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ADJECTIVAL VS. NOMINAL: SURNAMES WITH AMBIGUOUS DECLENSION PARADIGM IN THE POLISH ONYMY

The gender-marked *-ski* or *-cki*/*-dzki* ending surnames of adjectival origin are usually perceived, especially by foreigners, as the archetypal Polish surname type. Yet there also exists a numerically modest surname category, which includes such names as *Załuska* or *Nędzka*, and which was admittedly overlooked by prof. Kazimierz Rymut in his seminal surname dictionary *Słownik nazwisk współcześnie w Polsce używanych* (1992–94). This type is characterised by a mixed declension: some part of the name bearers decline their surname within the adjectival paradigm (with the masculine form *Załuski*, *Nędzki*, and the respective feminine form *Załuska*, *Nędzka*), while others – within the nominal paradigm (featuring the same form *Załuska*, *Nędzka* for both genders, with identical declension). The present paper seeks to answer several questions connected with this surname type: how many such surnames of this kind there are in current use in Poland, how they differ in the degree of their nominality, and – where possible – also to outline their etymology, which might help decide which form, adjectival or nominal, may have been historically first.

Key words
Polish surnames; *-ski*-surnames; adjectival declension; nominal declension; surname declension

Introduction

Surnames ending with *-ski* or *-cki*/*-dzki* are every common in Poland, to the extent that they became symbolic of Polish surnames in general. This corresponds to the fact that among the thousand most frequent surnames in current use in Poland (as of the year 2000, cf. Zawadzki, 2001) they jointly constitute 35.6%, of which *-ski* surnames account for 27.6%, *-cki* surnames for 7.6% and *-dzki* surnames – for the remaining 0.4% (the author's own calculation).[1] They follow the adjectival declension and similarly to adjectives in Polish, they are in principle gender-marked. This means that men bear the form ending with *-ski* or *-cki*/*-dzki* (e.g. *Kowalski*, *Słowacki*, *Rudzki*) whereas their feminine version ends with *-ska* or *-cka*/*-dzka* (*Kowalska*, *Słowacka*, *Rudzka* respectively). Among the top thousand

[1] A rough estimate based on the calculation of the number of masculine surnames in the group beginning with letters A-K allows to set the ratio of *-ski*/*-cki*/*-dzki* surnames in the entire population of Poland at about one fourth of the total. One has to remember, however, that this refers only to the number of *onyms*, not to their *bearers*, and that the actual percentage of people who bear the *-ski*/*-cki*/*-dzki* surnames is higher than one fourth of the entire population.

surnames more than a half – 62.8% – are of nominal declension, whereas under 2% is made up of a marginal set of surnames identical to common adjectives in current use or used historically (not discussed in this article, these are in principle gendered and they end with *-y* or *-i* for men and with *-a* for women, though it is also legally admissible for the latter to use the masculine form, e.g. *Trawny*, *Lekki*).

However, cutting across the above division, there exists a category of surnames with ambiguous declension: seemingly *-ski*/*-cki*/*-dzki* -ending, in fact they follow the gendered, adjectival pattern only for some percentage of their users, whereas for other bearers the *-ska*/*-cka*/*-dzka* ending is the only one for both men and women. This type includes such names as *Załuska* or *Nędzka*: there are surname bearers called *Załuski* or *Nędzki* (with women in their families called *Załuska*, *Nędzka* respectively), but on the other hand there are families where everybody's surname is in the form *Załuska* or *Nędzka* (with no *-ski*/*-cki*/*-dzki* form). Consequently, the former part of the name bearers decline their surname according to the adjectival paradigm, while the latter follow the nominal one. Interestingly, this surname category was admittedly overlooked by Professor Kazimierz Rymut in his seminal surname dictionary (Rymut, 1992–94), with the mishap amended later in the first electronic version of the dictionary (Rymut, 2003).

The present paper seeks to answer several questions connected with this surname type: how many such surnames of this kind there are in current use in contemporary Poland, what the degree of their nominality is, and – where possible – also which form, adjectival or nominal, may have been historically first.

The methods and findings

The research done for this article involved sifting manually through the amended electronic version of the surname dictionary (Rymut, 2005), which contains approximately 400 thousand individual surnames, understood as onyms at least minimally different in spelling (cf. Cieślikowa, 2008, p. 30; Wolnicz-Pawłowska, 2015, pp. 394–395). As a result, a corpus of 189 surnames that meet the above criteria has been constructed – see Appendix 1.

Naturally, some common sense has been applied in the process: if the number of surname bearers runs into thousands, an outlier in the shape of a single or double occurrence of an irregularity (such as one or two male bearers of the *-ska*/*-cka*/*-dzka* form) has been disregarded as a likely mistake in the database. Surname *Kasperski*, to take an example, has 2374 bearers of its feminine *a-* ending form: 2372 women and 2 men; I assume that the masculine bearers of the feminine form, who constitute merely 0.084% of all bearers of this surname, are a negligible database error or some irregularity due e.g. to foreign origin (and thus a foreign naming pattern in disregard of the Polish gender marking of surnames) of the person in question.

Following the identification of surnames, for each of them a ratio of their "adjectivality" (henceforth *Ra*) has been calculated by dividing the number of the bearers of their masculine *-ski*/*-cki*/*-dzki* form (*I*) by the sum of the number of both the *-ski*/*-cki*/*-dzki* (*I*) and the *-ska*/*-cka*/*-dzka* (*A*) forms:

$$Ra = \frac{I}{I + A}$$

As can be logically inferred from the above formula, the more nominal a surname, the lower its *Ra* should be. In the corpus, the lowest *Ra* value amounts to 0.001, which means in absolute numbers a ratio of merely 4 bearers of the *-ski*/*-cki*/*-dzki* form vis-à-vis as many as 3069 bearers of the *-ska*/*-cka*/*-dzka* form. In fact, ten most nominal surnames (*Brzóska*, *Wieteska*, *Wocka*, *Gonska*, *Kraska*, *Powązka*, *Haska*, *Kaska*, *Jeska*, *Janoska*) have their *Ra* in the range between 0.001 and 0.008, while for the next (i.e. 11th) surname – *Kęska* – this value has a different order of magnitude (0.011).

Conversely, the more adjectival a surname, the higher the *Ra* value. However, in contrast with the most nominal surnames (for which *Ra* approaches the limit of zero), there is no clear upper limit of *Ra* in adjectival surnames, beyond the rather obvious observation that it should not approach 1 (because that would mean no bearers of the *-a* form, i.e. no women bearing that surname). In practical terms, one must note that *I* should be on average slightly lower than *A* (which fact stems from the obvious observation that women tend to be somewhat more numerous in population than men), so *Ra* would be a little lower than 0.5. However, and rather surprisingly, as can be seen in Appendix 2, in the corpus 6 surnames have been found with $Ra > 0.5$, listed here in the order of increasing *Ra* value: *Sobacki* ($Ra = 0.504$), *Kencki* ($Ra = 0.508$), *Spicki* ($Ra = 0.516$), *Blaski* ($Ra = 0.681$), *Geski* ($Ra = 0.739$) and *Głoski* ($Ra = 0.765$). Except for the first one, they exhibit a special common characteristic – the bearers of the *-ski*/*-cki*/*-dzki* form are not only men as could be expected, but also women, and it is this fact that accounts for the unusually high value of *I*, and hence also of *Ra*. So in the case of these five surnames the confusion as to their declensional pattern appears the highest.

All these values have been depicted in Fig. 1 (for their *Ra* values see table in Appendix 2).

It must be borne in mind that the names in the corpus differ with regard to their total (i.e. *I*+*A*) frequency: from 6 bearers to nearly 8 thousand. Fig. 2 reflects this fact (on the horizontal (*x*) axis the values are presented on a logarithmic scale).

Still, without at least an attempt at an etymological analysis, the numbers as such do not provide sufficient insight into the origin of a surname, while etymologising makes it possible to subdivide the corpus into several tentative categories discussed below and exemplified by surnames from the corpus described above.

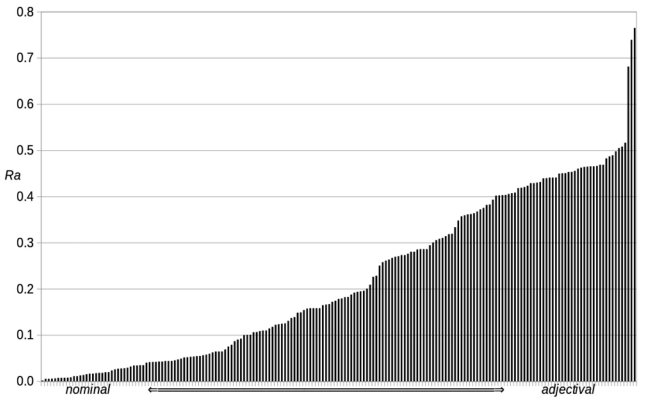

Fig. 1: Surname distribution according to *Ra* value

Surnames of Polish appellative origin

This is perhaps the most obvious source of surnames of the type discussed here (which does not have to mean that surnames of unquestionable appellative origin are the most numerous in the corpus). With time, as the appellative loses its semantic transparency, also the motivation of the appellative surname ceases to be recognisable to name users. At the same time the ending *-ska* encourages a reinterpretation of the surname pattern to fit the traditional *-ski*/*-cki*/*-dzki* surname model, originally derived from names of places owned by the name-bearer (i.e. toponymic surnames), for this reason associated with landed gentry, and declined according to adjectival declension. A case in point are the surnames *Blewąski*[2] and *Blewoński*. They go back to the dialectal appellative *blewiązka* ‘ribbon, sash, narrow tape; a slightly built person; streak, trail, narrow stretch of forest, field or meadow; a grass-like plant (Pol. *turzyca orzęsiona*, Lat. *Carex pilosa*)’, historically attested in Kashubia (Górny, 2014, p. 177; Blewąska-Żywicka, 2008). In view of the above, it is not surprising that in the onymy, also related, but purely nominal surnames *Blewązka*, *Blewonzka* and *Blewaska* can be found, which provide a historically intermediate stage on the way from the appellative to the adjectival surname.

Another such surname is *Paczoska* < appellatives *paczoska*, *pacześ* ‘tow, short-length fibres of hemp or flax obtained by combing (heckling); tow linen, linen made of these fibres’ < *czesać* ‘to comb’ (Breza, 2000, pp. 312–313). According to Breza, however, the form *Paczoski* is secondary to *Paczoska*. Interestingly, masculine forms *Paczoski* (attested 1569) and *Paczowski* can be accounted for

[2] Wherever possible without compromising clarity, the analysed surnames are given in their masculine (that is, *-i*, *-y* -ending) form.

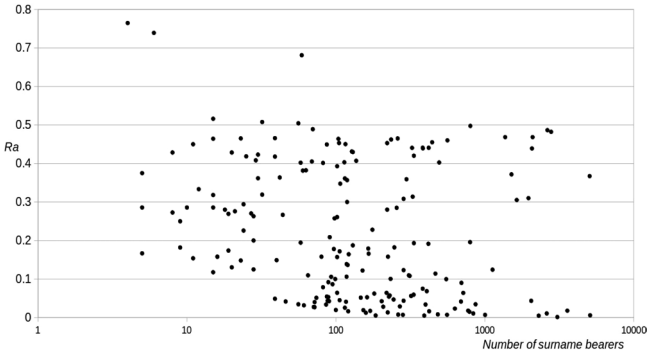

Fig. 2: *Ra* value and the number of surname bearers

by the historical toponym *Paczoski*, now *Paczuski*, a village in Sokołów county (Rymut, 2001, p. 197).

Similarly semantically opaque to a contemporary layman is the name *Gogłuska* < Old Polish appellative *gogłosa* 'a drink brewed from barley' (Rymut, 1999, p. 247), or *Czoska* – according to Breza (2000, pp. 95, 313), derived either from the appellative *czoska*, *cioska* 'a kind of small axe' (a metonymically motivated occupational name for a person whose job was to carve wood or to hew rocks), or from the appellative *czesać* 'to comb', in each case related to the job of combing flax (heckling). The surname *Pawęski* (attested 1782) and *Pawęska* (attested 1657) go back to the Old Polish appellative *pawęza* 'a kind of shield, a buckler' or the same-sounding coat of arms, *Pawęza* (Rymut, 2001, p. 218). The appellatives *brzoza*, *brzózka* 'birch tree' gave rise to the following surnames from the analysed corpus: *Bereska* (with East Slavic pleophony), *Breska*, *Brzoska*, *Brzóska*, *Brzuska*. What all these onyms have in common is a high likelihood of the chronological primacy of the *-ska* form, whereas the masculine suffix *-ski* is hypothesised to be secondary and developed by analogy to prestigious toponymic *-ski*/*-cki*/*-dzki* surnames.

The name *Blaski* is related to the Polish appellative *blask* 'brightness; shine', or Old Polish *blaski* 'grey, pale blue' (Rymut, 1999, p. 39), Brzeski – to *brzask* 'daybreak' or to toponyms such as *Brzesko* or *Brzeg*. *Chendoski*[3] and its spelling variant *Chędoski* (there are also nominal surnames *Hendoszko*, *Hendożko*, *Cheńdoszko*, *Chendoszka*, *Chendoszko*) stem from the appellative *chędogi* 'clean, beautiful, healthy' (Rymut, 1999, p. 75), *Chudaski* – from *chudy* 'thin', and *Chyski*,

[3] This spelling reflects the realisation of the nasal vowel before the stop *d* as an oral vowel followed by a nasal consonant homorganic with this stop, the phenomenon called in Polish *rozłożenie nosówki*.

Hyski[4] – from *chyży* ‘swift’. The name *Derski* is likely to have originated from the adjective *dziarski*, Old Polish *darski* ‘lively, brisk, energetic’ (Rymut, 1999, p. 168), *Płoski* from Old Polish *płoski* ‘even, flat’ (Rymut, 2001, p. 254), and *Witeski* – from the historical appellative *witeź* ‘knight, warrior; hero’ (Rymut, 2001, p. 688).

In fact, for most discussed surnames Polish appellative etymology can be hypothesised, at least as one of the options – this applies, for instance, to such surnames as *Baski* < *bas* ‘low male voice’; *Bracki* < *brat* ‘brother’; *Bycki* < *byk* ‘bull’; *Gajski* < *gaić* ‘to decorate with greenery’, *gaj* ‘thickets’ (Rymut, 1999, p. 213); *Ganski*, *Gonski*, *Guski* < *gęś*, *gąska* ‘goose’; *Gojski* < *goić* ‘to cure, to heal’, but perhaps appellative *goj* ‘non-Jew’; *Gołyski* < appellative *gołysz* ‘poor man, pauper’ (?); *Gracki* (attested 1680) < *gracki* ‘audacious, plucky; brave’, *Gracka* < *graca* ‘garden hoe’ (Rymut, 1999, p. 263); *Kolaski*, *Kołaski* < *kolas(k)a* ‘coach, carriage’; *Kuropieski* < *kuropatwa*, *kuropatka*, *kuropka* ‘partridge’; *Kurpaski* < *kurp* ‘clog; soft shoe made of straw, bast, leather, worn by peasants’; *Pomocki* < *pomocnik* ‘helper’ (Rymut, 2001, p. 276); *Przykaski* < *przykazać* ‘to tell somebody, to command somebody’ (Rymut, 2001, p. 314); *Ryska* (attested 1438), *Ryski* < *ryskać* ‘to plough carelessly’ (Rymut, 2001, p. 379); *Rzyski* (also *Rzyszka*, *Rzyśka*) < *rżysko* ‘stubble field’ (Rymut, 2001, p. 385); *Skoniecki* (attested 1636), *Skonecki* < *skonieczny* ‘final; (attributively) end; living at the boundary’ (Rymut, 2001, p. 434); *Soski* < the stem *sos*-, *szos*- (the latter lies at the root of *Szoski*) as in *sos* ‘sauce, gravy; (plant) shoot’, *soś*, *sośka* ‘pine’, *szos* ‘(historically) a town tax on houses and craftsmen’s workshops’ (Rymut, 2001, pp. 463–464); *Śliski* < *śliski* ‘greasy; slick; slippery’ (Rymut, 2001, p. 578) – but cf. *Śliżka* < *śliz* ‘a kind of fish; (historically) slime’ (Rymut, 2001, p. 579); *Trzoski* (also *Trzos*, attested 1476) < *trzos* ‘pouch (for carrying money), purse’, *Trzoska* < *trzos* or *trzaska* ‘wooden splinter; small piece of wood used as kindling’ (Rymut, 2001, p. 625), and several others.

Surnames derived from Polish personal names

This subset comprises the following surnames: *Francki* (the former attested 1566) < *Franciszek* ‘Francis’ (Rymut, 1999, p. 201); *Galoński* < *Galon* (attested 1449), *Galoń* (attested 1789) < Latin name *Gallus*, attested in Poland since the 12th c. (Rymut, 1999, p. 213) – perhaps also *Galoski* might be included here, see below; *Grzeski* < *Grzegorz* ‘Gregory’ (Rymut, 1999, p. 277); *Haroński*, *Haronski*

[4] This may be a spelling variant of *Chyska* but may also be related to surnames *Hys*, *Hysek*, *Hysik*, *Hysko*, *Hyszka*, *Hiska* < Old Polish appellative *hys*, *hysz*, *his* ‘favourable wind’ (Rymut, 1999, p. 317).

< *Haron*, *Haroń* (both attested 1497) < Biblical personal name *Aron*, *Aaron* – from Hebrew (Rymut, 1999, p. 10); *Jaski* (attested 1673), *Jaska* < names beginning with *Ja-*, such as *Jan*, *Jaczemir*, *Jaromir* (Rymut, 1999, p. 341); *Matuski* < *Matusko* < *Maciej* 'Matthew' (Rymut, 2001, p. 52); *Pietruski* – probably related to the names *Pietruszka* (attested 1398), *Pietrusa*, *Pietrusek*, all of them from the given name *Piotr* 'Peter' (Rymut, 2001, p. 242); *Tomaski* (attested 1711), *Tomaske*, *Tomasko* < given name *Tomasz* 'Thomas' (Rymut, 2001, p. 610); *Urbacki* < Latin name *Urban* (Rymut, 2001, p. 640); *Wawrzecki* < *Wawrzyniec* 'Laurence' (Rymut, 2001, p. 659); *Wocki* < *Woc* < personal names beginning with *Wo-*, e.g. *Wojciech*, *Wolimir* (Rymut, 2001, p. 692).

Several more surnames are potentially polymotivational, with a personal name as one of the possible origins: *Galoski*, *Gacki* – both from *Gallus*, see above), *Janoski* < *Jan* 'John', *Kaski* < e.g. *Kazimierz* 'Casimir', *Katarzyna* 'Catharine' (also possible appellative or toponymic origin), *Kicki* < *Kilian* (but appellative or toponymic origin cannot be ruled out), *Kryski* < e.g. *Krzysztof*, *Krysztof* 'Christopher', *Kryspin* 'Crispin', *Krystyn* 'Christian' (or appellative origin), *Lubaski* < e.g. *Lubomir* (or appellative origin), *Lucki* < e.g. *Lucjan* 'Lucian' (or German, see below), *Mącki* < e.g. *Męcimir*, *Męcisław* (or appellative), *Pachecki* < *Pach* < *Paweł* 'Paul' or *Pakosław* (or appellative), *Piecki* < *Pietr* 'Peter' (or toponymic), *Stecki* < *Stefan* 'Steven' (also possible appellative or toponymic origin), *Tacki* < e.g. *Tadeusz*, *Tatumir* (or appellative), *Zuski* (< *Zuzanna* 'Susan').

Toponymic surnames

The above-mentioned example of *Paczoski* < *Paczowski* is interesting insofar as it illustrates another aspect of some of the surnames discussed here – namely, that a few of them may be etymologised as phonetically (simplification of consonant clusters) and, consequently, orthographically modified variants of typical toponymic *-ski*/*-cki*/*-dzki* surnames: *Bielaska* < *Bielawska* < *Bielawski* (attested 1384 – Rymut, 1999, p. 35) < toponym *Bielawa*, *Bielawy*; *Deleska* < *Delewska* < *Delewski* (attested 1790 – Rymut, 1999, p. 130) < toponym *Delewo*. These examples of cluster simplification are hypothetical, but the analysed corpus contains also actually attested examples of this phenomenon: *Galoski* < *Galowski* (attested 1423) < toponyms *Galew*, *Galowo*, *Galewice* (Rymut, 1999, p. 214);[5] *Janoski* < *Janowski* (attested 1386) < toponyms *Janowice*, *Janów*, *Janówki*, many villages (Rymut, 1999, p. 335);[6] *Miroski* < *Mirowski* (attested 1469) < toponym *Mirowice*

[5] Or from Latin name *Gallus*, attested in Poland since the 12th c., as the anthroponyms *Galos* (attested 1587), or *Galosek* (attested 1595) show (Rymut, 1999, p. 213).

[6] Or from personal name *Jan* (Rymut, 1999, p. 333).

or *Mirów*, several villages in Poland (Rymut, 2001, p. 104); *Maleski* < *Malewski* (attested 1400) < *Malewo* (3 villages and 1 hamlet)[7] (Rymut, 2001, p. 59); *Naroski* < *Narewski* (attested 1770) < toponym *Narew*, village in Hajnówka county (Rymut, 2001, p. 139); *Latoski* < *Latowski* (attested 1398) < toponym *Latowice* (Ostrów Wlkp. county);[8] *Waleski* < *Walewski* (attested 1385) < toponyms such as *Walewo*, *Walewice*, *Walowice*, several villages (Rymut, 2001, p. 650).

Needless to say, there are also other (i.e. not likely to have resulted for consonant cluster simplification) toponymic surnames in the corpus, including the following:

- *Gałecki* (attested 1398) < toponym *Gałki* (several villages) (Rymut, 1999, p. 214), but the masculine use of the *-cka* form might be a result of a phonetic substitution known as mazuration (in this case the substitution of a retroflex fricative *t͡ʂ*, spelled *cz*, with an alveolar fricative *t͡s*, spelled *c*).
- *Grudzki* < *Grodzki* (attested 1419) < toponyms *Gródek*, *Grodziec* etc. (Rymut, 1999, pp. 269, 272).
- *Kaski* (attested 1498) < toponym *Kaski*, 2 villages: in Grodzisk Mazowiecki county and in Wieruszów county (Rymut, 1999, pp. 382, 383).[9]
- *Kencki* < *Kącki*/*Kątski* (both forms attested 1408) < toponyms *Kąty* (several dozen villages, their parts, or parts of towns/cities), or *Kęty*, a town in Oświęcim county (Rymut, 1999, pp. 388, 390).
- *Kicki* (attested 1388) < toponym *Kitki*, a village in Mława county, or *Kiki*, a village in Poddębice county and another one in Łask county (Rymut, 1999, p. 393).
- *Kołaski* (attested 1399) < *Kołacki* (attested 1386) < toponyms *Kołacin* (3 villages), *Kołata*, a village in Poznań county (Rymut, 1999, p. 427).
- *Koniecki* (attested 1470–80) < toponym *Kończyce*, a village in Cracow county, *Koniecki*, a village in Łomża county (Rymut, 1999, p. 433), or several other villages named *Kończyce* in Poland.
- *Krzyski* (attested 1471) < *Krzycki* (attested 1402) < toponym *Krzycko*, a village in Leszno county (Rymut, 1999, pp. 476, 477).
- *Kucki* (attested 1496) < toponym *Kuczki*, a village in Poddębice county (Rymut, 1999, p. 483), also a village in Radom county and a settlement in Ełk county.

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7 Or from the adjective *mały* ‘small’ (Rymut, 2001, p. 62).

8 Or from the stem *lat-* as in *latać* ‘to fly’, *lato* ‘summer’, especially the form *Latoska* (Rymut, 2001, p. 10).

9 But bear in mind the above-mentioned, alternative etymology from a personal name.

- *Leski* (attested 1411) < toponym *Leszcze* (several villages), or *Lesko*, a town in Lesko county, Podkarpackie voivodeship (Rymut, 2001, p. 16).
- *Łaski* (attested 1393) < toponyms *Łask*, a town in Łódź voivodeship, or perhaps *Łazy*, Koszalin county (Rymut, 2001, p. 34).
- *Łoski* (attested 1428) < toponym *Łosie* (several villages in Poland) or *Łoś* in Prażmów county (Rymut, 2001, p. 41).
- *Łucki* (attested 1459) < toponym *Łuka*, several villages in Poland and in Ukraine, or Łuck, city in Ukraine (Rymut. 2001, p. 43).
- *Pałuski* (attested 1550) < toponym *Pałuszyce* (historically *Pauszyce*), a village in Tarnów county (Rymut, 2001, p. 203).
- *Paraski* < toponym *Paraszyno*, a village in Wejherowo county in Kashubia (SGKP, vol. VII, p. 859).
- *Powąski*, *Powązki*, *Powęski* (attested 1604) < toponym *Powązki*, once a village, now part of Warsaw (Rymut, 2001, p. 288).
- *Powiecki* < *Powidzki* (attested 1450) < toponym *Powidz*, a village in Słupca county (Rymut, 2001, p. 288).
- *Ruzicki* < *Różycki* (attested 1420) < toponyms *Różyce* (two villages: in Łowicz county and in Zgierz county), or *Różyca* (a village in Łódź East county) (Rymut, 2001, pp. 368, 373).
- *Rycki* < toponym *Ryki*, a town in Ryki county, Lublin voivodeship (Rymut, 2001, p. 375) and two villages.
- *Rząski* < according to Rymut (2001, p. 381), it is derived from the toponym *Rząska*, a village in Cracow county. However, both the form *Rząska* and *Rząski* are found mostly in the north of Poland (Pomeranian and Kuyavian-Pomeranian voivodeships).
- *Saski* (attested 1590) < toponym *Sasy* (several settlements historically) or choronym *Saksonia* 'Saxony' (Rymut, 2001, p. 399).
- *Sobieski* (attested 1470–80) < toponym *Sobieszyn*, a village in Ryki county (Rymut, 2001, p. 457).
- *Suski* (attested 1460) < toponyms: *Sucha* (many villages), *Susk*, village in Sierpc county, earlier *Susko* (Rymut, 2001, p. 509), or perhaps in some cases Old Prussian personal name *Suse* (Trautmann, 1974, p. 101), via toponym *Susz*, village in Iława county.
- *Syski* < toponym *Syski* (Rymut, 2001, p. 516), 2 villages: in Opoczno county and in Łódź East county.
- *Tyski* < toponyms *Tychy*, *Tyszki*, *Tyski* etc. (Rymut, 2001, p. 635).
- *Wicki* < *Wiecki* < toponym *Wieck*, village in Chojnice county (Rymut, 2001, pp. 672, 673).

Surnames of German origin

Several of the analysed surnames are with a reasonable degree of certainty traceable to personal names loaned from German, which well accounts for their semantic opacity and the resulting confusion regarding their declension pattern:

- *Fenski* (and *Feński* – the latter is fully adjectival and as such not discussed here; interestingly, in the Polish onymy there also exists the form *Feńske*) < Steffen, a Germanised form of the Polish given name Stefan; forms *Fenski*/*Feński* were subsequently themselves Germanised to *Fenske* (Breza, 2002, p. 119). According to Kohlheim (2005, p. 240), however, *Fenske* is a Germanised Polish personal name *Więcek* < *Wenzeslaus*, or possibly stems from the personal name *Vincent*, via a derived surname. According to DFD, the surname *Fenske* has 1576 bearers in Germany.
- *Fecki*, *Fecko*/*Fecek* and similar surnames < *Vizens*, Germanised form of the name *Wincenty* (Rymut, 1999, p. 18). According to Kohlheim (2005, p. 237), however, *Feck(e)* comes from the name *Feddeke*, a Frisian hypocoristic form of *Fredderke* < *Friedrich*. In the Polish onymy, there also exists the surname *Fetzki*, consistently adjectival, etymologised by Breza (2018, p. 177) as derived from the given name *Bonifacius* > *Fatz* > *Fetz* > *Fetzka* (nominal declension) > *Fetzki* (adjectival declension).
- *Hauski*: Although not explicitly mentioned by Rymut 1999, this surname can most probably be linked to other names derived from the German personal name *Haus* < German appellative *Haus* 'a house', such as *Hausa*, *Hause*, *Hausek*, *Hauszka*, etc. (Rymut, 1999, p. 299).
- *Heski*, and also *Hesko*, *Heszka* (possibly via the form *Hes*) < German personal names *Hess*, *Hesse*, from German tribe name Hessen or German toponym Hessen in Niedersachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, or Bayern (Rymut, 1999, p. 305; Kohlheim, 2005, p. 327; Breza, 2000, p. 38).
- *Hincki* (as well as *Hinc*, *Hinca* attested 1510, *Hincki*, *Hincko*, *Hintzka*, *Hintzke*, *Hinzke*) < German personal names *Heinz* (High German), with Low German form *Hintz(e)*, *Hinz(e)*, all ultimately from the given name *Heinrich* (Rymut, 1999, p. 307; Kohlheim, 2005, p. 331; Breza, 2000, p. 14; Breza, 2018, p. 250).
- *Jeski* < German name *Jeske*, *Jeschke* < *Johannes* (Rymut, 1999, p. 350; Breza, 2000, p. 36). As evidenced by the frequency of both forms in Poland, *Jeski* seems secondary to *Jeska*.
- *Senski* < German personal name *Sen*, *Sens* < medieval German appellatives *segense*, *seinse* 'scythe' (Rymut, 2001, p. 408), German surname *Sens* < German Middle High German appellative *sënse* 'reaper (using a scythe)' or from a hypocoristic form of the name *Vincent* (Kohlheim, 2005, p. 618). There also exists in Poland the form *Senske*, with 84 bearers (which is comparable with

the number of the form *Senski*) and with largely similar areas of geographical distribution, probably of the same etymology as outlined above. However, according to Breza (1978, pp. 41–42), the surname *Senska* is the result of the following chain of transformations: appellative *zięć* 'son-in-law' and its Kashubian hypocoristic form *zęck* > *Zenck* > *Senck* > *Sentzke* > *Senske* > *Senska*.

There is also a group of surnames where German origin might be suspected, yet in parallel there is also a convincing Polish etymology:

- *Gacka* (attested 1442), *Gacki* (attested 1678) < German personal name *Gatz*, or Polish appellatives *gac*, *gacek* 'a (kind of a) bat', or Polish name *Gaweł* < Latin *Gallus* (Rymut, 1999, p. 211; Breza, 2000, pp. 142–143; Breza, 2002, p. 143).
- *Geski* – perhaps from such German names as *Gesse*, *Gesch* (Rymut, 1999, p. 228), possibly related to the surname *Geschke* with 484 bearers in Germany (DFD), which Breza (2002, pp. 137–138) traces back to the village name Gischkau (today Juszkowo in Gdańsk county) or to Germanised name *Jeschke* < given name *Jasiek* (diminutive of Polish *Jan* 'John'). But it may also be of native appellative origin – cf. Polish appellatives *gęś*, *gąska* 'goose' (Rymut, 1999, p. 230).
- *Gratzki* – maybe a Germanised spelling of *Gracki* (see above), or related to the toponym *Gratz*. Possibly related to the surname *Gratzke*, which has 51 bearers in Poland and 156 in Germany (DFD).
- *Haski* < *Haska*, *Hasko* (< *Haske*) < *Has* (attested 1718) < German personal name *Hass*, *Haß* < Middle High German *haz* 'hate, hostility' (Rymut, 1999, p. 299; Kohlheim, 2005, p. 310), cf. also Low German *Has*, New High German *Hase* 'hare' (Breza, 2018, pp. 240–241), or Polish appellative *hasać* 'to jump'.
- *Krycki*, *Krycka* (attested 1604), *Kryca* (attested 1655) < German name *Kritz* (Rymut, 1999, p. 471), or Polish appellatives *kryć* 'to hide', *kryty* 'covered, hidden', dialectal *kryca* 'wrought iron', *kryczka* 'cabbage; swede, rutabaga'.
- *Lucki*, if related to surname *Lucko*, then probably derived from given names beginning with *Luc-*, such as *Lucjan*, or from German personal name *Lutz* (Rymut, 2001, p. 26).
- *Nencki* < German personal name *Nenn*, *Nenne* < German compound names beginning with *Nand-* (Rymut, 2001, p. 143), or a spelling variant of *Nęcki* (which is of appellative origin).
- *Packi* (attested 1673) < German personal name *Patz*, probably from *Petrus* (Rymut, 2001, p. 197), cf. surname *Patzki*, attested 1601 (Breza, 2004, p. 265), or from toponym *Pace* (< *Pac* < *Ipatij*, Orthodox church name, cf. Dacewicz, 2013, p. 277), a village in Brańsk county.

- *Plecki*, *Plecke*, *Pleczka*, *Plećka* < German name *Pletz* (Rymut, 2001, p. 249), or from Polish appellatives *plecy*, *plecki* ‘back (body part)’.
- *Reski* < toponym *Reszki*, several villages in Poland (Rymut, 2001, p. 349). The likely origin of *Reska*, however, is the surnames *Roeska*, *Resko*, *Reske* from German personal name *Reß* < Middle High German *raeȝe* ‘strong’ or from Low German *reese* ‘very big’ (Rymut, 2001, p. 349). According to Kohlheim (2005, p. 542), *Reske* < *Reschke* < Low Sorbian *rešk* ‘shrew (a mammal from the *Soricidae* family); lesser whitethroat (*Sylvia curruca*), colloquially also other birds (German Rotschwänzchen)’ or from Sorbian forms of German personal names such as *Reinhard*, *Reinold*, etc. According to Breza (2000, pp. 11, 49, 348, 352), *Reschke*/*Raschke* is of Polish/Kashubian origin, as a result of the Germanisation of *Raszek*, Kashubian *Raszk*/*Resz(e)k* < *Radosław*.
- *Spicki* – unclear, perhaps related to such surnames as *Szpic*, *Spic*, *Spitz*, *Spitzka*, Spica, etc. < appellatives *szpis*, *szpica*, Old Polish *stpica* ‘(pointed) tip’, or – considering the geographic distribution of surname bearers (Opolskie voivodeship, with considerable German influence) – directly from German surname *Spitz* with a similar etymology (Kohlheim, 2005, p. 634).
- *Teski*, *Teske*, *Teska*, *Tesko* < *Tesz* < East Slavic *Tesz-* (Polish *Ciesz-*) or German personal name *Tesch(e)* (Rymut, 2001, pp. 605, 606; Kohlheim, 2005, p. 663).
- *Zuski* can probably be linked to surnames *Zusko*, *Zuśka* < various stems beginning with *zu-*, from the given name *Zuzanna* ‘Susan’ or from German personal name *Suß* < medieval German *sües* ‘nice, pleasant’ (Rymut, 2001, p. 748).

Other origin and unclear onyms

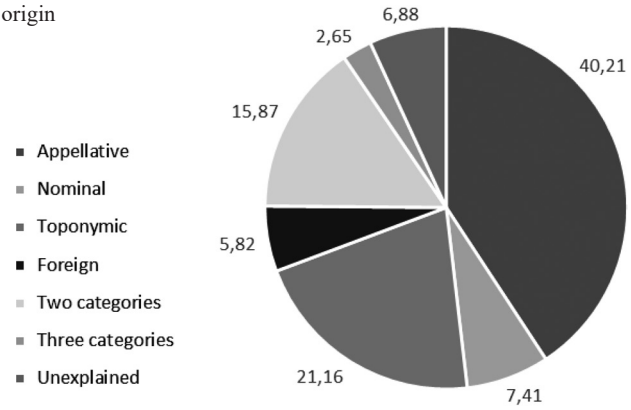
An exceptional case in the corpus is the surname *Prochaski* (in the Polish onymy there are also the surnames *Profaska* and *Prohaska*, both with relatively high frequency and fully nominal), at whose roots lies the Czech name *Procházka* < Czech appellative *procházka* ‘a walk; a talkative person’ (Rymut, 2001, p. 298). It is not quite clear what the origin of *Podmaski* is – perhaps there is a link with Lithuanian surname *Padmoska*, or Belarusian *Падмостка*.

Several onyms do not easily yield to etymologisation. These include: *Backi*, *Bąski*, *Eski*, *Głoski*, *Grzyski*,[10] *Małeski*, *Specki*, *Uloński*, *Ulonski*,[11] *Wycki*.

[10] Perhaps a dialectal variant of *Grzeski*?

[11] Geographical distribution (north-eastern Poland) appears to suggest a link with Lithuanian names *Julijõnas*, *Ulijõnas* ‘Julian’ (LPŽ) and with such Polish surnames of East Slavic origin as *Ulijan* 1403, *Uljanow*, *Uliański*, etc. (Rymut, 1999, p. 359).

Fig. 3: Surnames by origin



Concluding remarks

The names in the analysed corpus are of various origin and of diverse semantic characteristics. Those motivated only by appellatives (marked with A in the table in Appendix 3) prevail (76 surnames), accounting for 40.21% of the total, followed by solely toponymic (T) ones (40 surnames – 21.16%). Those derived from personal names (N) constitute 7.41% (14 onyms), and 11 surnames (5.82%) are of foreign origin (F) – almost exclusively German. The remainder – 48 surnames – are difficult to trace to a single source (cf. Kresa, 2011, pp. 84–87), with 30 of them (15.87% of the total) derivable from two categories, 5 (2.65%) – from as many as three, which leaves 13 surnames (6.88%) of unclear origin.

In some cases the nominal (i.e. *-ska*/*-cka*/*-dzka* ending) surname form was primary, whereas the adjectivally-declined form resulted from superficial morphological similarity to adjectival *-ski*/*-cki*/*-dzki*-ending surnames. There is also, however, the possibility that the two surname forms, the adjectival and the nominal one, developed in parallel, independently of each other – in other words, that the surname is polygenetic. In some cases the geographical distribution of the surname[12] appears to make such an assumption credible. In any case, they seem to represent all the major semantic categories of Polish surnames. Thus, from the point of view of semantics alone, there seems to be nothing particular about them that would necessitate their dubious declensional status.

[12] E.g. *Packi* – likely Eastern Slavic influence in Kłodzko county, but German influence in Kashubia (including Gdańsk) and Silesia; *Gacki* – many bearers all over Poland, with marked concentrations in Silesia (German influence), but also in Podlaskie voivodeship (likely native or Eastern Slavic origin). For the geographical distribution of surnames, see Bronk (n. d.).

Not so with their structural characteristics. First and foremost, the *-ski*/*-ska* suffix is never preceded by *-w-*. This means that in no surname from the corpus is the suffix *-ski*/*-ska* extended to *-ewski*/*-ewska*, *-owski*/*-owska*, and this fact contributes to preventing originally adjectival surnames from being reinterpreted as nominal ones (on the late incorrect addition of *-w-*, cf. Bystroń, 1993, pp. 114–115). However, in contrast with *-w-*, the letter *-ń-*/*-n-* does extend the suffix *-ski*/*-ska* in the case of 8 surnames in the corpus (among which in fact there are 3 pairs of apparent spelling variants): *Blewoński*, *Galoński*, *Haronski*, *Haroński*, *Senski*, *Seński*, *Ulonski*, *Uloński*.

Secondly, most names (113) in the corpus are composed of two syllables only, while almost all of the remainder (73) are trisyllabic (only 3 onyms are longer than that). This is connected with their semantic opacity: in the case of longer onyms there is a higher chance that their link with the motivating appellative – if there ever was one – will not be obliterated. It is probably not surprising that artificial surnames (invented for various purposes – for example to mark a child born out of wedlock, which may have been the origin of the surname *Koski*[13]) tend to be short and that they do not display an obvious link to appellatives (cf. Bystroń, 1993, pp. 26–27, 90–91).

A practical consequence of the outlined paradigmatic confusion is the uncertainty of many native language users about how to decline the surnames from the corpus, as indicated by the queries at university websites that specialise in linguistic counselling (cf. e.g. Mackiewicz, 2013; Poradnia UJD, 2019; Poradnia UŚ, 2008; see also Bronk, Saloni, 2019, p. 35). This is confounded by the existence of dozens of similar-looking surnames that are purely nominal (e.g. *Bałuska*, *Bartyska*, *Benduska*, *Bieska*, *Braska*, *Brząska*, *Brzęska*, *Ciecka*, *Fraska*, *Fryska*, *Gieroska*, *Głaska*, *Gnioska*, *Gnyska*, *Golaska*, *Gryska*, *Grząska*, *Hiska*, *Jendroska*, *Keska*, *Kiecka*, *Krauska*, *Kroska*, *Kruska*, *Kukuska*, *Kuska*, *Kwiecka* – to cite just a handful beginning with the letters from the first half of the alphabet). It is therefore not surprising that even normative reference works do not always note the existence of the double-declension surnames.[14]

Linguist Hanna Jadacka provides evidence on the contemporary semantic opacity of the surname *Kuropieska*, which is probably a major cause of its declensio-

[13] Bystroń (1993, p. 91) invokes a poem by a 17th-century poet Wacław Potocki *Z Miłkowskiego Koski* ['Koski from Miłkowski'], which suggests that *Koski* was the surname given to an illegitimate child of a man named *Miłkowski*.

[14] Cf. e.g. Dobry słownik (n. d.), where the surname *Soska* is treated as adjectival only, or SGJP (2020), where, conversely, the surname *Kurpaska* is treated as exclusively nominal. In fact, both of them figure in the analysed corpus. So does the surname *Gołyska*, which – due to the fact that there exists the masculine form *Gołyski* – is automatically treated as adjectival (cf. Grzenia 2011).

nal confusion: “I was told years ago that General Józef Kuropieska […] did not allow his surname to be changed. As a result, the general’s more distant friends to this day (!) believe that his surname was *Kuropiesek on the basis of the “reconstruction” of the nominative form from the genitive or accusative forms […]” (Jadacka, 2005, p. 38).

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APPENDIX 1: Corpus surnames alphabetically

Backi, Baski, Bąski, Bereski, Beski, Bielaski, Blaski, Blewąski, Blewoński, Bracki, Breski, Brzeski, Brzoski, Brzóski, Brzuski, Buski, Bycki, Chendoski, Chędoski, Chudaski, Chyski, Ciucki, Czoski, Deleski, Derski, Eski, Fecki, Fenski, Francki, Gacki, Gajski, Galecki, Galoński, Galoski, Gałecki, Ganski, Geski, Głoski, Gogłuski, Gojski, Gołyski, Gonski, Gracki, Gratzki, Grucki, Grudzki, Grzeski, Grzyski, Guski, Haronski, Haroński, Haski, Hauski, Heski, Hęcki, Hincki, Hyski, Janoski, Jaski, Jeski, Jęcki, Karkoski, Kaski, Kencki, Kenski, Kęski, Kicki, Kleski, Klocki, Kłoski, Kocki, Kolaski, Koliski, Koloski, Kołaski, Koniecki, Koski, Kraski, Krycki, Kryski, Krzoski, Krzyski, Kucki, Kuropieski, Kurpaski, Laski, Latoski, Leski, Liboski, Ligęski, Liski, Lubaski, Lucki, Łacki, Łaski, Łeski, Łoski, Łucki, Magoski, Maleski, Maliski, Małeski, Matuski, Mącki, Miroski, Miski, Nakonecki, Naroski, Nencki, Nęcki, Nędzki, Noski, Ochęduski, Olszycki, Pachecki, Packi, Paczoski, Pałuski, Paraski, Paryski, Pastecki, Pawęski, Piecki, Pietruski, Plecki, Ploski, Płaski, Płocki, Płoski, Podleski, Podmaski, Pomocki, Powąski, Powązki, Powęski, Powiecki, Prochaski, Przykaski, Pucki, Reski, Ruzicki, Rycki, Ryski, Rząski, Rzyski, Saski, Senski, Seński, Skonecki, Skoniecki, Sobacki, Sobieski, Soski, Specki, Spicki, Stecki, Suski, Syski, Szoski, Śliski, Tacki, Teski, Tomaski, Torski, Trzoski, Tyski, Ulonski, Uloński, Urbacki, Waleski, Wałęski, Wawrzecki, Wencki, Wenski, Węcki, Wicki, Wieteski, Wiski, Witeski, Włocki, Wocki, Woznicki, Woźnicki, Wycki, Wypyski, Załuski, Zawieski, Zawiski, Zuski.

APPENDIX 2: Corpus surnames ranked according to their *Ra* value

Brzóski	0.001	Koloski	0.043	Brzoski	0.124	Ochęduski	0.273	Ruzicki	0.419
Wieteski	0.005	Syski	0.043	Gojski	0.125	Przykaski	0.273	Rzyski	0.420
Wocki	0.005	Rząski	0.043	Karkoski	0.130	Blewoński	0.276	Torski	0.423
Gonski	0.005	Reski	0.044	Kurpaski	0.137	Paraski	0.280	Seński	0.429
Kraski	0.006	Hincki	0.045	Liboski	0.139	Buski	0.280	Grzeski	0.429
Powązki	0.007	Ligęski	0.047	Maliski	0.148	Zawiski	0.285	Wawrzecki	0.430
Haski	0.007	Haronski	0.049	Wycki	0.149	Podmaski	0.286	Gołyski	0.431
Kaski	0.007	Grzyski	0.051	Specki	0.154	Powiecki	0.286	Łaski	0.439
Jeski	0.008	Grudzki	0.052	Lucki	0.157	Koliski	0.286	Krycki	0.439
Janoski	0.008	Pałuski	0.053	Beski	0.158	Nencki	0.294	Skoniecki	0.441
Kęski	0.011	Tomaski	0.053	Hauski	0.158	Galecki	0.300	Koniecki	0.441
Miski	0.011	Pucki	0.054	Łeski	0.158	Gacki	0.305	Leski	0.441
Kuropieski	0.012	Kłoski	0.054	Uloński	0.158	Wencki	0.308	Francki	0.449
Zawieski	0.013	Matuski	0.056	Paryski	0.164	Załuski	0.310	Klocki	0.450
Czoski	0.015	Bąski	0.057	Urbacki	0.166	Tyski	0.314	Śliski	0.450
Magoski	0.016	Maleski	0.059	Ulonski	0.167	Woznicki	0.318	Wiski	0.453
Kolaski	0.016	Blewąski	0.062	Pietruski	0.172	Naroski	0.319	Wypyski	0.453
Szoski	0.017	Powęski	0.064	Galoski	0.174	Fecki	0.333	Stecki	0.455
Soski	0.018	Powąski	0.064	Łoski	0.178	Kocki	0.348	Płocki	0.460
Laski	0.018	Eski	0.064	Waleski	0.179	Pachecki	0.357	Bracki	0.462
Witeski	0.019	Piecki	0.068	Galoński	0.182	Hyski	0.359	Packi	0.464
Bielaski	0.020	Breski	0.075	Gracki	0.182	Grucki	0.361	Hęcki	0.464
Teski	0.023	Jaski	0.079	Rycki	0.188	Backi	0.362	Skonecki	0.465
Kleski	0.025	Latoski	0.087	Nęcki	0.191	Łacki	0.364	Włocki	0.465
Małeski	0.027	Brzuski	0.090	Senski	0.193	Suski	0.367	Ciucki	0.466
Bycki	0.027	Liski	0.092	Ganski	0.194	Łucki	0.372	Sobieski	0.468
Nędzki	0.028	Koski	0.100	Kicki	0.196	Gratzki	0.375	Woźnicki	0.468
Ryski	0.029	Pomocki	0.100	Chudaski	0.200	Fenski	0.381	Brzeski	0.482
Plecki	0.032	Trzoski	0.100	Guski	0.209	Noski	0.382	Gałecki	0.487
Gogłuski	0.034	Zuski	0.106	Krzyski	0.226	Olszycki	0.393	Kołaski	0.489
Baski	0.034	Deleski	0.106	Wałęski	0.228	Chyski	0.401	Płoski	0.497
Chendoski	0.034	Bereski	0.108	Mącki	0.250	Pastecki	0.402	Sobacki	0.504
Kryski	0.035	Paczoski	0.110	Podleski	0.258	Wicki	0.403	Kencki	0.508
Ploski	0.040	Jęcki	0.110	Gajski	0.261	Wenski	0.403	Spicki	0.516
Tacki	0.041	Płaski	0.114	Heski	0.263	Węcki	0.405	Blaski	0.681
Krzoski	0.042	Nakonecki	0.118	Kenski	0.267	Kucki	0.407	Geski	0.739
Chędoski	0.042	Saski	0.122	Miroski	0.269	Haroński	0.408	Głoski	0.765
Prochaski	0.042	Pawęski	0.123	Derski	0.270	Lubaski	0.418		

APPENDIX 3: Surnames according to their semantic origin

A – appellative, N – personal name, T – toponymic, F – foreign, ? – unclear

SURNAME	A	N	T	F	Prochaski				x	Pawęski	x				Derski	x				Lubaski	x	x		
Brzóski	x				Koloski				?	Brzoski	x				Ochęduski	x				Ruzicki			x	
Wieteski	x				Syski			x		Gojski	x				Przykaski	x				Rzyski	x			
Wocki		x			Rząski			x		Karkoski	x		x		Blewoński	x				Torski			x	
Gonski	x				Reski			x	x	Kurpaski	x				Paraski			x		Seński				x
Kraski	x				Hincki				x	Liboski	x				Buski		x	x		Grzeski		x		
Powązki			x		Ligęski	x				Maliski				?	Zawiski	x				Wawrzecki		x		
Haski	x			x	Haronski		x			Wycki				?	Podmaski				x	Gołyski	x			
Kaski	x	x	x		Grzyski				?	Specki				?	Powiecki			x		Łaski			x	
Jeski				x	Grudzki			x		Lucki		x		x	Koliski				?	Krycki	x			x
Janoski		x	x		Pałuski			x		Beski			x		Nencki	x			x	Skoniecki	x			
Kęski	x				Tomaski		x			Hauski				x	Galecki			x		Koniecki			x	
Miski	x				Pucki	x		x		Łeski	x				Gacki	x	x		x	Leski			x	
Kuropieski	x				Kłoski	x		x		Uloński				?	Wencki				x	Francki		x		
Zawieski	x				Matuski		x			Paryski		x	x		Załuski			x		Klocki	x			
Czoski	x				Bąski				?	Urbacki		x			Tyski			x		Śliski	x			
Magoski	x	x			Maleski			x		Ulonski				?	Woznicki			x		Wiski	x		x	
Kolaski	x				Blewąski	x				Pietruski		x			Naroski			x		Wypyski	x		x	
Szoski	x				Powęski			x		Galoski		x	x		Fecki				x	Stecki	x	x	x	
Soski	x				Powąski			x		Łoski			x		Kocki				?	Płocki			x	
Laski	x				Eski				?	Waleski			x		Pachecki	x	x			Bracki	x			
Witeski	x				Piecki		x			Galoński		x			Hyski	x				Packi			x	x
Bielaski			x		Breski	x				Gracki	x				Grucki	x				Hęcki	x			
Teski		x		x	Jaski		x			Rycki			x		Backi	x				Skonecki	x			
Kleski	x				Latoski			x		Nęcki	x				Łacki	x				Włocki	x			
Małeski				?	Brzuski	x				Senski				x	Suski			x		Ciucki	x			
Bycki	x				Liski	x				Ganski	x				Łucki	x	x	x		Sobieski			x	
Nędzki	x				Koski	x				Kicki	x	x	x		Gratzki	x			x	Woźnicki			x	
Ryski	x				Pomocki	x				Chudaski	x				Fenski				x	Brzeski	x		x	
Plecki	x			x	Trzoski	x				Guski	x				Noski	x				Gałecki			x	
Gogłuski	x				Zuski		x		x	Krzyski			x		Olszycki			x		Kołaski			x	
Baski	x				Deleski			x		Wałęski	x				Chyski	x				Płoski	x			
Chendoski	x				Bereski	x				Mącki	x	x			Pastecki	x				Sobacki	x			
Kryski	x	x			Paczoski	x				Podleski	x		x		Wicki			x		Kencki			x	
Ploski	x				Jęcki	x				Gajski	x				Wenski				x	Spicki	x			x
Tacki	x	x			Płaski	x				Heski			x	x	Węcki		x			Blaski	x			
Krzoski	x				Nakonecki	x				Kenski	x				Kucki			x		Geski	x			x
Chędoski	x				Saski			x		Miroski			x		Haroński		x			Głoski				?

ADJEKTIVNÍ VERSUS SUBSTANTIVNÍ: PŘÍJMENÍ S NEJEDNOZNAČNÝM DEKLINAČNÍM PARADIGMATEM V POLSKÉ ONYMII

Příjmení zakončená na *-ski* nebo *-cki*/*-dzki*, která jsou adjektivního původu, jsou vnímána, a to obzvláště cizinci, jako typicky polský typ příjmení. Existuje však ještě další kategorie, která není tak početná a která zahrnuje příjmení jako *Załuska* nebo *Nędzka*. Tato kategorie byla ve slovníku polských příjmení *Słownik nazwisk współcześnie w Polsce używanych* (1992–94) vytvořeném prof. K. Rymutem nedopatřením opominuta. Pro tento typ je charakteristická dvojí deklinace: část nositelů své příjmení skloňuje jako adjektiva (mužská podoba *Załuski*, *Nędzki* a ženská podoba *Załuska*, *Nędzka*), další část pak svá příjmení skloňuje jako substantiva (*Załuska*, *Nędzka* pro nositele obou pohlaví). Tato studie se snaží zodpovědět několik otázek, které jsou s tímto typem příjmení spojeny: kolik příjmení tohoto typu se v současné době v Polsku vyskytuje, jak se liší v míře své "nominálnosti", a (pokud je to možné) jaká je jejich etymologie, což by mohlo pomoci určit, který typ skloňování (adjektivní či substantivní typ) se objevil dříve.

Klíčová slova
polská příjmení; příjmení na *-ski*; adjektivní deklinace; substantivní deklinace; deklinace příjmení

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