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USE AND DISUSE OF CATALAN ANTHROPONYMS IN ELX, 1565-1738*

ANTONI MAS I MIRALLES AND BRAULI MONTTOYA ABAT

1. INTRODUCTION ANTHROPONYMY AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Anthroponyms receive special treatment in the sociolinguistic study of a language. Personal proper names, no longer common nouns and neither descriptive nor describable elements of a sentence, are used only to link a noun to an individual. In this anthroponymic study we shall analyse both kinds of names, first names —also called Christian names— and last names, or family names. Using this distinction, a sociolinguistic analysis has to be different from an anthroponymic study of first and last names.

First, if we analyse names from a linguistic point of view, we notice that the identifying link established between the name and the person who bears it permits an analysis of these onomastic elements which is different from the analysis of the rest of the vocabulary, since in this case the relationship between meaning and signifier is not the same as is observed in the general vocabulary.

Moreover, in a situation of languages in contact, use or disuse of one's language, both for proper names and for last names, undergoes linguistic interference from the other language. These so-called transferences affect the internal system of both languages, but especially of the subordinate language, since a transference tends to move from the superordinate language towards the subdued one. Thus, the weakest part of the linguistic sign of the onomastic element, that is to say the signifier or the form of the word, is always interfered by the structure of the dominant language. These influences are at work at all linguistic levels, so that orthographical, phonetic, morphological and lexical levels of all anthroponyms are affected.

On the other hand, from a sociolinguistic point of view, it has to be kept in mind that first names can be translated, a characteristic which causes the appearance of new rules of usage which we shall analyse below. It is common to find speakers of a subdued language who use proper names which com from the dominant language. That is why the use of names in different languages varies according to

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specific sociolinguistic factors. As we have already mentioned, the alternative use of one language or another within a multilingual situation can show us different rules of use. If an individual uses his own language for anthroponymy, this means that there is a complete identification between that person and his or her language, which is the sign of linguistic normality. On the other hand, the use of another language for anthroponymy is a clear indication that we are in a situation of linguistic conflict, of the absence of an identifying link. This situation usually leads to a process of linguistic shift, to a restriction of one's own language to a reduced number of social situations, and to the final displacement of the subdued language. It is obvious that anthroponyms are linguistic elements to be taken into account in the social history of a language.

The historical-linguistic context

In the past, Elx was the second most important city, after Oriola, of the old Oriola Government in the Kingdom of Valencia. This government was configurated at the beginning of the 14th century, with borders determined by two historical lines. The first, the Biar-Busot line, separating, since the Treaty of Almirra of 1244, the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. This frontier was later moved southward, in the Treaty of Torrelles from 1304, separating Murcia and Cartagena from the city of Oriola. This second line also established the definitive borders of the Kingdom of Valencia (see map).

It is worth mentioning that the question of the frontiers had remained unsettled for many years, since in Church matters the new Government of Oriola belonged to the bishopric of Cartagena until the middle of the 16th century. This anomaly had a clear justification: if the Oriola Government, as far as the ecclesiastical administration was concerned, belonged to the bishopric of Cartagena, it meant that the Castilian Crown could still control that area, even though it had been incorporated into the Kingdom of Aragon at the beginning of the 14th century. It was not until 1565 that, after much pressure and complaints from all sides, the bishopric of Oriola was formed, and Oriola became in all respects a part of the Kingdom of Valencia.

The city of Elx is the capital of the Baix Vinalopo region; region which, from a linguistic point of view, includes the towns of Crevillent, Santa Pola and Guardamar. This region forms the southern frontier of the Catalan language, since, further south, the Baix Segura region is Castilian-speaking, due to the linguistic recession which Catalan suffered there in the 17th and 18th centuries. Even though Elx belonged to the Castilian kingdom from 1244 to 1304, it was



reconquered and repopulated by King Jaume I in 1265. This historical event is well described by the protagonist of the conquest in his *Llibre dels Fets*:

E per ço com era vespre pregaren-nos los moros que tro a l'altre dia al matí que ens sofrissem, e venrien a nós tots los sarraïns de la vila, e fer-los-hiem atorgar les cartes e les convinences, e que ens rendrien la torre de Calahorre, que és lo pus fort lloc d'Elx. E nós sofrim-ho perquè ells nos en pregaven [...]. E al matí faeren les cartes, e a tèrcia hagren-nos atorgades les convinences e tot l'als e hagren-nos renduda la torre de Calahorre. E presa la torre, lleixam-hi lo bisbe de Barcelona.

The major part of the Christian population which settled in Elx was Catalan-speaking. We can deduce this from the last names of the new

settlers: Soler, Miralles, Ripoll, Tàrrega, Oliver, Cortés, Pinyol, Perpinyà, Malla etc. But we also have evidence of this settlement in the testimony of the *Crònica* written by Ramon Muntaner (ed. 1979: 42)

E així la dita ciutat de Múrcia fo presa per lo dit senyor rei en Jacme d'Aragó en lo mes de maig de l'any mil dos-cents seixanta-sis.

E con la dita hac presa, poblà-la tota de catalans, e així mateix Oriola e Elx e Alacant e Guardamar, Cartagènia e en los altres llocs.

Moreover, we also have the reference made by the 17th century historian from Elx Cristofol Sanz, who clearly identifies the language of most of the settlers who arrived after the conquest.

... el mismo rey En Jaime, hallándose en Elche en 20 de Junio 1267, aprobó dicho repartimiento y establecimiento de tierras y casas [...] Como señor absoluto de Elche ordenó lo que convenia al buen gobierno de los buenos pobladores que quedaron en esta tierra, de mucha gente lucida y linajes principales, que los más fueron catalanes, como algunos de ellos se honran diciendo haber venido con el rey En Jaime.

However, we must add that the first repopulation was neither numerous nor definitive, given all the hardships of living on the border with the Muslim kingdom of Granada and near the coast, in constant danger of being invaded by the Moors. This is why we think that in this area, and in all of the Oriola Government, there was more than one repopulation. But it seems obvious that the majority of the settlers, at whatever time they arrived, was mostly Catalan-speaking. We can prove this with the texts from R. Muntaner i C. Sanz quoted above, and the data J. Colomina compiled in 1993 from various studies made about the *Llibres de repartiment*, the Registry of land-distribution of the region.

2. ANTHROPONYMIC STUDY OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

This article studies and analyses the use of anthroponyms found in the ecclesiastical documents preserved in the archives of the parish of Santa Maria in Elx. This corpus consists of 42 documents, all written in Catalan. Included are: the sacramental books called *Quinque libri*, the minutes of the meetings of the parish board and of the *Claveria* board, the register of *Obres Pies* of the church, and correspondence and other writings of an internal nature. These documents have been published by one of the authors of this article (Mas 173-254).

The period of our analysis starts in 1565, year of the creation of the

bishopric of Oriola and of the end of the Council of Trento. The period ends in 1738, since from then onwards we can find no further documents written in Catalan. This date does not coincide with the promulgation of the Decree of the *Nova Planta*, which put an end to Catalan as language used in civil administration, because the ecclesiastical administration was kept separated from the civil one. But pressure from the civil government pushed the ecclesiastical bureaucrats to also use only Castilian in their documents.

The year 1738 coincides, more or less, with the appearance of legislation which led to the persecution and banning of Catalan, process which still continues today.

From the corpus of documents from the Basilica of Santa Maria in Elx we have extracted all the first names and last names to observe the consequences of the progressive introduction of the Castilian language in Church administration. One of the objectives of this article is to describe the level of interference Castilian had on Catalan. This influence can be analysed from two different angles: showing this interference on the internal linguistic system of each language, and, even more important, demonstrating that this contact with Castilian led to the creation of new linguistic habits in anthroponymy.

Moreover, the analysis of the names allows us to observe which names used in Catalan can be indistinctively be used also in Castilian, and which ones are preferably used in Castilian. In the latter case, we want to show which names were used in Castilian because they had been translated by Catalan-speaking people, and which ones were introduced in Elx after the arrival of Castilian-speaking immigrants. The analysis of the last names shows the origin of the settlers. We intend to analyse the last names which belong to Catalan, those which belong to Castilian, and those which have become hybrid forms through linguistic contact. Such an attribution of last names to two languages is often difficult. In doing so we used Moll's criteria.

2.1 FIRST NAMES

PRELIMINARY: EXCLUSION OF HOMONYMS

In order not to distort the quantitative analysis to be carried out in the next section, we have not included here those names which were homonyms in Catalan and Castilian. Names we have rejected can be classified as follows:

- a) Homonyms both in spelling and pronunciation: *Diana*, *Dorotea*, *Gaspar*, *Salvador*, *Tadea*, *Ventura*;

b) Homonyms which would require a written accent to know which language they belonged to: *Aurèlia*, *Fèlix*, *Maria*, *Tomà*, *Verònica*;

c) Homophones, but different spelling: *Pasqual*, *Petronil·la*;

d) Homonyms which, without phonological indices, cannot be assigned to either language: *Angela*, *Esperanza*, *Ginés*, *Isabel*, *Vicent*, *Xavièra*.

A special case are *Joan* and *Josep*, very frequent names (32 and 46 tokens), but which we have decided not to consider. *Juan* could be Castilian, or, if the letter *o* transcribes the pronunciation [u], Catalan. As for *Josep*, the latinizing spelling *Joseph* is also used in Castilian until the 18th century; we can not assign the name to a specific language. The exceptions are the cases where the name is spelt with *u* (*Juseph*), form unknown in Castilian.

Linguistic study

The conservative nature of the system of proper names does not allow for much linguistic variation. At the most, we can show that quite frequently the Latin name is used alongside the name in Catalan or Castilian (*Jacobus/Jaume*, *Didacus/Diego*). This conservative influence of Latin also explains variant forms such as *Phelip/Felip*, *Berthomeu/Bertomeu*, *Joseph/Josep*, *Hieroní/Geroni* etc. A marginal case is the nickname *Xotxim*, derivative and dialectal form found together with the standard form *Joaquim*. The infrequent linguistic variations which we find in our corpus can be summarized as follows:

a) Orthographic vacillations, normally due to interferences from Latin (see above) or from Castilian (e.g. *Blay* and *Melchor*).

b) Vocalic vacillations, phenomenon observed also in the general language in this area. Thus we find the names *Agostí* or *Lloís* with [o] instead of [u], or the name *Augènia* (maybe a case of dissimilation). The same seems to have happened also with the names *Lleonor* and *Bartomeu*.

c) Spelling of alveolar phonemes. These graphemes present a greater number of variations, both in the common lexicon of the language and in proper names. Thus, the phonetic interference between the Castilian interdental phoneme and the soundless alveolar in Catalan influenced the spelling of names such as *Beatris*. Also, the graphic possibility of

representing this Catalan phoneme justified the appearance of variant spellings such as *Alonço*, *Françés/Fransés*. The same happened with the names *Masià* and *Visent*.

d) Initial L-. We could also consider the treatment of initial l- as a case of orthographic interference, since we can observe the palatalization of the Castilian name *Leonor* in the form *Lleonor*, but also the depalatalization of the Catalan form *Lloís*, which resulted in *Lois*.

Proposal for a classification of the first names

Every substitution process needs time. The evolution forms a continuum from total monolingualism to the exclusive use of the new language. We could distribute our corpus of names in three groups reflecting this substitution process:

a) First group: fully Catalan names. We include here names found in the New Testament, such as the names of the apostles *Pere*, *Joan*, *Tomàs*, *Marc*, *Mateu*, *Jaume*, *Pau*, etc., and names with a strong tradition in Catalan culture: *Jordi*, *Vicent*, *Antoni*, *Berenguer*, *Josep*, *Nicolau* etc.

b) Second group: names which we were able to find both in Catalan and in Castilian. We include names which appear in both cultures, representing a shared cultural background. The majority are names of well-known Catholic saints, such as *Francesc*, *Antoni*, *Carles*, *Gregori*, *Lluís*, *Martí* etc.

c) Third group: names found only in Castilian. Here we have found it necessary to form two sub-groups in order to distinguish between, on the one hand, names used in Castilian which can also be found in Catalan since they come from third languages, especially from medieval German, such as *Bernardino*, *Eduardo*, *Fernando*, *Marcelo*, *Ricardo* etc., and, on the other hand, those names which appear in Castilian and have no tradition in Catalan culture. In this group we find names of saints of special Castilian devotion, such as *Domiciano*, *Hilarión*, *Laureano*, *Marceliano*, *Maximiano*, *Nolasco* etc. On many occasions this division responds to two sociolinguistic facts. In the first sub-group we find names we assume to have been translated into Castilian by Catalan-speaking persons for reasons of social prestige (names of high-ranking clergy and administrators); in the second sub-group we find Castilian names as a result of some new settlers having often been socially important people immigrating to Elx from

Castilian-speaking zones; their names were unknown in the Catalan anthroponymic tradition.

1. NAMES IN CATALAN (154)	2. NAMES BOTH LANGUAGES (203)	3. NAMES IN CASTILIAN (67)
Agostí (2)	Andreu (13)/Andrés (1)	3.1 Benito (2)
Augènia (1)	Antoni (16)/Antonio (1)	Bernardino (1)
Batiste (3)	Beatriu (6)/Beatris (1)	Catalina (2)
Berenguer (2)	Carles (1)/Carlos (7)	Diego (16)
Bernat (5)	Dionís (1)/Dionisio (1)	Domingo (1)
Bertomeu (6)	Felip (2)/Felip (1)	Eduardo (1)
Blay (3)	Francesc (34)/Francisco (6)	Ferrando (1)
Bonaventura (4)	Gregori (16)/Gregorio (1)	Ignacio (3)
Damià (1)	Lluís (21)/Luis (3)	Isidro (2)
Esteve (7)	Martí (6)/Martín (2)	Julián (1)
Febyà (1)	Melcior (5)/Melchor (6)	Leonor (5)
Geroni (19)	Miquel (7)/Miguel (5)	Marçelo (1)
Gironí (2)	Pere (34)/Pedro (6)	Margarita (2)
Guiomar (1)		Mariano (1)
Honorat (1)		Ricardo (1)
Jaume (22)		Severino (1)
Joachim (6)		
Jordi (1)		3.2
Josep (29)		Alonso (4)
Llorens (3)		Amadeo (1)
Macià (6)		Claudio (2)
March (1)		Domiciano (3)
Matheu (1)		Feliz (2)
Montserrat (1)		Hilarión (1)
Nicolau (7)		Laureano (1)
Pau (8)		Lope (5)
Roch (2)		Marceliano (1)
Sebastià (2)		Maximiano (2)
Simó (1)		Nolasco (1)
Vicent (7)		Rodrigo (2)
Violant (1)		Sancha (1)

TABLE 1. Names found in our documents, classified according to the established categories. (In parentheses, number of times they appear.)

Quantitative study

The number of names found in our corpus is 734, of which we excluded 310 which have homonyms in the other language. The other 424 were used for the classification above. Now we intend a quantitative analysis of these names in order to have a better understanding of the process of linguistic substitution in Elx.

First we find that, of the total number of 424 names studied, 316 appear in Catalan, that is 75 percent. In Castilian there are 105 occurrences, the other 25 percent. We can see that Catalan proper names are still more common. Dividing the numbers into three groups, we see that in the first—names only in Catalan—there are 154 occurrences, or 36 percent. The second group is formed by a total of 203 occurrences, of which 162, 80 percent of this group, are occurrences of names found in Catalan, whereas 41 cases, 20 percent, represent Castilian. In the third group we have a total of 67, which represent 16 percent of the total. However, we have to point out that 41 of these cases are included in the first sub-group, where the most names belong to Catalan-speaking people who have translated their name into Castilian, for various reasons; whereas in the second sub-group we have found 26 cases of names not traditional in Catalan culture, introduced by immigrants from Spanish-speaking regions.

Taking a chronological perspective, we can observe the frequency of introduction of Castilian names into our corpus. If we divide our period of study into three parts, we have a first period comprising the years 1565-1622; the second includes the years 1623-1680, the third the years 1681-1738. In the first period we see that from a total of 112 occurrences, 95, or 85 percent, are names which appear in Catalan, whereas 17, or 15 percent, appear in Castilian. In the second period, we have a total of 166 occurrences, out of which 122, or 73 percent, are found in Catalan and the other 44, or 27 percent, in Castilian. In the third period, we find 144 names, of which 102, or 71 percent, appear in Catalan, and 42, or 29 percent, in Castilian. We see here, as was to be expected, the process of penetration into Catalan of Christian names in their Castilian form, an change which explains the increase in Castilian forms from 15 to 27 percent, to finally reach 29 percent (see fig. 1). The increase in percentage from the first to the second period, from 15 to 27 percent, is much more significant than the second change, from 27 to 29 percent. This difference can be explained considering that the changes from the 16th to the 17th century were of greater importance than the ones occurring between the 17th to the 18th century.

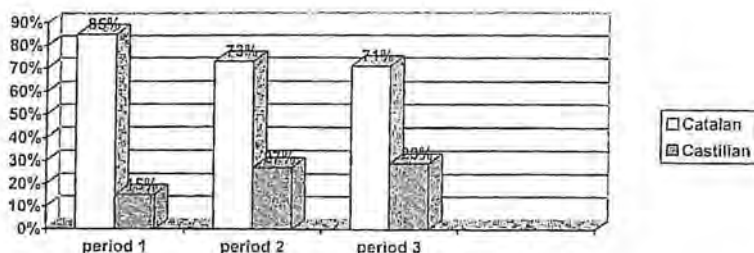


FIG. 1. Percentage of occurrences of names in each language for each period.

Our data allow us to draw the following conclusions. We found that anthroponymy undergoes, more or less, the same changes as literature, language and society in general in these two centuries, affected by the irruption of the Castilian language and culture into the region of Elx. Even though we are talking about the second half of the 16th century, in the 17th and first half of the 18th century the use of Catalan names was still very significant. The 75 percent of the occurrences of names in Catalan show, on the one hand, a still strong identification of Catalan citizens with traditional names in their own language; on the other hand, due to the same conservative trait to hold on to traditional names also on the side of Castilian immigrants, we observe an evident inertia towards the use of Catalan names.

2.2 LAST NAMES

Linguistic study

From a linguistic point of view, there are significant spelling variations among last names. While there were no official orthographic norms in those times, the conservative character of family names must have led to traditional spellings being preserved over centuries.

a) Orthographic variations led to a diversity of forms for the same family name, for instance: *Bayle*, *Billena*, *Gaytán*, *Hirles/Irles*, *Perpinià/Perpinyà/Perpiñà*, *Esclapes/Esclapez/Sclapes*, *Sogorp* etc.

b) As with first names, we find most variations in the spelling of alveolar and interdental phonemes. This can be seen in the following cases:

— Probably wishing to represent the Castilian interdental, Catalan names traditionally spelled with *s* were transcribed with *c* or *z*: *Cempere, Cerra, Ceva, Esclapez, Maz*;

— The opposite case was to turn the Castilian interdental into a Catalan alveolar: *Dies, Ferrandes, Gonçalves, Llopes, Martines, Ortis, Peres, Rodrigues* etc.;

— The third case of variation represents an internal orthographic change in Catalan: *Arasil/Aracil, Caracena/Caraçena, Macià/Maçià/Masià, Mesa/Messa* etc.

c) Variations in spelling of alveolar and interdental phonemes also explain the adaptation of some Castilian family names by Catalan, such as: *Gomis, Peris, Sanchis* etc.

d) A characteristic of family names is the possibility of adding a feminine morpheme, usually in order to refer to a woman with her husband's name. In our corpus we find forms like *Aguilara, Mingota, Ortisa*.

Quantitative study

In the case of family names we have decided to classify them in four groups in order to be able to offer a better sociolinguistic analysis afterwards.

1. In the first group we have included all the family names we have judged to belong to Catalan (number of occurrences in parentheses);
2. In the second group, we have gathered the Catalan family names which, due to the influence of Castilian, have adopted a hybrid form;
3. In the third group, like in the previous one, we have included the Castilian family names, because in this case the interference from Catalan has made them take a hybrid form;
4. In the fourth group, like in the first one, we have included family names which belong only to Castilian.

1. CATALAN	2. CAT.>CAST.	3. CAST.>CAT.	4. CASTILIAN
Abat (2)	Esclapez (2)	Dies (3)	Álamo (4)
Adsuar (2)	Ferrero (1)	Ferrandes (7)	Alenda (1)
Agna (1)	Roiz (5)	Ferrandis (1)	Alvado (1)
Aguilara (1)		Gomis (2)	Amerio (1)
Agulló (4)		Gonçales (3)	Antón (3) ?
Alisent (1)?		Gonzalbes (1)	Aznar (2)
Amorós (3)		Llinares (1)	Bayle (3)
Anglés (1)		Llopes (3)	Billena (1)
Aparici (1)		Lopis (1)	Blasco (1)
Aracil (2)		Martines (7)	Bola (1) ?
Balaguer (8)		Melendes (2)	Busaldona (1) ?
Belda (2)		Ortis (10)	Calbo (1)
Bernat (1)		Peres (5)	Cano (2)
Blaví (1)		Peris (1)	Caraçera (1)
Boix (1)		Rodrigues (1)	Caro (13)
Bonmatí (1)		Roís (9)	Chinchilla (1)
Bosch (1)		Sanches (3)	Dancano (1)?
Botella (2)		Sanchis (1)	Estevan (1)
Brotons (2)		Ximenes (3)	Fajardo (1)
Bru (1)			Fernández (1)
Brufal (4)			Ferrández (1)
Campello (1)			Ferrón (1)
Canals (1)			Fresneda (1)
Carbonell (4)			Gaitán (3)
Cardona (1)			Galiano (1)
Casablanca (1)			Galindo (1)
Cascales (1)			Gascón (1)
Castell (2)			Gaytán (5)
Claramunt (1)			Gonçález (1)
Corbí (1)			Guevara (1)
Cornellà (1)			Ledesma (1)
Coves (2)			Lisana (1)
Cuquillà (1)			Llanos (8)
Domènech (1)			Mahón (2)
Esclapés (23)			Marco (4)
Esplà (1)			Martínez (8)
Esteve (2)			Mazón (2)
Fauquet (3)			Mesa (2)?
Fenoll (1)			Mínguez (1)
Fenollà (1)			Montoro (1)
Ferrer (5)			Morrado (1)
Garcés (1)			Moxica (4)?

1. CATALAN	2. CAT.>CAST.	3. CAST.>CAT.	4. CASTILIAN
Garcia (5)?			Muñoz (1)
Garrigós (1)			Navarro (2)
Gil (6)?			Ortiz (8)
Gorut (1)			Paravecino (1)
Gregori (1)			Pérez (7)
Gros (1)			Pinedo (1)
Guilabert (4)			Pusaco (1)?
Guilló (2)			Rabades (3)
Irls/Hirles (5)			Ríos (1)
Ivarra (2)			Riquelme (1)
Jabaloyes (1)			Robles (2)
Joan (3)			Rodrigo (1)
Lladró (1)			Rodríguez (1)
Lliminyana (1)			Ruiz (11)
Llofriu (2)			Román (1)
Llorca (1)			Rovino (1)
Lloressa (1)			Salomón (1)
Lloret (1)			Sánchez (6)
Macià (7)			Sansano (5)
Malla (20)			Santa Cruz (1)
Mansip (1)			Sensio (1)
Marqués (1)			Sepulcre (6)
Mas (2)			Serrano (1)
Mateu (4)			Siles (1)
Mena (3)?			Solano (1)
Mingot (2)			Soria (1)
Mira (1)			Uberna (7)
Miralles (11)			Vado (1)
Móra (2)			Vaello (5)
Morell (1)			Villa (1)
Nàger (1)			Ymperial (3)
Noguera (1)			Ximénez (1)
Olivar (1)			
Oliver (8)			
Orts (1)			
Parres (2)			
Pasqual (4)			
Pastor (5)			
Penalva (4)			
Perpinyà (17)			
Pitarch (2)			
Pomares (17)			

1. CATALAN 2. CAT.>CAST. 3. CAST.>CAT. 4. CASTILIAN

Quirant (10)
 Ribera (1)
 Ripoll (2)
 Rocafull (1)
 Safra (1)?
 Sala (7)
 Sans (3)
 Santacília (17)
 Sapata (1)
 Saragosa (1)
 Sarrió (7)
 Segarra (2)
 Sellés (1)
 Sempere (19)
 Serdà (1)
 Serra (2)
 Seva (4)
 Silvestre (1)
 Sirvent (1)
 Sogorp (1)
 Soler (9)
 Tarí (3)
 Tàrrega (3)
 Torres (1)
 Valero (13)
 Vich (2)

TABLE 2. Classification of the family names according to the established categories. (In parentheses, number of occurrences.)

Proceeding to a quantitative analysis, we can easily observe that the group with the largest number is the one formed by the family names of Catalan origin. Of a total of 609 occurrences, we could include in the first group 360 (or 59 percent); the second group is hardly represented at all, since the 8 occurrences found represent just 1 percent; in the third group there are a total of 64 family names (or 10 percent), whereas in the fourth and last group we have a total of 177 occurrences (or 28 percent).

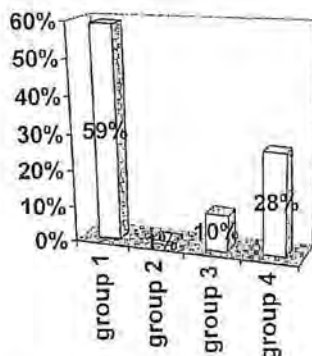


FIG. 2. Percentage of occurrences of family names by group.

The first conclusion we can draw from this quantitative analysis is that there is a greater percentage of Catalan family names than of Castilian ones. This reflects the obvious historical and linguistic fact that the majority of the settlers of Elx were of Catalan origin and that they preserved their traditional family names for centuries.

A second conclusion, no less important, touches on a linguistic aspect. If we analyse groups 2 and 3 of our classification, we observe how the interferences, both in number of family names and in occurrences (types and tokens), is much more significant in the third group. This might make us think that in the past, as far as anthroponymy is concerned, it was the Catalan language which interfered with Castilian. If we were to give a sociolinguistic interpretation, we could say that Catalan was still the dominant language, above Castilian, which at the time was just starting to be introduced and was still used only in few domains. This situation would be the opposite of the one J. Colomina observed in the region of Murcia, where Castilian was already the dominant language when Catalan settlers arrived; Catalan was the language which suffered more interferences.

CONCLUSIONS

In our final analysis we want to reemphasize the difference between proper names and family names. The former serve as an identifying link between a person, his name and his language; the latter represent a different kind of link. One might say that family names represent the familiar link, since we inherit our family name from our parents

whatever the language, without the possibility, at least in those times, to translate or change it.

In spite of this, it surprises that in our corpus both kinds of names, first names and family names, have similar frequencies in Catalan. 75 percent of the occurrences of first names appear in Catalan, and 60 percent of the occurrences of family names also come from this language.

The onset of linguistic substitution from Catalan to Castilian in first names might have been imperceptible, but the process was unstoppable. The displacement of Catalan proper names by their Castilian equivalents, in addition to the introduction of new foreign ones, show us the changed sociolinguistic situation. Two factors determine the Catalan anthroponymic scenario in modern Elx: the strong pressure on Catalan-speaking people to use Castilian also for their first names, and the arrival of few, but socially important, Castilian-speaking immigrants.

Consequently, we can observe, first, the appearance of names translated into Castilian, and then the acceptance of Castilian names which have no tradition in the autochthonous tradition. The introduction of these names signals the beginning of a new phase of linguistic contact, leading soon to linguistic conflicts in the field of anthroponymy. The displacement of Catalan names by Castilian names is an evolutionary process which seems to reach its climax in the second half of the 20th century, when most citizens were forced to register their first names in Castilian only. On the other hand, the alternative use of the name of a Catalan-speaking person in one or the other language (following the spoken-written dichotomy) marks a recent linguistic situation which is, to say the least, anomalous. This result of sociolinguistic pressure reflects common modern linguistic prejudices, in addition to the change of bureaucratic rules which now require first names to be registered in Castilian.

It has to be kept in mind that our conclusions are restricted to the ecclesiastical administrative domain of the city of Elx. The names used in our corpus belong mostly to the higher social classes, the members of the clergy and the people they had dealings with. We have to ask ourselves if our conclusions would be different had we included in our corpus also lower classes, whose names appear in civil and judicial documents. Would we discover that Elx had evolved just like other cities in the Government of Oriola, such as Novelda, Monòver, Crevillent, etc., where the use of Catalan has persisted until today? Or would Elx remind us rather of cities like Elda, Oriola, or Asp where Catalan has been displaced? These questions will be answered in another article.

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APÈNDIX 1

Agostí	Febyà	Macià, Masià
Alonso, Alonço	Felip, Felipe, Phelip	Marçelo
Amadeo	Felis, Feliz	March
Andrés, Andreu	Francés, Françés,	Margarita
Antoni, Antonio	Francesca,	Mariano
Augenia	Francisco,	Marseliano
Barthomeu, Bertho-	Fransés	Martí, Martín
meu	Geroni, Gerònima,	Matheu
Batiste	Hieroní,	Maximiano
Beatris, Beatriu,	Hierònima	Melchior, Melchor
Betriu	Gironí, Gironina	Miguel, Miquel
Benito	Gregori, Gregorio	Montserrat
Berenguer	Guomar	Nicolau
Bernat	Hilarión	Nolasco
Blay	Honorat	Pau
Carles, Carlos	Ignacio, Ignacia	Pedro, Pere
Chochim, Joachím	Isidro	Ricardo
Claudio	Jaume	Roch, Roca
Damià	Jordi	Rodrigo
Diana	Jusepa, Juseph	Sancha
Diego	Laureano	Sebastià
Dionísio, Donís	Leonor, Lleonor	Severino
Domiciano	Lloís, Lloïsa, Lois,	Simó
Domingo	Lluís, Luis, Luisa	Vicent, Visent
Eduardo	Lope, Llope	Violant
Esteve	Llorens	

APÈNDIX 2

Abat	Aparici	Botella
Adsuar	Arasil	Brotons
Agna	Aznar	Bru
Aguilara	Balaguer	Brufal
Agulló	Bayle	Busaldona
Álamo	Belda	Calbo
Alenda	Bernat	Campello
Alisent	Billena	Canals
Alvado	Blasco	Cano
Amerio*	Blavi	Caràçena
Amorós	Boix	Carbonell
Anglés	Bonmatí	Cardona
Antón	Bosch	Caro

Casablanca	Guilló	Parres
Cascales	Irles, Hirles	Pasqual
Castell	Ivarra	Pastor
Chinchilla	Javaloyes	Penalva
Claramunt	Joan	Peres, Pérez
Corbí	Ledesma	Perpinia, Perpinian,
Coves	Lliminyana	Perpinyà,
Coquillà	Linares	Perpiñà
Dancano	Llofriu	Pinedo
Dario	Llopes, López, Lopis	Pitarch
Dies	Llorca	Pomares
Domènech	Lloressa	Pusaco
Esclapés, Esclapez,	Lloret	Quira
Sclapés	Macià, Maçià, Masià	Rabades
Espla	Mahón	Ribera
Estevan,	Malla	Ríos
Esteve	Mansip	Ripoll
Fajardo	Marcho, Marco	Riquelme
Fauquet	Marqués	Robles
Fenoll	Martí	Rocafull
Fenollà	Martines, Martínez	Rodrigo
Fernández,	Mas, Maz	Rodrigues Rodríguez
Fernandes	Mateu	Roís, Roíz, Ruis,
Ferrer, Ferrero	Mazón	Ruiz
Ferrón	Melendes	Roman
Fresneda	Mena	Rovira
Gaitán	Messa, Mesa	Safra
Galiano	Mingot, Mingota	Sala
Galindo	Mínguez	Salomón
Garcés	Mira	Sanches, Sánchez
Garcia	Miralles	Sans
Garrigós	Montono	Sansano
Gascón	Móra	Santa Cruz
Gaytan, Gaytana	Morell	Santacília, Sentacília
Gil	Morrado	Sapata
Gomis	Moxica	Saragosa
Goncales, Gonçalves,	Munoz	Sarrió
González,	Nàger	Sellés
Gonzalbes	Navarro	Sempere, Cempere
Gorut	Noguera	Sensio
Gregori	Oliver	Sepulcre
Gros	Ortiz, Ortis, Ortisa	Serdà
Guevara	Orts	Serra, Cerra
Guilabert	Paravecino	Seva, Ceva

Siles, Silvestre
Sirvent
Sogorp
Solano
Soler
Soria

Tarí
Tàrrega
Torres
Uberna, Uverna
Vado
Vaello

Valero
Vayllo
Vich
Vila
Ximénez
Ymperial