

DEGRAMMATICALIZED ANGLO-SAXON GENITIVE¹ IN SPANISH

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RESUMEN

El genitivo sajón es todavía considerado por historiadores de la lengua como una reminiscencia del pasado flexivo del inglés. La lingüística moderna ha centrado su atención en este caso como una prueba del proceso de degramaticalización en su oposición al proceso de gramaticalización y por ende como un medio de negar la unidireccionalidad de este último. Sin embargo, la incursión de esta terminación en otras lenguas no ha sido estudiada en lo que concierne a su degramaticalización, por lo que es nuestro propósito considerar este hecho en el español. Utilizamos como datos una lista de empresas ubicadas en Canarias que incluyen en su nombre una terminación en <'s> impropia de la lengua española. Su clasificación en los tipos que se observan en el inglés actual y su análisis pueden ayudar a entender el grado de lexicalización de esta terminación. Finalmente, este trabajo también destaca la importancia de los estudios contrastivos para interpretar el cambio lingüístico.

PALABRAS CLAVE: degramaticalización, lexicalización, genitivo sajón, <'s>, español, Canarias, estudios contrastivos.

ABSTRACT

The Anglo-Saxon genitive is still considered by historical linguists as a reminiscence of the English language inflectional past. Modern Linguistics has centred its attention on this case as a proof of the process of degrammaticalization in opposition to grammaticalization and, therefore, as a means to deny unidirectionality in the latter. Nevertheless, the use of the Anglo-Saxon genitive, which has spread to other languages, has not been studied as related to degrammaticalization. It is our purpose here to consider this fact specifically in Spanish, providing as data a list of Spanish enterprises in the Canary Islands which include an alien <'s> in their name. Their classification into the types found in Modern English and their analysis may help to understand to what extent this ending has moved forward to its lexicalization. Additionally, this work also emphasizes the importance of contrastive studies to interpret linguistic change.

KEY WORDS: degrammaticalization, lexicalization, Anglo-Saxon genitive, <'s>, Spanish, Canary Islands, contrastive studies.



1. INTRODUCTION

The historical evolution of the Anglo-Saxon genitive has always been appealing for linguists. Traditional diachronic research has considered this type of genitive as a reminiscence of an old inflectional ending, a testimony of a synthetic past of the language. More recently it has come to be regarded as a case of degrammaticalization, participating in a process that would decrease the morphemic value of the particle and increase its lexical one. Thus, the Anglo-Saxon genitive would be considered an example of the reversal of the cline from less to more grammaticalized elements, pointing to a process of lexicalization. Several works, as it will be seen further on and especially those by Norde (1997, 2006, 2009), have followed this path of research, but to our knowledge, the fact that the Anglo-Saxon <'s> has crossed frontiers and entered non-Germanic languages, has not yet been analysed in relation to its degrammaticalization. One of the languages where we find the incursion of Anglo-Saxon <'s> is Spanish. In this paper we are going to analyse precisely the use of the Anglo-Saxon genitive in this language and the consequences that this might have in the evaluation of the degrammaticalization of the historical inflectional ending.

To achieve this purpose the following sections will deal first with a brief account of the historical evolution, understanding and classification of the Anglo-Saxon genitive. Subsequently, we will describe the meaning of degrammaticalization in contrast with grammaticalization, including other tangential aspects and concepts. These theoretical lines will lead us to present the data and analysis of the Anglo-Saxon genitive found in a Spanish sample of cases. Finally, the results and conclusions will indicate the degree of degrammaticalization of the Anglo-Saxon genitive as borrowed into Spanish and suggest further reconsiderations this fact may imply.

2. THE ANGLO-SAXON GENITIVE

The noun ending <-es>² was highly frequent for the genitive singular in Old English corresponding basically to the *general masculine declension* and the *general neuter declension*; the *general feminine declension* ended in <-e> and the three declensions shared a plural in <-a>. The *weak* or *-an declension* presented a different ending, the three genders sharing <-an> for the singular and <-ena> for the plural. Irregular declensions quite often also followed the general masculine pattern because of analogy. Historical linguists see in this pattern the generalization of the use of <-es/-s> in Middle English and its later establishment as a single inflectional ending for both singular and plural.

¹ We understand by *Anglo-Saxon genitive* the one used in Present Day English as derived basically from its Old English case form <-es> and to be distinguished from other genitive forms.

² It could also appear joined to the possessive pronouns specially first and second singular genitive forms.



The functions of the Old English genitive are of complex classification, Quirk and Wrenn (1958: 61) indicate that:

[t]his is partly because many actual examples of the genitive may be interpreted in more than one way, and partly because by the very act of classifying, of naming categories and of inevitably forcing them into a genetic relationship we erect artificial barriers between functions which are intimately related, and make the distinction between others seem greater than it is.

Even so, they distinguish between two primary uses: *the subjective*, which includes the possessive, origin and instrumental genitive, and *the objective*, which would also include measure, descriptive/defining, partitive and adverbial genitive. Additionally, some verbs would take genitive (rather than accusative) for their object. A similar distinction is proposed by Lass (1994) who also sustains a degree of ambiguity for this case. Following Kuryłowicz (1965), Lass (1994: 235-36) states that genitives in their possessive form “have mainly an ‘adjectival’ function” whereas in an example like *weard Scylding-a* (‘guardian of the Scyldings’) we face a non-possessive type where the genitive is an “underlyingly (or historically) ‘sentential’ case”.

During the Middle English period forms of what has been called absolute genitive start to appear, as the well-known example of *St. Paul’s* to refer to the Cathedral (Blake, 1996: 149, cf. Rissanen 2006: 208). According to Fisher (2006: 231), by then its use is specifically locative and it appears after prepositions such as *on* or *at*. It is also in Middle English when the double genitive appears, combining the synthetic with the analytic form, a characteristic use we may see nowadays in examples like: *a friend of the president’s wife*. The split genitive is registered in Old English but constructions of this type where the inflection appears together with *of* are proper of the Middle English period (cf. Mustanoja 1960, Allen 1997, 2008). Fisher et al. (2000: 81) consider this usage came to be substituted by the group genitive.

The apostrophe to elide the <-e-> seems to have been well established by the eighteenth century (Salmon 2006: 50), when printers used it to mark both singular and plural genitive forms. Nevertheless, there is still popular discussion about the “correct” use of it, see for example Hensher’s article in *The Telegraph* (2012) concerning the change of name of the bookstores *Waterstone’s* into *Waterstones*³:

When Waterstones (as we must now call it) decided to drop its apostrophe, its new chairman, James Daunt, explained that it was a matter of simplifying the name to suit its digital presence [...] On hearing of Waterstones’s (as we must now say) change of heart over its possessive apostrophe, John Richards, chairman of the Apostrophe Protection Society, said: “It’s just plain wrong. It’s grammatically incorrect. If Sainsbury’s and McDonald’s can get it right, then why can’t Waterstone’s?”. But in fact, it’s not quite as simple as that. Sainsbury’s and McDonald’s do indeed preserve the apostrophe on their shopfronts. Their websites’ URLs, however, are without

³ See also Beal (2010) and Lukac (2014) for further discussion on the use of the apostrophe.



it. A web address could, I suppose, include an apostrophe. But if it did, it would turn away anyone who thought the shop might be called Sainsburys' or Sainsburys. Better to omit the apostrophe.

For Present Day English, the *Longman's grammar of spoken and written English* (Biber et al, 1999: 292-297) establishes a basic distinction: *dependant* or *independent* genitive. The first type depends on a noun phrase and includes the specifying (“The girl’s face”) and classifying genitives (“His hair felt like a bird’s nest”), this category also comprises genitive of time (“yesterday’s job”) and of measure (“an hour’s discussion”). In turn, the independent genitive includes elliptic genitives where the complete noun phrase has not been mentioned previously in the discourse (“That is not my handwriting. It’s Selina’s”) and other independent genitives where the phrase, already mentioned in the discourse, is later reduced (“I don’t fancy sitting in Terry and Lindsey’s flat all night” / “Oh no, I wasn’t planning on staying at Terry and Lindsey’s all night”). On the other hand, this grammar also indicates that many of the latter type “have become conventionalized, so that they need no supporting head noun in the context. They frequently refer to places, particularly to people’s homes and to shops: We should be at Mom’s in an hour” (op. cit. 297). It is also stated in this grammar (op. cit. 297) that independent genitives that are unsupported by the linguistic context are more frequent in conversation, pointing out to a “weakened” connection with the genitive in the names of companies such as *MacDonald’s* > *MacDonalds*, or *Woolworth’s* > *Woolworths* > *Woolworths*.

Rosenbach (2002: 15-16) agrees with the previous classification and adds (following Taylor 1996) the possibility of denominating classifying genitives *possessive compounds*, since they fulfill the criteria for compounds: the possessor is [-referential], it carries initial stress and, when presenting premodification, this would only affect the possessum but not the possessor. In Rosenbach’s example: “a beautiful king’s daughter”, it is the daughter the one that is beautiful. The author (2002: 16) is nonetheless aware of the difficulties in classifying genitive constructions: “even if the possessor functions as a determiner, i.e. in specifying genitives, a formally indefinite possessor can be inherently ambiguous between a specifying and a modifying, i.e. compound, reading, since it potentially allows for both a referential and a non-referential interpretation”.

This ambiguity and difficulty in classification seems to pervade in studies dealing with the Anglo-Saxon genitive as an example of degrammaticalization. This initially controversial change is gaining acceptance but not without certain caveats.

3. DEGRAMMATICALIZATION VERSUS GRAMMATICALIZATION

Within the frame of Diachronic Typology and the study of language change, grammaticalization is broadly defined as the movement of a lexically classified item into a more grammatical class. In terms of Lehman (2002: vii; Preface to the draft version 1982):



Grammaticalization is a process leading from lexemes to grammatical formatives. A number of semantic, syntactic and phonological processes interact in the grammaticalization of morphemes and of whole constructions. A sign is grammaticalized to the extent that it is devoid of concrete lexical meaning and takes part in obligatory grammatical rules.

Later, the same author (2002: 10), quoting Kuryłowicz, admits the process may also include the shift “from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status”.

Since the first approaches to grammaticalization, which may go from Meillet (1912) to Givon (1971) (see Narrog and Heine 2011 for a detailed account), it is Lehmann (1995) the one that encourages, willingly or not, the study of grammaticalization versus its counterpart, degrammaticalization. He argued against the existence of this latter process and emphasized the directionality constraint of grammaticalization when he stated that “no cogent examples of degrammaticalization have been found” (Lehmann 2002: 17). Thus, the process would be basically irreversible, a lexical item can become more grammaticalized, but a grammatical item cannot become more lexical and, if grammaticalization happens, it will not be undone. In order to attest to the process of grammaticalization, he uses six, to a certain extent interrelated, criteria or parameters which he summarized in the table reproduced below (Lehmann 2002: 110). It is relevant to mention them here because the same will be used by Norde (2009) reversely for processes of degrammaticalization.

For Lehmann (2002: 210-244) the more grammaticalized an element is, the more the parameters of *cohesion* will increase, that is, the element in question becomes more linked to a specific paradigm and more bonded, more connected with another syntagmatically related sign. Conversely, the parameters of *weight* and *variability* decrease. On the one hand, its semantic and phonological weight degrades (integrity) and its capacity to have a certain number of grammatically dependent elements (structural scope) is reduced. On the other hand, its paradigmatic variability or the possibility of being substituted by another element in the same paradigm, which is less obligatory, and its syntagmatic variability, the positions the item might occupy in a phrase, also undergo a reduction. Therefore, the element becomes more relevant in the system, more obligatory in its use and has fewer choices for positioning itself in the sentence.

Table 1.: Lehmann’s grammaticalization parameters

axis parameter	paradigmatic	syntagmatic
weight	integrity	structural scope
cohesion	paradigmaticity	bondedness
variability	paradigmatic variability	syntagmatic variability

To corroborate the validity of the unidirectionality of grammaticalization, Lehmann (2002: 16-17) did consider several examples to refute degrammaticalization among them the Anglo-Saxon genitive which he admits close to a “bona fide” case but dismisses on the basis of historical interpretations:



The last potential example of degrammaticalization is provided by English. In Proto-Germanic, the genitive suffix *-s* was a flexional ending bound to the word. In Modern English, however, we find such phrases as the King of England's daughter and the man I met yesterday's son, where the *-s* is agglutinated to a complex NP. This looks like a *bona fide* case. However, the historical details are complex (see Janda 1980). On the one hand, the originally flexional *-s* became more agglutinative, in Middle English, as a contingent result of the reduction and regularization of the Old English case paradigm. On the other hand, dialects and lower sociolects of Middle English had the alternative construction "NP his N" (e.g. the king (of England) his daughter) available, which itself became homophonous with the inherited genitive. As a result, the genitive suffix was reanalyzed as a clitic possessive pronoun. Thus, it was not the genitive on its own what expanded to higher syntactic levels. Rather, the (real or putative) clitic possessive pronoun, which had been compatible with these levels from start, got generalized to non-masculine genders.

In the same line and also defending the validity of unidirectionality, Haspelmath (2004) not only considers the case of the Anglo-Saxon genitive as a "*bona fide*" example but includes it within the group of eight attested reversals of grammaticalization, what he calls *antigrammaticalizations*.

Lightfoot (2011: 444) considers Brinton and Closs-Traugott (2005) the best attempt to summarize the current understanding of the concepts *grammaticalization* and *lexicalization*, the latter restricted to a "narrow" form of lexicalization, that is, one that concerns the fact of being less productive grammatically and not the fact of becoming part of the lexicon. But this differentiation is not always easy to maintain. Lightfoot himself (2011: 448) mentions the difficulty in the treatment of derivational affixation, stating that "[s]tudy of derivational suffixes' source structures are needed to help examine their relative grammatical status".

Norde (2009: 112) used a broader approach to lexicalization which would include "most changes that result in new lexemes, with the exception of regular word formation". However, she is more concerned with those cases where lexicalization is a "synonym or subset of degrammaticalization" (op cit.). Norde (1997, 2006, 2009) has paid special attention to the genitive case in Swedish as a form of degrammaticalization, extending its scope to the Anglo-Saxon genitive. She defines this degrammaticalization as "a composite change whereby a gram in a specific context gains in autonomy or substance on more than one linguistic level (semantics, morphology, syntax, or phonology)" (2009: 120). Thus, she assumes that Lehmann's parameters (integrity, paradigmaticity, paradigmatic variability, structural scope, bondedness and syntagmatic variability), which establish if a grammaticalization has occurred, will function in the reverse way when applied to cases of degrammaticalization. Therefore, a degrammaticalized element would increase its semantic and phonologic weight; it would move from a closed word class to an open one (deparadigmaticization); it would become more optional, with more paradigmatic variability; it would expand its structural scope, having more dependent elements; it would decrease in bondedness, especially in cases of deinflectionalization; and finally it will present more syntagmatic variability, having more syntactic slot choices.



The above mentioned parameters will work at different levels and appear more or less consistently depending on the type of degrammaticalization. Norde (2009: 133) distinguishes three types:⁴

- *Degrammation*: “a composite change whereby a function word in a specific context is reanalyzed as a member of a major word class, acquiring the morphosyntactic properties which are typical of that word class, and gaining in semantic substance” (op. cit. 135)
- *Deinflectionalization*: “a composite change whereby an inflectional affix in a specific linguistic context gains a new function, while shifting to a less bound morpheme type” (op. cit. 152)
- *Debonding*: “a composite change whereby a bound morpheme in a specific linguistic context becomes a free morpheme” (op. cit. 186)

The Swedish genitive and the Anglo-Saxon genitive would, still according to Norde (2009: 160, 172-178), form part of the second category. In their predicative form, these genitives would have abandoned their inflectional system, consisting in marking each element of the noun phrase, to become clitics that mark the noun phrase as a single unit. All the parameters presented by Lehmann would work reversely for the *deinflectionalization* of these genitives. Thus, for Norde (2009: 171), there is resemanticization, given the fact that the genitive gains the function of a determiner (integrity); it loses paradigmaticity, since it does not form part anymore of a compact inflectional system; it becomes less obligatory, not all or none of the elements in the noun phrase appear marked (paradigmatic variability); its structural scope expands in the sense that instead of marking just single elements it may mark the whole noun phrase, and, although it remains bonded, there seems to be a weakening of that bondedness. It becomes also possible that the <-s> appears attached to not just nouns but other diverse elements of the sentence. Finally, as indicated by this author, syntagmatic variability is not relevant in deinflectionalization.

Norde (2009: 161, n.9) restricts this opinion to the attributive possessives in which the genitive phrase works as a determiner:

Because this is the only construction in which the genitive developed into a clitic (as evidenced by the occurrence of group genitives). This excludes a number of other constructions among them qualifying genitives (a children’s book), predicative genitives (my garden is smaller than Fred’s) or locative genitives (at the dentist’s).

She also questions the applicability of deinflectionalization to the genitive in regular plural forms since, following Carstairs (1987), she understands that “with singular and irregular plural nouns, =s [sic] is a clitic, but in regular plurals, -s is a cumulative inflectional ending, denoting the features PLURAL and GENITIVE simultaneously” (Norde, 2009: 174).

⁴ These three types are based on the three levels of compliance of changes distinguished by Andersen (2006: 232), that is, content changes, content-syntax changes and morphosyntactic changes.



4. USE OF <'S> IN SPANISH: DATA AND CLASSIFICATION

The term *Anglo-Saxon genitive* (*genitivo sajón*) might remind advanced Spanish students of English, who may still have had a traditional grammar instruction, of the morpheme <'s> used with proper nouns to indicate possession. Nevertheless, it is not common knowledge that this derives from the inflectional ending <-es> and it is usually ignored that there were in Old English different endings for the genitive case, singular and plural, depending on the declension. Additionally, there is no comparable genitive form in present day Spanish, which uses an analytic construction with the preposition *de* closer to the *of* use. This is no surprise, since the English *of* was first “affected by the translational character of the literature, and the employment of *of* to render L. *ab*, *dē*, or *ex*, in constructions where the native idiom would not have used it” and it was used “from the 11thc. as the equivalent of F. *de*, itself of composite origin, since it not merely represented L. *dē* in its various prepositional uses, but had come to be the Common Romanic, and so the French, substitute for the Latin genitive case” (*OED*, s.v., of prep. General signification).

The facts mentioned above do not seem to have inhibited a certain acceptance of <'s> by average Spanish speakers as we will try to show below, possibly due to its phonetic and graphic similarities with the Spanish plural morpheme <-s>, although with further differentiated uses.

A simple basic overview of services' shop fronts in different Spanish locations, presents cases of commercial names like: Casa Pepe's (Palencia), Meson Pepe's (Madrid), Navarro'S (a hairdresser in Albacete), Patry's peluquería y estética (Madrid), Sara's peluquería y estética (Zaragoza) or Yuffer's peluqueros (Tenerife). Considering the possibility of this being just a coincidence, we selected the Canarian archipelago for a more meticulous research concentrating only on hairdresser shops. To this end we used an online enterprise telephone directory, *QDQ* (2012), which offered the possibility of alphabetical and municipality searches specifying the type of enterprise desired.⁵

As compared to the whole Spanish territory, the Canary Islands may seem too limited for analysis but according to the data offered by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (Directorio Central de Empresas) the Canary Islands have as many enterprises as other larger communities in Spain (such as Aragón, Castilla-La Mancha and Murcia) or the Balears archipelago, and more than Asturias or Extremadura among others. In terms of services⁶, according to the same institution, in January 2012 the Canaries, showing figures of 76, 792 enterprises, were over the Balearic Islands with 48, 304, Asturias with 39,

⁵ In our initial searches we considered using the *Yellow pages*, but its web seemed more unstable and with repetitions. Thus, we opted for the *QDQ* and used the *Yellow pages* only as a complementary source of validation when the former rendered no results.

⁶ These data refer to “resto de servicios” that is, services excluding industry, construction and commerce.



264, Aragón with 47, 650, Cantabria with 20, 938, or Castilla-la Mancha with 57, 873, among others; although still quite below Madrid and Cataluña with 310, 396 and 333, 870 respectively.

It was considered that these figures, together with the touristic condition of the islands, could favour the choice of the Canary Islands for a first sampling of the enterprises that may have elected for their commercial name one including an Anglo-Saxon genitive <'s>.

The data obtained derived from searching the two provinces of the Canarian archipelago: Santa Cruz de Tenerife (comprising the islands of Tenerife, La Palma, La Gomera and El Hierro) and Las Palmas (comprising the islands of Gran Canaria, Lanzarote and Fuerteventura). To follow an order we have examined each island by its municipalities. In all of them we have searched by “peluquerías” (‘hairdressers’), what rendered a specific number of this type of enterprise and a list with name, address and telephone number; from this we extracted the hairdressers which included an Anglo-Saxon genitive <'s> in their name. The illustration below shows a sample search from QDQ (2012), referred to Adeje, a municipality of Tenerife island.

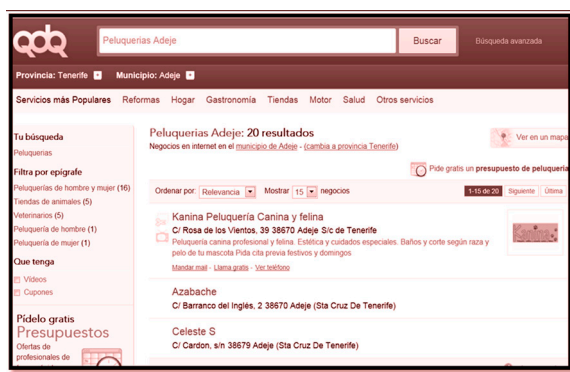


Illustration 1.: QDQ search example

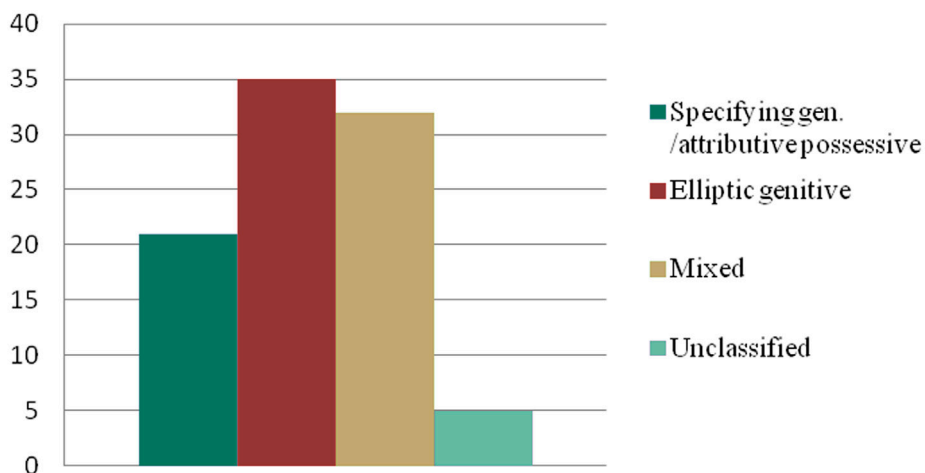
Thus, we obtained 52 names of hairdressers with <'s> in the province of Santa Cruz de Tenerife and 41 in the province of Las Palmas rendering a total of 93 results which appear collected in the appendix⁷. In this total were included enterprises with similar name but different location and excluded those with dubious names that did not present in a form or another the apostrophe, <'s>. The QDQ guide represents nearly always with <S>the <'s> as shown in illustration 1 for “Celeste S”. We have double-checked this against other guides or Google images of the hairdressers shop fronts themselves, trying to avoid confusion with “S. L.” (‘sociedad limitada’) or other interpretations. Exceptions where capital <S> was not used corresponded to proper names or surnames that do not end in

⁷ We have located more enterprises which include an <'s> in their names but these do not appear collected in telephone directories; given the fact that their existence would not be easily verified we preferred to exclude them even though the final numbers would be diminished.



<-s>, but in which it has been added. The *Yellow Pages* usually include <'s> as such, but not always, so again if the case was dubious we disregarded it.

Following Biber *et al.* (1999) we have made an initial classification of the data, as corresponding to “real English” uses. This is shown in absolute figures in graph 1 below.



Graph 1: Types of Anglo Saxon genitives found in Spanish hairdresser's names

Thus, 21 names would be specifying genitives of the types in (1) to (4) that calque English structures of proper noun plus <'s>, plus noun or noun phrase related to hairdressing in English or Spanish. 35 would be elliptic, just noun plus <'s>, of which 23 have as a base mainly a proper noun, usually that of the owner of the establishment (see (5) to (7)), and the other 12, containing a noun related to a style or clientele expectations, as shown in examples (8), to (10):

- (1) Rebeca's peluquería
- (2) Oliver's peluqueros
- (3) Martina's hair styling
- (4) Carmen's hair salon
- (5) Andy's
- (6) Nayra's
- (7) Guacy's
- (8) Bella's
- (9) Pin up's
- (10) Mimoss

There is a mixed group of 32 cases that strictly speaking do not coincide with specifying, classifying, elliptic or independent types. They do not follow a clear Spanish structure either, where prototypically we would expect [(Det) X de Y] such

as “La peluquería de Paco”, ‘The hairdresser of Paco’, in fact, there is a hairdresser with this Spanish name in Málaga. 9 of these cases play basically with the ambiguity of the Spanish plural morpheme in <-s> and the idea of a group linked to an owner, salon style or enterprise, but without attending to the addition of <’s> to the possessor as would happen in English. See examples (11) to (14) where the structure could be something like [X hairdresser(s)’s]:

- (11) Mauro Peluquero’s
- (12) Denahisa Peluquera’s
- (13) Desigual Peluquero’s
- (14) Salón de Belleza Aloe Peluquero’s

In the same line, example (15) would play with that ambiguity, plural and genitive, maintaining the English [possessor + ’s], but inverting the structure by starting with the possessed. As it was shown in (10), (16) presents the <-s> plural morpheme and the <’s> of genitive.

- (15) Peluquería Sister’s
- (16) Peluquería Rosass

In addition, 12 cases also follow the structure which is closer to the Spanish [X de Y] as [X Y’s], where X can be a noun phrase (salón de belleza, ‘beauty salon’), but with a singular noun possessor, see examples (17) to (19):

- (17) Peluquería Sisi’s
- (18) Salón de Belleza Maijen’s
- (19) Peluquería y distribuciones Penelope’s

Other cases of this mixed group might be in between the previous forms, that is, they could be closer to the English classifying type but may also play with the Spanish plural morpheme and word order, see examples (20) to (24):

- (20) Ella’s Peluquería
- (21) Hair’s peluqueros
- (22) Peluquería canina Doggy’s
- (23) Woman’s peluqueros
- (24) Peluquerías Onda’s

Finally, there are five unclassified forms we reproduce below:

- (25) Peluquería de Lelo’s
- (26) Rizo’s de Luna
- (27) Salón De2s
- (28) Peluquería the L angel’s
- (29) Ke Guapa’s



These examples are different because they play with language in a higher degree than previous ones. From (25) to (27), we find a double mark of “possession”: the Spanish *de* and the English <’s>; (26) and (27) may also constitute plural forms when read: *rizo’s*, ‘curls’, and *De2s* (dedoss), ‘fingers’. (28) substitutes the Spanish preposition *de* and the article *el*, which are used contracted as *del*, by the English article *the+L*, which, when pronounced, would sound the same as the Spanish form. Visually it seems more Anglicized than when pronounced and again it would show two marks of possession.

Our last example (30) can be read as an interjection: ¡Qué guapa(s)! Something close to ‘How pretty!’, altering in this case the normative spelling of Spanish by using <*k*-> instead of <*qu*-> and adding the <’s> to the adjective *guapa*. We understand that here the “Anglo-Saxon genitive” modifies the whole phrase and this would be really a case closer to the elliptic genitive, where the <’s> stands really for the place, the hairdresser of the “qué guapas”.

This classification shows similarities with as well as deviations from the grammatically accepted forms in English and those “genitives” found in Spanish. The frequency of <’s> in these names indicates no strangeness on the side of the Spanish speaker when confronting it. For our purpose, this classification also illustrates the variability of the positions <’s> takes when used in Spanish. Moreover, and though this does not intend to be a sociolinguistic study, we have questioned the owners of the shops about the reasons for selecting their names. The answers given pointed to the idea of ownership, place/enterprise or nice appeal by adding <’s>. It should also be added that most of the hairdressers including this <’s> do not concentrate in the best known tourist areas of the Archipelago.

5. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

All the referred cases which appear compiled in the appendix, show that the Anglo-Saxon genitive is present in the Spanish language, but our analysis here concerns also the fact of a lexicalized use of it. For this purpose we will apply Lehmann’s parameters (2002) as used by Norde (2009: 171) to account for degrammaticalization processes.

5.1 INTEGRITY

In the Spanish examples we can see how the <’s> does not only mark possession, it is used in some cases to mark at the same time plurality. We have seen how Norde dismissed these examples as valid because she considered them to be cases of a “cumulative morpheme”, but it can be questioned if when Spanish adopts the English genitive it takes it just as such cumulative morpheme, or if playing with the ambiguity of <-s>, it sustains also the idea of possession and place. In *Mauro peluquero’s*, even though not following the prescriptive English structure, we may understand



Mauro has a salon with several hairdressers working for him, rather than the *‘male hairdresser who owns someone called Mauro’. On the other hand, examples as *Rosas’s* or *Mimos’s* maintain the Spanish plural morpheme.

Resemanticization seems to go further in the ellipsis examples, where it stands for “place” rather than possession surpassing the category of deinflectionalization. Again, several authors observe these cases as distinctive (locative, absolute, fossilized genitives) but in Spanish it emerges as a very productive form and it is quite easy to understand they refer to a hairdresser shop in examples like *Peinado’s* (‘hairstyle(s)’s’) or, at least, it leads us to think about a place like in (7) *Guacy’s* (‘Guacimara’s⁸ shop’).

The phonetic strengthening is more difficult to attest since final [-s] in the Canarian variety is normally aspirated, [-h], and this is the sound that seems to dominate for the pronunciation of <’s> with the exception of El Hierro island (see Ortega-Ojeda, n.d.) where we could not obtain any examples.

5.2 PARADIGMATICITY

In its use in Spanish the Anglo-Saxon genitive is not associated to any possible vestige of original inflectional paradigm, neither has it been inserted in the Spanish morphological system.

5.3 PARADIGMATIC VARIABILITY

Considering the previous point, the use of <’s> is obviously not compulsory in Spanish. Moreover, names of hairdressers with the same type of construction [proper noun + *peluqueros*] without the apostrophe appear in the same QDQ guide. Examples like *Ana peluqueros* or *Alex peluqueros* (both in Tenerife) stand next to *Carolay Peluquero’s* o *Desigual Peluquero’s*.

5.4 STRUCTURAL SCOPE

Some of our examples show how there is a syntactic expansion in the use of the genitive in Spanish, cases like (22) *Peluquería canina Doggy’s*, or (19) *Peluquería y distribuciones Penelope’s*, which we may find in sentences like: “La peluquería Peluquería y Distribuciones Penelope’S [sic] puede ayudarle si necesita servicios de peluquería en Arona”⁹ (36peluquerias.com) where it is shown that we are dealing

⁸ *Guacimara* is a female noun of aboriginal Guanche (inhabitant of the Canarian Archipelago, and especially from Tenerife) origin.

⁹ Our translation: the hairdresser *Hairdresser and distributions Penelope’s* may help you if you need hairdresser services in Arona.



not just with “the hairdresser of Penelope” but with a whole entity, the “Peluquería y Distribuciones Penelope’S”, where <’s> has expanded its scope of dependent elements.

5.5 BONDEDNESS

The weaker degree of attachment seems also assumed when the <’s> is graphically transformed into <S> without the apostrophe in the QDQ guide, rendering, at least visually, a higher independence to the particle.

5.6 SYNTAGMATIC VARIABILITY

Our examples show too that the position occupied by <’s> is well varied: *Carolay Peluquero’s*, *Peluquería Sisi’s*, *Ellá’s peluquería* or *Ke Guapá’s*.

5.7 DISCUSSION

Considering all the previous points in the light of Lehmann’s axis parameter (see table 1) inversely applied to degrammaticalization, we may say that the Anglo-Saxon genitive as used in our Spanish examples presents a decrease in the cohesion parameters and an increase in those related to variability and weight, with the only found difficulty of the phonological strengthening, given the general Canarian pronunciation of final [-s]. This would account for the degrammaticalization of <’s> in its Spanish use, possibly going further than a cliticization or deinflectionalization. When making this assertion we are aware that we are not talking about the English language but about a process of borrowing from English into Spanish. Nevertheless, it is also possible that the progressive lexicalization of the genitive in English becomes more obvious in a recipient language and, additionally, it is precisely that lexicalization the one which is facilitating its borrowing into other languages.

A simple search for hairdressers just in London area yields very similar examples to ours¹⁰: *Andrea’s Of Knightsbridge*, with a “double possessive” that does not indicate possession at all but rather location, a nearly split genitive without head (hairdresser) which is understood by the use of <’s>; *Gregorys*, an elliptic genitive without apostrophe; *Chris-Elle’s*, playing with the use of the hyphen, which creates the ambiguity of two owners (Chris and Elle) of a salon, or one owner (Chris) with a Frenchified salon for women (elle’s, “hers”). *Hairdressers’s* (plural+genitive) examples are also highly frequent, no matter what linguists and “purists” say. Finally, a similar example to that <S> we find in the QDQ guide happens in *Fabienne S*, which is not only the name as it appears on the web, but also on the shop front where the hairstylist is announced.

¹⁰ We provide web sites addresses for these examples using them as entries in the References.



6. CONCLUSIONS

As far as the results seem to indicate, the use of the Anglo-Saxon genitive in Spanish is quite degrammaticalized. It is true that if we tried to situate it at the level of a lexeme, rather than considering it a morpheme or just a clitic, having accomplished its lexicalization, it would be difficult to define. Nevertheless, it seems clear to us (and this is not far from what other authors have stated before for L1 English) that in our elliptic and mixed cases it “simply” stands for a “place”, a place that can be a hairdresser shop, but could also be a house, a bar, a restaurant, any enterprise, or even a cathedral.

The historical and semantic difficulties the locative genitive offers might have caused linguists to circumvent its inclusion in the lexicalization process. *St. Paul's* might be deemed a fossilization, but we cannot say the same about modern examples. In fact this type of “genitive” is quite productive. Perhaps the problem is we continue to concentrate on prototype examples from the Latin perspective of cases, without considering the evolution of the language shown at a faster pace in the web. Additionally, the type of examples traditionally used to explain this language change, come to reinforce the perspective of *One English*, but this is difficult to maintain nowadays. This means that we cannot continue analysing the so called Anglo-Saxon genitive from the Latin perspective; nonetheless, it may also mean a necessity for the inclusion of other languages in the analysis. In general, Spanish speakers ignore the origins and grammatical rules which apply to the Anglo-Saxon genitive; they just borrow it with its most manifest use, the one that combines the concepts of “place” and “belonging”. Considering the behaviour of the genitive in other languages can shed light on a change that might have been there for centuries, only suggested by those difficulties posed for its classification. We are not claiming that lexicalization is happening precisely in the other languages that have come to use the genitive, namely Spanish, but the analysis of this process in the recipient language, exempt of “prescriptive uses”, facilitates its comprehension and contributes to perceive its extension.

In this respect new technologies might also have something to say, the use of <S>, if it finally settles, would be another indicator of the lexicalization of the genitive.

Lastly, whether accepting or denying degrammaticalization/lexicalization processes, we consider our results tangentially direct to a stronger reconsideration of languages influences when explaining linguistic change.

RECIBIDO: agosto de 2014; ACEPTADO: diciembre de 2014



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APPENDIX

This appendix offers all the examples found, classified as in graph 1, that is: specifying, elliptic, mixed and unclassified. Most of them correspond to data found in the *QDQ* guide, those found in the *Yellow Pages* are marked with (Y). We maintain the spelling as in the originals, with <S>, <'s> or just <s>.

A. Specifying

1. Adrian S Estilistas
2. Magalyss Peluquería Unisex (Y)
3. Static's peluqueros (Y)
4. Carmen's hair saloon (Y)
5. Dino S Babies
6. Frdk S Peluqueros
7. Heman's Peluqueros (Y)
8. Ingrid S Beauty Shop
9. Juan Twin S Estilismo
10. Laurens Peluqueros
11. Llarenas Peluqueros
12. Mario S Peluqueros
13. Martina's hair styling (Y)
14. Odi S Supply
15. Oliver S Peluqueros
16. Pontiac Men S Fashion;
17. Rebeca S Peluquería
18. S S Peluqueras
19. Scaffo's peluqueros (Y)
20. Taty S Peluqueros
21. Yuffer S Peluqueros

B. Elliptic genitives

1. Alcide S
2. Alexsador S
3. Andy S
4. Angel's (Y)
5. Anni's (Y)



6. Ari S
7. Bella S
8. Celeste S
9. Celis
10. Coco S
11. Dexigual S
12. Dnecho S
13. Doggy S
14. Dogue S
15. Dora's (Y)
16. Dory S
17. Geva S
18. Guacy S
19. Kirsty's (Y)
20. Mimoss
21. Nayen S
22. Nayra S
23. Nikol S
24. Peinado S
25. Pelo S
26. Pelu's (Y)
27. Peluk S
28. Pin up's (Y)
29. Reflejo's
30. Ricky S
31. Stylo S
32. Tayi S
33. Toke S
34. Tom S
35. Vipel's (Y)

C. Mixed type

1. Carolay Peluquero S
2. Denahisa Peluquera S
3. Desigual Peluquero S
4. E C Peluquero S
5. Ella S peluquería



6. Garó Girl S
7. Gustavo Alonso Peluquero S
8. Hair S peluqueros
9. Mauro Peluquero S
10. Peluquería Caballeros Frans
11. Peluquería Canina Doggy S
12. Peluquería Elian S
13. Peluquería Rosass
14. Peluqueria Sisi S
15. Peluquería Sister S
16. Peluquería Vicen S
17. Peluqueria y distribuciones Penelope's (Y)
18. Peluquerías Mati's (Y)
19. Peluquerías Onda S Agustín
20. Peluquerias Onda S
21. Rizo's Ruiz (Y)
22. Rolfy Peluquero S
23. Salón de Belleza Aloe peluquero S
24. Salon de Belleza Maijen S
25. Salón de belleza Patry's (Y)
26. Salon de belleza unisex Direy's (Y)
27. Salón Landi S
28. Salón Mary's (Y)
29. Salon Yakare S
30. Salones Vicen's (Y)
31. Truco S peluqueros
32. Womans peluqueras

D. Unclassified

1. Ke Guapa S
2. Peluquería de Lelo S
3. Peluqueria the l angel's (Y)
4. Rizo S de Luna
5. Salón de 2s

