

A Mozart sonata and the Palme funeral: The structure and uses of proper-name compounds in Swedish

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1. Constructions with nominal adnominals in Swedish

- The “standard possessive noun phrase” with preposed determiner *s*-possessors:

- (1) a. Peter-s / barn-et-s / ett barn-s bok
 Peter-GEN /child-the:N-GEN /a:N child-GEN book
 ‘Peter’s /the child’s / a child’s book’
 b. (*en) Lisa-s kind(*-en)
 (a:COM) Lisa-GEN cheek(-the:COM)
 ‘Lisa’s cheek’

- N+N compounds

- (2) a. en barn / djur+bok b. student+mord-et c. en guld+ring
 a:COM child / animal +book student+murder-the:N a:COM gold+ring
 ‘a child /animal book’ ‘the student murder’ ‘a golden ring’

- adnominal constructions with postposed prepositional phrases:

- (3) a. kind-en **på** Lisa; en bok **om** djur **för** barn;
 ‘cheek-the:COM on Lisa; a:COM book about animals for children’
 b. mord-et **på** student-en / **på** en student
 murder-the.N on student-the.COM / on a:COM student
 c. en ring av guld ‘a ring of gold’

Table 1. Properties of the major constructions with nominal adnominals in Swedish (D(ependent), H(ead))

<i>Properties</i>	<i>Possessive NPs (PNP)</i>	<i>Compounds</i>	<i>NPs with PPs</i>
Morphosyntactic status	Definite NP	Noun	NP
Order of D and H	D-H	D-H	H-D
Reduction of inflection and/ or combinability	For H: no articles; normally only definite interpretation.	For D: no inflectional categories; normally only non-specific interpretation.	————
Markers of relation between H and D	The clitic (?) -s	No marker vs. a linker. The choice determined by several factors, often in an unpredictable fashion.	Different prepositions for different relations. The choice often determined by semantics of the D.
Disfavouring factors	Indefiniteness of H Other semantic factors (types of relations) to a certain degree	Specificity of D.	Primarily semantic: some relations, such as LEGAL POSSESSION and DISPOSAL.
Other alternatives under disfavouring conditions.	LEGAL POSSESSION and DISPOSAL: partitives. Other relations: NPs with PPs. Non-specific D: compounds.	PNPs or constructions with PPs.	PNPs or, for non-specific D, compounds

But what about the proper-name compounds (PropN-compounds) *en Mozart+sonat* /*Mozart+sonat-en* ‘a/ the Mozart sonata’ and *Palme+mord-et* ‘the Palme murder’?

2. Semantics of PropN-compounds: general

2.1. Common-noun like vs. proper-name like PropN compounds

- *En Montessoriskola* ‘a Montessori school’, *en Barbieklänning* ‘a Barbie dress’ – the compound denotes a subtype of the kind of entity denoted by its head and behaves as a **common noun** (i.e., it inflects for number and attaches indefinite or definite articles following the pattern of its head).
- *Kristofferskolan* ‘the Christopher school’, *Berwaldhallen* ‘the Berwald hall’, *Strindbergsgatan* ‘the Strindberg street’ – a particular school, concert hall and street in Stockholm – the compounds have unique reference, do not inflect for number and do not show contrasts in (in)definiteness, like **proper names**. They differ from the most prototypical proper names in being obligatorily marked with the singular definite article.

The difference is not categorical:

- *en Mozartopera* ‘a Mozart opera’ or *en Fellini film* ‘a Fellini film’ – each denotes a class of possible referents with just a few members and pretty much closed.
- *Beethovenoperan* ‘the Beethoven opera’ (‘Fidelio’) and *Palmemordet* ‘the Palme murder’ each has unique reference.

2.2. Who does the PropN refer to?

Normally persons, incl. fictive personalities, well known within the relevant speech community, ranging from fairly famous personalities to the members of a family, the colleagues at the same working place etc. The “scope of popularity” often correlates with the part of the name involved: e.g., *en Picassotavla* ‘a Picasso painting’ (based on the last name) vs. *en Kattitavla* ‘a Katti painting’ (based on a Christian name, denotes a picture by my youngest daughter). However, many famous persons are commonly known by their first names, cf. *en Britneylåt* ‘a Britney (Spears) song’ and *ett Zlatanmål* ‘a Zlatan (Ibrahimovic) goal’. Included are also groups of people (e.g., musical groups).

2.3. Transparency (degree of semantic motivation):

Transparent <-----> idiosyncratic

Palmemord-et ‘the Palme murder’;
en Mozartsonat ‘a Mozart sonata’,

en Einstein-schäfer ‘an Einstein sheep dog’
(a dog that is as clever as Einstein,
Göteborgsposten 2001.51:0726)

en Fellinifilm ‘a Fellini film’,
en Mastroiannifilm ‘a Mastroianni film’,
Bondfilm ‘a Bond film’

ett Barbiedagis ‘a Barbie kindergarten’
(a kindergarten where the girls play with *en*
Barbie dolls and the boys play “real boys”
games, *Göteborgsposten* 2002.4:0317),

Motivation chains are frequent:

- *Palme* in compounds – often metonymic for *the Palme murder* 1986, an important and highly salient event in the modern Swedish history. Many compounds are related to the “**murder script**”:

<i>Palmemordet</i>	'the Palme murder'	<i>Palmekulorna</i>	'the Palme bullets'
<i>Palmegruppen</i>	'the Palme group'	<i>Palmeutredningen</i>	'the P. investigation'
<i>Palmerättegången</i>	'the Palme process'	<i>Palmemålet</i>	'the Palme case'
<i>Palmeåklagaren</i>	'the Palme prosecutor'	<i>Palmevittnena</i>	'the Palme witnesses'
<i>Palmethriller</i>	'the Palme thriller'	<i>Palmesoppa</i>	'the P. mess (lit. 'soup')'
<i>Palmenytt</i>	'Palme news'	<i>Palmemisstänkta</i>	'Palme suspected'

- *Nobel* in compounds – often metonymic for 'Nobel prize' and even for 'Nobel Prize Award Party' (*Nobel-fest*), another highly important and salient cultural script in the Swedish culture – the annual Nobel Prize award ceremony and, in particular, its final part – the grand evening banquet in Stockholm's City Hall:

<i>Nobelfest</i>	'Nobel party'	<i>Nobelstal</i>	'Nobel speech'
<i>Nobelfrack</i>	'Nobel tail-coat'	<i>Nobelglass</i>	'Nobel ice-cream'
<i>Nobelklänning</i>	'Nobel dress'	<i>Nobelmenyn</i>	'Nobel menu'
<i>Nobelståhejet</i>	'the Nobel hullabaloo'		

Particular cases of low semantic motivation:

- Commemorative PropN-compounds, "X named after person Y" (Warren 1978:218, Kajanus 2005:44-45),



e.g. *en Birgittabakelse* 'a Birgitta cake'
(a cake "invented" for the 700 year anniversary of Holy Birgitta)
or *Victoriaarenan* 'the Victoria arena'
(named after the Swedish Crown Princess).



- Erstwhile PropN-compounds in which the first part is no longer conceived of as a proper name: *graham-s+mjöl* 'whole wheat flour' ('Graham-LNK+flour', named after an American 19th century's vegetarian S. Graham) or *dieselmotor* 'diesel motor'.

2.4. Degree of conventionalization:

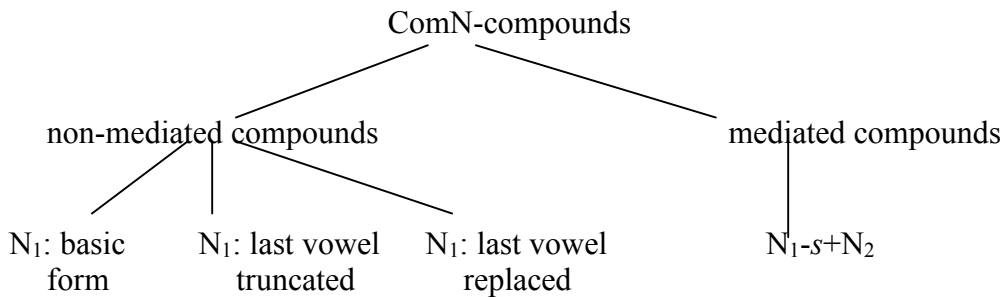
conventionalized, listed <—————> created on the spot and context dependent

- (4) **Göran Perssons ledarskap** under nio år har onekligen byggt mer på maktspel, dominans och osäkerhet om furstens avsikter än på fotfolklig kärlek. Det är **en märklig paradox** i en tid när makthierarkier plattas till och när det på normala svenska arbetsplatser har blivit vanligare att medarbetare sätter fingret i magen på chefen än vice versa... **Perssonparadox nummer två** är att mer och mer makt koncentrerats i samma par händer, under några år när alla talar om mångfald, globalisering och marknadsmakt. (Niklas Ekdal Dagens Nyheter 2005-03-20)
'**Göran Persson's leadership** during nine years has undoubtedly been founded more on power play, dominance and insecurity about the prince's intentions than on people's love. This is **a strange paradox** in a time when power hierarchies have flattened out and when it has become more common at normal Swedish work places for a colleague to put his / her boss up against a wall than the other way around. **Persson paradox number two** is that more and more power has been concentrated

in the same pair of hands, during these past years when everybody has been talking about diversity, globalisation and market power.’

3. The structure of PropN-compounds

3.1. The basic structure of Swedish ComN- and PropN compounds: simple compounds



Common-noun nominal compounds

(5) Non-mediated ComN-compounds

a. basic form: *bil* ‘car’ + *tak* ‘roof’ => *biltak* ‘car bonnet’

b. truncated form: *kyrka* ‘church’ + *tak* ‘roof’ => *kyrktak* ‘church roof’

c. vowel replacement:

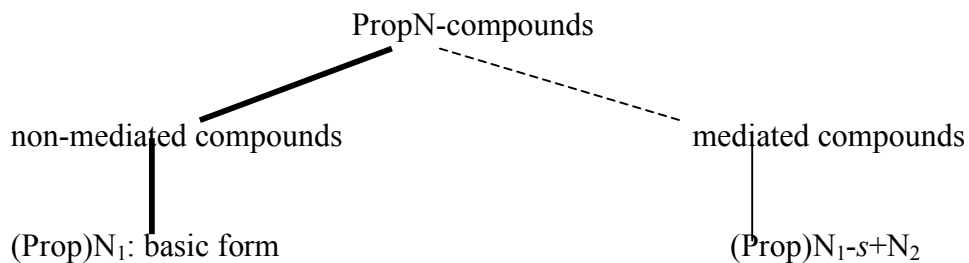
kyrka ‘church’ + *musik* ‘music’ => *kyrkomusik* ‘church music’

gata ‘street’ + *korsning* ‘junction’ => *gatukorsning* ‘street junction’

(6) Mediated ComN-compounds

stol ‘chair’ + *rygg* ‘back’ => *stolsrygg* ‘chair back’

PropN-compounds: the same prosodical, inflectional and distributional properties, but a restricted set of morphological types (involving the simpler morphological processes among those involved in ComN-compounding): the form of proper names is not influenced by compounding (“morphological immunity”), and no extra morphological material is normally involved for combining the two parts.



- Non-mediated PropN-compounds: no truncation, e.g. *lina* ‘rope’ and *lin+bana* ‘a rope way’ (‘rope+road’) vs. *Lina* ‘Lina, a female name’ and *Lina+skämt* ‘Lina joke’.
- (Vowel replacement only marginal in the old Latin genitive forms *Jesu-*, *Petri-*)
- Mediated PropN-compounds: *-s-* mainly restricted to the family names in *-berg*, *-borg*, *-beck* (erstwhile compounds), certain names ending in *-man*, and the names of Swedish kings, e.g. *Gustav Adolf-s+dag-en* ‘the Gustav Adolphus day’ (G A-LNK+day-DEF.COM) (Kajanus 2005). SAG (v.2:137): *-s-* sometimes in strongly

lexicalized compounds, e.g. *Staffan-s+visan* ‘the Stephan song’ – a traditional Swedish Christmas carol.

- *Strindberg-*: 22 compound types in the PAROLE corpus (<http://spraakbanken.gu.se/parole/>) – 15 with *-s-* and 7 without *-s-*. Google searches for ‘a Strindberg play’: 99 hits with *-s-*, *en Strindbergspjäs*, vs. 107 hits without *-s-*, *en Strindbergpjäs* and (checked on December 10th 2008).

3.2. Recursion

Recursion within ComN-compounds can apply both to the first (7a) and to the second (7b) part. If the first part is complex, the linking *-s-* is almost obligatory.

- (7) a. en [[barn+bok]-s+[klubb]] ‘a club for children’s books’
 a:COM child+book-LNK+club
 b. en [[barn] +[bok+klubb]] ‘a book club for children’
 a:COM child + book+club

Recursion in PropN-compounds: both in their first (8a-b) and second (8c-d) parts.

- (8) a. en [[Bond+film]-s + producent] ‘a Bond film producer’
 a:com Bond+ film-LNK + producer (i.e., ‘a producer of Bond films’)
 b. [[Palme+mord]-s + utredning]-en ‘the Palme murder investigation’
 Palme+murder-LNK+investigation-DEF.SG.COM
 c. [Armani+[sol+[glas+ögon]]] ‘Armani sun glasses’
 Armani + sun + glass+eyes
 d. en [Barbie+[rygg+säck]] ‘a Barbie rucksack’
 a:COM Barbie + back+bag

3.3. Lexicalized phrases and phrasal compounds

“Heavy” proper names in Swedish have prosody typical of lexicalized phrases. “*Lexicalized phrases*” (*lexikaliserade fraser*, or “lexphrases”, Anward & Linell 1975-1976, *lexikaliserade ordgrupper* ‘lexicalized word groups’ in SAG vol. 1:195) – combinations of words with a special connective intonation pattern, whereby all the stressed syllables in the group, except for the last one, get deaccentuated₍₀₎, ‘unit accentuation’ in Dahl (2004:252-259), traditionally *sammanfattningsaccent* ‘summarizing accentuation’, *idiomatiseringsaccent* ‘idiomatizing accentuation’, *ordgruppsbetoning* ‘word group stress’). A prototypical lexphrase has a syntactic structure that is more or less close to well-behaved syntactic phrases, consists of words that at least partly retain their inflection, but has a unitary meaning of its own. Parameters of variation: deviation from normal phrasal syntax, inflection on their components, semantic motivation, and degree of conventionalization.

- (9) a. ₍₀₎svart ¹vinbär ‘black currant’
 black.INDEF.SG currant
 b. ₍₀₎lång ²klänning ‘long dress’
 (the female correspondence to a tail-coat, i.e. an evening dress rather than any dress that happens to be long)

- c. ₍₀₎svart-a ¹börs-en ‘black market’
 black-DEF exchange-DEF.COM
- d. ₍₀₎röd-a ¹hund ‘Rubella, German measles’
 red-DEF dog

“Word group compounds” (*ordgruppsammansättningar*) contain lexicalized phrases as their first part (e.g. SAG vol. 2:43-44). Prosody – from lexphrases, which distinguishes them from recursive compounds. Both are pronounced with the two-peak compounding accent (lexical accent 2), the second peak = the last stressed syllable of the compound. The first peak: in compounds = the first stressed syllable in the word (11); in phrasal compounds = the last stressed syllable of the phrasal part (10).

- (10) a. [₍₀₎svart+²vin₍₀₎bär]-s+,saft ‘black-currant juice’
 black + currant-LNK+juice
- b. [₍₀₎svart-a + ²börs] + af,fär-er ‘black-market transactions’
 black-DEF exchange + transaction-PL
- (11) ²svart+₍₀₎peppar => ²[¹svart+₍₀₎peppar]+,sås
 ‘black pepper’ => ‘black pepper sauce’

3.4. PropN-compounds with heavy proper names

SAG (vol. 2:134, 146) and Van Langendonck (2007:126-129) distinguish between proper names and close appositional structures (i.e. as syntactic constructions), but PropN-compounds are not particularly sensitive to this distinction.

- (12) *Complex first names*
- a. [Gustav Adolf]+dag-en ‘the Gustav Adolf-day (6th November)’
 Gustav Adolf + day-DEF.SG.COM
- b. [Karl Johan]-s+stil ‘the Karl Johan style, i.e. the Swedish empire’
 Karl Johan-LNK+style
- (13) *First name + last name [close apposition]*
- a. en [[Selma Lagerlöf]+roman]; en [[Ingmar Bergman]+film]
 ‘a Selma Lagerlöf book; an Ingmar Bergman film’
- b. en [[Östen Dahl]+föreläsning]
 ‘an Östen Dahl lecture’ (Kajanus 2005:1)
- (14) *Tight combinations of a title and a name [close apposition]*
- a. mi-n [[”Drottning-Silvia]+klänning”] ‘my ‘Queen Silvia dress’
 my-COM Queen-Silvia + dress
 (<http://www.sr.se/cgi-bin/ostergotland/program/index.asp?ProgramID=2034> Dec.16th 2008)
- b. en [[drottning Silvia]+brytning] ‘a Queen Silvia accent’
 a:COM queen Silvia + accent
 (<https://www.flashback.info/archive/index.php/t-383060.html> Dec.16th 2008)

- c. ett [[Mr. Bean]+skämt]; en [[Lord Byron]+dikt]
 a:N Mr. Bean + joke a:COM Lord Byron + poem
 ‘a Mr. Bean joke; a Lord Byron poem’

(15) *Names with preposed attributes*

- a. [duktig-a Annika]+syndrom-et ‘the efficient Annika syndrome’
 efficient-DEF Annika + syndrome-DEF.SG.N
 (<https://www.flashback.info/archive/index.php/archive/t-147110-p-3.html> Dec. 16th 2008)
- b. några [[Magr-e Memed]+trick] ‘some Thin Memed tricks’
 some Thin-DEF.M Memed + trick.PL
 (Tora Palm’s Swedish translation of Yasar Kemal’s
Ince Memed, Sw. *Låt tistlarna brinna*. 1980:154)

(16) *Names with postposed identificatory epithets*

- a. [Peter de-n Stor-e] Staty-n ‘the Statue of Peter the Great’
 Peter the-COM Great-DEF.M statue-DEF.SG.COM
- b. Han hade avklippta byxor, en randig murarskjorta och
 en blå [[Emil i Lönneberga]+keps].
 a:COM blue.SG.COM Emil in Lönneberga + cap
 ‘He had cut-off trousers, a striped bricklayer’s skirt and a
 blue Emil-in-Lönnerberga cap.’
 (Värmlands Folkblad, <http://blogg.vf.se/nojesbloggen/?p=47>)
- c. Vad kännetecknade samtliga [[Jack the Ripper]+mord]?
 ... all Jack-the-Ripper+murder.PL
 ‘What characterized all the Jack-the-Ripper murders?’
 (<http://www.trivia.se/index.php?page=5&cat=55>)

3.5. PropN-compounds with coordinated proper names

- (17) a. [Romeo och Julia]+förälskelse-n /+kör-en
 Romeo and Julia+love-DEF.SG.COM/+choir-DEF.SG.COM
 ‘the Romeo and Julia love; the Romeo and Julia choir’
- b. Hasseåtage (<[Hasse och Tage])+revy-n ‘the Hasse and Tage show’
 Hasse and Tage +show-DEF.SG.COM
- c. [Kain och Abel]+mord-et ‘the Kain and Abel murder’
 Kain and Abel+murder-DEF.SG.N
- d. min [Menuhin och Grappeli]+skiva ‘my Menuhin and Grappeli recording’

3.6. PropN-compounds with proper names containing articles

The **suffixed definite** article is retained:

- (18) a. [Stål+mann-en] + dräkt-en ‘the Superman dress’
 steel + man-DEF.SG.COM + dress-DEF.SG.COM
 (107 Google hits, December 13th 2008)
- b. en *Imperie-t* + låt
 a:COM Empire-DEF.SG.N + melody
 ‘a melody coming from the Empire pop group’

This is an amazing property of PropN-compounds, compared to other compounds:

- ComN-compounds: N₁ is uninflected;
- phrasal compounds: the article on the head of a lexphrase is dropped in compounds (*svarta börs-en* ‘the black market’ vs. *svartabörsaffärer* ‘black-market transactions’);
- the article is normally lost in geographical proper names when used in compounds:

- (19) a. *Hö+torg-et* => *en [Hö+torg]-s+skrapa*
 Hay+place-DEF.SG.N a:COM Hay+place-LNK+skyscraper
 ‘Hötorget (lit. ‘the Hay Place’); a skyscraper in Hötorget’
- b. *Kung-s+holm-en* => *en [Kung-s+holm]-s+gata*
 King-LNK+island-DEF.SG.COM a:COM King-LNK+island-LNK +street
 ‘Kungsholmen (lit. ‘the King Island’); a street on Kungsholmen’

The **preposed definite determiner** tends to be deleted even in PropN-compounds:

- (20) a. **de-n** *Vandrande vålnad-en*
 the-SG.COM Wandering ghost-DEF.SG.COM
 ‘the Wandering Ghost’
- b. **e-tt** *typisk-t [Vandrande vålnad-en] + äventyr*
 a-SG.N typical-SG.N Wandering ghost-DEF.SG.COM+ adventure
 ‘a typical Wandering Ghost adventure’

4. PropN-compounds and competing strategies

4.0. Introduction

- PropN-compounds vs. possessive NPs

Obama+administrationen vs. *Obama-s administration*
 ‘the Obama administration’ ‘Obama’s administration’
 (3700 hits, April 2nd 2009) (3530 hits, April 2nd 2009)

Picasso+taylor vs. *Picasso-s taylor*
 ‘Picasso paintings’ ‘Picasso’s paintings’

- PropN-compounds vs. Ns with postposed PPs

Palme+mord-et vs. *mordet på Palme*
 ‘the Palme murder’ ‘the murder of (lit. ‘on’) Palme’

Hamlet+dramat vs. *dramat om Hamlet*
 ‘the Hamlet drama’ ‘the drama about Hamlet’

- PropN-compounds vs. no standard construction

Many cases (e.g., ‘the Palme bullet’, ‘the Nobel dress’, etc.)

4.1. Why use a PropN-compound to start with?

- Compounds vs. syntactic phrases: **naming** vs. description

“Like derivatives, compounds provide *names* for entities, properties or actions. This is opposed to providing descriptions, which is the function of syntax” (Bauer 1988: 102).

“Anything at all can be described, but only *relevant* categories are given names” (Zimmer 1971: C15).

“...because compounds in many instances do serve as names, *the speaker by their use implies the existence of a unique category which, although it may not yet be conventionalized, is at least conventionalizable*” (Downing 1977: 838);

- Cf. a Montessori school, a Gustav-Adolph cake, a Barbie bag etc.;



the Kristoffer school, the Gustav-Adolf day, the Karl Johan style, the Palme murder, etc.

- *en Einstein-schäfer* ‘an Einstein sheep dog’ or *ett Barbiedagis* ‘a Barbie kindergarten’ => “hypostatization” (Lipka 1977): a new concept is introduced when the compound is coined (the existence of a compound may “mislead” the users of languages to believe that there exists an entity “denoted and created” by this independently of language). This can sometimes be used for comical purposes.
- But compounds have additional advantages compared to syntactic adnominal constructions in that they provide:
 - one and the same morphosyntactic pattern for almost unrestricted semantic relations between their two parts (cf. with s-genitive constructions and adnominal constructions with PPs);
 - a relatively simple pattern for expressing the indefiniteness-definiteness distinctions

There might therefore be other (or additional) reasons for choosing a compound: e.g. in order to replace a complex syntactic construction, in order to (better) suit the syntactic context, as a basis for word formation (cf. Schlücker & Hüning forthc.).

- **Text cohesion** (Schlücker & Hüning *ibid.*) – like demonstratives (cf. Downing’s deictic compounds “apple juice seat”) – e.g. ex. (4):

Göran Persson’s leadership... a strange paradox ... => Persson paradox number two

- **Syntactic parallelism:**

- (20) *Wien besökte jag bl.a. under förra **Mozartåret** 1991 med min dåvarande sambo, det var fantastiskt med alla konserter som hölls där, tyvärr fick vi inte se Wiener Philharmoniker in action men vi såg en bra **Mozartkonsert** på Hofburg med en annan lokal symfoniorkester. Sen var det uppträdande med **Mozartmusik** nästan överallt man kom på museer, restauranger etc. Det fanns även en speciell **Mozartutställning** i ett temporärt museum där man kunde beskåda lika partiturer, musikinstrument och annat som **han** använt.*

‘Stolen **Rembrandt painting** found in Danmark

The most valuable painting of the three that were stolen at armed raid against the National Museum in Stockholm in December 2000 has been found in Copenhagen...

Four men were seized as suspected for receiving stolen goods after their attempt to sell a **self-portrait of Rembrandt's** for 1,5 mln crown. **The painting** is believed to be worth about 300 mln crowns.

The Copenhagen police traced **the Rembrandt painting** to a hotel in the Danish capital, as the Danish news agency Ritzau reports. **The picture** was found on Thursday evening...

At the raid against the National Museum on December 22nd 2000 two paintings of Renoir had also been stolen: *Young Parisian* and *Conversation*. The latter picture was found some time ago, and the American FBI has announced today that the other Renoir picture, Young Parisian, has also been found in Los Angeles. The two Renoir paintings are together worth about 80 mln crowns. Together with **Rembrandt's Self-Portrait** the stolen art is worth ca 400 mln crowns.’

4.2. When are PropN-compounds dispreferred? Structural factors

□ Avoidance of recursion

(22) Google searches on Dec. 12th 2008

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| a. Nobel+pris-et | | ‘the Nobel Prize’ |
| Nobel + prize-DEF.SG.N | – | 700 000 Google hits |
| b. Fred-s + pris-et | – | ‘the Peace Prize’ |
| peace-LNK+prize-DEF.SG.N | | 59 800 Google hits |
| c. Nobel+fred-s + pris-et | – | 58 Google hits |
| Nobel + peace-LNK + prize-DEF.SG.N | | |
| d. Nobel-s fred-s + pris | – | ‘the Nobel Peace Prize’ |
| Nobel-GEN peace-LNK + prize | | 226 000 Google hits |
| e. *Fred-s+nobel+pris-et | | |
| peace-LNK+Nobel +prize-DEF.SG.N | | |
| f. *Fred-s Nobel+pris | | |
| peace-GEN Nobel +prize | | |

- (23) a. en Mozart+sonat; en violin+sonat
‘a Mozart sonata’; ‘a violin sonata’
- b. ???en Mozart+violin+sonat
‘a Mozart violin sonata’
- c. en violin+sonat av Mozart / Mozart-s violin+sonat
a:COM violin + sonata of Mozart / Mozart-GEN violin+sonata
‘a violin sonata of Mozart / Mozart’s violin sonata’

It is, however, unclear to what extent this avoidance is a property of PropN-compounds rather than being a general restriction on compounding:

- (24) a. linne+[hand+duk], läder + [rygg+säck] 'linen towel, leather rucksack'
 linen + hand+cloth, leather + back + bag
 b. plast+[kaffe+mugg] 'plastic coffee cup'
 plast + coffee + mug
 c. ???bomull-s+[dam+tröja], ???dam+[bomull-s+tröja];
 cotton-LNK+lady+sweater, lady + cotton-LNK+sweater
 ???silke-s+[afton+klänning], ???afton+[silke-s+klänning]
 silk-LNK+evening+dress evening+silk-LNK+dress
 'cotton ladies' sweater; silk evening dress'

- Heaviness of the proper name.

In particular compounds based on PropN with postpositional epithets are favoured by two frequency-related factors: a) a very high frequency and salience of the name, and b) a high salience (and even symbolic value) of the entity referred to by the whole compound

- (25) Karl de-n tolfte staty-n (normally "Karl XII-statyn")
 Charles the-COM twelfth statue-DEF.SG.COM
 'the statue of Charles the Twelfth'
- (26) Och om **Peter den store statyn** lämnar staden kommer hela St. Petersburg att gå under (yeah right, som om statyer kan röra på sig).
 'And if Peter the great statue leaves the city, the whole of Saint Petersburg will be destroyed (yeah right, as if statues could move).'
 (<http://resedagbok.krokodil.se/index.php?elev=86>)

5. Conclusions and implications

5.1. Swedish PropN-compounds between lexicon and syntax.

- *Syntactic considerations:*

- a. PropN-compounds are right-headed nominal compounds in which the first slot is occupied by (almost) *any expression that is conceived of as a personal proper name*. These expressions can have quite different structural properties ranging from single simplex words to phrases, but all these structures (including certain types of close appositional structures) are allowed to function as the first-most component in compounds *as long as they are recognized as a name for a unique referent* – a person or a group of persons. The only exception is constituted by complex names with a preposed syntactic determiner that has to be dropped in compounding. The "usual" constraints on compounds (*No phrase constraint* and "No DP!"-constraint (cf. Lawrenz 1996), no DPs (or "full" NPs, i.e. NPs with determiners) do not appear adequate for PropN-compounds.
- b. PropN-compounds are often involved in competition with syntactic coding strategies
- c. The proper-names in PropN-compounds are occasionally accessible for external anaphora contradicting the Lexical Integrity Hypothesis: "[t]he syntax neither manipulates not has access to the internal structure of words" (Anderson 1992:84) (cf. also ex. 20) :

- (27) År 2006 är åter ett **Mozart+år**, nämligen **hans** 250:de födelsedag.
 year 2006 is again a:N Mozart+year namely his 250:th birthday
 ‘2006 is once again a **Mozart** year, more precisely **his** 250th birthday.’
 (Marcus Boldemann in *Dagens Nyheter, Kultur*, January 22th 2005)

□ Lexical considerations:

a. PropN-compounding provides a systematic way of creating new lexical items, with many PropN-compounds fully conventionalized or on their way to full conventionalization.

b. Various structural properties of PropN-compounds (e.g. recursion, the use of proper names with attributes or of conjoined proper names as the non-head component) are sensitive to the “lexicalization degree” of the involved elements, where lexicalization primarily refers to their recognition as expressions for unitary concepts.

5.2. Cross-linguistic parallels

“Anchoring” (≈ possession) vs. “non-anchoring” (≈ description) relations across languages

Swedish	Compounding: <i>en kvinnobok</i>	Gen – H: <i>en kvinnas bok</i>
Russian	Adjective: <i>ženskaja kniga</i>	H – Gen: <i>kniga ženščiny</i>
Turkish	Head-marking: <i>kadın kitab-ı</i>	Double-marking: <i>kadın-ın kitab-ı</i>

Proper names in “non-anchoring” patterns

Productive patterns

Turkish *bir mozart sonat+ı* ‘a Mozart sonata’, *Bush hükümet+ı* ‘the Bush administration’

Russian *Puškinskij dom* ‘the Pushkin house’, *Šmelevskie deti* ‘the Shmelev kids’ (but, however, **Aleksandr Puškinskij dom* and **Aleksandrskij dom*)

Compounding in **Hungarian** and **German**, juxtaposition in **English**

Restricted patterns

Compounding in Finnish

Impossible

Compounding in Persian

5.3. Important questions for the future

- Why is the pattern normally reserved for “non-referential/non-specific” etc. modification also used for modification based on such highly referential and specific expressions as proper names? Is this a pure accident or are there good reasons for this?
- What is the referential status of proper names in such patterns – e.g., how would we know whether they are referential or not?
- When are proper names of different complexity treated in one and the same way vs. in different ways for morphological purposes?

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