ON CLASSIFIERS AND PROPER NAMES

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Abstract: The paper discusses the functional structure of proper names (PNs) in relation to descriptive PNs, verbs of naming, and non-literal uses of PNs. We propose that *the functional structure of PNs includes* not only a D [+def, φ, +Person], but also *a qualitative classifier*. This proposal reflects the intuition that a complete understanding of a PN requires identifying *the kind of entity* that it names. The hypothesis of a classifier in the functional structure of PNs provides a natural analysis for *descriptive PNs* (e.g., *Regina Victoria*) since, with descriptive PNs, the otherwise *silent classifier head is overt*. Secondly, we argue that in the naming constructions PNs are *mentioned*, *not used*. The mention function is signaled by the presence of a [NAME] *classifier* in the structure of the PN. This analysis allows us to treat PNs as referring expressions, specifically as constants in all their uses. Finally, classifiers are also helpful in interpreting non-literal uses of PNs, since they mostly involve formation of a new category or class, prototypically represented by the literal referent of the PN. The information supplied by the classifier is instrumental in this type inference.

1. Aim and assumptions

The paper discusses the functional structure of proper names (PNs) bringing to bear two sets of data: the structure of descriptive names and, especially, the syntax and interpretation of verbs of naming and nomination in Romanian.

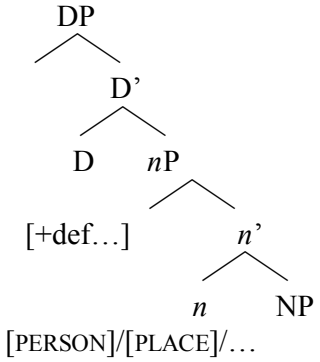
Probably the most important contribution to the syntax of PNs is Longobardi's (1994) claim that PNs are DPs universally (cf. also Borer, 2005) and that they overtly or covertly raise to D. This follows from the proposal that D is the locus of reference, and nominals with <e> denotation, therefore PNs in the first place, have a filled D position at least at LF, if not earlier. Borer (2005) reformulates this analysis claiming that PNs have an inherent <definite-unique> feature, which the PN checks by Move or Agree, against a matching [definite] feature in D.

Longobardi (2006) refines his earlier account, suggesting that the property which makes PNs and pronouns referential is that they check a grammatical [Person] feature. It is the person feature which secures reference. This grammatical [Person] feature is checked in D, possibly along with φ-features and definiteness. Thus, N-to-D, in languages that have it, is triggered by the PN's need to a check a [definite-unique] feature and/ or also a grammatical [Person] feature in D (cf. Longobardi, 2006). In languages that do not have N-to-D, the PN checks its feature(s) by Agree (the case of English, cf. Borer, 2005), or by forming an {expletive-associate} chain with the D position, filling the D position with an expletive definite article (Longobardi 2006).

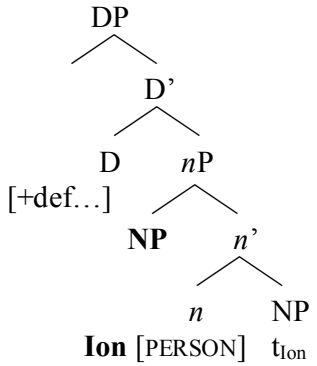
We propose that the *functional structure of PNs includes* not only a D[+def, φ, +Person], but also *a qualitative classifier*. This proposal reflects the intuition that a correct understanding of the PN requires an understanding of *the kind of entity* named by the PN. This qualitative classifier should be viewed as a *nominalizer* (cf. Kihm, 2005), a *word-class marker* which shows that its complement is an NP. The classifier thus appears as a small *n*, the counterpart of small *v*.

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(1) a.



b.



The idea that PNs connote the type of entity they are associated with has been put forth before. For instance, Karttunen & Peters (1979) claim that a name like *John* denotes an individual, and *conventionally implicates* that *the individual* is *human* and *male*. The suggestion to employ classifiers in order to specify the kind of entity denoted by the PN is directly supported by languages which use classifiers to designate types of entities, such as Manjaku, analysed in Kihm (2005:474). A root like √*lik* (draw water) may be classified in different ways, choosing different nominalizing affixes, like *pë- /m- /ka-* respectively forming *pë-lik* (well), *m-lik (water)* and *ka-lik* (fruit-juice). These examples show that the classifying element has descriptive content, designating a kind of thing. What we propose is that *classifiers also operate on PNs*, specifying the kind of entity that bears the name. We view the classifying *n* head as containing a formal interpretable PERSON/ PLACE/ OTHER? feature usually chekced by the PN itself, as in (1b).

The distinction between the [PERSON]/[PLACE]/[OTHER?] classifiers is required, because many languages have specific patterns for forming person PNs, as opposed to place PNs, knowledge of these patterns is part of anyone's I-language.

The assumption that there is a small *n* classifying PNs as to the entity they denote proves to be helpful in solving thorny descriptive and theoretical problems.

2. Descriptive names

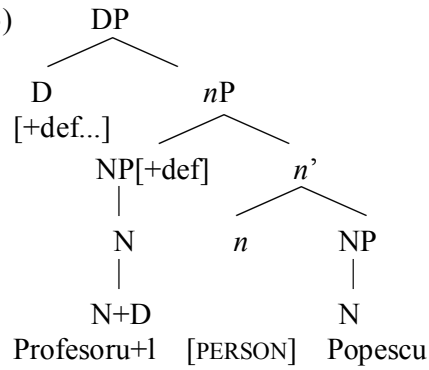
A central set of data to be considered is that of *"descriptive proper names"* or *complex PNs* (cf. Soames 2002). These are PNs formed of a common noun + PN. The descriptive noun designates a social role (kinship, profession, institutional role), or a sort of place (city, street, river, village, etc), some other entity (a theatre, a planet, etc.).

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(2) *Profesorul Ionescu* 'professor.the Ionescu; *Regina Elizabeta* 'queen.the Elisabeth'; *Mătuşa Tamara* 'aunt.the Tamara'; *Prinţul Carol* 'prince.the Charles';*Oraşul Iaşi* 'city.the Iasi', *Strada Paris* 'street.the Paris' etc.

The syntactic analysis of descriptive PNs causes difficulty. It has sometimes been suggested that they are appositive constructions, rather than complex PNs. English, however, clearly shows their PN status, by the conspicuous absence of the definite article: *Prince Charles*, etc. The hypothesis of a classifier in the functional structure of PNs provides a natural analysis for descriptive PNs, since the classifier is practically visible in their structure. Intuitively, the common name has a classifying role, indicating the kind of entity the PN denotes, as in *Professor Smith*. While for simple PNs, the PN itself checks the classifier feature, by Move or Agree, for descriptive PNs, the descriptive common noun merges as the specifier of the nominal-class head, since the feature of this n-head is one of the features of the common noun. With descriptive PNs the *silent classifier head is overt*. The structure of a Romanian descriptive PN is in (4). Apparently in (4), the PN is too low to check [+def, +φ + person], so the descriptive NP must be definite, and checks the D[+def] feature. English, in contrast, allows long-distance Agree.

(3)



Demonstrably, in descriptive PNs, the PN is not part of an appositive structure. Appositive modification has always been DP, as opposed to, NP modification (cf. Potts 2005); in other words, both the modifier and the modifee should be DPs, as in: *They admire the author of this play, the best known English writer.// They admire the best known English writer, the author of this play*. Notice now that the PN in the descriptive name construction is an NP not a DP. This is shown by the impossibility of replacing PNs by pronouns in this construction:

(4)	a.	Profesorul Popescu professor.the Popescu	b.	*Profesorul el professor.the he

In contrast, in genuine appositive constructions involving PNs, PNs are interchangeable with pronouns, and are thus syntactic DPs.

(5)	a.	Brâncuşi românul Brâncuşi Romanian.the	b.	el românul he Romanian.the

The descriptive nouns should be viewed as *semi-lexical categories* (cf. Löbel, 2001) with the following properties: they become relational requiring a complement; they are not referential, since in a phrase like *domnul Popescu*, there is only one referent, that of the PN.

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The descriptive term may be abbreviated, a possible linguistic sign of functional elements; this is a common practice for classifying titles: *D-na Pop* (Doamna Pop, 'Mrs. Pop'), *Dr. Ionescu* (Doctorul Ionescu), etc.

When, furthermore, a NumP is also projected in (4), the PN is reanalyzed as a common countable noun, in examples like (6).

(6) a. un profesor Ionescu
a professor Ionescu
b. mulți profesori Ionescu
many professors Ionescu

The classifier is thus descriptively helpful for various aspects of PN syntax. It should be mentioned before closing this brief discussion that not all descriptive names have this syntactic structure, i.e., not all of them are syntactic PNs. For instance, a distinct pattern that descriptive PNs may assume is the possessive construction. Syntactically, possessive constructions appear to be regular definite descriptions, containing two full DPsm unlike the PNs discussed above.

(6') a. Cetatea Branului
Citadel.the Bran.the.Gen
b. Apa Sâmbetei
Water.the Sâmbată.the.Gen

The suggestion that PNs are always classified regarding the entity they denote will lead to a new analysis of verbs of naming. These verbs represent a challenge for PN theories, since with these verbs, PNs do not have their regular person/place denotation.

3. Verbs of naming and nomination. An instance of mention

3.1 Matushansky's analysis

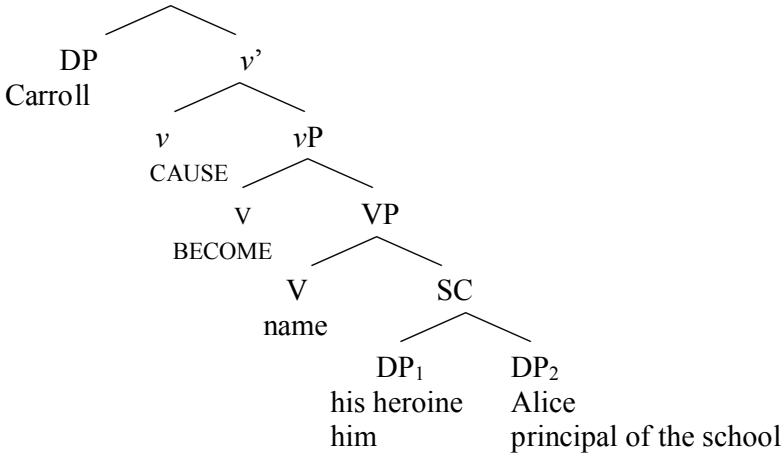
An important result in the analysis of verbs of naming is due to Matushansky (2002). Essentially, she proves that in the naming construction, PNs are NPs, and have *predicate* denotations. The *referential use* of PNs is constructed in syntax by combining PNs with indexical articles. In their referential use PNs are DPs and semantically, they are *definite descriptions*. More specifically she proposes the following:

a) Verbs of naming (*name*, *christen*, etc.) form a uniform class with verbs of nomination (*name*, *appoint,* etc.), projecting an invariant structure across languages. Since verbs of nomination are ECM verbs (Stowell, 1991) and form a natural class with verbs of naming, the latter will take small clause complements as well (as in (7c) from Matushansky, 2002). The PN in the naming construction and the function-designating noun in the nomination construction are the *predicates* of these small clauses.

The predicative role of the PN in the naming construction is fully supported by its syntactic properties regarding interrogation, anaphora, case-marking and absence of the definite article in languages with preproprial articles. Therefore, an essential result is that in constructions with verbs of naming *PNs are not arguments*, but *predicates*. Moreover, the *predicative* PN is claimed to be *internally simple*, that is, it is an NP, and it is accordingly interpreted as a predicate (see (8)):

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(7) a. Carroll named his heroine *Alice*.
b. Carroll named him *principal of the school.*
c.



(8) [[Alice]] = λx ∈D_e. λR. x is **a** referent of [Alice] by virtue of the naming convention R.

According to (8), in predicate position the name Alice simply denotes **one** referent of the name Alice, a referent possible by virtue of the naming convention R established in the community (Kripke 1980, Evans 1982, Soames 2002). Matushansky argues that, given their properties and meaning, PNs *have the same syntax as common names*, and enter the derivation as *semantic predicates.*

b) In argument positions, PNs are *internally complex*, necessarily having a *definite article in their structure*. The article is *not an expletive*, but secures uniqueness of the referent for the speaker and hearer, as well as rigidity. The presence of the article explains why PNs are indexical and definite. As a consequence, while predicative PNs are NPs and predicates, argumental PNs always represent definite DPs, and they are disguised or overt *definite descriptions*. The English name *Alice* in (9) contains an *indexical definite article*, present at LF, but not at PF, and is analyzed as in (10).

(9) Alice is a sweet girl.

(10) [[~~the~~ Alice]] = λx . x is a referent of [Alice] by virtue of the *naming convention in force between the speaker$_c$ and the hearer$_c$.*

Depending on syntactic, morphological and language specific properties, the definite article is pronounced in some languages (Greek, Portuguese) and "absorbed", i.e. silent in others (English, French), although it is always present at LF. In conclusion, Matushansky (2002) achieves a semantic and syntactic unification of common nouns and PNs: both enter syntax as predicates, both need D in order to achieve uniqueness of reference. This is an interesting linguistic defense of the *descriptive theory of PNs*, in the variant recently proposed by Geurts (1997).

3.2 A counterproposal

Despite its elegance, the analysis above faces descriptive problems and has unwelcome consequences for the theory of PNs, in as much as it forces the descriptive theory of PNs, i.e.,

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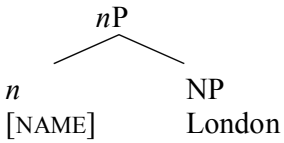
the view that PNs are (disguised) definite descriptions. (For arguments against Geurts' variant of the description theory of PNs see Abbot 2002).

On the basis of a detailed analysis of verbs of naming and nomination in Romanian, we propose a different account of the naming construction. We claim that *in the naming construction PNs are instances of mention*, rather than *use*, i.e., they are employed as in (11b), rather than (11a).

(11) a. London is a city. b. "London" has six letters.

The function of the PN in (11b) is *meta-linguistic*. This is why the PN does not have its regular unique place denotation. The mention function will be signaled by the *presence of a* [NAME] *classifier* in the structure of the PN. Therefore, the difference between the two uses of the PN in (11) lies in the nominal classifier at work, [PLACE], vs [NAME]. Classifiers thus makes the formal difference between use and mention.

(12)



Matushanky is surely right that in the naming construction, PN are not arguments, but represent part of the predicate. However, the characteristic of PNs in the naming construction is not simply their predicative function, but the fact that they represent instances of *mention* rather than *use*.

If successful, this analysis has the following desirable results. First, it offers a good empirical coverage of the syntax of (Romanian) verbs of naming and nomination. Secondly, it allows PN to be referential expressions, even when they are part of the syntactic predicate. When they are instances of mention, PNs *rigidly designate the name itself*. The account can be generalized to other cases where the PN is a syntactic predicate, such as copulative constructions. Here as well, the PN is referential, even if it behaves as a syntactic predicate. Furthermore, as will be shown in the last section of the paper the analysis can cover non-literal uses of PNs. Therefore the analysis we propose is compatible with a canonical representation of PN as constants (or as situational variables), rather than as disguised definite descriptions, in *all* of their uses.

4. The grammar of Romanian verbs and naming and verbs of nomination

Romanian verbs of naming and nomination (listed in 13), like their English counterparts, are ECM verbs and take small clauses as complements.

(13) a. *Verbs of naming* a) a numi 'name', boteza 'baptize', chema 'call', a porecli 'nickname', a striga 'call', a se autointitula ' self-style'.
b. *Verbs of nomination*: a numi 'name', a mirui/ unge 'anoint', aclama 'acclaim', a alege 'choose', a încorona 'crown', a înscăuna 'enthrone', a declara 'declare', a desemna 'designate', a eticheta 'label', face 'make', a delega 'deputy', investi 'pronounce', a nominaliza 'nominate', a proclama 'proclaim', a vota 'vote'.

Also, just as in English, plenty of evidence supports the claim that the PN, as well the function denoting noun are part of the small clause's predicate. Beyond these similarities,

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Romanian shows systematic differences between these verb classes, regarding the internal structure of the small clause. The small clause of naming verbs suggests that PNs are mentioned rather than used in this construction.

4.1 The proper name is a syntactic predicate

Case marking provides important evidence that the PN is predicative in the naming construction. In Romanian, the predicate of the small clause case-agrees with the subject, so that both are Nominative (e.g. in root copulative constructions) or both are Acc(usative) in ECM constructions. However, the two Acc are different. The subject of the small clause is assigned structural Acc, by the ECM verb. In contrast, the PN/ function designating name appears in what has been called an inherent Acc case (Cornilescu, 1995). DPs in the inherent Acc do not passivize. PNs and function designating names with naming/ nomination verbs confirm this expectation and do not passivize, contrasting with the subject of the small clauses, assigned structural Acc, which does passivize.

(14) a. L-au botezat pe copil Ion.
him-have.3rd pl. christened PE child Ion
b. Copilul a fost botezat Ion.
child.the has been christened Ion
c. *Ion (l)-a fost botezat pe copil.
Ion him-has been christened PE child

(15) a. (L)-au numit pe Ion preşedinte.
(him)-have.3rd pl. named PE Ion president
b. Ion a fost numit preşedinte.
Ion has been named president.
c. *Preşedinte (l)-a fost numit pe Ion.
President him-have been named PE Ion

Romanian is a differential object marking language, where nouns denoting people may receive the preposition *pe*, 'on' in the Acc, if they are arguments and have <e>-type readings. In particular the use of *pe*, 'on' is *obligatory* with argument PNs. Nouns assigned inherent Acc cannot receive *pe*, even if they denote persons or are PNs. Expectedly, neither PNs nor function denoting names can receive *pe*, 'on'; this confirms that they are not used as arguments:

(16) a. *Au botezat copilul pe Ion.
They have christened child.the PE Ion
b. *Au ales profesorul pe preşedinte.
They have elected professor.the PE president.

Thus, case supplies considerable evidence that for both types of verbs the PN/ function designating nominal is not an argument, but is (part of) the predicative.

Interrogation and anaphora phenomena also prove that DP_2 in (7c) is not an argument. But the two verb classes sharply differ with respect to both interrogation and anaphora, in ways which suggest that the internal structure of the small clause is not the same. With both types of verbs, the subject of the small clause is questioned by (*pe*) *cine*, 'whom', while the predicative is treated differently. When the PN is questioned in the naming construction, the suitable interrogative must be the manner adverb *cum*, 'how' never *cine,* 'who' or *ce*, 'what.

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In contrast, the function-denoting name in the nomination construction is questioned by *ce*, 'what', never *cine*, 'who' or *cum*, 'how'.

(17) a. L-au botezat pe fiul lor Cezar.
him-have christened (pe) son.the their Caesar.
'They christened their son Caesar'.
b. **Cum/*(pe) cine/*ce** l-au botezat pe fiul lor?
how/ *whom/*what him-have christened pe son.the theirs
'What did they christen their son?'

(18) a. L-au numit pe Ion preşedinte.
him-have appointed PE Ion president
'They appointed Ion president'.
b. **Ce/*cine/*cum** l-au numit pe Ion ?
what/*who/*how him-have appointed PE Ion ?
'What did they appoint John?'

Since *cum/ce* are never interchangeable it follows that the syntactic category of the predicative is different with the two types of verbs. It is a DP, replaced by *ce*, 'what' with verbs of nomination, but a PP/AvP, replaced by *cum*, 'how' with verbs of naming.

As to anaphora, the PN in the naming construction, in fact, the predicative PP containing the PN, is anaphorically referred to only by the adverbial pro-forms *aşa*, 'so' and *astfel* 'so, thus'. In contrast, the function-designating noun phrase is anaphorically replaced by the neuter demonstrative *asta* 'this'/*aia,* 'that' , which are DPs.

(19) a. L-au botezat pe Ion aşa/astfel/*asta după bunicul său.
him-have christened PE Ion/ so/thus/*this after grandfather the his
'They christened him Ion/ thus/*so/*thus after his grandfather.'
b. Pe Ion l-au ales preşedinte asta/*aşa/*astfel.
PE Ion him-have elected president this/ *so/*thus
'They have elected Ion president/ this.'

4.2 Conclusions so far

1. Both type of verbs select small clauses. The subject of the small clause gets structural Acc by ECM. The second nominal gets inherent Acc by agreement with the subject. Structurally, the predicative appears to be a PP with verbs of naming and a DP with verbs of nomination. More data will reinforce these conclusions.

4.3 The alternative PP construction

The suggestion that the predicative of naming verbs is a PP is reinforced by the fact that with *all* Romanian verbs of naming, the PN alternates with a PP where the PN *must* be preceded by the common noun *nume,* 'name' introduced by the Prep **cu** 'with": *cu+ nume + PN*. The obligatory occurrence of *nume,* 'name' in the alternative PP patter is significant. It strongly suggests that in the naming construction the PN is *mentioned.* At the same time, the presence of a PP node, rather than DP/NP node in predicative position is in keeping with questioning by *cum*, 'how' and substitution by the adverbs *as, 'so'/astfel*. All verbs alternate with the Prep cu, 'with', some also alternate with *pe*, 'on'+ nume +PN

(20) a. L-au numit/ botezat **Ion/cu numele Ion.**
him-have christened Ion/ with name.the Ion

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b. Îl cheamă/ strigă **cu numele Ion/ pe numele Ion**
him-call with name.the Ion/ on name.the Ion
c. L-au poreclit **cu o poreclă ciudată**:
him-have nicknamed with a nickname strange

An interesting facet of the naming construction is the fact that the predicative PP of naming verbs may be replaced by a *qualifying adverb*. The adverb does *not* refer to the properties of the *naming ceremonial event*. Rather, the adverb corresponds to an adjective that characterizes the noun *nume*, 'name', and indirectly the PN given in the naming ceremony. The adverbial construction, which refers to metalinguistic properties of the name (sonority, origin) is further proof that in the naming construction, PNs are instances of mention, rather than use, since the noun *nume*, 'name' is implicit, even when it is not overt.

(21) L-au botezat **foarte frumos**/ **cu un nume foarte frumos**/aşa.
him-have christened very beautifully/with a name very beautiful/so.
'They gave him a beautiful name.'
(22) Îl cheamă **foarte ciudat**: Artur// **cu un nume foarte ciudat**: Artur.
him call very strangely: Artur// with a name very strange: Artur
'They call him by a strange name: Artur.'

Finally, notice that there are cognate naming constructions, which unlike the naming verbs themselves, use either only the PN, but not the classifier construction, or the other way round.

Thus, in Romanian, there are dative constructions with verbs of saying used as naming verbs; the DP that corresponds to the small clause subject appears in the Dative, the alternative prepositional phrase structure is either not available, or awkward, but the question phrase is again *cum* 'how', and the anaphoric construction also uses *aşa*.

(23) a. Lumea **îi** zice **Ion** /***cu numele Ion**/?? **pe numele Ion**
people.the him.Dat.call Ion/* with name.the Ion/ ?? on name.the Ion
'People call him Ion/ by the name Ion.'
b. **Cum îi** zice lumea ?
how him.Dat.say people.the
'What do people call him?'
c. **Aşa îi** zice lumea.
so him.Dat.say people.the
'People call him this.'

Secondly, light verbs like *a da* 'give', *a pune*, 'put' are also frequently used to represent naming events. With these verbs the *name classifier* is *obligatory*, and the PN alone is ungrammatical. As expected given the syntax of these verbs, the interrogative is *ce nume* "what name":

(24) a. I- au dat *Ion / numele (de) Ion.
him.Dat. have given Ion/ the name Ion.
'They gave him the name (of) Ion.'
b. Ce nume i -au dat?/ *Cum i-au dat?
what name him.Dat. have given /How him.Dat.- have given
'What name did they give him?'

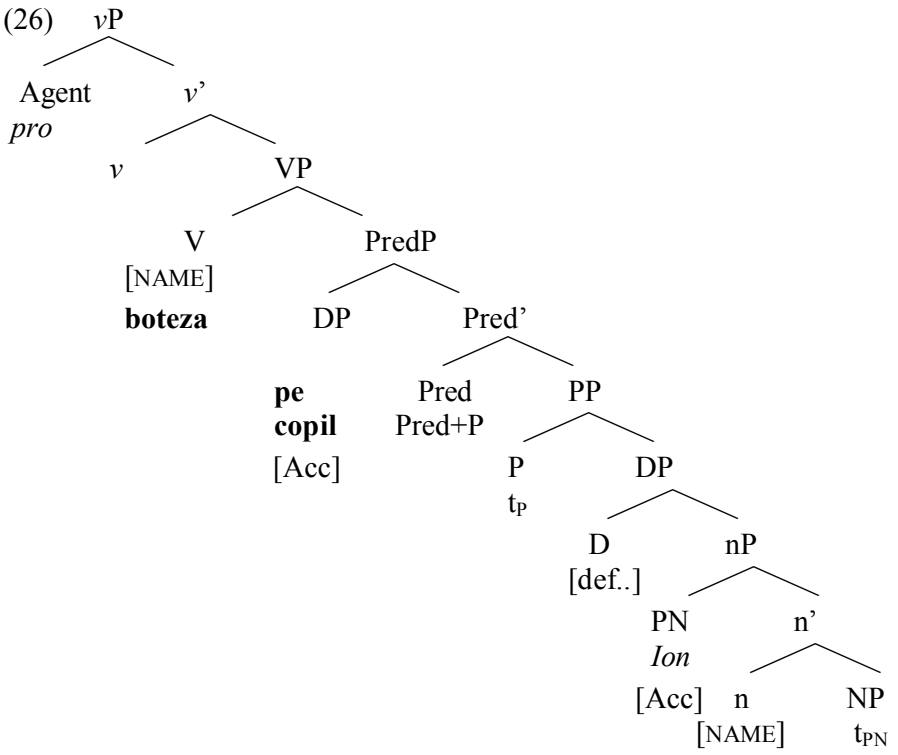
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4.4 The analysis

Since they are accomplishments, verbs of naming have a complex event structure, including a small clause. In a logic of type Hale and Keyser (1993), *to name, clearly a denominal verb,* might be anlysed as 'cause somebody to be with a name'; projecting a structure which would include a small clause with a PP as predicate. We follow the suggestion that non-verbal predicates are licensed by a Pred(icate) functional head (Baker, 2003), so that the selected small clause is a Pred P and the predicative PP is the complement of the functional Pred head. The intuition is that verbs of naming s-select a phrase with the property [NAME], a property satisfied by the lexical noun *nume*, 'name', or by the PN classified as a name. Consider the sentences below:

(25) a. L-au botezat pe copil Ion.
him-have christened PE child Ion
b. L-au botezat pe copil cu numele Ion.
him-have christened PE child with name.the Ion
c. *L-au botezat cu Ion.
him- have christened with Ion

(26)



Consider sentences (25a) and (25b). For them to converge, the derivation must solve two problems. The PN must check case and the verb must satisfy its s-selectional [NAME] feature. Two situations are possible: a) the P is empty, as in sentence (25a); b) the P is overt, as in (25 b). There is case agreement with the subject of the small clause.

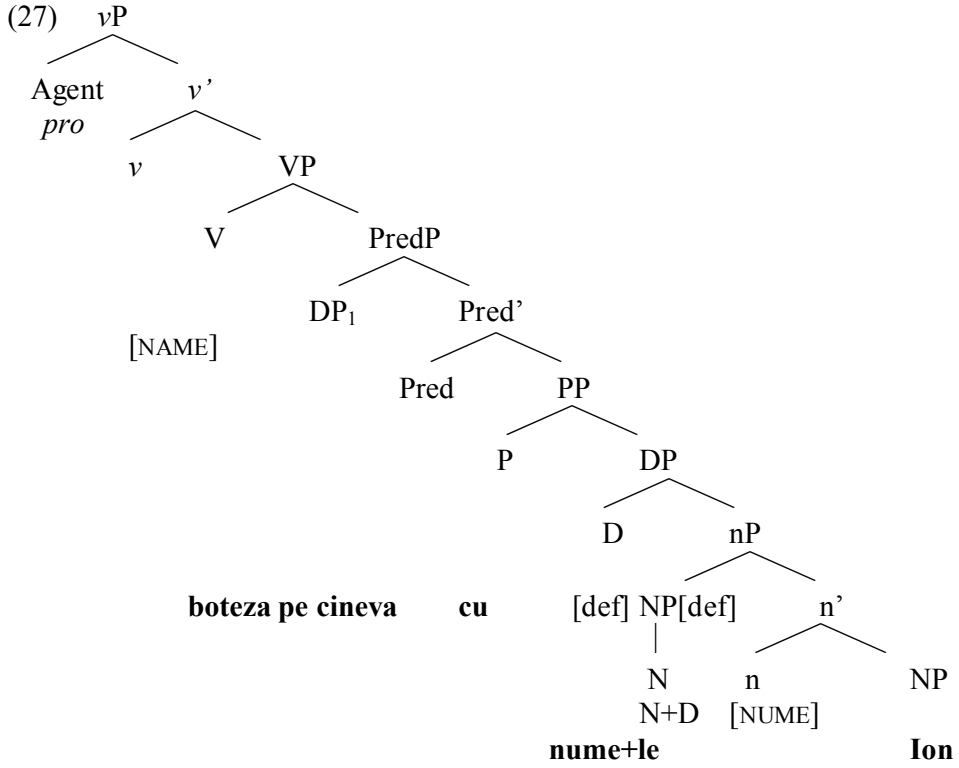
When the P is empty it will amalgamate with the Pred head (see 26). This extends the domain of the Pred head, so that now a case feature may be transmitted from the subject of the small clause to the DP proper name. At the same time, since there is no lexical head between the naming verb and the interpretable class feature *n*[NAME], this feature may be used to check

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the selectional [NAME] feature of the verb. Notice that it is indeed likely that it is head transmission of the [NAME] feature which is involved, since the lexical P, if present, blocks this process (cf.25c) and forces the presence of the lexical noun, *nume*, 'name' (25b). Thus, through their s-selection properties, verbs of naming *coerce* the PN to appear in the appropriate classifier construction. Since P is empty, one may wonder whether the PP node is justified in (25a). In fact, the PP node is there to account for interrogation with *cum*, 'how', for anaphora with *aşa /astfel* 'so'.

When the preposition is overt, it will assign case to its complement, but the selectional feature of the verb can no longer be directly satisfied by the classifier of the PN. Rather the presence of the noun *nume*, 'name' is required. It may appear in a descriptive name structure as discussed in section 2. The PN is classified as a [NAME], while the lexical noun nume, appears as the Specifier of the classifier phrase.

(27)



A comparison with nomination verbs is useful, since some of them also have an alternative PP construction; the P must appear in questions and in anaphoric constructions

(28) a. L-au ales drept preşedinte/ drept asta.
him-have elected as president / as this.
b. Drept ce l-au ales?
as what him-have elected
'What did they elect him?'

Given the evidence in (28), these verbs alternatively select a small clause with an NP/DP predicative or a small clause with PP predicative, but the P is always overt. The syntax of these verbs is like the syntax of naming/nomination verbs in English.

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Notice now that under the mention analysis, *PNs are not semantic predicates* in the naming construction, but have *syntactic reference* (Kaplan, 1964): the PN *Ion* in (25a) rigidly designates the name 'Ion'. The naming construction does not provide any evidence that PNs should be interpreted as predicates, on the model of common nouns. This will also be shown by a consideration of other predicative uses of PNs in Romanian.

4.3 Other predicative uses

PNs can be small clause predicates with copulas, SSR verbs and ECM constructions, including copulas or only secondary predicates:

(29) a. În fotografia asta, bărbatul acesta pare (a fi) Ion.
in picture.the this man.the this seems (to be) Ion
b. În fotografia asta, aş considera-o pe asta Maria, după pălărie.
in picture.the this would consider-her PE this Maria after hat.
'I would consider this person to be Maria, judging by her hat.'

The small clauses are identity statements, where the PN is in predicative position. Notice in particular example (29b): the small clause subject assumes structural Acc with *pe*,'on', the predicative PN assumes inherent Acc just as in the naming construction. So, the syntax of the PN is that of syntactic predicative. On the other hand, in (29b), the PN functions as an indexical, since, clearly, Maria is an individual called so by virtue of the *naming convention in force between the speaker$_c$ and the hearer$_c$*. The interpretation of the PN is the same as in argument position, even if, syntactically, the PN is a predicate. Equative constructions offer another example of predicative syntax combined with referential PN semantics. Summing up, if we stick to *literal uses* of PNs, there are no cases which would force on us the conclusion that PNs ever are semantic predicates. There remain considerable differences between common names and PNs, deriving from the fact that only common names, but not PNs are predicates. (See Segal, 2001 for a review of the evidence that PNs should be dealt with as *constants*, or as *pragmatic variables*, but not as predicates).

5. Classifiers and non-literal uses of proper names

In this section we briefly consider a few non-literal uses of PNs, some of them, examples of (fresh) metaphors, others, examples of standardized metaphors or metonymies. We claim that in every case, or at least in most cases what is at stake for bridging the gap between the literal, unique person or unique object-denoting use to the non-literal use (denoting a different person/object or a class of persons/objects) is an *inference of reference extension* from the literal denotation to a class of objects "prototypically represented" by the literal referent of the PN. Such inferencing always starts from the LF of the sentence. It is important that the representation of the PN at LF contains information regarding the entity denoted by the PN, since this information is always essential in constructing a *target entity* or a *target class* starting from *the prototype of the source class* (cf. Wee 2006).The qualitative classifier is thus also required for the further semantic and pragmatic (re)interpretation of the PN.

Non-literal uses of PNs do not require a syntactic re-analysis of PNs as common names. In the examples below, the PN designates a referent different from the ordinary one, even if the expressions are syntactic proper names. Notice also that the non-literal use may occur as an argument.

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(30) a. Nu ştiam că **Einstein** se află printre noi! (teacher addressing a very smart pupil).
not knew(I) that Einstein is among us
'I didn't know that Einstein was among us.'
b. În istoria muzicii, Verdi este **Shakespeare**.
'In the history of music, Verdi is Shakespeare.'

In these examples the PNs have not been turned into common ones, but the use is non-literal. The referent of the PN Einstein in (30a) is the unique individual who in the context belongs to the class generated by the referent of the source name, Einstein: the class of individuals who have an exceptionally high IQ. Similarly, Shakespeare, as the referent of the source name Shakespeare in (30b) may generated various classes in different contexts and with different speakers: 'the class of English playwrights', 'the class of exceptional poets', 'the class of exceptional dramatic genii', etc. Given the subject Verdi in (30b), it is the last interpretation which is chosen, so that (30b) actually means that Verdi is a composer of great dramatic genius. The behavior of metaphorically used PNs accords more with the class inclusion model of metaphors, rather than with the correspondence model (cf. Wee 2006). Class inclusion mapping includes the inferential step of constructing a class starting from the attributes typically associated with the PN's referent in some cultural/situational or individual model.

The same interpretative mechanism of *reference extension* is at work when PNs are re-interpreted as common nouns. The mechanism of class formation on the basis of salient properties of the PN's referent is most evident when PNs are used with indefinite and universal determiners; all of them must combine with common name denotations, and moreover some of them select only plurals. The classifier feature in the representation of the PN is again essential in providing a link with the NumP and the QP and in extending the reference of the PN from an individual to a class whose members share some *salient property*. In (31a) the property is simply 'bearing the name Ionescu'; in (31b), *oricare Cezar* 'any Caesar' designates any member of the class of individuals that have Caesar's characteristic properties. What is required in such uses is some knowledge of the referent of the PN. In the first place, what sort of entity is named: a person/man/ woman/ city, etc. Often, there are certain stock attributes associated with the referent, as part of the 'naming convention at work' and the cultural practices of a certain community. Such properties make possible the process of 'epitomization' (cf. Stidd 2004), that is "the use of proper names to epitomize some salient attribute" (on the basis of which a class is constructed).

(31) a. Există mulţi Ionescu/ Ioneşti în cartea de telefon.
exist many Ionescu/Ionescu.PL in book.the of telephone.
'There are many Ionescu(s) in the phone directory.'
b. Oricare Cezar/ Numai un Cezar ar fi ştiut răspunsul la întrebare.
'Any Caesar/Only a Caesar would have known the answer to that question.'
c. Ne-ar trebui un Isus.
'We would need a Jesus.'

Notice that often there are modifiers of the PN which introduce further attributes of the target individual or target class of individuals.

(32) a. Fiecare Napoleon din armată îl adora pe Napoleon.
every Napoleon in army him worshipped PE Napoleon
'Every Napoleon in the army worshipped Napoleon.'

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b. Numai un Hamlet de provincie ar spune asta.
only a Hamlet of province would say that
'Only a provincial Hamlet would say that.'

In the individual file of the PN's referent there is often information regarding the activities and objects symbolically associated with that referent. This gives rise to the often standardized metonymic uses of PNs to designate 'the class of products created/associated with the referent of the PN', 'the class of actions typically associated with the referent of the PN', as in the English example in (c):

(33) a. Muzeul a achiziționat un Picasso.
'The museum has acquired a Picasso.'
b. Ascult Mozart cu plăcere.
'I am listening to Mozart with delight.'
c. You could do an Arnold Schwarzenegger, to impress everybody.

Using PN as the source of figurative interpretations raises questions about the nature of the relation between the source and the target. We have identified reference extension as a bridging inference relating the literal and non-literal use of the PN. When used metaphorically, PNs behave more in accordance with the class-inclusion model of metaphors. This is because a name identifies a particular entity, and given that any entity can be described in any number of ways, the name simply creates an ad hoc category, whose precise nature will vary depending on the particular description the entity is associated with in some context. Under the assumption that interpretation starts from the information supplied at LF, the classifier associated with the PN is an essential ingredient in deriving the reference extension inference characteristically required by non-literal uses of PNs.

6. Conclusions

1. PNs include a class name or classifier in their functional structure.
2. The class name is silent ordinarily but it may be overt in descriptive PNs.
3. In the naming construction, PNs are mentioned, not used.
4. The naming construction is not a syntactic argument that PNs are semantic predicates. PNs may be analysed as referential expressions even when they are part of syntactic predicates.
5. Non-literal uses of PNs are based on an inference of reference extension, starting from the LL representation. The classifier associated with the PN is an essential ingredient in deriving the reference extension inference required by non-literal uses of PNs.

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