

THE DISTRIBUTION OF INTERMORPHS  
IN SOME CHARACTERISTIC SETS  
OF POLISH DETOPONYMICAL DERIVATIVES <sup>1)</sup>

1. In a derivational set consisting of a toponym, T, (*Łódź*), a detoponymical adjective, A, (*łódzki*), a feminine catoeconym <sup>2)</sup>, F, (*łodzianka*) and a masculine catoeconym, M, (*łodzianin*) the toponym will be considered the base word. The three others will be co-ordinated.

2. The detoponymical adjectives are formed by means of the suffix *-sk*, except for a few cases such as *Nil:nilowy*, *Orient:orientalny* and *Wisła:wiślany*. The feminine catoeconyms are characterized by the suffix *-k*. Among the masculine catoecon-

- 1) The material for this study has been taken from *Słownik poprawnej polszczyzny*, Warszawa 1973 (here abbreviated SPP), edited by W. Doroszewski and H. Kurkowska.

Except for some occasional cases, no words provided in the SPP with labels (colloquial, obsolete, rare etc.) will be discussed in this study.

"Intermorph", Polish *intermorf*, is used here according to Krystyna Kowalik's definition of this term in her book *Budowa morfologiczna przymiotników polskich*, Wrocław - Warszawa - Kraków - Gdańsk 1977, p. 9: "segment występujący w wyrazie między podstawą słowotwórczą a końcowym niefleksyjnym morfem sufiksalnym".

The term "derivation" is used in the sense of 'motivation' throughout the paper.

- 2) The term "catoeconym" is used by me as a general designation for 'inhabitant' without regard to ethnic status. Its meaning is thus broader than that of "ethnonym". The definition of *katojkonim*, found in N. V. Podol'skaja, *Słovar' ruskoj onomastičeskoj terminologii*, Moskva 1978, is: "Nomen dlja oboznačenija žitelej po nazvaniju mesta žitel'stva (ottoponimičeskoe obrazovanie)". In the same book *étnonim* is defined as "Nomen [...] dlja oboznačenija ljubogo étnosa (etničeskoj grupy, plemeni, naroda, nacional'nosti i t.d.)". Podol'skaja also gives a term *topoétnonim* with the following definition: "Étnonim, obrazovan ot toponima".

For practical reasons all catoeconyms are written with small letters in this study. Cf., with normal Polish orthographical principles, *Meksykanin* 'inhabitant of Mexico (the country)', and *meksykanin* 'inhabitant of Mexico City'.

nyms, however, various suffixes are to be found. Most of them occur with one toponymical stem only, e.g. *-ik* (*Anglia: anglik*) and *-uz* (*Francja: francuz*). Apart from these two examples, a list of this type of masculine catoconyms includes *-ch* (*Wołoszczyszna: wołoch*), *-uk* (*Polesie: poleszuk*), *-sk* (*Etruria: etrusk*), *-al* (*Kamczatka: kamczadal*), *-en* (*Helada: hellen*), *-er* (*Holandia: holender*), *-ysz* (*Łotwa: łotysz*) and *-at-A*<sup>3)</sup> (*Azja: azjata*). *-us* has been found in two cases, *India: hindus* and *Kraków* or *Krakowskie: krakus*, the latter being indicated as 'jocular' by the SPP.

The remaining M-suffixes could in respect of numbers be arranged as follows:

*-an-in* and *-czyk*, both occurring in hundreds of cases (*Praga: prażanin*, *Londyn: londyńczyk*), *-ø-ø*, some 60, (*Norwegia: norweg*), *-ak*, some 25, (*Austria: austriak*), *-ø-A*, about 10, (*Beocja: beota*), *-ec*, less than 10, (*Słowenia: słoweniec*) and *-in*, about 5 cases, (*Gruzja: gruzin*).

Some M-suffixes are to various extents homonymous with the intermorphs of the feminine catoconyms and the adjectives of the same derivative set. Cf. *-er(-)* in *holender*, *holenderka* and *holenderski*. This type of intermorphs, the purpose of which is, so to speak, to tie together derivatives with the same base word, should be distinguished from such intermorphs as make it morphonotactically possible to join a base with a suffix, e.g. *-ij-* in *kongijski*, *kongijka* and *kongijczyk* (from *Kongo*).

3. Segments, which comprise M-suffixes as well as intermorphs in one and the same set of derivatives, can be classified in the following manner:

- 1) intermorphs in both A and F,
- 2) intermorphs in F, but never in A and
- 3) intermorphs occurring either only in F or in both A and F.

- 
- 3) Capital *-A* denotes that this M-suffix is combined with a flexional suffix *-a* in the nominative singular.

In order to distinguish the two zero suffixes below from each other the flexional suffixes in the nominative singular have been given in these cases. Ex.: *-ø-A* (*Aleuty: aleuta*) and *-ø-ø* (*Mazury: mazur*).

1) is represented by *-en-* (*Hellada* : *hellen/helleński, hellenka*), *-er-* (*Holandia* : *holender/holenderski, holenderka*), *-us-* (*India* : *hindus/hinduski, hinduska*), *-uz-* (*Francja* : *francuz/francuski, francuzka*) and *-at-* - the adjective being extended with one additional intermorph - (*Azja* : *azjata/azjatycki, azjatka*).

2) is represented by *-al-* (*Kamczatka* : *kamczadal/kamczacki, kamczadalka*), *-uk-* (*Polesie* : *poleszuk/poleski, poleszuczka*), *-ysz-* (*Łotwa* : *łotysz/łotewski, łotyszka*), *-ch-* and *-sk-* in the questionable cases *Wołoszczyzna* : *wołoch/wołoski, wołoszka* and *Etruria* : *etrusk/etruski, etruska*. These last two examples might just as well belong to the preceding category, depending on whether *wołoski* and *etruski* are analyzed as a base *woło-* and a base *etru-* joined directly with the suffix *-sk* - as here under 2) - or as the same bases joined with the suffix through the intermorphs *-ch-* and *-sk-* - as under 1) above. As we know, the segments *ch* and *sk* must be truncated when they occur immediately before the suffix *-sk*.

3) concerns the segments *-an-* (combined with a suffix *-in* in the singular, *-an-in*, which is most frequent in masculine catoeconyms), *-in-* and *-ak-*. As intermorphs they are included as part either of the feminine catoeconyms alone or of both the feminine catoeconyms and the adjectives. *Austria* has the derivative set *austriak/austriacki, austriaczka*, whereas from *Kociewie* are derived *kociwiak/kociewski, kociewiaczka* with no segment *-ak-* in the adjective. *Bośnia* and *Komi* belong to the *Austria* type, whereas *Śląsk*, *Syberia* and *Warmia* have the same pattern as *Kociewie*, apart from the fact that the adjective of *Warmia*, *warmiński*, contains an intermorph *-in-*.

The examples of the segment *-in-*, which functions as an M-suffix or an A-, F-intermorph, can be divided into two categories. One, in which this segment occurs in all three derivatives, has only one representative (*Gruzja* : *gruzin/gruziński, gruzinka*), the other, consequently taking the segment only in the catoeconyms, comprises *Białoruś*, *Litwa*, *Ruś* and *Żmudź*, thus: *Żmudź* : *żmudzin/żmudzki, żmudzinka*.

The segment *-an-*, which in its capacity as an M-suffix is predominant in derivatives from Polish place-names, occurs in some 50 derivatives from non-Polish toponyms. About 20 of them, however, refer to places within the Slavonic-speaking area. The feminine counterparts of masculine catonymy in *-an-in* contain without exception the intermorph *-an-*, e.g. *warszawianin - warszawianka*. As for the adjective, the distribution of *-an-* is more complicated. In most cases the adjectival derivatives, corresponding to catonymical ones in *-an-in* and *-an-k*, have not been formed by means of an intermorph *-an-*. The examples in which the adjective also contains this *-an-* should be split up into cases with Polish, or perhaps even Slavonic, toponyms (*Radomsko : radomszczanin/radomszczański, radomszczanka*) and others (*Afryka : afrykanin/afrykański, afrykanka*). Concerning the derivatives from Slavonic toponyms, there seems to be no reason whatever to see a relation between the intermorph *-an-* of the adjective and the M-suffix and F-intermorph respectively, since an overwhelming majority of the Slavonic catonyms in *-an-in* and *-an-k* do not correspond to adjectives with *-an-*. Cf. *krakowianin, prażanin, kijowianin*, but *krakowski, praski, kijowski*. As regards the *Afryka* case, we can state that about 10 of some 30 non-Slavonic *-an-in* catonyms have adjectival counterparts containing the intermorph *-an-*. 6 of these end in *-ik(a)/-yk(a)*. We thus get e.g. the set *Kostaryka : kostarykanin/kostarykański, kostarykanka*, but *Tuluza : tuluzanin/tuluski, tuluzanka*.

4. The remaining M-suffixes are *-czyk, -ec, -ik, -ø-ø* and *-ø-A*. There are no homonymous intermorphical counterparts of *-czyk, -ec* and *-ik* in the same set of derivatives. This is exemplified by *Sztokholm : sztokholmczyk/sztokholmski, sztokholmka, Ukraina : ukrainiec/ukraiński, ukrainka* and *Anglia : anglik/angielski, angelka*.

As *-ø-ø* and *-ø-A* are not realized on the surface level,

it would be advisable not to presuppose that a segment  $-\emptyset-$  can occur as an intermorph in the same set of derivatives as the two catoeconymical zero suffixes. It is therefore convenient to classify these two suffixes together with  $-czyk$ ,  $-ec$  and  $-ik$ . Ex.: *Węgry* : *węgier/węgierski*, *węgierka* and *Beocja* : *beota/beocki*, *beotka*.

The suffix  $-ak$  in the case of *Polska* : *polak/polski*, *polka* belongs here, whereas in other examples it comes under section 3 above.

5. After the study of the relation between M-suffixes and possible A- and F-intermorphs, homonymous with these suffixes, some types of derivational sets, in which common non-base segments can function only as intermorphs (I), will be presented here.

T: (I)AFM. Ex.: *Biafra* : *biafrański*, *biafranka*, *biafrańczyk*, *Cypr* : *cypryjski*, *cypryjka*, *cypryjczyk*, *Europa* : *europański*, *europańska*, *europańczyk*, *Haiti* : *haitański*, *haitanka*, *haitańczyk* and *Włochy* (district of Warsaw) : *włochowski*, *włochowianka*, *włochowianin*.

T: A, (I)FM. Ex.: *Irak* : *iracki/irakijka*, *irakijczyk*, *Laos* : *laoski/laosyjka*, *laosyjczyk*, *Miastko* : *miastecki/miastkowianka*, *miastkowianin*, *Moskwa* : *moskiewski/moskwiczanka*, *moskwiczaniec*, and *Tychy* : *tyski/tychowianka*, *tychowianin*.

T: M, (I)AF. Ex.: *Joruba* : *joruba/jorubijski*, *jorubijka* and *Powisłe* : *powiślak/powiślański*, *powiślanka*, with merely these two examples.

T: AM, (I)F. Ex.: *Berlin* : *berliński*, *berlińczyk/berlinianka*, *Fryburg* : *fryburski*, *fryburczyk/fryburżanka* and another 4, all having feminine catoeconyms with the intermorph  $-an-$ .

T: FM, (I)A. Ex.: *Chełmża* : *chełmżanka*, *chełmżaniec/chełmżyński*, *Kolno* : *kolnianka*, *kolnianin/kolneński*, *Mazowsze* : *mazowszanka*, *mazowszaniec/mazowiecki*.

No examples of either T : F, (I)AM or T : AF, (I)M have been found in the material in question.

As regards the frequent M-suffixes  $-an-in$  and  $-czyk$ , it is

worth noticing that masculine catoeconyms in *-czyk*, containing intermorphs, are included first and foremost in the structure T : (I)AFM, whereas T : FM, (I)A comprises catoeconyms in *-an-in*. At least one *-an-in* catoeconym, *włochowianin* (from *Włochy*, district of Warsaw) belongs, however, to the former category, T : (I)AFM.

6. In addition to the study just presented observations should be made both on morphonotactical causes for the use of intermorphs and on phonetic (and maybe to a certain degree semantic) criteria in the toponym that determine which intermorph should be used.

#### DISCUSSION

In the discussion participated: R. Laskowski, Ľ. Ďurovič, R. Grzegorzyczkowa.

The following questions were discussed:

- a) binarity or polydirectionality of the derivation, especially the question whether the toponym is to be considered the point of departure for all the three derivatives;
- b) the morphonological conditions of the derivation and requirements on their description. (e)