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Names, Light Nouns, and Countability

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Making use of Kayne’s (2005, 2010) theory of light nouns, this article argues that light nouns are part of (simple) names and that a mass/count distinction among light nouns explains the behavior of certain types of names in German as mass rather than count. The article elaborates the role of light nouns with new generalizations regarding their linguistic behavior in quantificational and pronominal NPs, their selection of relative pronouns in German, and a general difference in the support of plural anaphora between English and German.

Keywords: names, proper names, light nouns, special quantifiers, mass/count distinction, location, predicativism

It is a standard assumption that proper names for entities of different types have the very same semantics, denoting well-individuated entities and thus classifying as count nouns. It has moreover become a standard view in philosophy of language that names are rigid designators standing for the same entities in different circumstances in virtue of the causal-historical chain to which they belong on a given use. A less standard view, argued for by philosophers such as Geach (1957) and Dummett (1973), is that names involve a sortal, as a requirement for a speaker to be able to use them to refer to an entity. This article presents syntactic evidence from German for the presence of sortals in names, and argues that different types of names may involve sortals of different kinds and in different ways.

One manifestation of that presence is a surprising division into mass and count among names in German. Names for places as well as what I will call *productive names* for times, numbers, and expression types in German provide diagnostics for mass rather than count status (diagnostics not available in English). Making use of Kayne’s (2005, 2010) silent-noun theory, the article will argue that this is due to the silent presence of mass light nouns in such names—in particular, THING, PLACE, and TIME. THING, PLACE, and TIME also behave as mass nouns when they are overt or silent parts of light quantificational or pronominal NPs in German or English—for example, *everything* or its German counterpart *alles*. By contrast, the light noun PERSON classifies as count, being a silent part of names for people and an overt or silent part of light quantificational or pronominal NPs such as *everybody* (or German *jeder*) and *many*. The classification of German names as count when they contain the silent noun HOUSE further supports a mass/count distinction among light nouns.

Names for people and places as well as productive names for times, numbers, and expression types—*type 1 names* (as I will call them)—are to be distinguished from *type 2 names* such as *the Hudson River* or *the Parthenon*. Type 2 names, which in German include names for mountains, lakes, temples, and famous precious stones, do not involve a light noun. Rather, they come with a more specific overt or silent sortal and the definite determiner and as a consequence classify as count.

In addition to arguing for the involvement of light nouns in names, the article will shed new light on light quantifiers such as *something* and *everything*, which play a significant role in philosophically relevant contexts.

60 The article will first establish a number of generalizations about light nouns as part of
61 quantificational and pronominal NPs in English and German. It will then present the empirical
62 generalizations about German type 1 names that point to a mass/count distinction among light
63 nouns and, more briefly, discuss the role of sortals in type 2 names. Finally, it will review a
64 potential alternative explanation for the mass behavior of the relevant German names—specifically,
65 the predicativist theory of names, on which names as common nouns could divide into
66 mass and count.

67 1 Light Nouns and Light Quantifiers

68 This section will present a number of syntactic and semantic generalizations about light nouns,
69 regarding their characteristic syntactic properties; the ability of the light noun THING to stand
70 for absolutely everything, mass or count; and the selection of different light nouns by different
71 quantifiers or determiners in English and German.

72 Light nouns play a particular role in certain types of quantificational NPs and pronouns. In
73 English, these include *everybody*, *everything*, *someplace*, and *sometime*. Here *-body*, *-thing*, *-place*,
74 and *-time* are light nouns, overt versions of the light nouns PERSON, THING, PLACE, and TIME
75 (Kayne 2005).¹ *Where* in *everywhere* may seem like a light version of PLACE as well; however,
76 following Kayne (2010:chap. 5), *where* is better regarded as a determiner combining with the
77 silent noun PLACE or THING (more on that later). In English, “bare” occurrences of *little*, *much*,
78 *more*, and *a lot* as well as the pronoun *that* contain silent THING.² There are also quantifiers
79 that select PERSON rather than THING—for example, bare occurrences of *many* and *few*, on a
80 nonanaphoric use, as in *Many / Few believe in God*. Quantifiers and pronouns thus may (or may
81 not) select particular overt or silent light nouns. In some languages, light nouns never appear
82 overtly in light quantifiers. This is the case in German (*jeder* ‘everybody’, *alles* ‘everything’,
83 *nichts* ‘nothing’). *Everybody*, *everything*, *someplace*, *sometime*, *little*, and *much* thus can be called
84 *light quantifiers*.

85 Light nouns form a special class of nouns in that they belong to the functional rather than
86 the lexical part of grammar. As such, they have various special syntactic properties. Most impor-
87 tantly, light nouns can stay silent in the absence of an antecedent (Kayne 2005). By contrast, full
88 NPs can be silent only through “deletion under identity,” that is, in the presence of a linguistic
89 antecedent or possibly a salient object in the discourse context. The difference between light NPs
90 and full NPs in that respect can be illustrated by the different readings of *many* and *too much* in
91 *Many believe in God*, *John bought many*, and *John bought too much*, which differ in the kind of
92 silent nouns they contain, as in (1).

- 93 (1) a. Many PERSON believe in God.
94 b. John bought many N.
95 c. John bought too much THING.

96 *Many* in (1a), which involves the light noun PERSON, ranges over human beings in general, not
97 requiring an antecedent. *Many* in (1b), by contrast, requires an antecedent in the preceding dis-
98 course (e.g., in the question *Did John buy any books?*) and thus involves a deleted full noun.
99 *Too much* in (1c) does not require an antecedent and involves the light noun THING.

100 In addition to not requiring an antecedent, NPs headed by light nouns (*light NPs (DPs)*)
101 tend to display different syntactic movement behavior, often having to move to a higher position
102 (Spec), when full NPs can stay in place (Kayne 2005, Collins 2007). Finally, light nouns do not
103 display the syntactic features of full nouns; in particular, they lack gender features (see below)
104 and show a peculiar behavior with respect to number. Yet, as we will see, they display the mass/
105 count distinction.³ Semantically, the functional status of light nouns means that their range and
106 content should not vary across languages, but rather is part of a universal inventory, constituting
107 the core of grammar.

108 Light nouns may come with homophonous full nouns. Though there are generally semantic
109 and perhaps historic connections between the two, the light noun and the corresponding full noun
110 need not share their meaning or even their syntactic features. Thus, the light noun *-body*, an

111 instance of the light noun PERSON, contrasts with the full noun *body*. The difference between
112 light nouns and homophonous full nouns is particularly striking with the nouns *-thing*, the overt
113 version of the light noun THING, and *thing*, the full noun. The light noun *-thing* permits only
114 postnominal adjectival modifiers, but not so the full noun *thing*.⁴

- 115 (2) a. something nice
116 b. some nice thing

117 There are various semantic differences between the full noun *thing* and the light noun *-thing*.
118 *Thing* is a count noun, which applies to an entity by way of contextually given individuation
119 conditions (which is why it is often called a “dummy sortal”; see Griffith 1977). *Thing* applies
120 only to inanimate enduring objects—in fact, usually material objects. The light noun *-thing* applies
121 to individuals as well as stuff, and thus seems to act as both a count noun and a mass noun
122 (I will return to that in section 4).⁵

- 123 (3) a. John ate something, an apple.
124 b. John ate something, brown rice.
125 c. John drank something, lemonade.

- 126 (4) a. Mary bought something nice, bath salts / chocolate / an art book.
127 b. Mary bought a nice thing, an art book / *bath salts / *chocolate.⁶

128 Furthermore, *-thing* applies to abstract objects of all sorts and not just material entities.

- 129 (5) a. John admired something about the stone, its color.
130 b. John admires something particularly, namely courage and integrity.

- 131 (6) a. John added two to eight, so he added something to eight.
132 b. *Rouge* means something, namely ‘red’.

133 The light quantifier *something* can even range over pluralities, thus acting as a genuine plural
134 quantifier, which means a (syntactically) singular quantifier ranging over pluralities (pluralities
135 as many).⁷

- 136 (7) a. John ate something, the cookies.
137 b. I brought you something, a cup, a plate, and a fork.

138 In fact, *-thing*-quantifiers can be used to range over absolutely everything and are typically used
139 in statements of absolute generality (see Rayo and Uzquiano 2007).

- 140 (8) a. Are there quantifiers ranging over absolutely everything?
141 b. Nihilists doubt the existence of everything there is.
142 c. The world is everything there is. (Wittgenstein)

143 In certain contexts, *-thing* is restricted to inanimate objects (??*John saw something, namely Mary*).
144 This can be explained as a blocking effect, given the availability of the more specific *somebody*
145 in the same sentential context. That is, if for an expression X, the language contains an expression
146 Y with a more specific meaning than that of X, then the choice of X instead of Y indicates that
147 X is to be understood with a meaning complementary to that of Y. The light noun THING is
148 thus the most general noun, applying to anything whatsoever.

149 There are certain argument positions in which only light NPs, not full NPs, may appear.
150 Some of them are of considerable interest philosophically—in particular, the complement position
151 of certain attitude verbs (*say, think, claim*) and of copula verbs and intensional transitive verbs.⁸

- 152 (9) a. John said something nice / *some nice thing.
153 b. Mary thought / assumed something / *some thing.
154 c. John became something admirable, a hero / *some admirable thing.
156 d. John is looking for something, an assistant / *for some thing, an assistant.

157 For that reason, such quantifiers have been considered nonnominal quantifiers (Rosefeldt 2008).
158 While that label is obviously incorrect syntactically, the syntactic category distinction between
159 light NPs and full NPs is yet to be explored for the semantics of nonreferential complements.

160 It has been proposed that light nouns come with no syntactic features or functional projections
161 (Collins 2007). This certainly holds for gender features. Light nouns lack the gender features of
162 full nouns, as can be seen from the absence of gender agreement between the apparent feminine
163 light noun and an adjective in French (*quelque chose de bon* / **de bonne*) and Italian (*qualcosa*
164 *du buono* / **di buona*), as well as in the obligatory neuter gender of adjectives modifying PERSON
165 light NPs in German (*niemand interessantes* / **interessanter* / **interessante* ‘no one interesting
166 (neut.) / (masc.) / (fem.)’). Given that light nouns are not marked for gender, a modifying adjective
167 needs to take neuter—that is, unmarked—gender.

168 Light quantifiers ranging over locations have the syntactic peculiarity of not requiring or
169 even allowing a spatial preposition in particular cases.

170 (10) John worked (*at) someplace.

171 In the literature, this is generally accounted for by having *someplace* move to Spec,P, allowing
172 the P to stay empty (Kayne 2005, Collins 2007, Terzi 2010a,b). This means that *where*, *when*,
173 *somewhere*, *every*, and so on are PPs, not NPs.

174 There are pronouns corresponding to light quantifiers, namely, *that*, *what*, *who*, *where*, and
175 *when*. *That* and *what* are pronominal counterparts of *something*, which means they are able in
176 principle to stand for anything whatsoever. This is most obvious in the use of *what* in questions,
177 which allow anything whatsoever to be mentioned as an answer, as long as the presuppositions
178 of the predicate allow it.

179 (11) What did John see? He saw Mary.

180 *That*, *what*, *who*, and *where* are best not considered light nouns themselves, though. Thus, Kayne
181 (2010:chap. 5) argues that *where* is in fact a determiner combining with the silent noun PLACE
182 or THING, so that (12a) is in fact (12b).

183 (12) a. John went where Mary went.
184 b. John went where-PLACE Mary went.

185 Similarly, *there* will be *there*-PLACE, *what* *what*-THING, *that* *that*-THING, and *when* *when*-
186 TIME, respectively.⁹

187 In German, the counterpart of *where*, *wo*, is more obviously able to combine with THING:
188 in relative clauses modifying THING-NPs (*alles* ‘everything’, *etwas* ‘something’, *nichts* ‘nothing’,
189 *das* ‘that’), *wo* rather than *was* (as a relative pronoun; see below) appears with prepositions (in
190 fact, postpositions) (Noonan 2017). This is illustrated in (13) with ‘everything’ and ‘that’.

191 (13) a. alles, wovon / womit / worüber / *von was / *mit was /
192 everything where.of / where.with / where.about / of what / with what /
193 *über was
194 about what
195 ‘everything of which / with which / about which / of which / with which / about
196 which’
197 b. das, wovon / *was von / *von was / ??von dem
198 that where.of / what of / of what / of which
199 ‘that of which’

200 Similarly, *da* appears as counterpart of *das* ‘that’ with prepositions (*davon* ‘of that’, *darüber*
201 ‘about that’, *damit* ‘with that’). *Where* and *wo/da* thus are determiners able to combine with both
202 light nouns PLACE and THING.

203 As mentioned already, in contrast to their English counterparts, German light quantifiers do
204 not involve an overt light noun. *Alles* ‘everything’, *etwas* ‘something’, and *nichts* ‘nothing’ are
205 THING-quantifiers, and thus their actual structure is [*alles* THING], [*etwas* THING], and [*nichts*

206 THING]; *jeder* ‘everyone’, *jemand* ‘someone’, and *niemand* ‘no one’ are PERSON-quantifiers.
207 *Alles* as a THING-quantifier is as potentially unrestricted as English *everything*. Light nouns, in
208 their overt or silent versions, thus are selected by particular quantifiers or pronouns.

209 2 W-Pronouns in German

210 German light quantifiers and pronouns show a peculiarity that is particularly important in the
211 context of this article. This concerns the choice between two sorts of relative pronouns:

- 212 1. *w-pronouns*, which consist of the neuter pronouns *was* and *wo*, and
- 213 2. *d-pronouns*, which consist of the gender-marked pronouns *der* (masc.), *die* (fem.), and
214 *das* (neut.).¹⁰

215 There are some contexts for which the choice between *d*-pronouns and *w*-pronouns varies among
216 speakers, and various subtle semantic parameters seem to be at play. However, the following
217 generalizations capture stable intuitions (Brandt and Fuß 2017, 2019). In general, NPs headed by
218 full nouns choose *d*-pronouns, illustrated in (14) with only a neuter noun (*Objekt*), as *was* is
219 neuter.¹¹

- 220 (14) Maria nahm jedes / ein / kein Objekt, das / *was sie fand.
221 Maria took every / some / no object that / what she found
222 ‘Maria took every / some / no object that she found.’

223 By contrast, neuter light quantifiers and pronouns such as *alles* ‘everything’, *das* ‘that’, *nichts*
224 ‘nothing’, *etwas* ‘something’, *viel* ‘much’, and *das meiste* ‘most’ select *w*-pronouns.¹²

- 225 (15) a. Alles, was / *das Hans besitzt, ist schön.
226 everything what / that Hans owns is beautiful
227 ‘Everything that Hans owns is beautiful.’
- 228 b. Etwas, was / *das Hans ärgert, ist der Lärm.
229 something what / that Hans bothers is the noise
230 ‘Something that bothers Hans is the noise.’
- 231 c. Nichts, was / *das Hans sagte, ist wahr.
232 nothing what / that Hans said is true
233 ‘Nothing that Hans said is true.’
- 234 d. Hans sagte mir nichts, wovon / ??von dem ich nicht schon wusste.
235 Hans told me nothing where.of / of that I not already knew
236 ‘Hans told me nothing that I did not already know about.’
- 237 e. Das meiste, worüber / ???über das er sprach, war uninteressant.
238 the most where.about / about that he talked was uninteresting
239 ‘Most of what he talked about was uninteresting.’

240 Not all light NPs select *w*-pronouns, though. In particular, those with the light noun PERSON
241 do not.

- 242 (16) a. Jeder / Niemand / Jemand, der / *was mich kannte, kam.
243 everybody / no.one / someone who / what me knew came
244 ‘Everybody / No one / Someone who / what knew me came.’
- 245 b. Jeder, von dem / *wovon / *von was Maria gesprochen hatte, kam.
246 everybody of whom / where.of / of what Maria talked had came
247 ‘Everybody, of whom / where / what Maria had talked, came.’

248 The difference between light nouns and full nouns is also evident when neuter pronouns are
249 contrasted with silent full nouns and silent light nouns as in (17) from Brandt and Fuß 2017:212.

- 250 (17) a. Das Bild, das Peter gekauft hat, war teurer als das, das Maria
251 the picture that Peter bought has was more.expensive than that that Maria
252 gekauft hat.
253 bought has

254 'The picture that Peter has bought was more expensive than the one that Maria has
 255 bought.'

256 b. Das Bild, das Peter gekauft hat, war teurer als das, was Maria
 257 the picture that Peter bought has was more.expensive than that what Maria
 gekauft hat.
 258 bought has
 259 'The picture that Peter has bought was more expensive than the one that Maria has
 260 bought.'

262 (17a) compares the picture Peter bought with the picture Maria bought; (17b) compares it with
 263 the things Maria bought. In (17a), *das* is followed by a silent full noun (*das* N); in (17b), it is
 264 followed by a silent light noun (*das* THING).

265 The standard view about the choice of relative pronouns in German is that *w*-pronouns are
 266 subject to an elsewhere condition: *w*-pronouns are chosen just in case the condition for *d*-pronouns
 267 is not met, namely, that the head noun be gender-marked ([+masculine], [+feminine], [+neuter]
 268 (= [-masculine, -feminine])) (Brandt and Fuß 2017, 2019, and references therein). The condition
 269 holds for full nouns as well as *jeder / jemand / niemand*, and so on. This view poses difficulties
 270 for the view that light nouns do not carry gender features. The lack of gender marking on THING,
 271 TIME, and PLACE leads to a default classification as neuter. But this does not apply to PERSON,
 272 which selects *d*-pronouns. I will argue that what distinguishes PERSON from the other light nouns
 273 is its status as a noun ranging over a countable domain. This requires the elsewhere condition on
 274 *w*-pronouns to be modified as follows:

275 (18) *Condition on the choice of German relative pronouns (d-pronouns and w-pronouns)*
 276 *D*-pronouns appear with head nouns carrying the feature [+masculine], [+feminine],
 277 [+neuter], or [+count]; *w*-pronouns appear elsewhere.

278 I will turn to the count/noncount status of light nouns after discussing a related phenomenon,
 279 the support of plural anaphora.

280 3 Plural Anaphora in English and German

281 The selection of *w*-pronouns by light nouns goes along with a failure to support plural anaphora.
 282 This requires a few words about plural anaphora in German and in English and an important
 283 difference between the two languages. The plural anaphor *sie* in German generally requires antecede-
 284 dents that are syntactically plural, as in (19a–c). By contrast, English *they* allows antecedents
 285 that are syntactically mass, though semantically plural—namely, in particular conjunctions of
 286 mass NPs, as the acceptable English translations of (19a–c) illustrate.

290 (19) a. Hans hat Mehl und Reis gekauft. Er hat *sie / es / das / beides bezahlt.
 287 Hans has flour and rice bought he has them / it / that / both paid.for
 288 'Hans bought flour and rice. He paid for them / it / that / both.'
 293 b. Maria hat das Silber und das Gold betrachtet. Sie hatte *sie / es noch nicht
 295 Maria has the silver and the gold looked.at she had them / it yet not
 294 gesehen.
 296 seen
 297 'Maria has looked at the silver and the gold. She had not seen them / it before.'
 298 c. Der Regen und der Schnee, Maria hat beides / das / *sie gesehen.
 299 the rain and the snow Maria has both / that / them seen
 300 'The rain and the snow, Maria has seen both / that / them.'

302 Instead of the plural pronoun *sie*, German allows only *es* 'it', *das* 'that', or *beides* 'both'.¹³ *Beides*
 303 is syntactically singular (mass), yet behaves like a plural semantically.¹⁴

304 Let us assume that plural pronouns are in fact determiners, as suggested by Kayne (2010),
 305 following Postal (1966). Then the plural determiners *they / sie* select semantic plurality in English,
 306 but syntactic plurality in German. This is made more precise in (20), using the notion of an

308 integrated whole (Simons 1987, Moltmann 1997), a notion of unity of entities that is independent
309 of syntactic singularity.

310 (20) a. For a discourse context *c* and an NP *X*, [*they X*]^c is defined only if an utterance of
311 *X* is part of *c* and the semantic value of *X* is a plurality of integrated wholes.

312 b. For a discourse context *c* and an NP *X*, [*sie X*]^c is defined only if an utterance of
313 *X* is part of *c* and [+plural].

314 Referents of singular count NPs are generally integrated wholes, but referents of definite mass
315 NPs, such as *the silver*, are as well. *The silver* is an integrated whole in the sense that it is the
316 maximal entity (in the context) whose parts share the property of being silver (Simon's (1987)
317 notion of an FF-integrated whole; see also Moltmann 1997).

318 Why do English and German differ with respect to the antecedents of plural anaphors?
319 This appears related to the fact that gender features are determined syntactically in German and
320 semantically in English. In German, gender as a syntactic feature of nouns is fixed in the lexicon,
321 rather than being based on the nature of the referent, as in English.¹⁵ Moreover, German personal
322 pronouns (*er* 'he', *sie* 'she', *es* 'it') and determiners (*der*, *die*, *das*) require syntactic agreement
323 with the gender of the relevant NP. (20b) is then part of a more general condition according to
324 which German pronouns select NPs on the basis of syntactic features of their antecedents.¹⁶

325 (21) *Condition on English and German anaphoric pronouns*

326 a. For an English pronoun *p*, an NP *X*, and a discourse context *c*, [*p X*]^c is defined
327 only if an utterance of *X* is part of *c* and the semantic value of *X* satisfies the features
328 of *p*.

329 b. For a German pronoun *p*, an NP *X*, and a discourse context *c*, [*p X*]^c is defined
330 only if an utterance of *X* is part of *c* and *X* agrees in syntactic features with *p*.

331 What is important in the present context is the observation that conjunctions of light NPs
332 that select *w*-pronouns also fail to support plural anaphora, as (22a–b) show.¹⁷

333 (22) a. Hans kann sich an das erste und das zweite erinnern, was Maria gesagt hat.
334 Hans can himself at the first and the second recall which Maria said has
Max kann sich daran / *an sie auch erinnern.

335 Max can himself there.at / at them too recall
336
337 'Hans can recall the first thing and the second thing Maria said. Max can recall
338 them / that too.'

339 b. Hans hat etwas gebaut und Maria hat etwas gezeichnet. Peter hat (das)
340 Hans has something built and Maria has something drawn Peter has (that)
beides / *sie bewundert.

341 both / them admired
342
343 'Hans has built something and Maria has drawn something. Peter has admired (that)
344 both / them.'

345 (22a) contrasts with (23), with the full noun *Ding*, which takes *d*-pronouns and supports plural
346 anaphora.

347 (23) Hans kann sich an das erste und das zweite Ding erinnern. Max kann sich an
348 Hans can himself at the first and the second thing recall Max can himself at
sie auch erinnern.

349 them too recall
350
351 'Hans can recall the first thing and the second thing. Max can recall them too.'

352 Light nouns that select *w*-pronouns thus parallel mass nouns in their failure to support plural
353 anaphora. This indicates that the light noun *THING* sides with mass nouns rather than with count
354 nouns, or, more carefully, has "noncount status." The next section will provide further arguments
355 for the noncount status of *THING* as well as of the light nouns *TIME* and *PLACE*. This status
356 will then play an important role in explaining the behavior of German names with respect to
357 relative pronoun selection and plural anaphora support.

358 **3 The Noncount Status of the Light Nouns THING, TIME, and PLACE**

359 Light nouns do not come with a syntactic mass/count distinction—a distinction that is to some
 360 extent arbitrary with full nouns, reflecting at best “grammaticalized individuation” (English
 361 *shoes – footwear, rice grains – rice*) (Rothstein 2017). Rather, the status of a light noun as count
 362 or noncount is strictly determined by semantic criteria. Given such criteria, PERSON obviously
 363 classifies as count, but not so THING, TIME, and PLACE.

364 First of all, we have seen that there are both mass and apparent count uses of THING. Though
 365 the light noun *-thing* contrasts with the full noun *thing*, which has only a count use, there are
 366 apparent count uses of *-thing* as well. *-thing* in fact has a plural: *several things*. *Several things*
 367 can appear in contexts in which only light NPs can appear, such as the object position of a verb
 368 of saying.

- 369 (24) a. He said something nice.
 370 b. ???He said some nice thing.
 371 c. He said several nice things.

372 Syntactically, though, the plural *things* behaves like the full noun *thing*, with the adjective preced-
 373 ing the noun. German, which lacks an overt version of the light noun THING, forms a plural of
 374 THING using the plural of the full noun *Ding*, but with the light noun meaning of THING.

- 375 (25) a. Er hat etwas / *ein Ding gesagt.
 376 he has something / a thing said
 377 ‘He said something / a thing.’
 378 b. Er hat mehrere Dinge gesagt.
 379 he has several things said
 380 ‘He said several things.’

381 Like the English plural *things*, *Dinge* as in (25b) syntactically remains a full noun, selecting *d-*
 382 pronouns.¹⁸

383 THING-quantifiers in German also appear to have singular count uses, as is apparent with
 384 cardinal or ordinal numerals in *eines* ‘one thing’, *das eine* ‘the one thing’, and *das erste* ‘the first
 385 thing’.

- 386 (26) a. Hans hat eines vergessen, dass er ein Visum braucht.
 387 Hans has one forgotten that he a visa needs
 388 ‘Hans forgot one thing, that he needs a visa.’
 389 b. Das eine, was Hans vergessen hat, ist, dass er ein Visum braucht.
 390 the one what Hans forgotten has is that he a visa needs
 391 ‘The one thing that Hans forgot is that he needs a visa.’
 392 c. das erste, was Maria gesagt hat
 393 the first what Maria said has
 394 ‘the first thing Maria said’

395 Thus, THING, in English and in German, has both mass and count versions and a plural borrowed
 396 from the full noun homophone.

397 However, there is something special about the count use of THING: namely, on that use,
 398 THING need not pick up on any inherent countability of an entity, unlike the singular full count
 399 nouns *thing* and *Ding*. Rather, THING, on a count use, may impose countability on things that
 400 are not per se countable, such as the referents of mass or plural NPs. This is illustrated in (27a–b),
 401 which also illustrate the contrast between THING and the full noun *Ding*.¹⁹

- 402 (27) a. Hans hat eines / ???ein Ding nicht gegessen, die Bohnen (plural) / den
 403 Hans has one / one thing not eaten the beans / the
 404 Reis (mass).
 405 rice
 406 ‘Hans failed to eat one thing, the beans / the rice.’

407 b. Das eine / ???Das eine Ding, was Hans nicht mag, sind Bohnen (plural) /
 408 the one / the one thing what Hans not likes are beans /
 409 Reis (mass).
 410 rice
 411 ‘The one thing Hans does not like is beans / rice.’

412 On such a count use, the light noun THING can even count a plurality of two entities as one,
 413 unlike the full noun *Ding*.

414 (28) a. Das eine / einzige / ???eine Ding / ???einzige Ding, was Maria vergessen hat,
 415 the one / unique / one thing / unique thing what Maria forgotten has
 416 waren die zwei Taschen.
 417 were the two bags
 418 ‘The one / only thing that Maria forgot was the two bags.’

419 b. Ich habe Maria an das eine / das einzige / ???das eine Ding / ???das einzige
 420 I have Maria at the one / the unique / the one thing / the unique
 421 Ding erinnert, das sie vergessen hatte, die beiden Taschen im Schrank.
 422 thing reminded that she forgotten had the two bags in.the closet
 423 ‘I reminded Maria of the one thing / the only thing she forgot, the two bags in the
 424 closet.’

425 THING contrasts in that respect with the light singular count noun PERSON, which cannot be
 426 used to refer to a plurality of people, as the impossibility of the collective predicate in (29) makes
 427 clear.

428 (29) ???Everyone / Someone met in the room.

429 On such singular count uses, THING acts like a numeral classifier in classifier languages, on a
 430 view such as Rothstein’s (2017), mapping a domain not specified for countability onto a countable
 431 one. That is, THING imposes countability by picking up on a distinguishing property of elements
 432 of the domain, whether they are stuff or things. THING is then both mass and count in the sense
 433 that it applies to a domain not specified for countability and may map it onto one that is. Given
 434 that, the selection of *w*-pronouns by THING-quantifiers can be attributed to the mass status (on
 435 one side) of (singular) THING.²⁰

436 Apart from the behavior of THING with mass nouns, there are general philosophical reasons
 437 to regard the light noun *thing* as a mass noun: generally, counting requires a sortal, giving the
 438 identity conditions of the things being counted (Frege 1884). Given that view, there could not
 439 be a count predicate for everything there is. This appears to be reflected also in the fact that count
 440 quantifiers such as *many*, *few*, and *a few* do not allow THING as restriction; they only allow the
 441 light count noun PERSON, or else a deleted full noun, requiring an antecedent (section 1).

442 The light noun TIME is clearly noncount semantically, as its overt counterpart *time* is a
 443 mass noun. There are a number of reasons to consider it a noncount noun [–count]. First of all,
 444 its manifest version in *someplace* does not come with a plural (Collins 2007). Yet *someplace* /
 445 *somewhere* can appear in contexts where a plural would be strongly preferred. Thus, if John and
 446 Mary live in different places in Europe, (30a) is still acceptable, but (30b) is not, as opposed to
 447 (30c).

448 (30) a. John and Mary live somewhere in Europe.
 449 b. John and Mary live in some place in Europe.
 450 c. John and Mary live in some places in Europe.

451 The light noun PLACE satisfies standard semantic criteria for mass nouns (Pelletier and Schubert
 452 1989, 2003): it is cumulative (the sum of two places is again a place) as well as divisive (a part
 453 of a place is again a place). Even apart from standard extensional mereological criteria for mass
 454 nouns, there are fundamental ontological differences between places and individuals, which rank
 455 places below the level of individuals in terms of degrees of individuation and motivate a classifica-
 456 tion of PLACE as noncount. Thus, Strawson (1959) distinguishes a conceptually (and perhaps

457 developmentally) earlier stage of the use of language, namely, as a feature-placing language.
458 A feature-placing language does not involve reference to individuals; it involves only the placing
459 of a feature (quality) at a location. Locations thus are prior, conceptually and possibly develop-
460 mentally, to individuals. Individuals that are material objects are individuated in terms of persis-
461 tence conditions across different locations and at different times. Locations form a basis for the
462 individuation of individuals, but not conversely.²¹

463 To summarize, light nouns come with a mass/count distinction that is strictly grounded in
464 semantic or ontological properties of their denotations, with only PERSON having the status of
465 a light count noun (as well as the light noun HOUSE, as we will see in the next section).

466 **4 Type 1 Names in German: Names for People, Buildings, and Places**

467 German names exhibit a remarkable pattern in the selection of *w*-pronouns and plural anaphora,
468 displaying a sharp divide between person names on the one hand and place names on the other.
469 In addition, “productive” names for times, numbers, and expression types side with names for
470 places.

471 Two types of proper names need to be distinguished, for German as well as English and
472 similar languages: *type 1* names and *type 2* names, as I will call them. Type 1 names take the
473 form of simple nouns in argument position (English *John* or *London*).²² Type 2 names require a
474 determiner in argument position (English *the Hudson*, *the Parthenon*).

475 In German, type 1 names for people and type 1 names for places (cities, villages, countries,
476 and continents) differ in two respects:

- 477 1. selection of relative pronouns: *d*-pronouns (*der*, *die*, *das*) or *w*-pronouns (*was*, *wo*), and
- 478 2. plural anaphora support by a conjunction of proper names as antecedent.

479 The choice of *d*-pronouns goes along with support of plural anaphora, whereas the choice of *w*-
480 pronouns goes along with failure to support plural anaphora.²³

481 Here are the relevant generalizations regarding person names. Proper names for people (and
482 animals) select *d*-pronouns.

- 483 (31) a. Hans, der / *was
484 Hans who / what
485 ‘Hans, who’
486 b. Maria, die / *was
487 Maria who / what
488 ‘Maria, who’

489 Besides masculine and feminine names, diminutive names—which are syntactically neuter—also
490 select *d*-pronouns.

- 491 (32) a. Er zeigte uns Fritzchen, das / *was wir noch nicht gesehen hatten.
492 he showed us Fritzchen that / what we yet not seen had
493 ‘He showed us little Fritz, whom we had not seen.’
494 b. Mariechen, das / *was wir sehr mögen, kann uns helfen.
495 Mariechen that / what we very like can us help
496 ‘Little Marie, whom we like a lot, can help us.’

497 There are also proper names for inanimate objects that select *d*-pronouns, for example, proper
498 names for castles and churches.

- 499 (33) a. Sanssouci, das / ??was kleiner ist als Versailles
500 Sanssouci that / what smaller is than Versailles
501 ‘Sanssouci, which is smaller than Versailles’
502 b. Zarskoe Selo, das / ??was größer ist als Pavlowsk.
503 Tsarskoe Selo that / what bigger is than Pavlovsk
504 ‘Tsarskoe Selo, which is bigger than Pavlovsk.’

505 c. Notre Dame, das / ??was beinahe durch ein Feuer zerstört wurde
506 Notre Dame that / what almost by a fire destroyed was
507 'Notre Dame, which was almost destroyed by fire'

508 Names for castles and churches are syntactically neuter. This is shown by the fact that a definite
509 determiner that is required by an adjectival modifier of the name must be neuter (regardless of
510 the gender of a suitable sortal noun: *Kirche* 'church' is feminine and *Palast* 'palace' masculine).

- 511 (34) a. das / *die schöne Notre Dame
512 'the beautiful Notre Dame'
513 b. das / *der erstaunliche Zarskoe Selo
514 'the amazing Tsarskoe Selo'

515 Here, the choice of neuter gender is based on the nature of the referent.

516 Names for places, cities, countries, and continents select *w*-pronouns, not *d*-pronouns.²⁴

- 517 (35) a. München, was / ???das ich sehr gut kenne
518 Munich what / that I very well know
519 'Munich, which I know very well'
520 b. Ich kenne Berlin, was / ???das du ja nicht kennst.
521 I know Berlin what / that you PART not know
522 'I know Berlin, which you do not know.'
523 c. Ich liebe Italien, was / ???das dir ja auch gut gefällt.
524 I love Italy what / that you PART TOO well pleases
525 'I love Italy, which pleases you too.'

- 526 (36) a. Ich kenne Australien, was / ???das du ja nicht kennst.
527 I know Australia what / that you PART not know
528 'I know Australia, which you do not know.'
529 b. Asien, was / ???das weit größer als Europa ist
530 Asia what / that far bigger than Europe is
531 'Asia, which is far bigger than Europe'

532 The same contrast holds for complex relative pronouns of the sort *wovon* 'of which', as opposed
533 to *von dem* 'of which'.

- 534 (37) a. Berlin, womit / ??mit dem ich mich schon lange befasse, ist ein
535 Berlin where.with / with which I myself already long occupy is an
536 interessantes Thema für ein Projekt.
537 interesting topic for a project
538 'Berlin, with which I have occupied myself for a long time, is an interesting topic
539 for a project.'
540 b. England, wovon / ??von dem er eine Stunde lang sprach
541 England where.of / of which he an hour long spoke
542 'England, of which he spoke for an hour'
543 c. Afrika, worüber / ??über das wir uns lange unterhalten haben
544 Africa where.about / about which we ourselves long talked have
545 'Africa, which we talked about for a long time'

546 Turning then to plural anaphora, in German, as in English, conjunctions of proper names
547 for people are unproblematic as antecedents for plural anaphora *sie*.

- 548 (38) Anna mag Hans und Franz. Bill mag sie auch.
549 'Anna likes Hans and Franz. Bill likes them too.'

550 The same holds for names of churches and palaces.

- 551 (39) a. Ich kenne Notre Dame und Sainte Chapelle. Sie sind beide sehr schön.
552 'I know Notre Dame and Sainte Chapelle. They are both very beautiful.'

553 b. Zarskoe Selo und Pavlowsk, sie befinden sich in der Nähe von Sankt Petersburg.
554 'Tsarskoe Selo and Pavlovsk, they are located in the vicinity of Saint Petersburg.'

555 By contrast, conjunctions of German names for places do not support plural anaphora. Rather,
556 for the purpose of anaphoric reference to a conjunction of place names, a definite plural NP with
557 a sortal head noun must be chosen.²⁵

558 (40) a. Ich kenne Berlin und München. Anna kennt ??sie / ✓diese Städte auch.
559 'I know Berlin and Munich. Anna knows them / those cities too.'
560 b. Ich mag Frankreich und Italien. Marie mag ??sie / ✓diese Länder auch.
561 'I like France and Italy. Marie likes them / those countries too.'

562 Conjunctions of close appositions with place sortals as head nouns do support plural anaphora,
563 as expected.

564 (41) Ich kenne die Stadt Berlin und die Stadt München. Maria kennt sie auch.
565 'I know the city of Berlin and the city of Munich. Maria knows them too.'

566 The conditions on plural anaphora support are different in English. Conjunctions of English
567 place names are unproblematic as antecedents for plural anaphora.

568 (42) a. I know Berlin and Munich. Mary knows them too.
569 b. I like France and Italy. Mary likes them too.
570 c. I would like to visit Australia and Africa. Mary would like to visit them too.

571 Only in certain larger constructions can German place names go with *d*-pronouns and support
572 plural anaphora. One of them is close apposition, where the *d*-pronoun is selected by the full
573 head noun, with which it agrees in gender.

574 (43) a. die Stadt München, die / *was ich gut kenne
575 the city Munich which / what I well know
576 'the city of Munich, which I know well'
577 b. Die Städte München und Berlin, ich kenne sie gut.
578 'The cities of Munich and Berlin, I know them well.'

579 Another construction involves temporal modification.

580 (44) das Berlin der 20iger Jahre, das / *was ich nicht kenne
581 the (neut.) Berlin of.the 20 years which / what I not know
582 'the Berlin of the '20s, which I do not know'

583 Here, the proper name most plausibly has undergone meaning shift from a name referring to a
584 place to a noun expressing a sortal concept for temporal stages of the place. The sortal noun is
585 count, allowing for the plural, as in *die Berlins der verschiedenen Epochen* 'the (different) Berlins
586 of the different periods'.

587 Why do place names in German select *w*-pronouns and fail to support plural anaphora?
588 Given the previous section, NPs that select *w*-pronouns and fail to support plural anaphora are
589 those that involve as head a light noun that is noncount, such as *THING*. German place names
590 themselves can hardly be considered noncount, since they stand for single, well-distinguished
591 entities. Cities, countries, and continents are clearly countable, or at least they are treated as such
592 in the way we ordinarily think and talk about them. The classification of German place names
593 as noncount, however, can be attributed to the presence of a silent PLACE. Like *THING*, the
594 light noun PLACE is a mass noun, contrasting with PERSON. If silent light nouns are type 1
595 names, the difference in count status between names for places and names for people in German
596 is explained.²⁶ A silent light noun thus should constitute the head of a type 1 name, as in (45),
597 determining the count status of the entire DP.

598 (45) a. [[Hans [PERSON]_{Nlight}]_{NlightP}]_{DP}
599 b. [[Berlin [PLACE]_{Nlight}]_{NlightP}]_{DP}

600 English type 1 names will have the same structures. English differs from German only in that
601 English plural anaphors allow antecedents that are semantically but not syntactically plural.

602 A syntactic question that arises for type 1 names is why type 1 names do not come with the
603 definite determiner. This question needs to be pursued properly somewhere else. Perhaps the
604 answer may reside in the ability of type 1 names (as light DPs) to move to Spec,D, allowing the
605 determiner to stay unpronounced, as has been proposed for light DPs in general by Collins (2007).

606 Names for churches and palaces will involve a light noun that, like PERSON, classifies as
607 a count noun. It is plausible that HOUSE is such a light noun. HOUSE functions in various
608 languages as a bare NP, a syntactic role close to that of a light noun (Collins 2007).²⁷ Examples
609 are Italian (*Sono a casa* ‘I am home’, *Vado a casa* ‘I go home’) and French (*à la maison* ‘at
610 home’).²⁸ Thus, *Sanssouci* will have the structure [Sanssouci HOUSE]_{NlightP}.

611 5 Productive Names: Names for Times, Addresses, Numbers, and Expression Types

612 Certain names are attributed not arbitrarily, by some form of baptism or on some case-by-case
613 basis, but by a scheme aligned with a productive name-formation process applied to a particular
614 domain of entities. These I will call *productive names*. Such names generally take *w*-pronouns
615 and do not support plural anaphora, which means they contain noncount light nouns.

616 Names for times (years, specific months, or dates) are productive names involving a combina-
617 tion of numerals and names for recurring periods of time in a certain order. German names for
618 times take *w*-pronouns and do not support plural anaphora.

- 619 (46) a. 1968, was / ??das interessanter ist als 1970
620 1968 what / which more.interesting is than 1970
621 ‘1968, what / which is more interesting than 1970’
622 b. 1968, worüber / ??über das ich einen Artikel geschrieben habe
623 1968 where.about / about which I an article written have
624 ‘1968, about which I have written an article’

625 A close apposition is required to make *d*-pronouns acceptable for names of times.

- 626 (47) a. das Jahr 1968, das interessanter ist als 1970
627 the year 1968 which more.interesting is than 1970
628 ‘the year 1968, which is more interesting than 1970’
629 b. die Jahre 1968 and 1970, über die ich gerade schreibe
630 ‘the years 1968 and 1970, about which I am currently writing’

631 German names for times also fail to support plural anaphora, unlike their English counterparts
632 (as the translations of (48a–b) make clear).

- 633 (48) a. Ich habe an 1968 und 1970 gedacht. Maria hat auch an *sie / diese Jahre
634 I have at 1968 and 1970 thought Maria has too at them / those years
635 gedacht.
636 thought
637 ‘I have thought about 1968 and 1970. Maria thought about them / those years too.’
638 b. Anna schlug den dritten und den vierten August vor. Maria schlug *sie / *diese
639 Tage auch vor.
640 ‘Anna proposed the third and the fourth of August. Maria proposed them / those
641 days too.’

642 Names for years, days, or months as such could hardly classify as noncount, since they stand for
643 well-individuated temporal units and are part of a conventionalized schema for naming them in
644 a certain order. However, the noncount status of names for times can be attributed to the presence
645 of the light mass noun TIME.²⁹ As part of a name, TIME does not tell whether the referent is a
646 year, month, or day. However, the choice of a particular temporal unit as the referent of the name
648 will be part of the naming schema that goes along with the particular type of productive name.

649 Names for addresses are productive names referring to places. They select *w*-pronouns and
650 fail to support plural anaphora.

- 651 (49) a. 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, was / *das die Adresse des Weissen Hauses ist
652 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue what / which the address of.the White House is
653 '1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, what / which is the address of the White House'
654 b. 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue und 10 Downing Street, ich merke mir ??sie / √diese
655 Adressen.
656 '1600 Pennsylvania Avenue and 10 Downing Street, I will recall them / those ad-
657 dresses.'

658 This is obviously due to the presence of the light mass noun PLACE in names for addresses.
659 Recall, by contrast, that names for buildings (churches, palaces) involve the light count noun
660 HOUSE and thus are not categorized as place names.

661 Names for numbers are also productive names, being formed by nominalizing the correspond-
662 ing numeral adjective (or numeral quantifier). Number words such as *two* can occur in argument
663 position, as in (50), and thus can, at least syntactically, be used as names.³⁰

- 664 (50) Two is smaller than four.

665 German names for numbers take *w*-pronouns and do not support plural anaphora (Moltmann
666 2013a:chap. 4, 2013b).³¹

- 667 (51) zwei, was / ??das kleiner als vier ist,
668 two what / which smaller than four is
669 'two, which is smaller than four'

- 670 (52) a. Hans addierte zehn und zwanzig. Maria addierte *sie / √diese Zahlen auch.
671 'Hans added ten and twenty. Maria added them / those numbers too.'
672 b. Zehn und zwanzig sind durch zwei teilbar. *Sie / √Diese Zahlen sind keine
673 ten and twenty are by two divisible they / those numbers are no
674 Primzahlen.
675 prime.numbers
676 'Ten and twenty are divisible by two. They / Those numbers are not prime numbers.'

678 The noncount status of number names can be attributed to the presence of the light mass noun
679 THING.³² Conjunctions of number words in English do support plural anaphora, as shown by
680 the acceptability of the translations of (52a–b), due to the fact that plural anaphors in English
681 require their antecedents to be just semantically plural, not syntactically plural.

682 Another productive type of name is pure quotations (in contexts where they act as referential
683 terms). Pure quotations are uses of expressions that appear to involve the formation of expression-
684 referring names, at least in contexts such as subject position in (53a) and object position in (53b)
685 (which allow replacement by an explicit expression-referring term of the sort 'the name *Anna*').³³

- 686 (53) a. *Anna* ist zweisilbig.
687 'Anna is disyllabic.'
688 b. Hans buchstabierte *Anna*.
689 'Hans spelled *Anna*.'

690 German pure quotations in contexts such as (54a–b) take *w*-pronouns rather than *d*-pronouns.

- 691 (54) a. *Anna*, was / *das der Name dieser Frau ist, ist zweisilbig.
692 *Anna* what / which the name of.this woman is is disyllabic
693 'Anna, what / which is the name of this woman, is disyllabic.'
694 b. Hans buchstabierte *ich*, was / *das ein Pronomen ist.
695 Hans spelled *I* what / which a pronoun is
696 'Hans spelled *I*, which is a pronoun.'

697 Moreover, conjunctions of pure quotations in German do not support plural anaphora.

- 698 (55) a. *Anna und Marie* sind zweisilbig. ???Sie sind nicht dreisilbig.
 699 'Anna and Marie are disyllabic. They are not trisyllabic.'
 700 b. Hans schrieb *Ich* and *Du* an die Tafel. Bill schrieb ???sie auch an die Tafel.
 701 'Hans wrote *I* and *You* on the blackboard. Bill wrote them on the blackboard too.'

702 German pure quotations thus pattern with mass NPs, which would be puzzling given the
 703 nature of expression types. However, the noncount status of pure quotations can be attributed to
 704 the presence of the light noun *THING* in pure quotations when they occur as expression-referring
 705 names.

706 As the translations of (55a–b) illustrate, conjunctions of pure quotations in English do support
 707 plural anaphora, which again is due to the fact that English plural anaphors require semantic
 708 plurality, not syntactic plurality.

709 6 Type 2 Names in German: Names for Mountains, Lakes, Temples, and Stones

710 Type 2 names display a different syntactic structure from type 1 names. Type 2 names involve
 711 a more specific, full sortal noun, which generally can appear overtly, as well as the definite
 712 determiner, which needs to agree with the sortal. German makes use of the type 2 name construc-
 713 tion for names for mountains, lakes, temples, and famous precious stones; other languages may
 714 make other choices. Below are examples with German names for mountains.

- 715 (56) a. der Mont Blanc, der
 716 b. die Zugspitze, die
 717 c. das Erzgebirge, das

718 In type 2 names for mountains without explicit sortal, the masculine definite determiner matches
 719 the masculine gender of the German sortal *Berg* 'mountain' and obviously indicates its presence.

- 720 (57) a. der Fujiyama, der
 721 b. der Vesuv, der
 722 c. der Etna, der

723 The choice of type 2 names for mountains is rather strict. Just knowing that *Kailash* is the name
 724 for a sacred mountain in Tibet, speakers have very firm intuitions that the name cannot occur on
 725 its own in argument position, but requires the masculine definite determiner.³⁴

- 726 (58) a. *Man darf Kailash nicht besteigen.
 727 one is.allowed Kailash not climb
 728 'One is not allowed to climb Kailash.'
 729 b. *Kailash ist heilig.
 730 'Kailash is sacred.'

- 731 (59) a. Man darf den Kailash nicht besteigen.
 732 one is.allowed the Kailash not climb
 733 'One is not allowed to climb the Kailash.'
 734 b. Der Kailash ist heilig.
 735 'The Kailash is sacred.'

736 The definite determiner is not obligatory with type 2 names, though, when they are used as
 737 vocatives.

- 738 (60) (*Der) Kailash, endlich erblicke ich dich!
 739 (the) Kailash finally see I you
 740 '(The) Kailash, finally I see you!'

741 In the predicate position of small clause complements of verbs of calling, type 2 names may also
 742 occur without a determiner.

- 743 (61) Er nannte den Berg *Kailash* / *den Kailash*.
 744 'He called the mountain *Kailash* / *the Kailash*.'

745 Whether a determiner appears depends on whether the calling act is directed toward the referent,
746 involving a vocative use of the name, as in (62a), or whether it makes reference to it in the third
747 person, as in (62b).

- 748 (62) a. Er wandte sich an den Berg als *Kailash*.
749 'He addressed the mountain as *Kailash*.'
750 b. Er bezog sich auf den Berg als *der Kailash*.
751 'He referred to the mountain as *the Kailash*.'

752 Examples of German names for lakes containing an explicit sortal (possibly from a different
753 language) are *der Bodensee*, *der Zürichsee*, *der Lago Maggiore*. Other names for lakes require
754 the masculine definite determiner, whose gender matches the gender of the sortal noun *See* 'lake'.
755 Again, names for lakes not familiar to a speaker trigger clear intuitions that they must take the
756 masculine definite determiner in argument position. Thus, just knowing that *Manasarovar* is a
757 name for a lake (the lake next to Mount Kailash, which is equally sacred), speakers know that
758 the name can be used in argument position only with the masculine definite determiner.

- 759 (63) *der Manasarovarsee / der Manasarovar / der See Manasarovar*
760 'the Manasarovar lake / the Manasarovar / the lake Manasarovar'

- 761 (64) a. Ich will *Manasarovar / ✓den Manasarovar sehen.
762 I want Manasarovar / the Manasarovar see
763 'I want to see Manasarovar / the Manasarovar.'
764 b. *Manasarovar / Der Manasarovar ist ebenso heilig wie der Berg Kailash.
765 Manasarovar / the Manasarovar is equally sacred as the mountain Kailash
766 'Manasarovar is equally as sacred as Mount Kailash.'
767

768 In English, names for lakes and mountains are not type 2 names (*Lake Garda / *the Garda-*
769 *lake, Mount Vesuvius / *the Vesuvius*). This illustrates that the choice between type 1 and type
770 2 names for particular kinds of entities is language-specific.

771 Names for temples are type 2 names in both German and English. For a fairly familiar temple
772 name, this is illustrated below.³⁵

- 773 (65) Wir haben *Parthenon / den Parthenon / den Parthenontempel besichtigt.
774 we have Parthenon / the Parthenon / the Parthenon.temple visited
775 'We have visited Parthenon / the Parthenon / the Parthenon temple.'

776 The masculine gender of the definite article indicates the silent presence of the sortal noun *Tempel*
777 'temple'.³⁶

778 Unlike type 1 names, type 2 names always select *d*-pronouns and support plural anaphora.

- 779 (66) *der Kailash, der heilig ist*
780 the Kailash which sacred is
781 'the Kailash, which is sacred'

- 782 (67) Hans will den Kailash und den Manasarovar sehen. Maria will sie auch sehen.
783 Hans wants the Kailash and the Manasarovar see Maria wants them too see
784 'Hans wants to see the Kailash and the Manasarovar. Maria wants to see them too.'

785 Concerning the syntactic structure of type 2 names, I will simply assume that the overt or
786 silent full sortal noun forms the head of a compound, as in (68a) and (68b).

- 787 (68) a. *der [Manasarovar [See]_N]_{NP}*
788 b. *der [Manasarovar [e]_N]_{NP}*

789 Such a compound structure is obligatory when forming new type 2 names whose sortal is not
790 understood from the context—for example, names for famous precious stones (*der Hope-Diamant*
791 'the Hope Diamond', *der Rockefeller-Smaragd* 'the Rockefeller Emerald').³⁷

792 The sortal in type 2 names can hardly be considered a light noun, given the variety and
793 culture-specificity of the sortals such names involve. This may present a difficulty for the generali-

794 zation that only light nouns, not full nouns, can remain silent without antecedent (Kayne 2005).
795 There is a plausible extension of the notion of antecedent, though, allowing an antecedent for a
796 silent full noun to be found not just in the preceding discourse context, but also as an activated
797 concept in the community that forms the background of the conversation.

798 Why do type 2 names select *d*-pronouns and support plural anaphora? There is a double
799 reason for that: first, the presence of the definite determiner and second, the presence of the sortal
800 head noun, which is clearly count, given its overt version.

801 Type 2 names differ syntactically from close appositions (Jackendoff 1984).

802 (69) the poet Goethe

803 Unlike in type 2 names, in close appositions the head noun is obligatory. Moreover, there are
804 constraints on the head noun of close appositions not shared by type 2 names. For example, with
805 person names, the head noun of a close apposition cannot be merely a sortal—it must describe
806 a professional role (???*the person Goethe*). This is naturally explained if a type 1 name occurs
807 in a close apposition together with its silent light noun, so that (69) is in fact as follows:

808 (70) the poet [Goethe PERSON]

809 It is a plausible general constraint that the head noun of a close apposition must be a more specific
810 sortal than the light noun that is part of the type 1 name. This is the case for nouns describing
811 professional roles as in (70). Why then is the close apposition *die Stadt Berlin* ‘the city of Berlin’
812 fine? It is because *Stadt* is more specific than PLACE, the light noun that is part of the type 1
813 name *Berlin* PLACE.

814 7 The Predicativist Theory of Names

815 This article has presupposed the standard view about proper names: as referential terms, they
816 stand for the same individual in different circumstances of evaluation, based on a causal-historical
817 chain (for nonproductive names) and a conventional naming schema (for productive names). The
818 mass status of German place names and productive names has been attributed to the mass status
819 of the light nouns that make up a silent component of such names. There is an alternative to the
820 semantics of names that has been discussed in the recent philosophical literature, namely, *predicativist theory* (Matushansky 2008, Fara 2011, 2015). On this theory, names, when forming referential
821 terms, act as part of a definite description with an unpronounced definite determiner, referring
822 to the contextually unique object bearing the property expressed by the name (being called “N”
823 or standing in a suitable contextually given naming relation to “N”). This theory appears to offer
824 a simpler account of the mass status of place names in German. German place names would be
825 based on common nouns that would themselves be mass rather than count, instead of being
826 attributed to the mass status of the silent light noun that forms part of the name. This view faces
827 several problems, though.

829 First, predicativism faces a general issue of linguistic plausibility, which has been elaborated
830 in particular by Hinzen (2015) and Jeshion (2017).

831 Second, it is not clear how predicativism would explain the mass status of productive names.
832 In fact, it is not clear how the predicativist view applies to productive names in the first place.

833 Third, predicativism would have a hard time explaining why place names, if they are just
834 common nouns, should classify as mass. Cumulativity and divisiveness, commonly considered
835 defining characteristics of mass nouns in extensional mereological theories (Pelletier and Schubert
836 1989, 2003), certainly do not hold for place names: a neighborhood of Berlin is not called *Berlin*,
837 and the Maryland (USA) town of Berlin and the German city are *two Berlins*; they don’t form
838 a single plurality called *Berlin*. In fact, when names *are* used as common nouns (derivatively),
839 they clearly are treated as count rather than mass (*the two Naples, a second Naples*). The problem
840 does not arise on the present view, which traces the mass status of place names to the mass status
841 of the silent noun PLACE rather than the name with its denotation by itself.

842 Fourth, there are linguistic differences between common nouns and names when used as
843 predicates of small clause complements of verbs of calling. Matushansky (2008) takes it to be

844 syntactic evidence for the predicativist theory that (71a) is syntactically parallel to the small clause
845 construction in (71b).

- 846 (71) a. Mary called John *Bill*.
847 b. Mary called John a fool.

848 (71a) appears to require the name *Bill* to make the same sort of semantic contribution as an
849 ordinary predicate such as *a fool* in the small clause in (71b)—namely, attributing a property of
850 the sort “being called *Bill*” (or “standing in a suitable contextually given naming relation R to
851 the name *Bill*”) (Matushansky 2008). Despite their similarities, however, (71a) and (71b) are not
852 entirely on a par. Both (71a) and (71b) describe acts of attribution, but the acts are different in
853 type, involving different conditions of satisfaction and different roles for the small clause predi-
854 cates. These differences manifest themselves syntactically in German, namely, in the choice of
855 different proforms for the small clause predicates. In German, predicational *nennen* ‘to call’ as
856 in (71a) goes along with the proforms *was* ‘what’ and *das* ‘that’ for the small clause predicate,
857 as seen in (72a–b), whereas appellative *nennen* as in (71b) goes along with the proforms *wie*
858 ‘how’ and *so* ‘so’, as seen in (73a–b).

- 859 (72) a. Anna nannte ihn einen Esel. Maria nannte ihn das / *so auch.
860 ‘Anna called him a donkey. Maria called him that too.’
861 b. Was / *Wie hat Maria ihn genannt? Sie nannte ihn einen Esel.
862 ‘What / How did Maria call him? She called him a donkey.’

- 863 (73) a. Er nannte sie *Susi*. Er hätte sie nicht so / *das nennen sollen.
864 he called her *Susi* he had her not so / that call should
865 ‘He called her *Susi*. He should not have called her so / that.’
866 b. Wie / *Was hat er sie genannt? Er nannte sie *Susi*.
867 how / what has he her called he called her *Susi*
868 ‘How / What did he call her? He called her *Susi*.’

869 *Wie* and *how* are also the proforms used to replace predicational quotations, in (74).

- 870 (74) a. Er sprach *Küßchen* so aus.
871 he pronounced *Küßchen* so
872 ‘He pronounced *Küßchen* that way.’
873 b. Wie sprach er *Küßchen* aus?
874 how pronounced he *Küßchen*
875 ‘How did he pronounced *Küßchen*?’

876 This indicates that names as small clause predicates with verbs of calling do not contribute a
877 property in the way ordinary small clause predicates do. They may better be considered pure
878 quotations, but now in a predicative function.³⁸ The semantic parallelism between (71a) and (71b)
879 then consists in that the act described by the verb of calling is one of attribution of a name
880 (expression type) in (71a) and of a property in (71b). The satisfaction conditions of the former
881 consist in John’s having the name, those of the latter in John’s having the property. Predicative
882 occurrences of names do not require a property denotation for names, but can be treated as pure
883 quotations. Note that pure quotations can also occur after the preposition *as*, which is reserved
884 for predicational uses of expressions.³⁹

- 885 (75) a. John treats Bill as a brother.
886 b. John pronounced *Küßchen* as *cousin*.

887 Predicative uses of names with verbs of calling thus motivate a more general account of predicative
888 quotation rather than a treatment of names as common nouns.

889 8 Conclusion

890 This article has argued that the light nouns are that are part of light quantifiers in English, German,
891 and other languages are also part of certain types of proper names (namely, type 1 names), which

892 in German include names for persons, places, and houses, as well as productive names. Light
893 nouns display a countability distinction, with THING, PLACE, and TIME siding with mass
894 (noncount) nouns and PERSON and HOUSE with count nouns. This distinction between the two
895 sorts of light nouns explains puzzling differences in behavior among type 1 names regarding
896 selection of relative pronouns and ability to support plural anaphora.

897 Light nouns are not generally sortals, that is, nouns that convey the identity conditions on
898 types of entities. In particular, THING and PLACE comprise particular sortal concepts (material
899 object, artifact, number, expression type, city, country, continent) and thus only have the status
900 of “dummy sortals.” Type 1 names are distinguished from type 2 names, which do not involve
901 a light noun, but contain a specific silent or overt full sortal noun in a different syntactic structure.

902 What does the presence of light nouns in names mean for the semantics of names? One
903 conclusion that can be drawn from the discussion of the role of light nouns in type 1 names is
904 this. Since light nouns in type 1 names are not generally sortals, giving the identity conditions
905 on the object the name stands for, they underspecify the type of entity being referred to and thus
906 are not suited for the role of sortals that some philosophers have taken to be part of the meaning
907 of names (Geach 1957, Dummett 1973). They contrast in that respect with the sortal nouns that
908 are part of type 2 names. The function of light nouns in type 1 names is thus somewhat different.
909 Note that the view of names that has become standard in philosophy of language generally does
910 not make use of sortals; it simply says that names refer in virtue of a causal-historical chain
911 involving previous uses of the name or else a referent-fixing schema that goes along with a
912 productive process of name formation.

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