constructions as a possessive. Let me briefly illustrate this. Certain inherent PN do not tolerate an article but they are fine in argument position of a sentence and as possessives in Saxon Genitive constructions:

(38) a. *(*das) England*
the England
'England'
b. *England ist groß.*
England is big
'England is big.'
c. *Englands Geschichte*
England's history
'England's history'

As seen above, there are inherent PN that require an article in argument position repeating (34a-b) here as (39a-b) for convenience. Importantly, these PN are not possible as Saxon Genitives:[16]

(39) a. *(die) Ukraine*
the Ukraine
'the Ukraine'
b. ??*(Die) Ukraine ist groß.*
the Ukraine is big
'The Ukraine is big.'
c. ?? *Ukraines Truppen*
Ukraine's troops
'the troops of the Ukraine'
c'. ?* *der Ukraines Truppen*
the.GEN Ukraine's troops
'the troops of the Ukraine'

[16] This effect seems to be even stronger with plural PN:
(i) a. ?* *Niederlandes Truppen*
Netherlands' troops
'the troops of the Netherlands'
b. * *der Niederlandes Truppen*
the.GEN Netherlands' troops
'the troops of the Netherlands'
The same goes for *die USA* 'the USA'.

Thus, only PN that occur in argument position without an article can appear as Saxon Genitives.

I have claimed above that all derived PN require a determiner when they occur in argument position. If so, we expect that these types of PN are not possible in Saxon Genitive constructions. This is indeed the case:

(40) a. * *Deutsche Banks Gebäude*
German Bank's building
'German Bank's building'
b. ?? *der Deutschen Banks Gebäude*
the.GEN German Bank's building
'German Banks building'

One may object that (40) is a complex PN and thus it is impossible as a Saxon Genitive in German for independent reasons (see Krause 1999 on the degradedness of *??des Peters Auto* '(the) Peter's car'). However, the same facts hold for less complex derived PN like masculine *Der Spiegel* 'The Mirror' and feminine *Die Zeit* 'The Time' (the latter not illustrated here):

(41) a. * *Spiegel-s' Verkaufszahlen*
Mirror-GEN's sales.figures
'Mirror's sales figures'
b. * *Des Spiegel-s' Verkaufszahlen*
The.GEN Mirror-GEN's sales.figures
'The Mirror's sales figures'

That the grammatical status is indeed a reflex of the presence of the article can be seen with other non-inherent PN. There are some PN, usually acronyms (i.e., coded PN in Allerton's taxonomy), that never have an article. One such example is *BMW* (given that the full name *Bayrische Motorenwerke* 'Bavarian Motor Works' is plural, I will combine the acronym with a plural article; cf. Weber 2004: 286 and Schlücker 2018: 280 fn. 12):

(42) a. *(*die) BMW*
the BMW
'BMW'
b. *BMW ist eine große Firma*.
BMW is a big company
'BMW is a big company.'
c. *BMW's Produktion ist voll ausgelastet*.
BMW's production is full at.capacity
'BMW's production is at full capacity.'

Again, given that this non-inherent PN occurs in argument position without a determiner, it is possible as a Saxon Genitive.

To summarize, all derived PN require an article when they occur in argument position. In contrast, derived PN can omit the article in non-argument position. Articles must be left out if the

PN is part of a compound-like element or used as a vocative. Finally, derived PN are not possible as Saxon Genitives, with or without an article.

It is clear then that the derived PN under discussion here may or may not involve an article depending on certain syntactic conditions. If this is so, then we can highlight again certain shortcomings of Allerton (1987), who claims that derived PN are "word-like" (also section 2.2): derived PN have the same word order restrictions as regular noun phrases; they have the same inflectional alternation on their adjectives; and importantly, their article may occur or not depending on the syntactic context. If the proprial article were indeed part of the compound (as one could claim for *Der Spiegel* 'The Mirror'), we would not expect it to be subject to syntactic conditions that regulate its presence or absence.

This has a semantic implication for the proprial article. PN with or without an article disambiguously refer to the relevant entity or set of entities. Given that the article can be absent under certain syntactic conditions, its presence cannot be due to lexical conditions or referentiality. Above, I suggested that the article is not part of the PN and it is not related to referentiality. That referentiality is not due to the definite article is confirmed by the syntactically indefinite PN discussed in section 2.1. Longobardi (1994) proposes for inherent PN that proprial articles like Italian *il* 'the' in *il Gianni* 'Gianni' are expletive elements, that is, elements void of semantics. I extend his claim to derived PN in German.

3.2.3 Derived PN with possessive determiners

As seen above, derived PN can involve possessives. 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 (43). One of Postal's examples (50c), is given in (43a). A similar case can be made for derived PN (43b) with possessives:

(43) antecedent_i – $\{\text{anaphor}_i\text{+Y}\}_X$

a. * when Murphy_i entered the room all of the $\{\text{him}_i\text{ists}\}$ began to applaud

b. * *Ich habe dich*$_i$ *gestern besucht. War das* {*Dein*$_i$ *Telefonladen*}? [store]
I have you yesterday visited. Was that Your Phone.store
'I visited you yesterday. Was that Your Phone Store?'

As for outbound anaphors, here the word X contains the antecedent of an anaphor. This constellation is illustrated in (44) and exemplified by Postal's example (43b) in (44a). Again, this interpretative relation is not possible for derived PN either (44b):

(44) $\{\text{antecedent}_i\text{+Y}\}_X$ - anaphor_i

a. * $\{\text{Murphy}_i\text{ists}\}$ are agreed that he_i is going to lose

b. * *Wir sind zu* {*Conny*$_i$*'s Container*} *gegangen. Sie*$_i$ *war nicht da.* [store]
We have to Conny's Container gone. She was not there.
'We went to Conny's Container. She was not there.'

To conclude, Binding relations cannot be established with possessive elements that are part of PN. Furthermore, it should be clear that unlike articles, possessives cannot be left out or substituted without changing the status of the PN – these elements are part of derived PN. In the next section, I turn to the frozen aspects of the cases under discussion.

3.3 Derived PN are frozen

In this subsection, we will see that derived PN are lexically and syntactically frozen; that is, certain aspects of their forms cannot be manipulated. Allerton (1987: 64-69) observes for English that PN are fixed with regard to morphological number and that they only tolerate the addition of non-restrictive (non-stressed) modifiers, but not that of restrictive modifiers, degree words, determiners or quantifiers. Furthermore, he states that none of the elements of a PN can be substituted by a different element. In this section, I illustrate these properties for German and add some more to the discussion.

3.3.1 Lexically frozen

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

(45) a. *der Deutsche Sprachatlas* [reference book]
the German Language.atlas
'the German Language Atlas'
b. *die Schlesischen Kriege*
the Silesian Wars
'the Silesian Wars'

(46) a. # *die deutschen Sprachatlanten*
the German language.atlases
'the German language atlases'
b. # *der Schlesische Krieg*
the Silesian war
'the Silesian war'

Second, restrictive modifiers and certain other elements cannot be added to PN. If they are, their presence changes the status of a derived PN to a common DP (van Langendonck 2007: 173 calls this 'appellativization'). 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). Specifically, when the adjective *groß* 'big' is added to a derived PN in (47a), the resulting string is no longer a PN (47b):

(47) a. *Die Berliner Albatrosse haben gewonnen.* [team]
the Berlin Albatrosses have won
'The Berlin Albatrosses have won.'

b. # *Die großen Berliner Albatrosse haben gewonnen.*
the tall Berlin albatrosses have won
'The tall Berlin albertrosses have won.'

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

(48) a. *Die Eisbären (Berlin) haben gewonnen.* [team]
The Polar.bears Berlin have won
'The Polar Bears Berlin have won.'
b. # *Die drei Eisbären haben gewonnen.*
the three polar.bears have won
'The three polar bears have won.'

Indeed, degree words cannot be added either:

(49) a. *die (#ganz) Neue Welt* [geographical area]
the entirely New World
'the New World; the entirely new world'
b. *das (#sehr) Alte Testament* [bible]
the very Old Testament
'the Old Testament; the very old testament'

To take stock, we can state that derived PN are lexically frozen – no restrictive modifier of any kind can be added.[17] This point can also be made in another way. The addition of an adjective may lead not only to the interpretation of a common DP, as seen above, but even to the creation 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:

(50) a. *das Römische Reich* [historical period]
the Roman Empire
'the Roman Empire'
b. *das Heilige Römische Reich* [historical period]
the Holy Roman Empire
'the Holy Roman Empire'

[17] Alleron (1987: 66) regards certain cases where an adjective is added as separate, complex PN, related to the simpler ones by derivation (cf. Anderson 2003: 359):
(i) *die nördliche Ostsee*
the northern Baltic
'the northern Baltic'
Similarly, certain PN can take quantifying elements. However, these cases seem to be special in that the nominal refers to the employees, rather than to the institution itself (see van Langendonck 2007: 180):
(ii) *Die ganze/halbe Deutsche Bank hat versagt.*
the entire/half German Bank has failed
'The entire/half of the German Bank has failed.'
Finally, frozen lexicality is clear with regard to adding elements. As for omitting elements of the PN, this is less straightforward. Given strong contextual support, this seems possible (for ellipsis, see below).

Parts of derived PN cannot be substituted by other elements. This can be seen in interrogation where the possessive of a PN is replaced by the question word *wessen* 'whose'. Unlike (51a), (51b) is no longer a derived PN. Furthermore, the echo-question in (51b) attempts to elicit the answer below it. As a short answer, the name *Conny* can only be the possessor of an actual container (but it cannot be part of this particular company's name):

(51) a. *Ich bin in* {*Conny's Container*} *gegangen.*
I have in Conny's Container gone
'I went into Conny's Container.'

b. # *Du bist in wessen Container gegangen*?
you have in whose container gone
'You went into whose container?'
Connys.
Conny's
'Conny's.'

Non-restrictive modifiers are different. A non-restrictive adjective can be added between the article and the noun. Derived PN that are syntactically indefinite in the original context do not seem to tolerate non-restrictive adjectives independent of whether the article is indefinite or definite:[18]

(52) a. *Der berühmte Spiegel ist schon wieder teurer geworden.*
The famous Mirror is once again more expensive become
'The famous Mirror has become more expensive once again.'

b. *Die berühmte Deutsche Bank hat schon wieder die Gebühren erhöht.*
the famous German Bank has once again the fees raised
'The famous German Bank has raised its fees once again.'

c. * *Ein berühmter Himmel voller Betten ist einfach ein tolles Geschäft.*
A famous Heaven Full.of Beds is just a great store
'A famous Heaven Full of Beds is just a great store.'

c'. * *Der berühmte Himmel voller Betten ist einfach ein tolles Geschäft.*
the famous Heaven Full.of Beds is just a great store
'The famous Heaven Full of Beds is just a great store.'

Relative clauses can be added to the right of PN. However, as pointed out by Nübling *et al* (2012: 17), such clauses necessarily receive a non-restrictive interpretation:

[18] Note that the addition of a non-restrictive adjective is not possible with derived PN where the proprial article is not the leftmost element. For instance, this is the case with derived PN that appear as PPs (data based on Nübling *et al* 2012: 80):

(i) *Wir spazieren Unter den (*schönen) Linden*. [street]
we walk Under The beautiful Linden.trees
'We walk Under the Linden Trees (street).'

This indicates that PP proper names are frozen including the article.

(53) *Angela Merkel, die im Osten Deutschlands aufgewachsen ist, ist Kanzlerin.*
Angela Merkel, who in.the east Germany's grown.up is is chancellor
'Angela Merkel, who grew up in the east of Germany, is chancellor.'

The same holds for derived PN (54a-b). Again, indefinite PN seem to pattern differently; here, they take an "unexpected" relative pronoun (54c):

(54) a. **(Die) Zeit, die übrigens sehr berühmt ist, ist ziemlich teuer.*
The Time, which by.the.way very famous is, is pretty expensive
'The Time, which by the way is very famous, is pretty expensive.'
b. **(Die) Deutsche Bank, die übrigens sehr berühmt ist, ist ziemlich groß.*
the German Bank, which by.the.way very famous is, is pretty big
'The German Bank, which by the way is very famous, is pretty big.'
c. *Ein Himmel voller Betten, *der /?das /was ein echt tolles*
A Heaven.MASC Full.of Beds that.MASC/that.NEUT/which a really great
Geschäft ist, ist ziemlich klein.
store is is pretty small
'A Heaven Full of Beds, which is a really great store, is pretty small.'

There is then a difference between restrictive and non-restrictive modifiers in that the former cannot be added but the latter can. Presumably, non-restrictive adjectives and relative clauses are not part of PN *per se*. In other words, additions can only be made in the peripheries (i.e., outside) of the derived PN proper. This will be discussed again in more detail in section 4.2.

3.3.2 Syntactically frozen

Derived PN are also syntactically opaque. They cannot undergo reordering and subextraction. 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, adjectives in common DPs can be reordered when focused (Abney 1987: 293, Aboh *et al* 2010: 799). Compare (55a) to (55b), where the context of the second example involves the presence of two big balloons, one of which is red:

(55) a. the big red balloon
b. the RED big balloon

As to derived PN, we have seen in (6a-b) that adjectives can have various orders in two different PN. With this in mind, there are two German Museums, one in Jena (56a) and one in Berlin (56b), one of which is the Historical one. However, a reordering due to focus as in (55b) above is not possible with derived PN (56c):

(56) a. *das Deutsche Optische Museum*
the German Optical Museum
'The German Optical Museum'

b. *das Deutsche Historische Museum*
the German Historical Museum
'the German Historical Museum'
c. # *das HISTORISCHE Deutsche Museum*
the Historical German Museum
'the German Historical Museum'

One may object that reordering due to focus is out for an independent reason. In other words, the reordering would not be motivated by focus explaining the status of (56c). However, adjectives in PN can be focused when there are two such entities, for instance, in coordination. For instance, the city of Berlin has two cathedrals on Gendarmenmarkt (57a). Adding non-restrictive adjectives, the adjectives belonging to the PN can be focused (57b):

(57) a. *Der Französische Dom wurde 1785 fertiggestellt und der Deutsche Dom 1708.* [cathedrals]
the French Cathedral was 1785 finished and the German Cathedral 1708
'The French Cathedral was finished in 1785 and the German Cathedral in 1708.'
b. *der jüngere FRANZÖSISCHE Dom und der ältere DEUTSCHE Dom*
the younger French Cathedral and the older German Cathedral
'the younger French Cathedral and the older German Cathedral'

If this is so, then the impossibility of the reordering of adjectives in (56c) above cannot be blamed on the inability of derived PN to contain focused elements. I conclude that elements of derived PN cannot undergo reordering.

Second, parts of derived PN cannot undergo subextraction. 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 DPs is possible (58b), derived PN do not tolerate such an operation (59b). The example in (59c) is fine when *die Vereinigen Staaten* 'the United States' is interpreted as "partitive" as regards the continent of America; that is, when *von Amerika* 'of America' is not part of the name itself. This becomes very clear with PN like *Kanada* 'Canada':[19]

[19] Note that *von Amerika* can be left out of the PN in (59c) if the reference of *die Vereinigte Staaten* is clear. In fact, it sounds better to leave it out if the first instance of *von Amerika* is present:
(i) ?? *Von Amerika habe ich die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika gesehen*.
of America have I the United States Of America seen
'Of America, I have seen only the United States (of America).'
Presumably, this grammatical awkwardness has to do with the fact that *von America* occurs twice in the sentence.
With some derived PN, an adjective can be left out as well yielding, for instance, *die Staaten* 'the (United) States':
(ii) *Von Amerika habe ich nur die Staaten gesehen*.
of America have I only the States seen
'Of America, I have only seen the States.'
It is possible that very frequent names can form new, shorter PN.

(58) a. *das Buch von Peter*
the book of Peter
'Peter's book'

b. *Von Peter habe ich das Buch gelesen*.
of Peter have I the book read
'As for Peter, I have read his book.'

(59) a. *die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* [country]
the United States Of America
'the United States of America'

b. ?? *Von Amerika habe ich die Vereinigten Staaten besucht*.
Of America have I the United States visited
'I have visited the United States of America.'

c. √ *Von Amerika habe ich (nur) die Vereinigten Staaten/Kanada gesehen*.
of America have I (only) the United States /Canada seen
'Of America, I have only seen the United States/Canada.'

Finally, with simple derived PN, ellipsis only seems to be possible with head nouns.[20] Starting with common DPs as in (60a), both an adjective and noun (60b), or only a noun (60c) can be elided:

(60) a. *das rote deutsche Auto*
the red German car
'the red German car'

b. *Welches rote Auto ist besonders cool*?
which red car is especially cool
'Which red car is especially cool?'
Das deutsche.
the German
'The German one.'

c. *Welches Auto ist besonders cool*?
which car is especially cool
'Which car is especially cool?'
Das rote deutsche.
the red German
'The red German one.'

Again, this is different for derived PN. Unlike above, here an adjective and noun cannot be elided. In other words, the answer in (61b) cannot mean (61a). Interestingly, the head noun by itself can undergo elision (61c):

[20] For the following examples, the absence of the (overt) noun could be analyzed in ways other than ellipsis. What is important to keep in mind here is that it is the noun (and not other elements) that can be unpronounced or absent.

(61) a. *das Deutsche Historische Museum*
the German Historical Museum
'the German Historical Museum'

b. *Welches historische Museum hast du besucht*?
which historical museum have you visited
'Which historical museum have you visited?'
#Das deutsche.
the German
'The German one.'

c. *Welches Museum hast du besucht*?
which museum have you visited
?*Das Deutsche Historische*.
the German Historical
'The German Historical one.'

Noun ellipsis is possible in other contexts. Consider the following examples involving the coordination of two derived PN (62a-b). Note that it is even possible to leave out the first noun and the second article (62c):

(62) a. *Der Deutsche und der Französische Dom sind sehr schön*.
the German and the French Cathedral are very beautiful
'The German and the French Cathedrals are very beautiful.'

b. (?) *Der Deutsche Dom und der Französische sind sehr schön*.
the German Cathedral and the French are very beautiful
'The German Cathedral and the French one are very beautiful.'

c. *der Erste und Zweite Weltkrieg* [historical events]
the First and Second World.war
'The First and Second World War'

Furthermore, nouns can also remain unpronounced with discontinuous DPs. To begin, most examples provided in the literature involve indefinite examples in the plural. However, as pointed out by Bhatt (1990: 249f) and Fanselow & Ćavar (2002), definite examples in the singular are possible for some speakers. Thus, the DP in (63a) can be split in at least two ways. The noun is missing in the lower part of the DP in (63b) and the adjective and noun are missing in that part in (63c). Note that (63c) is a bit more marked than (63b):

(63) a. *das enge rote Kleid*
the tight red dress
'the right red dress'

b. % *Kleid habe ich immer nur das enge rote getragen*.
dress have I always only the tight red worn
'As for dresses, I have always worn only the tight red one.'

c. % *Rotes Kleid habe ich immer nur das enge getragen*.
red dress have I always only the tight worn
'As for red dresses, I have always worn only the tight one.'

Like above, discontinuous derived PN tolerate the absence of the noun (64a) but not that of both the adjective and noun (64b):

(64) a. ? *Museum/Museen habe ich nur das Deutsche Historische gesehen.*
museum/museums have I only the German Historical seen
'As for museums, I have seen only the German Historical one.'
b. # *Historisches Museum habe ich nur das Deutsche gesehen.*
historical museum have I only the German seen
'As for historical museums, I have seen only the German one.'

That head nouns can be elided may have to do with the fact that they are, perhaps, most easily recoverable (see also section 4.3).

To sum up this section, I have shown that the definite article with derived PN is present or absent depending on certain syntactic conditions. This seems to be independent of whether or not the definite article appears in the original context. I have also illustrated that derived PN show regular morpho-syntactic patterns but are lexically frozen and in certain aspects also syntactically frozen. Overall, they seem to behave like phrasal elements not lending themselves to Köhnlein's (2015) analysis. In the next section, I provide a different account making use of some of Köhnlein's insights.

4 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) depending on the language, the DP-level and adjectival inflection can be frozen in the entire inventory of derived PN and (ii) proper name formation is recursive. These points are made more formal in the third subsection.

4.1 Simple derived PN

Ordinary name giving, sometimes called NOMINATION (Anderson 2003: 354), 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 drawn from a common, existing stock (e.g., Anderson 2004: 442). Derived PN differ in that they usually involve new names. Thus, while the basic function of naming is the same, the mechanism for derived PN must be different: a name is created.

The new proposal can be briefly summarized as follows. The individual elements of derived PN are taken from the common stock of (typically) regular lexical and functional words, they receive each a referential pointer, and are stored as a set in the lexicon. During the derivation, the individual parts are combined into strings similar to common DPs. Recall that some elements of the PN do not undergo certain syntactic operations. Rather than exempting those elements, I propose that given the presence of pointers, *all* elements of the PN participate

in these syntactic operations equally. The net effect is that no individual element can be singled out and that the entire nominal is frozen to certain operations.

In more detail, I propose that the type of naming for derived PN involves one linguistic operation. Following Nübling *et al* (2012: 16), I will call this PROPRIALIZATION. This operation is basically a memorization procedure that marks a set of lexical and functional items as being (part of) a proper name. More formally, there are three steps in this procedure. First, this operation picks out regular lexical and functional vocabulary items from the lexicon. Second, recall that Köhnlein (2015) argues for a clear bipartide structure of place names in Dutch. Semantically, there is a devision of labor between the first part (referential pointer) and the second part (the category [+settlement]). Syntactically, all elements have the feature [+proper]. The structure is different for the cases under discussion here. There can be one to three or more individual parts. As far as I can tell, all elements contribute to the semantics equally; that is, I have not identified one part that contributes the referential pointer and another that supplies the category.[21] Thus, I assume with Köhnlein (2015) that derived PN have a referential pointer (i.e., an index). Unlike Köhnlein (2015), I propose that with the exception of the proprial article, *all* vocabulary items are assigned a referential pointer and the feature [+proper].[22] As the third step, proprialization collects these indexed elements in a set as part of the lexicon.

Recall from above that there are three basic cases of derived PN: instances involving possessives, cases where the proprial article is present in the original context, and instances without such an article. Recall also that there are no robust differences between the last two cases in German. I propose that possessive elements are part of the derived PN and receive a referential pointer/feature (65a). As to the other two cases, if the article is in the original context, it is part of the stored set but it does not receive a referential pointer/feature (65b). Derived PN without an article in the original context do not have an article in the stored set (65c) (referential pointers/features are marked by an arbitrary subscript; stored sets are indicated by curly brackets; semicolons separate lexical from non-lexical elements; round brackets indicate embeddings):[23]

(65) a. *Dein Telefonladen*: {TELEFONLADEN$_3$, DEIN$_3$; [-PL]$_3$}
Your Phone.store
b. *Der Spiegel*: {SPIEGEL$_7$, ARTICLE; [-PL]$_7$}
The Mirror

[21] Note that all derived PN discussed here involve a noun. Baker (2003) claims that all nouns, including common nouns, have a referential index. It might be possible that only the noun has the referential pointer. Independent evidence for this could be that the noun determines the category of the reference (i.e., the pointer and category coincide on one element). However, this is not always the case (recall the discussion of Footnote 1). Given these complications, I assume that all elements have a referential pointer.

[22] The referential pointer is semantic in nature and the feature [+proper] is syntactic. Note that it is not always clear/uncontroversial if certain operations that are sensitive to these elements are semantic or syntactic. Avoiding these issues here, I will usually collapse both into 'referential pointer/feature' unless it is reasonably clear to me that the operation is a semantic or syntactic process.

[23] In addition, in order to account for different adjective orders as in (6a-b), 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 (6a) vs. (6b). Below I argue against template-type explanations, at least for the cases under discussion here.

c. *Institut für Deutsche Sprache*: {INSTITUT$_1$, (SPRACHE$_1$, DEUTSCH$_1$, FÜR$_1$; [-PL]$_1$); [-PL]$_1$}
Institute For German Language

Before moving on, these different assumptions about the proprial determiner are meant to capture the following facts. Since the possessive determiner has a pointer/feature (65a), it is obligatorily present and cannot be substituted. As to (65b), where the article is present without a pointer/feature, it does not belong to the referential part of the PN and can be left out or substitured under certain circumstances. Finally, (65c) does not have an article in the stored set. However, if an article is added for a syntactic reason (i.e., the PN is in argument position), then the presence of the referential pointer/feature on the other elements will guarantee that that article must be a definite. The same holds for (65b) – only a definite determiner can surface.

Unlike Köhnlein (2015), I assume that this pointer also specifies the semantic category of the referent. For (65b) above, this could look as follows:

(66) *Der Spiegel*: {SPIEGEL$_7$, ARTICLE; [-PL]$_7$ | 7 = news magazine}

Note that all PN must have or receive a referential pointer/feature that marks them as PN. This can be seen with common nouns, which are not referential, inherent PN, which are, and some nouns that can function as both:[24]

(67) a. *Rotte*
gang
'gang'
b. *Lotte*$_7$
Lotte
'Lotte'
c. *Motte*, *Motte*$_8$
moth Motte
'moth; Motte'

After proprialization, 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). As in common DPs, nouns project NPs, number morphology projects a NumP, adjectives are in Spec,AgrP and determiners reside in the DP (for detailed background discussion, see Julien 2005, Alexiadou et al 2007, and many others). Furthermore, I assume that the syntactic feature [+proper] projects from the head to its corresponding phrase (68a) and that phrasal elements like adjectives transfer their feature by Spec-head agreement and subsequent projection of the feature to the hosting phrase (68b):

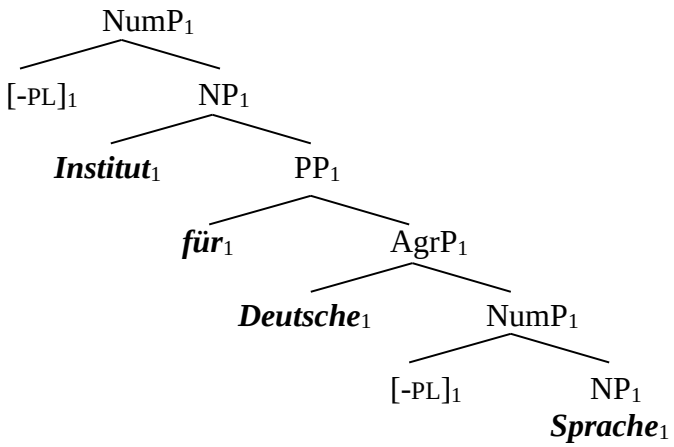
(68) a. N: *Sprache*$_1$ -> NP$_1$
b. AP: *Deutsche*$_1$ -> Agr$_1$ -> AgrP$_1$

[24] The reverse seems to be possible as well, namely certain inherent PN may lose their referential pointer/feature. Consider in this regard the diachronic change from *Caesar* to *Kaiser* 'emperor'. This supports the idea that nouns can be lexically marked with a pointer/feature and that they can receive or lose a pointer/feature.

The result is that all parts of the syntactic tree receive the feature [+proper]. An exception to this is the DP-level when the determiner does not have the feature as in (65b,c).

With (68) in mind, consider the derivation of the example in (65c). Proceeding bottom-up in (69), the innermost subset indicated by round brackets in (65c) is built first until all these elements are merged. This is followed by the remaining elements thereby embedding the first nominal under the head noun *Institut* 'institute'. This yields the following simplified structure:

(69)



In certain aspects, derived PN are regular definite expressions. This was illustrated above in that like other definite DPs, they require an overt article when in argument position. In that case, a DP-level is projected in (69). Again, the referential pointer/feature ensures that only a definite article will surface (unless the article is lexically specified otherwise). Furthermore, I showed that the definite article can and sometimes must be left out. Nevertheless, the derived PN remains referential. If we assume that the DP-level is also absent in those cases, then we can suggest that the DP-level is not related to the referentiality of derived PN. The referential pointer brings about referentiality.

Consider how the above-mentioned properties of derived PN are accounted for. Proprialization creates a fixed set of vocabulary items. This accounts for the facts that derived PN are lexically frozen (no element can be added, removed, or changed inside the stored set), it explains the hybrid character as regards derived PN being rigid designators with descriptive content (regular vocabulary items get a referential pointer), and it allows formally indefinite nominals to receive a definite interpretation (derived PN are referential and thus definite).[25]

As for the syntactic properties, it has been well known since Longobardi (1994) that (inherent) proper names are syntactically special. Unlike common nouns, proper names may undergo movement to a higher position in Italian. Compare (70b) to (71b). Longobardi argues

[25] Above, we pointed out some special properties of syntactically indefinite PN. Given that the "indefinite" proprial article cannot be replaced by a definite element or that it cannot be followed by a non-restrictive adjective, it might have a referential pointer/feature itself. A tentative proposal for such a case could look as in (i):

(i) *Ein Himmel voller Betten*: {HIMMEL$_1$, EIN$_1$, (BETT$_1$, VOLL$_1$; [+PL]$_1$); [-PL]$_1$}
A Heaven Full.of beds

This, however, is probably not the whole story. I will not pursue this further here.

that proper names move to D in cases like (71b) (examples are taken from Longobardi 1996: 2):[26]

(70) a. *Il mio amico ha finalmente telefonato.* (Italian)
the my friend has finally called
'My friend has finally called.'
b. * *Amico mio ha finalmente telefonato.*
friend my has finally called
'My friend has finally called.'

(71) a. *Il mio Gianni ha finalmente telefonato.*
the my Gianni has finally called
'My Gianni has finally called.'
b. *Gianni mio ha finalmente telefonato.*
Gianni my has finally called
'My Gianni has finally called.'

Having argued above that proper names, inherent and derived, have the feature [+proper], it is clear that syntactic operations are sensitive to this feature.

Now, note again that all elements in (69) have pointers/features. Metaphorically speaking, one might say that all elements are "concatenated" by the pointer/feature. I propose that the presence of this pointer/feature makes all these elements essentially identical; that is, operations apply to all elements equally such that no subpart can be singled out. This explains that elements inside these DPs cannot be reordered and that these PN are islands for subextraction (for ellipsis, see section 4.3). Referential pointers/features also restrict the behavior of possessive determiners.[27] This includes the fact that possessives cannot establish Binding relations. In other words, syntactic operations are severly constrained. Considering (69) though, derived PN wind up with a regular DP structure yielding regular word order patterns. Note that this type of regular derivation immediately accounts for the transparency of derived PN to syntactic operations like agreement in gender, number, and case. It also explains why derived PN involve nominal strings with regular inflectional alternations on the adjective.

If derived PN involve indeed structurally regular DPs, then we might expect to find signs of recursivity. In the next sections, we will see that proprialization is recursive and that regular, albeit more complex derivations explain those facts.

4.2 Complex derived PN

In order to obtain a more comprehensive picture, it is necessary to discuss a language other than German. I start this subsection with some basic data of derived PN in Norwegian (for

[26] A consequence of the above proposal might be that given that the feature [+proper] is on NP, proper names in Italian do not undergo head movement to the DP level but rather NP movement. Note that Cinque (2005) argues for roll-up movement of phrases reinterpreting head movement of (common) nouns across adjectives as phrasal movement.

[27] As proposed in (65b), (definite) articles do not have a referential pointer/feature. If present, they can presumably not undergo syntactic operations for independent reasons.

background information on Norwegian DPs, see Julien 2005). We will see that unlike German, derived PN in Norwegian are frozen at the DP-layer. In the second part of this section, I show that derived PN in Norwegian exhibit characteristics of recursivity that German does not show as clearly.

4.2.1 Frozen DP-level

Like in German, Norwegian exhibits both syntactically definite and indefinite DP patterns, the difference being that there is more variation in Norwegian. Starting with the cases involving syntactic definiteness, there are the well-known DPs that involve a free-standing and a suffixal determiner (72a). In addition, there is also a distributional pattern identical, on the surface, to generic DPs where the suffixal article is missing (72b). Furthermore, there are derived PN that have the patterns involving definite adjectives, sometimes called adjectival determiners, where the free-standing definite article is missing but a suffixal determiner may or may not be present. Compare (73a-b):

(72) a. *Den Rød-e Frakk-en* [store] (Norwegian)
The Red-WK Overcoat-DEF
'The Red Overcoat'

b. *Den Rød-e Paraply* [book][28]
The Red-WK Umbrella
'The Red Umbrella'

(73) a. *Stor-e Skarv-en* [company]
Big-WK Cormorant-DEF
'Big Cormorant'

b. *Norsk-e Skog* [company]
Norwegian-WK Forest
'Norwegian Forest'

Turning to the syntactically indefinite patterns, there is the very familiar string involving an indefinite article (74a). In addition, there are derived PN that are similar to type-denoting DPs, which lack an indefinite article (74b):

(74) a. *En Liten Butikk* [store]
A Small-ST Shop
'A Small Shop'

b. *Gul Sirkel* [company]
Yellow-ST Circle
'Yellow Circle'

Again, all these strings involve familiar patterns. 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:

[28] This is the title of a book. So far, I have not found a name of this pattern that is not a work of art.

(75) a. *Stor-e Norsk-e Leksikon* [reference book]
Big-WK Norwegian-WK Encyclopedia
'Big Norwegian Encyclopedia'
b. *Fin Gammel Årgang* [company]
Fine-ST Old-ST Vintage
'Fine Old Vintage'

Note that all these Norwegian PN can, as they are, occur in argument position. Illustrating with the type in (74b), the derived PN can be the subject or object of a sentence:

(76) a. *Nytt Image er min favorittbutikk.* [company]
New-ST Image is my favorite.shop
'New Image is my favorite shop.'
b. *Du finner Nytt Image i Storgat-a.*
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 (73a-b) and (74b), where (free-standing) determiners are missing, I claim that all derived PN in Norwegian are frozen at the DP-level (unlike in German, where definite articles, if not present in the original context, must be added when the PN occurs in argument position). Before we turn to the second property (recursivity), let us consider the stored sets of vocabulary items in Norwegian.

Starting with the cases involving syntactic definiteness, there are many accounts that seek to explain the distribution of the free-standing and the suffixal determiner as well as the weak ending on adjectives. This is not the place to go into a detailed discussion (but see, e.g., Taraldsen 1990, Julien 2005, and many others). In order to explain the distribution of free-standing and suffixal determiners as well as weak adjective endings in Norwegian, a number of analyses claim that these elements are definiteness-sensitive and are due to the presence of a definiteness feature or several definiteness features (e.g., Julien 2005, Schoorlemmer 2012, Roehrs 2019). Importantly, while German does not have suffixal determiners at all, its adjective endings are not regulated by definiteness either (Harbert 2007: 134-35, Roehrs & Julien 2014). Thus, unlike German, I propose for Norwegian that the stored sets for derived PN involve a definiteness feature.[29] The vocabulary sets for (72a-b) look as follows:

(77) a. *Den Rød-e Frakk-en*: {FRAKK$_7$, RØD$_7$, ARTICLE$_7$, SUFFIX$_7$; [-PL]$_7$, [+DEF]$_7$}
The Red-WK Overcoat-DEF
b. *Den Rød-e Paraply*: {PARAPLY$_2$, RØD$_2$, ARTICLE$_2$; [-PL]$_2$, [+DEF]$_2$}
The Red-WK Umbrella

The other definite instances, (73a-b), are like (77) but without the free-standing article in the stored set. As for the syntactically indefinite cases, I assume a definiteness feature with a negative specification:

[29] To keep the analysis simple, I assume the presence of one definiteness feature.

(78) a. *En Liten Butikk*: {BUTIKK$_4$, LITEN$_4$, ARTICLE$_4$; [-PL]$_4$, [-DEF]$_4$}
A Small-ST Shop
b. *Gul Sirkel*: {SIRKEL$_3$, GUL$_3$; [-PL]$_3$, [-DEF]$_3$}
Yellow-ST Circle

As in German, I claim that the referential pointer brings about referentiality. In a sense, it "overwrites" the negatively specified definiteness feature in cases like (78). Now, making the standard assumption that the definiteness feature is at the DP-level (at some point during the derivation), we can point out that the presence of this feature entails the presence of the DP-level. This yields the fact that the DP-level is frozen in Norwegian; that is, it is always present. With this background in mind, I turn to the facts that are important for the proposal of more complex derived PN.

4.2.2 Recursivity

PN formation is recursive. 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'.

Recalling (75a), Norwegian derived PN can have two weak adjectives while German cannot (indeed, as pointed out in section 3.1, German cannot even have one weak adjective without a definite determiner preceding it). What is interesting to observe here is that the Norwegian example in (79a) 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*). In other words, in the first case, a name is given to a store that is established for the first time; in the second scenario, the original store has been remodeled and reopened, possibly, under new management in a different location.[30] I call the first reading of *nye* PRIMARY INTERPRETATION (marked below by the superscript [1]) and the second reading of *nye* SECONDARY INTERPRETATION (indicated below by the superscript [2]):

(79) a. *Ny-e Rød-e Hatt* [store] ($\sqrt{}$Nw^{1,2})
New-WK Red-WK Hat
'New Red Hat'
b. * *Neu-e Ägyptisch-e Museum* (*Ge)
New-WK Egyptian-WK Museum
'New Egyptian Museum'

Given the discussion of the previous section, *nye* in (79a) combines with a DP when this adjective has the secondary interpretation.

[30] Anderson (2003: 360) also discusses cases where a name can be used as a basis for another name (e.g., *Queensland* and *the University of Queensland*; cf. Payne & Huddleston 2002: 519). Unlike the cases discussed in the main text, the category of the referent here changes.

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

(80) a. *Ny Gul Sirkel* [company] ($\sqrt{Nw^1}$)
New-ST Yellow-ST Circle
‘New Yellow Circle’
b. *Neu-es Ägyptisch-es Museum* [museum] ($\sqrt{Ge^{1,2}}$)
New-ST Egyptian-ST Museum
‘New Egyptian 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:

(81) a. * *Ny Grei-e Kafeteria* (*Nw)
New-ST Nice-WK Cafeteria
‘New Nice Cafeteria’
b. % *Neu-es Ägyptisch-e Museum* ($^{\%}$Ge)
New-ST Egyptian-WK Museum
‘New Egyptian Museum’

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

(82) a. *Ny-e Grei Kafeteria* [cafeteria] ($\sqrt{Nw^2}$)
New-WK Nice-ST Cafeteria
‘New Nice Cafeteria’
b. * *Neu-e Ägyptisch-es Museum* (*Ge)
New-WK Egyptian-ST Museum
‘New Egyptian 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, also in Norwegian:

(83) a. *Ny-e Elses Blomster* [store] ($\sqrt{Nw^2}$)
New-WK Else’s Flowers
‘New Else’s Flowers’
b. * *Neu-e Marias Laden*
New-WK Mary’s Shop
‘New 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:

(84) a. * *Nytt Elses Hjem*
New-ST Else's Home
'New Else's Home'
b.?*/?? *Neu-er Marias Laden*
New-ST Mary's Shop
'New Mary's Shop'

Finally, the adjective for 'new' can be preceded by a non-restrictive adjective and an accompanying determiner (85):

(85) a. *den berømte Nye Elses Blomster* (√Nw[2])
the famous New Else's Flowers
'the famous New Else's Flowers'
b. *das berühmte Neue Ägyptische Museum* (√Ge[1,2])
the famous New Egyptian Museum
'the famous New Egyptian Museum'

Assuming that (prenominal) 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 (84b) to (85b).

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). This is summarized in Table 3:

Table 3: Possible inflections on 'new' and a following adjective.

Inflection on 'new'	Inflection on adjective	Norwegian	German
Weak	Weak	√	-
Weak	Strong	√	-
Strong	Strong	√	√
Strong	Weak	-	%

There are then two unexpected surface strings in Norwegian: the adjective *nye*, which has a weak inflection, can be followed (i) by a strong adjective or (ii) by a possessive. To repeat, I take these last two differences to mean that, unlike in German, Norwegian *nye* combines with a lower DP.

Above, I proposed that derived PN involve regular syntactic derivations constrained by vocabulary items with referential pointers/features. Let us call this type of analysis OPTION A. 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 the PN would be lexico-morpho-syntactically fixed, i.e., completely stored in the lexicon (cf. Anderson's 2003: 386

discussion of "freezing" of 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 (19a-b).

As a second alternative, OPTION C, one could suggest that vocabulary items and abstract structures, call them TEMPLATES, are stored 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.[31] While not implausible, this option is not very attractive for Norwegian: eight templates would be needed for (72-75) 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 inflectional alternation of adjectives 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 4.1 once some refinements are made. Specifically, the Norwegian data indicate the presence of different structural domains with derived PN. The combinatory options can be summarized as follows:

(86) Summary:
1. Derived proper names have a frozen PRIMARY CORE. Below, this is marked by curly brackets.
2. Elements can only be added in the left and/or right peripheries. 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., by adding *nye* 'new' in Norwegian). This is marked by a second set of curly brackets.
    b. Construction of a regular left pheriphery (e.g., by adding a definite article and a non-restrictive adjective: Norwegian *det/den berømte* 'the famous').

Recall that *nye* has two different interpretative effects. We can propose now that if this adjective is part of the primary core, it receives a primary interpretation; if it is part of the secondary core, it has a secondary interpretation. Furthermore, as far as I have been able to establish, *nye* is the only element occurring in the secondary core. In a way, *nye* is a linking element between the two domains.[32] Taking the Norwegian example from (85a) above, repeated here as (87a), I illustrate the domains in (87b). The stored vocabulary set for a derived PN with a secondary core would look as in (87c), where the different cores of the complex PN involve different subscripts:

[31] A fourth option, analytical listing, was discussed in section 2.2. Recall that Köhnlein (2015) proposes a tripartite lexical entry where the different components interact with each other.

[32] With some qualification, the presence of *nye* could constitute a structural diagnostic. If *nye* is part of the primary core, it can only be preceded by a determiner-like element in the primary core. In other words, if *nye* is preceded by a non-determiner-like element, then that element must belong to the left periphery (note that *nye* itself could be in the primary or secondary core).

(87) a. *den berømte* *Nye* *Elses Blomster*
the famous New Else's Flowers
b. $_{\gamma}$[regular left periphery $_{\beta}$\{ secondary $_{\alpha}$\{ primary core \}$_{\alpha}$ \}$_{\beta}$]$_{\gamma}$
c. *Nye Elses Blomster*: {NYE$_2$ { BLOMST$_{5,}$ ELSE$_5$; [+PL]$_5$, [+DEF]$_5$} [+DEF]$_2$}

Linearly, the (regular) left periphery precedes the secondary core and the latter precedes the primary core. For expository purposes, we can state that this results in three 'domains'. Note that the two different subscripts in (87c) attempt to capture the intuition of speakers according to which they still have access to the former existence of the original entity. If this is on the right track, then this adds to the discussion in German confirming that referentiality does not originate in the DP-level. Rather, it is due to the referential pointer.

It is worth pointing out that other elements can be in the peripheries. Unstressed, non-restrictive possessives can also be added in the left periphery. These possessives establish a close emotional relation to the name and its bearer (e.g., *mein Peter* 'my Peter', *meine Deutsche Bank* 'my German Bank'). Finally, as seen in section 3.3.1, non-restrictive relative clauses also appear in the periphery but on the right.

To take stock, the first point in (86) was derived in section 4.1 above proposing the operation proprialization followed by a regular derivation. The discussion of Norwegian brought to light two differences from German: Derived PN in Norwegian are frozen at the DP-level and they show characteristics of recursivity (not easily seen in German). The first difference follows from the assumption that all stored sets of vocabulary items involve a definiteness feature in Norwegian. The presence of this feature entails the presence of the DP-level in Norwegian and explains the fact that the DP-level is frozen. In what follows, I derive the facts involving recursivity by refining my structural assumptions from above. This last part of the discussion will remain somewhat tentative in nature given that there seem to be several possible analytical options in some cases.

4.3 Domains as multiple layers in the structure

Unlike in German, derived PN in Norwegian involve a frozen DP-level. This will result in similar but not identical structures for German and Norwegian, with Norwegian possibly having more options. The next two sections begin by providing some new and known arguments for the existence of different domains. This will lay the foundation for the postulation of the structures of complex derived PN. I start the discussion with the structure of German, the most straightforward case.

4.3.1 German

We concluded in the last section that complex derived PN may be parsed into up to three domains. This was most clearly seen in Norwegian. However, the transition from the primary core (via the secondary one) to a regular left periphery also becomes evident in German when derived PN that have no article but involve an adjective in the original context occur in non-argument position (e.g., as section titles in reference books or other type of listings; see section 3.2.1). If the adjective is in the primary core (88a), the article can be optionally present (88b); if

the adjective is in the secondary core (89a), the article is optional as well (89b) (abstracting away from the change in inflections on the adjectives):

(88) a. *{Deutsche Bank}*
German Bank
'German Bank'
b. *die {Deutsche Bank}*
the German Bank
'the German Bank'

(89) a. *{Neu-es {Ägyptisch-es Museum}}*
New-ST Egyptian-ST Museum
'New Egyptian Museum'
b. *das {Neu-e {Ägyptisch-e Museum}}*
the New-WK Egyptian-WK Museum
'New Egyptian Museum'

However, the addition of a non-restrictive adjective makes the projection of a regular left periphery, including a determiner obligatory:[33]

(90) a. * *berühmte {Deutsche Bank}*
famous German Bank
'famouos German Bank'
b. *die berühmte {Deutsche Bank}*
the famous German Bank
'the famous German Bank'

The difference between (88b) and (89b) vs. (90b) indicates different domains.

Note that all the adjectives following the definite article in (89b) have a weak ending, independent of whether they are part of the primary or secondary core. In fact, if a non-restrictive adjective is added to (89b), the same facts hold – all adjectives must have a weak ending (91a). This is different from other complex structures (91b-c), where adjectives must take a strong ending (examples are adopted from Roehrs 2015: 251, 258):

(91) a. *das berühmte(*s) Neue(*s) Ägyptische(*s) Museum*
the famous-WK New-WK Egyptian-WK Museum
'the famous New Egyptian Museum'
b. *der Indianer [Große*(r) Bär]*
the Indian Big-ST Bear
'the Indian Big Bear'

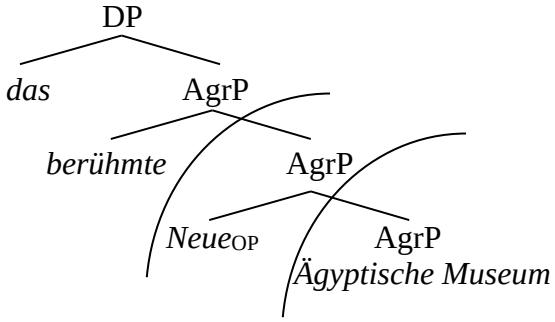
[33] (90a) seems to be possible in news headlines:
(i) *Berühmte Deutsche Bank in Schwierigkeiten*
famous German Bank in trouble
'Famous German Bank in trouble'

c. *mit dem [Deutsche(*n) Bank]-Chef*
with the German-ST Bank boss
'with the German Bank-boss'

Note that both (91b-c) involve two nouns entailing two separate nominals (indicated by brackets above). That the adjective is in a separate nominal from the preceding definite article explains the strong ending on the adjective (for details, see Roehrs 2015). In contrast, (91a) has only one noun entailing one nominal. With the adjectives and definite article in the same nominal, this explains the weak ending on all adjectives. Overall, this indicates that these derived PN have a regular syntactic structure in German, even in the transition from one domain to another.

With that in mind, the different domains can be related to the following, more complex structure that involves one nominal. I illustrate (91a) as (92). I take the adjective *neue* in the secondary interpretation to be an operator-type element that selects a non-DP as its complement in German (the different domains are delineated by arches):

(92)



While the status of *neue* as an operator in German is not as clear as in Norwegian, there is some indication that this might indeed be true. Specifically, there is some evidence that this element may be in the process of developing into an operator/determiner as well. Comparing (93a) and (93b), repeated from above, some speakers allow *neues* to be followed by a weak adjective:

(93) a. *Neu-es Ägyptisch-es Museum*
New-ST Egyptian-ST Museum
'New Egyptial Museum'
b. % *Neu-es Ägyptisch-e Museum*
New-ST Egyptian-WK Museum

This is a typical feature of a definite determiner in German (cf. *folgendes* 'following' in Roehrs 2009:167-168).[34]

That German has one complex nominal as its structure for derived PN is also suggested by some other data. Given the mismatch in gender between the article and the noun in (94a), Nübling *et al* (2012: 75) point out that this example could involve the elided noun *Gesellschaft* 'company'. This fits in with the discussion from section 3.3.2 where I showed that the head noun

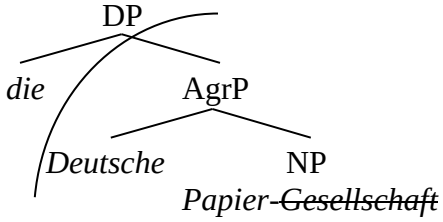
[34] At first glance, this difference in adjective endings in (93b) could be taken as morpho-syntactic evidence for the transition from the primary to the secondary core. However, the corresponding interpretation, namely that *neues* has a secondary reading only, seems to be less clear. This probably has to do with the fact that this element is only in the process of undergoing the change to an operator/determiner.

of derived PN can be elided. Now, as *Gesellschaft* is feminine, this would immediately explain the gender. Let us determine the position of the proposed unpronounced noun by inserting its overt counterpart. Given the ungrammaticality of the string in (94b), it is unlikely that this unpronounced noun is located above the adjective *Deutsche* (note that this string would be grammatical if the adjective *Deutsch* appeared with the strong ending *-es*; cf. (91b) above). The second option with *Gesellschaft* at the very bottom is compatible with the adjective ending on *Deutsche* (94c):

(94) a. *die Deutsche Papier* [company]
the.FEM German Papier.NEUT
'the German Paper'
b. * *die Gesellschaft Deutsche Papier*
the company German Paper
'the company German Paper'
c. *die Deutsche Papier-Gesellschaft*
the German Paper-company
'the German Paper-company'

The latter option yields a compound noun as the head of the derived PN, with the adjective *Deutsche* modifying *Gesellschaft* (and not *Papier*). The example in (94a) is analyzed as follows:

(95)



To summarize, complex derived PN in German involve a nominal structure with the head noun of the PN, be it overt or covert, at the bottom.

4.3.2 Norwegian

Above, we have seen that derived PN in Norwegian are frozen at the DP-level. Unlike in German, they can appear in argument position without an article. Furthermore, if something is added to the left, certain "irregular" patterns are possible. For instance, these patterns become visible in the transition from the primary to the secondary core repeating the relevant data here:

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

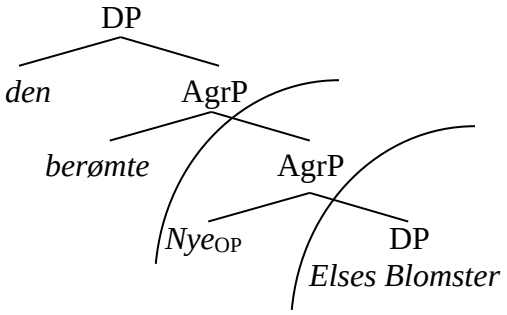
In addition, recall the different interpretative effects with *nye* from above, which I also used to motivate the two different cores. Let us add to this discussion.

Irregular patterns are also possible in the transition from the primary core to the left periphery. This is evident when a possessive is followed by a derived PN starting in a strong adjective (97a). With common DPs, the adjective must show a weak ending (97b):[35]

(97) a. *Vårt Ny-tt Hjem er det beste i verden.* [company]
our New-ST Home is the best in world
'Our New Home is the best in the world.'
b. *vårt ny-a hjem*
our new-WK home
'our new home'

To repeat, it is clear that the primary core in Norwegian involves a DP. In other words, unlike German *neue*, Norwegian *nye* takes a DP as its complement. This can be illustrated as follows:

(98)



This yields a structure that is similar (but not identical) to German, the difference being the complement of the operator.

Like in German, however, there are some data that appear to be less straightforwardly analyzed as in (98). Specifically, the transition from the primary core to a regular left periphery may exhibit 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:

(99) *det berømte Norske Skog*
the.NEUT famous Norwegian Forest.MASC
'the famous Norwegian Forest'

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

[35] For comparison, German possessives combine with a derived PN in the expected way:
(i) a. *unser Deutsches Ärzteblatt* [magazine]
our German-ST Physician.paper
'our German Physician Paper'
b. *unser deutsches Auto*
our German-ST car
'our German car'

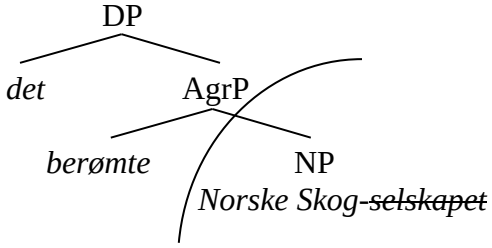
Enger (2009: 1285) argues that neuter (or feminine) could not plausibly be considered the default gender in Norwegian. To account for the neuter gender on the determiner (and presumably the adjective *berømte*), let us follow the methodology employed in German and suggest the presence of an unpronounced noun of the relevant gender, for instance *selskap* 'company'. To determine the position of this unpronounced noun, I insert the overt counterpart in different positions. It turns out that like in German, the proposed unpronounced noun can occur after the derived PN (100a) essentially forming a compound with the preceding PN. However, unlike in German, there is no reason to assume that it cannot precede the derived PN as well (100b):[36]

(100) a. *det berømte Norske Skog-selskap-et*
the.NEUT famous Norwegian Forest.MASC-company.NEUT-DEF
'the famous Norwegian Forest-company'

b. *det berømte selskap-et Norske Skog*
the.NEUT famous company.NEUT-DEF Norwegian Forest.MASC
'the famous company Norwegian Forest'

It seems clear then that *skog* is not the head of the nominal containing the article. Similar to German, the example in (99) can be analyzed on the basis of (100a) (I assume that *Norske* modifies *Skog* but it could also modify *selskap*; cf. (95)):

(101)

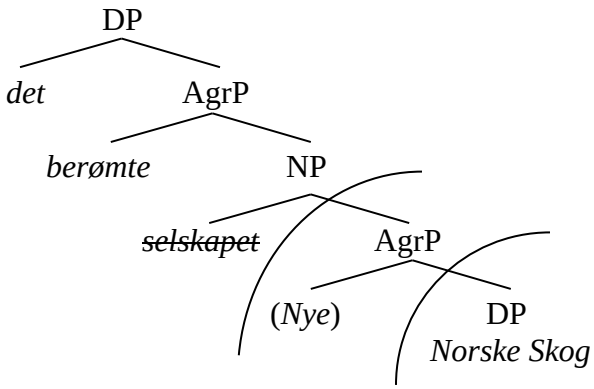


The second analytical option of (99), based on the example in (100b), is given below. If *nye* were present, the unpronounced noun would be above *nye*:[37]

[36] As alluded to before, adjectives in Norwegian are sensitive to the definiteness of the nominal containing them (and not the type of determiner that precedes them as is the case in German; see Roehrs & Julien 2014). In other words, the strong/weak alternation of the adjective in Norwegian is not revealing as regards the structural difference discussed here.

[37] The derived PN in option (100b) could also be analyzed as a (loose) appositive. However, this is not very likely as there is no intonational pause between *berømte* and *Norske* in (99).

(102)



I will have to leave the decision between these options for future research. It is clear though that derived PN can involve fairly complex structures and show evidence of recursivity.

To conclude this section, I provided an account of the basic facts in German proposing regular derivations in conjunction with the novel operation proprialization. This explained the hybrid properties of derived PN in German. Casting the empirical net wider, I discussed some data from Norwegian that exhibit properties that are different from German or not as easily seen, a frozen DP-level and recursivity, respectively. The presence of the definiteness feature in the stored set and a more elaborate structure (or structures) explained those facts in Norwegian.

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 the operation proprialization, which picks out regular vocabulary items from the lexicon, assigns them a referential pointer/feature, and collects them into a set stored in the lexicon. It was shown that derived PN may involve fairly complex structures that show evidence of being recursive. Furthermore, given that derived PN are recursive and that proprial articles can and sometimes must be left out with derived PN (in German), it seems unlikely that referentiality originates in the DP-level. Rather, I claim that referentiality is due to the referential pointer.

A number of issues have to be left open for now. For instance, there are several structural options to analyze complex derived PN, at least in Norwegian. It is not clear to me at this point, which option is to be preferred or if all are instantiated. Furthermore, but on a different note, it might be possible to relate derived PN to verbal idioms such as *to let the cat out of the bag*. Note though that derived PN are referential and verbal idioms are not (also Anderson 2007: 315). In other words, the presence of the referential pointers/features makes me hesitant to extend the current proposal to these idioms. It is possible though that both types of elements involve stored sets of vocabulary items but that only derived PN have referential pointers/features. I hope to return to some of these issues in the future.

References

Abney, Steven. 1987. The English Noun Phrase in its Sentential Aspect. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.

Aboh, Enoch O, Norbert Corver, Marina Dyakonova, and Marjo van Koppen. 2010. DP-internal information structure: Some introductory remarks. *Lingua* 120: 782-801.

Alexiadou, Artemis, Liliane Haegeman, and Melita Stavrou. 2007. *Noun Phrase in the Generative Perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Allerton, D. J. 1987. The Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Status of Proper Names. What are They, And Who Do They Belong To? *Journal of Pragmatics* 11: 61-92.

Anderson, John M. 2003. On the structure of names. *Folia Linguistica* 37 (3-4): 347-398.

Anderson, John M. 2004. On the grammatical status of Names. *Language* 80 (3): 435-474.

Anderson, John M. 2007. *The grammar of Names*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Baker, Mark C. 2003. *Lexical Categories. Verbs, Nouns, and Adjectives*. (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 102). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bermúdez-Otero, Ricardo. 2012. The architecture of grammar and the division of labour in exponence. In *The morphology and phonology of exponence*, ed. Jochen Trommer, 8-83. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bhatt, Christa. 1990. *Die syntaktische Struktur der Nominalphrase im Deutschen*. [Studien zur deutschen Grammatik 38]. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Blanár, Vincent. 2001. *Theorie des Eigennamens. Status, Organisation und Funktionieren der Eigennamen in der gesellschaftlichen Kommunikation*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag.

Bošković, Željko. 2005. On the locality of Left Branch Extraction and the structure of NP. *Studia Linguistica* 59(1): 1-45.

Broekhuis, Hans & Evelien Keizer. 2012. *Syntax of Dutch: Nouns and Noun phrases*. (Vol. 1). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *Minimalist Program.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 2005. Deriving Greenberg's Universal 20 and its exceptions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36(2): 315-332.

Culicover, Peter W. & Ray Jackendoff. 2005. *Simpler Syntax*. Oxford: Oxford Univesity Press.

Debus. Friedhelm. 2005. Lexikologie und Onomastik. In Cruse, David Allen, Franz Hundsnurscher, Michael Job, and Peter Lutzeier (eds) *Lexikologie: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Natur und Struktur von Wörtern und Wortschätzen*, (Vol 2), pp. 1838-1846. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Enger, Hans-Olav 2009. The role of core and non-core semantic rules in gender assignment. *Lingua* 119: 1281–1299.

Fanselow, Gisbert & Damir Ćavar. 2002. Distributed deletion. In Artemis Alexiadou (ed.) *Theoretical Approaches to Universals*, pp. 65-107. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Gallmann, Peter. 1990. *Kategoriell komplexe Wortformen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Gallmann, Peter. 1997. Zur Morphosyntax der Eigennamen im Deutschen. In Elisabeth Löbel & Gisa Rauh (eds.) *Lexikalische Kategorien und Merkmale*, pp. 73-86. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Harbert, Wayne. 2007. *The Germanic Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heusinger, Klaus von & Johannes Wespel. 2009. Indefinite Eigennamen in generischen Sätzen: Quantifikation über Manifestationen von Individuen. *Linguistische Berichte* 217: 3-35.
Julien, Marit. 2005. *Nominal Phrases from a Scandinavian Perspective.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Karnowski, Paweł & Jürgen Pafel. 2005. Wie anders sind Eigennamen? *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 24: 45-66.
Köhnlein, Björn. 2015. The morphological structure of complex place names: the case of Dutch. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 18 (3): 183-212.
Kolde, Gottfried. 1995. Grammatik der Eigennamen. In Eichler, Ernst, Gerold Hilty, Heinrich Löffler, Hugo Steger, and Ladislav Zgusta (eds) *Namenforschung. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik*, (Vol 1), pp. 400-408. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.
Krause, Cornelia. 1999. Two Notes on Prenominal Possessors in German. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 33: 191-217.
Kripke, Saul A. 1971. Identity and necessity. In Milton K. Munitz (ed.) *Identity and individuation*, pp. 135-164. New York: New York University Press.
Langendonck van, Willy. 2007. *Theory and Typology of Proper Names*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Löbel, Elisabeth. 1991. Apposition und das Problem der Kasuszuweisung und Adjazenzbedingung in der Nominalphrase des Deutschen. In Gisbert Fanselow & Sascha Felix (eds.) *Strukturen und Merkmale syntaktischer Kategorien*, pp. 1-32. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
Longobardi, Giuseppe. 1994. Reference and Proper Names: A Theory of N-Movement in Syntax and Logical Form. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25 (4): 609-665.
Longobardi, Giuseppe. 1996. The Syntax of N-raising: A Minimalist Theory. *OTS Working Papers*, Utrecht.
Longobardi, Giuseppe. 2005. Toward a Unified Grammar of Reference. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 24: 5-44.
Nübling, Damaris. 2005. Zwischen Syntagmatik und Paradigmatik: Grammatische Eigennamenmarker und ihre Typologie. *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* 33 (1): 25-56.
Nübling, Damaris. 2012. Auf dem Weg zu Nicht-Flektierbaren: Die Deflektion der deutschen Eigennamen diachron und synchron. In Rothstein, Björn (ed.) *Nicht-flektierende Wortarten*, pp. 224-246. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
Nübling, Damaris. 2017. The growing distance between proper names and common nouns in German: On the way to onymic schema constancy. *Folia linguistica* 51 (2): 341-367.
Nübling, Damaris, Fabian, and Rita Heuser. 2012. *Namen. Eine Einführung in die Onomastik*. Tübingen: Narr.
Payne, John & Rodney Huddleston. 2002. Nouns and noun phrases. (Chapter 5) In Rodney Huddleston and Geoffrey K. Pullum (eds.) *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*, pp. 323-523. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Postal, Paul. 1969. Anaphoric Islands. In Robert I. Binnick, Alice Davison, Georgia M. Green & Jerry L. Morgan (eds.) *Papers from the Fifth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society* pp. 205-239. Linguistics Department, University of Chicago.
Roehrs, Dorian. 2009. *Demonstratives and definite articles as nominal auxiliaries*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Roehrs, Dorian. 2015. Inflections on Pre-nominal Adjectives in Germanic: Main Types, Subtypes, and Subset Relations. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 18 (3): 213-271.
Roehrs, Dorian. 2019. Three Typological Differences between the North and the West Germanic DP. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 31 (4): 363-408.
Roehrs, Dorian. 2020. The Left Periphery of the German Noun Phrase. *Studia Linguistica* 78 (1): 98-138.
Roehrs, Dorian & Marit Julien. 2014. Adjectives in German and Norwegian: Differences in weak and strong inflections. In Petra Sleeman, Freek Van de Velde, & Harry Perridon (eds.) *Adjectives in Germanic and Romance*., pp. 245-261. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Schlücker, Barbara. 2017. Eigennamenkomposita im Deutschen. In Johannes Helmbrecht, Damaris Nübling & Barbara Schlücker (eds) *Namengrammatik* [Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 23], pp. 59-93. Hamburg: Buske.
Schlücker, Barbara. 2018. Genitives and proper name compounds. In Tanja Ackermann, Horst J. Simon & Christian Zimmer (eds) *Germanic Genitives*, pp. 275-299. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Schlücker, Barbara, and Tanja Ackermann. 2017. The morphosyntax of proper names: An overview. *Folia linguistica* 51 (2): 309-339.
Schoorlemmer, Erik. 2012. Definiteness marking in Germanic: morphological variations on the same syntactic theme. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 15(2): 107-156.
Sturm, Afra. 2005. Eigennamen als kontextabhängige und inhärent definite Ausdrücke. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 24: 67-91.
Taraldsen, Knut Tarald. 1990. D-projections and N-projections in Norwegian. In Joan Mascaró & Marina Nespor (eds.) *Grammar in Progress. Glow Essays for Henk van Riemsdijk*, pp. 419-431. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
Weber, Heinrich. 2004. Kurzformen als Eigennamen. In Iwona Bartoszewicz, Marek Hałub & Alina Jurasz (eds.) *Werte und Wertungen. Sprachliteratur- und kulturwissenschaftliche Skizzen und Stellungnahmen. Festschrift für Eugeniusz Tomiczek zum 60. Geburtstag*, pp. 282-289. Wrocław: Wrocławskie Wydawnictwo Oświatowe.
Zifonun, Gisela. 2009. Was lesen wir? Wo gehen wir hin? Zur Grammatik von Werktiteln und Gasthausnamen. In Rainer Wimmer, Wolf-Andreas Liebert & Horst Schwinn (eds) *Mit Bezug auf Sprache: Festschrift für Rainer Wimmer*, pp 519-537. Tübingen: Narr.
Zwart, Jan-Wouter. 2003. What's in a name? Syntactic and asyntactic accentuation in Dutch. In Lars-Olof Delsing, Cecilia Falk, Gunlög Josefsson, and Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson (eds.) *Grammatik i focus / Grammar in Focus: Festschrift for Christer Platzack 18 November 2003*, pp. 395-401. Department of Scandinavian Languages.