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Linguistik der Familiennamen



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JAVIER CARO REINA

The grammaticalization of the terms of address *en* and *na* as onymic markers in Catalan*

Abstract: While onymic markers have been reported for Austronesian languages, they are unknown among Indo-European languages. However, Catalan seems to be the only Indo-European language that exhibits onymic markers. Additionally, the historical documentation of Catalan allows for a precise description of the grammaticalization pathway of the onymic marker. This paper is devoted to the grammaticalization process that the terms of address *en* and *na* have undergone in Central Catalan and especially in Balearic, where the onymic marker also occurs with microtoponyms and folk names for clouds and celestial objects.

1. Introduction

Formal differences between proper names and common nouns are not rare in the languages of the world. This dissociation may be the result of distinct prosodic-phonetic and morphological patterns. Strategies involved in the development of dissociation include addition, modification and subtraction (see NÜBLING 2005 for a detailed account of dissociation).

Examples of dissociations based on prosodic-phonetic traits may imply a modification of the accentual or tonal patterns. With regard to the modification of accentual patterns, Turkish is a prime example. Turkish is a language with fixed stress. Words are usually stressed in

* I would like to thank the participants at the colloquium of the Department of Romance Linguistics at the University of Freiburg for their supportive feedback; Mar Garachana, Paul Hopper and Jeff Siegel for comments on a previous draft of the paper; Joan Miralles for a list with microtoponyms in the Balearic Islands containing the onymic marker; and Francesc Canuto for hints about the use of the onymic marker with the names of clouds, planets and stars.

the word-final syllable as in *sirkeci* ‘vinegar seller’. However, native place names seem to be an exception. For example, the place name *Sírkeci* (with non-final stress) sharply contrasts with the corresponding common noun *sirkeci* ‘vinegar seller’ (with word-final stress). More examples are given in (1), where the place names *Boyáci* and *Ovácik* show non-final stress as opposed to the corresponding lexical items *boyaci* ‘painter’ and *ovacik* ‘little valley’. In this respect, we can claim from a synchronic point of view that the different accentual patterns contribute to the dissociation between place names and common nouns.

- (1) Stress patterns in Turkish native place names vs. common nouns (SEZER 1981, 67)

<i>Boyáci</i> (place name)	vs.	<i>boyaci</i> ‘painter’
<i>Ovácik</i> (place name)	vs.	<i>ovacik</i> ‘little valley’
<i>Sírkeci</i> (place name)	vs.	<i>sirkeci</i> ‘vinegar seller’

With regard to the modification of the tonal patterns, the Franconian dialects are a good example. The Franconian dialects in Belgium, the Netherlands and West Central Germany are characterized as having lexical tone contrasts. SCHMIDT (1986) distinguishes between “accent 1” and “accent 2”. In West Central German, common nouns and proper names follow different tonal patterns, as exemplified in (2). The common nouns *kühn* ‘brave’, *rein* ‘clean’ and *rein-er* ‘clean-NOM.MASC.SG’ display accent 1 while the proper names *Kühn*, *Rhein* and *Rainer* display accent 2 (SCHMIDT, personal communication). Importantly, proper names originally had accent 1. The change of the tonal patterns has resulted in a prosodic dissociation between proper names and common nouns. In other words, accent 2 has been grammaticalized, thereby acquiring the function of an onymic marker.

- (2) Tonal patterns in Franconian common nouns (accent 1) vs. proper names (accent 2)

<i>kühn</i> 'brave'	vs.	<i>Kühn</i> (family name)
<i>rein</i> 'clean'	vs.	<i>Rhein</i> (river name)
<i>rein-er</i> 'clean-NOM.MASC.SG'	vs.	<i>Rainer</i> (first name)

Examples of dissociations based on morphological grounds may involve the use of a specific particle with proper names which functions as an onymic marker. Thus, the occurrence of the particle allows for a formal distinction between proper names and common nouns. Austro-nesian languages such as Cebuano and Tagalog exhibit personal name markers (HIMMELMANN 2005, 145–147). For example, Cebuano, a language spoken in the Philippines, makes a grammatical distinction between personal names and common nouns by using different prenominal markers for the thematic categories 'actor' and 'patient' (PAYNE 1997, 39–40). The examples in (3) contain two markers for 'actor': *ni* and *sa*. While *ni* is employed with a personal name (*Doro*), *sa* is employed with a common noun (*tawo* 'man'). Additionally, there are two markers for 'patient': *si* and *ang*. While *si* occurs with personal names (*Doro*), *ang* occurs with common nouns (*kaabaw* 'water buffalo').

- (3) Personal names vs. common nouns in Cebuano (PAYNE 1997, 39–40)

a.	<i>Gibalhin</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>Doro</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>kaabaw</i>
	moved	ACT.PN	Doro	PAT	water.buffalo
	'Doro moved the water buffalo.'				
b.	<i>Gibalhin</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>tawo</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>kaabaw</i>
	moved	ACT	man	PAT	water.buffalo
	'The man moved the water buffalo.'				
c.	<i>Gibalhin</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>tawo</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Doro</i>
	moved	ACT	man	PAT.PN	Doro
	'The man moved Doro.'				

However, the occurrence of a specific particle with proper names is not necessarily indicative of an onymic marker. In Fijian, an Austronesian language, common nouns are preceded by the definite article *na* as in *na vale* ‘the house’ while proper names are preceded by the proper article *o* as in the first name *o Mere* or the place name *o Suva*, as shown in (4). Crucially, pronouns are also preceded by the proper article *o* as in *o koya* ‘3SG’ (SCHÜTZ 1985, 314–316, 320–323). In this respect, ARANOVICH (2013, 473, 476) points out that the proper article *o* is employed with proper names and with pronouns when functioning as subject or when topicalized.

(4) Definite article vs. proper article in Fijian (SCHÜTZ 1985, 320, 323)

- | | | |
|----|---|----------------------|
| a. | <i>na</i>
ART.DET
‘the house’ | <i>vale</i>
house |
| b. | <i>o</i>
ART.PROP
‘Mere’ (first name) | <i>Mere</i>
Mere |
| c. | <i>o</i>
ART.PROP
‘Suva’ (place name) | <i>Suva</i>
Suva |
| d. | <i>o</i>
ART.PROP
‘3SG’ | <i>koya</i>
3SG |

The fact that the proper article also occurs with pronouns raises the question whether we are dealing with an onymic marker or rather with an animacy-related marker since pronouns and proper names show the highest individuality within the animacy hierarchy (DIXON 1979, 85). Therefore, before we can classify a particle occurring with proper names as an onymic marker, we must prove that the particle does not occur with pronouns.

In contrast to Austronesian languages, the existence of onymic markers has not been recorded hitherto in Indo-European languages,

with the exception of Catalan. Similar to Cebuano, Catalan makes a grammatical distinction between proper names and common nouns. However, Catalan behaves differently in several respects. First, the distinction may also apply to microtoponyms (see section 3.2 for details). Second, the onymic marker is the same regardless of syntactic case. And third, grammatical gender may constrain the occurrence of the onymic marker. For example, in Central Catalan the opposition between personal names and common nouns is only possible with masculine names since, as we will see in the next section, feminine names are used with the definite article *la*. As shown in (5), Central Catalan distinguishes between the family name *Ferrer* ‘Smith’ and the common noun *ferrer* ‘smith’, both of which are homonymous, employing the onymic marker *en* and the definite article *el*, respectively. However, there is no morphological distinction between *rosa* ‘rose’ as a common noun and *Rosa* ‘Rose’ as a first name.

(5) Personal names vs. common nouns in Central Catalan

- | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|---------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| a. | <i>en</i> | <i>Ferrer</i> | <i>té</i> | <i>molta</i> | <i>feina</i> |
| | PN | Smith | has | a lot of | work |
| | ‘Smith has a lot of work.’ | | | | |
| b. | <i>el</i> | <i>ferrer</i> | <i>té</i> | <i>molta</i> | <i>feina</i> |
| | ART.DET | smith | has | a lot of | work |
| | ‘The smith has a lot of work.’ | | | | |
| c. | <i>la</i> | <i>Rosa</i> | <i>és</i> | <i>molt</i> | <i>maca</i> |
| | ART.DET | Rose | is | very | beautiful |
| | ‘Rose is very beautiful.’ | | | | |
| d. | <i>la</i> | <i>rosa</i> | <i>és</i> | <i>molt</i> | <i>maca</i> |
| | ART.DET | rose | is | very | beautiful |
| | ‘The rose is very beautiful.’ | | | | |

In Balearic, by contrast, the opposition between personal names and common nouns is also possible with feminine names, as illustrated in (6). The first name *Rosa* ‘Rose’ is preceded by the onymic marker *na* while the common noun *rosa* ‘rose’ is preceded by the definite article

sa. Note that the forms of the definite articles vary in Central Catalan and Balearic. Compare, for example, *el ferrer* ‘the smith’ in Central Catalan and *es ferrer* in Balearic. Central Catalan has the definite articles *el* and *la* derived from Latin ILLE and ILLA, while Balearic has *es* and *sa* derived from Latin IPSE and IPSA (COLOMINA CASTANYER 2002, 539, 545, MOLL 2006b, 180–182).

(6) Personal names vs. common nouns in Balearic

a.	<i>en</i>	<i>Ferrer</i>	<i>té</i>	<i>molta</i>	<i>feina</i>
	PN	Smith	has	a lot of	work
		‘Smith has a lot of work.’			
b.	<i>es</i>	<i>ferrer</i>	<i>té</i>	<i>molta</i>	<i>feina</i>
	ART.DET	smith	has	a lot of	work
		‘The smith has a lot of work.’			
c.	<i>na</i>	<i>Rosa</i>	<i>és</i>	<i>molt</i>	<i>maca</i>
	PN	Rose	is	very	beautiful
		‘Rose is very beautiful.’			
d.	<i>sa</i>	<i>rosa</i>	<i>és</i>	<i>molt</i>	<i>maca</i>
	ART.DET	rose	is	very	beautiful
		‘The rose is very beautiful.’			

The dissociation between personal names (*Ferrer* ‘Smith’, *Rosa* ‘Rose’) and common nouns (*ferrer* ‘smith’, *rosa* ‘rose’) is achieved not only grammatically by means of an onymic marker but also graphematically. In Catalan, as in English, personal names are written with capital letters.

The existence of the onymic marker in Catalan posits two key questions: Can the onymic marker be traced back to a lexical item? And if so, can the historical documentation help to delineate the grammaticalization pathway that resulted in the onymic marker? These are questions of particular relevance for historical linguistics. Interestingly, the onymic markers are originally derived from the deferential terms of address *en* ‘mister’ and *na* ‘miss’. In addition, the available historical

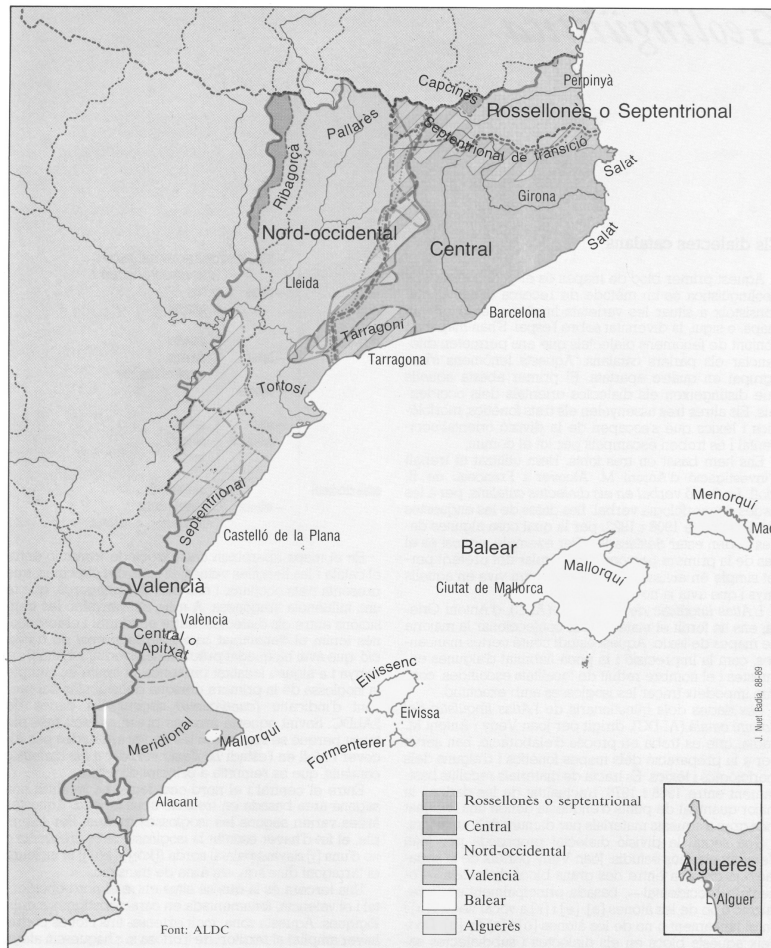
records throw light on the nature and development of their grammaticalization. Thus, Catalan enables us to explore a previously undocumented grammaticalization process.

Traditionally, *en* and *na* are called “onymic articles” (*article onomàstic*) or “personal articles” (*article personal*). It is worth noting that these terms should be restricted to definite articles that occur with personal names as in non-standard German *der Peter*. This is the case, as we will see in the next section, in North-Western Catalan. Therefore, the use of the term ‘article’ with the onymic markers is misleading. Although the onymic marker and the definite article are perceived by speakers of Central Catalan as equivalent, which becomes apparent when the onymic marker is replaced by the definite article, they differ greatly in their origin. For this reason, I will speak of terms of address when referring to the lexical source and onymic markers when referring to the result of the grammaticalization process.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 gives a brief overview of the Catalan dialects and describes the use of the onymic marker and definite article with personal names. Section 3 presents the grammaticalization process of the deferential terms of address *en* and *na* as onymic markers. In section 4, I will summarize the results and discuss the implications that the outlined grammaticalization pathway may have for grammaticalization theory.

2. Personal names in Catalan

Catalan is a Romance language spoken in Catalonia, the Valencian Community, parts of Aragon and Murcia, the Balearic Islands, Andorra, Roussillon and the Sardinian city of Alghero. Catalan is traditionally divided into the following dialects (see Map 1): North-Western Catalan (*català nord-occidental*), Valencian (*valencià*), Central Catalan (*català central*), Balearic (*balear*), Roussillon Catalan (*rossellonès*) and Alghero Catalan (*alguerès*).



Map 1: Catalan dialects (taken from NUET et al. 1992, 6). Reprinted with permission

The Catalan dialects behave differently regarding the use of the onymic marker and definite article with personal names. Balearic employs the onymic marker *en* for masculine names (e.g. *en Pere*), *na* for feminine names (e.g. *na Maria*) and *n'* for masculine and feminine names begin-

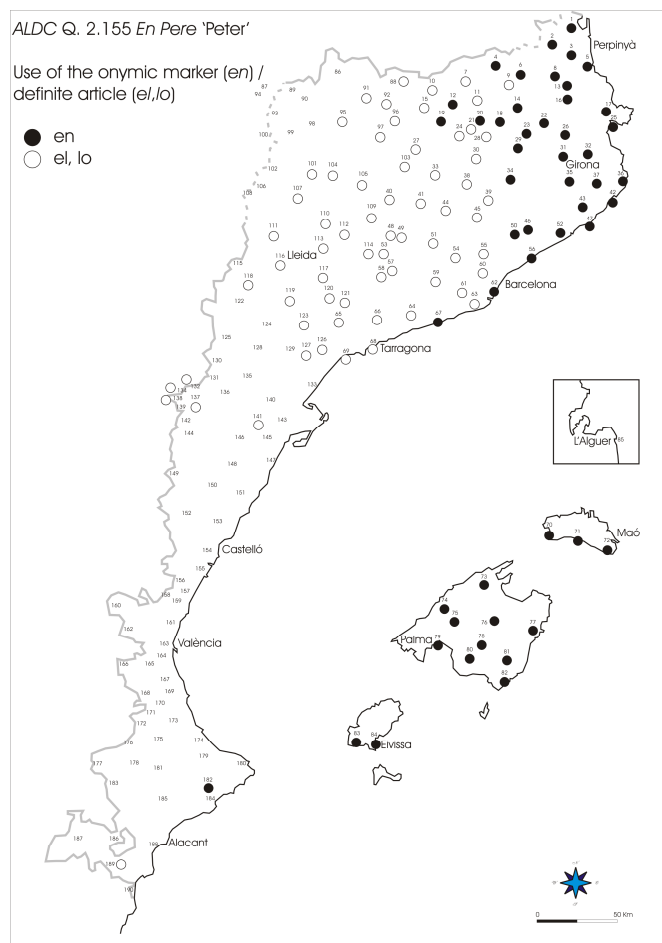
ning with a vowel (e.g. *n'Andreu*, *n'Antonia*). North-Western Catalan uses the definite article *el/lo* for masculine names (e.g. *el Pere*), *la* for feminine names (e.g. *la Maria*) and *l'* for masculine and feminine names beginning with a vowel (e.g. *l'Andreu*, *l'Antonia*). Central Catalan and Roussillon Catalan represent a mixed type in that they use the onymic marker for masculine names (e.g. *en Pere*) as well as the definite article for feminine names (e.g. *la Maria*) and masculine and feminine names beginning with a vowel (e.g. *l'Andreu*, *l'Antonia*). In contrast to the dialects Balearic, North-Western Catalan and Central Catalan, personal names appear without an onymic marker or definite article in Valencian and Alghero Catalan. The patterns described for the Catalan dialects are shown in Table 1. Catalan displays remarkable diversity regarding the presence (and absence) of onymic markers or articles with personal names. This makes Catalan an interesting object of study from a typological point of view.

	masc.	fem.	masc./fem. (with initial vowel)
Balearic	<i>en Pere</i>	<i>na Maria</i>	<i>n'Andreu</i>
North-Western Catalan	<i>el/lo Pere</i>	<i>la Maria</i>	<i>l'Andreu</i>
Central Catalan, Roussillon Catalan	<i>en Pere</i>	<i>la Maria</i>	<i>l'Andreu</i>
Valencian, Alghero Catalan	\emptyset <i>Pere</i>	\emptyset <i>Maria</i>	\emptyset <i>Andreu</i>

Table 1: Use of the onymic marker and definite article with personal names in the Catalan dialects

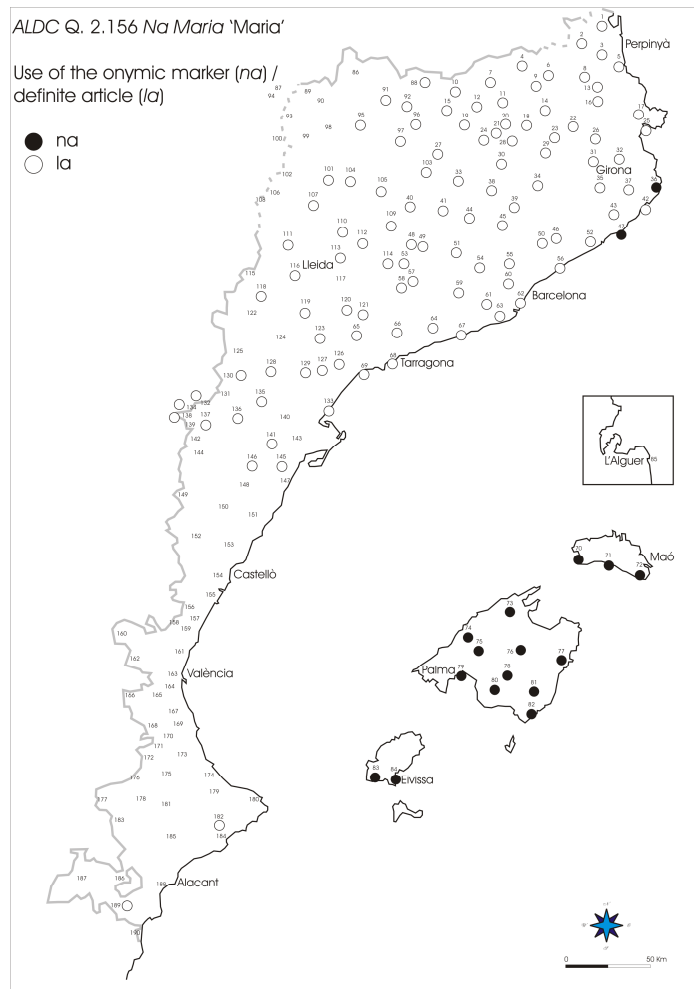
Maps 2 and 3 show the areas where the onymic marker and the definite article are used with masculine and feminine first names. The data were taken from the tables in COROMINA POU (2001, 223–229), which are based on unpublished material from the *Atles Lingüístic del Domini Català* (ALDC). The maps depict the responses to the items 2.155 *En Pere* and 2.156 *Na Maria* of the questionnaire. The distribution of the

onymic marker and definite article with names beginning with a vowel (items 2.153 *N'Antoni* and 2.154 *N'Antònia*) were not mapped. A comparison between the data of the ALDC, which were elicited mainly between 1964 and 1978, and the description made by ALCOVER (1917, 249–250) reveals that the onymic markers *en* and *na* previously had a



Map 2: Use of the onymic marker and definite article with masculine first names

similar geographical distribution. That is, the onymic marker *na* has been completely replaced by the feminine article *la* in Central Catalan while the onymic marker *en* has remained considerably stable.



Map 3: Use of the onymic marker and definite article with feminine first names

As we will see in section 3.1, the onymic markers were more widely distributed in the Middle Ages than nowadays. For example, in Cambrils, a locality situated in the North-Western Catalan area, personal names appear with the definite article as in *el Pepet* ‘Peter (literally ‘the little Peter’)’ (NAVARRO GÓMEZ 2012, 66). However, the onymic marker has been retained in place names originally containing personal names as in *lo Mas d’en Bosc* ‘the farm of PART Bosc’ (VIDIELLA RE-CASENS 1996, 109). ALCOVER (1917, 250–262) provides examples of place names and family names containing the onymic marker in the Catalan dialects.

The use of the definite article with personal names is considered standard in North-Western Catalan and Central Catalan. The occurrence of the article with personal names, with the exception of languages such as Modern Greek (HOLTON et al. 2004, 77–78), is rather a non-standard phenomenon in the languages of Europe that is attested in Romance languages such as Galician, French, Italian and Portuguese (COROMINA POU 2001, 52–69) as well as Germanic languages such as German (NÜBLING et al. 2012, 122–126), Norwegian and Swedish (DAHL 2010, 101–103 and DAHL/EDLUND 2010, 71). For this reason, SEILER (2012) has proposed that the non-use of the definite article is a Non-Standard Average European feature.

For the remainder of the paper, I will focus on the onymic markers *en* and *na* and the grammaticalization process they have undergone. Questions related to the motivation behind the mixed type described for Central Catalan as well as the rise of the patterns found in North-Western Catalan and Valencian exceed the scope of the paper and will be explored in further research.

3. Grammaticalization of the terms of address *en* and *na*

Some universal pathways have been widely documented in the grammaticalization literature. For example, the main lexical sources that have yielded future-tense markers are verbs expressing intention, movement and obligation (BYBEE/DAHL 1989, 90). While the gram-

maticalization pathways involving the development of tense, aspect and case affixes, complementizers, etc. are well known, the emergence of onymic markers has remained obscure. Catalan hence offers the unique possibility of identifying how the onymic markers emerged from terms of address by looking at historical records.

Nominal and phrasal terms of address are interesting for grammaticalization theory. We can distinguish two grammaticalization processes. First, lexical items referring to human entities can be grammaticalized as terms of address. For example, HOPPER (1991, 32–33) has exemplified the principles of grammaticalization (layering, divergence, etc.) for the titles *miss* and *mrs* resulting from the lexical item *mistress*. And second, once a lexical item has grammaticalized as a term of address, it can continue to develop new grammatical functions giving rise to pronouns, politeness particles, onymic markers, etc. The cline involving terms of address is depicted in (7).

(7) Grammaticalization processes involving terms of address

lexical item	>	term of address	>	pronoun
				politeness particle
				onymic marker

With regard to the grammaticalization of terms of address as pronouns, in Catalan the polite pronoun *vosté* is an example of a pronoun that is derived from the phrasal term of address *vostra mercè* ‘your grace’. Further examples are given in (8). Regarding the grammaticalization of terms of address as politeness particles, the Russian politeness particle *-s*, which was employed in literary texts from the end of the 18th century till the beginning of the 20th century, evolved from the term of address *gosudar* ‘mister’ (see BERGER 2003 for details).

- (8) Polite pronouns derived from terms of address (MAZZON 2010, 355, 363)

Czech:	<i>vašnost</i>	<	<i>vaše Milost</i>	‘your grace’
Dutch:	<i>U</i>	<	<i>Uwe Edelheid</i>	‘your grace’
Romanian:	<i>dumneata</i>	<	<i>domnia ta</i>	‘your lordship’
Spanish:	<i>usted</i>	<	<i>vuestra merced</i>	‘your grace’

Although the development of the terms of address in Catalan has been examined in a series of diachronic studies (e.g. COROMINA POU 2001, 18–51, CASANOVA 2003, RABELLA RIBAS 2006, 221–226), it has never been approached from the perspective of grammaticalization. I argue that the emergence of the onymic markers in Catalan can be explained in a more satisfactory way within the framework of grammaticalization theory since the original content items for deferential terms of address have become grammatical items. In the ensuing sections I will give a diachronic (section 3.1) and a synchronic (section 3.2) account of the grammaticalization cline of the terms of address *en* and *na*.

3.1 Diachronic description

As we have seen in section 2, the onymic markers *en* and *na* are best preserved in Balearic while in Central Catalan the feminine form has been replaced by the definite article (see Maps 2 and 3). The onymic markers were originally deferential terms of address. In the Middle Ages, they were attested in all Catalan dialects (see CASANOVA 2003, 220–230 for historical documentation). The terms of address could occur with first names (e.g. *en Joan*, *na Marta*), family names (e.g. *en Alamany*, *na Vergera*) and first names combined with family names (e.g. *en Ffrancesch Vilardell*), as shown in (9) for Central Catalan. The examples are taken from the transcripts of Medieval court proceedings in Barcelona in the 14th century. This text type closely reflects spoken language and has become an important source for Catalan historical linguistics (see RABELLA RIBAS 1998, 154–161 for an overview).

- (9) Occurrence of the term of address *en* and *na* with personal names (RABELLA RIBAS 1998)

en Johan, na Marta
en Alamany, na Vergera
en Ffrancesch Vilardell

It should be noted that the family name *Vergera* is the feminine form of *Verger*. In the Middle Ages, women took the family name of their husbands (RABELLA RIBAS 1998, 311). In many cases, the family name adopted the feminine form. For example, in RIU's (1984) account of personal names in a district of Barcelona in 1363, there are family names, especially among married women and widows, that were used in the feminine form as in *na Nadala* for the wife of *en Nadal*, but not always as in *na Coll* for the wife of *en Coll* (for German see Steffens, this volume). Further exceptions are family names ending in *-a* or *-es* such as *Cudina* and *Comes* that block the feminine form (see RIU 1984, 3 for more examples).

Interestingly, the terms of address *en* and *na* are also attested in Medieval Occitan (CASANOVA 2003, 209–215). However, whereas they have disappeared in Modern Occitan, they have been subject to grammaticalization in Catalan. In what follows, I will discuss the mechanisms involved in the grammaticalization of onymic markers, which include semantic bleaching, reanalysis, extension and decategorialization.

As BYBEE (2007, 11) points out, oft-repeated phrases such as terms of address tend to reduce phonetically. Certainly, they function as chunks, i.e. multi-morphemic sequences stored and produced as wholes (BYBEE 2010), that may trigger grammaticalization processes as in the case of the modals *gonna* and *wanna*. Examples of reduction in terms of address in Romance and Germanic languages are given in (10).

- (10) Phonetic reduction of terms of address (DECat III, 309, OED, PAUL 1998, 36)

Catalan:	DŎMĪNE	>	<i>en</i> (<i>n'</i>)	'mister'
	DŎMĪNA	>	<i>na</i> (<i>n'</i>)	'miss'
Middle Eng- lish:	<i>sire</i>	'sir'	>	<i>sir</i>
Middle High German:	<i>hërre</i>	'mister'	>	<i>her, er</i> (e.g. <i>er Sîvrit</i>)
	<i>vrouwe</i>	'miss'	>	<i>vro, vor, ver</i> (e.g. <i>vro Belakâne</i>)

The Catalan terms of address *en* (*n'*) and *na* (*n'*) (as well as *don* and *dona*) etymologically derived from the Latin forms DŎMĪNE and DŎMĪNA, respectively. It should be noted that the reduction process must be reconstructed since *en* and *na* are already attested in the oldest records (RABELLA RIBAS 2006, 222). For example, CASANOVA (2003, 209–210) assumes the following stages:

- (11) Reconstruction of the reduction process undergone by the terms of address *en* and *na*

DŎMĪNE	>	DŎMNE	>	<i>don</i>	>	<i>en</i>
DŎMĪNA	>	DŎMNA	>	<i>dona</i>	>	<i>na</i>

The phonetic reduction illustrated in (11) is partly motivated by the fact that terms of address are usually unstressed. Terms of address may function as clitics and form a single accentual unit with the following name. As a consequence, the phonetic content of the term of address may differ from the original lexical form. Let us consider the Spanish forms *don* 'mister' and *dueño* 'lord' in (12), both of which are derived from Latin DŎMĪNE (DECH II, 529–530). The autonomous element *dueño* 'lord' underwent regular phonological changes such as diphthongization (-Ŏ- [ɔ] > -ue- [we]) and palatalization (-M(I)N- > -ñ- [ɲ]) as in other lexical items such as *sueño* 'dream' < SŎMNUM. In contrast, the term of address *don* 'mister' underwent apocope but not diphthongization or palatalization, which brought about divergence (or split). A

further example is Hausa, an Afro-Asiatic language, where titles undergo tone change (a common feature of compounds), vowel shortening or vowel deletion as in *mālāmī* ‘teacher’ > *Mālām* ‘Mr.’ (NEWMAN 2000, 350–352).

(12) Divergence between terms of address and corresponding lexical items in Spanish

DÖMĪNE	>	<i>dueño</i>	‘lord, owner (masc.)’	(lexical item)
		<i>don</i>	‘mister’	(term of address)
DÖMĪNA	>	<i>dueña</i>	‘lord, owner (fem.)’	(lexical item)
		<i>doña</i>	‘miss’	(term of address)

By contrast, in Catalan there is no instance of divergence regarding the terms of address, unless we assume, as opposed to (11), two different developments of the etymological forms DÖMĪNE/DÖMĪNA: a regular one which resulted in *don/dona* and an irregular one which resulted in *en/na*, thereby retaining the phonetic material closest to the following proper name.

Phonetic reduction (or erosion) has been widely recognized as a concomitant of grammaticalization (HEINE 2003, 579–580, HOPPER/TRAUGOTT 2003, 154–155). It should be noted that the reduction of *en* and *na* resulted from the grammaticalization of lexical items as terms of address. Subsequently, this reduction favoured the grammaticalization of onymic markers owing to the lexical opacity of the items. In this stage, we witness two different fates in Catalan and Occitan. Contrary to Catalan, the opacity of *en* and *na* in Occitan might have led to their extinction.

The grammaticalization of the terms of address was preceded by semantic bleaching which resulted from a rearrangement within the lexical set of terms of address. Medieval Catalan experienced the introduction of the masculine forms *maestre*, *mestre*, *missèr*, *mossèn*, *mossènyer*, *sènyer*, *senyor* and the feminine forms *dona*, *madona*, *domina*. A description of the interrelation of the Catalan terms of ad-

dress *don* and *en* in the Middle Ages was delivered by MONTAGUT BARBARÀ (1979, 1989). Her findings can be summarized as follows. The terms of address *don* and *en* are attested in the historical records from the 12th until the 13th century. Contrary to previous views (DE-Cat III, 178–179), in the 13th and 14th centuries *don* was a highly deferential title exclusively associated with the king, nobility and the clergy (e.g. *lo rei en Jaume* for King James I of Aragon), while *en* was generalized to all estates including townsmen and peasants. In the late 14th century when *mossèn* became widespread for addressing men of higher status such as nobility, the clergy and townsmen, *don* was entirely confined to the king and *en* came to indicate people of inferior status (see Figure 1). This is a common process observed in languages such as German (e.g. *Herr*). In this respect, PAUL (1920, 102) notes that the “history of terms of address is nothing more than a history of their continuous degradation” ([So ist die Geschichte der Titulaturen überhaupt nichts anderes als eine Geschichte ihrer allmählichen Herabdrückung], translation J.C.R.).

13th and 14th century		Late 14th century	
<i>Don</i>	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{king} \\ \text{clergy} \\ \text{nobility} \\ \text{townsmen} \\ \text{peasants} \end{array} \right\} \textit{En}$	<i>Don</i>	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{king} \\ \text{clergy} \\ \text{nobility} \\ \text{townsmen} \\ \text{peasants} \end{array} \right\} \textit{En}$

Figure 1: Use of the terms of address *Don*, *En* and *Mossèn* in the Middle Ages (adapted from MONTAGUT BARBARÀ 1989, 94)

Thus, *en* gradually lost its meaning of a term of address, which certainly was motivated partly by the lexical opacity of the item and partly by

the introduction of titles such as *mestre* and *missèr*. As a consequence, the original terms of address evolved into simple clitics void of lexical content that were bound to personal names. Subsequently, they were reanalysed as particles introducing personal names. In other words, they became onymic markers.

As a result of reanalysis, the particles *en* and *na* became part of family names derived from first names. For example, in the Middle Ages patronymics such as *d'en Dalmau*, *de Namartina*, which contain the preposition *de* 'of' (also contracted as *d'*), are attested in Central Catalan (OLLIH CASTANYER 1986, 49–50). Note that spellings such as *Namartina* (< *na Martina*) are indicative of the clitic character of the particle. Nowadays, we find instances of family names that still preserve the particle. For example, the family name *Jaume* is also attested as *Enjaume* as well as *Anjauma* and *Enjauma*, both of which display <a>/<e> variation reflecting vowel centralization in the unstressed syllable. The spelling <a> has contributed to the opacity of the particle as in the family name *Amblàs* which, according to MOLL (2006a, 219), is derived from *en Blas*. This is the only instance of phonogenesis (HOPPER 1994) observed with the onymic marker.

Further evidence supporting the semantic bleaching undergone by the terms of address *en* and *na* comes from the combination with other titles such as *senyor* and *mossèn* in the construction 'title + *en/na* + personal name', as shown in (13) for Central Catalan. It should be noted that in RABELLA RIBAS (1998, 253) there are no instances of the combinations *dona* + *na*, *madona* + *na* or *maestre* + *en*. This unmotivated restriction is consistent with the principle of persistence (HOPPER 1991, 28–30).

- (13) Combination of the term of address *en* with other terms of address (RABELLA RIBAS 1998)

Mossèn en Castelló de Mallorca
Sènyer en Vilardell
senyor n'Arnau

An expansion via analogy is found in contexts in which *en* and *na* occur with hypocoristics containing diminutive forms (*-at(a)*, *-et(a)*, *-í*, *-ic*) such as *en Francesquí* (< *Francesch*) and nicknames such as *na Vermella* for a red-haired woman, as shown in (14) and (15), respectively. Note that the terms of address were originally excluded from such contexts.

- (14) Combination of the term of address with hypocoristics (RABELLA RIBAS 1998)

en Francesquí (< *Francesch*)
en Tomich (< *Tomàs*)

- (15) Combination of the term of address with nicknames (RIU 1984)

en Agusarat (< *agosarat* 'brave') for a brave man
na Vermella (< *vermell-a* 'red-FEM') for a red-haired woman

A syntactic particularity of terms of address involves their use in vocative and non-vocative contexts. In the Middle Ages, the terms of address *en* and *na* were common in the vocative. Some examples are given in (16) for Central Catalan. As a consequence of decategorialization, the presence of the onymic marker is nowadays no longer possible in vocative contexts (e.g. **En Joan, vine!* 'Joan, come!').

- (16) Occurrence of the term of address in vocative (RABELLA RIBAS 1998)

En Johan, [...]
Senyor n'Arnau, [...]

3.2 Synchronic description

In this section, I will show that the onymic marker has undergone two consecutive extensions. The first one, which has taken place in Balearic and Central Catalan, concerns the occurrence of the onymic marker with animal names. The second one, which has taken place in Balearic

only, concerns the occurrence of the onymic marker with microtoponyms (or minor place names) and folk names for clouds and celestial objects.

The occurrence of the onymic marker with animal names seems to be more common in Balearic than in Central Catalan (DECat III, 310). With regard to Balearic, VENY (1996, 18) mentions the use of the onymic marker with animal names as in *na Linda* for a female dog. Additionally, the *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* (DCVB) reports that *en Vermell* is the name of a red-haired ox. With regard to Central Catalan, COLOMINA CASTANYER (2002, 547) indicates that the onymic marker *en* is employed with domestic animals as in *en Pluto* for a male dog. Although there is a study on the names of dogs, cows and oxen in Central Catalan (BOSCH AMADÓ 1988), there are no references containing the use of the onymic marker. Certainly, in order to gain further insight into the patterns of the onymic marker with animal names, additional studies would be needed. Notwithstanding, the examples found in the literature clearly point to a development in the grammaticalization of the onymic markers. Originally, they were only combined with names denoting [+human] entities. Now, they can also be combined with names denoting [–human] entities such as domesticated animals.

With regard to the occurrence of *en* and *na* with microtoponyms, accounts of this use are unfortunately rather scarce in the literature. COROMINES mentions it in his *Diccionari etimològic i complementari de la llengua catalana* (DECat), pointing out that it is common with minor place names, especially referring to rocky coastlines such as *Na Vermeia* and *Na Baldritxa* (DECat III, 310). Additionally, VENY (1996, 18) gives the examples *na Moltona* for an isle and *na Rompeginyes* for a fishing spot. According to MIRALLES (personal communication), *en* occurs with minor place names referring to islets and reefs while *na* occurs with minor place names referring to isles and fences. Examples of minor place names in Mallorca are given in (17). In contrast to first names, which have semantic gender (e.g. *Pere* is masculine and *Maria* is feminine), minor place names have referential gender. Note that minor place names which are preceded by *en* refer to masculine nouns

such as *illot* ‘islet’ and *escull* ‘reef’ while those preceded by *na* refer to feminine nouns such as *illa* ‘isle’ and *tanca* ‘fence’ (as well as *pesquera* ‘fishing spot’ in the example above *na Rompeginyes*). The referential gender becomes apparent when *en* occurs with feminine forms such as *en Coassa* or when *na* occurs with masculine or plural forms such as *na Jaume* and *na Guàrdies*.

(17) Occurrence of the onymic marker with microtoponyms in Mallorca

en Coassa, en Pelat, en Vermell (names of islets)
na Galinda, na Guàrdies, na Jaume (names of isles)

Proper names, contrary to common nouns, are characterized as lacking lexical gender (NÜBLING et al. 2012, 73–76). In Catalan, for example, names of deserts are referentially masculine (e.g. *el Namib, el Sàhara*) because *desert* ‘desert’ is masculine while in German they are referentially feminine (e.g. *die Namib, die Sahara*) because *Wüste* ‘desert’ is feminine. In the same vein, isle names are feminine in Balearic. Importantly, they are not employed with the feminine definite article but with the feminine onymic marker.

The onymic marker also occurs with folk names for clouds and celestial objects. Similar to microtoponyms, names of clouds and celestial objects have referential gender. They occur with *en* because they refer to masculine nouns such as *nigul* ‘cloud’, *astre* ‘celestial object’, *estel* ‘star’ and *planeta* ‘planet’. The names of clouds in Mallorca have been dealt with in a series of studies (BONET/GELABERT 2004, CANUTO BAUÇÀ 2007, BARCELÓ TROBAT 2011) which attest the use of the onymic marker. The names of clouds given in (18) refer to clouds announcing rain.

- (18) Occurrence of the onymic marker with names of clouds in Mallorca (CANUTO BAUÇÀ 2007)

<i>en Botilla</i>	(<i>< botilla</i> ‘earthenware drinking jug’)
<i>en Jonoï</i>	(<i>< genoll</i> ‘knee’)
<i>en Jordà</i>	(<i>< personal name Jordà</i>)
<i>en Paratjal</i>	(<i>< paretjal</i> ‘type of fig’ relating to the damage caused by rain)

Names of celestial objects (cosmonyms) have been traditionally viewed as phenonyms rather than toponyms. Following NÜBLING et al. (2012, 258), I consider them instances of toponyms, among other reasons for their navigational value for fishers, shepherds, etc. According to CANUTO BAUÇÀ (personal communication), the onymic marker is also used with names of planets such as Venus (*en Catalí*, *en Vetlasopes*) and stars such as the sun (*en Vermell*), as shown in (19). However, the definite article is employed with names of celestial objects, especially constellations, as in *es Set Frares* (literally ‘the seven friars’) for Ursa Major (cf. ALDC III/659), *sa Carrera de Sant Jaume* (literally ‘the road of Sant Jaume’) for the Milky Way (cf. ALDC III/661) and *ses Cabrelles* (literally ‘the young goats’) for the Pleiades. Interestingly, there are no folk names for the moon, which is referred to with the appellative *sa lluna*.

- (19) Occurrence of the onymic marker with names of planets and stars

<i>en Catalí</i>	(<i>< masculine form of Catalina</i>)	for Venus at dawn
<i>en Vermell</i>	(<i>< vermell</i> ‘red’)	for the sun at dawn
<i>en Vetlasopes</i>	for Venus at dusk, meaning approximately the star that watches over (<i>vetllar</i>) during the evening meal (<i>sopes</i> ‘bread soups’)	

The presence of the onymic marker with microtoponyms and folk names for clouds and celestial objects in Balearic implies a further step in the grammaticalization process. In an earlier stage, the onymic mark-

er was combined only with names denoting [+animate] entities which included animal names. Now, it can also occur with names denoting [-animate] entities such as minor place names. The development [+animate] > [-animate] can be explained in terms of the animacy hierarchy and definiteness hierarchy. Proper names can be classified as either animate and inanimate (see Figure 2). The [+animate] category can be subclassified into [+human] and [-human]. This is the case with personal names (anthroponyms) and animal names (zoonyms), respectively. The [-animate] category can be subclassified into [+concrete] and [-concrete]. The [+concrete] subcategory can be further classified into place names (toponyms) and brand names (ergonyms). Minor place names constitute a subclass of place names that is intimately tied to personal names since place names often contain personal names as in *na Jaume* (17). Conversely, personal names, especially family names, may be derived from place names (Nübling et al. 2012, 102). For this reason, the occurrence of the onymic marker with microtoponyms, in addition to names of clouds and celestial objects, clearly obeys the scala depicted in Figure 2. If the grammaticalization of the onymic marker

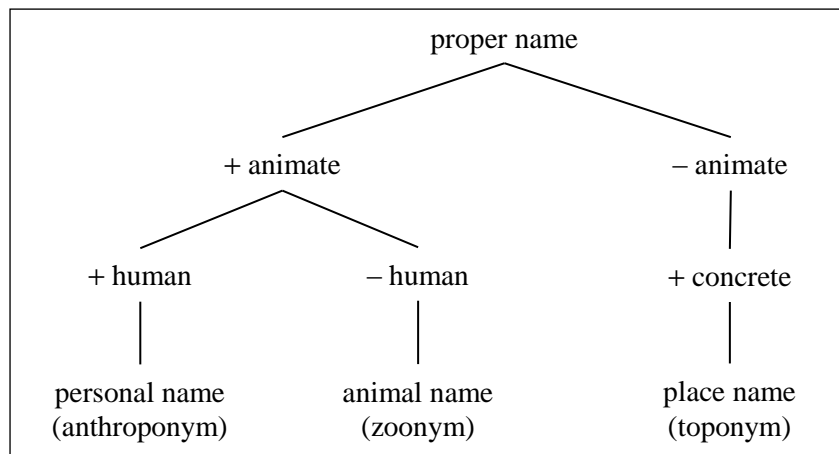


Figure 2: Classification of names according to the animacy hierarchy and definiteness hierarchy (simplified from Nübling et al. 2012, 100)

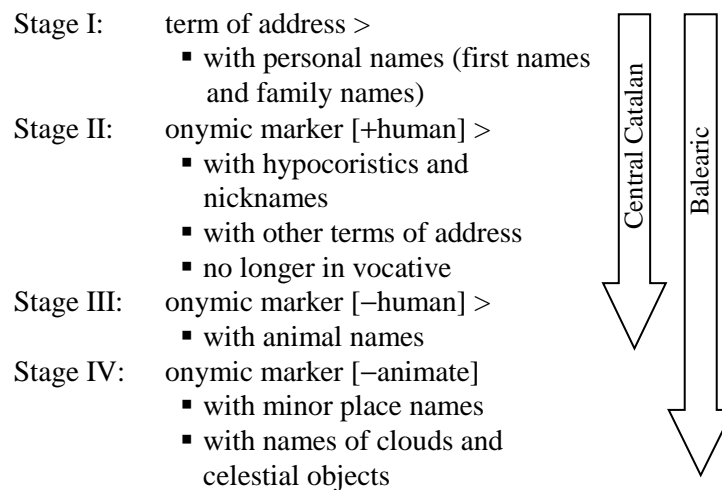
went further, we would expect it in macrotoponyms first and subsequently in brand names (ergonyms), event names (praxonyms) and, finally, in names of phenomena (phenonyms).

4. Summary and discussion

The paper has reported on the development of the onymic markers *en* and *na* in Catalan, thus revealing a previously undocumented grammaticalization process which comprises the grammaticalization of terms of address as onymic markers. The grammaticalization process displays the following pathway: In the first stage, deferential terms of address are used to indicate people of higher and inferior status. As a consequence of the introduction of new terms of address such as *maestre*, *mossèn*, *senyor*, etc., *en* and *na* are gradually degraded to refer to people of inferior status (see Figure 1 above). In the second stage, the lexical opacity of the items promotes the semantic bleaching that subsequently leads to a reanalysis. The original terms of address are reanalysed as onymic particles such that they occur not only with personal names (first names, family names) but also with hypocoristics (e.g. *en Joanet*) and nicknames (e.g. *na Vermella* for a red-haired woman). That is, the onymic marker is associated with names denoting [+human] entities. Direct evidence of the grammaticalization of the terms of address is provided by the cliticization in family names (e.g. *Enjaume* < *en Jaume*) and by the combination with other terms of address (e.g. *senyor n'Arnau*). In the third stage, the onymic marker is employed not only with names denoting [+human] entities but also [–human] identities such as animal names (e.g. *en Pluto*). The scope has hence expanded from [+human] to [–human]. This stage is preserved in Balearic and Central Catalan. In the fourth stage, the onymic marker is used with names denoting [–animate] entities such as microtoponyms (e.g. *na Jaume* for an isle) and folk names for clouds (e.g. *en Botilla*) and celestial objects (e.g. *en Vermell* for the sun). This stage has been achieved only in Balearic. Balearic is therefore the Catalan dialect in which the onymic marker has been maximally grammaticalized. It should be not-

ed that the grammaticalization of the onymic marker has proceeded in accordance with the animacy hierarchy (human > animate > inanimate). The grammaticalization pathway of the onymic marker is illustrated in (20).

(20) Grammaticalization pathway of the Catalan onymic marker



In conclusion, the results support the idea that nominal terms of address may provide particularly good candidates for onymic markers. First, they appear almost exclusively in combination with personal names. And second, they are generally unstressed and often undergo phonetic reduction and semantic bleaching, which may lead to reanalysis as onymic markers.

Additional corpus-based quantitative research is needed to document the development of the grammaticalization process in more detail. The *Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic* (Computerized Corpus of Old Catalan) would offer the possibility of conducting a diachronic study covering different centuries, dialects and, particularly, text types.

The question remains open as to whether the grammaticalization pathway outlined for Catalan is universal or rare. This question cannot be answered without pulling information from parallel or convergent grammaticalization processes in other languages that have evolved onymic markers. However, it is worth noting that the prerequisites for such cross-linguistic studies are not always given. To my knowledge, Catalan is the only language with an onymic marker that enables us to piece together the grammaticalization process on the basis of historical records. In the absence of cross-linguistic evidence, we cannot make strong claims about the predictive power of the grammaticalization pathway of the Catalan onymic marker.

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