СТАТЬИ

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SYNTACTIC FEATURES OF PROPER NAMES: THE GENERATIVIST APPROACH(ES) TO PROPERHOOD

The paper presents an overview of the generativist approaches to the syntactic analysis of proper names which are only very little known in the field of onomastics. The authors start with the general outline of basic theoretical ideas of generative grammar pertaining to the syntactic nature of words and phrases, the nature of the determiner phrase, and the main issues of transformational semantic syntax. The authors further proceed to present the cornerstone theories related to proper names within the generativist paradigm: Giuseppe Longobardi’s idea of proper names as determiner phrase projections, followed by Hagit Borer who elaborated a detailed analysis of nominal functional sequences; Ora Matushansky’s analysis of constructions of naming and nominating, and its critique by Alexandra Cornilescu. The overview leads the authors to conclude that, although generativism does not offer a unified syntactic theory of proper names, in some respects it can be a more promising theoretical framework than constructivism which now constitutes the basis for the modern “pragmatic” theory of properhood. Unlike constructivism, generativism considers proper names as a part of universal grammar seeking for explanations that would have crosslinguistic relevance. However, the approaches discussed in this paper clearly demonstrate the contribution of the syntactic environment to the interpretation of a noun as a proper or common name, which is a strong argument in favour of the “pragmatic” theory of properhood. The authors show that the generativist framework may

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also be used in the future for creating a more comprehensive description of some specifically proprial syntactic constructions.

K e y w o r d s: theoretical onomastics, properhood, pragmatic theory of proper names, syntax of proper names, generative grammar, distributional morphology, nanosyntax, construction grammar.

1. Introduction

The problem of properhood is the central theoretical issue in onomastics, since it concerns the main characteristic feature of proper names as a specific object of onomastic research. The classical theories developed to address this issue are either logically or semantically based and tend to categorise the notion of properhood in terms of "reference" considering proper names as a particular nominal category. By contrast, the alternative, pragmatically based, view recently developed by Richard Coates [2006a; 2006b; 2012, etc.] considers properhood as an effect of "mode of reference," i.e. the communicative intention that lies behind the use of various expressions that include both conventional proper nouns (e.g. personal names for which the proprial mode of reference is simply most frequent) and a wide range of real and possible expressions that do not belong to the category of proper names *strictu sensu* but which still may be used in the proprial way.

Thus far, the discussion of the problem of properhood has rarely involved the grammatical features of proper names irrespective of whether we see them as a particular class of nouns or a particular class of noun usages. However, a number of specific constructions have been described that clearly impose the proprial interpretation on the nouns they contain. They are all of extreme importance for the pragmatic theory of properhood but still remain unsolicited in theoretical onomastics. In the recently published *Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*, Willy Van Langendonck and Mark Van de Velde [2016], proponents of the constructionist approach of proper names (this theory is most comprehensively formulated in the well-known book [Van Langendonck, 2007]), mention a number of such constructions, but the main theoretical outcome of their analysis is the classification of "proprial lemmas" based on their morpho-syntactic "prototypicity," i.e. their correspondence to the expected properties of an exemplary proper name. The syntactic features of proper names are discussed very briefly.

This state of affairs definitely results from the neglect of onomatologists and syntacticians of each other's work, which is probably due to the constantly increasing specialisation of linguistic research.

In this article, we are going to outline the main achievements in the analysis of syntax of proper names. However, in contrast with the constructionist approach mentioned above, the syntactic theory we are going to delve into is within the framework of generative grammar. To make it easier for non-specialists to comprehend the ideas

developed within this framework, we will first consider the following general points about nouns and nominal expressions:

- the syntactic nature of words and phrases;
- the relations between lexis and syntax, including different ways of assigning a categorial status to words or phrases;
- the nature of the determiner phrase, and what distinguishes it from the noun phrase, and why it matters in the analysis of proper names.

2. Theoretical background

The theory that serves as a basis for our discussion is modular in its approach to the cognitive layout of language. Generative grammar treats the aspects of language as processed by separate modules in the brain: that is, syntax is processed and produced by different structures than meaning or sound form. This is partly supported by some psycholinguistic and neurolinguistic studies [see Fodor, 1983; Frazier, 1989; Bastiaanse & Edwards, 2004; Harley, 2014; Varlokosta et al., 2014, etc.]. This is also the reason for which a particular scheme of generating sentences has been coined in this framework.

It is supposed that lexical material (usually not inborn but memorised by native speakers) is stored in the lexicon with all the meanings associated with lexical units, syntax provides language with the hierarchical structure, phonology is similar to syntax in its responsibility for arranging phonetic features into ruled-governed structures particular of a language. However, the interaction between these different systems does take place, and it occurs on the interfaces. Classically, the syntax-semantics interface is a point of contact between syntax and logical form (LF), and syntax-phonology interface is a point of contact between syntax and phonetic form (PF). At the interfaces meaning (interpretation) is assigned and the sound (including prosodic details) is attributed to syntactic structures. The process is called *spell-out*. The idea of spell-out has substituted the older views of deep and surface structures, where the former was responsible for covert transformations and operations like argument structure and case assignment, and the latter arranged the constituents according to the structural requirements of the sentence.

Since [Chomsky, 1995] intratheoretical discussion has taken place, the central issue of which has been the issue of spell-out. In addition, the boundaries between different linguistic modules have been negotiated. Thus, there is no consensus as to whether morphology is a module distinct from syntax, or syntax is the module where morphological operations also occur. In other words, the latter equals the declaration "morphology is syntax." This statement is of importance for our purposes, since proper names crosslinguistically display various tendencies: in some languages they are always articleless, while in others they are, on the contrary, always accompanied by articles. Considering that in a number of languages articles can be suffixed onto stems, a discussion of the morphological and syntactic nature of a word is in store.

2.1. Morphemes, words and phrases

So, what is a word in the generative perspective? Here are some examples of well-known crosslinguistic mismatches.

1. a) English: *the table*		b) Norwegian: *bordet* table-the
2. a) Russian: *на столе* on table.sg.LOC ‘on the table’		*на стол* on table.sg.ACC ‘onto the table’
b) Finnish: *pöydä-l-lä* table.sg.ADE ‘on the table’		*pöydä-l-le* table.sg.ALL ‘onto the table’

(1-a) represents two words from the point of view of orthography, but one word from the point of view of phonology (*the* is always unstressed). In (1-b), however, we see one orthographical word, where *bord* is a lexical noun (‘table’), and the suffix *-et* corresponds to the definite article (‘the’). Likewise, in the Russian examples in (2-a), the interpretation of external location comes from a separate word representing a functional class (the preposition *on*). In the Finnish examples in (2-b), the same interpretation is contributed by a sub-morpheme, a part of the Adessive or Allative marker *-l-*.

The source of all the material we eventually find in syntactic structures is the Lexicon. In the traditional perception, the Lexicon is a storage of words, but as (1) and (2) demonstrate, the memorisable chunks of information stored in the Lexicon cannot just boil down to words, since morphemes look identical to functional words in their contribution to the compositional meaning of syntactic constructions (and we are not discussing idioms here so far). The big question that arises is how different elements of the lexicon (e.g., *the* and *table* vs. *bordet*, *на* and *столе* vs. *pöydällä*) enter the syntactic derivation.

There are two big ways to answer this question: 1) a lexicalist approach, and 2) a syntactic approach.

The former is based on the premise that the lexicon consists of morphologically complete elements (like *studied*, *smaller*, etc.) marked as lexical or functional categories (nouns, verbs, prepositions) that give rise to syntactic projections labeled after those. Thus, under the lexicalist approach, words are used as ready-made bricks in building sentences. We are not going to pursue this approach here, therefore all the problems raised from now on will be considered within the latter approach, which represents the opposite situation.

The syntactic approach expands the hypothesis of Universal Grammar in such a way that it makes languages of the world differ only in their lexical material (e.g. meaning – sound correspondences). [Cinque, 1999; 2006] and much subsequent work suggest that functional heads follow each other in a particular order. This sequence of functional heads is called *functional hierarchy* or *functional sequence*, and the framework that

is involved in its investigation is sometimes referred to as Cartography of Syntactic Structures. Lexical material is inserted under different functional projections. The two principal functional hierarchies are roughly shown in the tree diagrams below[1]:

3. a) CP
TP
*v*P
VP

b) DP
QP
NumP
NP

As can be seen, in both diagrams, the lowest level is taken by a lexical projection, above which there is purely functional material called the extended projection of V or N [Jackendoff, 1972; Grimshaw, 2000]. As [Lyutikova, 2017, *30*] aptly puts it, "for two most important syntactic units directly linked to the extralinguistic world — a nominal phrase (referents) and a clause (events) — a single structure is built where a lexical projection (N and V) is responsible for the denotative content, and a functional shell (D and T) anchors it to the reality."

There is no general consensus on the exact relation between lexical categories and functional projections, nor is there complete agreement on the number and contents of particular functional heads within each of the hierarchies. One thing is clear, though. From this point of view there is no distinction between word-level and phrase-level syntax [McGinnis-Archibald, 2017]. This approach explains the phenomenon of words like *bordet* encompassing several syntactic layers, like N and D.

There are several morphological theories that are trying to find the best solution for a number of problems connected with the spell-out of lexical and functional heads [Newell et al., 2017]. One of the most established ways of analysing word and phrase formation is called *Distributed Morphology* (DM) [Halle & Marantz, 1993; Marantz, 1997; Harley & Noyer, 1999; Embick & Noyer, 2001; Harley, 2006; Embick & Marantz, 2008; Bobaljik, 2012; Borer, 2017; McGinnis-Archibald, 2017; Mitrenina et al., 2018, etc.]. In DM, lexical items (or *listemes*) are roots that become syntactic categories in syntax under the influence of functional projections (containing morphemes) dominating the site of their insertion. Nominalising / verbalising morphemes can be phonologically realised (like *-tion*, *-ness*, *-ise*, *-ify*) or be silent (null).

One later development of DM was undertaken by Hagit Borer [2005; 2017], although some of the details differ. Like for DM proponents, according to Borer, syntax is responsible for the assignment of a category to a listeme and defining its subcategorial properties. Hence the name of her enterprise, *exo-skeletal*: "it is the properties of the 'outside,' larger structure which ultimately determine the overall

[1] P standardly stands for *phrase*, C for *complementiser*, T for *Tense*, *v* for the functional projection introducing the Agent of the event, V for (*lexical*) *Verb*, D for *determiner*, Q for *quantifier*, Num for *Number*, N for (*lexical*) *noun.*

'shape' of what is within, rather than the other way round" [Borer, 2005, *15*]. Thus, listemes constituting the encyclopedia (Borer's term for the traditional lexicon), a list of all arbitrary pairings of sound and meaning, are devoid of any syntactic properties. Any root can be inserted in any structural slot with predictable consequences: "the syntactic structure gives rise to a template, or a series of templates, which in turn determine the interpretation" [Ibid.].

DM and neo-constructivist approach by Borer diverge in the issues of when a syntactic structure acquires a phonological form and in the degree to which syntax is responsible for interpretation: it is much higher in the latter. Moreover, Borer pays a closer attention to the functional hierarchy dominating listemes and presents its more elaborate model.

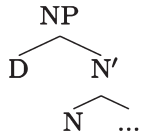
Another modern alternative to DM is Nanosyntax [Starke, 2009; 2018; Caha, 2009; 2018; Baunaz et al., 2018]. Nanosyntax inherits the attractive idea of universal grammatical (morphological) features (past, passive, perfect, definite, accusative, etc.) taking concrete syntactic and phonological shape in particular languages. That is, in some languages (e.g. agglutinative) a feature can correspond to a single morpheme. In other languages (synthetic fusional, like Russian), features are mostly submorphemic: one morpheme will lexicalise different numbers of features and cover different chunks of f_{seq} (functional sequence). In other words, a feature is a building block in nanosyntax. The amount of structure lexicalised by morphemes can vary even in one language [Caha, 2018]. Take, for instance, *studied* and *ran.* In the former example the [+past] feature is lexicalised by a suffix, whereas in the latter we deal with a suppletive form containing the feature [+past]. Thus, the verb *ran* is inserted into syntax in such a way that it covers two projections at the same time: V and T. At first glance, it looks as if nanosyntax was a lexicalist framework in that it uses ready-made structures from the lexicon and matches them to the structures provided by f_{seq}. However, this is not so. "Morphemes are built by syntax. <…> There is no presyntactic lexicon of available feature bundles, because features cannot be combined before syntax but only in the syntax. Instead this lexicon must be postsyntactic, because a morpheme <…> can be stored away only if it has already been built in the first place" [Baunaz & Lander, 2018, *19*]. The authors of the quotation call this process "the spell-out loop": "the syntactic motor is running, continuously producing syntactic trees, some of which are considered crucial enough in the linguistic environment to merit storage in the lexicon." Syntactic trees stored in lexical entries are called lexical trees (or L-trees) and are juxtaposed with syntactic trees (or S-trees) representing the universal functional hierarchy.

Mind that the theoretical approaches to morphology and syntax outlined above are radically different from the so-called projectionist perspectives which we describe in section 2.3. The latter are more traditional (in generative grammar). They are based on the view that lexemes project certain structures behaving in a way defined by the lexeme itself. This means that lexemes bare a categorial index in the lexicon (N, V, A, P) and give the projection built around them their categorial label (NP, VP, AP,

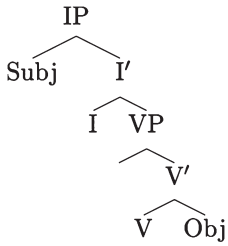
PP). In the theories connected with the idea of universal functional hierarchy, lexicon plays almost no role in syntactic operations.

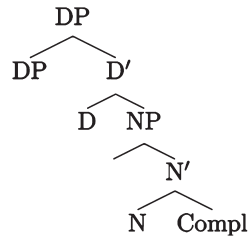
2.2. Functional sequence in the nominal domain (preliminaries)

Several decades ago, the structure of a sentence was conceived as consisting of functional and lexical elements. The analysis of nominals had remained simple until the seminal PhD thesis by Steven Abney [1987]. This is the old view of the nominal structure [Carnie, 2008, *199*]:

4. 

Abney was the first to clearly demonstrate the parallelism between a sentence and a noun phrase schematically exemplified in (3). The main comparison Abney focused on was between the I(nflection) projection in a sentence and the Determiner projection (DP) in a noun phrase. IP (before it was split into Tense and Agreement) was postulated as the landing site for auxiliaries and modals. In [Abney, 1987] it was stated that D is similar to I in many respects[2].

5. a) 

b) 

Abney's proposal about the functional element heading a nominal projection received massive support from linguists. The arguments in favour of the DP hypothesis managed to account for some phenomena inexplicable otherwise. Among other things, it turned out that Noun Phrases that follow D and those that apparently do not have a different syntactic distribution, which is an important point for the topic of this paper. Longobardi [1994, *612*] illustrated this point for Italian (6), and Andrew Radford [2004] for English (7).

6. a) Caro amico, vieni a trovarmi.
dear friend come to visit.me.
b) Gianni è tenente.
Gianni is lieutenant.
c) Maledetto tenente!
damn lieutenant!

[2] Subj = subject, Obj = object, Compl = complement.

7. a) Doctor, help me!
   b) He is head of the big company.
   c) Poor fool! He thought he had passed the exam!

As one can see, the vocative, predicative and exclamative uses of nouns allow them to remain non-referential, articleless, despite the fact that all the nouns in (6) and (7) are countable single nouns. These uses are strongly banned in the subject and object positions: only DPs are allowed in those. We discuss this connection of DPs with subject and object functions in section 2.3.

2.3. Proper names and functional sequence (preliminaries)

To recap, both English *the table* and Norwegian *bordet* are mapped onto the structure in (8):

8. 

One reason for which the D in Norwegian ends up as a suffix is connected with the notion of movement (or remerge, in modern terms): N raises to D and merges to it from the right, incorporating the latter.

9. 

The default definiteness of proper names is deemed by many linguists a consequence of the identical movement of N to D. However, unlike Scandinavian nominals with suffixed articles, which are identified as separate morphemes and therefore detachable, proper names having undergone this movement do not contain any observable evidence of this morphological incorporation. That makes them similar to the irregular past forms of English verbs or, for that matter, to a number of other irregular grammatical forms. Back in the 1990s, when the DP hypothesis was coming into being, the explanation behind this similarity hinged on the concept of empty categories (like empty determiners): they are present in the logical form, but have no phonetic contents.

Giuseppe Longobardi was the first linguist who showed that proper names are universally DPs rather than NPs. His reasoning goes as follows. In (10-c, d) and (11-c), we clearly observe raising of the proper noun. However, (10-b) and (11-b) are ungrammatical [Longobardi, 1994, *624*]:

10. a) È venuto il vecchio Cameresi.
       is come the older Cameresi.
       'The older Cameresi came.'
    b) *È venuto vecchio Cameresi.[3]
    c) È venuto Cameresi vecchio.
    d) È venuto il Cameresi vecchio.

[3] From now on, the star (or asterisk) before a sentence will symbolise its ungrammaticality.

11. a) La sola Maria si è presentata. b) *Sola Maria si è presentata.
the only Maria REFL is presented.
'Only Maria showed up.'
c) Maria sola si è presentata.

In Longobardi's view, proper nouns raise to fill the empty D. This view is specifically supported by the fact that with adjectives, the raised nominal is the only grammatical option (cf. (10-b) and (11-b), on the one hand, and (10-c) and (11-c), on the other).

If we compare the distribution of proper nouns to other articleless nominals, we will notice that PNs pattern with mass nouns (MNs) rather than determinerless count singular nouns: both PNs and MNs realise syntactic roles of the Subject and the Object, unlike their counterparts in (6) and (7). The explanation is found in the fact that both PNs and MNs are DPs (D with mass nouns is just of a different nature whose discussion is beyond the scope of this paper). In the next section, we will see what makes the distribution of DPs different from that of bare nouns. But to do so, we will first introduce some basic ideas of semantics in transformational syntax.

2.4. Syntax and semantics

Even though semantics and phonetics / phonology are believed to be separate modules in generating utterances, a number of their processes accompany syntactic transformations. For example, different prosodic patterns signal alternation of information structure (focusing and topicalisation). Likewise certain semantic operations go in parallel with syntactic derivation. In traditional minimalism [Chomsky, 1995], the idea of spell-out is closely connected with a special semantic property of a lexical item reminiscent of olden days valency but more particular with respect to obligatory participants of a situation the lexical item represents. These participants are usually identified as Agents (active, intentional, volitional, purposeful participants), Themes (Patients) (passive participants influenced by the event or situation, the ones that change their position or state as a result of the event or situation), Recipients (participants receiving something from the Agent), Experiencers (holders of mental or emotional states), etc.

2.4.1. Argument structure

Logically, lexical items, especially verbs, are characterised as predicates (unsaturated expressions) in need of arguments (to saturate them). Intransitive verbs take one argument, whose exact properties depend on the meaning of the predicate; transitive verbs take two arguments and ditransitive verbs three. Thus, the argument structure of *read* is <Agent, Theme> [Franks, 2017, *13–14*]: "Agent and Theme are each theta-roles that the verb *read* discharges to its arguments, once all these roles have been discharged, we can regard the verb as semantically saturated. That is, *read* is a function that takes a Theme as its argument and then projects to become a new function, in this case *read a book*, which takes an Agent as its argument."

From the above, it is obvious that the semantic structure of predicates is different from that of arguments, because the former is originally incomplete and requires those empty slots in its vocabulary description to be filled by nominals representing certain referents in the actual world. The idea of "semantic structure" roughly corresponds to the formal notion of a semantic type permeating most works on the syntax of proper names, since one of the cornerstones in their discussion concerns their predicative vs. argumentative nature. A proper introduction of the term is well beyond our paper, therefore only a crude description can be offered here.

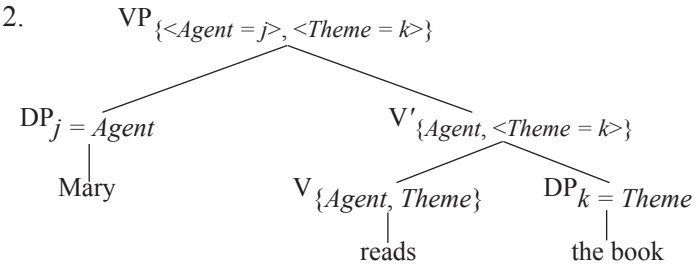
The theory of types within formal semantics heavily relies on mathematical logic. Thus, every utterance can be formalised in terms of truth conditions: if the utterance holds of the actual world, it is true, if it does not, it is false. These outcomes are understood as truth values. The semantic type of a truth value is *t*. Truth conditions are imposed on functions from arguments to truth values. Such functions are usually verbs. In accordance with their argument structure they select for an appropriate participant syntactically realised as a nominal expression, that is, an argument. Since arguments necessarily refer to real world objects, they represent individuals (i.e. individual objects, even if such objects are definite pluralities; it can be inferred that a definite plurality is a set that grammatically behaves like a single member of it). The semantic type of an individual is <e>.

Thus, an intransitive verb is a function from an individual to a truth value: <e,t>. After merging with *e* to fill in the gap in its semantic interpretation, it yields *t*. Let us have a look at how this happens.

2.4.2. Parallel operations in syntax and semantics

In syntax, as demonstrated in [Franks, 2017, *14*][4], the spell-out proceeds in steps in a bottom-up fashion. First, the verbal predicate (V, a function) in (12) merges with one of the arguments, *k*, the Theme (here *the book*). In its intermediate projection the predicate becomes a different function (V′): one of the gaps in its meaning description has been filled, now it is not transitive anymore and requires only one participant, the Agent, *j* (here *Mary*). At the level of VP both argument roles of the predicate are discharged.

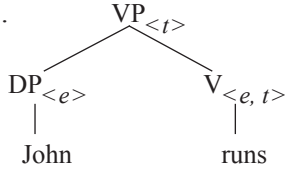
12.



[4] The content of the tree and the tree itself are slightly modified.

If we substitute semantic types for the thematic roles in (12), the notation itself will be more concise and precise. Take, for instance, the intransitive verb *run*. To fully express its semantic meaning it has to connect with one argument found in the domain of individuals (the whole set of individuals) and yield a certain truth value, true or false. This is reflected in the type description of the predicate: <e,t>. This is also reflected in the syntactic derivation:

13.



In the example in (12), which contains a transitive verb, the saturation process requires two arguments of the type <e>: the Theme and the Agent. Consequently, the semantic type of the verb in (12) is <e,<e,t>>. If the sentence accurately represents the situation described, the truth value is *true* (or 1); if the sentence is wrong about the described state of affairs, the truth value is *false* (or 0) [see Heim and Kratzer, 1993, *28–29*].

It does not seem to matter what thematic roles the arguments of a predicate are assigned. If the verb is transitive, its semantic type will be of a fixed nature. For our further discussion it is necessary to emphasise that arguments of the verb are of the semantic type "individual," <e>, that is, they are referential expressions. According to the DP hypothesis, in syntax referentiality is achieved by inserting a noun under the determiner projection, the determiner being a link between the lexical denotation of the inserted noun and a referent in the actual world. The conclusion is straightforward: arguments should be DPs.

2.4.3. Argument and non-argument positions

Now, one can raise a question about the realisation of the determiner projection in syntax. Isn't it always the case that we find some functional structure above nouns? The answer is no. It is like with bare infinitives: they are not dominated by any functional projection typical of finite verbs. Thus, a different level of structure can be spelled-out: VP or TP. In the nominal domain, the situation is the same. Leaving a more complex structural composition of DP aside for the time being, we can say that nominals can be constructed up to NP or up to DP. It is expected that NPs, having no functional layer responsible for referential properties, will lack those properties. In formal terms, they will have a type other than <e>. As has been shown above, the intransitive predicate type is <e, t>, and a predicative nominal must share its argument structure properties with intransitive verbs.

All this also results in different distributions for NPs and DPs. Longobardi [1994, *628*] states: "DP can be an argument, NP cannot." This explains why in (6) and (7) above the countable nouns were not accompanied by any determiner or quantifier. They are clearly NPs, and the positions taken by them are non-argument positions: a vocative (7a), a predicative (7b), and an exclamation (7c). Now compare (7) to (14) below. All

the examples in (14) are ungrammatical, because what we observe here is the syntactic realisation of semantic arguments.

14. a) *Doctor has come. Get ready.
    b) *They invited director of the big bank.
    c) *Poor fool has dropped and broken his mother's vase.

Thus, we can speak about the Subject and Object positions as argument positions. What follows, is that proper names, being referential expressions, can readily occur in contexts like (14), and should be problematic, for example, in some contexts of (7): remember that the semantic type of a predicate is different from that of an argument. If they still appear in the predicative position, then either their analysis as DPs is wrong, or some additional factors should be taken into consideration.

3. Approaches to proper name analysis

In this section we are going to outline the main analyses of proper names found in the syntactic literature. We will start from a detailed discussion of Longobardi's views, including his latest modifications of the theory. Next, a more elaborate semantico-syntactic *exo-skeletal* explanation by Hagit Borer [2005] will be presented, which has developed on the basis of Longobardi's ideas. After looking at the assumption that referentiality of PNs is achieved via movement of N to D, we will review the opposite perspective, according to which PNs do not differ from common nouns in being predicative in nature rather than argument-like [Matushansky, 2006; 2009]. We will finish this short account of the PN syntax by citing a paper criticising Matushansky's approach [Cornilescu, 2007].

3.1. Longobardi

The theory that gave basis to the whole syntactic enterprise of explaining proper names from the point of view of functional sequence was briefly presented in section 2.3. As you can easily see, the Italian data look different from the English counterparts: in English, PNs are normally used without determiners. Naturally, Longobardi offers an explanation to this fact. His proposal is connected with the idea of parameters. Parameters are language-specific realisations of universal principles. Thus, proper names are universally referential, but this referentiality is arrived at via different routes in different languages. In Italian, PNs are a result of merging a lexical noun with a zero determiner after raising of the former to the latter. In English there is no overt raising. This is supported by the word orders inside a nominal projection (15) [Longobardi, 1994, *628*]. Recall that in Italian the counterpart of (15-b) is grammatical, unlike in English, due to the overt raising of N to D.

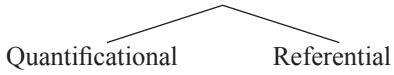
15. a) Old John came in.
    b) *John old came in.

Longobardi claims that some kind of movement does also take place in English: the movement at the level of Logical Form (LF) (16). However in [Londobardi, 2001] the reality of N raising to D in English, whether overtly or covertly, is completely negated.

16. [John [old e]] came in.

In his later work, Longobardi arrives at the conclusion that English bare nouns (determinerless mass nouns and plural nouns) are syntactically identical to English proper nouns in that neither involves N-to-D raising:

17.



Quantificational and *referential* describe the semantics of bare nouns and proper names respectively. According to [Longobardi, 2001], the parametric variation in the nominal domain between Italian and English reflects the fact that bare nouns in the two languages have the same syntax but different semantics, whereas proper names, on the contrary, the same semantics but different syntax. In Romance, the quantificational semantics will correspond to the syntactic structure in (17), whereas the referential semantics will necessarily be mapped on syntax with an overt or silent determiner. When the determiner is overt, Longobardi calls it *expletive* and the corresponding structure is then like in (18). When the determiner is silent, N obligatorily raises to it yielding the structure in (19).

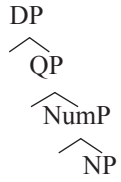
18. [Art (Adj) N]
19. [N (Adj) *t*]

3.2. Borer

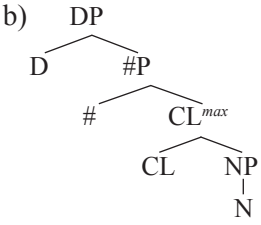
The discussion of nominal arguments is the central issue of [Borer, 2005]. As we showed in section 2.1, Borer follows the main idea of Distributed Morphology about the leading role of syntax in assigning a categorial status to lexical items (listemes) and defining their interpretation. She has also elaborated a detailed analysis of clausal and nominal functional sequences. Here we are interested in the functional sequence within a nominal structure.

The functional structure dominating N proposed in [Borer, 2005] (see 20-b) is similar to (3-b) repeated here as (20-a): N and D are the same, CL(assifier) corresponds to Num(ber), and # is the analogue of Q(uantifier).

20. a)



b)



Grammatical formatives — CL, #, and D — can be represented by independent morphemes (f-morphs), for example *the*, and (phonologically absent) head features. Functional heads are open values with a category label. Borer introduces a mechanism of range assignment, crucial for the developed system. Open values are assigned range by a variety of means: directly, by the Specifier-Head agreement (by f-morphs in the Spec), and indirectly, by abstract head features. Under assigning range Borer roughly means ascribing a certain interpretation. Thus, the open value <e> in the Quantity projection #P can be directly assigned range "either by an f-morph (*most*, *all*, *three*, etc.) that merges with it or by an adverb of quantification (footnote: *During the summer, water in the pond mostly evaporates* (cf. *most water*))" [Borer, 2005, *36*].

Let us now see how this system works for proper names. As we have shown in the examples above cited from [Longobardi, 1994], proper names in Italian obligatorily follow definite determiners in post-adjectival positions (Borer summarises all the Italian cases in [Borer, 2005, *72*]). In English, proper nouns can also co-occur with articles (21-a). Moreover, singular common nouns can sometimes be used as proper names (21-b).

21. a) The tall Kim showed up here.
    b) Cat came.
    c) I invited Dog/*dog.

"A clear generalisation emerges: when *cat*, *dog*, and *Kim* occur with a determiner, they must be interpreted as common names, regardless of whether they are singular or plural. When *cat*, *dog*, and *Kim* occur as singular without a determiner, they must be interpreted as proper names" [Borer, 2005, *74*]. Thus, we get a unified account for all nominal subcategories. The examples in (22) to (24) from Hebrew persuasively demonstrate the contribution of syntactic structure to ascribing nouns either to the class of proper names or the class of common names. In these examples Borer uses a listeme which can conveniently be a name or denote an animal species ('wolf'). The unambiguous proper interpretation is only achieved in (22), where the noun in question occupies the highest possible position, presumably in which it merges with D *à la* Longobardi. The post-verbal position of the nominal in (23) and (24) results in two possible readings.

22. ze'eb radap axrey ha.yeled.
    Ze'ev chased after the.boy.
    'Ze'ev chased the boy.'

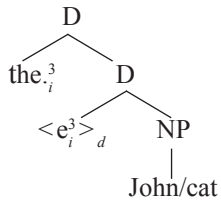
23. 'etmol radap ze'eb axrey ha.yeled.
    yesterday chased Ze'ev/a wolf after the boy
    i. 'Yesterday, Ze'ev chased the boy.'
    ii. 'Yesterday, a wolf chased the boy.'

24. baraxti me-Ze'eb.
    ran-away.1SG from-Ze'ev/wolf.
    i. 'I ran away from Ze'ev.'
    ii. 'I ran away from a wolf.'

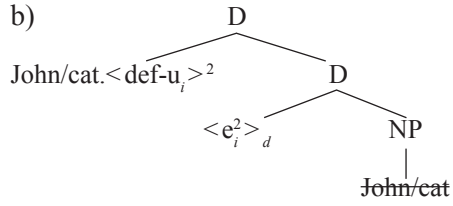
Thus, [Borer, 2005] continues the tradition started by Longobardi: proper names are the products of N-to-D movement. By doing so, lexical N assigns range to the open value in the functional projection of D by an abstract head feature ("to phonologically support the relevant head feature and give rise to a phonologically well-formed output" [Ibid., *78*]). In English, the range to the open value in D can also be assigned by f-morph — e.g. the definite article *the*. While the former strategy results in the interpretation of nouns as proper names, the latter leads to common name reading.

According to Borer, in the encyclopedia (the lexicon), certain nouns are conventionally associated with a certain interpretation: *John* is conventionally a proper name, whereas *cat* is a common noun. They will "feel" more comfortable in respective syntactic environments. However, grammar overrides lexical conventions. When the open value in D is assigned range by the f-morph, both *John* and *cat* behave like common names (25-a); and vice versa, when the open value in D is assigned range by an abstract head feature in a lexical noun, both become proper names (25-b)[5].

25. a)



b)



As one can observe, this view corresponds to that of Van Langendonck and Coates, according to which some nouns are just conventional proper names that are expected to have the structure presented above as (25-b), while it is not prohibited for other nouns (like *cat*) to behave in the same way and, therefore, to have proprial interpretations.

3.3. Matushansky

Not all generative linguists analyse proper names along the lines of [Longobardi, 1994]. According to Ora Matushansky [2005; 2006], proper names are no different from other nouns in their grammatical nature. Just like common nouns, proper names are capable of taking different syntactic positions in sentences: core argument positions and predicative positions. While it is more or less clear that inherently definite expressions can be arguments, it is fairly surprising that they can also be predicates. Matushansky claims that if we follow the view that proper names are definite descriptions, they can be perceived "as syntactically simplex or complex" [Matushansky, 2005, *419*], which would correspond to the positions mentioned above. The syntactically simplex structure is characteristic of predicates, which according to Matushansky [Ibid., *419–420*]

[5] The superscripts indicate range assignment, the subscripts co-reference, the def-u is a shortening of the "uninterpretable definiteness feature." For more detail see the explanations in [Borer, 2005].

is the essential type of proper names. The contents of proper names in the predicative position mention the name itself[6].

As the lexical content is not a sufficient criterion for identifying a type of a category, Matushansky offers several structural arguments in favour of the predicativist view of proper names:

a) verbs of naming and nomination cannot be considered ditransitive, like *give* or *send*; rather they are ECM verbs (that is verbs taking small clauses as their complements);

b) nominals in small clauses following verbs of naming and nomination are used without determiners even in those languages where proper names obligatorily combine with definite articles;

c) in languages with morphological case, nominals in small clauses following verbs of naming and nomination are marked by exactly the same case inflection as predicative nominals would be.

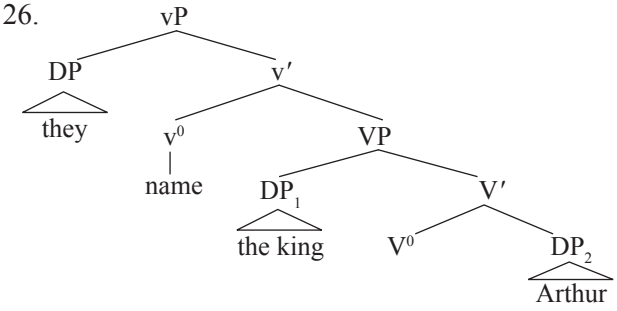
Thus, Matushansky concludes that since proper names in the special constructions under consideration behave like predicates, that is their default type.

Let us discuss each of her arguments one after another.

3.3.1. S t r u c t u r e

Ditransitive analysis of verbs of naming and nomination is represented in (26) below. The verb *name*, which raises to the little v projection for independent reasons, takes two arguments: *the king* (roughly, the Goal [see Matushansky, 2005]) and *Arthur* (the Theme)[7].

26.



[6] The term *mention* is opposed to the term *use*, and both date back to the time of Scholastics. In (i), Amsterdam has *suppositio formalis*, that is, "it is used in order to refer to that Dutch city. But in (ii) the term has *suppositio materialis*: it refers to the word *Amsterdam*; the term is mentioned" [Gamut, 1991, *12*]:

i) Amsterdam is the capital city of the Netherlands;

ii) Amserdam has nine letters.

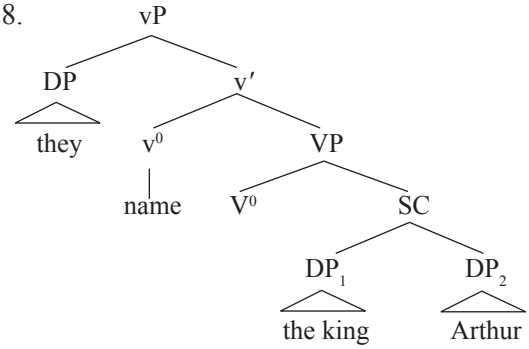
[7] Here the superscript 0 indicates heads, ' intermediate projections, and the numerical subscripts demonstrate the first and the second DP arguments.

As is well known, both objects of ditransitive verbs can move to the subject position under passivisation. However, this is not the case with verbs of naming and nomination: only the presumed Goal argument can become the subject in passive sentences:

27. a) I was called / christened / baptised Al.
    b) *Al was called / named / baptised me.

Thus, the analysis in (26) is wrong, whereas the right analysis is based on the idea of *small clause* — a clause with a non-verbal predicate without any copulas (28):

28.



Importantly, the predicate of a small clause complement of a naming or nomination verb is a proper name like *Arthur* in (28). But if a proper name is a predicate rather than an argument, it must be a determinerless nominal just like *head* in (7-b). Indeed, Matushansky [2009, *579*] offers other similar examples to prove this point:

29. a) The queen appointed her lover treasurer of the realm.
    b) Anne's death made George (the) king of England.

There is further support of this perspective provided by slightly different factors, like the distribution of articles with proper names and the case of predicative nominals.

3.3.2. Articles

The evidence offered in [Matushansky, 2005; 2009] shows that it is not unusual for proper names to co-occur with definite articles. In fact, we observed this while discussing the Italian material from [Longobardi, 1994]. This is not surprising if syntax of proper names is no different from other nominals: used predicatively, they can be determinerless, used as arguments they should be referential and therefore combine with the articles and their kin. Thus, in many dialects of German and Scandinavian proper names are used with so-called preproprial articles in argument positions and without in predicative positions.

30. a) Ich habe den Karl gesehen.
I have the.ACC Karl seen
'I have seen Karl.'
b) Ich habe ihn (*den) Karl genannt.
I have him.ACC the.ACC Karl called
'I called him Karl.'

31. a) Ho Marit så han Øystein.
she Marit saw him Øystein.
'Marit saw Øystein.'
b) Dæm døpte barnet (*ho) Marit.
they baptised child.the she Marit.
'They baptised the child Marit.'

[Matushansky, 2009, *581*].

Matushansky claims that English proper names in argument positions incorporate the definite article, though not through N-to-D raising as suggested in [Longobardi, 1994]. Evidence for this incorporation comes from modified proper nouns, in which a modifier, typically an adjective, blocks the operation [Matushansky, 2009, *608*]:

32. a) the *(French) Mary Poppins
b) the *(young) Mozart
c) the *(incompatible) Callas.

3.3.3. Case

In languages like Russian predicative nouns and adjectives are marked by Instrumental case. This is what is observed with verbs of naming and nomination:

33. a) Они назвали ребенка Артуром.
they baptised child.ACC Arthur.INS
'They called the child Arthur.'
b) Они назначили Артура королем.
they named Arthur.ACC king.INS
'They named Arthur king.'

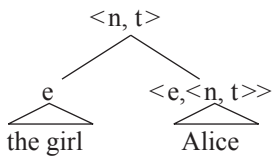
Russian is not the only language where predicative nominals are specially marked. Matushansky [2009, *583–586*] shows examples from Arabic, Hungarian, Finnish and Latin.

3.3.4. The summary of the analysis

Unlike in [Borer, 2005], the analysis adopted in this approach does not let syntax be responsible for the interpretation of different structures in general and nominal structures in particular. The interpretation comes from the inherent semantic properties

of proper names. Naturally, Matushansky does not claim that they are fully identical to common nouns, in spite of their similar syntactic distribution. Their semantics (that is, their default semantic type) is different in that it contains the so-called "contextually salient naming convention in force between the speaker and the hearer," a special relation between individuals and proper names typically resolved by a verb of naming or nomination. This relation presupposes that the predicate of the complement small clause of a naming verb is characterised by the special semantic type <e,<n,t>>, "where n is a sort of the type e (a phonological string)" [Matushansky, 2009, *610*]. That means that a name itself is nothing more than a mention, a kind of quotation. For example, in the sentence *They baptised the girl Alice* the parallel semantic and syntactic structures of the small clause [*the girl Alice*] look as follows:

34.



As one can see in (34), the semantic type resulting from composition of the individual e *the girl* and the predicate *Alice* is still a one-place predicate, that is, it has one unsaturated argument slot which is taken care of by a verb of naming or nomination. For more precise details of this complex interaction the reader is referred to [Matushansky, 2009].

Examples of proper names with indefinite determiners Matushansky [2009] ascribes to the metaphoric use of the proper name and explains them through coercion (that is, their transition to the subcategory of common nouns).

The analysis offered in several papers by Matushansky still leaves a number of questions open, as the author herself notices:

a) "the cross-linguistically default character of the definite article" with proper names (in the given approach "there should be no difference between proper names and common nouns") [Matushansky, 2009, *595*];

b) the existence of morphologically derived proper names (patronymics, nicknames, etc.): this contradicts one of the main claims of the approach that a proper name is nothing more than a phonological string;

c) the predicative use of proper names after other verbs than verbs of naming and nomination (the semantic type <n,t> as in (34) above is only compatible with naming verbs).

3.4. Cornilescu's critique of Matushansky

Cornilescu [2007] fully agrees with Matushansky that proper names after verbs of naming and nomination are not arguments, since such verbs do take small clauses as complements. However she argues against two of Matushansky's points: 1) merging

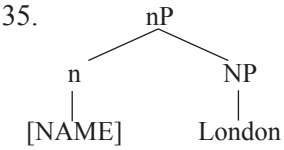
the aforementioned groups of verb into one natural class, 2) the idea that proper names are semantic predicates.

3.4.1. Proper names are cases of mention, not use

The functional structure of a nominal in [Cornilescu, 2007] is similar to the traditional ones, where N is dominated by NumP and DP. However when a proper name enters the derivation, it is an immediate complement of the functional projection n, which Cornilescu calls a classifier. The evidence for the presence of such a classifier is found in descriptive appositive constructions like *Doctor Jones*, *planet Earth*, etc. In Romanian such nominals usually carry the definite suffix. When a descriptive noun is absent, the classifier is still present at LF. It is analogous to true classifiers found, for example, in African languages where they "designate types of entities" with descriptive content. So, "*John* denotes an individual, and conventionally implicates that the individual is human and male" [Ibid., *62*].

When proper names follow verbs of naming, they always contain this classifier. Due to its presence, PNs are understood as "instances of mention, rather than use" [Ibid., *66*] (see footnote 6 above). So, *London* in (35) can be perceived as in the example *"London" has six letters.* It does not denote a place here.

35.



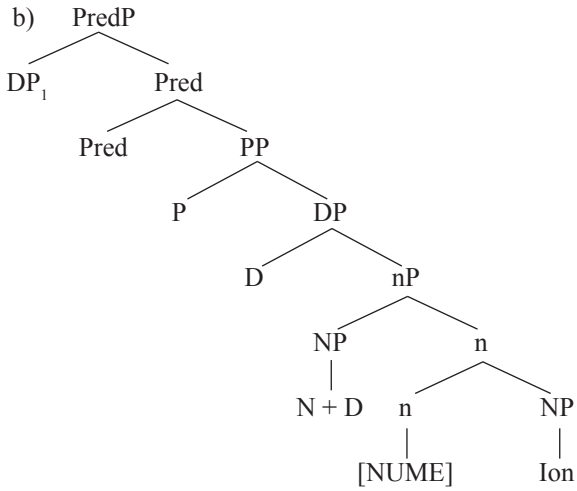
It is important for Cornilescu to keep verbs of naming and verbs of nomination apart. Let us see, why.

3.4.2. Verbs of naming and nomination as two different groups

Although both verbs of naming and verbs of nomination take small clauses as their complements, the internal structure of those complements differ. Cornilescu shows that the two have sharp distinctions with respect to interrogation and anaphora in Romanian (most of what she writes about Romanian also holds for Russian): verbs of naming require question words like *how* rather than *what* and the anaphoric element used to refer to a name is *so* rather than a personal or a demonstrative pronoun. Verbs of nomination take question words like *what* and anaphoric elements like *this*. The conclusion following from these differences is that verbs of naming take a PP as a complement, whereas verbs of nomination take a DP as their complement. Indeed, in Romanian after verbs of naming there can be an alternative construction containing an overt preposition. Then the overt classifier (the word *name*) is also obligatory:

36. a) L-au botezat pe copil cu numele Ion.
him-have baptised PE child with name.the Ion.
'They baptised the child with the name Ion.'

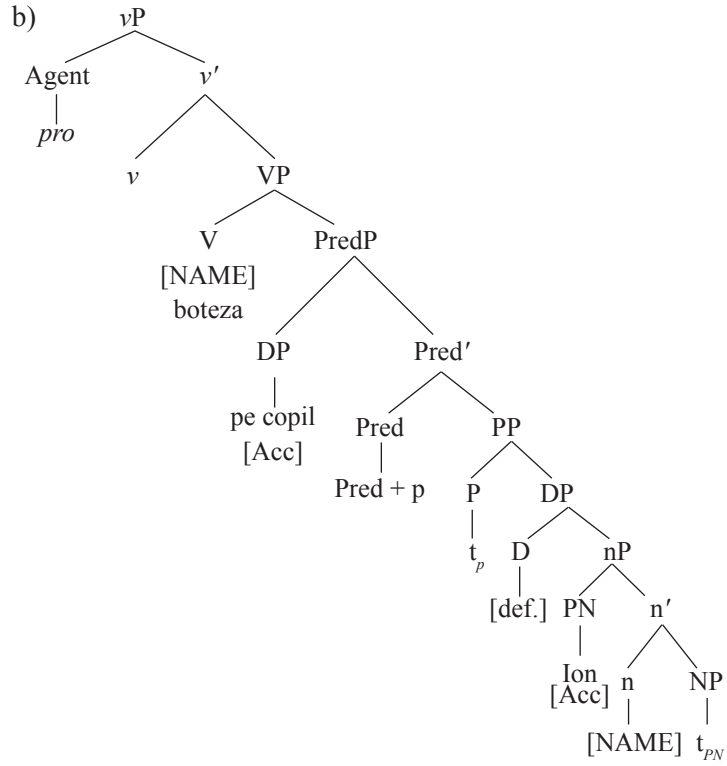
b)



In any case, verbs of naming s-select (semantically select) "a phrase with the property [NAME], a property satisfied by the lexical noun *nume* 'name,' or by the PN classified as a name" [Cornilescu, 2007, *70*]. The complement of a naming verb, a small clause, in (37-b) below is introduced by the special functional projection employed in verbless predicates, namely, Pred(icate)P. In cases like (37-a) with no overt classifier the preposition is also absent, however, at LF it is amalgamated with the Pred head. Thus, in any case, the PredP complement of a verb of naming should dominate a PP[8]. An overt preposition (36) assigns case to the subject of the small clause, the overt lexical noun NAME, which is also definite (joining D in Longobardi's style). When the preposition is amalgamated with the Pred head, as in (37), the case feature is "transmitted from the subject of the small clause to the DP proper name." In (37), there is a [NAME] feature agreement between the verb and the PN, which is blocked by the preposition in (36), making the presence of the lexical noun NAME obligatory.

37. a) L-au botezat pe copil Ion.
him-have baptised PE child Ion.
'The baptised the child Ion.'

[8] Cornilescu explains the obligatoriness of PP by the event structure of naming verbs: they are necessarily accomplishments, and the result component of accomplishments is likely to contain a PP.



The analysis proposed in [Cornilescu, 2007] involving overt or abstract PN classifier is responsible for the fact that complements of naming verbs can only be considered syntactic predicates and never semantic predicates contra Matushansky's claim. Recall that semantic predicates have a different interpretation from semantic arguments, formally denoted as a function involving individuals (type <e>) and truth values (type <t>). Semantic arguments are pure individuals (type <e>). If we understand the analysis correctly, it is the classifier that encapsulates the content of the proper name and makes it the case of mention, not use. Cornilescu [Ibid., *72*] shows that the interpretation of PNs as predicates is exactly the same as the interpretation of PNs as arguments and sites Matushansky's depiction of the naming convention between the speaker and the hearer.

3.4.3. Summary of the analysis

The analysis proposed in [Cornilescu, 2007] clearly shows that in Romanian the behaviour of verbs of naming and nomination differs in some respects, which gives her the ground to argue contra Matushansky who treats them as one natural class. The most remarkable distinction lies in the selectional properties of the two verb types: verbs of naming s-select for the complement with the classifier n (or NAME), which can be both abstract (silent) or overt and realised by such lexical nouns as *name*.

The presence of this classifying functional element makes the content of the proper name itself an instance of mention, not use, which accounts for its inability to be a semantic predicate in spite of the fact that it is a syntactic predicate. However, Matushansky also claims that proper names in this position are an instance of mention, which does not stop her demonstrating that PNs are semantic predicates, not individuals. So, this part of Cornilescu's critique is not perfectly clear to us. The part where Cornilescu explains non-literal interpretations of PNs — that is, cases in which proper names are understood as common nouns — has nothing to do with syntax and is based on more or less traditional understanding of metaphor and metonymy. Thus, the most original and promising proposal made by [Cornilescu, 2007] involves the classifying element n, which seems to work not only in Romanian, but also in Russian and possibly in other languages.

4. Conclusion and perspectives

In the generativist framework, the PNs are most often used as an element in the discussion of wider theoretical issues relevant to Chomskyan linguistics. However, the overview presented in this paper shows that the generativist approaches outlined above may have additional explanatory value for theoretical onomastics since they clearly respond to some basic ideas of the modern ("pragmatic," "non-classificatory") theories of proper names, though having some specific traits.

1. The PNs, as they are treated crosslinguistically, are presented here in the sense different from that of Van Langendonck and Van de Velde [2016, *18*] who, with reference to [Haspelmath, 2010], prefer to speak of a name as a "comparative concept," i.e. a kind of theoretically postulated language unit with a set of semantic and pragmatic properties that may have different morphosyntactic features in various languages. By contrast, the generativist approaches conceptualise the PN as a part of universal grammar. All the approaches mentioned in this paper adopt the enlightening way of analyzing PNs started by Longobardi (and even earlier by Abney's dissertation). The development of Longobardi's analysis coincided in time with and contributed to a new explanation arising in generative linguistics: namely, arranging syntactic structure along the universal functional sequence. Later this view received the name of cartography. It was largely expanded and supported by the seminal work of [Cinque, 1999]. All the cartographic frameworks have one big advantage over their alternatives: they clearly demonstrate that it is the universal functional hierarchy that is responsible for the morphological make-up and interpretation of different structures. Borer with her *exo-skeletal* theory has especially succeeded in demonstrating the impact of syntax on the difference in uses of proper and common names: one universal structure, different levels involved, different interpretational outcomes. Although there is still a lack of data and research, Longobardi's analysis and its continuations show that the "external" differences that the PNs manifest across languages (like the use of the preproprial article) may be explained on one and the same theoretical basis.

2. The generativist approaches discussed in this paper clearly demonstrate the contribution of the syntactic environment to the interpretation of a noun as a proper or a common name which is a strong argument against the "classificatory" / "categorial" approach to PNs. Generativism specifically focuses on the functional structure of the nominal phrase with various theoretical explanations of different syntactic positions possible for the name. Such is the case, as we have seen, of the constructions of naming and nomination, as well as of descriptive appositive constructions like *the girl Alice*. A more unified framework could be elaborated in the future employing, for instance, the ideas of nanosyntax. Nanosyntax does not make a distinction between semantics, morphology and syntax, thus eliminating the necessity to argue in favour or against the predicativist nature of the semantics of PNs used after verbs of naming and nomination. One unified module SMS should solve the problem by postulating, say, different S(yntactic)-trees for different positions of PNs, which would be lexicalised by the L(exical)-tree specific for names, where an L-tree is a superset of a corresponding S-tree. Thus, the amount of structure lexicalised will account for the semantic interpretation of the noun. Roughly, the L-tree $[_{DP}$ D $[_{NP}$ N]] representing the proper name *John* will lexicalise both S-trees $[_{DP}$ D $[_{NP}$ N]] and $[_{NP}$ N]. This same L-tree can lexicalise S-trees with different amounts of structure, including, for instance, functional projections like Num, or Q. For technical detail of how exactly this could be implemented [see Baunaz & Lander, 2018].

The nanosyntactic approach may also be used to account for proper names occurring as parts of fixed expressions so characteristic of informal speech. Depending on their wider syntactic environment the name in such expressions may have either literal (proprial) or non-literal (appellative) interpretation. Cf. (38-a) and (38-b): in the latter, the name is a part of the dialectal expression *Jean qui revient* 'a man who often changes his decisions, who cannot make one' [Feoktistova & Spiridonov, 2016, *87*] which in its turn contain a subordinate clause.

38. a) Voilà Jean qui revient!
Here is John who comes.back.
'That's John who is coming back!'
b) Voilà un Jean qui revient!
Here is a John who comes.back.
'That's a man who often changes his decisions!'

In the predicative syntactic position, the use of the article before the same phrase would rather yield the opposite interpretation:

39. a) Tu es Jean qui revient!
You are John who comes.back.
'You are a man who often changes his decisions!'
b) Tu es un Jean qui revient!
You are a John who comes.back.
'You are (just like a) John who is coming back!'

As we could see, the generativist framework can explain such semantico-syntactic effects. However, this example is complicated by the fact that the name *Jean* alone may have various appellative meanings (although obsolete in modern French) that could increase the number of possible interpretations. One should also take into account a great variety of syntactic structures and the different degrees of lexicalisation (in the traditional, non-nanosyntactic, meaning of this term) that the expressions of this kind may display. Besides, the name itself in such constructions can retain its unique reference (cf. *St-Jean-Bouche-d'Or*, litterally 'John Chrysostom' → 'a long-tongued man'). These examples only rarely attract attention of onomasticians and never of syntacticians. However, the mechanisms of deonymisation have an apparent syntactic dimension, and the approaches overviewed in this paper may serve in the future as a theoretical basis for studying it.

3. The generativist framework also explains the convergence that some nouns may have with doubtless proper names, the phenomenon that leads scholars to consider these nouns as instances of peripheral ("less prototypical") classes of names. Such are numbers and names of diseases. The same also holds for "autonyms" [see Van de Velde & Van Langendonck, 2016, *35–38*] which are considered by generativists as *mentions*. The latter, however, needs to be clarified.

Syntactically, there is no difference between the nominal phrases like *the word bank* and *the name Alice*. But there is a distinct semantic and syntactic difference between the nominal phrases *the name Alice* and *the girl Alice*. The latter example must contain a silent predicate (of a reduced relative clause): *the girl* [*called*] *Alice*. In the nominal constructions of this kind the name may behave in a different way as compared to similar constructions with an overt predicate (cf. Russian *девочка Алиса* 'the girl Alice' and *девочка, называемая Алисой* 'the girl called Alice'). However, *the girl Alice* is clearly predicative and one could opt for applying Cornilescu's analysis to such phrases. Since for Cornilescu (as opposed to Matushansky) there is no difference between PNs used as predicates and arguments, the classifier should likewise be applicable outside the constructions of naming, for instance, it should cover the "autonyms" like *the name Alice* or *the word bank*. The introduction of the name classifier explains why "autonymic" constructions are proprial by their nature and why common names occurring in these constructions tend to converge, both syntactically and semantically, with PNs. However, to confirm this hypothesis we should look for specific syntactic conditions yielding the emergence of such instances of mention in different languages.

Syntax of proper names is a relatively new field of study, much of the research in which is yet to be undertaken. One thing is certain though: it will continue a long standing and fairly successful enterprise of syntactic explanations of semantic problems.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1SG	1 person singular	Art	Article
ACC	Accusative case	ECM	Exceptional Case Marking
ADE	Adessive case	INS	Instrumental case
Adj	Adjective	LOC	Locative case
ALL	Allative case	REFL	Reflexive pronoun

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СИНТАКСИЧЕСКИЕ СВОЙСТВА ИМЕН СОБСТВЕННЫХ: ГЕНЕРАТИВИСТСКИЙ ВЗГЛЯД НА ПРОБЛЕМУ ПРОПРИАЛЬНОСТИ

Настоящая статья представляет собой обзор малоизвестных среди ономастов подходов к синтаксическому анализу имен собственных, сложившихся в рамках генеративной грамматики. В начале статьи авторы излагают основные идеи генеративной грамматики, связанные с синтаксической природой слов и фраз, статусом группы детерминатора, а также обсуждают основные вопросы трансформационного семантического синтаксиса. Затем авторы представляют ключевые генеративные теории, относящиеся к изучению имен собственных, а именно: концепцию Джузеппе Лонгобарди об именах собственных как проекции группы детерминатора, развитую позднее Хагит Борер, которая разработала более детальный подход к описанию функциональной структуры именных групп; анализ конструкций именования и назначения, предложенный Орой Матушански, а также критику этого подхода в работах Александры Корнилеску. Обзор позволяет авторам заключить, что хотя генеративизм не предлагает целостной теории имен собственных, в ряде отношений он может обеспечить даже более многообещающую методологию для анализа синтаксических свойств имен собственных, чем конструктивизм, который сегодня

составляет основу современной «прагматической» теории проприальности. В противоположность конструктивизму генеративизм рассматривает имена собственные как часть универсальной грамматики, пытаясь найти объяснения, одинаково хорошо работающие для разных языков. Рассмотренные в статье подходы однозначно показывают значение синтаксического окружения для проприальной или апеллятивной интерпретации существительного, что само по себе является сильным аргументом в пользу прагматической теории проприальности. Авторы также показывают, что генеративизм может в будущем выступить хорошим теоретическим фундаментом для более детального описания некоторых специфических проприальных синтаксических конструкций.

К л ю ч е в ы е с л о в а: теоретическая ономастика, проприальность, прагматическая теория имени собственного, синтаксис имен собственных, генеративная грамматика, распределенная морфология, наносинтаксис, грамматика конструкций.

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