



British anthroponymous heterostereotypes of Poles – pilot study report

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Abstract

The article concerns British onymic stereotypes and is a contribution to further, in-depth analyses. The authors present the research results conducted in 2024, focusing on the discovery (determination) of British heterostereotypes of anthroponymous Poles. They assumed that in the consciousness of each nation using a specific language (and they understand it as a conglomerate of social experiences and a mirror of the conceptualization of the world) there is a specific image of referents, characteristic of this particular linguistic and cultural group. According to the authors, surnames - both as a whole and through structural elements and semantics contained in the root - are sources of various connotations, including connotations related to nationality. The authors aim to determine which names and their components and to what extent determine the ethnic identification of a Pole by the British. The considerations are part of the research trend in cultural onomastics and are connected with the so-called cultural turn in onomastic research.

1. Introduction

The article concerns anthroponymous stereotypes, therefore the considerations contained therein are part of research in the field of cultural onomastics and are connected with the so-called cultural turn in onomastic observations¹. It presents the results of analyses of material collected through survey research and – partially – extraction of auxiliary sources. The observations are intended to lead to a preliminary (due to

¹ The issue is discussed extensively by Danuta Lech-Kirstein (2015).

the small number of study participants) determination of how the British perceive representatives of another nationality - Poles, but from the perspective of the names of people belonging to this ethnic group². The authors assume that individual anthroponyms can be considered stereotypes (i.e. perceived in terms of judgments and images, and not necessarily facts), after all “they are [...] nationally subjectivized signs of culture, testimonies of the ideas of members of a nation about representatives of another nationality” (Rejter, 2019, p. 7). They share the opinion prevailing among onomasts that the surname itself “does not determine the nationality of its bearer” (Cieślukowa, 1999, p. 70). At the same time, the authors assume that recognizing a specific anthroponym as a naming stereotype should be combined with checking what are the possible reasons why respondents treat a given name or a specific surname structure as typical. It is possible that this has statistical justification and is related to the popularity of a given surname or another name formally similar to it – as well as the frequency of their occurrence among members of a given community (ethnic group) that respondents encounter in everyday, “real” life. reality, as well as with their frequency in cultural texts (films, literature, and ethnic jokes often use such representative names of representatives of a given nation – they perpetuate already existing stereotypes, but also introduce previously rare names into wide, colloquial circulation – hence the formation of new patterns mental, perceptual).

Although much has been written about national (ethnic) stereotypes, and the issue itself is addressed by representatives of various scientific disciplines (including in particular sociology, psychology, and linguistics), the issue of anonymous stereotypes remains beyond the scope of in-depth analyses³. Meanwhile, the observation of the functioning of some personal names and their formal features (exponents) in the consciousness (or rather: subconsciousness) can bring a lot of interesting information revealing how a given ethno-national community interprets the world. This is consistent with the thesis that the linguistic image of the world is “an interpretation of reality contained in language, which can be

² The authors deemed it right to point out that when using the term British, they mean all citizens and residents of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (British citizens). However, they are aware that talking about the existence of a British national bond is largely debatable because, in fact, it concerns several national groups: the English, the Welsh, the Scots, and the Irish.

³ Similar research was conducted by Mateusz Kminikowski among Germans (he presented the results in an unpublished doctoral thesis (2024); he worked according to the concepts and solutions proposed by Jarosław Pacuła, partially used in this study).

In Polish linguistics, this perspective of research already has a certain tradition, although a small one; cf. works: Pisarkowa, 1976; Walczak, 1988; Jaracz, 2003; Jaracz, 2006; Jaracz, 2007; Pacuła, 2016; Pacuła, 2012; Pacuła, Kminikowski, 2022; Mordań, 2016; Zarebski, 2014; Zarebski, Woźniak, 2018.

expressed in the form of a set of judgments about the world” (Bartmiński, 1990, p. 110). Taking into account the fact that “[words] [and these also include proper names – J.P., A.Cz.] do not reproduce things photographically, but «portrait» them mentally” (Bartmiński, 1990, p. 111), one should assume that when communicating using language, people rely primarily on stereotypes. Therefore, in this text it is assumed that a stereotype is “a subjectively determined image of an object, containing both descriptive and evaluative features of the image, resulting from the interpretation of reality within social cognitive models” (Bartmiński 1998, p. 64). However, anthroponymous stereotypes themselves are understood in the text as proper names (specific names and surnames and their structural or semantic types⁴), which are identified by representatives of a given nationality as typical of itself (i.e. as self-stereotypes) or for another ethnic group (i.e. as heterostereotypes) (cf. Kowalik-Kaletka, 2007b). The anthroponymic stereotype understood in this way is also a component of the national (ethnic) stereotype (cf. Jaracz, 2007, pp. 67–69), as in the case of ethnonyms - it concerns the semantic connotations of the entire personal name or its components.

2. Characteristics of the study group

The material analyzed was obtained as a result of a survey conducted using the survey technique. The study was a pilot study, conducted in January and February 2024, and 56 people participated. All study participants are adults and of various ages (from 20 years to over 60 years of age), representatives of each country belonging to the United Kingdom: living in England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland, living in administrative units with a different number of people, also having different level of education. The authors of the study wanted to obtain the most reliable (average, representative) information possible, which is important in ethnic research. and sociolinguistics, which is why they relied on data obtained from such a diverse group. The survey was anonymous, conducted using Google Forms, and it was ensured that the survey participants were actually (and exclusively) British. More information is provided in the tables below.

⁴ The concept of stereotype can be referred to two different levels of language: formal or semantic (Bartmiński, 2007, p. 65).

Table 1. Characteristics of study group

AGE		
I am an adult, but I am not 20 years old.	4	7,1%
20–30 years	9	16,1%
31–40 years	10	17,9%
41–50 years	18	32,1%
51–60 years	8	14,3%
61 years or above	7	12,5%
EDUCATION		
secondary	7	12,5%
further education	7	12,5%
higher education	42	75%
RESIDENCE		
England	45	80,3%
Scotland	6	10,7%
Wales	3	5,4%
Northern Ireland	2	3,6%
RESIDENT OF THE TOWN WITH A POPULATION		
750 000 and above	8	14,3%
from 500 000 to 750 000	11	19,6%
from 100 000 to 250 000	14	25%
from 50 000 to 100 000	9	16,1%
from 35 000 to 50 000	14	25%

Source: own research

3. Name and surname as a value

The second part of the survey included questions requiring answers based on which it was possible to determine the degree of credibility of the information obtained from the study participants. Well, it was considered crucial for the qualitative interpretation of the data to learn the

attitudes of the British towards surnames, and their attitude to the actual and symbolic (figurative) value of the surname in human life. It was assumed that the higher the rate of perception of surnames as carriers of ethnic identity by the respondents, the higher the probability of specific anthroponyms and specific surname structures functioning as stereotypes (regardless of whether these are naming templates falling within the so-called common knowledge or also emerging from more or less developed linguistic awareness). The case is as follows:

Table 2. Surnames as a value – opinions of the consultation participants

How important is a surname to you?		
A surname is very important in a person's life.	7	12.5%
The surname is important e in a person's life.	18	32.1%
The surname is quite important - it has medium importance for a person.	13	23.2%
The surname is important, but it does not play any particular role and has little significance in a person's life.	17	30.4%
The name has no value in people's lives, it is not important.	1	1.8%

Source: own research

The answers provided by the respondents indicate that surnames are important to the surveyed British people, although they attribute this importance to different degrees: surnames are of great value to 44.6% of respondents (regardless of the level of education, but with a clear tendency related to age – usually these are people aged at least 50), the largest group of respondents consider them as moderately important – 53.6% (interestingly, they are mostly people with higher education – 46%, less often with secondary education – about 7%), and for only 1.8% of respondents, surnames have no value⁵. This “average” attitude to the

⁵ In 2016, after four years of work, the results of research conducted by scientists from the University of the West of England, which concerned the history of surnames in the British Isles, were published. The Oxford English Dictionary of Family Names in Britain and Ireland shows that most surnames come from Great Britain and Ireland, and the most common ones include: *Smith* (occupational surname, ← common noun, occupation name: *smith* ‘blacksmith’), *Jones* (patronymic surname, ← given name *John*), *Brown* (nicknamed surname, ← adjective describing a feature of a person's appearance: brown ‘brown’), *Williams* (patronymous surname, ← given name *William*), *Wilson* (patronymous surname, ← medieval given name *Will*) and *Davies* (surname patronymic, ← corruption of the Welsh name *Dyfed* or the Hebrew anthroponym *David*) (see Hanks, Coates, McClure, 2016). The study draws attention to the role of surnames in the history of the British community, but the importance of surnames for individuals and entire communities indicated there is not strongly reflected in the research results presented in this article. See, among others: Cheshire, Mateos, Longley, 2009.

value of a surname (and, as it turns out, also to the share of surnames in identifying nationality) is reflected, for example, in the answers “partially” and “to some extent” prevailing in the survey. It is interesting that the larger the community (larger administrative unit) the respondents represent, the greater their attachment to the surname as a value (e.g. residents of towns with a population of 500.000–750.000 as many as nearly 27% considered the surname to be something very important or important in their lives, while people living in towns with up to 100,000 inhabitants only about 12%).

It should be mentioned that when formulating this survey question, it deliberately used the smooth phrase ‘name value’ in order not to suggest (make respondents aware of) possible solutions, but to obtain answers that generally reflect the views of British people about surnames, their intuitive, free from limitations related to reflection, attitude towards anthroponyms and their role (their identification and differentiation, locative, sociological, prestige, identity and emotive functions⁶). The study aimed to learn about stereotypes, i.e. what is unconscious and not necessarily related to linguistic and communication competencies or results from the respondents’ language awareness.

As for the next question in the survey, it already contained a certain suggestion for the study participants - it made them aware that the value of the surname is related, among other things, to the fact that it functions as the most permanent and widespread form of identifying a person. Respondents could only answer this question after responding to the previous question; the fact that in the survey form a box with this question was made available after answering a general question made it possible to obtain more reliable information (resulting from a deeper and focused reflection on names). Here is the data obtained in this part of the study:

To highlight the essence of the issue, it is worth contrasting the above with the fact that in Poland, too, the surname was of great value from the very beginning; see Zofia Kaleta’s comment: “The surname has been [...] since the 15th century and is still a carrier of the moral values of a person, and even of the entire family, so it was and still remains his good, i.e. a personal value, constituting an element of Poles’ culture. It is not without reason that in Poland we ask about the surname: How is your dignity? [...] the family was the basic social organization in medieval Poland, and kinship ties were stronger than other ties. It created a coherent whole against which the individual could stand out more strongly. The family played a political and economic role and was the closest group of people. [...] Relatives appeared together in public life, emphasizing their relationships, especially through a common surname. [...] At the beginning of the 15th century, there were grounds for the creation of the concept of surname as a family and family name, hereditary and including the wife. There was a need to name the occurring socio-linguistic phenomenon” (Kaleta, 1998b, pp. 5, 145, 151).

⁶ More on the functions of proper names in: Kosyl, 1983; Kaleta, 1998b.

Table 3. Surnames as a form of identifying a person – opinions of the consultation participants (1)

Do you agree with the statement, that a surname is a permanent and wide-spread form of identifying a person?		
I fully agree with this.	12	21.5%
I partially agree with this.	39	69.6%
I don't agree with this at all.	5	8.9%

Source: own research

Table 4. Surnames as form of identifying a person – opinions of the consultation participants (2)

Data taking into account detailed criteria:

		I fully agree with this	I partially agree with this	I don't agree with this at all
EDUCATION	secondary	≈5.9%	≈7.4%	≈1.4%
	further education	---	≈9.7%	≈1.8%
	higher education	≈15.6%	≈52.5%	≈5.7%
AGE	to 20 years old	---	≈7.1%	---
	20–30	≈1.8%	≈14.3%	---
	31–40	≈3.6%	≈12.5%	---
	41–50	≈3.6%	≈21.5%	≈7.1%
	51–60	≈5.4%	≈8.9%	≈1.8%
	61 or above	≈7.1%	≈5.3%	---

Source: own research

It is worth adding that among the English only, just over 14% of the respondents are convinced that the surname functions as a kind of nationality “label”, while approximately 57% of the respondents are convinced that the surname is treated as a possible (potential, therefore not always present in this role) emblem of nationality. In turn, almost 11% of

survey participants think that the surname does not convey information about the nationality of its bearer.

The third question in this part of the survey concerned the respondents' opinions on whether surnames can constitute specific carriers of knowledge about the nationality of their bearers. The issue raised here is an introduction to further analyses related to views on specific surnames and the assessment of the typicality (defining the “Polish character”) of various structural and semantic groups of surnames.

It turns out that as many as 87.5% of the British surveyed believe that only sometimes surnames indicate the nationality of the bearers; Less than 11% of respondents say this is always the case.

Table 5. Names as identifiers of nationality – opinions of the consultation participants

Do you think that surnames suggest the nationalities of their bearers (allow them to identify their ethnic origin)?		
Yes, always.	6	10.7%
Yes, sometimes.	49	87.5%
No, never.	1	1.8%

Source: own research

Interestingly, (1) the belief that surnames never suggest nationality was expressed by people with primary education, (2) the opinion that surnames partially indicate nationality accompanied the statements of people with secondary and higher education (in the proportions: 14% : 66%), regardless of age, (3) full confidence in the surname as a carrier of information about ethnicity appeared primarily in the answers given by people with higher education (almost 9% of all answers) and usually from the age group over 50 (over 7%).

4. Rank of stereotypical nature of surnames – assessment of the given anthroponyms

The next stage of the study involved assessing the rank of typicality of surnames. Respondents were randomly presented with subsequent surnames, and they indicated the extent to which they could be considered characteristic of Poles. Here is the information obtained (values are given in percentages):

Table 6. Rank of stereotypical nature of surnames – assessment of the given anthroponyms

SURNAME	very characteristic	moderately characteristic/ not very characteristic	not characteristic at all	SURNAME	very characteristic	moderately characteristic/ not very characteristic	not characteristic at all
<i>Antoniewski</i>				<i>Danielski</i>			
[ãntõņefskʲi]/ [ãntõńefskʲi]	46.4	44.7	8.9	[dãņefskʲi]/ [dãńefskʲi]	30.4	48.2	21.4
<i>Domagalski</i>				<i>Felski</i>			
[dõmagalskʲi]/ [dõmagalskʲi]	26.8	55.3	17.9	[felskʲi]/[felskʲi]	23.2	48.2	28.6
<i>Kacperski</i>				<i>Bosacki</i>			
[kãtsperskʲi]/ [kãperskʲi]	44.6	42.9	12.5	[bõsãtskʲi]/ [bõsackʲi]	34	50	16
<i>Danecki</i>				<i>Janowicz</i>			
[dãnetskʲi]/ [dãneckʲi]	25	57.1	17.9	[jãnovʲiŃ]/ [jãnovʲiç]	25	57.1	17.9
<i>Bartkiewicz</i>				<i>Witkiewicz</i>			
[bartkʲevʲiŃ]/ [bartkʲievʲiç]	26.8	55.3	17.9	[vʲitkʲevʲiŃ]/ [vʲitkʲievʲiç]	25	56.1	17.9
<i>Augustyniak</i>				<i>Seweryniak</i>			
[ãwgustʲɲak]/ [ãgustʲɲak]	16	62.6	21.4	[severʲɲak]/ [severʲɲak]	14.3	66.1	19.6
<i>Krzyśiek</i>				<i>Stasiek</i>			
[kʲɕiɛek]/[kʲɕyśek]	41.1	42.9	16	[stãcek]/[stãsek]	26.8	50	23.2
<i>Jochymek</i>				<i>Francik</i>			
[jõxʲimɛk]/ [jõxʲimɛk]	16	48.3	35.7	[frãntɛik]/ [frãncik]	8.9	50	41.1
<i>Jakubik</i>				<i>Tomasik</i>			
[jakubʲik]/ [jakubʲik]	21.4	51.8	26.8	[tõmacik]/ [tõmaśik]	26.8	51.8	21.4

Table 6 (cont.)

<i>Adamczyk</i>				<i>Wacławczyk</i>			
[adãm[ŝ]ik]/ [adãmčyk]	41.1	42.9	16	[vatšwaf[ŝ]ik]/ [vacuafčyk]	46.2	39.5	14.3
<i>Tomczyk</i>				<i>Bronka</i>			
[tõm[ŝ]ik]/ [tõmčyk]	44.6	39.4	16	[brõnka]/[brõŋka]	5.4	58.9	35.7
<i>Krakowski</i>				<i>Pomorski</i>			
[krakofskʲi]/ [krakofsk'i]	66.1	30.3	3.6	[pòmorskʲi]/ [pòmorsk'i]	46.4	44.7	8.9
<i>Lubelski</i>				<i>Zaleski</i>			
[lubelskʲi]/ [lubelsk'i]	48.2	42.9	8.9	[zalěskʲi]/ [zalesk'i]	46.4	42.9	10.7
<i>Piotrowski</i>				<i>Brodzki</i>			
[pʲjõtrofskʲi]/ [p'jõtrofsk'i]	50	39.3	10.7	[brõtškʲi]/ [brotsk'i]	25	66.1	8.9
<i>Rudzki</i>				<i>Sieradzki</i>			
[rutskʲi]/[ruck'i]	25	59	16	[šeratskʲi]/ [šerack'i]	21.5	58.9	19.6
<i>Baraniecki</i>				<i>Drewniak</i>			
[barapnetskʲi]/ [barańeck'i]	21.4	60.7	17.9	[drevpak]/ [drevńak]	26.8	57.2	16
<i>Kamieniecki</i>				<i>Koniak</i>			
[kam'ɛpnetskʲi]/ [kãm'jěńeck'i]	25	57.1	17.9	[kõŋpak]/[kõńak]	25	55.4	19.6
<i>Święcicki</i>				<i>Łącki</i>			
[šfɛjntšɛitskʲi]/ [šf'jěńćick'i]	23.2	57.1	19.7	[wõntškʲi]/ [uõnck'i]	19.6	55.4	25
<i>Drwal</i>				<i>Dymek</i>			
[drval]/[drval]	12.5	48.2	39.3	[dĩmek]/[dỹmek]	26.8	53.6	19.6
<i>Golonka</i>				<i>Ziomek</i>			
[gõlõnka]/ [gõlõŋka]	16.1	58.9	25	[zõmek]/[žõmek]	25	50	25
<i>Dusik</i>				<i>Pniak</i>			
[duɛik]/[dušik]	14.3	50	35.7	[pnak]/[pńak]	23.2	51.8	25

<i>Nitka</i> [nitka]/[ńitka]	17.8	51.8	30.4	<i>Słomka</i> [swõmka]/ [sũõmka]	17.9	46.4	35.7
<i>Byk</i> [bik]/[byk]	7.1	51.8	41.1	<i>Dominik</i> [dõm'ijnik]/ [dõm'ĩnik]	10.7	60.7	28.6
<i>Gawel</i> [gawew]/[gaweu]	12.5	53.6	33.9	<i>Kowal</i> [kõval]/[koyal]	16	48.2	35.8
<i>Wit</i> [v'it]/[v'it]	3.6	48.2	48.2	<i>Dwornik</i> [dvõrnik]/ [dvõrnik]	19.6	57.2	23.2
<i>Ptak</i> [ptak]/[ptak]	25	37.5	37.5	<i>Ziemski</i> [zẽmsk'i]/ [żẽmsk'i]	44.6	44.6	10.8
<i>Turski</i> [tursk'i]/[tursk'i]	16.1	57.1	26.8	<i>Górski</i> [gursk'i]/[gursk'i]	30.4	44.6	25

Source: own research

Even a cursory observation of the data quoted shows that for the British, derived anthroponyms are more legible, i.e. perceived as “Polish”.

Table 7. Rank of stereotypical nature of surnames – conclusions from the survey participants' predictions: general data

stereotypical nature of surnames	SURNAMES DERIVED	SURNAMES NON-DERIVATIVE
very characteristic	26%	19%
moderately characteristic/ not very characteristic	53%	49%
not characteristic at all	21%	32%

Source: own research

Table 8. Rank of stereotypical nature of surnames – conclusions from the survey participants' predictions: details

SURNAMEN DERIVED	very characteristic	moderately characteristic/ not very characteristic	not characteristic at all	SURNAMEN NON-DERIVATIVE	very characteristic	moderately characteristic/ not very characteristic	not characteristic at all
<i>ski</i>	43%	44%	13%	nicknames and occupational names, equal to common nouns	17%	48%	35%
<i>cki</i>	25%	56%	19%				
<i>-dzki</i>	24%	61%	15%				
<i>-ek</i>	27%	49%	24%	patronymic (equal to names)	9%	54%	37%
<i>-ik/-yk</i>	28%	48%	24%				
<i>-ak</i>	21%	60%	19%	nicknames, equal to adjectives	30%	45%	25%
<i>-(ow/ew)icz</i>	26%	56%	18%				
<i>-ka</i>	13%	55%	32%				
ON AVERAGE	26%	53%	21%	ON AVERAGE	19%	49%	32%

Source: own research

As for derived surnames, respondents considered anthroponyms ending with the suffix *-ski* to be the most representative of Poles – such forms were indicated as very or moderately typical for Poles by 95% of respondents (43% + 44%). Interestingly, however, if we take into account the proportions of indications for “very” and “medium” characteristics, it turns out that the respondents considered anthroponyms with the formants *-cki* (25% + 56%) and *-dzki* (24% + 61%) as less characteristic, in basically being variations of the suffix above-mentioned (they are the result of the assimilation of the vowel sound of the inflectional stem of the word-formation base of the surname and the fricative sound [s] appearing in the *ski* morpheme: ← *t-ski*, ← *-c-ski*, ← *-k-ski*; ← *-d-ski*, ← *-cz-ski*) (cf. Biolik, 2001). Nevertheless, the discussed group of anthroponyms includes the surnames most common among Poles, and it is probably

the frequency of their occurrence (and therefore also the potential contact with them by the British) that determined them to be considered the most characteristic (stereotypical). An argument in favor of the thesis of considering surnames ending in *-ski* as the most exemplary names for Poles is the fact that the study participants quite often (75% of guesses) indicated surnames as characteristic surnames that were not formed by adding the suffix *-ski* to the base, but only resembled them due to their form – these are nicknames equal to adjectives (Górski, Turski, Ziemiński)⁷.

The respondents considered surnames ending in *-icz* (*-ewicz* and *-owicz*), which historically belong to East Slavic personal proper names, and therefore not necessarily found in Poland, to be less characteristic of Poles⁸. 26% of respondents considered them very typical. Probably, this time, the justification for the degree to which the anthroponyms above-mentioned are perceived as characteristic of Poles lies in the frequency of their occurrence in Poland – according to ISNP⁹, there are only 545 surnames with the form *-owicz* and about 945 ending in *-ewicz*.

Respondents indicated surnames with the suffixes *-ik/-yk* (28%), *-ek* (27%), *-ak* (21%), and *ka* (13%) as even less characteristic. They all have the highest rates in the ‘not at all characteristic’ response group; these are 24%, 24%, and 20%, while, for example, for surnames with the morphemes *-ski*, *-cki*, and *-dzki*, the average indication of lack of typicality is 16%. It is worth emphasizing, however, that the types of surnames mentioned here are not rare among Poles; according to ISNP, anthroponyms ending in *-ik/-yk* constitute quite a large group – just over 1.700 names (approx. 900 + approx. 800), with the form *-ek* there are almost 1.700 of them, while surnames ending in *-ak* are recorded around 1.900. Perhaps in general comparison with the surnames on *-ski/-cki/-dzki*, these are not significant quantitative values (in ISNP this group of surnames is certified in the number of approximately 4.700), but comparing them with surnames containing individual formants, the data may be surprising: how much anthroponyms with *ski* are recorded 3.900 times in

⁷ This also shows that onymic stereotypes are not embedded in the bases of surnames; the semantics of the root or even the entire name does not constitute a stereotyping factor.

⁸ The reader will find an extensive commentary in: Magda-Czekaj, 2011. Kazimierz Rymut explains: “The *-icz/-owicz* oscillation was created already in the Proto-Slavic era. [...] In the history of the suffix *-owicz(z)*, there was also a change in the initial vowel. In Greater Poland, Mazovia and Pomerania, after soft consonants, as well as after *c, cz, dz, sz, ź*, which were once soft, *-o-* became *-e-* [...]. [...] The second change also concerns the vowel *o*. Namely, after the velar consonants *k, g, ch*, there is a transition to *e*. In this case, this change took place under Belarusian influence and occurred relatively late. [...] Under the influence of forms such as *Jankiewicz, Langiewicz, Drozdewicz, Kielbasiewicz, Kaczmarewicz, Górewicz* also appeared. Until the end of the Middle Ages, forms in *-ic, -owic* indicated descent from the father and were patronymics [...]. They are replaced by diminutive formations *ik, ek, czak*” (Rymut, 1999, pp. XLVIII–XLIX).

⁹ Czopek-Kopciuch, Górny, Magda-Czekaj, Skowronek (et al.). *Internetowy słownik nazwisk w Polsce* (Online dictionary of surnames in Poland) – the text uses the abbreviation: ISNP.

ISNP, while surnames with *-cki* occur in approximately 800 cases, and with the *-dzki* suffix only in approximately 100 cases.

The tables below contain detailed data indicating the rank of representativeness (stereotypicness) of derived surnames. These data do not – or not only – reflect the perception of specific surnames by the surveyed Britons occurring among Poles, to what extent they enable us to determine what (root, base, suffix) in the derived surnames themselves can be considered an onymic stereotype, and to what extent the stereotypes seen in this way become the basis for the emergence of higher-level stereotypes – typical categories of surnames. Therefore, individual surnames are often only certain representations of stereotypes, although it is undoubtedly the case that some anthroponyms as a whole are stereotypes in themselves and directly constitute components of ethnic stereotypes (see, among others, Kowalski or Nowak)¹⁰.

Table 9. Conclusions from the survey participants' predictions – derived surnames: *-ski*
a) derived surnames

<i>-ski</i>	characteristic	not characteristic
surnames derived from proper names – patronymic (from anthroponyms)		
<i>Antoniewski</i> (← name <i>Antoni</i> + extended suffix <i>ewski</i> [on the pattern toponymic surnames])	91.1%	8.9%
<i>Danielski</i> (← name <i>Daniel</i> + suffix <i>ski</i> [on the pattern toponymic surnames])	78.6%	21.4%
<i>Domagalski</i> (← name <i>Domagała</i> + suffix <i>ski</i> [in structural function, on the pattern toponymic surnames])	82.1%	17.9%
<i>Felski</i> (← name <i>Fel</i> [← <i>Feliks/ Felicjan</i>] + suffix <i>ski</i> [on the pattern toponymic surnames])	87.5%	12.5%

¹⁰ It should be noted here that despite the existence of quite numerous studies devoted to the stereotype of Poland and Poles in Great Britain, proper names remain outside the authors' scope of observation (if they do, attention is usually paid to the connotations related to the ethnonym); see including: Fomina, Frelak, 2011; Łuczak, 2017; Fomin, 2009; Garapich, 2010; Garapich, 2016; Garapich, 2008; Sword, 1996.

<i>Kacperski</i>		
(← name <i>Kacper</i> + suffix <i>ski</i> [as in the case of toponymic surnames])	71.4%	28.6%
AVERAGE	82.14%	17.86%
surnames derived from proper names – toponymic (from toponyms)		
<i>Krakowski</i>		
(← toponym <i>Kraków</i> + suffix <i>ski</i> [indicating origin from the town or possession thereof])	96.4%	3.6%
<i>Pomorski</i>		
(← toponym <i>Pomorze</i> + suffix <i>ski</i>)	91.1%	8.9%
<i>Lubelski</i>		
(← toponym <i>Lublin</i> + suffix <i>ski</i>)	91.1%	8.9%
<i>Zaleski</i>		
(← toponym <i>Zalesie</i> + suffix <i>ski</i>)	89.3%	10.7%
<i>Piotrowski</i>		
(← toponym <i>Piotrów/ Piotrowice/ Piotrów</i> + suffix <i>ski</i>)	89.3%	10.7%
AVERAGE	91.44%	8.56%

Source: own research

Table 10. Conclusions from the survey participants' predictions: derived surnames: *-cki*

-cki	characteristic	not characteristic
surnames derived from proper names – patronymic (from anthroponyms)		
<i>Danecki</i>		
(← name <i>Danek</i> ← <i>Daniel</i> / names composed of <i>dan</i> , type <i>Bogdan</i>)	82.1%	17.9%
<i>Bosacki</i>		
(← name <i>Bosak</i> lub <i>Bosy</i>)	84%	16%
AVERAGE	83.1%	16.9%

Table 10 (cont.)

surnames derived from proper names – toponymic (from toponyms)		
<i>Łącki</i>		
(← toponym, name of a place Łąck/ name of a place Łącko/ name of a place Łąki/ name of a place Łąka)	75%	25%
<i>Baraniecki</i>		
(← toponym, name of a place <i>Baraniec</i>)	82.1%	17.9%
<i>Kamieniecki</i>		
(← toponym, name of a place <i>Kamieniec</i>)	82.1%	17.9%
<i>Święcicki</i>		
(← toponym, name of a place <i>Święcice</i> / name of a place <i>Święcica</i>)	80.3%	19.7%
AVERAGE	79.9%	20.1%

Source: own research

Table 11. Conclusions from the survey participants' predictions – derived surnames: -dzki

-dzki	characteristic	not characteristic
surnames derived from proper names – toponymic (from toponyms)		
<i>Rudzki</i>		
(← toponym, name of a town <i>Ruda</i> / name of the village <i>Rudy</i>)	84%	16%
<i>Brodzki</i>		
(← toponym, name of a place <i>Brody</i>)	91.1%	8.9%
<i>Sieradzki</i>		
(← toponym, name of a town <i>Sieradz</i>)	80.4%	19.6%
AVERAGE	85.2%	14.8%

Source: own research

Table 12. Conclusions from the survey participants' predictions – derived surnames: -owicz/-ewicz

-owicz/-ewicz	characteristic	not characteristic
surnames derived from proper names - patronymic (from anthroponyms)		
<i>Bartkiewicz</i> (← name <i>Bartek</i> ← name <i>Bartłomiej</i>)	82.1%	17.9%
<i>Witkiewicz</i> (← name <i>Witek</i> , <i>Witko</i> ← name <i>Wit</i>)	81.1%	18.9%
<i>Janowicz</i> (← name <i>Jan</i>)	82.1%	17.9%
AVERAGE	81.8%	18.2%

Source: own research

Table 13. Conclusions from the survey participants' predictions – derived surnames: -ak

-ak	characteristic	not characteristic
surnames derived from proper names – patronymic (from anthroponyms)		
<i>Augustyniak</i> (← name <i>Augustyn</i> [← lat. cognomen <i>Augustinus</i>])	82.1%	17.9%
<i>Seweryniak</i> (← name <i>Seweryn</i> [← lat. cognomen <i>Severinus</i>])	84%	16%
AVERAGE	83.1%	16.9%
surnames derived from common nouns - nicknames and occupation names		
<i>Drewniak</i> (← nickname <i>Drewniak</i> ← noun <i>drewniak</i> 'shoe with wooden sole'/ ← activity name <i>drewniak</i> 'wood merchant')	84%	16%

Table 13 (cont.)

<i>Koniak</i>		
(← nickname <i>Koniak</i> ← dialectal noun <i>koniaka</i> 'stallion')	80.4%	19.6%
AVERAGE	82%	18%

Source: own research

Table 14. Conclusions from the survey participants' predictions – derived surnames: -ek

-ek	characteristic	not characteristic
surnames derived from proper names – patronymic (from anthroponyms)		
<i>Krzysiek</i> (← name <i>Krzys</i> ← name <i>Krzysztof</i>)	84%	16%
<i>Jochymek</i> (← name <i>Jochym</i> ← name <i>Joachim</i>)	64.3%	35.7%
<i>Stasiek</i> (← name <i>Staś</i> / name <i>Staszek</i> ← compound names <i>Stanisław</i> , <i>Stanimir</i>)	76.8%	23.2%
AVERAGE	75%	25%
surnames derived from common nouns – nicknames		
<i>Dymek</i> (← nicknames <i>Dymek</i> ← noun <i>dymek</i> 'scent; blacksmith')	80.4%	19.6%
<i>Ziomek</i> (← nickname <i>Ziomek</i> ← common noun <i>ziomek</i> 'compatriot, native; someone connected to the same land as the namer')	75%	25%
AVERAGE	77.7%	22.3%

Source: own research

Table 15. Conclusions from the survey participants' predictions – derived surnames: -ik/-yk

-ik/-yk	characteristic	not characteristic
surnames derived from proper names – patronymic (from anthroponyms)		
<i>Jakubik</i> (← name <i>Jakub</i>)	73.2%	26.8%
<i>Adamczyk</i> (← name <i>Adamek</i> ← name <i>Adam</i>)	84%	16%
<i>Tomczyk</i> (← name <i>Tomek</i> ← name <i>Tomasz</i>)	84%	16%
<i>Francik</i> (← name <i>Franc</i> ← is a shortened form of the name <i>Franciszek</i> / ← German name <i>Franz</i>)	58.9%	41.1%
<i>Tomasik</i> (← name <i>Tomas</i> / <i>Tomasz</i>)	78.6%	21.4%
<i>Wacławczyk</i> (← name <i>Wacławek</i> ← name <i>Wacław</i>)	85.7%	14.3%
AVERAGE	77.4%	22.6%
surnames derived from common nouns – nicknames		
<i>Dusik</i> (<i>Dus</i> + <i>ik</i> ← verb <i>dusić</i> 'choke; to harass, to annoy/ noun <i>dusza</i> 'ghost; life force, life)	64.3%	35.7%
<i>Dwornik</i> (← nickname <i>Dwornik</i> ← noun <i>dwornik</i> 'administrator, włodarz, court servant; a nobleman or a Ruthenian mayor')	76.8%	23.2%
AVERAGE	70.55%	29.45%

Source: own research

Table 16. Conclusions from the survey participants' predictions – derived surnames: -ka

-ka	characteristic	not characteristic
surnames derived from proper names – patronymic (from anthroponyms)		
<i>Bronka</i>		
(<i>Bron</i> + <i>ka</i> ←← shortening of Old Polish compound names: <i>Bronisław</i> , <i>Bronisqd</i> / personal name <i>Bronek</i>)	64.3%	35.7%
AVERAGE	64.5%	35.7%
surnames derived from common nouns – nicknames		
<i>Golonka</i>		
(←← nickname <i>Golonka</i> ←← noun <i>golonka</i> 'lower part of the ham with the shank bone')	64.3%	35.7%
<i>Słomka</i>		
(←← nicknames <i>Słomka</i> ←← noun <i>słomka</i> 'dried grain stalks/ straw a bird from the snipe family')	75%	25%
AVERAGE	69.7%	30.3%

Source: own research

Table 17. Conclusions from the survey participants' predictions – non-derivative surnames: surnames based on appellatives, equal to common nouns

b) non-derivative surnames

1.	characteristic	not characteristic
surnames based on appellatives, equal to common nouns – nicknames and occupational		
<i>Drwal</i>		
(←← occupation name <i>drwal</i> 'a person cutting down trees in the forest'/ ←← nickname <i>Drwal</i> [←← <i>drwal</i> 'as above; figuratively: a simpleton, an uncouth person'])	60.7%	39.3%

<i>Nitka</i>		
(← nickname <i>Nitka</i> ← noun <i>nitka</i> 'a thin fiber, used for example in sewing')	69.6%	30.4%
<i>Byk</i>		
(← nickname <i>Byk</i> ← noun <i>byk</i> 'uncas-trated male cow')	58.9%	41.1%
<i>Kowal</i>		
(← nickname <i>Kowal</i> ← occupation name <i>kowal</i> 'a craftsman who deals in forging and making objects from iron')	64.2%	35.8%
<i>Ptak</i>		
(← nickname <i>Ptak</i> ← noun <i>ptak</i> 'a feathered animal with wings and a beak')	62.5%	37.5%
<i>Pniak</i>		
(← nickname <i>Pniak</i> ← noun <i>pniak</i> 'the part of a tree remaining after it has been cut down, beehive')	75%	25%
AVERAGE	65.15%	34.85%

Source: own research

Table 18. Conclusions from the survey participants' predictions – non-derivative surnames: surnames based on appellatives, equal to adjectives

2.	characteristic	not characteristic
surnames based on appellatives, equal to adjectives – nicknames		
<i>Ziemski</i>		
(← nickname <i>Ziemski</i> ← adjectives <i>ziemski</i> 'applies to land - an administrative unit in former Poland')	89.2%	10.8%
<i>Turski</i>		
(← nickname <i>Turski</i> ← adjective <i>turski</i> 'Turkish, related in some way to the Turks, Turkey')	73.28%	26.8%

Table 18 (cont.)

<i>Górski</i>		
(←← nickname <i>Górski</i> ←← adjective <i>górski</i> 'mountainous; concerning the mountain, mountains')	75%	25%
AVERAGE	79.1%	20.9%

Source: own research

Table 19. Conclusions from the survey participants' predictions: non-derivative surnames: surnames equal to names

3.	characteristic	not characteristic
patronymic (equal to names)		
<i>Dominik</i>		
(←← name <i>Dominik</i> [←← łac. cognomen <i>Dominicus</i>])	71.4%	28.6%
<i>Wit</i>		
(←← name <i>Wit</i> [←← łac. cognomen <i>Vitus</i> /shortening of names <i>Witostaw</i> , <i>Witold</i>])	51.8%	48.2%
<i>Gawel</i>		
(←← name <i>Gawel</i> [←← łac. cognomen <i>Gaulus</i> / <i>Gallus</i>])	66.1%	33.9%
AVERAGE	63.1%	36.9%

Source: own research

5. Rank of stereotypical names – anthroponyms indicated by respondents

The next stage of the study involved the British indicating specific names of Poles with whom they had contact in personal contacts or while watching films, reading books, the press, etc. Each respondent could indicate more than one name from the given list, as well as provide another

name that wasn't on the list. 251 responses were collected. The results obtained in the survey are as follows (other surnames that appeared in the answers are also given in brackets):

Table 20. Rank of stereotypical names – anthroponyms indicated by respondents

SURNAME	NUMBER OF INDICATIONS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL INDICATIONS	SURNAME	NUMBER OF INDICATIONS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL INDICATIONS
<i>Wiśniewski</i> (<i>Wisniewski, Wisnieski, Wisniewski</i>)	11	4.4	<i>Kowalski</i> (<i>Kowalsky, Kovalski</i>)	36	14.3
<i>Wójcik</i> (<i>Wojcik, Woycik</i>)	33	13.1	<i>Woźniak</i> (<i>Wozniak, Wozniack</i>)	20	8
<i>Kowalczyk</i> (<i>Kowalczyk, Kowaltschik</i>)	8	3.2	<i>Dąbrowski</i> (<i>Dombrowski, Dombroski</i>)	4	1.6
<i>Nowak</i> (<i>Novak, Nowack, Novack</i>)	34	13.5	<i>Kwiatkowski</i> (<i>Kwiatkoski, Kwiatkoski</i>)	9	3.6
<i>Szymański</i> (<i>Szymanski, Szymansky</i>)	7	2.8	<i>Jankowski</i> (<i>Jankowski, Jankovsky, Jankoski</i>)	23	9.1
<i>Kamiński</i> (<i>Kaminski</i>)	13	5.2	<i>Kozłowski</i> (<i>Kozlowski, Kozłowski, Kozloski</i>)	16	6.4
<i>Mazur</i> (<i>Masuhr, Masur</i>)	5	2	<i>Zieliński</i> (<i>Zielinski</i>)	20	8
other names, indicated individually: <i>Michałowski, Guzik, Polański, Januszczak, Ciupa, Samulski, Dyrek, Wojciechowicz, Tarkowski, Styrynik, Piotrowski, Michalski</i>				12	4.8

Source: own research

Even a cursory observation of the presented results allows us to notice that the most frequently indicated surnames are those ending in *-ski* (e.g. *Wiśniewski*, *Kamiński*, *Michalski*, *Polański*), which only confirms that in the minds of the British, these are the most stereotypical surnames of Poles, and thus – that the prototype a Pole is a person with a surname such as *Kowalski*, *Szymański*, *Zieliński* or *Samulski*. It should be noted that apart from the type of surnames indicated, there is another anthroponym that is a stereotypical naming of a Pole – *Nowak*, the only surname from the group of surnames ending in *-ak* that has so many indications at all stages of the survey. Therefore, it must be assumed that it is not the structural type and its frequency among all Polish surname forms that determine the recognition of the surname *Nowak* as a stereotypical name, but the frequency of the anthroponym itself – dominant in the Polish naming system for hundreds of years, which is confirmed by statistics (currently in Poland – according to ISNP – the surname has rank 1, and its bearers constitute a large group of 187,732 people). As previously mentioned, FNBI confirms the high frequency of the surname also in Great Britain and Ireland. The surname *Nowak* is therefore a metonym, it functions as a stereotype in itself, and in combination with the name *Jan* – together with *Jan Kowalski* – it is a kind of national personification of a Pole. Zofia Kaleta, an outstanding onomast, and expert on Polish surnames, writes:

This is how the social, one might say, history of Polish surnames accumulated in the two most common surnames today, Nowak and Kowalski. Only one of them, the surname Kowalski, is still an example of a ‘better’ or ‘prettier’ surname as a type of surname and at the same time the most popular Polish surname ending with -ski. Surnames ending with -ski are not associated with modern Poles either with nobility or any privileges. The fact that these surnames have an almost six hundred-year-old tradition in Poland dating back to the 14th century and that the history of Polish society and the history of Polish culture are connected with them are generally unknown. After centuries, indicating belonging to a higher social class has become socially neutral, but is still considered better than other surnames. Thanks to their aesthetic value, i.e. nice sound, they are still an example of better or nicer names in Poland because they sound nice. People who change the so-called administrative and legal surnames that are not in line with human dignity, considered ugly, most often want to have a surname ending in -ski. [...] The history of surnames ending with -ski in Poland is not over yet. We do not know for how long they will remain, models of better and nicer names if they change. We do not know whether, and if so, for how long, young schoolgirls will dream of having a ski name (Kaleta, 1998a, pp. 109–110).

6. Anthroponymous stereotypes and official statistics

Other points of the survey played a verifying role for the information obtained in the study and presented in the previous stages of the article – the parts in which the British were asked to list examples of surnames that they consider the most typical for Poles, as well as to indicate what Polish surnames they come across most often in films, jokes, and literature. Both issues were deliberately included at the initial stages of the study to prevent survey participants from using onomastic material appearing at other stages of the survey (so as not to suggest possible answers to respondents).

As for the first issue, i.e. providing examples of surnames perceived as the most typical for Poles, the answers included 32 anthroponyms: **Adamcyk* (= *Adamczyk*), *Bogdanowicz*, *Bukowski*, *Ciechanowski*, *Czechowski*, **Czerwinski* (x 3, = *Czerwiński*), *Dąbrowski*, *Dyrak*, *Hoszko*, *Jankowski* (x 3), *Kaczmarek*, **Kaminsky* (= *Kamiński*), *Kowalski* (x 8)/**Kovalski*, *Lebowski* (x2), *Lewandowski* (x 3)/**Levandowski*, *Michalski*, *Nowak* (x 6), **Nowinski* (= *Nowiński*), **Pawelek* (= *Pawełek*), *Piotrowski*, *Podolski*, *Samulski*, *Sienkiewicz*, *Sikorski*, **Slonina* (= *Słonina*), *Waleński*, **Wojtywa* (= *Wojtyła*), *Wolski*, *Wozniak* (x 3)/**Wosniak*, **Wojcik* (= *Wójcik*), **Zielinski* (x 2, = *Zieliński*)¹¹.

In the cited set of proper names, the vast majority are anthroponyms ending in *ski* (20 examples, some of which are given more than once). Importantly, some respondents did not provide a specific name, but in the answer space they included comments: “Surnames that end with SKI”, “Surnames containing the letter with ski”, “Surnames with ‘ski’ ‘ska’ ‘wcz’ ‘icz’ at the end”, “Anything ended with *-ski*”, “Generally, names ending with *-ski* or *-ska* (gender-based)”, “*-ski*, *-ska* ending surnames”. From this part of the study, it can also be concluded that for the British the most characteristic surnames allowing the identification of Poles are anthroponyms ending in *-ski* (including proper names equal to common adjectives and names derived using the suffix *ski* and its variants: *-owski/-ewski*, *-ec(s)ki*, *-ic(s)ki*, *-eński*, *-ański*, *iński/-yński*)¹².

¹¹ Surnames that differ from the Polish originals and are adapted forms are marked with an asterisk symbol.

¹² As an interesting fact directly related to the issue raised in this article, it is worth mentioning Zofia Kowalik-Kaleta’s comment, referring to Polish emigrants in the United States: “The Polish ethnic group was often referred to in America by the most typical surname ending in *-ski*, i.e. *Kowalski*, or just the abstracted ending *-ski*. Similarly, the Jewish group in this country was named *Icek* [...]. Research [...] showed that 51,6% of Americans of Polish descent consider changing their Polish surname to a “more American” one as beneficial to improving their social position in America. At the same time, 56,2% of them are proud of their Polish origin and show it to strangers. The combination of these data undoubt-

This time, the specific names most frequently indicated by respondents were *Kowalski* (it was mentioned nine times) and *Nowak* (it was mentioned six times). Indeed, the first of the surnames (which can be either a professional anthroponym derived from the common word – *kowalski*, a local surname, based on toponyms such as *Kowal*, *Kowale*, or a surname derived from the personal name *Kowal*) is one of the most common among Poles (according to ISNP, it is called 129,508 people) (see Rutkowski 2015), but it is the second of the mentioned anthroponyms – *Nowak* (a surname after a nickname, based on the appellative *nowak* ‘a man new in a certain environment’ [Kaleta 2007a, pp. 133–134, 156, 258]), has been at the top of the list of surnames for centuries (the number of its bearers ranges from 187,732¹³ to 202,657¹⁴). It is worth emphasizing that both surnames are characterized by their high frequency in Great Britain and Ireland – according to FNBI¹⁵, in the 19th century the frequency of the surname *Nowak* (also in the *Novak* variant, but referring only to Poles¹⁶) in Great Britain was 2,777, and in Ireland 87, with the surname *Kowalski* – respectively: 1,896 and 55; in the first two decades of the 21st century, these values were significantly higher, e.g. in 2014 they were as follows (according to FOR)¹⁷:

edly indicates the dilemma of ethnic identity of the children of Polish emigrants, which was revealed in the plane of the surname, an external indicator of ethnic affiliation and at the same time an involuntary symbol of stereotypical ideas of Americans about Poles, which are largely inconsistent with the truth. While in Poland, surnames with *-ski* have been for centuries and still are a model for ‘better’ surnames, today, for aesthetic reasons, and in historical times for social reasons, in America they designated people who were worse, because they were foreign, and were negatively assessed as an ethnic whole. The advantages of individual units or teams were not taken into account. But this is the mechanism of operation of the stereotype, the linguistic correlate of which in this case was the surname *Kowalski* and the suffix *-ski*, the ending of the most typical Polish surname” (Kaleta, 1998a, pp. 173–174).

¹³ According to ISNP (<https://nazwiska.ijp.pan.pl>; access: February 17, 2024). Kazimierz Rymut's study (1993, p. 649) provides a larger number of bearers of the *Nowak* surname - 220,217, but the name was based on data from the PESEL database from the 1990s.

¹⁴ Statistical data provided by the Ministry of Digitization indicate that in 2022, 202,657 Poles had the surname *Nowak*, and in 2023 - 201,315 (<https://dane.gov.pl/pl/dataset/1681,nazwiska-osob-zyjackich-wystepujace-w-register-pesel>, accessed: February 17, 2024).

¹⁵ The abbreviation refers to the study: Hanks, Coates, McClure, 2016.

¹⁶ A surname in the form *Novak* may also refer to Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, Slovenians, and Hungarians.

¹⁷ The lists were prepared in a database with information taken from the “Forebears” genealogy portal: <https://forebears.io/surnames> (accessed: March 9, 2024). The authors of the article regularly download more detailed and up-to-date statistical data from a completely trusted source – CENSUS. National Statistical Office. In response to the request received the following information: „Thank you for your email which has been forwarded to Census Customer Services for response. We are unable to provide the information you require. Names are collected as part of the Census to help demonstrate compliance with the law and to support the quality assurance of the data collected. Names are also sometimes used to combine Census data with other sources to create richer analytical datasets to help answer specific research questions. Access to names in the data is tightly controlled and ONS does not publish any outputs based purely upon name. We are unable to offer this via our bespoke service. All requests for bespoke datasets are considered based upon the public benefit, for example if they can be shown to be for the public good, such as an evidence base for public policy making or public service delivery, or for decisions which are likely to significantly benefit the UK economy, society, or quality of life of people in the UK. Unfortunately, in this instance, the public sector resource required to create this output cannot be justified by the public benefit of the information” (e-mail z 7 III 2024).

Table 21. Anthroponymous stereotypes and official statistics – Kowalski

<i>Kowalski</i>	INCIDENCE	FREQUENCY	RANK IN AREA
	(number of people who bear the name in the nation)	(ratio and percentage of people who bear the name in the nation)	(the position of name when graded by incidence with all other names in the area)
England	1 522	1: 36 608	4 796
for example, number of people: Greater London – 491, West Midlands – 100, Greater Manchester – 79, West Yorkshire – 69, Lancashire – 55, Nottinghamshire – 53, Derbyshire – 52, Devon – 52, Leicestershire – 38, Kent – 33, Northamptonshire – 30, Hampshire – 29, Cambridgeshire – 24, Buckinghamshire – 22, Cheshire – 22, Surrey – 22, Worcestershire – 21, Suffolk – 20, Lincolnshire – 19, South Yorkshire – 19, Cornwall – 18, Essex – 18, Oxfordshire – 18, Bedfordshire – 17, Hertfordshire – 17, City of Bristol – 16, Dorset – 15, Warwickshire – 15, Berkshire – 14, Shropshire – 13, Staffordshire – 13, East Sussex – 13, Gloucestershire – 11, Norfolk – 11, East Riding of Yorkshire – 11, North Yorkshire – 11, Somerset – 10			
Scotland	75	1: 71 384	5 479
number of people: City of Edinburgh – 23, Glasgow City – 6, Highland – 6, Renfrewshire – 5, Dundee City – 4, North Ayrshire – 4, North Lanarkshire – 4, South Ayrshire – 4, South Lanarkshire – 4, West Lothian – 3, Dumfries and Galloway – 3, Falkirk – 3			
Wales	51	1: 60 677	5 433
number of people: City and County of Swansea – 15, Neath Port Talbot County Borough – 7, Wrexham County Borough – 7, Monmouthshire – 6, Caerphilly County Borough – 5, City and County of Cardiff – 5, Flintshire – 4, Merthyr Tydfil County Borough – 1, Rhondda Cynon Taf County Borough – 1			
Northern Ireland		12 1: 153 753 8 250	
no detailed data			

Table 22. Anthroponymous stereotypes and official statistics – Nowak

<i>Nowak</i>	INCIDENCE	FREQUENCY	RANK IN AREA
	(number of people who bear the name in the nation)	(ratio and percentage of people who bear the name in the nation)	(the position of name when graded by incidence with all other names in the area)
England	2 645	1: 21 065	2 971
number of people: Greater London – 846, Greater Manchester – 106, West Midlands – 104, Hampshire – 99, West Yorkshire – 86, Leicestershire – 84, Surrey – 81, Nottinghamshire – 79, Hertfordshire – 69, Staffordshire – 66, South Yorkshire – 65, Lincolnshire – 57, Cambridgeshire – 56, Essex – 51, Kent – 50, Northamptonshire – 50, Lancashire – 45, West Sussex – 45, Bedfordshire – 44, Buckinghamshire – 39, East Sussex – 37, Oxfordshire – 34, Cheshire – 32, Somerset – 31, City of Bristol – 29, Derbyshire – 28, Devon – 28, Gloucestershire – 28, Berkshire – 27, Dorset – 23, Cornwall – 22, Merseyside – 20, North Yorkshire – 18, Tyne and Wear – 18, Cumbria – 17, Warwickshire – 16, Norfolk – 15, Wiltshire – 14, East Riding of Yorkshire – 14, Northumberland – 13, Suffolk – 13, Worcestershire – 12, Durham – 11, Herefordshire – 10, Shropshire – 9, Isle of Wight – 4			
Scotland	167	1: 32 059	3 229
for example, number of people: City of Edinburgh – 33, Glasgow City – 28, Fife – 15, East Lothian – 11, Aberdeen City – 11, Aberdeenshire – 8, Perth and Kinross – 8, Dundee City – 7, Highland – 7, Shetland – 6, Falkirk – 5, Scottish Borders – 5, Angus – 4, Clackmannanshire – 4, Renfrewshire – 4, West Lothian – 3, North Lanarkshire – 3			
Wales	75	1: 41 260	4 005
for example, number of people: Wrexham County Borough – 19, City and County of Swansea – 15, City and County of Cardiff – 14, Carmarthenshire – 11, Caerphilly County Borough – 5, Monmouthshire – 4, City and County of Newport – 3, Anglesey – 1			
FNorthern Ireland	31	1: 59 517	4 663
no detailed data			

It is worth noting that among the “typical” Poles’ names provided by respondents, there were those whose knowledge may be related to the contemporary popularity of specific people - usually famous athletes; Moreover, it is not without reason that some proper names were mentioned even two or three times. These are names such as *Lewandowski* (surname borne, among others, by Robert, Polish footballer, captain of the Polish national team, player of Borussia Dortmund, Bayern Munich and FC Barcelona, considered one of the best footballers of his generation in the world), *Zieliński* (surname Piotr, a player of the Polish national team, who also plays for Italian clubs: SSC Napoli and Inter Milan), *Wojtyła* (family name of one of the most outstanding Poles – a Polish Catholic bishop, who was elected pope in 1978 and held this office until 2005), *Polański* (the surname of Roman, a Polish-French screenwriter and director, repeatedly awarded with important awards from the film world), *Sienkiewicz* (the surname of Henryk, one of the most outstanding Polish writers).

7. Summary: conclusions, prospects for further research

The British – or at least this is what the study shows – do not attach any particular importance to surnames. This “average” attitude to the value of the surname is reflected in the dominant “indirect” answers given in the survey: “I partially agree with this”, “moderately characteristic”, “not very characteristic”, and “Yes, sometimes”. Let us emphasize that these answers concerned a general question: whether the surname has any significance for the respondents¹⁸, and if so, how much, and also specific

¹⁸ The authors of the article tried to obtain more information about the value of surnames among the British, but they did not come across any study in the literature that would address this issue. That's why they contacted a specialist – Dr. Harry Parkin from the University of Chester, onomast, editor of the Concise Oxford Dictionary of Family Names in Britain and co-author of the Oxford Dictionary of Family Names in Britain and Ireland. It turned out that research in the field of interest to the authors of this text has not been and is not conducted; in response to the inquiry, the following information was received: “Thanks for getting in touch. As far as I'm aware, there's nothing that looks in detail at the general attitudes of British people towards their surnames. Papers instead seem to be focused more on attitudes to names in the context of certain surname changes and surname choices (e.g. attitudes to name changes due to marriage). In general, though, it might be useful to read up on the subfield of socio-onomastics, which looks at the relationship between names and identity” (mail of March 18, 2024).

It seems that minor suggestions about the importance of surnames for the British can be provided, among others, by a separate observation of the issue of changing surnames by women after marriage (this fact is deeply rooted in the British tradition, although it is not regulated by law). Well, it turns out that the British attitude towards the matter is gradually changing – research conducted in 1995 shows that in Great Britain about 94% of women getting married changed their surname to their husband's surname, and 4% of women left their family surname and at the same time adopted the surname husband (Valetas, 2001, pp. 1–4), while in 2016 only 89% of women gave up their surname and took their husband's surname (Duncan, Ellingsæter, Carter, 2020).

questions related to the assessment: firstly, whether and to what extent the surname can be a carrier of information about ethnicity (national), the origin of a given person, and secondly, which specific surnames are most associated with Poles in the opinion of the respondents. It should be emphasized that – paradoxically – although the survey participants did not declare a high value of surnames, also in terms of their appearance as identifiers (markers) of the nationality of the bearers, it is clear from the answers provided in the detailed parts of the survey that they not only accurately attribute surnames to nationality (and more narrowly: to the anthroponymic system), but also the scope of these assignments to a considerable extent reflects the positions of the types of derived surnames occurring in the Polish anthroponymic system (see the table below, in which the first line contains data from the survey, while the second reflects information included in the work 1000 most popular surnames in Poland [Zawadzki, 2002]).

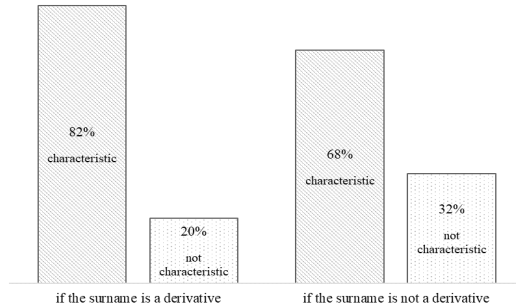
Table 23. Rank of stereotypical names – substantiated generalization

SUFFIX GROUPS		<i>ski/ cki/ dzki</i>		<i>ik/ yk</i>		<i>ek</i>		<i>ewicz/ owicz</i>		<i>ak</i>		<i>ka</i>	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
RANKING POSITION	PERCENTAGE OF SUFFIX GROUPS	1	31%	2	28%	3	27%	4	26%	5	21%	6	13%
		1	35.6%	4	7.3%	3	8.6%	6	2.3%	2	11.6%	5	3.2%

Source: own research

For the British, the more characteristic Polish surnames are derived surnames. On this basis, it can be concluded that anthroponymous stereotypes are related primarily (if not exclusively) to the structure of surnames, and more precisely - they are embedded in suffixes (or: they are suffixes).

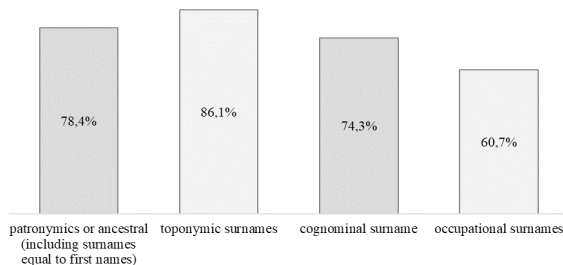
Figure 1. Stereotypical surnames – derivative and non-derivative surnames



In the perception of Polish surnames by the British, anthroponyms with the formants *ski/ -cki/ -dzki* (especially those with the first of the above-mentioned suffix variants) are characterized by the highest stereotypical character among derived surnames.

Although in the study the highest values in the assessment of surnames were obtained by local surnames and surnames derived from ethnic names, one cannot be guided by these survey results - it cannot be assumed that the anthroponymic stereotype is connected with the semantics of the names (the approximate meaning inherent in the root of the surnames). In this case, it is difficult to clearly state the correctness of the perception of surnames by the British, because anthroponyms belonging to the mentioned group of proper names are primarily surnames ending in *-ski/-cki/-dzki*, so it is these characteristic suffixes that may determine the perception of names and not the content contained in core of surnames. Only more detailed research can bring conclusions supporting or contradicting this thesis.

Figure 2. Stereotypical surnames – the approximate meaning inherent in the root of the surnames



There are many indications that the recognition of individual word-formation structures of surnames (more precisely: suffixes) and – to some extent – specific anthroponyms is often determined by their frequency. The table below, presenting selected surnames (most frequently chosen by respondents), contains information about their statistical presence in Poland (based on ISNP) and their functioning in Great Britain (based on FNBiI)¹⁹. It is worth paying attention to a certain regularity revealed during a thorough analysis of the information obtained in the survey: the larger the administrative unit (town) from which the respondents come, the more often individual surnames (de facto, representations of surname types) are indicated as typical anthroponyms. (very or moderately characteristic) for Poles. This is probably related to the respondents' potential encounter with Poles (or more broadly: with Polish culture and the cultural activities of Poles) in their everyday lives - in workplaces, shops, schools, etc. It is not a surprising fact that the probability of meeting a certain person, and therefore also his or her name, increases with the number of people operating in a given environment. And it must be remembered that the largest concentrations of the Polish community and Poles living in Great Britain are located in large towns²⁰.

¹⁹ Undoubtedly, comparing these statistical data with the data resulting from the survey will enable those interested to draw more precise conclusions or formulate further hypotheses related to the study of Polish anonymous stereotypes functioning in the (sub)conscious of the British.

²⁰ For example:

1) according to approximate data presented by the Central Statistical Office, in the years 2004–2020 the number of Polish emigrants in Great Britain increased dynamically: initially, in the mentioned period it was 150.000 people, but already in 2019 as many as 678.000 (after the so-called after Brexit, this number decreased significantly, in 2020 the group of Polish emigrants numbered approximately 514.000 people (source: Central Statistical Office [2024, March 10]. Information on the size and directions of temporary emigration from Poland in 2004–2020);

2) information provided by official statistical institutions regarding population censuses conducted in 2011 in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland shows that at that time there were over 654.000 Poles officially residing in Great Britain (sources: Census. Office for National Statistics [2016, January 5]. 2011 Census: Key statistics for local authorities in England and Wales; National Records of Scotland [2024, March 10], 10 March]). The publications posted on the websites of the above-mentioned institutions also show that the largest concentrations of Poles and Polish diaspora are: London, Manchester, Glasgow, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Bradford and Cardiff.

Table 24. Selected surnames (most frequently chosen by respondents) and their statistical presence in Poland and their functioning in Great Britain

SURNAME	RANK/FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE		SURNAME	RANK/FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE	
	w PL (wg ISNP)	w UK (wg FOR)		w PL (wg ISNP)	w UK (wg FOR)
				-ski	
<i>Antoniewski</i>	10196/572	E: 223652/6 E: 4796/1522 S: 5479/75	<i>Baraniecki</i>	5308/1086	E: 184742/8 S: 63002/1
			<i>Bosacki</i>	11987/482	E: 101561/19
<i>Kowalski</i>	2/129508	W: 5433/51 NI: 8250/12 (<i>Kowalski</i>) E: 389889/2	<i>Danecki</i>	5924/980	E: 290718/4
				-dzki	
			<i>Brodzki</i>	13907/412	E: 290718/4 (<i>Brodzki</i>) E: 489080/1 E: 54689/48
<i>Krakowski</i>	722/6156	E: 64828/37 S: 51579/1	<i>Rudzki</i>	703/6260	S: 25488/7 NI: 20648/1
				-(ow/ew)icz	
<i>Lubelski</i>	8067/727	E: 89093/23 (<i>Lubelski</i>) E: 91802/22	<i>Bartkiewicz</i>	1994/2701	E: 101561/19
			<i>Janowicz</i>	1655/3185	E: 44023/1
<i>Pomorski</i>	2278/2419	S: 63002/1 W: 44023/1		-ak	
			<i>Augustyniak</i>	280/12263	E: 38035/85 S: 28047/6
			<i>Zielinski</i>		S: 6198/62 W: 23171/6 NI: 8683/11 (<i>Zielinski</i>) E: 290718/4
<i>Zieliński</i>	8/84274	W: 23171/6 NI: 8683/11 (<i>Zielinski</i>) E: 290718/4	<i>Seweryniak</i>	1051/4548	E: 389889/2
				-ek	
			<i>Dymek</i>	884/5158	E: 54689/48 S: 28047/6
			<i>Krzysiek</i>	4584/1254	E: 119675/15 E: 489080/1 (<i>Pawelek</i>) E: 51324/53 S: 51579/2 (<i>Pawelek</i>) S: 63002/1 E: 389889/2
<i>Szymański</i>	9/82927	E: 338250/3 (<i>Szymanski</i>) E: 8448/750 S: 8372/39 W: 9008/26 NI: 20648/1 E: 202100/7 (<i>Dombrowski</i>) E: 55443/47	<i>Pawelek</i>	1576/3280	S: 63002/1 E: 389889/2 S: 63002/1 E: 389889/2 S: 63002/1
			<i>Stasiek</i>	23497/205	S: 63002/1 E: 79942/27 S: 35497/4 W: 44023/1 NI: 20648/1
<i>Dąbrowski</i>	11/80212	W: 8358/29 E: 9190/669 S: 7147/50 W: 9008/26	<i>Ziomek</i>	1098/4427	
<i>Jankowski</i>	13/63676				

		NI: 11625/1		-ik/ -yk	
		(Jankowsky)			E: 13447/405
		E: 489080/1			S: 11205/25
		(Jankowsky)	Adamczyk	34/43508	NI: 6804/16
		E: 184742/8			W: 19671/8
		(Jankowsky)			(Adameyk)
		E: 132302/13			E: 290718/4
		NI: 16615/4			E: 59571/42
Kwiatkowski	15/61723	E: 9508/638	Dwornik	3167/1791	S: 63002/1
		S: 6478/58			(Dwornik)
		W: 12484/12			E: 338250/3
		NI: 18081/3			E: 6537/1040
		E: 290718/4	Kowalczyk	5/92088	S: 5732/70
		(Wisniewski)			NI: 8683/11
		E: 6889/975			W: 25852/5
		S: 6623/56			E: 22911/185
Wiśniewski	3/102545	W: 9528/24	Tomczyk	124/21083	S: 17291/13
		NI: 11625/7			W: 14969/12
		(Wisniewski)			NI: 10839/8
		E: 252590/5			W: 223652/6
		(Wisniewski)			S: 63002/1
		E: 290718/4			(Wojcik)
		E: 389889/2	Wójcik	4/ 93007	E: 6046/1150
		(Kozłowski)			S: 5732/70
		E: 8661/727			W: 10403/21
		S: 9168/34			NI: 12899/6
Kozłowski	12/70382	NI: 3011/66		-ka	
		W: 14969/12	Bronka	8721/672	E: 71393/32
		(Kozłowski)			389889/2
		E: 290718/4			(Słomka)
		E: 290718/4	Słomka	1111/4391	E: 53243/50
		S: 63002/1			S: 31189/5
		W: 44023/1			S: 31189/5
		(Kaminski)	n. non-derived: n. priopria = n. appellative		
		E: 6831/986	Drwal	4742/1212	E: 114324/16
		S: 4887/90			S: 63002/1
		W: 8167/30			E: 101561/19
		NI: 6804/16	Nitka	2941/1911	S: 51579/2
		(Kaminsky)			E: 23605/177
		E: 40828/76	Ptak	289/11927	S: 14413/17

n. non-derived: n. propria = n. priopria		W: 23171/6	
		E: 36944/89	E: 2971/2645
Dominik	1523/3380	S: 23443/8	S: 3229/167
		W: 44023/1	W: 4005/75
n. non-derived: surname = adjective		NI: 4663/31	
		E: 86519/24	(Novak)
Ziemski	3982/1427	NI: 20648/1	E: 7800/828
		S: 63002/1	S: 8251/40
E – England	S – Scotland		W: 10403/21
W – Wales	NI – Northern Ireland		NI: 16615/4

Undoubtedly, culture, especially the so-called popular culture. This is expressed, among others, by jokes and anecdotes - texts of a ludic nature, most often unrestrained, the so-called political correctness, and often also crossing the boundaries of ethics, thus reflecting the real attitude of language users (members of a certain community) towards various elements of reality, their attitudes towards the world, including towards representatives of other ethnic and national groups (Chiaro, 1992; Davies, 1990; Brzozowska, 2000; The names mentioned above – representations of Poles – often appear in such texts. Here is a small sample of jokes found on websites and internet forums (interestingly - not only British but also American):

- What do you call a Polish ape? | – Chimpanski.
- Who was Alexander Graham Kowalski? | – The first telephone Pole.
- Why do Polish people have *ski* at the end of their names? | – Because they can't spell *toboggan*.

Perhaps the history of Poles' migration to the British Isles has a role in identifying certain types of surnames as "Polish" by the British. Poles known in the United Kingdom include scientists and writers, such as Paweł Edmund *Strzelecki* (traveler, geologist) or Józef *Korzeniowski* (writer, otherwise: Joseph Conrad), as well as presidents and members of the Polish government residing in exile, including Władysław *Sikorski*, Ignacy *Paderewski*, Tomasz *Arciszewski*, Edward *Raczyński* and Ryszard *Kaczorowski*. It can be assumed that this group of proper names is also complemented by the surnames of Polish politicians, social activists and athletes currently known in Great Britain. However, the issue raised requires further, in-depth studies.

Finally, it is worth raising one more issue or rather expressing a postulate related to further possible research on anthroponymous stereotypes. Personal proper names are a conglomerate (or transmitter) of

various, not only ethnic, stereotypes about the people who bear them (they are connected with “embodied named identity” (Pilcher, 2016; Williamson, Bramley, 2022)). Research shows that: firstly, people are often perceived (evaluated) by others based on their names and surnames (anthroponyms may reveal specific values of the bearers of particular names); secondly, names and surnames may not only suggest the character or disposition of their bearers but also influence the shape of the personality and signal the future life choices of people bearing given names and/or surnames (Newman, Tan, Caldwell, Duff, Winer, 2018; Zwebner, Sellier, Rosenfeld, Goldenberg, Mayo, 2017; Pelham, Mirenberg, Jones, 2002). Therefore, it would be worth looking at the problem raised in this text from such a perspective, assessing whether the degree of the mentioned influences and dependencies discussed in social psychology and sociology is not a consequence of the presence of specific - formal (both structural and graphic) or sound) and semantic components of anthroponyms (and not just entire names).

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Brytyjskie heterostereotypy antropomiczne Polaka – komunikat z badań pilotażowych

Słowa kluczowe

antroponim, stereotyp onimiczny, stereotyp etniczny (narodowy), onomastyka kulturowa

Abstrakt

Artykuł dotyczy brytyjskich stereotypów onimicznych i ma charakter przyczynku do dalszych, pogłębionych analiz. Autorzy przedstawiają w nim wyniki badań przeprowadzonych w 2024 r., a skupiających się na odkryciu (ustaleniu) brytyjskich heterostereotypów antropomicznych Polaków. Przyjęli oni, że w świadomości każdego narodu posługującego się określonym językiem (a ten rozumieją jako konglomerat doświadczeń społecznych i zwierciadło konceptualizacji świata) tkwi określony obraz desygnatów, charakterystyczny dla tej właśnie grupy językowo-kulturowej. Według autorów nazwiska – tak w całości, jak też poprzez elementy strukturalne i semantykę zawartą w rdzeniu – są źródłami różnych konotacji, w tym również konotacji dotyczących narodowości. Autorzy stawiają sobie za cel ustalenie tego, które nazwy i ich komponenty oraz w jakim stopniu decydują o identyfikacji etnicznej Polaka przez Brytyjczyków. Rozważania wpisują się w nurt badań onomastyki kulturowej i łączą się z tzw. zwrotem kulturowym w badaniach onomastycznych

