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THE WORD FORMATIVE STRUCTURE OF POLISH DIALECTAL PLANT NAMES

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Abstract

The article deals with the word formative structure of Polish dialectal plant names. The author presents simple and compound dialectal plant names and discusses their structure. What is emphasized is the richness of the affixes in the formation of dialectal plant names, including affixes untypical of particular categories, and the bi- and multipartite structure of the names. The same phenomena are also observed in dialectal plant names in other Slavic languages.

As is known, Polish scientific plant names, similarly to Latin Linnean names, comprise two words, where the first one identifies the genus and the other one the species of the plant, cf. *czarnuszka siewna*, Nigella sativa L. Therefore, the word formative structure is clear and requires no research as the majority of the names take the form of a noun with an accompanying adjective. Even in cases in which the building blocks themselves are of interesting word formative structure, e.g. *głąbigroszek szkarłatny,*[1] Tetragonolobus purpureus Moench, syn. Lotus tetragonolobus L., we still deal with noun formation following from botanical classifications. The following type of names is relatively rare in the Polish botanical nomenclature: *wężymord czarny korzeń*, Scorzonera hispanica L., syn. Scorzonera edulis Moench, *kulczyba wronie oko*, Strychnos nux-vomica L., *dzięgiel litwor typowy*, syn. *arcydzięgiel litwor*, Angelica archangelica L., syn. Archangelica officinalis Hoffm. or *manna mielec*, Glyceria maxima (Hartm.) Holmb. Excluded from this group are names derived from botanist's surnames, e.g. *daglezja sina*, Pseudotsuga douglasii var. glauca Schneid., derived from D. Douglas,

[1] The plant has long post-like root and edible pods (Podbielkowski, Sudnik-Wójcikowska 2003: 127).

a Scotts botanist, or *leszczyna Lamberta*, Corylus maxima Mill., syn. Corylus tubulosa Willd.[2] Polish names often have their scientific synonyms, cf. *czyściec bulwiasty*, syn. *bulwa japońska*, Stachys affinis Bunge, syn. Stachys sieboldii Miq., Stachys tuberifera Naud. As can be observed, Latin names are also synonymous. Scientific plant names in other languages take a similar form: they are typically open (often multi-word) compounds reflecting the Latin name or closed compounds, cf. Engl. *stemless carline thistle*, F *carline à tiges courtes*, G *Silberdistel*, syn. *grosse Wetterdistel*, Russ. *колючник бесстебельный – dziewięćsił bezłodygowy*, Carlina acaulis L or Engl. *cornflower*, syn. *bluebottle*, F *bleuet casse-lunettes*, G *Kornblume*, Russ. *василек синий – chaber bławatek*, Centaurea cyanus L. Latin scientific names, especially the Linnaean ones, are often derived from ancient or medieval Latin names, sometimes of Greek origin. Hence, apart from the "classic" bipartite structure of scientific names, the interesting word formative structure, cf. Latin scient. *Solidago virga-aurea* L. (common name), earlier Latin names for goldenrod: *virga aurea*, *virga aurea minor* (1671) attested in „Pinax Theatri botanici…" Bauhina (cf. Marzell 2000: IV col. 390), listing the names used by ancient scholars – Theophrastus of Eresus (372–287 BC), Dioscorides (of Nero's times, 54–68 AD) and Pliny the Elder (23–89 AD). The name *solidāgo* was derived by means of the commonly found in plant names suffix *-āgo* (cf. *plantāgo* (plantain), *tussilāgo* (coltsfoot)) and takes its origin from Latin *solidus* 'hard, strong, full' (cf. Genaust 2005: 594), *virga* stands for 'shoot, stem, rod' with the adjective in its feminine form *aurea* 'golden' (the plant has a distinctly yellow inflorescence). Hence the Polish dialectal name, a calque, *złota rózga*, cf. Czech dialectal *zlatý prut* (Rystonová 2007: 625), G *Goldrute* (G *Rute* 'rod'). Similarly, the Latin scient. *Lycopodium clavatum* L. (wolf's-foot clubmoss). Genaust (2005: 356) points out that the Latin name *lycopodium*[3] is a borrowing from the Greek diminutive of *λυκόπους* lit. 'wolf's paw' (Gr. *λύκος* 'wolf', *πούς* 'paw, foot, leg'), hence Latin *lycopodium* lit. 'wolf's paw' as a metaphorical name drawing on the plant's richly leaved shoots. This is the source of the names of this plant in German, cf. G *Wolffsklauen* (1673), *Wolfsklaue* (1790) with many variations (G *Klaue* means both 'claw', and coll. 'paw') and many other (Marzell 2000: II col. 1480). Also names for wolf's-foot clubmoss in other languages are calques of the Latin name, cf. Dutch *wolfsclauwen*, *wolfsklauw*, *wolfspoot*, Engl. *woolfes foot* (1597), *woolfes clawe*, Danish *ulvefot* (attested about 1700), F *patte de loup* (attested in 1557 and later),[4] *pied de loup* (attested in 1796 and later),[5] *griffes de loup*[6] (Marzell 2000: II col. 1480), cf. Waniakowa (2012: 181–182).

Dialectal plant names are slightly different from the scientific ones. This analysis concentrates on Polish dialectal plant names. Taken under scrutiny will only be native names or calques, whereas names which are formally equal to proper names will not be discussed (e.g. *józefek*).

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[2] Plant names after Podbielkowski, Sudnik-Wójcikowska (2003).

[3] Medieval Latin *lycopodium* as the name for wolf's-foot clubmoss can be found in Marzell (2000 II col. 1477).

[4] Fr. *patte* 'paw, leg'.

[5] Fr. *patte* 'foot, leg'.

[6] Fr. *griffe* 'claw, talon'.

It has to be emphasized that a substantial number of plant names are metaphorical in nature. Although this characteristic bears on their word formative structure, it does not make them distinguishable and they are of purely semantic interest.

Generally, Polish dialectal plant names can be structurally broken down into simple (consisting of one word) and compound (mostly consisting of several words) names. Simple names can be further subdivided into: simplex and complex names. Complex names fall into two categories: suffixal and paradigmatic derivatives. Compound names comprise three groups: open compounds and closed compounds with and without interfixation.[7]

The word formative classification is obvious, yet in papers on plant names other classifications can often be found, including ones mixing up various criteria. At this point it is worth quoting a study by Hladká (2000: 27), in which dialectal plant names are generally classified in respect of their origin and word formation in the following way: original names[8] (*krasa*, *mak*[9]), derived names: *drapacz*, *dmuchajek*, compound names: *pięciożyłka*, metaphorical names: *barani ogon*, *żabie oczka*, borrowings and calques (often resulting from folk etymology, their presence in dialects is mostly secondary in nature – they originated from Greek, Latin and German names): *józefek*, *kalmus*.[10] As can be seen, this classification mixes up three criteria: word formation (original names, derived names, compounds), semantics (metaphors) and etymology (borrowings and calques).

A. Simple names

1. Simplex names

Simplex names constitute a relatively small group among dialectal plant names. For instance:

barszcz 'common hogweed, Heracleum sphondylium L.';[11]
mnich '(common) dandelion, Taraxacum officinale Web.';
por 'common knotgrass, Polygonum aviculare L.'.

Formatively, these words are of little interest. Semantically, they tend to represent metaphors, e.g. *mnich*. The name *barszcz* is original, its first designate was the plant and only later did it start to refer to 'a kind of soup'. The name *por* has not been shifted from leek, Allium porrum L. It is rather a form of another dialectal name for the common knotgrass, nb. a widespread one, i.e. *sporysz*, cf. *sporysz* 'common knotgrass,

[7] The classification in this part of the paper is based on a paper by Grzegorczykowa (1984) and GHJP.

[8] Possibly also called simple names.

[9] Czech examples have been substituted by Polish ones.

[10] The author rightly points out that in the process of borrowing names there appear various kinds of assimilations, dissimilations, contaminations, etc.

[11] The examples list Polish and Latin scientific names in order to identify the plant, the geographical location and the sources are omitted for the sake of conciseness.

Polygonum aviculare L.'.[12] As an example substantiating this claim we could quote the "transition" name – *spor* 'common knotgrass, Polygonum aviculare L.'.

2. Complex names

a. Stems with suffixes

Of numerous Polish dialectal plant names of this kind several typical examples have been selected:

białun 'coltsfoot, Tussilago farfara L.';
biedrnik 'burnet-saxifrage, Pimpinella saxifraga L.' or 'greater burnet-saxifrage, Pimpinella maior (L.) Huds.';
czyścica 'common toadflax, Linaria' (against scabies);
dmuchacz '(common) dandelion, Taraxacum officinale Web.';
dziurownik 'common St. John's-wort, Hypericum perforatum L.';
gładysz (*gladyś*) 'lily of the valley, Convallaria maialis L.';
głowat 'common corncockle, Agrostemma githago L.';
kropidło 'meadowsweet, Filipendula ulmaria (L.) Maxim.';
naparstnik 'purple foxglove, Digitalis purpurea L.';
patrak **1.** 'field poppy, Papaver rhoeas L.'; **2.** 'white poppy, Papaver somniferum L.';
podgorzał 'carline thistle, Carlina vulgaris L.';
podlasek 'liverleaf, Hepatica nobilis Schreb.';
podróżnik (*podrożnik*, *podorożnik*, *podorożnyk*) **1.** 'common chicory, Cichorium intybus L.'; **2.** 'broadleaf plantain, Plantago maior L.'; **3.** 'common knotgrass, Polygonum aviculare L.'; **4.** '(common) dandelion Taraxacum officinale Web.';
postrzelon 'common St. John's-wort, Hypericum perforatum L.';
ślepota '(common)dandelion, Taraxacum officinale Web.';
włóczęga 'wolf's-foot clubmoss, Lycopodium clavatum L.'.

Such forms are predominant among simple complex plant names. This group is very varied in terms of stems as well as suffixes and word formative categories. Here belong denominal derivatives such as *biedrnik*, deadjectival ones, e.g. *białun*, *gładysz,*[13] deverbal ones, e.g. *czyścica*, *kropidło*, etc. as well as ones derived from prepositional phrases, e.g. *podróżnik* of *po drodze*, *podlasek* of *pod lasem*. We deal with various suffixes,[14] e.g. *-ak-* (*patrak*), *-ic-* (*czyścica*), *-acz-* (*dmuchacz*), *-dł-* (*kropidło*), etc. Among them we find highly productive suffixes such as *-ic-*, *-(e)k-*, *-ik-*, but also less common ones *-dł-* (*kropidło*), *-ęg-* (*włóczęga*), *-un-* (*białun*), *-at-* (*głowat*), *-ot-* (*ślepota*) or *-ysz* (*gładysz*). It is worth noting that some suffixes form names with other parts of speech than might be expected, e.g. the unproductive suffix *-un-*, which in the history of the Polish language used to form deverbal derivatives such

[12] It is worth noting that in Polish dialects the name *sporysz* refers also to other plants, e.g. water pepper, Polygonum hydropiper L., common chicory, Cichorium intybus L., eyebright, Euphrasia, rupturewort, Herniaria.

[13] NB in the form *gładysz* we also deal with backward derivation of the adjectival base *gładki*.

[14] The suffixes have been selected after a study by F. Sławski (2011: 29–182) and the morphophonological rules adopted in *The Slavic Linguistic Atlas* (OLA) but for technical reasons the notation convention of the atlas has not been followed.

as *piastun*, *biegun*, is applied to an adjective: *białun*. An exceptionally rare case is the suffix *-at* (*głowat*), as in general Polish *bławat*. The aforementioned abundance of suffixes leads to a substantial variety in word formative categories that the analyzed names fall into (see below). Some of the names are word formative variations built with the same lexical morpheme, e.g. numerous dialectal names for St. John's wort, Hypericum perforatum L.: *dziurawczak* (*dziurawcok*), *dziurawka*, *dziurkawiec*, *dziurowiec* (*dziurówiec*), *dziurownik*. It is also worth pointing out that this group also comprises a large number of metaphorical names. Additionally, it can be observed that some of them contain archaic Polish lexical morphemes, cf. *na-parst-n-ik*.[15] However, this case it is not particularly intriguing as the general Polish name for Digitalis is *naparstnica* and, hence, it is only a word formative variation of the general name. Among the listed examples two names strike as nouns of untypical form, i.e. *postrzelon* and *podgorzał*. The first one is a regular form of the passive participle formed with the suffix *-on*, being a continuation of **-en* (vowel shift *e* > *o* in front of the hard dental *n*) added to the infinitival base. The other one has the form of the archaic second active past participle, built with the infinitival stem, the characteristic suffix *-l-* and the inflectional nominative suffix (for masc. forms it is **-ъ* > ø), cf. GHJP 370, 383, 386.

b. Paradigmatic derivatives

Of the relatively few dialectal plant names that are examples of paradigmatic derivation the following have been selected:

czołga (*czołoga*) 'wolf's-foot clubmoss, Lycopodium clavatum L.'

The form is derived from the verb *czołgać* (*się*). The ending *-a*, placing the derivative in the feminine gender, plays at the same time the role of a word formative suffix.

mlecz (*mlyc*, *mlic*, *mlac*, *mloc*) **1.** '(common) dandelion, Taraxacum officinale Web.';
2. 'swallow wort, Chelidonium maius L.'

The derivative is based on the stem *mleko* (< Proto-Slavic. **melko*). The empty suffix, being a continuation of **-ъ*, places the derivative in the masculine gender. Genetically speaking, it is a nominalized adjective, cf.: **melèъ* < **melk-jъ* 'milky, containing milk' (see Boryś SEJP s.v. *mlecz*).

nawrot 'Alchemilla pastoralis Bus.';
nietupa 'common toadflax, Linaria vulgaris Mill.' (the plant allegedly protects against lightnings);
obłapa 'asarabacca, Asarum europaeum L.';
białun 'coltsfoot, Tussilago farfara L.'.

As can be observed, in this group there are deverbal derivatives *czołga*, *nawrot*, *nietupa* or *obłapa*, denominal ones, e.g. *mlecz*, and names derived from prepositional phrases, e.g. *podbiel*.

[15] As is known the same lexical morpheme, a continuation of the Old Slavic **pьrstъ* 'finger', can be found in *naparstek* and *pierścień*.

B. Compound names

1. Open compounds

To this group belong names consisting of two and more words. These names form a very large group among dialectal plant names. At this point it is worth emphasizing that compounds as names have a long tradition in the Polish language. First attestations of this kind of names are as early as 1472 (Stanko 1472). It was connected with the bi- and multipartite character of Latin plant names. The majority of Polish dialectal plant names represent a combination of a noun with a descriptive adjective (or adjectives), cf.:

słodka agniesia (*jagniesia*) 'lady's thumb, Polygonum persicaria L.';
swarna baba 'wolf's-foot clubmoss, Lycopodium clavatum L.';
babka większa 'broadleaf plantain, Plantago maior L.';
świńskie bagno 'wolf's-foot clubmoss, Lycopodium clavatum L.';
kozia broda **1.** 'meadowsweet, Filipendula ulmaria (L.) Maxim.'; **2.** 'valerian, Valeriana officinalis L.';
żywy gnat 'common comfrey, Symphytum officinale L.';
jaskółcze gniazdo większe 'swallow wort, Chelidonium maius L.';
prosiana włoć 'goldenrod, Solidago virga-aurea L.'.

The adjectives serve the definition of the exact genus of the plant or emphasize its specific properties.

Also compound names of another type can be found. For instance:

brat z siostrą 'heartsease, Viola tricolor L.';
dziad czy baba '(common) dandelion, Taraxacum officinale Web.'.

The form of these names is closely connected with their semantic motivation.

It makes an interesting observation that in many names the element described is a part of the plant or the noun *ziele* (herb). Here are the examples:

korzeń św. Piotra **1.** 'common chicory, Cichorium intybus L.'; **2.** 'common dandelion, Taraxacum officinale Web.';
dziewiczy korzeń 'common tormentil, Potentilla erecta (L.) Raeusch.';
gadzi korzeń 'snakeroot, Polygonum bistorta L.';
korzeń św. Trójcy 'heartsease, Viola tricolor L.';
kwiat chabrkowy 'cornflower, Centaurea cyanus L.';
gęsi kwiat 'English daisy, Bellis perennis L.';
białasy kwiatek 'cornflower, Centaurea cyanus L.';
listek babkowy 'broadleaf plantain, Plantago maior L.';
mączne liście 'coltsfoot, Tussilago farfara L.';
nocne ziele 'common toadflax, Linaria vulgaris Mill.';
srebrne ziele 'common silverweed, Potentilla anserina L.'.

The tendency to have bipartite dialectal plant names in the Czech language has been observed by Hladká (2000: 27). Also in Polish this trend has its roots in the centuries old tradition and the structure of Latin names.

2. Closed compounds without interfixation

The differentiation between closed compound plant names with and without interfixation poses a considerable problem. As is known, closed compounds without interfixation lack the formal exponent of composition and the subelements are related to each other syntactically, which is expressed via inflexion (see Grzegorczykowa 1984: 59). In other words the descriptor is strictly subordinated to the element described, which often results in its being non-inflectional, and the formal expression of the bond takes the form of one single stress for the whole compound. Since in dialectal material we typically deal with names which are not inflected and the stress tends to go unmarked, it is extremely difficult to distinguish closed compounds without interfixation. Here are examples which probably match the definition:

babimór (*babimor*) 'wolf's-foot clubmoss, Lycopodium clavatum L.';
bożyliczko 'coltsfoot, Tussilago farfara L.';
czarnobyl (*czarnobel*, *czarnoból, czernobil*, *czurnobyl*) 'wolfsbane, Aconitum firmum (Rchb.) Neilr.';
durnorzepa 'some hallucinogenic plant, probably jimson weed, Datura stramonium L.';
dwurazówka 'a genus of the clover (probably red clover, Trifolium pratense L.)';
gadzikorzeń 'a herb effective against convulsions, probably snakeroot, Polygonum bistorta L.';
prosianowłoć (*prosianawłoć*) 'goldenrod, Solidago virga-aurea L.'.

It is striking that among closed compounds without interfixation there are names also in use as open compounds, cf.

durnorzepa 'some hallucinogenic plant, probably jimson weed, Datura stramonium L.' and *durna rzepa* 'jimson weed, Datura stramonium L.';
gadzikorzeń 'a herb effective against convulsions, probably snakeroot, Polygonum bistorta L.' and *gadzi korzeń* 'snakeroot, Polygonum bistorta L.';
prosianowłoć (*prosianawłoć*) 'goldenrod, Solidago virga-aurea L.' and *prosiana włoć* 'goldenrod, Solidago virga-aurea L.'.

3. Closed compounds with interfixation

Closed compounds with interfixation constitute a numerous group among dialectal plant names. Some examples follow:

boligłowa 'meadow buttercup, Ranunculus acer L.';
bolioczy 'meadow buttercup, Ranunculus acer L.';
czartopłoch (*czortopłoch, ciortopłoch, ciortopołoch, czartapałoch, czartopołoch, czortopłuch*) **1.** 'a (bushy) variety of thistle, most probably musk thistle, Carduus nutans L.'; **2.** 'stemless carline thistle, Carlina acaulis L.'; **3.** 'thistle, Carduus';
gorzyknot 'dense-flowered mullein, Verbascum thapsiforme Schrad. syn.: Verbascum densiflorum Bertol.';
łamikamień (*łomikamień*) 'burnet-saxifrage, Pimpinella saxifraga L.';
morzybab (*młorzebob*, *morzybáb*, *morzybób*) **1.** 'wolf's-foot clubmoss, Lycopodium clavatum L.'; **2.** 'mountain clubmoss, Lycopodium selago L.'; **3.** 'plantain, Plantago'.

The examples show that the elements can be connected with the interfix *-o-* (e.g. *czarto-płoch*) and *-i-‖-y-* (when the first of the elements is deverbal, e.g. *łamikamień*). As can be observed in the examples, among names classified as closed compounds with interfixation there are both endocentric (e.g. *gorzyknot*) as well as exocentric compounds (e.g. *boligłowa*). As far as the grammatical category to which the subelements belong is concerned, we can differentiate compounds in which the first element is a noun and the other a verb (e.g. *czartopłoch*) and ones in which the first element is a verb and the other one a noun (e.g. *gorzyknot*). These are closed compounds without interfixation of the most common structure, but there are also many others, which have not been enumerated here.

Pluralia tantum

Apart from the formal distinction drawn above, there is a relatively large group of plant names which take the form of plural nouns. In this group we have both simple as well as compound nouns. Here are the examples:

bajduszki 'hare's-foot clover, Trifolium arvense L.';
braciszki 'heartsease, Viola tricolor L.';
buciki Najświętszej Panny 'common toadflax, Linaria vulgaris Mill.';
czarowniki 'jimson weed, Datura stramonium L.';
żabie gronka gładkie 'glabrous rupturewort, syn.: smooth rupture-wort, Herniaria glabra L.';
gwiazdeczki 'soapwort, Saponaria officinalis L.';
wróble języczki 'common knotgrass, Polygonum aviculare L.' (the seeds are a delicacy for birds, especially sparrows);
motyle 'shepherd's purse, Capsella bursa-pastoris (L.) Medik.';
oczka Pana Jezusa 'forget-me-not, Myosotis'.

This type of names is typically connected with the large quantity of the plant's flowers or leaves. Friedelówna (1968: 75) treats plural plant names as nouns with a tendency to shift towards the category of plurale tantum as these plants grow in a kind of collective form in which it is hard to discern individual elements. According to Rogowska (1994: 182), some plural plant names can be relatively convincingly explained by linguistic reasons, i.e. by the structure and origin of such names. She points out that plural form occurs, among others, in those dialectal plant names which function as pluralia tantum also in areas other than the botanical domain. One of the Kashubian examples she discusses is the name *modre krupki* (forget-me-not) from plurale tantum *krupy*, *krupki* 'groats' (see also Waniakowa 2006: 501).

An equally interesting matter are the word formative categories of plant names, but this is beyond the scope of this paper. Here, let it suffice to mention that an attempt to analyze dialectal plant names according to the roles of the formants and word formative categories leads to the following categorization: mutational derivatives including names of bearers of characteristics, names of agents, names of objects,

de-environmental names, generally derivative names,[16] modificational derivatives including female, diminutive and augmentative names, names marking opposite meaning, transpositional derivatives as names of abstract characteristics.

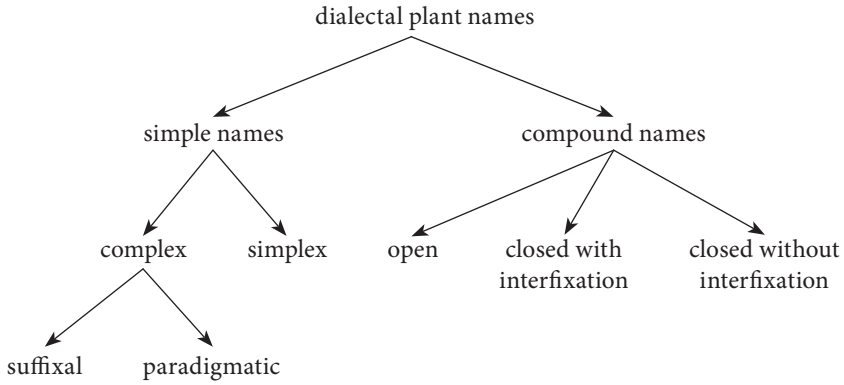
Conclusions

As is visible in the above examples, dialectal plant names are relatively varied in their formal structure. This is probably a corollary of the richness of the word formative system of the Polish language since word formative phenomena within a given field, here the domain of plant names, do not constitute separate, isolated linguistic facts but function as part of a given system of interrelated elements.

It is worth emphasizing the richness of the affixes in the formation of dialectal plant names, including affixes untypical of particular categories. Also striking is the presence of rare affixes, nowadays unproductive in the Polish language.

A typical characteristic of plant names is its bi- and multipartite structure. As mentioned above, Hladká (2000: 27) draws attention to the noticeable tendency to form two-word compound names present in dialects of the Czech language. As can be observed in the above examples, the same phenomenon is also seen in dialectal plant names in Polish and looking at names in some languages shows that it is also present in other Slavic languages. It is, therefore, a pan-Slavic tendency, resulting from a centuries old tradition based on pre-Linnean Latin nomenclature.

The examples listed show the huge role of semantics and culture related to plants in the formation of plant names.[17] Summing up, it is worth presenting a categorization of dialectal plant names depending on their formal structure be means of the following graph:



[16] The terms: "de-environmental names" and "generally derivative names" after GHJP (202–203, 222–223).

[17] Hence, closed compounds without interfixation are semantically equivalent to open compounds (compare above remarks) and taboo names have a given formal structure.

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