# Inside proper names

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Aims and claims: The aim of this talk is to capture the widely recognized connection between proper names and D in a novel way, and to use modified proper names as a diagnostic that sheds light on the functional sequence of DP. It is well-known that there is both cross-linguistic and intra-linguistic variation as to whether proper names require or disallow co-occurrence with the definite article. Longobardi (1994) proposes that proper names without the definite article undergo N to D movement. This approach must additionally assume that overt heads between N and D, eg. the plural, block this movement (*(the) Lecter-s); but this still doesn't explain that phrasal modification also requires the article (*(the) terrible Lecter, *(the) Oscar-nominated Bridges). Cyclic NP movement may predict the appearance of the article with phrasal modification, but it couldn't explain the appearance of the article with modification by an overt head. I argue that proper names that occur without the article may spell out both N and D as long as these occur in a contiguous head sequence. The definite article appears overtly when an additional head is inserted between N and D and it disrupts their contiguity. Modified proper names are thus a tool to probe into the functional sequence of DP: any modifier that triggers the appearance of the article is either a functional head or the specifier of a functional head merged between N and D.

Background assumptions about lexicalization: I use Ramchand's (2008) "Spanning" theory: a morpheme may lexicalize a single syntactic head or a series of heads that take each other as a syntactic complement (a head "span", as in (1)), c.f. also Wescoat (2002).

(1)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
AP \\
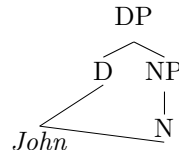A \quad BP \\
B \quad CP \\
bla
\end{array}
$$
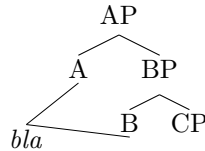
A morpheme lexicalizing a span of heads yields the effects of head movement without actual head movement taking place. The model thus avoids the theoretical problems associated with head movement (e.g. its countercyclic nature or the way it complicates the definition of c-command).
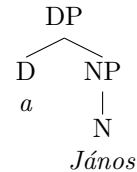
The head(s) that a given morpheme may lexicalize are specified in the morpheme's lexical entry. Lexicalization is const- rained by Underassociation and the Foot Condition. Underassociation allows a lexical item to spell out only a subset of the features it is specified for. Thus the morpheme in (1), specified for the features [A, B] may spell out both [A] and [B] or only [B]. Features that a lexical item is specified for but does not spell out in a given structure are Underassociated. Even when a morpheme Underassociates some of its features, the features it lexicalizes must form a continuous span. The scenario in which the morpheme in (1) spells out only [A] is ruled out by the Foot Condition: morphemes must spell out the lowest feature they are specified for, and they can Underassociate features only from the top (Abels and Muriungi 2008).

Proposal: I take number and definiteness to be privative features: NumP is projected only in plural noun phrases, and DP is projected only in definite noun phrases. I suggest that proper names that reject the article by default are specified in the lexicon to be able to span N and D (2). Proper names that require the article, on the other hand, are not specified for the D feature, and they can only be built into a DP with an overt article (c.f. colloquial Hungarian a János 'the John' in (3)).

(2)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
DP \\
D \quad NP \\
\quad\quad N \\
John
\end{array}
$$

(3)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
DP \\
D \quad NP \\
a \quad\quad N \\
János
\end{array}
$$

As the ability of spanning N and D is a lexical speci- fication, and the lexicon is a repository of idiosync- ratic properties, cross-linguistic and intra-linguistic variation as well as the existence of idiosyncratic exceptions (e.g. English the Sudan) are expected.

Analysis: If an adjunct is merged between N and D, these heads still form a contiguous head sequence and can be co- lexicalized. If a head is merged between N and D, the extra head disrupts their adjacency. As lexical items can only lexicalize a span of locally related heads, N and D must be lexicalized by two separate morphemes. If an additional head intervenes bw. N and D, spanning proper names must Underassociate their D feature and spell out only N. D is spelled out by the definite article. This is why proper names modified by a plural marker require the article *(*(the) Lecter-s)*. The Foot Condition prevents proper names from spelling out only D and functioning as articles on other nouns. The scenario in which D and N are spelled out separately in the absence of an intervening head (*(*the) John*) is ruled out on grounds of economy (Siddiqi's (2009) Minimize Exponence). Underassociation is also the mechanism by which proper names are converted into common nouns or used as predicates. In these cases only an NP is projected; spanning proper names Underassociate their D feature.

Consequences for DP architecture: Any modifier of proper names that requires the overt article is introduced between N and D, as a head or as the specifier of a head distinct from N. It follows that adjectives cannot be introduced as adjuncts (**(the) terrible Lecter*). Under the general assumption that all adjectives are merged between N and D, the fact that evaluative adjectives don't require the article (*I saw poor Mary*) means that they must be merged as adjuncts. Further, relative clauses must be introduced in the specifier of a functional head, whether they precede or follow the noun on the surface (**(the) Oscar-nominated Bridges, *(the) John I know*). The model thus supports the analysis of relative clauses in Ouhalla (2004) and Cinque (2010).

Unique features of the analysis: The proposal represents a variety of the definite description theory of proper names (Geurts 1997, Elbourne 2005, Matushansky 2006, 2008, Ghomeshi and Massam 2009). It is closest is spirit to that of Matushansky, but differs from it in two crucial respects. The present proposal does not require a specialized m-merger or other morphological rule; the coming and going of the article is the by-product of the way lexicalization works in general. It also makes strong predictions for the position and category of nominal modifiers, which Matushansky's doesn't. She allows for some modifiers between N and D to have the idiosyncratic property of not blocking m-merger. The present account does not involve such idiosyncrasy; such modifiers are either adjuncts or they are merged above D.

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