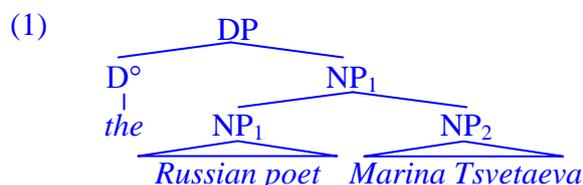# SORTS OF PROPER NAMES

Background: As illustrated below, a proper name in close apposition in Russian can appear in the same case as the categorizing NP (the sortal) or in the nominative case. The availability of the two options depends both on the categorizing noun and the proper name (Table 1).

Table 1: Case-agreement in close apposition

sortal	case-agreement	example
man-made objects	impossible	(2)
[+human]	obligatory	(3)
ulica 'street', etc.	phi-congruence required	(4)
stancija 'station', etc.	with adjectival phi-congruent proper names only	(7)
gorod 'city'	simple proper name: number congruence required	(6) vs. (8)
	complex proper name: phi-congruence required	(9)

Puzzles: In what syntactic structure are the common NP and the proper name merged? Why is such a combination generally impossible with NPs headed by two common nouns? How does the proper name get Case? What determines its ability to do so, given that all (native) Russian nominal proper names can and must be case-marked in the absence of a sortal?

Proposal: Following Jackendoff 1984, Lasersohn 1986, McCawley 1996, 1998, I will show that the head in close apposition in (3) is the common noun, as in (1). I will further argue that proper names enter syntax without a lexical category and that their phi-features can (but do not have to) be unspecified. It is the lack of valued phi-features that makes the structure in (3) possible with proper names, but I will demonstrate that case-agreement is only allowed if the phi-features of the proper name are eventually valued to match those of the common noun.

(1)

The relevance of phi-features: As shown in (2), names of novels, ships and other man-made objects never show case-agreement with the sortal. Capturing the naïve intuition that such proper names rely on the metalinguistic use of language, I propose that they are derived by a null nominalizing affix, which is completely devoid of phi-features; independent evidence for the lack of gender features with such proper names comes from their agreement properties. Since case cannot be assigned without phi-feature valuation, the pattern in (2) follows.

(2) o   romane   "Nepobedimyj/*Nepobedimom"   ✓phi-congruent (adjective)
     about   novel.MSG-LOC   Invincible.MSG-NOM/*LOC
     about the novel The Invincible

Semantically determined phi-features: I will derive the obligatory case-agreement in close apposition with [+human] proper names (3) from the fact (Corbett 1991) that with [+human] nouns semantic gender can supersede syntactic gender. Since with proper names this process is obligatory, the common NP and the proper name in (3) can come to share the same phi-feature values irrespective of their syntactic gender.

(3) o   russkom   poète   *Marina Cvetaeva/✓Marine Cvetaevoj
     about   Russian-MSG-LOC   poet-MSG-LOC   Marina Tsvetaeva.FSG-NOM/LOC
     about the Russian poet Marina Tsvetaeva

Nominal toponyms: with sortals like *ulica* 'street', *selo* 'village', *reka* 'river', etc., the proper name can be marked for case only if it matches the sortal in gender and number, as in (4). It does not require us, however, to assume that the proper names here bear gender features: as shown by (5a), when the semantic gender of a noun fails to match the gender predicted by the

noun's declension class, the noun becomes indeclinable; the same is true for adjectives (5b). The case-agreement failure in (4b) can therefore be treated as morphological in nature.

(4) a. na   ulice   Jakimanka/Jakimanke   ✓phi-congruent
         in   street.MSG-LOC   Yakimanka.FSG-NOM/LOC
         on Yakimanka street

     b. na   ulice   Balčug/*Balčuge   ✗phi-congruent
         in   street.MSG-LOC   Balčug.MSG-NOM/LOC
         on Balčug street

(5) a. s   (pevicej)   Èdit Piaf/Ljudmiloj Gurčenko/*Ljudmila Gurčenko
         with   (singer.F-INS)   Edith Piaf/Ljudmila-INS/-NOM Gurčenko

     b. o   (jazyke)   komi
         about (language-LOC)   Komi

The same reasoning accounts for the impossibility of case-agreement with **plural toponyms**, as in (6): the presence of the plural marker makes the proper name syntactically plural and as a result, prevents it from agreeing in case with the syntactically singular common noun.

(6) a. v   gorode   Gagry/*Gagrax   ✗phi-congruent (number)
         in   city.MSG-LOC   Gagry.PL-NOM/LOC
         in the city of Gagry

     b. v   derevne   Vasjuki/*Vasjukax   ✗phi-congruent (number)
         in   village.MSG-LOC Vasjuki.PL-NOM/LOC
         in the village of Vasjuki

Adjectival toponyms: A large class of sortals (e.g., *mys* 'cape', *gora* 'mountain', *ozero* 'lake', etc.) only allows case-agreement if the proper name is phi-congruent and morphologically an **adjective**. To handle them I will argue that such sortals treat the proper names they combine with as having descriptive content and therefore non-phi-deficient. As a result, they can only combine with adjectival proper names or use the metalinguistic strategy invoked for (2).

(7) a. na   stancii   Moskva/*Moskvy   ✓phi-congruent (noun)
         on   station.FSG-GEN Moscow.FSG-NOM/GEN
         on the station Moscow

     b. na   stancii   Tixoreckaja/Tixoreckoj   ✓phi-congruent (adjective)
         on   station.FSG-GEN Tixoreckaja.FSG-NOM/GEN
         on the station Tixoreckaja

Formalization: I will appeal to the specific labeling algorithm proposed by Chomsky 2013 to formalize the licensing of the structure in (1) and show how it interacts with the redundancy rules deriving syntactic gender from declension class and semantic gender (Corbett 1991). As a result, I will explain the lack of gender congruence **with the sortal *gorod* 'city'** in (8) and its reemergence with syntactically complex city names, as in (9), and with neuter city names.

(8) v   gorode   Moskva/Moskve   ✗phi-congruent
     in   city.MSG-LOC   Moscow.FSG-NOM/LOC
     in the city of Moscow

(9) v   gorode   Belaya Cerkov/*Beloj Cerkvi   ✗phi-congruent
     in   city.MSG-LOC   Belaya Cerkov.FSG-NOM/LOC
     in the city of Belaya Cerkov (lit. White Church)

Finally, I will show how phi-deficiency can account for certain properties of argument proper names in German (e.g., the obligatory definite article in country (*der Irak*) or river (*der Main*) names, as well as the data discussed by Moltmann 2013), without appealing to hidden sortals.