

Structure and Pragmatics of Demonyms in South America

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Abstract--- *In this article, the authors examine and systematise demonyms in South American Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese. The aim of the present investigation consists in studying, defining and analyzing the main trends in the formation of the denominative adjectives (that become demonyms when adopting the meaning of nouns) and establishing the parameters of differences and convergences in South America while analyzing the motivation sources, grammar formulae, principles of suffix combinations, their cultural variants, and cases of toponymic homonymy. The methodology for such a study has included historic, linguistic and semiotic analysis. The main results confirm the hypothesis that there is a non-systematic alternation of suffixes used for deriving demonyms, as well as the existence of other morphological and pragmatic tendencies.*

Keywords--- *Demonyms, Toponymy, Suffix Productivity, Colloquial Demonyms, Toponymic Nicknames.*

Ciudad, Stalingrado, no podemos
llegar a tus murallas, estamos lejos.
Somos **los mexicanos, somos los araucanos,**
somos los patagones, somos los guaraníes,
somos los uruguayos, somos los chilenos,
somos millones de hombres.

(O, the city of Stalingrad, we couldn't
Come to your walls 'cause we were far,
Mexicans, Araucanians,
Patagonians, Guarani,
Uruguayans, Chileans,
We're millions of people)
(Pablo Neruda, A Love Song for Stalingrad)

I. INTRODUCTION

Demonyms are related to toponymy and are an integral part of the lexicon and, to be more precise, toponymic vocabulary of every language. However, the formation of this lexicon as well as its current condition and frequency

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of occurrence in texts and discourses depend on the typology of a particular language, its history, linguistic contacts, and rhetoric tradition. This investigation is devoted to studying by analysis South American demonyms from Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela, and Brazil on the basis of cartographic materials, dictionaries, diverse types of texts, and surveys of native speakers. The fact that serves as a theoretical premise is that in contemporary Romance philology Spanish and Portuguese are perceived as a set of parameters of differences and convergences (Moreno de Alba, Lipski, Stepanov, Ferreira, Melo, Gomes). In other words, toponyms can be studied as markers of the way speakers of different varieties of Spanish and Portuguese perceive the world, which combines the goals of traditional onomastic geography and studies in dialectology and semiotics and draws particular attention to national toponymic systems and their consecutive comparison.

The essence of this study consists in revealing the linguistic versatility in South American countries through its evidence in the field of toponymy as well as the formation of demonyms, productivity of suffixes and formation of metaphorical demonyms or toponymic nicknames.

II. DEMONYMS AS PART OF TOPONYMIC LEXICON AND THEIR DISCURSIVE POTENTIAL

2.1. Definition and Formation of Demonyms

The Spanish Royal Academy defines demonym as follows:

From lat. gentilicius, der. de gentilis 'which belongs to one nation or lineage'.

1. adj. About an adjective or a noun: the one denoting the relation to a geographical area.
2. adj. Pertinent or related to peoples or nations.
3. adj. Pertinent or related to a lineage or a family.

The term **demonym** is the English equivalent for the Spanish word **gentilicio** and applies to an inhabitant or a native of a particular place, and is derived from toponym. However, there is the word **gentilic** defined by Webster's dictionary of English in a narrower sense as a noun or an adjective that denotes an ethnic or a national affiliation. In Spanish this term applies not only to inhabitants of certain places but is also used as a denominative adjective, i.e., the one derived from a geographic denomination.

According to Morera and García Padrón, gentilic words have a primary ("pertinent or related to", "native of") and, sometimes, a secondary meaning (descriptive, classified as a noun – *las menorquinas, el afgano, la malagueña*). In addition, these authors distinguish various traits attributed to people called by their demonyms: 1) moral qualities (*bárbaro, fenicio*); 2) physical or psychological traits (*flaca como una francesa; paciente como un chino*); 3) attitudes or behaviors (*furia española, flema británica*); 4) amount of property (*rico como un godo*); 5) sexual practices (*sodomita, lesbiana*); 6) ideological or religious position (*política francesa, diplomacia vaticana*); 7) economic or professional activities (*banquero suizo, asistenta filipina*); 8) language or linguistic variety (*gabacho*); 9) attire, clothes, jewelry (*saboyana*); 10) object, tool, currency (*boliviano, carabela portuguesa*); 11) food or drink (*paella valenciana, boloñesa, macedonia*); 12) music or dance (*granadina, malagueña*); 13) games and sporting activities (*fútbol americano, baraja española*); 14) objects of art or craft

(*punto tunecino, tela indiana*); 15) established school or institute (*cirenaico*). (Morera, García Padrón, 2013: 463-465)

On the other hand, Almela Pérez distinguishes the apophantic and the semantic aspect of demonyms and adds that the semantic aspect implies the possibility of the triple meaning, including the identifier, the subclassifier, and the analogue (Almela Pérez, 2013: 16).

It is well known that in the course of history the evolution of the lexicon and grammar of Spanish were immensely affected by Latin (Lang, 1992), which is seen from the examples of the most typical Spanish suffixes for demonyms, i.e., **-ano**, **-ana** (Latin: *-anus/-ana/-anum*); **-ense** (Latin: *-ensis*); **-ino**, **-ina** (Latin: *-inus/-ina/-inum*); **-eño**, **-eña** (Latin: *-ineus/-inea/-ineum*).

G. V. Stepanov, the founder of contemporary Romance philology in Russia asserted that in the course of toponymic derivation suffixes for demonyms in Spanish are chosen not according to specific rules but are influenced by the existing linguistic tradition (Stepanov, 1979: 256), i.e., an inconsistent alteration of the most productive suffixes occurs.

2.2. *Demonyms as Indicators of Social and Cultural Practices*

Demonyms reflect complex relations among social practices, language, and linguistic and social creativity. The field of demonyms is closely connected to the way we are recognized as society and with existing social stereotypes and models of treating regional groups. Demonyms represent a flexible and constantly evolving system. For example, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, a new demonym *россияне* [*rossiyánie*] emerged as referring to the residents of the Russian Federation. In certain regions of ex-Yugoslavia new words were invented to denote their residents belonging to different ethnicities such as *serbobosnios*¹ y *bosníacos/bosniacos*² or *serbokosovares*³, and *albanokosovares*⁴. On the other hand, the demonym *yugoslavo* is now being used to refer to the mentioned period of history and can be used in the nostalgic sense by the peoples populating this area.

Diverse types of texts and discourses in Spanish and Portuguese abound with demonyms in these languages. The interesting thing about the epigraph is that the demonyms included in it highlight the aesthetic and social message of the great Chilean poet Pablo Neruda at the time when he wrote his famous *Love Song for Stalingrad* (Chesnokova and Talavera Ibarra, 2016). In general Spanish and Portuguese demonyms are difficult to translate into Slavic Languages, the mother tongues of two of the authors of this article.

A special approach to demonyms can be expressed in studying them in a dialogue of cultures. These considerations go back to the ideas of dialogue suggested by great thinker Mikhail Bakhtin in his work “*The Aesthetics of Verbal Creativity*” that in the interactions of cultures one culture puts questions to another one, and due to such issues, one culture opens its depths to another one (Bakhtin, 2003); in our case, this corresponds to the low

¹ Ethnic Serbians of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

² Muslim people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

³ Ethnic Serbians of Kosovo.

⁴ Ethnic Albanians of Kosovo.

frequency of similar demonyms in Slavic tongues, e.g., Russian and Serbian, which serves as an incentive for studying them on the basis of material, where they abound.

There are multiple culturally marked examples. Let us take as an example the following text from media discourse:

Latest Novel by Gabo

Yesterday, Cristobal Pera, the editor of the works by Gabriel Garcia Marquez assured that, in recent years, the Colombian Nobel Prize winner had been working on his new novel titled “We’ll See Each Other in August”. However, Pera noted that its publication depended on the Marquez family only. He said, “This is a novel he has worked on for much time. I do not know whether it will be published, it is up to his family to decide”. Pera also told that the *cataquero* writer did not feel satisfied with what he was writing and corrected the material from day to day (El Espectador, April 20, 2014).

To decipher and interpret the demonym *cataquero* applied to the Colombian Nobel Prize winner, one needs to know that *Cataca* is the short form of the toponym Aracataca, Marquez’ native city: “Its name goes back not to the people but to the river named *ara* in the Chimila language and to *Cataca* which is the word the community used to identify the Indigenous governor. That’s why, the natives call the city not *Aracataca* but as it should be called, i.e., *Cataca* (García Márquez, 2002, p. 53)”. That’s the way to decipher the expression *Cataquero* writer referred to the Colombian Nobel Prize winner in the context about his novel.

III. SOUTH AMERICAN TOPONYMY AS A SOURCE FOR SOUTH AMERICAN DEMONYMS

Nation and language are the basic characteristics of ethnic and cultural identity. Every nation in Latin America is a complex alloy of distinct ethnic elements. The significance of toponymy of the countries of Latin America is difficult to disregard given that it often reveals the influence of substrate idioms on the etymology of geographic names and brings to light the already disappeared characteristics of place names (García Mouton, 1991; Latorre, 1997; Lehnert Santander, 1993). In semiotic studies of place names the emphasis is put on analyzing their position among the diverse systems of signs and on interpreting place names along the semantic, the syntactic, and the pragmatic line as the three basic dimensions of signs. In terms of semiotics place names reflect and catalog the space. According to Yu. Lotman, the semiotics of space is of key importance to the formation of “the image of the world” for a specific culture. The interpretation of life through culture is inevitably based on the formation of the model of the universe and space (Lotman, 1996, p. 205).

Place names can be viewed as the linguistic mapping of the model of the universe. Since in contemporary Romance philology Spanish as well as Brazilian Portuguese are treated as sets of parameters of differences and convergences, place names can be studied as markers of the way speakers of diverse varieties of Spanish and Portuguese perceive the universe, which combines the achievements of traditional onomastic geography and studies in dialectology and semiotics. The relevant points for consideration are the role of demonyms in language and cultural contacts and their borrowings from and assimilation by other cultures.

The system of Latin American toponyms has been formed under the influence of objective factors of the geographic environment, sociocultural development of the nations of Latin America, and language and intercultural contacts, the factor in which the heritage of pre-Colombian cultures and indigenous languages stands out. A lot of Latin American toponyms reproduce European toponyms, which is a special part of the dialogue between the peninsular and the indigenous cultures. Another part of the intercultural dialogue are the sources of Spanish both in the field of common nouns and in the domain of proper nouns as cultural markers in the toponymic field.

Latin American geographic names are related to the different phases of history of the Spanish-speaking countries and highlight the diversity of motives for nomination and associative references as well as a range of grammar features and aesthetic resources, which allows reconstructing models of space perception diachronically and, consequently, reconstructing the dialogue between the past and the present of toponymy.

Just like with the toponymy of Latin America in general, which has been asserted several times (Chesnokova, 2011, 2011a), we propose to group South American place names in the ones originating from indigenous languages and carrying explicit indigenous components; the ones from the times of the European Conquest of the Americas, with the dominance of sources of Spanish; place names covering the period from declarations of independence by Latin American countries to the present day, in which case one of the dominant tendencies is to borrow resources of proper names. In each of these three streams place names are found that originate from proper (first of all, personal, i.e., anthroponymic place names) and common nouns making diverse combinations possible. This approach must be expanded by adding names of African origin (Talavera Ibarra, 2016: 15).

IV. BASIC MORPHOLOGICAL FORMATIVE RESOURCES FOR SOUTH AMERICAN DEMONYMS

Our quantitative productivity analysis of suffixes of South American demonyms consists in extracting examples of demonyms derived from the major toponyms of every Spanish-speaking country on the continent and of Brazil; take into account that the procedure involves two languages with a high share of coincident morphological resources. We selected the most frequently used demonyms of every country, i.e., originating from macrotoponyms and toponyms serving to name the most populous cities. The analyzed content covers 995 examples, including 153 from Argentina, 155 from Chile, 43 from Paraguay, 61 from Uruguay, 44 from Bolivia, 94 from Peru, 63 from Ecuador, 104 from Venezuela, 278 from Brazil. For the detailed information about the demonyms of Colombia see the work by Colombian lexicographers “Dictionary of Demonyms of Colombia” published in 2008, whereas the results of our analysis of the sampled Chilean demonyms are confirmed by the data from the work by Chilean linguists Raïssa Kordić Riquelme and Mario Ferreccio “Demonyms and Toponyms of Chile” published in 2014.

4.1. Argentina

In Argentina the most widespread suffix for demonyms is **-ense** appearing 25 times in our sample of demonyms (*bahienense, bahiense, barilochense, belgranense, bonaerense, comodoreense, concordiente, chubitense, chubutense, gualeguayense, gualeguaychense, gualeguaychuense, juninense, platense, marplatense, moronense, paranaense, rawsense, riocuartense, riogalleguense, rioplatense, isidrense, tandilense, ushuaiense, viedmense*). Next comes the suffix **-eño** found in 15 examples (*porteño, azuleno, catamarqueno, chaqueño, formoseño, neuqueno, posadeño, chaqueño, salteño, sanluiseño, nicoleño, jujeño, santacruceno, santarroseño, santiagueño*), followed by **-ino** found

in ten cases (*correntino, mendocino, neuquino, rionegrino, rosarino, sanjuanino, sanrafaelino, santafecino, santafesino, fueguino*). Next come **-ano, -és, -ero, -o, -ico** plus the zero suffix in case of *patagón*.

4.2 Chile

It should be mentioned that in Chile the most used suffix for demonyms is **-ino** found 22 times in the toponyms of the country's major cities (*santiaguino, antofagastino, coihaiquino/coyhauquino, copiapino, curanipino, chañaralino, frutillarino, iloquino, lonquimayino, elenino, osornino, padrehurtadino, padrelascasino, puconino, puertomontino, natalino, portovariano, rancagüino, aconcagüino, talquino, viñamarino, yerbabuenino*), which represents some 40 % of the lexicon sampled for our statistical research. The next most frequent suffix is **-ense** (11): *curanipense, chilense, chillanense, iloquense, pascuense, leburnense, serenense, panguipullense, puntarenense, temuquense, villarricense*. Nevertheless, not only is this suffix considered dominant in the neighboring Argentine but also in Brazil. On the other hand, **-eño** is found in seven examples being *ariqueño, atacameño, castreño, chilhueño, iquiqueño, sanfelipeño, porteño*. A similar frequency of usage is observed in case of **-ano** (5) in such demonyms as *ancuditano, coquimbano, tocopillano, valdiviano, villaricano*. Such suffixes as **-ista, -ón, -ote, -ejo, -ico**, and **-eno** are each found in one case only. The zero suffix is found in place names consisting of more than one word and the respective demonyms retain the initial capitals: María Pinto and Última Esperanza. This phenomenon seems understandable due to the lexical complexity of these place names; nor would it be strange if the demonyms included only one, not both components – we'd suggest such variants as *pinteño, esperancino* (Radović, 2014: 24-26).

4.3 Paraguay

Unlike in Argentina and Chile, the most productive suffix in the demonyms from Paraguay is **-eño** (*chaqueño, caaguaceño, caazapeño, centraleño, guaireño, chaqueño, esteño, luqueño, capiateño, lambareño, limpeño, roquealense, franqueño, itagueño, villariqueño-guaireño, caacupeño, iteño*); it is used in almost half of our analyzed examples and followed by **-ense** (*altoparanaense, paranaense, amambayense, canindeyuense, hernandariense, itapense, ñembyense, ovetense, paraguariense, pilareense*) and smaller numbers of various others (**-ano, -ero, -eno, -ino**).

Unlike the demonyms from Uruguay that are also part of our sample, the examples from Paraguay are characterized by the tendency to keep the lexeme San in the totality of the analyzed names:

San Pedro (department) – *sampedrano* (alveolar -n- changes to labial -m-)

San Antonio – *sanantoniano*

San Lorenzo – *sanlorenzano*

In the rest of the cases, when the name has more than one element, one of the them is omitted in the respective demonym:

Departamento Central – *centraleño*

Ciudad del Este – *esteño*

Fernando de la Mora – *fernandino*

Coronel Oviedo – ovetense

Pedro Juan Caballero – pedrojuanino

Presidente Franco – franqueño

Mariano Roque Alonso – roquealonseño

Considering the fact that homonymy is not infrequent in toponymic motivation, we have come across various examples of homonymy in the domain of demonyms related to Rio de la Plata:

Misiones (Paraguay) / Misiones (Argentina) – misionero

Fernando de la Mora (Paraguay) / Maldonado (Uruguay) – fernandino

However, it should be stressed that this is only a tendency that must not be treated as a general rule given that the toponyms *Asunción* (Paraguay) y *La Asunción* (the capital of the Nueva Esparta department in Venezuela) serve to show us an opposite case since the related demonyms (*asunceno* and *asuntino*) were made up using different suffixes: (-**eno** and -**ino**).

4.4 Uruguay

We consider that the suffixes of the demonyms from Uruguay are similar in terms of productivity to the case of Argentina: **-ense** (*artiguense, artiguense, barrosblanquense, cerrolarguense, costense, coloniense, coloniense, duraznense, duraznense, floridense, floridense, pedrense, maldonadense, maldonadense, melense, pandense, rionegrense, riverense, riverense, rochense, rochense, sorianense, tacuarembuense, tacuarembuense, rioplatense*) is the most popular one, whereas the next positions belong to **-ino, -ano, -ario, -ero**, and **-eño** which is found in Uruguay only thrice.

However, having studied the demonyms of Uruguay, we found eight examples of double demonyms, i.e., two variants used to refer to the inhabitants of one and the same place. These demonyms can be grouped into: 1) synonymic demonyms (or cases of a second demonym): *uruguayo – oriental, maldonadense - fernandino, treintaitresino – olimareño* and 2) official demonym – toponymic nickname: *cerrolarguense- arachán, floresino - poronguero, melense - arachán, josefino – maragato, trinitario - poronguero*. Here, it is necessary to highlight the first synonymic triplet we managed to find: *lavallejino, serrano, minuano*.

In terms of morphological peculiarities there are several demonyms standing out such as

josefino (of the *San Jose* department and its capital *San José de Mayo*) and *sanducero*⁵ (of the *Paysandú* department and its homonymous capital), where the introduction of a consonant affix (-**f**- and -**c**-) shows the tendency to retain the final accentuated syllable. The forms expected or, put it better, foreseeable, would be, e.g., (*san*)*joseño/josino, sandino/sandeño*. In addition, we should highlight example of *acuarembuense* (for the city and department of Tacuarembó), already without an affix. A similar morphological method of deriving demonyms from oxytone place names is observed in Brazil with which Uruguay borders:

Carandaí – carandaiense

⁵ In the demonym *sanducero* the toponym's first syllable *pay* is omitted. This phenomenon is also observed in the toponymic material from Columbia, e.g., *samarío* (Santa Marta), *bumangués* (Bucaramanga).

Feijó – feijoense

Macapá – macapaense

Maceió – maceioense

Tauá – tauaense.

4.5 Bolivia

The fact that the situation in Bolivia is more distinct than in the neighbouring countries is confirmed by the occurrence frequency of the suffix **–eño** found in 32 examples (*aiguileño, alteño, apoleño, araneño, arqueño, ayopayeño, camireño, capinoteño, cliceño, cobijeño, cruceño, chapareño, chaqueño, chuqisaqueño, llallagueño, mizqueño, orureño, paceño, punateño, puneño, quillacolleño, riberalteño, sacabeño, tapacareño, tarateño, tarijeño, tiraqueño, totoreño, tupiceño, viacheño, villamonteño, yacuibeño*); as a comparison, **–ino** and **–ense** are found in five and four examples, respectively. It goes without saying that in Bolivia the intrinsic complexity of contacts between Spanish and the indigenous languages is very noticeable. A case of interest is the demonym *movima* used to refer to the inhabitants of the city *Santa Ana del Yacuma*, stemming from the name of the indigenous language and the people speaking it in this region.

4.6 Peru

Getting down to the material from Peru, we have to mention that the official demonyms of the departments and their homonyms for capitals (Arequipa, Ayacucho, Cajamarca, Cuzco, Huancavelica, Huánuco, Ica, Moquegua, Piura, Puno, Tacna, Tumbes, Callao) coincide in all the cases but for the city of Ayacucho the alternative demonym is *huamanguino*, which stems from the province, where the city is located.

In terms of productivity the leading suffix is **–eño** found in 33 examples from our sample: *apurimeño, arequipeño, cuzqueño, huanuqueño, iqueño, liberteño, limeño, pasqueño, puneño, tacneño, arequipeño, cuzqueño, cusqueño, huanuqueño, iqueño, iquiteño, cerreño, puneño, tacneño, pucallpeño, juliaqueño, limeño, paiteño, bellavisteño, camaneño, chongoyapeño, colliqueño, comeño, ilaveño, ileño, jimbeño, santeño, villasalvadoreño*.

Next come such endings as **–ino** and **–ano**, whereas the suffix **–ense**, so widespread in the neighbouring countries, is found in six examples only.

There are various examples of homonymic demonyms, i.e., twin demonyms, one of which is official and the other is alternative:

limeño-limense (Lima, department)

tacneño-tacnense (Tacna, department and city)

ayacuchano-huamanguino (Ayacucho, city)

pucallpino-pucallpeño (Pucallpa, city)

*chimboto-chimbotero*⁶ (Chimbote, city)

camanejo-camaneño (Camaná, city).

⁶ The demonyms *chimbotero* is even used as toponymic nickname for migrants who come to work to the city of Chimbote.

4.7 Ecuador

The situation with the demonyms from Ecuador and the productivity of their suffixes does not differ much from the aforementioned cases. The undoubtedly most frequent endings are **-ense** y **-eño** found in 27 and 20 examples, respectively. Oddly enough, the first one prevails in the examples of provincial demonyms (*bolivarense*, *carchense*, *cotopaxense*, *moronense*, *santodominguense*), whereas the latter is found more often in the forms derived from the names of the capitals of Ecuador's provinces (*guarandeño*, *guayaquileño*, *ibarraño*, *santodomingueño*, *tulcanense*).

Such suffixes as **-ejo** (*cañarejo*), **-ar** (*peninsular*), **-ero** (*chonero*), **-aco** (*guayaco*), **-o** (*azuayo*), and **-ita** (*manabita*) are each found only in one example of our sample. All the same, it is worth highlighting the unique example containing the suffix **-beo** among all the South American demonyms encountered during our quantitative analysis. We mean the word *macabeo*, used to refer to the residents of the city of *Macas*, the capital of the Morona Santiago province known among the Ecuadorians under the metaphoric periphrase of *La Esmeralda Oriental*.

The population of the Manabi province is referred to not only by the official demonym

Manabita but also quite often by the colloquial name *manaba* included in the DRAE.

In his book "This is Manabi" Gustavo Álvaro Silva explains:

Manabi has a distinct ethnic and cultural identity exteriorized in the manabita montubios and cholos who are different racially but have similar national characters and customs, which allows treating *manaba* as one identity. [...] Being a montubio or a cholo has often been an object of disdain; the term *manaba* is used with contempt in other parts of the country but the residents of this province have managed to overcome this despicable attitude with strength endowing them with inner pride (Álvaro Silva, 2003).

It is also worth highlighting *santodominguense* and *santodomingueño* as the demonyms for Ecuador's *Santo Domingo de Tsáchilas* province and its capital *Santo Domingo de los Colorados*. The place names with the same formative religiously marked element are found in other Spanish-speaking countries as well:

Santo Domingo (Costa Rica) – *domingueño*;

Santo Domingo (capital of the Dominican Republic) – *capitaleño*;

Santo Domingo de la Calzada (La Rioja, España) – *calceatense*.

4.8 Colombia

The most widely used suffix singled out by the authors of the Dictionary of Demonyms of Colombia is **-eño** with 27.9 % of matches, followed by **-ense** and **-ano** (Diccionario de gentilicios de Colombia, 2008: 168). It is interesting to compare the case of Colombia with Chile, where **-ense** is also second, whereas the leading suffix among the demonyms from Chile is **-ino** hardly ever used in Colombia and found in the seventh place with 3% of matches. The curious fact is that Colombia has only one demonym ending with **-uso** – *pastuso*, used to refer to the residents of the city of Pasto and the Nariño department.

Because of its morphological and pragmatic criteria, the classification of Colombian demonyms suggested by the authors of the aforementioned Dictionary is provided below and appears applicable to the toponymic material from the other countries in the region we analyzed.

1) Official demonyms: the only or the most used variant of demonyms with their roots containing place names from which the former are derived (*bogotano*, *boyacense*, *cundinamarqués*, *pereirano*);

2) Second or alternative demonyms are other official variants of demonyms derived from respective place names. Alternative demonyms do not prevail over official variants (*florentino* – *florenciano*, *riorense* – *riodorensense*, *trujillano* – *trujillense*);

3) Unconventional demonyms (suppletives) are also official but without place names as their roots, characterized by a broad variety of motivation and do not always represent unique variants of naming inhabitants of specific places (*cataquero*, *bumangués*, *opita*, *regiomontano*);

4) Colloquial and xenophobic demonyms are unofficial demonyms most of which have an emotional or characterizing stylistic nuance; in the Russian tradition of Romance philology these demonyms are best known as toponymic nicknames (*cachaco*, *corroncho*, *veneco*) (Dictionary of Demonyms of Colombia, 2008: 121-156).

4.9 Venezuela

According to the results of analyzing the productivity of the suffixes of the demonyms from Venezuela, **-eño** and **-ense** show very similar occurrence frequency rates, though **-ense** is behind **-eño** by just two examples, with 33 cases of using the latter: *apureño*, *aragüeño*, *carabobeño*, *cojedeño*, *guariqueño*, *merideño*, *portuguesenseño*, *angostureño*, *sancarleño*, *caraqueño*, *merideño*, *tequeño*, *guanareño*, *guaireño*, *sanfelipeño*, *calaboceño*, *acarigüeño*, *araureño*, *yaritaguéño*, *turmereño*, *guatireño*, *porteño*, *porteño*, *tereseño*, *cabudareño*, *ocumareño*, *cueño*, *zaraceño*, *luciteño*, *cagüeño*, *tovareño*, *quiboreño*, *caicareño*. The examples ended in **-ense** (31) are: *amazonense*, *anzoatiguense*, *bolivarensense*, *larensense*, *monaguense*, *sucrensense*, *tachirensense*, *varguense*, *bolivarensense*, *tucupitense*, *tequense*, *sancristobalense*, *puntofijense*, *porlamarensense*, *cabimense*, *citojense*, *tigrensense*, *barbarensense*, *santaricensense*, *guayense*, *vigiense*, *machiquense*, *anaquense*, *vallepascuense*, *guasdualitense*, *cagüense*, *mariarensense*, *upatense*, *ejidense*, *charallavense*, *limonense*.

The third place is taken by **-ano** (18): *venezolano*, *deltano*, *falconiano*, *neoespartano*, *trujillano*, *yaracuyano*, *zuliano*, *ayacuchano*, *valenciano*, *coriano*, *barquisimetano*, *trujillano*, *guayasitano*, *valerano*, *portocruzano*, *victoriano*, *villacurano*, *tocuyano*. Next come the suffixes **-ero** (9) (*maracayero*, *sanjuanero*, *maracaibero*, *tinaquillero*, *guarenero*, *orchilero*, *carupanero*, *taribero*, *corobero*) and **-és** (*barinés* (state of Barinas), *barcelonés*, *barinés* (city of Barinas), *maturinés*, *cumanés*, *guayanés*). The ending **-ino** was found in five examples for our sample: *capitalino*, *mirandino*, *sanfernandino*, *asuntino*, *marabino*.

The suffix **-al** (oriental) is found only in one of the analyzed examples, i.e., in the name for the residents of the state of Anzoátegui in the east of Venezuela, with which its motivation is associated. The three suppletive demonyms highlighted are *angostureño* (city of Bolívar), *maracucho* (Maracaibo), and *corobero* (Caicara del Orinoco); they represent alternative demonyms for the indicated cities.

It should be noted that we have found the following homonymic (twin) forms of Venezuelan demonyms paired as official-alternative and official-suppletive:

anzoatiguense-oriental (Anzoátegui, state)

bolivarensense-angostureño (Ciudad Bolívar, city)

tequeño-tequense (Los Teques, city)

guayanés-guayasitano (Ciudad Guayana, city)

cagiüño-cagiüense (Cagua, city)

caicareño-corobero (Caicara del Orinoco, city)

portocruzano-porteño (Puerto La Cruz, city).

We should also highlight the triplet example of demonyms used to refer to the residents of the city of Maracaibo, the capital of the state of Zulia:

maracaibero – marabino – maracucho.

4.10 Brazil

According to the results of analyzing the morphology of Brazilian “gentílicos”⁷ the overwhelming majority of the examples of demonyms from this lusophone country contain the suffix **-ense** (205 matches, i.e., 74 % of the analyzed examples), which is similar to the situation in the neighboring Argentina, Uruguay, and Ecuador (Radović, 2016: 355).

The second most productive suffix is **-ano** found in 38 examples: *goiano, baiano, sergipano, alagoano, pernambucano, paraibano, rondoniano, acreano, acriano, aguaiano, altairano, amapolitano, anastaciano, aracajuano, corintiano, cuiabano, curitibano, curvelano, dionisiano, entreerriano, eusebiano, florianopolitano, guaiubano, jeceabano, juiz-de-forano, juiz-forano, iguaçuano, itabirano, ouro-pretano, petropolitano, piracicabano, ribeiro-pretano, soteropolitano, anastaciano, riopretano, paulistano, serrano, tricordiano.*

The third place goes to the suffix **-ino** found in nine examples, whereas the least popular suffixes are **-ista** (five: *américo-campista, geralista, paranista, paulista, santista*), **-eiro** (four: *brasileiro, mineiro, campineiro, piauizeiro*), **-ão** (one: *baião*), **-és** (one: *montanhés*), and **-ante** (one: *bandeirante*). The zero suffix is found in the alternative demonym *maranhão* for the state of *Maranhão* (nonetheless, the form *macanhense* is more frequent).

Some of the suffixes included as formative components in the demonyms from Brazil are typical only of that country and not found in the example demonyms from the Spanish-speaking realm. They originate from the indigenous languages of the Tupi-Guarani group, e.g., the suffixes **-oca** (*carioca*, the word *oka* is officially translated as ‘house’), or **-ar/-uar/-ara/-uara**, characterized by a multitude of variants. In the Tupi language the latter suffixes are treated as endings of nouns denoting action-taking persons (an inhabitant of the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Norte can be called *potiguar*⁸, *petiguar, pitaguar, pitiguar, pitiguara, potiguara*, whereas the respective demonyms of indigenous origin for the inhabitants of the state of Para and the city of Manaus in Amazonia will be *paroara, parauara*⁹, and *manauara*¹⁰).

⁷ In Portuguese language studies the terms *gentílico* y *adjetivo pátrio* are equivalent to the Spanish term *gentilicio* (Engl. “demonym”).

⁸ *potiguar* (and the other variants of the name) originates from the Tupi lexeme *poti’war* meaning “he who loves eating shrimps” and, in addition, refers to the indigenous tribe that used to populate the zone along river *rio Paraíba do Norte*. (Ferreira, 1986: 1374)

⁹ *paroara, parauara* originate from the Tupi lexeme *para’wara* (Melo, Gomes, 2000: 39)

¹⁰ *manauara* originates from the Tupi lexeme *manau’wara*. *Manau* stands for the indigenous tribe that used to populate the area along river *Rio Negro*. (Ferreira, 1986: 1075)

Table 1: Productivity of Suffixes in Demonyms in the Countries of South America

| COUNTRY | MOST PRODUCTIVE SUFFIX | EXAMPLE |
|-----------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Argentina | -ense | <i>Ushuaia - ushuaiense</i> |
| Uruguay | -ense | <i>Rocha - rochense</i> |
| Paraguay | -eño | <i>Caazapá - caazapeño</i> |
| Chile | -ino | <i>Maipo - maipino</i> |
| Bolivia | -eño | <i>Puna - puneño</i> |
| Perú | -eño | <i>Cuzco - cuzqueño</i> |
| Ecuador | -ense | <i>Bolívar - bolivareense</i> |
| Colombia | -eño | <i>Antioquia - antioqueño</i> |
| Venezuela | -eño | <i>Mérida - merideño</i> |
| Brasil | -ense | <i>Ceará - cearense</i> |



Fig. 1: Map of Productivity Areas of Donymic Suffixes (Broeckx, J., KU Leuven)

V. TOPONYMIC NICKNAMES

We should highlight the extraordinary occurrence of so called toponymic nicknames (popular or colloquial demonyms in linguistic tradition) often characterized by funny, ironic, or xenophobic connotations serving to hyperbolize certain traits of people from the standpoint of the denominator. These colloquialisms are a part of national idiosyncratic terminology, its culturemes (Chesnokova, 2016). As pointed out by Russian linguist G. Sudar, demonyms and toponymic nicknames have different connotations for they are not used in the same context. According to Sudar, it is also very difficult to encounter proper equivalents of colloquial demonyms in another language (Sudar, 2008: 132).

Our file and survey data show that, for example, in Argentina a Brazilian can be nicknamed *brasuca* (not necessarily with pejorative connotation), which may originate from *brazo de azúcar* or *bracero* ('semi-slave worker'), a Bolivian can be called

bolita (meaning "Bolivian indigenous by origin"), a Uruguayan can be called *yorugua* (yo-uru-gua + yoruba □ "black Uruguayan"), and a Paraguayan - *paragua* ("peasant with a large sombrero similar in shape to an umbrella (Sp. "paraguas"). In Argentina and Uruguay, e.g., the popular demonym *tano* is used to refer to descendants of Italian immigrants who arrived mostly in a large migration wave to the Rio de la Plata region from the Kingdom of Naples (here we see *napolitano* contracted to *tano*), whereas the nickname "el gallego" is used to denote Argentinians of Spanish origin.

In Colombia people from Guatica are called *cebolleros* because they devote their time to growing onions (Sp. "cebolla") and to the annually organized onions festival. People of Armenian origin are known as *cuyabros*; this name is thought to originate from the word for a vessel from pumpkin or a tropical fruit. In Colombia the word *gringo* is used to refer to people from the United States, whereas in Brazil this demonym applies to any foreigner. It is a curious fact that Colombians use the toponymic nickname *los venecos* when they want to refer to people from Venezuela with disdain, though to some people this demonym seems more neutral than xenophobic. *Venecos* is a composite word consisting of the morphemes **vene** (=Venezuelan) and **co** (=corroncho). In their respect, when Venezuelans feel the need to refer to their neighbors with disdain, they do it using the word *los caliches* (Dictionary of Demonyms of Colombia, 2008: 158-159).

We have touched above on the method of giving names to some groups of people according to the indigenous traits they may have or rather the language they use like in the case of Bolivian *movimas*. N. M. Firsova points out that Bolivia is divided in three dialectal areas according to the high percentage of mixing between Spanish people and pre-Colombian tribes and the influence of the indigenous languages such as Aymara, Quechua, and Guarani. In zone A stretching across the central and southeastern Andean part (departments of Cochabamba, La Paz, Oruro, Potosí, and Chuquisaca) Bolivians are called *collas* (sometimes, simply *andinos*); this toponymic nickname refers to the indigenous people and ancient name of the region – Collasuyo. Zone B (northern and oriental lowlands of the departments of Pando, Beni y Santa Cruz) is populated by *cambas* called this way due to their linguistic affiliation (Tupi-Guarani group). *Chapacos* are the Bolivians from the department of Tarija in zone C characterized by a strong influence of Quechua (Firsova, 2008: 33-34).

In Colombia the lexeme *cachaco* is used to refer to the residents of Bogota and serves as the colloquial synonym for the official demonyms *bogotano*. Another synonym of *cachaco* is the word *rolo* that originated as the onomatopoeic name for Creoles who pronounced the sound /rr/ in a distinct manner (Dictionary of Demonyms of Colombia, 2008: 157). The Dictionary of the Spanish Royal Academy (DRAE) indicates the acceptance of *cachaco* in three Latin American countries: Colombia, Puerto Rico y Perú. In Colombia this lexeme means “elegant, helpful, gentlemanly” and “well educated”; in Peru *cachaco* refers to a member of a police corps”, and in Puerto Rico it is used to refer to “Spaniards in a good economic position” (DRAE). It is highly probable that the Colombian uses of *cachaco* go back to the phonetically transformed noun *casaca* (Dictionary of Demonyms of Colombia, 2008: 157). Nonetheless, in Renaud Richard’s Dictionary of Latin American Spanish the acceptance of *cachaco* in Colombia is accompanied by the desp. (despectivo, Sp. for “derogatory”) marker and refers to “residents of coastal regions, of the capital or the interior part of the country” (Richard, 2006: 94).

In the broadest sense, the noun *cachaco* refers not only to the residents of the country’s capital but, from the standpoint of the coastal population, also to those who populate the entire geographical area of Altiplano Cundiboyacense earlier populated by the chibcha tribe (Brief Dictionary of Colombianisms, 2009: 39).

The phraseological unit used by Luna Cabrera *Más contento que cachaco en playa* (*More pleased than a cachaco on the beach*) (Cabrera, 2005: 137) refers to the way cachacos are perceived by the people who live along Colombia’s Caribbean coastal line and enjoy the advantageous access to the beaches, of which cachacos are geographically deprived. We should mention a case when Gabriel Garcia Marquez used the coastal lexeme in his autobiographical works when telling about the times he studied in the city of Zipaquirá in the area populated by cachacos not far from the capital: “*Since that day I only missed the times when my classmates called me a hero and started to call me with all possible derision “a guy from the seaside (costeño) who talked to the dean”* (García Márquez, 2002: 240).

VI. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The analytical study of South American demonyms from nine Spanish-speaking countries and also from Brazil allows us to assert that the suffixes used in the demonyms most frequently are **-eño**, **-ense**, and **-ino**. It is surprising that Brazilians spanify the Portuguese demonyms used to refer to residents of some Spanish-speaking cities and countries and attach to these words suffixes that suit these words in Spanish but appear pronounceable in Portuguese: *salvadorenho* (El Salvador), *porto-riquenho* (Puerto Rico, though the Castilian diphthong [-ue-] is lost), *bogotano* (Bogota, Colombia), *santiaguino* (Santiago, Chile). At first sight, the reason for resorting to the morphological method of borrowing seems vague but it is understandable because it is easy for Portuguese to adopt original Spanish variants in terms of phonetics and orthography.

The various peculiar morphological tendencies detected in course of analyzing the demonyms from South America are exposed below.

1) The reduction of names derived from toponyms of two or more lexical elements, especially in case of anthroponyms: *Florencio Varela* – *varelense* (Argentina); *Presidente Franco* – *franqueño* (Paraguay); *Cardenal Caro* – *cardenalino* (Chile); *João Pessoa* – *pessoense* (Brasil);

2) Derivation of demonyms originating from hagionyms and characterized by spontaneity given that the elements *San/Santo* of original toponyms are neither always incorporated nor do they follow common determined rules of Spanish, which confirms our hypothesis that the analyzed lexical field is a dynamic system;

For example, in Argentina the omission of the hagionymic component is observed in toponyms with more than two lexical elements, whereas in the analyzed examples from Uruguay this tendency is absent. Sometimes, the alveolar sound [n] changes to the labio-labial sound [m] in the graphic form of demonyms: *San Pedro (Paraguay) – sampedrano*.

3) As for the phenomenon of homonymic toponyms met in South America fairly often, we should emphasize that homonymic demonyms are also derived in the same way: *La Paz (Uruguay) / La Paz (Bolivia) – paceño*; *Salta (Uruguay) / Salta (Argentina) – salteño*; *Trinidad (Uruguay) / Trinidad (Bolivia) – trinitario*. In certain cases, however, there is no coincidence of suffixes in respective demonyms, especially when we deal with names derived from religiously marked toponyms: *carolino (San Carlos, Uruguay) – sancarleño (San Carlos, Venezuela)*; *asunceno (Asunción, Paraguay) – asuntino (La Asunción, Venezuela)*.

4) The occasional occurrence of double (twin) or triple (triplet) synonymic demonyms normally brings to lights the demonym derived most often, its versions, and sometimes the suppletive demonym: *Minas Gerais – mineiro/montanhés/geralista/minense*.

5) The suppletive adjective *porteño* is distinguished by its polysemy in the language realm of South America because it is used not only to refer to the residents of Buenos-Aires but also to the population of various Latin American cities with ports: *Valparaíso (Chile)*, *Puerto Carreño (Colombia)*, *Puerto Cabello y Puerto La Cruz (Venezuela)*, *Puntarenas (Costa Rica)*. In the example given below the significance of the polysemic demonym in question is identified thanks to the second reference to the inhabitants of Valparaiso in Chile:

“There are thirty thousand Chileans in Canada, almost all of them from Valparaiso, -says don Fernando. - There are also thousands in Sweden. It is hard to imagine porteños living in the cold and darkness of such countries” (Ampuero, 319).

VII. CONCLUSIONS

To conclude our analysis, we can say that demonyms are a kind of toponymic codes reflecting national and regional identities. Demonyms bear witness rather to linguistic tastes and preferences than to conscious motivation.

The comments on demonyms in courses in Spanish lexicology and translation theory and practice can concern their morphology and semantics, studies of etymology of suppletive demonyms, and their analysis in diverse types of text and discourse.

To sum up, demonyms and toponyms are integral parts of the orientation not only in the geographical environment but in the cultural realm as well. Therefore, studying demonyms and toponyms reveals diverse aspects of their statics and dynamics, improves the comprehension of their aesthetic and linguistic manifestations, and makes them effective means of teaching Spanish and Portuguese as foreign languages.

The productivity analysis of suffixes used in forming demonyms is just one of the numerous aspects of the potential study of lexical units belonging to the mentioned field of onomastics. The usage of demonyms and toponymic nicknames does not confine merely to scientific literature or fiction but is going to play a more significant role in the domain of international relations and intercultural communication. Still, lexicologists undoubtedly have a lot of work ahead for deepening and systemizing the data offered by this field of semantics. Future systematization of the demonyms is a rather creative task of modern onomastics, theoretical and applied linguistics.

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