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FACTORS GOVERNING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUFFIXES
-OWK AND -K IN UPPER SORBIAN FEMALE-DENOTING NOUNS

1. Introduction

The derivational suffix *-ovk*, *-ówk*, *-owk* etc. combined with the inflectional suffix *-a* in the (nominative) singular of feminine nouns is common in Slavonic languages, as in Macedonian *višnovka* 'mahaleb cherry brandy' (*višna* 'mahaleb cherry'), Polish *piersiówka* 'pocket flask' (*piers* 'breast'), Upper Sorbian *bananowka* 'banana plug' (*banana* 'banana') and Russian *listovka* 'leaflet' (*list* 'leaf'). This derivational suffix is a compound allomorph of the simple main allomorph *-k* (also combined with an inflectional suffix *-a*), which has many functions.¹

A word-formational characteristic that distinguishes Lower and Upper Sorbian from other Slavonic languages is the more specialized use in the two Sorbian languages of *-owk* to denote females (Kovalyk 1973, pp. 391f., with reference to female persons), e.g. *burowka* 'peasant woman' (*bur* 'peasant') and *serbowka* 'Sorbian woman' (*Serby* 'the land of the Sorbs', *serb* 'Sorb').² My interest here is confined to Upper Sorbian and stems from my current descriptive study of the formation in West Slavonic languages of, *inter alia*, inhabitant-names and ethnonyms — this category is well-represented among Upper Sorbian female-denoting nouns containing the suffixes *-owk* and *-k*. The aim of the present study is to examine possible factors influencing the choice of either *-owk* or its main allomorph *-k*. To my knowledge, no such research has been done before.

¹In the following I shall use the word *suffix* in the sense of 'derivational suffix'.

²Ethnonyms and inhabitant names (on these terms, see 2.1. below), as well as adjectives connected with them, are always written with initial lower-case letters when they occur as examples in this study.

Only *-owk* and *-k* nouns which denote females will be considered. This means that I will not include examples of these suffixes with other functions, e.g. *jěžowka* 'sea-urchin' (*jěž* 'hedgehog'), *klučowka* 'collar-bone' (*kluč* 'key'), *manšetka* 'cuff-link' (*manšeta* 'cuff'), *pjećilětka* 'five-year plan' (*pjeć lět* 'five years') etc., or examples of female-denoting nouns formed in other ways, e.g. *lawica* 'lioness' (*law* 'lion'), *maseza* 'masseuse' (*maser* 'masseur'), *močawa* 'female bed-wetter' (*močak* 'bed-wetter'), *princesna* 'princess' (*princ* 'prince') etc.³

2. Material and discussion

2.1. With a few exceptions, I have collected the material for this study, both the Upper Sorbian examples and the German translations used below, from the 1981 edition of Völkel's Upper Sorbian-German dictionary, and occasionally also from the 1970 edition. Before I present and discuss the material, the terms *inhabitant name* and *ethnonym* must be explained. *Inhabitant name* is used here to mean a noun (e.g. *choćebužan* 'Cottbuser', *europjan* 'Europäer') that indicates inhabitants on the basis of the name of their place of residence (*Choćebuz* 'Cottbus', *Europa* 'Europa'). An inhabitant name is a detoponymical formation. By *ethnonym* I mean a noun that indicates any ethnos, i.e. ethnic group, tribe, people, nationality etc. (e.g. *hetit* 'Hethiter', *nepalčan* 'Nepaler'). I follow here the definitions of the Greek-based Russian terms *katojkonim* and *ětnonim* given by Podol'skaja (1978, pp. 64f. and 167f.). As I see it, the term *inhabitant name* also refers to such ethnonyms (e.g. *nepalčan*) as are detoponymical (*Nepal* 'Nepal').⁴

³Upper Sorbian uses several suffixes to denote human females, as may be evident from these examples. To denote non-human females there is, judging from my collection of examples, one prevailing suffix, *-ic(a)*, e.g. *barica* 'she-bear' (*bar* 'bear') and *tigrica* 'female tiger' (*tiger* 'tiger'). I have not found any cases of *-owk* being used to denote non-human females. For two cases of *-k* with non-human females, see below.

⁴For such ethnonyms Podol'skaja uses the term *topoětnonim* (p. 168). —

Below, the material is divided into different categories according to what consonant precedes the suffixes *-owk* and *-k* in the female-denoting nouns (no cases being found of preceding vowels). In the case of alternations, category assignment is determined by the primary consonant. The female ethnonym *słowačka* 'Slowakin', in which the suffix *-k* is preceded by a *č* resulting from the alternation *k - č* (cf. *Słowakska* 'Slowakei', *słowak* 'Slowake'), is consequently included in the same category as other nouns with a base-final *k*, such as *grjekowka* 'Griechin' (cf. *Grjekska* 'Griechenland', *grjek* 'Grieche'). The segment preceding *-owk* and *-k*, which is the formal base and could therefore be termed the *basic segment*, is not always identical with the word-formational base, as in some cases the two suffixes are extended. In e.g. *kupcowka* 'Käuferin, Kundin' and *orientalowka* 'Orientalin' I assume the basic segments *kupc-* and *orient-*, but the word-formational bases *kupč-* and *orient-* (base words *kupić* 'kaufen' and *orient* 'Orient, Morgenland') combined with the two-degree compound suffixes *-cowk* (*-c+ow+k*) and *-alowk* (*-al+ow+k*). (Cf. their male-denoting counterparts *kupc* 'Käufer, Kunde' formed with *-c* and *orientalowc* 'Orientale' formed with *-alowc* [*-al+ow+c*].) It appears from my segmentation of *kupcowka* and *orientalowka* on a word-formational basis that I prefer to regard these two female-denoting nouns – and, by the way, all the other derivatives too – as mutational derivatives ('a woman who buys', 'a woman from the Orient') rather than as modificational derivatives ('a buyer/customer who is a woman', 'an Oriental who is a woman') – in Polish *derywaty mutacyjne* and *derywaty modyfikacyjne*. On these concepts, see GWJP:2, pp. 320ff. and 364. For this study, however, what is of interest is the fact that, to remain with the above

In addition, there are some deappellative nouns denoting inhabitants, such as *horjan* 'Bergbewohner, Gebirgler' (*hora* 'Berg'), *kupjan* 'Inselbewohner' (*kupa* 'Insel'), *wjesnjan* 'Dorfbewohner' (*wjes* 'Dorf') etc. I do not think it necessary here to decide whether such nouns should be considered inhabitant names or not, as I shall treat all formations with *-an* as only one case in each category (2.5. [a] and [b]).

examples, *-owk* is preceded by *c* (included in a cluster *pc*) in *kupcowka*, and by *l* in *orientalowka*.

In the case of female inhabitant names, including detoponymical female ethnonyms, I shall when presenting my material also give the toponyms, as well as the male inhabitant names and ethnonyms. I regard toponyms as word-formational base words for ethnonyms and inhabitant names. In the case of female ethnonyms for which there are no corresponding toponyms, only the male ethnonym will be given in addition to the female ethnonym. With female-denoting nouns other than inhabitant names or ethnonyms only the male equivalents will be added.⁵ With a few exceptions German translations will be only given of the female-denoting nouns in the collection of examples.

As for the statistical data in the tables and in my discussion it is to be observed that I regard examples having the same frequent final segment, whether this segment is a suffix or a suffixoid, as one case. In *mopedist* 'Mopedfahrer', *-ist* is a suffix, as this word is a derivative of *moped* 'Moped', whereas in *artist* 'Artist' *-ist* could be considered a suffixoid, there being no base *art-* in Upper Sorbian from which *artist* is derived. On the concept of *suffixoid* (Polish *sufiksoid*), see Puzynina (1977, pp. 82f.) and her English summary (p. 84). Consequently, *artist*, *mopedist* and other examples of *-ist* are in statistical terms considered one case here. As I am uncertain of the word-formational status of some examples, I shall not group such examples together according to possible suffixes or suffixoids, but present them individually.

The material has been divided up into four categories on the basis of base-final consonants (the back consonants *k*, *g*, *ch* and *h* [2.2.], the dental and labial stops *t*, *d*, *p* and *b* [2.3.], the sibilants *s* and *z* [2.4.], and remaining consonants [2.5.]). Each such category is divided into

⁵I have excluded a few examples of a female-denoting *-k*, for which no male counterparts are given in Völkel, e.g. *brunetka* 'Brünette', *garderobierka* 'Garderobiere' and *prostitutka* 'Prostituierte'.

inhabitant names and ethnonyms, on the one hand, and nouns other than inhabitant names or ethnonyms, on the other. Without a further semantic subdivision of the material, the latter category includes nouns that refer to profession, religion, race, kinship and other statuses or qualities (also the two cases of non-human females, *sančka* and *ćecorka*). These two subcategories (inhabitant names and ethnonyms, and other nouns) are divided up according to the occurrence of the two suffixes *-owk* and *-k*, and, within each suffix group, also according to monosyllabicity and polysyllabicity.⁶ These subdivisions reflect what I view as the most conspicuous factors influencing the use of *-owk* and *-k* in female-denoting nouns. My categorization does not, however, cover all factors of interest (e.g. base-final consonant clusters, whether the word is foreign or non-foreign), as such an arrangement of the material could detract from the clarity of presentation. Of course, all the factors I consider relevant will be mentioned in the discussion following my presentation of the material.

2.2. The back consonants *k*, *g*, *ch* and *h*

a) Inhabitant names and ethnonyms

-owk

Monosyllables

(*bask/a*⁷) *baskowka* 'Baskin', (*čech*) *čechowka* 'Tschechin', (*Frygi-ska, fryg*) *frygowka* 'Phrygierin', (*Grjekska, grjek*) *grjekowka* 'Griechin'

⁶The term *polysyllable* includes disyllables. *Monosyllable* and *polysyllable* are used with reference to the basic segment. *Ćlonka* and *estowka* are thus considered monosyllables, *katolikowka* and *nomadka* polysyllables.

⁷In many cases the male-denoting noun has twin forms, e.g. *bask* and *baska*, *archeolog* and *archeologa*.

Polysyllables

(*Kazachska/Kazachstan, kazach/a/*) *kazachowka* 'Kasachin', (*Norwowska, norweg/a/*) *norwegowka* 'Norwegerin', (*Tadžikistan, tadżik*) *tadžikowka* 'Tadshikin', (*Uzbekistan, uzbek/a/*) *uzbekowka* 'Usbekin'

-k

Monosyllables

None

Polysyllables

(*Słowaska, słowak*) *słowačka* 'Slowakin'

b) Nouns other than inhabitant names or ethnonyms

-owk

Monosyllables

(*bóh*) *bohowska* 'Göttin', (*rjek*) *rjekowka* 'Heldin', (*wjerch*) *wjerchowka* 'Fürstin'

Polysyllables

(*katolik*) *katolikowka* 'Katholikin', (*kurwjerch*) *kurwjerchowka* 'Kurfürstin', (*monarch*) *monarchowka* 'Monarchin', (*pedagog/a/*) *pedagogowka* 'Pädagogin', (*wulkowjerch*) *wulkowjerchowka* 'Großfürstin' and nouns formed with *-log/a/* ([*archeolog/a/*] *archeologowka* 'Archäologin')

-k

Monosyllables

(*mnich* 'Mönch') *mniška* 'Nonne', (*wnuk* 'Enkelsohn') *wnučka* 'Enkeltochter'

Polysyllables

(*čornuch*) *čornuška* 'Negerin', (*wuropach* 'strammer Junge') *wuropačka*⁸ 'strammes Mädchen'

⁸The alternation *ch* – *č* is exceptional.

Table 1. Number of cases of the suffixes *-owk* and *-k* with base-final *ch*, *g*, *h* and *k* in Upper Sorbian female-denoting nouns, and their distribution among monosyllables and polysyllables.

a) Inhabitant names and ethnonyms

	<i>-owk</i>			<i>-k</i>		
	mono	poly	total	mono	poly	total
<i>ch</i>	1	1	2	0	0	0
<i>g</i>	1	1	2	0	0	0
<i>h</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>k</i>	2	2	4	0	1	1
Total	4	4	8	0	1	1

b) Nouns other than inhabitant names or ethnonyms

	<i>-owk</i>			<i>-k</i>		
	mono	poly	total	mono	poly	total
<i>ch</i>	1	3	4	1	2	3
<i>g</i>	0	2	2	0	0	0
<i>h</i>	1	0	1	0	0	0
<i>k</i>	1	1	2	1	0	1
Total	3	6	9	2	2	4

c) Groups (a) and (b) combined

	<i>-owk</i>			<i>-k</i>		
	mono	poly	total	mono	poly	total
	7	10	17	2	3	5

The suffix *-owk* is used in 17 of the total of 22 cases here, *-k* in five. Consequently, it appears that *-owk* is very much predominant with base-final *k*, *g*, *ch* and *h*. It should be noted, however, that two of the *-owk* cases, *kurwjerchowka* and *wulkowjerchowka*, are related to the simple

wjerchowka.

By using the suffix *-owk*, Upper Sorbian avoids the alternations *k - č*, *g - ž*, *h - ž* and *ch - š*, which use of the suffix *-k* would result in. The historically necessary alternation *g - ž* would probably be unparalleled in Upper Sorbian.⁹ As for the five exceptional examples with *-k* and therefore characterized by alternations (*čornuška*, *mniška*, *słowačka*, *wnučka* *wuropačka*), it can be no accident that they are non-foreign words. They can be assumed to be more tolerant of alternations than the foreign words that make up a majority of these cases of *-owk*. It should be observed however, that *-owk* also occurs in non-foreign words here (*bohowka*, *čchowka* etc.).

In the case of *baskowka* the use of *-k* instead of *-owk* would have given a form **basčka*, containing the cluster *sčk*. In her book on consonant clusters in Slavonic languages, Sawicka (1974) does not include *sč* among the Upper Sorbian clusters she has found (pp. 78ff.).¹⁰ Diminutive with bases ending in *sk* are morphophonologically comparable with *baskowka*, as the main diminutive allomorph *-k*, like the female-denoting *-k* necessitates an alternation *k - č*. Consequently, use of the suffix *-k* in diminutives with a base-final *sk* would also result in the cluster *sčk*. I have found three examples with a base-final *sk* which have diminutive derivatives, viz. *deska* 'Brett', *třeska* 'Holzspan etc.' and *pěsk* 'Sand'. Their diminutive forms are *desčička* and *třesčička* with the compound allomorph *-ičk*, and *pěsačk* with an insertional vowel *a* together with the

⁹Unlike the alternation *g - z*, it is not included in the list of Upper Sorbian consonant alternations presented by Trofymovyč (1977, p. 182). - Because of the phonetic change of Old Slavonic *g* into *h* in Upper Sorbian *g* is not very frequent - at least not in non-foreign words - in this language (see Šewc 1968, p. 40).

¹⁰Sawicka op. cit. considers only the initial and final clusters of words. She leaves aside medial clusters as, according to her, splitting medial clusters between initial and final sounds of syllables does not create any additional types of cluster (pp. 10f.).

suffix *-k*.¹¹

Feminines with a base-final *k* combined with the suffix *-k* through the alternation *k – č*, e.g. *kwačka*, *lučka* and *rěčka*, diminutives of *kwaka* 'Haken etc.', *luka* 'Wiese' and *rěka* 'Fluß', demonstrate that the suffix *-ičk* must be used with *deska* and *třeska* to avoid the cluster *sčk* and that this suffix is not conditioned by the base-final *k* as such. My material on feminine diminutives contains no examples of a base-final *sč*, but it does include two examples of *sć* (phonetically identical with *sč* – on the pronunciation of <ć> and <č>, see Šewc 1968, p. 42). The two examples, *kósć* 'Knochen' and *drobnosć* 'Kleinigkeit', show that the cluster *sčk* is also avoided, either through the use of the allomorph *-ičk* (*kosćička*) or by the alternation *ć – t* when the main allomorph suffix *-k* is used (*kóstka*, *drobnostka*).

The cluster *sčk* of the hypothetical forms **desčka*, **třesčka* and **pěsčk* is thus avoided by the use of the allomorph *-ičk* of the diminutive suffix *-k* or of an insertional vowel when the latter suffix is used. In the same way, a form **basčka* can be avoided through use of the allomorph *-owk* of the female-denoting suffix *-k*.

My conclusion is that *-owk*, which unlike *-k* causes no alternations of the back consonants *k*, *g*, *ch* and *h*, is chosen after these consonants to maintain the phonological connection with other members of the same word family, in the first place with the male counterpart and with the toponym, where one exists (*Grjekska*, *grjek*, and therefore also *grjekowka*, not **grječka*). In the case of *g*, it is possible that *-owk* is used also for morphophonological reasons, as the alternation *g – ž* (if the suffix *-k* was used) would probably be unique in Upper Sorbian. In addition, many of the *-owk* cases are foreign words, concerning which there might be a linguistic reluctance to use too markedly differentiating alternations. As

¹¹To my knowledge, use of the insertional vowel *a* is an infrequent phonological solution in Upper Sorbian from a synchronic point of view.

was pointed out above, the exceptional *-k* cases, in which alternations occur, are non-foreign words.

As for *baskowka*, the choice of *-owk* instead of *-k* is necessary for phonological reasons, as use of *-k* would have resulted in the unacceptable consonant cluster *sčk*.

By way of comparison, as regards Czech suffixes, Šmilauer (1971) notes that *-oviště*, an allomorph of *-iště* (p. 50), and the female-denoting suffix *-yně* (p. 77) are used, *inter alia*, after "hrdelnice", i.e. 'velar and laryngeal consonants'; also that *-ový* is used rather than *-ný*, *-ní* after *l* (p. 117) — and that *-ovský*, an allomorph of *-ský*, is used, *inter alia*, after certain consonant clusters (p. 114). Both *-iště*, *-ný* and *-ní* cause alternations of *k*, *g*, *ch* and *h*. In contrast to *-ka*, the suffix *-yně* does not cause such alternations. As for Slovak, see Dvonč's (1987, pp. 127f.) suggestion that *tráčka*, the female-denoting counterpart of the ethnonym *trák* (meaning 'Thracian'), should be substituted for *trákyňa* because of the monosyllabicity of the base and the greater explicitness in this infrequent word of the suffix *-yňa* which, unlike the more common suffix *-ka*, causes no alternation *k — č*. (The suffixes are written according to these authors' own notations.)

2.3. The dental and labial stops *t*, *d*, *p* and *b*¹²

a) Inhabitant names and ethnonyms

-owk

Monosyllables

(*Estiska*, *est/a/*) *estowka* 'Estin', (*Kurdistan*, *kurd/a/*) *kurdownka*

¹²In the text below — though not in my presentation of the material or in the tables — the category *inhabitant names and ethnonyms* will be referred to as *+IE nouns*, the category *nouns other than inhabitant names or ethnonyms* as *-IE nouns*.

'Kurdin', (*Lappska, lapp/a/*) *lappowka* 'Lappin', (*Letiska*¹³, *let/a/*) *letowka* 'Lettin', (*Serbiska, serb*) *serbowka* 'Serbin', (*Serby, serb*) *serbowka* 'Sorbin', (*Šotiska, šot/a/*) *šotowka* 'Schottin', (*Šwedska, šwed/a/*) *šwedowka* 'Schwedin', (*žid*) *židowka* 'Jüdin'

Polysyllables

None

-k

Monosyllables

(*Indiska, ind*) *indka* 'Inderin'

Polysyllables

(*Arabska, arab*) *arabka* 'Araberin', (*Azija, aziat*) *aziatka* 'Asiatin', (*Chorwatska, chorwat*) *chorwatka* 'Kroatin', (*hetit*) *hetitka* 'Hethiterin', (*Israel, israelit*) *israelitka* 'Israelitin', (*jakut/a/*) *jakutka* 'Jakutin', (*semit*) *semitka* 'Semitin'

b) Nouns other than inhabitant names or ethnonyms

-owk

Monosyllables

(*čert*) *čertowka* 'Teufelin'

Polysyllables

None

-k

Monosyllables

None

Polysyllables

(*akrobat*) *akrobatka* 'Akrobatin', (*analfabet*) *analfabetka* 'Analphabetin', (*architekt*) *architektka* 'Architektin', (*arcywójwoda*) *arcywójwodka* 'Erzherzogin', (*atlet*) *atletka* 'Athletin', (*eksot/a/*) *eksotka* 'Exotin', (*ekspert/a/*) *ekspertka* 'Expertin', (*farmaceut*) *farmaceut-*

¹³The toponym is taken from HRS, p. 464.

ka 'Pharmazeutin', (*idiot*) *idiotka* 'Idiotin', (*katechet*) *katechetka* 'Katechetin', (*kosmonawt*) *kosmonawtka* 'Kosmonautin', (*mulat/a*) *mulatka* 'Mulattin', (*nomad/a/*) *nomadka* 'Nomadin', (*patric*) *patriotka* 'Patriotin', (*pilot*) *pilotka* 'Pilotin', (*předsyda*) *předsydk* 'Vorsitzende', (*prolet*) *proletka* 'Proletin', (*psychoterapeut*) *psychoterapeutka* 'Psychotherapeutin', (*steward*) *stewardka* 'Stewardin', (*susod*) *susodka* 'Nachbarin', (*trageda*) *tragedka* 'Tragödin', (*wj njanosta*) *wjesnjanostka* 'Bürgermeisterin', (*wójwoda*) *wójwodka* 'Herzogin', and other nouns containing the following segment whether they are suffixes or suffixoids: *-and* ([*doktorand*] *doktorandka* 'Doktorandin'), *-ant* ([*gratulant*] *gratulantka* 'Gratulantin'), *-a* ([*gymnaziast*] *gymnaziastka* 'Gymnasiastin'), *-at* ([*kandidat*] *kandidatka* 'Kandidatin'), *-ent* ([*abonent*] *abonentka* 'Abonentin'), *-i* ([*cellist*] *cellistka* 'Cellistin'), *-it* ([*konwertit*] *konwertitka* 'Konvertitin') and *-krat* ([*socialdemokrat*] *socialdemokratka* 'Sozialdemokratin')

Table 2. Number of cases of the suffixes *-owk* and *-k* with base-final *b*, *p* and *t* in Upper Sorbian female-denoting nouns, and their distributic among monosyllables and polysyllables.

a) Inhabitant names and ethnonyms

	<i>-owk</i>			<i>-k</i>		
	mono	poly	total	mono	poly	total
<i>b</i>	2	0	2	0	1	1
<i>d</i>	3	0	3	1	0	1
<i>p</i>	1	0	1	0	0	0
<i>t</i>	3	0	3	0	6	6
Total	9	0	9	1	7	8

b) Nouns other than inhabitant names or ethnonyms

	-owk			-k		
	mono	poly	total	mono	poly	total
<i>b</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>d</i>	0	0	0	0	8	8
<i>p</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>t</i>	1	0	1	0	23	23
Total	1	0	1	0	31	31

c) Groups (a) and (b) combined

	-owk			-k		
	mono	poly	total	mono	poly	total
	10	0	10	1	38	39

There are eleven monosyllabic cases in this category, all but one (*čertowka*) +IE nouns. Ten of these eleven monosyllables are formed with *-owk*, one with *-k* (*indka*). All the 38 polysyllables, of which only seven are +IE nouns, are formed with *-k*. It can therefore be concluded that, where the dental stops *t* and *d* and the bilabial stops *p* and *b* (very few in this connection) are base-final, it is the number of syllables that is decisive to the choice of *-owk* or *-k*. The longer *-owk* is chosen with monosyllables, the shorter *-k* with polysyllables.

Concerning the importance of the length of the base for the choice of short or long suffixes, see Kowalik (1977, p. 197) as regards Polish, and Lopatin (1977, pp. 51f.) as regards Russian. From Lopatin it emerges (p. 52) that the allomorph *-ovk(a)* occurs exclusively instead of *-k(a)*, and the allomorph *-ovsk-* in a majority of deappellatives instead of *-sk-*, after monosyllabic bases. As for Czech, Šmilauer (1971, p. 49) mentions the use of the allomorph *-ovna* instead of *-na* after monosyllabic bases in particular, as well as the use of *-oviště* (p. 50), *-ovský* (p. 114) and *-ovní* (p. 119) after monosyllabic bases instead of *-iště*, *-ský* and *-ní*. As for Slovak, see

the end of 2.2. above; also see Dvonč (1987, p. 128) for more general remarks on the influence of base length on the choice of suffix. (The suffixes are written according to these authors' own notations.)

2.4. The sibilants *s* and *z*

a) Inhabitant names and ethnonyms

-owk

Monosyllables

(*Persiska*, *pers/a/*) *persowka* 'Perserin', (*Pruska*, *prus/a/*) *prusowka* 'Preuβin', (*Ruska*, *rus/a/*¹⁴) *rusowka* 'Russin', (*Sakska*, *saks/a/*) *saksowka* 'Sächsin'

Polysyllables

(*Bětoruska*, *bětorus*) *bětorusowka* 'Belorussin/Weiβrussin', (*Francoška*, *francoz/a/*) *francozowka* 'Französin', (*Indoneska*, *indonez/a/*) *indonezowka* 'Indonesin', (*Kirgiska*, *kirgiz/a/*) *kirgizowka* 'Kirgisin'

-k

Monosyllables

(*Friesiska*/*Friesland*, *fries/a/*) *frieska* 'Friesin'

Polysyllables

None

¹⁴The variant *rusa* according to Faßke & Michalk (1981, p. 492).

¹⁵The Upper Sorbian toponym *Kirgiska* (meaning 'Kirgizia') is found in HRS, p. 464. Völkel gives no toponym here, only the ethnonyms and the adjective *kirgiziski*. I did not include *Kirgiska* in my study of Upper Sorbian *-ska* and *-iska* toponyms (Hagāsen 1987). If included, it would have been listed under F1+F2, p. 144 (basic segment *kirgiz-*; German equivalent *Kirgisien*), and been considered regular. Only the connection between the toponym *Kirgiska* with *-sk(a)* and the adjective *kirgiziski* with *-isk* would have been irregular. In HRS, however, the adjective is listed as *kirgiski*.

b) Nouns other than inhabitant names or ethnonyms

-owk

None

-k

Monosyllables

None

Polysyllables

(*cisterciens*) *cistercienska* 'Zisterzienserin', (*socius* 'Sozius') *sociuska*
'Sozia', (*wirtuos*) *wirtuoska* 'Virtuosin'¹⁶

Table 3. Number of cases of the suffixes -owk and -k with base-final *s* and *z* in Upper Sorbian female-denoting nouns, and their distribution among monosyllables and polysyllables.

a) Inhabitant names and ethnonyms

	-owk			-k		
	mono	poly	total	mono	poly	total
<i>s</i>	4	1	5	1	0	1
<i>z</i>	0	3	3	0	0	0
Total	4	4	8	1	0	1

b) Nouns other than inhabitant names or ethnonyms

	-owk			-k		
	mono	poly	total	mono	poly	total
<i>s</i>	0	0	0	0	3	3
<i>z</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	3	3

¹⁶Alongside *wirtuos* there occurs *wirtuoza*. I do not include the latter, as the female-denoting form is connected orthographically with *wirtuos*. It should be mentioned, however, that a hypothetical **wirtuozka* would be homophonous with *wirtuoska*.

c) Groups (a) and (b) combined

-owk			-k		
mono	poly	total	mono	poly	total
4	4	8	1	3	4

All the eight *-owk* cases here are +IE nouns, whereas three of the four *-k* cases are -IE nouns. Only one +IE noun in this category (*frieska*) contain the suffix *-k*. In seven of the eight *-owk* cases, the use of *-k* to denote females (**indonezka*, **pruska* etc.) would have resulted in homophony with the corresponding toponyms (*Bětoruska*, *Francoska*, *Indoneski Kirgiska*, *Pruska*, *Ruska*, *Sakska*).

In the case of *persowka* a hypothetical female ethnonym **persk* would not have been homophonous with the corresponding toponym *Persiska*. Mere resemblance to a toponym could, however, be a possible reason to choose the more explicit form *persowka*. In the case of *frieska* on the other hand, resemblance to the toponym *Friesiska* does not prevent the occurrence of a female ethnonym formed with *-k* instead of *-owk*.

In the three -IE nouns *cistercienska*, *sociuska* and *wirtuoska*, the suffix *-k* can be used, as homophony does not arise in this connection.

Consequently, if the basic segments end in *s* and *z*, +IE nouns choose *-owk* to avoid homophony with (or resemblance to) toponyms,¹ whereas the few -IE nouns found, which do not risk homophony, choose *-k*.

2.5. Remaining consonants

a) Inhabitant names and ethnonyms

-owk

Monosyllables

¹⁷This was mentioned briefly in Hagåsen (1987, p. 149, note 16).

(čukč) čukčowka 'Tschuktschin', (njenc) njencowka 'Nenzin'

Polysyllables

(malajowc) malajowka 'Malaiin'¹⁸, (Montenegro, montenegrowc) montenegrowka 'Montenegrinerin', (orient, orientalowc) orientalowka 'Orientalin'¹⁹

-k

Monosyllables

(Danska, dan/a/) danka 'Dänin', (Finska, fin/a/) finka 'Finnin', (flam/a/) flamka 'Flämin', (Irska, ir/a/) irka 'Irin', (Němska, němca) němka 'Deutsche, deutsche Frau', (Pólska, polak) pólka 'Polin'

Polysyllables

(awar) awarka 'Awarin', (Baškiriska, baškir) baškirka 'Baschkirin', (Bayerska, bayer) bayerka 'Bayerin', (beduin) beduinka 'Beduinin', (berber) berberka 'Berberin', (Bołharska, bołhar) bołharka 'Bulgariin', (Čorna hora, čornohórc) čornohórka 'Montenegrinerin', (eskimowc) eskimowka 'Eskimoin'²⁰, (Germanska, german) germanka

¹⁸In the case of *malajowc* and *malajowka* I regard *-owc* and *-owk* as suffixes, and *malaj-* as the word-formational base. Cf., in other languages, *malay* (English), *malaie* (German), *malaj* (Polish, Swedish).

¹⁹I regard *orient* as a toponym and *orientalowc* and *orientalowka* as inhabitant names, despite the Upper Sorbian use of a lower-case *o* instead of a capital (cf. Völkel 1981, pp. 592ff.). The derivatives contain the two-degree compound suffixes *-alowc* and *-alowk*. I did not include *orient* as a toponym in Hagăsen (1986). It should have been included together with its adjectival derivative *orientalski* under point (ae), p. 106.

²⁰In the light of English, German etc. *eskimo* with a base-final *o*, I assume in the case of the Upper Sorbian ethnonyms *eskimowc*, *eskimowka* and the adjective *eskimowski* 'eskimoisch, Eskimo-' a word-formational base *eskimow-*, combined with the suffixes *-c*, *-k* and *-sk*. The occurrence of the segment *ow* would then be an expression of Sorabization, as in *běrow* 'Büro' and *niwow* 'Niveau' (Sorabization by means of glides, see Sehnert 1968, p. 147). This analysis tallies with the treatment of *eskimowc* and the adjective *eskimowski* in Hagăsen (1986, p. 109). The assumption of a word-formational base *eskim-* combined in Upper Sorbian with the compound suffixes *-owc*, *-owk*, *-owsk* could also be motivated, with reference to e.g. Czech *eskymák*, Slovak *eskimák* and Serbo-Croatian and

'Germanin', (*hebrej*) *hebrejka* 'Hebräerin', (*indian*) *indianka* 'Indi-
nerin', (*Japanska, jpanc*) *jpanka* 'Japanerin', (*Juhosłowjansk*
juhosłowjan) *juhosłowjanka* 'Jugoslawin', (*Madźarska, madźar*
madźarka 'Ungarin', (*Mazury/Mazurska, mazur*) *mazurka* 'Masu-
rin', (*Mongolska, mongol/a/*) *mongolka* 'Mongolin', (*osman/a/*
osmanka 'Osmanin', (*pygmej/a/*) *pygmejka* 'Pygmäin', (*Rumunska*
rumun/a/) *rumunka* 'Rumānin', (*słowinc*) *słowinka* 'Slowinzin'
(*Słowjenska, słowjenc*) *słowjenka* 'Slowenin', (*Šwicarska, šwicar*
šwicarka 'Schweizerin', (*tatar*) *tatarka* 'Tatarin', (*Turkowska, tur*
k/a/) *turkowka* 'Türkin', (*Wuherska, wuher*) *wuherka* 'Ungarin'
and derivatives formed with the suffixes *-an* ([*Choćebuz, choćebu*
žan] *choćebužanka* 'Cottbuserin', [*Kanada, kanadžan*] *kanadžanka*
'Kanadierin') and *-čan* ([*Radwor, radworčan*] *radworčanka* 'Radibo-
rerin', [*Nepal, nepalčan*] *nepalčanka* 'Nepalerin')

b) Nouns other than inhabitant names or ethnonyms

-owk

Monosyllables

([*bratr* 'Bruder'] *bratrowc* 'Neffe') *bratrowka* 'Nichte', (*bur*) *burow-*
ka 'Bäuerin', (*kupc*) *kupcowka* 'Käuferin, Kundin', ([*sotra* 'Schwes-
ter'] *sotrowc* 'Neffe') *sotrowka* 'Nichte'

Polysyllables

None

-k

Monosyllables

Slovene *eskim*, with the word-formational bases *eskim-* and *eskym-*. I prefer the assumption of *eskimow-* as the word-formational base, very much because of the marked adaptation of Upper Sorbian to German (see Schuster-Sewc 1979, p. 110).

(*člon*) *člonka* 'weibl[iches] Mitglied', (*thar*) *tharka* 'Lügnerin'²¹, (*sanc* 'Tiermännchen') *sančka* 'Tierweibchen'

Polysyllables

(*anatom*) *anatomka* 'Anatomin', (*baron*) *baronka* 'Baronin', (*ćećor* 'Birkhahn') *ćećorka* 'Birkhuhn', (*elewa*) *elewka* 'Elevin', (*filozof*) *filozofka* 'Philosophin', (*kejžor*) *kejžorka* 'Kaiserin', (*komiliton*) *komilitonka* 'Kommilitonin', (*komsomolc*) *komsomolka* 'Komsomolzin', (*kreola*) *kreolka* 'Kreolin', (*listonoš*) *listonoška* 'Briefträgerin', (*mannequin*) *mannequinka* 'Mannequin', (*marketender*²²) *marketenderka* 'Marketenderin', (*mestica*) *mesticka* 'Mestizin', (*mišter*) *mišterka* 'Meisterin', (*nowica*) *nowicka* 'Novizin', (*pastyr*) *pastyrka* 'Hirtin', (*posof*) *posofka* 'Botin', (*riwal/a/*) *riwalka* 'Rivalin', (*spion*) *spionka* 'Spionin', (*towarš*) *towarška* 'Genossin, Freundin, Kameradin', and other nouns containing the following segments, whether they are suffixes or suffixoids: native *-an* ([*stronjan*] *stronjanka* 'weibliches Parteimitglied'), foreign *-an* ([*mohammedan*] *mohammedanka* 'Mohammedanerin'), *-ar* ([*archiwar*] *archiwarka* 'Archivarin'), *-ar* {-ar'} ([*bajkar*] *bajkarka* 'Märchenerzählerin'), *-ćel* ([*prećel*]

²¹The word *thar* contains the suffix *-ar* {-ar'}. Like the other derivatives in my material formed with this suffix, which are all polysyllables, *thar* has a female-denoting counterpart formed with *-k*. —The morphophoneme {r'} is represented at a phonemic level by /r/ in preconsonantal and final position, and by /r'/ in prevocalic position, at a graphemic level by <r> and <rj> (cf. Šewc 1968, p. 42), thus *tharka*, *thar* {-ar'} /-ar/, but *tharja* {-ar'a} /-ar'a/ (gen. and acc. sing. of *thar*). In addition to *-ar* {-ar'} and *-er* {-er'} mentioned below, {r'} occurs in my material in final position in *bothar*, *madžar*, *pastyr*, *šwicar* and *wuher*.

²²I think it advisable to distinguish *marketender* and *mišter* from the *-er* type below represented by *amater* and *sprinter*. The first two examples, whose inflectional bases are *marketendr-* and *mištr-* (cf. gen. and acc. sing. *marketendra*, *mištra*), contain an insertional vowel *e* in the nom. sing., whereas the *e* of *amater* and *sprinter* also occurs in the inflectional bases (cf. gen. and acc. sing. *amatera*, *sprinter*).

přečelka 'Freundin'), -er ([*amater*] *amaterka* 'Amateurin', [*sprinter*] *sprinterka* 'Sprinterin'), -er {-er'} ([*sonjer*] *sonjerka* 'Träumerin') -ěr ([*brigaděr*] *brigaděrka* 'Brigadierin'), -graf ([*choreograf*] *choreografka* 'Choreographin'), -nom ([*agronom*] *agronomka* 'Agronomin' and -or ([*agitor*] *agitorka* 'Agitorin')

Table 4. Number of cases of the suffixes -owk and -k in Upper Sorbian female-denoting nouns with other base-final consonants than those given in tables 1, 2 and 3. Their distribution among monosyllables and polysyllables is also indicated.

a) Inhabitant names and ethnonyms

	-owk			-k		
	mono	poly	total	mono	poly	total
<i>c</i>	1	0	1	0	0	0
<i>č</i>	1	0	1	0	0	0
<i>f</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>j</i>	0	1	1	0	2	2
<i>l</i>	0	1	1	1	1	2
<i>ł</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>m</i>	0	0	0	2	0	2
<i>n</i>	0	0	0	2	11	13
<i>r</i>	0	1	1	1	7	8
<i>r'</i>	0	0	0	0	4	4
<i>š</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>w</i> [β]	0	0	0	0	2	2
<i>w</i> [v]	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	3	5	6	27	33

b) Nouns other than inhabitant names or ethnonyms

	-owk			-k		
	mono	poly	total	mono	poly	total
<i>c</i>	1	0	1	1	2	3
<i>č</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>f</i>	0	0	0	0	2	2
<i>j</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>l</i>	0	0	0	0	4	4
<i>l̥</i>	0	0	0	0	1	1
<i>m</i>	0	0	0	0	2	2
<i>n</i>	0	0	0	1	6	7
<i>r</i>	3	0	3	0	8	8
<i>r'</i>	0	0	0	1	3	4
<i>š</i>	0	0	0	0	2	2
<i>w</i> [β]	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>w</i> [v]	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	4	0	4	3	31	34 ²³

c) Groups (a) and (b) combined

	-owk			-k		
	mono	poly	total	mono	poly	total
	6	3	9	9	58	67

²³In the light of data given by Šewc (1968, p. 35) I assume *elewa* to be pronounced with the labiodental fricative [v]. For the bilabial fricative [β] (written <l> or <w>), see op. cit., pp. 33ff.; see also Trofymovyč (1977, pp. 177 and 180). On the other hand, this sound is described as a bilabial pronounced without a spirant noise ("bez spirantnogo šuma") in HRS, p. 475 (F. Michałk's outline of Upper Sorbian grammar). It is denoted by *u* with a curve under it in all three works. — Considering the subject of this study, I have not found it necessary to segment the suffix *-owk* and include it here under 2.5. as an example of a combination of *w* [β] with the basic suffix *-k*.

In this category the sonorants (*n, m, r, r', l*) predominate, especially *n* and *r*. Sonorants account for 59 of the total of 76 cases. Among the 38 +IE nouns there are five with *-owk* and 33 with *-k*. Of the 38 -IE nouns, four have *-owk* and 34 have *-k*. It is obvious that *-owk* only occurs exceptionally in this subgroup (nine cases of *-owk* as opposed to 67 of *-k*). The *-owk* cases, which are to be considered exceptions, will be commented on in the following.

In the cases of *bratrowka*, *montenegrowka* and *sotrowka*, use of the suffix *-k* would have given the consonant clusters *trk* (**bratrka*, **sotrka*) and *grk* (**montenegrka*). Judging from Sawicka's works (1974, pp. 78ff., and 1985, pp. 3ff.), neither *trk* nor *grk*, nor any other *stop + r + stop* clusters are to be found in Upper Sorbian. As in the above discussion on *baskowka* (2.2.), Upper Sorbian diminutive forms again offer an appropriate basis for comparison. In my material on diminutives I have not found any bases with a final cluster of *stop + r* that combine with the simple suffix *-k*. Instead, the compound and more easily combinable diminutive suffixes *-ešk* and *-ičk* are used in *jadrješko* (*jadro* 'Kern'), *kmótrička* (*kmótra* 'Patin etc. '), *nadrješko* (*nadro* 'weibliche Brust'), *škrička* (*škra* 'Funke'), *sotřička* (*sotra* 'Schwester') and *wjedrješko* (*wjedro* 'Wetter') – forms like **jadrko*, **škrka* etc. are avoided in this way. The assumption that the consonant clusters cause allomorphs of the simple diminutive suffix *-k* to be used in these cases is demonstrated by examples with a base-final *r* preceded by vowels. In such cases *r* combines readily with the simple diminutive suffix *-k*, as is shown by the following examples: *čarka* (*čara* 'Linie'), *lorka* (*lora* 'Lore [Feldbahnwagen]'), *měrka* (*měra* 'Maß'), *pjerko* (*pjero* 'Feder') and *šnórka* (*šnóra* 'Band etc.').

From Sawicka (1974, pp. 78ff. and 1985, pp. 3ff.) and my own material on Upper Sorbian diminutives, it can be concluded that the use of *-owk* in *bratrowka*, *montenegrowka* and *sotrowka* is necessary because of the base-final clusters *tr* and *gr*. The use of *-owk* instead of *-k* avoids the clusters *trk* and *grk*, which are not acceptable in Upper Sorbian. The

segment *ow* performs a phonological function here.²⁴ Consequently, the occurrence of a compound allomorph *-owk* of the suffix *-k* in these three female-denoting nouns is not attributable to a word family relationship as is the case with *malajowc* – *malajowka* and *orientalowc* – *orientalowka* below. It is not impossible, however, that the occurrence of one and the same phonologically justified segment *ow* in both female-denoting nouns and in other members of the same word family is due secondarily to word family relationship. Cf. *bratrowka* with *bratrowc*, *bratrowstwo* 'Brüderschaft, Brüderlichkeit' and *bratrowski* 'brüderlich, Bruder-', *sotrowka* with *sotrowc*, *sotrownja* 'Schwesternhaus', *sotrowstwo* 'Schwesternschaft' and *sotrowski* 'schwesterlich, Schwestern-', and *montenegrowka* with *montenegrowc*.

In the cases of *čukčowka* and *kupcowka*, use of the suffix *-k* would have given the consonant clusters *kčk* (**čukčka*) and *pčk* (**kupčka*). In her investigation Sawicka (1974) notes that the cluster *pčk* (p. 78 – there written *-pč'k*) occurs in final position in Upper Sorbian. She does not, however, find *kčk* or any other clusters of the type *stop + affricate + stop* in final position. Sawicka gives the example *drobčk* (possibly taken from Kral 1927-31 and indicated there as a diminutive of *drob* 'Kleines etc.').²⁵ Judging from her tables on pp. 79f., no other combination of *stop + affricate + stop* is to be expected on the whole in Upper Sorbian. My material on diminutives gives no examples at all containing such clusters. I have found only one relevant example, where hypothetical use of *-k* would have

²⁴As for *Montenegro* I have previously (Hagåsen 1986, p. 110) referred to morphophonological conditions for the use of the suffix *-isk* in the adjective *montenegriski*. In the light of Sawicka's conclusions and my own observations on diminutives the term *phonological* would have been more correct.

²⁵The list of dictionaries used as sources by Sawicka (1974, p. 9, note 2) includes Kral (1927-31 [assigned 1931 as the date of publication by Sawicka]). Völkel (1970), however, is not included. The words *drob* and *drobčk* do not occur in either the 1970 or the 1981 edition of Völkel.

given such a cluster. However, this case, *pupk* 'Knospe etc.', instead of using the suffix *-k*, which would have resulted in **pupčk*, forms its diminutive with the suffix *-ičk* (*pupčičk*). That the use in this example of the suffix *-ičk* is conditioned by the actual cluster, and not by the final *k* of the base, can be concluded from numerous examples where the suffix *-k* is attached directly to a base-final *č* either resulting from the alternations *c – č* and *k – č* or being primary, e.g. *čwička* (*čwica* 'Bierfaß etc. '), *hornčk* (*hornc* 'Topf'), *stwjelčko* (*stwjelco* 'Halm'); *ptačk* (*ptak* 'Vogel'), *ručka* (*ruka* 'Hand etc. '), *wóčko* (*woko* 'Auge etc. '); *tykačk* (*tykač* 'Stecker'). It is also noteworthy that my corpus of diminutives formed with the rather infrequent suffix *-čk*, such as *cholowčki* (*cholowy* 'Hose'), *mjetelčka* (*mjetel* 'Schmetterling'), *młynčk* (*młyn* 'Mühle') and *słowčko* (*słowo* 'Wort'), does not show any cases of a base-final stop preceding this suffix. Thus, I have found no examples of clusters of the type *stop + affricate + stop* in connection with the suffix *-čk*.

Apart from *pčk*, then, Sawicka (1974 loc. cit.) does not record any clusters of the relevant type. My material on diminutives contains only one example (*pupk*) where such a cluster could have been used, once again *pčk*. However, this cluster is avoided here by means of another suffix than *-k*. Therefore, it might be assumed that clusters of the type *stop + affricate + stop* are unusual and consequently avoided. The choice of *-owk* in *čukčowka* and *kupcowka* is most likely phonologically conditioned by the preceding consonant cluster.²⁶

In the case of *njencowka* it is hard to tell whether hypothetical use of *-k* instead of *-owk* would have resulted in the alternation *c – č* (**njenčka*) as with (*sanc*) *sančka*, or whether *c* would have remained unchanged (**njencka*), as with (*mestica*) *mesticka* and (*nowica*) *nowicka*. If, in the light of these facts, a form **njencka* had existed, it could have

²⁶In Hagåsen (1986, pp. 108f.) I did not comment on the adjective *čukčiski* 'tschuktschisch'. In the light of *čukčowka* it seems probable that use of *-isk* in this adjective could also be justified phonologically.

given the impression of being an adjectival *-ska* toponym **Njencska* (cf. from a phonological point of view the adjectives [*Mainz* 'Mainz'] *mainzski* 'Mainzer' and [*Pfalca* 'Pfalz'] *pfalcski* 'pfälzisch, Pfalz-') and therefore be replaced by *njencowka*, formed with *-owk* (cf. the sibilant cases under 2.4.). (Of course, it cannot be ruled out that the form of the toponym would instead have been **Njenska* with the alternation *c - ø*. Cf. from a morphophonological point of view the adjective [*Lubjenc* 'Mehltheuer'] *lubjenski* 'Mehltheuerer'.)

With examples such as the already mentioned female-denoting *sančka* and the *-k* diminutives *kónčk* (*kónc* 'Ende etc. '), *křińčka*²⁷ (*křińca* 'Butterbüchse'), *krjeńčka* (*krjeńca* 'Ranft'), *rančka* (*ranca* 'Sau'), *škleńčka* (*škleńca* 'Trinkglas'), *słónčko* (*słónco* 'Sonne') etc., as well as *-čk* diminutives such as *bubončk* (*bubon* 'Trommel'), *klinčk* (*klin* 'Keil etc. '), *wańčka* (*wań/wanja* 'Wanne') etc., there cannot be any phonological restrictions on the formation of a **njenčka* with *č*. As for **njencka* with *c*, I have found no parallels in my diminutives. Sawicka (1974, p. 78) includes the final cluster *nčk* (*nč'k* according to her), but not *nck*. The example of *mainzski* mentioned above shows, however, that *nck* (here written <nzsk>) is an acceptable cluster in Upper Sorbian. Consequently, there are no reasons to assume there to be any phonological restrictions on a form **njencka*.

The use of *-owk* in *njencowka* might be justified considering the semantic indistinctness of a form **njencka*, reminiscent of a toponym, or considering morphophonological insecurity as to what standardized form of this infrequent word to choose, **njencka* or **njenčka*, if *-k* was used. Even **njenka* might perhaps have been a possible form on the basis of its counterparts in other languages, e.g. Polish (*nieniec*) *nienka* and Russian

²⁷When preceding a consonant and in a final position, *ń* is pronounced as if written <jn> (Šewc 1968, p. 39).

and Slovak (*nenec*) *nenka*. Of course, the semantic indistinctness and morphophonological insecurity just mentioned might, when also combined with the monosyllabicity of the base, have contributed to the use of *-owk*. The case of *njencowka* must anyway be left without a good explanation.

Nor can I find an acceptable explanation for the use of *-owk* in *burowka*. A connection with other members of the same word family (as with *malajowka* and *orientalowka* below) might seem possible with regard to the co-derivative *burowy* 'dem Bauer gehörend', formed with the suffix *-ow*. As neither the male-denoting counterpart *bur*, nor any other co-derivatives, however, contain the segment *ow* (*burski* 'bäuerlich, Bauern-', *burstwo* 'Bauernschaft, Bauernstand'), word family connection must be rejected as the reason for the occurrence of *-owk* in *burowka*. I also think it is uncertain whether the monosyllabicity of the base could have promoted the use of *-owk* here (cf. *irka* 'Irin').

In the cases of *malajowka* and *orientalowka* the segment *ow* is connected with the same segment in the male forms of the same word family, *malajowc* and *orientalowc*. A word-formational pair consisting of a male-denoting noun formed with the compound suffix *-owc* and a female-denoting one formed with the simple suffix *-k* (*malajowc* – **malajka*, *orientalowc* – **orientalka*) would, as far as I have been able to observe, be most unexpected in Upper Sorbian (Hagâsen forthcoming). Cf. Polish, where I have not found male-denoting +IE nouns to have a more complex word formational structure than their female-denoting counterparts (Hagâsen 1979, p. 71). The occurrence of *-owk* in *malajowka* and *orientalowka* is thus connected with the use of *-owc* in their male-denoting counterparts.

It can be noted, by way of summary concerning the sonorants *l*, *m*, *n*, *r* (including {*r'*}), the fricatives *f*, *j*, *š*, *l/w* [β], *w* [v], and the affricate *c*, that the suffix *-k* is usually chosen with these consonants. The only example (*čukčowka*) of the other affricate, a primary *č*, is formed with *-owk*. Most occurrences of the suffix *-owk* seem to be due to consonant clusters (*bratrowka*, *čukčowka* etc.). In *malajowka* and *orientalowka*, *-owk* is relat-

ed to the use of the segment *ow* in their corresponding male-denoting nouns. Leaving aside *malajowc* and *orientalowc*, the occurrence of *ow* may in certain cases be due secondarily to word family relationship. Cf. *brat-rowstwo*, *kupcowski* 'Kunden-', *montenegrowc*, *sotrowski* etc.

2.6. The Upper Sorbian female-denoting suffixes *-owk* and *-k* refer to human females. Only two non-human exceptions have been found, *ćećorka* 'Birkhuhn' and *sančka* 'Tierweibchen', both formed with *-k*.²⁸

3. Summary

The types of factors which, alone or combined, determine the use of the suffixes *-owk* and *-k* in Upper Sorbian female-denoting nouns are the following (also see figure 1 below):

Semantic. 1. Both *-owk* and *-k* refer to human females (*estowka* 'Estin', *riwalka* 'Rivalin'). 2. With the sibilants *s* and *z* +IE nouns are formed with *-owk* (*francozowka* 'Französin'), the few -IE nouns are formed with *-k* (*cistercienska* 'Zisterzienserin').

Phonological. 1. *-owk* and *-k* are in general distributed according to the quality of the preceding consonant (*-owk* prevailing with back consonants [*monarchowka* 'Monarchin'], *-k*, *inter alia*, with sonorants [*irka* 'Irin'], both *-owk* and *-k* with labial and dental stops [*lappowka* 'Lappin', *arabka* 'Araberin'; *letowka* 'Lettin', *ekspertka* 'Expertin'] and with sibilants [*rusowka* 'Russin', *wirtuoska* 'Virtuosin']). 2. *-owk* and *-k* are distri-

²⁸At least as far as Upper Sorbian is concerned, Kovalyk's assertion (1968, p. 168) that *-owk-a* (according to Kovalyk's own notation) denotes women and female animals in Upper and Lower Sorbian is consequently an exaggeration in the light of my study ("Spil'nolužyc'koju slovtvirnoju svojeridnistju imennykovoho slovtvoru je najavni verchn'o- i nyžn'olužyc'ki nazvy žinok i samok na *-owk-a*").

buted according to the number of syllables in connection with labial and dental stops (-owk with monosyllabic [*serbowka* 'Sorbin'], -k with polysyllabic bases [*pilotka* 'Pilotin']). 3. -owk occurs with certain consonant clusters not combinable phonologically with -k (*montenegrowka* 'Montenegri-nerin').

Lexical. 1. In the case of back consonants both -owk and -k are used in non-foreign words (*rjekowka* 'Heldin', [*wnuk*] *wnučka* 'Enkeltochter'), only -owk in foreign words (*norwegowka* 'Norwegerin'). 2. In *malajowka* 'Malaian' and *orientalowka* 'Orientalin' the use of -owk maintains word-formational concord within the same word family (*malajowc* 'Malaie', *orientalowc* 'Orientale').

As concerns semantic factors (2) above, it is to be noted that in the case of sibilants the use of -owk in +IE nouns is in turn justified lexically, as it avoids homophony (*Pruska* 'Preußen', *prusowka* [instead of **pruska*] 'Preußin'). As concerns phonological factors (1) above, it is to be noted that in the case of back consonants the use of -owk is in turn justified lexically, as it maintains phonological concord within the same word family (*Grjekska* 'Griechenland', *grjek* 'Grieche', *grjekowka* [instead of **grječka*] 'Griechin') – as regards *g*, this lexical factor is also combined with a phonological factor, the avoidance of a morphophonologically justified isolated alternation *g* – *ž* (*archeolog* 'Archäolog', *archeologowka* 'Archäologin' [instead of **archeoložka*]).

Fig. 1. Schematic presentation of factors governing use of the suffixes -owk and -k in Upper Sorbian female-denoting nouns. The different factors affecting choice of suffix are indicated as follows: L = lexical, PH = phonological, S = semantic. The following abbreviations are also used: +IE = inhabitant names and ethnonyms, -IE = nouns other than inhabitant names or ethnonyms, mono = monosyllabic bases, poly = polysyllabic bases. Dashed lines indicate factors underlying other factors. I use parentheses to denote that only one member of a category is concerned (in this case, *g* compared to back consonants in general).

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