

Structure of Personal Proper Names in Taiwanese Mandarin

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Abstract. In this work, we present some observations on the personal proper names of Taiwanese Mandarin, and propose an analysis for them. According to the proposed analysis, in Taiwanese Mandarin, the family name is an affix left-attached to the personal name, which is an independent morphological word. We also compare the personal proper names in Taiwanese Mandarin with those in English, and suggest that the personal proper names in English involve a partitive structure. Further extensions of the proposed analysis are also discussed.

1. Introduction

In this work, we explore the internal structure of the personal proper name (henceforth PPN) in Taiwanese Mandarin (henceforth TM) from a comparative perspective. Proper names have been an interesting research topic in areas such as social linguistics, pragmatics, anthropology, and philosophy of language (see Allerton 1987 for a general survey of the relevant issues). However, the grammatical properties of proper names have received relatively less attention (but see Matushansky 2006, 2008 and work cited for insightful discussions on the semantics of PPNs). Yet it seems true that PPNs exhibit some structural properties. An interesting example is Tang's (1988: 48-50) account of the difference in word order between the PPNs in English and those in Mandarin Chinese. Specifically, Tang argues that the word order [personal name - family name] in English has a bearing on the directionality of nominal modification in English; that is, according to Tang, the nominal head may precede its modifier in English, e.g. *John Smith* = [John [of the Smith family]], *John* being the head and *of the Smith family* a modifier. On the other hand, the word order [family name - personal name] in Mandarin Chinese arises from the strict head-final nature of the

nominal structure (see for instance Huang 1982). This example demonstrates that the formation of PPNs observes established structural principles of the language.

It is known that different ethnic groups and languages feature different types of PPNs. Below are some examples.¹

(1) a. **English**

John (Wilson) Smith

Personal name + (middle name) + family name

b. **Bulgarian**

Emil Petrov Christov

Personal name(s) + patronymic + family name

c. **Arab Muslim**

Ahmad Husain Muhammad

Personal name + father's personal name + grandfather's personal name

d. **Tayal**

Losin Watan

Personal name + father's personal name

e. **Japanese**

Murakami Haruki

Family name + personal name

f. **Taiwanese Mandarin**²

Lǐ Dēnghūi

Family name + personal name

PPNs come in different types. There are names that inherit a family name, such as TM, Japanese, and English; there are also names that are “patronymic,” i.e. names that incorporate the paternal name(s) as an integral element, like Arab Muslims and Tayal. There are mixture types too, such as Somali, which has both the family name and the patronymic name in a

¹ (1b) and (1c) are taken from *A Guide to Names and Naming Practices*, published by the Financial and Banking Information Infrastructure Committee (FBIIC) of the United Kingdom, 2006. It can be accessed on the homepage of FIIC (<https://www.fbiic.gov>). Terms such as “personal name” and “family name” are borrowed from it (directly or with minor adaptation).

² The authors of this paper are native speakers of Taiwanese Mandarin. It is known that the naming conventions of PPNs in Taiwan and those in China are different; for example, monosyllabic personal names are very popular in China but much fewer in Taiwan. Such differences could lead to significant divergence in linguistic judgment on PPNs in the linguistic communities in question. Since we do not have access to linguistic judgments of speakers of Chinese Mandarin, we limit ourselves to the discussion of PPNs in Taiwanese Mandarin.

complete name. There are still other types of PPNs, e.g. the so-called “descriptive names” of North American Indians (see Bright 2003, among others). The primary focus of this work is the PPNs in TM, namely the type of (1e) (though there will be a brief discussion of other PPN types in section 3 and 4).

A further classification of the PPNs in TM can be made, based on the number of syllables the personal name and the family name contain. We have the four basic patterns shown in (2) (σ : syllable).³

- | | | |
|--------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| (2) a. | Chén Shǔibiǎn | (σ - $\sigma\sigma$) |
| b. | Chiū Yì | (σ - σ) |
| c. | Dōngfāng Jièdé | ($\sigma\sigma$ - $\sigma\sigma$) |
| d. | Ōuyáng Lóng | ($\sigma\sigma$ - σ) |

In TM, the family name can be monosyllabic and the personal name disyllabic, as (2a); this is the most prevalent pattern of PPN in TM. The PPN of the pattern (2b) has the family name monosyllabic and the personal name monosyllabic too; this pattern is also not rare, though much fewer in number than the pattern (2a). The patterns (2c) and (2d) involve a disyllabic family name; in (2c) the personal name is disyllabic, and in (2d) it is monosyllabic. These two patterns are relatively rare compared to (2a) and (2b). In the following discussion, we will primarily focus on (2a), though (2b)-(2d) will be discussed too.

In section 2, we will present three observations regarding the use of the PPNs in TM and in English. Based on these observations, it is argued in section 3 that in TM, the personal name is an independent morphological word, but the family name is not. The family name is an affix attached to the left of the personal name, yielding an extended morphological word. In English, on the other hand, both the personal name and the family name are independent morphological words, and they form a structure similar to the partitive construction in syntax. In section 4, we discuss some possible extensions of the proposed analysis. Section 5 concludes the work.

³ The length of PPNs in TM is not limited to maximally four syllables. Liberty Times, a newspaper in Taiwan, reports on 5/24/2015 that a man in Chiayi county applied for change of his name (originally *Huáng Hóngchéng*) to *Huáng Hóngchéng Táiwān Āchéng Shìjiè Wěirén Cáishén Zǒngtǒng*, which literally means “Huang Hongcheng - Taiwan - Acheng - World - Great Man - God of Wealth - President”. The name totals 15 syllables. It is currently the (officially registered) longest PPN in Taiwan. Names longer than 4 syllables are extremely rare in TM, so we ignore them. Incidentally, according to a report in Liberty Times on 10/30/2014, the (officially registered) shortest PPN in Taiwan consists of only one syllable. The name bearer is a female. The identity of the name bearer is not revealed, nor is the name.

2. Observations

In this section, we present three observations on the use of the PPNs in TM. The first observation is the productive use of job titles as personal titles attached with the family name in TM. The second observation is the lack of independent referring function of the family name in TM. The third observation is the independent status of the personal name in TM in syntactic contexts.

2.1. Observation 1: job titles as personal titles

In TM, many job titles can be used directly as personal titles.⁴ This is a productive phenomenon, as the examples in (3) show. In English, however, only a few such titles could be used as personal titles; others give rise to unacceptability. See the examples in (4).

- (3) a. Zhāng Bóshì
Zhang doctor
- b. Zhāng Jiàoshòu
Zhang professor
- c. Zhāng Jīnglǐ
Zhang manager
- d. Zhāng Gōngchéngshī
Zhang engineer
- e. Zhāng Lǎoshī
Zhang teacher
- f. Zhāng Yuànzǎng
Zhang dean
- g. Zhāng Yánjiùyuán
Zhang researcher
- h. Zhāng Shèjìshī
Zhang designer

⁴ It seems that for a term to be used as a personal title in TM, it has to be a *formal title*, namely a title that has an official or conventionally recognized status in the society or in an organization (e.g. a social or commercial institution). Not any descriptive job title could be used in this way. For example, *diànyuán* ‘staff member of a store’ cannot be used as a personal title, **Zhāng-Diànyuán*. We leave the details aside.

- (4) a. Doctor White
 b. Professor White
 c. *Manager White
 d. *Engineer White
 e. *Teacher White
 f. *Dean White
 g. *Researcher White
 h. *Designer White

In TM, almost any formal job title (in a governmental offices, educational institution, or commercial business) can be used as a title for a person and put right after the family name of the person. In contrast, most of the job titles in English cannot be so used; only a handful of job titles, such as professor, doctor, president, and so on, can be personal titles and put before the family name of the person.

2.2. Observation 2: Independent referring function of the family name

In English, the family name can be used as an independent referring expression. Consider the example (5). Suppose that a policeman is interrogating Harry Potter. It is perfectly acceptable to call Harry Potter simply by his family name *Potter*.

- (5) (The police speaking to Harry Potter--)
 Potter, answer the question.

However, the family name in TM cannot be used in the same way. In other words, it does not have an independent referring function as English family names do. Look at the example (6a). Suppose that the police is interrogating someone by the name *Chén Shúfēn*. Calling the person simply by the family name *Chén* is unacceptable. If one insists on using the family name only, then titles such as *xiǎojiě* ‘miss’ are required, as in (6b). The personal name, on the other hand, can be used as an independent referring expression; thus (6c) is acceptable, where the person is called by the personal name *Shúfēn* only.

- (6) a. (The police speaking to Chén Shúfēn --)
 *Chén, qǐng huídá wèntí.
 Chen please answer question
 ‘(Intended) Chen, please answer the question.’
- b. Chén-Xiǎojiě, qǐng huídá wèntí.
 Chen-miss please answer question
 ‘Miss Chen, please answer the question.’
- c. Shúfēn, qǐng huídá wèntí.
 Shufen please answer question
 ‘Shufen, please answer the question.’

2.3. Observation 3: independent occurrence in syntactic contexts

In TM, the personal name may occur as an independent word in syntactic contexts, but the family name cannot. Consider the following examples. Suppose that there are two persons with the same name *Chén Shúfēn* in a class. The question-answer in (7a) is perfectly acceptable, where the personal name *Shúfēn* occurs as an independent word. However, if the family name *Chén* occurs instead, as in (7b), the resulting sentence is unacceptable. This shows that the family names in TM cannot freely occur in syntactic contexts as independent words. If one insists on using the family name, one needs to say things like (7c), where the family name is introduced by the verb *xìng* ‘be surnamed’.

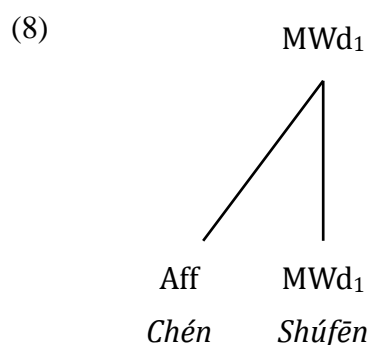
- (7) a. Q: Nǐmen bān-shàng yǒu jǐ-ge Shúfēn?
 you.PL class-in have how.many-CL Shufen
 ‘How many *Shufen*’s are there in your class?’
 A: Liǎng-ge.
 two-CL
 ‘Two.’
- b. Q: *Nǐmen bān-shàng yǒu jǐ-ge Chén?
 you.PL class-in have how.many-CL Chen
 ‘(Intended) How many *Chen*’s are there in your class?’
 A: Liǎng-ge.
 two-CL
 ‘Two.’

- c. Q: Nǐmen bān-shàng yǒu jǐ-ge xìng Chén de?
 you.PL class-in have how.many-CL be.surname Chen MOD
 ‘How many persons are surnamed *Chen* in your class?’
- A: Liǎng-ge.
 two-CL
 ‘Two.’

3. Proposals

The above observations indicate that, in TM, the personal name is an independent morpho-syntactic word, but the family name is not. For the analysis of these observations, we assume the model of Selkirk 1982, according to which words have internal “syntax”, which can be characterized by a context-free phrase structure grammar very similar to the X'-Conventions. Selkirk (1982) recognizes words, roots, and affixes as elementary items in the proposed model. In what follows, we will only employ words (MWd, morphological word) and affixes (Aff).⁵

Suppose that the family name in TM is an Aff prefixed to the personal name, yielding the structure in (8). The personal name *Shúfēn* is an MWd, and this is why it can be used as an independent referring expression (observation 2) and occur as an independent word in syntactic contexts (observation 3). The attachment of the family name *Chén* to the left edge of the personal name yields an extended MWd. So the full name *Chén Shúfēn* is an MWd, composed of an Aff and an MWd.

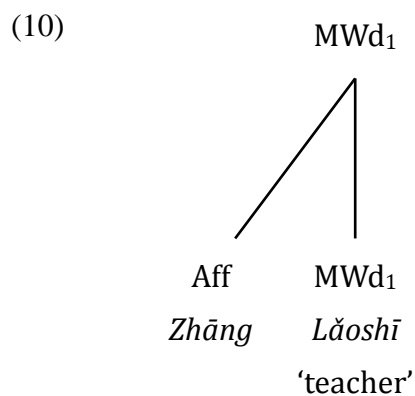


This analysis also accounts for the productive “job title as personal title” phenomenon in TM (observation 1). In such examples (repeated in (9)), the family name is an Aff and is

⁵ See Embick and Noyer 2001 for a definition of morphological words. Embick and Noyer (2001: 574) distinguish morpho-syntactic words from sub-words; we do not make this distinction and include both morpho-syntactic words and sub-words under the label MWds.

free to get prefixed to the job title noun, which is an independent MWd. Again, the attachment of the affixal family name extends the existing MWd. The structure is given in (10).

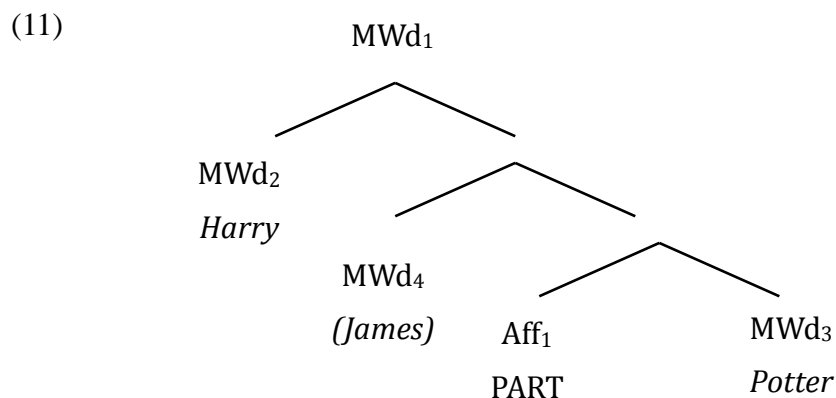
- (9) a. Zhāng Bóshì
Zhang doctor
- b. Zhāng Jiàoshòu
Zhang professor
- c. Zhāng Jīnglǐ
Zhang manager
- d. Zhāng Gōngchéngshī
Zhang engineer
- e. Zhāng Lǎoshī
Zhang teacher
- f. Zhāng Yuànzǎng
Zhang dean
- g. Zhāng Yánjiūyuán
Zhang researcher
- h. Zhāng Shèjìshī
Zhang designer



If this analysis is correct, the so-called productivity of the “job title as personal title” phenomenon is just an epiphenomenon of the affixal character of the family name. What is real productive is the prefixation of the family name in TM to an existing MWd.⁶

⁶ Of course, such affixation is restrictive; a family name in TM cannot be prefixed to just an arbitrary MWd. For example, a family name cannot be prefixed to a common noun like *chuānghù* ‘window’, yielding, say,

On the other hand, in English, a PPN such as *Harry Potter* has a different structure. We know that both the personal name and the family name can be used as independent words -- one can call Harry Potter by the personal name only, i.e. *Harry*, by the family name only, i.e. *Potter*, or by the full name, i.e. *Harry (James) Potter*. Suppose that both the personal name and the family name in English are MWds. We suggest that an English name has a structure similar to the syntactic partitive construction, as in (11).



In this structure, both the personal name and the family name are independent MWds. They are -- so to speak -- the “specifier” and “complement” of an abstract partitive element PART, which is an Aff. PART can be considered the “head” of the complete PPN structure in English. The middle name is something like an “adjunct”; this is why its appearance is optional.⁷

We have two pieces of evidence for this analysis of the English PPNs. First, the partitive nature of English PPNs has a trace in the names of languages that are historically affiliated with English, for instance, *Vincent van Gogh*, *Robert De Niro*, and so on, where elements *van*, *de*, etc. denote the meaning ‘of’ or ‘from’. Second, in English, one can say *the Smiths* to denote the group of all members of the Smith family. Thus the different members of the family, say the son John and the daughter Mary, can be readily referred to in partitive expressions such as “John of the Smith family” and “Mary of the Smith family”.

**Zhāng Chuānghù*. We assume that the combinatorial semantics of the affixation of the family name (e.g. its semantic selection) is in charge of such restrictions. We leave the details aside.

⁷ Matushansky (2008) suggests that the personal name and family name in English must be intersective in meaning, but they cannot be in a coordination relation. This is because coordination entails free word order of the coordinated elements, which is not true of the personal name and family name in English. We believe that the partitive analysis of the PPN in English meets Matushansky’s concerns -- the meanings of the personal and family name are intersective (“John of the Smith family” is a John and also a Smith), and the structural configuration is asymmetrical and non-coordinative.

These phenomena can be captured by the partitive structure in (11) in an appropriate way.⁸

The proposed analysis can also account for the “lack” of productive “job title as personal title” phenomenon in English (see the examples (4a-h)). To start with, we assume that all those job-title terms in English are independent MWds. However, some of those words, e.g. *doctor* and *professor*, have developed an additional affixal use. With this use, the situation is exactly like the case of TM. In other words, those affixal titles are prefixed to the family name, as in (12).

- (12) a. [MWd *Doctor*_{Aff} [MWd *White*]]
 b. [MWd *Doctor*_{Aff} [MWd *James White*]]

On the other hands, the other job-title terms (e.g. *teacher*, *manager*, etc.) do not permit such affixal use. Thus they cannot enter the structure (12a)-(12b); they need to occur in a structure like (11) (or other morphological constructions that permit co-occurrence of multiple MWds).

- (13) [MWd *Teacher*] [PART [MWd *White*]]

Such structures, however, yield wrong interpretations -- “teacher” cannot be a partitive member of the family name “White”. This is the root of the unacceptability of examples such as (4c-h).

4. Discussions

In this section, we briefly discuss two questions. The first is about the other name patterns in TM; the second is on the possible extensions of the proposed analysis to names in other languages.

4.1. Other TM name patterns and the “familiarity condition”

In previous sections, we concentrated on the name pattern $\sigma\text{-}\sigma\sigma$ (namely (2a), e.g. *Chén Shúfēn*). One may wonder how the other name patterns ((2b)-(2d)) fare with the tests discussed in section 2. In particular, we need to see how the disyllabic family names and

⁸ Another phenomenon that might be evidence for the proposed partitive analysis of the English PPN is that, we can refer to two members of a family in such a way that the two personal names are conjoined, e.g. *Charles and John Wesley*. We tentatively assume that such expressions involve two personal names conjoined as the specifier of the partitive construction.

monosyllabic personal names behave with respect to those tests.

First we look at disyllabic family names. Interestingly, a disyllabic family name like *Ōuyáng* seems to be able to behave as an independent word in syntactic contexts. The sentence in (14) is acceptable to most speakers that we consulted.

- (14) Nǐmen bān-shàng yǒu jǐ-ge Ōuyáng?
 you.PL class-in have how.many-CL Ouyang
 ‘How many *Ouyang*’s are there in your class?’

However, using the family name *Ōuyáng* to refer to a person is still unacceptable:

- (15) (A policeman is interrogating a person whose name is *Ōuyáng Lóng*--)
 *Ōuyáng, qǐng huídá wèntí.
 Ouyang please answer question
 ‘(Intended) Ouyang, please answer the question.’

So, it seems that a disyllabic family name could obtain the status of an MWd in some uses but remains an Aff in other uses. There is one thing that deserves attention, however. *Ōuyáng* as a disyllabic family name is well known to the public in the TM-speaking community, and that could be a major reason for its acceptability in syntactic contexts such as (14). The reason is that disyllabic family names that are not so acquainted to the public appears to be significantly less acceptable in contexts such as (14). One example is the family name *Hèchén*.⁹ Consider (16), which is identical to (14) except that *Ōuyáng* is replaced by *Hèchén*. The responses of TM speakers we consulted show that, to those who are not familiar with *Hèchén* as a family name, the sentence (16) is significantly less acceptable than (14), but on the other hand, to those speakers who know clearly that *Hèchén* is a family name, (16) is fairly normal and acceptable (and this is why we put brackets on the double question marks in (16)).

- (16) (??) Nǐmen bān-shàng yǒu jǐ-ge Hèchén?
 you.PL class-in have how.many-CL Ouyang
 ‘How many *Hechen*’s are there in your class?’

⁹ A former deputy minister of the ministry of transportation and communications of the Taiwanese government bears this family name; his name is *Hèchén Dàn*. One of his brothers is the current president of National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan; his name is *Hèchén Hóng*.

So, “familiarity” appears to play an important role for the use of a disyllabic family name as an independent word in syntactic contexts. We will come back to this point later.

Second, we test monosyllabic personal names. Suppose there is more than one person in a class whose personal name is *Jing*. Consider (17):

- (17) ?Nímen bān-shàng yǒu jǐ-ge Jǐng?
 you.PL class-in have how.many-CL Jing
 ‘How many *Jing*’s are there in your class?’

In our judgment, (17) is degraded, but it is still better than the example of the monosyllabic family name (7b), repeated here as (18):

- (18) *Nímen bān-shàng yǒu jǐ-ge Chén?
 you.PL class-in have how.many-CL Chén
 ‘(Intended) How many *Chen*’s are there in your class?’

The contrast between (17) and (18) seems to indicate that a personal name is inherently an MWd, and that a TM speaker prefers that it have certain prosodic weight. If it is under-weight, e.g. when it is monosyllabic, it is less acceptable; but it is still regarded as an MWd (albeit a defective one). This could be the reason that (17) is somewhat better than (18).

But, again, familiarity plays a role here. One of our informants has a monosyllabic family name and a monosyllabic personal name (i.e., the pattern σ - σ); her personal name is *Yún*. She reports that some of her close friends call her simply by her monosyllabic personal name, that is, *Yún*. Another informant, who has a monosyllabic family name *Liú* and a disyllabic personal name (namely σ - $\sigma\sigma$), reports that some of her close friends call her simply by her family name, namely *Liú*. We saw that the occurrences of such monosyllabic names are degraded or even unacceptable; however, in familiarity or intimacy contexts, they are, so to speak, “lifted” to the status of a normal MWd, similar to the case of disyllabic family names.¹⁰

These test results and informant responses indicate the following things.

First, PPNs in TM seems to be templatic in nature. By default, the family name is an

¹⁰ The example (15) above can become acceptable if the sentence is situated in a familiarity or intimacy context. But since in (15) the sentence is meant to be in an interrogation context, it is used with a sense of hostility or estrangeness.

Aff, and the personal name is an MWd. The “norm” is that the Aff is monosyllabic σ and the MWd is disyllabic $\sigma\sigma$. See the structure in (19), where X stands for the family name and Y the personal name.

(19) [MWd [Aff X σ] [MWd Y $\sigma\sigma$]]

X is identified as an Aff, and Y is identified as an MWd, by default. Deviations from the norm cause different effects. If Y becomes monosyllabic σ , it is still considered an MWd, but “defectiveness” results. This is why (17) is degraded. On the other hand, if X becomes disyllabic $\sigma\sigma$, the Aff gets augmentation in prosodic weight and becomes a “minimal word in the prosodic sense; it thus gains the ability to occur in syntactic contexts. This explains the acceptability of (14).¹¹ But still, it is an Aff and does not have inherent referential function (recall (6a)); the added prosodic weight does not change this semantic attribute. Thus examples like (15) are still unacceptable.

Second, familiarity (among the interlocutors) can indeed “promote” an Aff to an MWd, as demonstrated in the above discussion. Suppose that there is a morphological rule in TM that lifts an Aff to an MWd, as follows.

(20) *The Lifting Rule*

Aff \rightarrow MWd

Condition: The referent of Aff is familiar or intimate to the interlocutors.

Grammatically, the rule (20) is a context-free, but it is subject to a pragmatic condition. According to the condition, if the bearer of Aff is familiar or intimate to the speaker (and

¹¹ The minimal word requirement demands that a word minimally contain a prosodic foot, which consists of two syllables in the case Mandarin; see Feng 2002, 2009, 2011, among others. But the contrast between (14) and (15) clearly indicates that the minimal word effect is only one of the factors that license the use of a name as an independent referring expression in syntactic contexts. Meeting the minimal word requirement does not guarantee an independent word status of a morphological entity. On the other hand, though it is widely recognized that the minimal word requirement has a strong effect on Mandarin in general, its force is not really overwhelming. For example, there are many words in Mandarin that are monosyllabic, e.g. *mén* ‘door’, *mǎ* ‘horse’, *lǜ* ‘green’, *chī* ‘eat’, and so on. Its power seems to be more salient in morpho-syntactic operations (see Feng 2002, 2009, 2011, and work cited). A question that one could ask is, if monosyllabic words like *mén* ‘door’ and *chī* ‘eat’ are perfectly fine, why can’t a monosyllabic family name such as *Chén* be used as an independent referring MWd? There must be factors other than disyllabicity or the minimal word requirement (e.g. the “normality” effects of the template in (19)). We cannot go into the relevant questions, and will leave them for future study. Note incidentally that, if our view is correct, expressions like *Chén-Xiáojiě* (see (6b)), *Lǎo-Chén*, and so on, where titles like *xiáojiě* ‘miss’ and prefixes like *lǎo-* are attached to a monosyllabic name, do not become acceptable simply because the added elements make the resulting expressions disyllabic, because the minimal word effect is but one factor involved for the licensing of an independent MWd.

other interlocutors), then Aff can be lifted to a full MWd. There are questions that need to be clarified, for example how to define familiarity and how it comes to have the power to lift an Aff to an MWd. We are not clear about the proper answers of these questions, and will leave them for future research.

4.2. Names in other languages

The second question that we would have a brief look on is the possible application of the partitive construction to PPNs of other languages. One motivation for the partitive construction for the English PPNs is that the personal name can be considered a member of (group of people represented by) the family name. Other types of PPNs, e.g. those that adopt the patronymic system of naming, could be accounted for by a structure that is similar to the partitive construction. For example, in Tayal (see (1d)), a PPN like *Losin Watan* is composed of the personal name, *Losin*, and the name bearer's father's personal name, *Watan*. We suggest that this PPN could be analyzed as having a structure like (11), except that the head Aff is not the partitive PART, but some other element, such as SUCC, which stands for "succession". This analysis could be further applied to cases such as the PPNs of Arab Muslims (see (1c)), which involve multiple patronymic names. Thus we could have multiple SUCC heads in the "syntactic structure" of a PPN, as follows:

(21) [Ahmad SUCC [Husain SUCC [Muhammad]]]

We suppose that those partitive or succession heads could be lexicalized and becomes visible, such as *bin*, *van*, *de*, and so on. Other heads are possible.¹² The structures that these heads project could be very complex; for example, a Spanish name like (22) may involve different heads and complex internal constituent structure.¹³

(22) *Jesús María Gonzalez López*

Personal name(s) + father's paternal family name + mother's paternal family name

¹² In Sikh, a PPN may contain a "religious name", as in the following example (cited from *A Guide to Names and Naming Practices*; see note 1):

(i) *Ravinder Singh Sahota*
Personal name + religious name + family name (male or female)

The religious middle name might be introduced by a head distinct from PART or SUCC, and the PART head that introduces the family name would have to be marked with the feature of [male] or [female].

¹³ The name in (22) is taken from *A Guide to Names and Naming Practices*; see note 1.

We are not able to go into these interesting phenomena; we will leave them for future research.

5. Conclusion

In this work, we have shown that the PPNs in TM have internal constituent structures, and the different uses of (parts of) PPNs in different languages can be explained on the morphological status of the elements and the way they form PPNs. We hope that these discussions and discoveries would help to clarify some questions regarding the comparative properties of names in different languages, in particular names in Mandarin and English.

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