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
      a:COM child / animal +book
      ‘a child /animal book’

  b. student+mord-et
      a:COM murder-the:N
      ‘the student murder’

  c. en guld+ring
      a:COM gold+ring
      ‘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))

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

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 Barbiekläning* ‘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’, *Strindbergs gatan* ‘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 Fellinifilm* ‘a Fellini film’ – each denotes a class of possible referents with just a few members and pretty much closed.

- *Beethovenopera* ‘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):

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transparent</th>
<th>idiosyncratic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Palmemordet</em> ‘the Palme murder’; <em>en Mozartsonat</em> ‘a Mozart sonata’, <em>en Fellinifilm</em> ‘a Fellini film’, <em>en Mastroiannifilm</em> ‘a Mastroianni film’, <em>Bondfilm</em> ‘a Bond film’</td>
<td><em>en Einstein-schäfer</em> ‘an Einstein sheep dog’ (a dog that is as clever as Einstein, Göteborgsposten 2001.51:0726) <em>ett Barbiedagis</em> ‘a Barbie kindergarten’ (a kindergarten where the girls play with <em>en Barbie dolls</em> and the boys play “real boys” games, Göteborgsposten 2002.4:0317),</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

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":

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:

- Nobelfest 'Nobel party'
- Nobeltal 'Nobel speech'
- Nobelfrack 'Nobel tail-coat'
- Nobelglass 'Nobel ice-cream'
- Nobelklämning 'Nobel dress'
- Nobelmenyn 'Nobel menu'
- Nobelståhejet '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).

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 fotföljlig 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

\[
\text{ComN-compounds} \\
\text{non-mediated compounds} \quad \text{mediated compounds} \\
N_1: \text{basic form} \quad N_1: \text{last vowel truncated} \quad N_1: \text{last vowel replaced} \quad N_1-s+N_2
\]

Common-noun nominal compounds

(5) Non-mediated ComN-compounds
   a. basic form: \( \text{bil} \) ‘car’ + \( \text{tak} \) ‘roof’ \( \Rightarrow \) \( \text{biltak} \) ‘car bonnet’
   b. truncated form: \( \text{kyrka} \) ‘church’ + \( \text{tak} \) ‘roof’ \( \Rightarrow \) \( \text{kyrktak} \) ‘church roof’
   c. vowel replacement:
      \( \text{kyrka} \) ‘church’ + \( \text{musik} \) ‘music’ \( \Rightarrow \) \( \text{kyrkomusik} \) ‘church music’
      \( \text{gata} \) ‘street’ + \( \text{korsning} \) ‘junction’ \( \Rightarrow \) \( \text{gatukorsning} \) ‘street junction’

(6) Mediated ComN-compounds
   \( \text{stol} \) ‘chair’ + \( \text{rygg} \) ‘back’ \( \Rightarrow \) \( \text{stolsrygg} \) ‘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.

\[
\text{PropN-compounds} \\
\text{non-mediated compounds} \quad \text{mediated compounds} \\
(\text{Prop})N_1: \text{basic form} \quad (\text{Prop})N_1-s+N_2
\]

- Non-mediated PropN-compounds: no truncation, e.g. \( \text{lina} \) ‘rope’ and \( \text{lin}+\text{bana} \) ‘a rope way’ (‘rope+road’) vs. \( \text{Lina} \) ‘Lina, a female name’ and \( \text{Lina}+\text{skämt} \) ‘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 \(-\text{berg}, \text{-borg}, \text{-beck}\) (erstwhile compounds), certain names ending in \(-\text{man}\), and the names of Swedish kings, e.g. \( \text{Gustav Adolf}+\text{dag-} \) ‘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(ı), ‘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. 0svart 11vinbär ‘black currant’
   black_INDEF.SG currant
b. 0lång 2lklänn ‘long dress’
   (the female correspondence to a tail-coat, i.e. an evening dress rather than any dress that happens to be long)
c. svart-a börs-en 'black market'
   black-DEF exchange-DEF.COM

d. föd-a hund 'Rubella, German measles'
   red-DEF dog

“Word group compounds” (ordgrupssammansättningar) contain lexicalized phrases as their first part (e.g. SAG vol. 2:43-44). Prosody – from lemphrases, 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. [svart+2vin-bärs]-s+saft  'black-currant juice'
   black  + currant-LNK+juice

   b. [svart-a +2börs] af+fär-er  'black-market transactions'
   black-DEF exchange + transaction-PL

(11)  svart+peppar  =>  svart+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]

   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+klännning"]  ‘my ‘Queen Silvia dress’
      my-COM Queen-Silvia  + dress

   b. en [drottning Silvia+brytning]  ‘a Queen Silvia accent’
      a:COM queen Silvia  + accent
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’  
edefficient-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-Lönneberga 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  
Hasse and Tage +show-DEF.SG.COM  
c. [Kain och Abel]+mord-et  
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:

\[\text{(19) a. } Hō+torg-et \quad \Rightarrow \quad \text{en } [Hō+torg]-s+skrapa \]

Hay+place-DEF.SG.N a:COM Hay+place-LNK+skyscraper
‘Hōtorget (lit. ‘the Hay Place’); a skyscraper in Hōtorget’

\[\text{b. } \text{Kung-s+holm-en} \quad \Rightarrow \quad \text{en } [\text{Kung-s+holm}]-s+gata \]

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:

\[\text{(20) a. } \text{de-n Vandrande vålnad-en} \]

the-SG.COM Wandering ghost-DEF.SG.COM
‘the Wandering Ghost’

\[\text{b. } \text{e-tt typisk-t } [\text{Vandrande vålnad-en}] + äventyr \]

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

\[\text{Obama+administrationen} \quad \text{vs. } \text{Obama-s administration} \]

‘the Obama administration’ ‘Obama’s administration’

(3700 hits, April 2nd 2009) (3530 hits, April 2nd 2009)

\[\text{Picasso+tavlor} \quad \text{vs. } \text{Picasso-s tavlor} \]

‘Picasso paintings’ ‘Picasso’s paintings’

- PropN-compounds vs. Ns with postposed PPs

\[\text{Palme+mord-et} \quad \text{vs. } \text{mordet på Palme} \]

‘the Palme murder’ ‘the murder of (lit. ’on’) Palme

\[\text{Hamlet+dramat} \quad \text{vs. } \text{dramat om Hamlet} \]

‘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 parallellism:**

  (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 partitur, musikinstrument och annat som han använt.*
'I visited Wien among other things during the preceding Mozart year 1991 with my then partner, it was terrific with all concerts that took place there, unfortunately we did not see Wiener Philharmoniker in action but we saw a good Mozart concert at Hofburg with an other local symphony orchestra. One could hear Mozart music almost any time one visited museums, restaurants etc. There was also a special Mozart exhibition at a temporary museum where one could see various scores, musical instruments and other things that he used.'


Note that there is also a similar tendency in a larger context!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schubert:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>≤1996 = 0-3 per year: -sångare 'singer', -ensemble, -kvartett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997 = 27: e.g., -platser 'places', -flagga 'flag', -burgare 'burger' (sic!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998 = 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birgitta:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>≤2003 = 0-8 per year: -systrar 'sisters', -kloster 'convent', -kyrkan 'church'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003 = 33: e.g., -bakelse 'cake', -expedition, -konsult, -hysteri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Considerations of definiteness – indefiniteness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Google searches for ‘Bach’s fuga’ and related expressions (March 29, 2009)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachs fuga: 12, most of these with additional information (e.g. i g-moll ‘in G minor’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en Bach+fuga: 33 en fuga av Bach: 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bach+fuga-n: 5 fugan av Bach: 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example showing alternation among PropN-compounds and adnominal syntactic phrases (constructions with determiner s-possessors and with postposed PPs): A text about three paintings stolen from the National Museum, SvT, 16 September 2005)

(21) Stulen Rembrandt-målning återfunnen i Danmark

Den värdefullaste av de tre tavlor som stals vid en väpnad kupp mot Nationalmuseum i Stockholm i december 2000 har återfunnits i Köpenhamn...
Fyra män greps misstänkta för grovt häleri efter att de försökt sälja ett självporträtt av Rembrandt för 1,5 miljoner kronor. Målningen tros vara värd runt 300 miljoner kronor...
Köpenhambyspolisen spårade Rembrandtmålningen till ett hotell i den danska huvudstaden, rapporterar den danska nyhetsbyran Ritzau. Talvan påträffades på torsdagskvällen...
(http://svt.se/2.27170/1.450804/stulen_rembrandt-malning_aterfunnen_i_danmark)
‘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 Copenhague…
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
   Nobel + prize-DEF.SG.N – 700 000 Google hits
b. Fred-s + pris-et
   peace-LNK+prize-DEF.SG.N – 59 800 Google hits
c. Nobel+fred-s + pris-et
   Nobel + peace-LNK + prize-DEF.SG.N – 58 Google hits
d. Nobel-s fred-s + pris
   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+s+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 simple
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):
År 2006 är åter ett Mozart+år, nämligen hans 250:de födelsedag. ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>Compounding: en kvinnobok</th>
<th>Gen – H: en kvinnas bok</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>Adjective: żenskaja kniga</td>
<td>H – Gen: kniga żenščiny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>Head-marking: kadın kitab-ı</td>
<td>Double-marking: kadın-in kitab-ı</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?
References


