Deflection of proper names in Romanian

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Structure

1 Introduction

2 Inflection in Romanian

      2.1 Personal names vs. common nouns

      2.2 Place names vs. common nouns

3 Discussion

4 Conclusions

References

Introduction

Deflection of proper names

- principle of onymic schema constancy, according to which the shape of proper names is preserved in order to enable their recognition and processing (Nübling 2005: 50–51; Ackermann & Zimmer 2017)

- the need to retain the proper name body had an impact on the morphosyntax and graphematics of German (see Nübling 2017 for a comprehensive overview)

- it will be shown that the principle of onymic schema constancy also had an effect in Romanian

Introduction

Deflection of proper names

- diachronic studies on German (Nübling 2005, 2012; Ackermann 2018, 2020; Zimmer 2018, 2020)

- synchronic studies on Slavic languages (see Doleschal 2010 for a comprehensive overview)

- Romance languages?

German

Declension of proper names and common nouns in modern German (Ackermann 2020: 45)

| Case	Proper name			Common noun			
	f.	m.	n.	f.	m.		n.
					strong	weak	
Nominative	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø
Accusative	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-(e)n	-Ø
Dative	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø/-(e)	-(e)n	-Ø/-(e)
Genitive	-Ø	-Ø/-s	-Ø/-s	-Ø	-(e)s	-(e)n(s)	-(e)s

Old High German

Declension of first names and common nouns in Old High German (see Nübling 2017: 344-345; Ackermann 2018: 124-126)

Case	Personal name				Common noun			
	Masculin		Feminin		Masculin		Feminin	
	Strong	**Weak**	**Strong**	**Weak**	**Strong**	**Weak**	**Strong**	**Weak**
Nominative	*Hartmuot*	*Ott-o*	*Gundrūn-Ø*	*Mari-a*	*tag-Ø*	*han-o*	*sunt-a*	*zung-a*
Accusative	*Hartmuot-an*	*Ott-on*	*Gundrūn-a*	*Mari-ūn*	*tag-Ø*	*han-on*	*sunt-a*	*zung-ūn*
Dative	*Hartmuot-e*	*Ott-en*	*Gundrūn-u*	*Mari-ūn*	*tag-e*	*han-en*	*sunt-u*	*zung-ūn*
Genitive	*Hartmuot-es*	*Ott-en*	*Gundrūn-a*	*Mari-ūn*	*tag-es*	*han-en*	*sunt-a*	*zung-ūn*

Early New High German

- weak declension of personal names (accusative and dative) (Nübling 2012: 234–238; 2017: 344–349; Ackermann 2018; 2020)
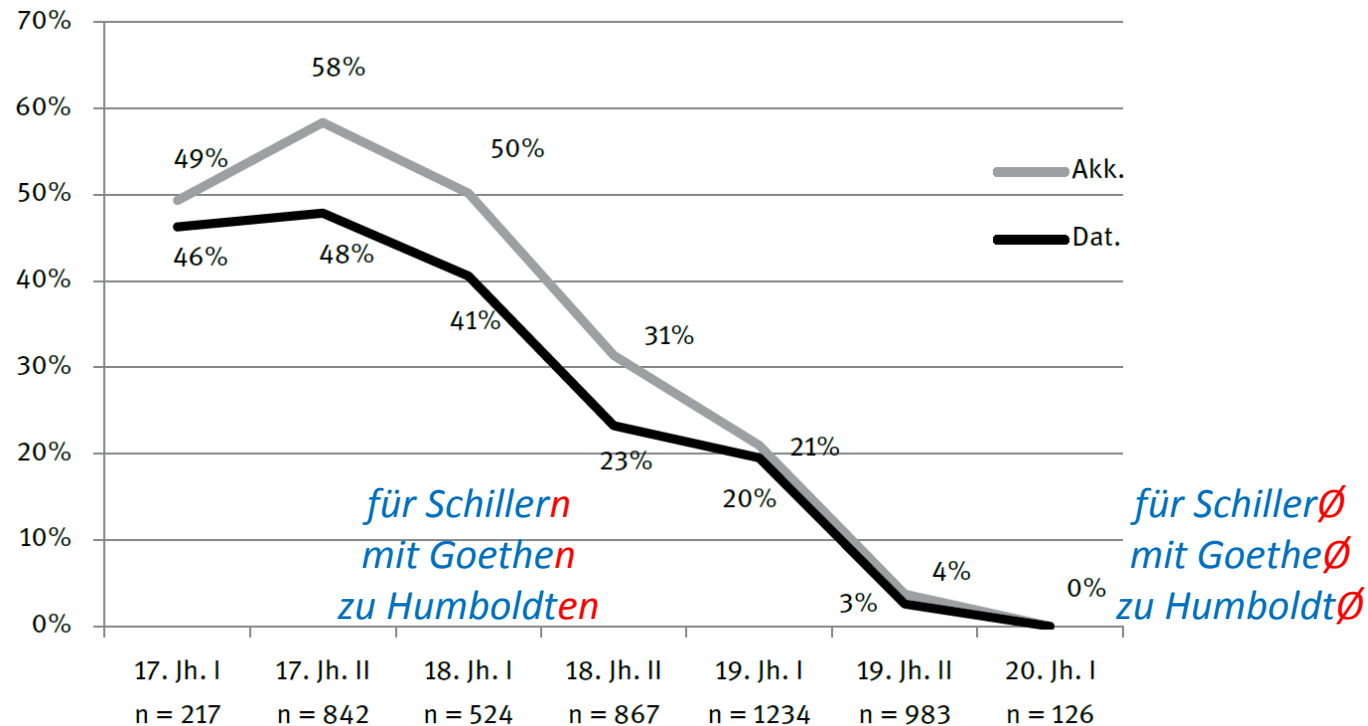
Latin

- with regard to personal names, non-literary texts contain examples of foreign names which are either zero marked or inflected in the nominative instead of the oblique case (see Adams 2013: 204-205)

> *per Iassucthan*∅

> *per Hessucus* (instead of *Hessucum* in the accusative)

- with regard to place names in spatial relations (allative, ablative), Plautus employs only case marking with well-known (or frequent) toponyms, but rather both preposition and case marking with foreign toponyms (see Adams 2013: 328-329)

> Allative: *Athenas* 'to Athens' vs. *in Ephesum* 'to Ephesos'

> Ablative: *Athena* 'from Athens' vs. *ex Epheso* 'from Ephesos'

Old French

- two case forms: the nominative (*cas sujet*) for the subject and the oblique (*cas régime*) for the remaining syntactic functions

- personal names and common nouns share the same declension system (Buridant 2000: 63-72; GGHF 2020: 633–639)

Case	Personal name		Common noun	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
Nominative (*cas sujet*)	*Charle-(s)*	*Marie*	*chevalier-s*	*dame*
Oblique (*cas régime*)	*Charl-on*	*Mari-ien*	*chevalier*	*dame*

LOSS OF THE TWO-CASE DISTINCTION

> began in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

> tendency for personal names to continue the nominative (*Charles, Marie*) and for common nouns to continue the oblique (*chevalier*) (see Smith 2011: 283)

> personal names underwent deflection earlier than common nouns (Schøsler 2001: 172–176)

9

Foreignness

Impact of foreignness on the morphosyntax and graphematics of proper names

- deflection of personal names in Latin (Adams 2013: 204-205, 328–329) and place names in German (Nowak & Nübling 2017; Zimmer 2018)

  des MississipiØ vs. *des Rheins*

- use of definite article with place names in NP's in French and in PP's in Italian (Gamillscheg 1957: 92; Arthur 1970: 106)

  la Turquie vs. *Ø Engletere*

  in Ø Sicilia vs. *nella Nuova Guinea*

- lack of definite article with personal names in NP's in Tolai and Hidatsa (Mosel 1984: 19; Parker 2012: 391-392; Helmbrecht 2022:131-132)

  to Vuvu, la Malana vs. *Ø Mikael*

- use of apostrophe in German and Turkish (Kempf 2019: 135-136; Caro Reina & Akar 2021)

  Eden'in 'of Eden' vs. *Doğanın* 'of Doğan'

Foreignness

How to determine foreignness?

- Criteria for determining foreignness (see Nowak & Nübling 2017; Zimmer 2018: 137-176 for German and Caro Reina & Akar 2021 for Turkish)
  - familiarity – that is, the conceptual distance between speaker/reader and the named object (see Zimmer 2018: 141 for German)
  - graphematic integration
  - phonological integration
- foreign names correlate with a low degree of familiarity and/or linguistic integration in terms of graphematics and phonology

Introduction

Factors conditioning deflection of proper names

- lexical
    - noun class (proper name vs. common noun)
    - proper name class (personal name vs. place name) or subclass (first name vs. family name)
    - foreignness (foreign vs. native)
- morphological
    - gender (masculine vs. feminine)
    - case (nominative vs. accusative)
- phonological
    - word-final segment (vowel vs. consonant)
    - stress (stressed vs. unstressed syllable)

2 Inflection in Romanian

Sources

- **Reference grammars**

  AR (2008), Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea (2013), Gönczöl (2021), Iliescu & Popovici (2013), Pană Dindelegan (2013), Pop (1948), Sarlin (2014)

- **Studies on the grammar of names**

  Graur (1965a, 1965b), Guţu Romalo (1995), Miron-Fulea et al. (2013), Sfîrlea (1989a, 1989b), Tomescu (1998)

- **Historical grammars**

  Coteanu (1969), Pană Dindelegan (2016)

2 Inflection in Romanian

Definite article

- Romanian has an enclitic definite article, which agrees in gender, number, and case with the noun

- With regard to case, Romanian distinguishes between nominative-accusative and genitive-dative

Case	Singular		Plural	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
Nominative-Accusative	*-(u)l, -le, -a*	*-a, -ua*	*-i*	*-ler*
Genitive-Dative	*-(u)lui*	*-i*	*-lor*	*-lor*

2.1 Personal names vs. common nouns

▪ Inflection is illustrated by the first names *Ion* and *Carmen* as well as the common nouns *băiat* 'boy' and *fată* 'girl' (the accusative will not be considered)

Case	Personal name		Common noun	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
Nominative	*Ion∅*	*Carmen∅*	*băiat-ul*	*fat-a*
Genitive-Dative	*lui Ion*	*lui Carmen*	*băiat-ului*	*fete-i*

PERSONAL NAMES

> characterized by the absence of inflectional endings

> in the nominative-accusative, personal names lack the definite article

> in the genitive-dative, the proprial article *lui* [luj, lu] is obligatory with masculine names and feminine names ending in a consonant

> feminine names ending in *-a* take the definite article in formal speech (*Mariei*) or the proprial article *lui* in colloquial (or non-standard) speech (*lui Maria*)

15

2.1 Personal names vs. common nouns

lui

- The form *lui* has been analysed as a 'proprial article' (Dobrovie-Sorin et al. 2013: 14; Miron-Fulea et al. 2003: 725)

personal names:	*lui Ion, lui Carmen*
kinship names:	*lui mama* 'of mom'
	lui frate-meu 'of my brother'
animal names:	*lui Rex* 'of Rex'
months:	*lui martie* 'of March'
letters:	*lui a* 'of a'
numbers:	*lui trei* 'of three'

2.1 Personal names vs. common nouns

Historical linguistics

- Did the declension paradigm of personal names result from declension (as in German)?

- How did the proprial article *lui* originate and develop?

2.1 Personal names vs. common nouns

Did the declension paradigm of personal names result from declension?

- in Old Romanian, masculine personal names are attested with the suffixed definite article, both in the nominative-accusative and in the genitive-dative (Pană Dindelegan 2016: 292)

> *Radul* 'Radu'

> *Radului* 'of Radu'

- in the sixteenth century, *Radul* and *Radului* gradually became *Radu* and *lui Radu*, respectively

- the ending *-u* of personal names such as *Radu* is therefore a remnant of the definite article *-ul*, which is frequently found until the end of the nineteenth century (Pană Dindelegan 2013: 290)

2.1 Personal names vs. common nouns

How did the proprial article *lui* originate and develop?

- in Old Romanian, the masculine and feminine genitive-dative endings *-lu(i)* and *-ei* (*-ii*) could also appear in proclitic position with personal names

- Coteanu (1969: 122–123) explains the development of the proclitic articles in terms of a means to preserve the proper name body

- there were originally two proprial articles:
    - *lu(i)* for the masculine: *lu Ștefan*
    - *ei* (*ii, i, îi*) for the feminine: *ii Marie*

- *lu(i)* expanded replacing the feminine form *ei* (see Pană Dindelegan 2016: 293–294 for details)

2.2 Place names vs. common nouns

- In Romanian, the enclitic definite article is employed with place names: names of cities (*Bucureştiul* 'Bucharest'), countries (*Vietnamul* 'Vietnam'), etc.

- the definite article is optional in the nominative, but compulsory in the non-prepositional accusative and the genitive-dative (AR 2008: 56; Miron-Fulea et al. 2013: 727; Pană Dindelegan 2013: 290)

Case	Place name		Common noun	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
Nominative	*Bucureşti-(ul)*	*Români-a*	*băiat-ul*	*fat-a*
Accusative	*Bucureşti-ul*	*Români-a*	*băiat-ul*	*fat-a*
Genitive-Dative	*Bucureşti-ului*	*Românie-i*	*băiat-ului*	*fete-i*

2.2 Place names vs. common nouns

- In contrast to native city names such as *Braşov*, *Madrid*, *Paris*, etc., foreign names such as *Buenos Aires*, *San Francisco*, *Milano*, *Nottingham*, etc. are characterized by the absence of the definite article (Miron-Fulea et al. 2013: 728)

- native place name

  Nominative: *Bucureşti-(ul) este capitala României*

  'Bucharest is the capital city of Romania.'

  Genitive: *centrul Bucureşti-ului*

  'the center of Bucharest'

- foreign place name

  Nominative: *San Francisco∅ este un oraș din California*

  'San Francisco is a city from California.'

  Genitive: *centrul San Francisco∅*

  'the center of San Francisco'

3 Discussion

Deflection

- Is deflection the only outcome of the principle of **onymic schema constancy** in Romanian?

- Are there further instances of morphosyntactic **dissociations** between proper names and common nouns involving inflection?

3 Discussion

Is deflection the only outcome of the principle of onymic schema constancy in Romanian?

- avoidance of morphophonological alternations (morpho-phonological)
- syntactic restrictions regarding modification (syntactic)

3 Discussion

Avoidance of morphophonological alternations

- when feminine personal names ending in *-a* are inflected in the genitive-dative, they do not exhibit the morphophonological alternations typical of common nouns (Graur 1965: 136; Pană Dindelegan 2013: 271)

Case	Personal name			Common noun		
Nominative-Accusative	*Sanda*	*Leana*	*Floarea*	*lampa*	*seara*	*floarea*
Genitive-Dative	*Sandei*	*Leanei*	*Floarei*	*lămpii*	*serii*	*florii*

COMMENTS

> the common nouns *lampă* 'lamp', *seară* 'evening', and *floare* 'flower' show the stem alternation *a/ă*, *ea/e*, *oa/o* in the nominative-accusative and genitive-dative, respectively

> this is not the case with the feminine personal names *Sanda*, *Leana*, and *Floarea*

24

3 Discussion

Modification

- postnominal modification of personal names by means of an adjective phrase, a prepositional phrase, or a relative clause is only possible with the determiner *cel* (masc.)/*cea* (fem.) (examples adapted from Miron-Fulea et al. 2013: 738)

    Ion cel deştept / Ion cel cu barbă / Ion cel care a răspuns.

    'smart John / the John with the beard / the John that responded'

- in contrast, common nouns such as *băiat* 'boy' can be directly modified

    băiatul deştept / băiatul cu barbă / băiatul care a răspuns.

    'the smart boy /the boy with the beard / the boy that responded'

3 Discussion

Modification

- in Old Romanian, personal names could be modified postnominally by adjectives without the determiner *cel/cela* (examples taken from Pană Dindelegan 2016: 358)

  Toma necredinciosul   vs.   *Toma cel necredincios*

  'the doubting Thomas'

3 Discussion

Are there further instances of morphosyntactic dissociations?

- dissociations involve differences between proper names and common nouns at the phonological, morphosyntactic, and graphematic level (see Nübling 2005)

- proper names can differ from common nouns with respect to inflection
  - in some languages, proper names display a smaller case paradigm than common nouns, as in German and Romanian
  - in other languages, proper names and common nouns exhibit distinct case paradigms, as in Kambaata (Treis 2008: 108-113), Meryam Mir (Piper 1989: 31), Sinyar (Boyeldieu 2019), and Western Desert (Dixon 1980: 302) (see Handschuh 2022)
  - both strategies can co-occur, as in Polish

Sinyar

- Declension in Sinyar, a Central Sudanic language spoken in Tschad und Sudan (Boyeldieu 2019: 483)

Case	Number	Proper name	Common noun
Nominative	Singular	*-n/(ˈ)-ǹ/-lè*	*-n/(ˈ)-ǹ/-Ní/(ˈ)-Nì*
	Plural	*-ngè*	*-sí/(ˈ)-sì*
Genitive	Singular	*-nàˈ/-nàˈ*	
	Plural	*-ngè*	
Accusative	Singular	*-(y)àà*	
	Plural	*-ngàá*	
Adverbial	Singular	*°-lèè*	*-tí/(ˈ)-tì*
	Plural	*°-ngèèr*	

COMMENTS

> proper names overtly code more cases (nominative, genitive, accusative, and adverbial) than common nouns (nominative and adverbial)

> proper names and common nouns mostly display different case allomorphs

ˈBàkíítˈ-lè 'Bakiit (NOM.SG)'
ʃékˈ-nì 'chief (NOM.SG)'

Polish

Declension of masculine family names in Polish (Piskorski et al. 2007: 28; see Zagorska 1975: 271- 276 and Grzenia 1998 for details)

Case	Family name (masculine)		Common noun (*gołąb* 'dove')	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
Nominative	*Gołąb-Ø*	*Gołąb-owie*	*gołąb-Ø*	*gołęb-ie*
Genitive	*Gołąb-a*	*Gołąb-ów*	*gołęb-ia*	*gołęb-i*
Dative	*Gołąb-owi*	*Gołąb-om*	*gołęb-iowi*	*gołęb-iom*
Accusative	*Gołąb-a*	*Gołąb-ów*	*gołęb-ia*	*gołęb-ie*
Instrumental	*Gołąb-em*	*Gołąb-ami*	*gołęb-iem*	*gołęb-iami*
Locative	*Goł...*		*gołęb-ia*	*gołęb-ie*
Vocative	*Goł...*		*gołęb-iu*	*gołęb-ie*

Different inflectional endings

Polish

Declension of feminine family names in Polish (Piskorski et al. 2007: 28; see Zagorska 1975: 271- 276 and Grzenia 1998 for details)

Case	Family name (feminine)		Common noun (*gołąb* 'dove')	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
Nominative	*Gołąb*	*Gołąb*	*gołąb-Ø*	*gołęb-ie*
Genitive	*Gołąb*	*Gołąb*	*gołęb-ia*	*gołęb-i*
Dative	*Gołąb*	*Gołąb*	*gołęb-iowi*	*gołęb-iom*
Accusative	*Gołąb*	*Gołąb*	*gołęb-ia*	*gołęb-ie*
Instrumental	*Gołąb*	*Gołąb*	*gołęb-iem*	*gołęb-iami*
Locative	*Gołąb*	*Gołąb*	*gołęb-ia*	*gołęb-ie*
Vocative	*Gołąb*	*Gołąb*	*gołęb-iu*	*gołęb-ie*

Lack of inflectional endings

4 Conclusions

Factors conditioning deflection in Romanian

- lexical
  - noun class (proper name vs. common noun)
    - ✓ proper names
  - proper name class (personal name vs. place name) or subclass (first name vs. family name)
    - ✓ personal names
    - ✓ place names
  - foreignness (foreign vs. native)
    - ✓ foreign place names

4 Conclusions

Factors conditioning deflection in Romanian

- morphological
    - gender (masculine vs. feminine)
        - ✓ feminine personal names with word-final vowel
        - ✓ masculine place names
    - case
        - ✓ genitive-dative of feminine personal names with word-final consonant
        - ✓ nominative of native masculine place names
- phonological
    - word-final segment (vowel vs. consonant)
        - ✓ feminine personal names with word-final consonant in the genitive-dative

4 Conclusions

- Romanian has experienced a deflection of personal names, which began in the sixteenth century
  - personal names (regardless of foreignness) are not inflected while in the genitive-dative they take the proprial article *lui* (with the exception of feminine personal names ending in *-a*)
  - foreign masculine place names lack inflectional endings
- deflection, avoidance of morphophonological alternations, and modification constraints are in line with the onymic schema constancy in Romanian
- deflection and distinct inflectional paradigms constitute instances of morphosytantic dissociations

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