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FACTORS GOVERNING THE USE OF THE SEGMENTS -SKA AND -ISKA IN
UPPER SORBIAN TOPONYMS OF THE TYPE GRJEKSKA AND BELGISKA

1. Introduction

The adjectival derivational suffix *-sk* forms part of names of nations and territories in most Slavonic languages. This category includes both substantivally and adjectivally inflected toponyms, which are either feminine or neuter. On the basis of Rospond (1969, pp. 38f.) it can be observed that the toponyms in question occur to a varying extent in Kashubian, Polish, Sorbian (Rospond makes no distinction between Lower and Upper Sorbian here), Czech, Slovak, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian and Slovene. Macedonian, which is not mentioned by Rospond, should be added to this list. These toponyms are thus found in the West and South Slavonic groups. The following examples from my own sources may be mentioned: Kashubian *Kašëbskã* 'Kashubia', Polish *Polska* 'Poland', Lower and Upper Sorbian *Němska* 'Germany', Czech *Česko* 'the Czech lands', Slovak *Slovensko* 'Slovakia', Bulgarian *Sofijsko* 'the Sofia region', Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian *Hrvatska* 'Croatia' and Slovene *Štajerska* 'Styria'.

The present study is an expansion and more specialized treatment based on a paper that I read in August 1984 at Turku, Finland.¹ Its aim is to give an account of the linguistic

¹The paper, entitled in Swedish "Adjektivsuffixet *-ijsk* i slaviska språk, särskilt högsorbiska" ("The Adjectival Suffix *-ijsk* in Slavonic Languages, Especially Upper Sorbian") was read at the 10th Congress of Scandinavian Slavists and

conditions governing the choice of either *-ska* (*Grjekska* etc.) or *-iska* (*Belgiska* etc.) in the Upper Sorbian *-sk* toponyms in question. As it is the presence of the phoneme /i/ in *-iska* or absence of it in *-ska* that is essential, I do not find it necessary for the aim of this study to discuss the word-formational status of these two sequences. I therefore refer to them by the general term *segment*. As in most cases the segment preceding *-ska* and *-iska* is the historical base for the toponym and the derivatives, such segments are here consistently termed *basic segments*. My hypothesis is that four special factors, in the following numbered 1, 2, 3 and 4, have a crucial influence on the choice between *-ska* and *-iska*. I also assume that the number of syllables is of some importance to the choice of segment.

As will be seen from the collection of material presented later in this study, Upper Sorbian is very rich in *-ska* and *-iska* toponyms denoting nations and territories.² These toponyms are substantivized feminine adjectives whose inflectional bases are identical with those of the corresponding relative

Baltologists. It has yielded two previous studies, Hagāsen (1985, 1986). The latter discussed the Upper Sorbian adjectival suffixes *-sk* and *-isk*. I have found no connection between their use and that of the toponymical segments discussed in the present study.

²Rospond's remark (loc. cit.) that the predilection for the toponyms concerned has partially remained in Sorbian is therefore an understatement - not only for Upper Sorbian, but also, judging from Šwjela (1963) and Starosta (1985), as regards Lower Sorbian ("Predylekcja do tej struktury choronimicznej [-ska, -sko L.H.] pozostała w językach czeskim, słowackim (po części łużyckim), słoweńskim, serbsko-chorwackim, mniej bułgarskim").

adjectives (*Grjekska* 'Greece' - *grjeksi* 'Greek', *Belgiska* 'Belgium' - *belgiski* 'Belgian').³ From a synchronic point of view I regard the adjectives as derivatives of the toponyms. Consequently, the same relationship as in *Stockholm* - *stockholmski*⁴ and *Gdańsk* - *gdański* must also be assumed in *Grjekska* - *grjeksi* etc. with a phonological simplification of *sksk* > *sk* in *grjeksi* as in *gdański*. For an identical simplification in Polish, see Laskowski (1979).

2. Method and material

The examples making up my material have been taken almost exclusively from Völkel (1970, 1981), in the first place from the latter. My examples are listed below, subdivided first under factors 1, 2, 3 and 4 (F1, F2, F3, F4), either alone or mutually combined (F4 only occurs alone). Each such section is in turn divided according to the occurrence of *-ska* or *-iska*. These subdivisions take priority over an arrangement of the toponyms according to the number of syllables in the basic segment.⁵

³In a few cases, e.g. *Asturiska*, no adjectives are given in my sources (see below).

⁴As examples ethnonyms and adjectives are always written with initial lower-case letters in this study.

⁵Basic segments are divided into monosyllables and polysyllables only. The term *polysyllable* thus includes disyllables. The terms *monosyllable* and *polysyllable* are used with reference, not to the entire toponym, but to its basic segment. Accordingly, *Lappska* (*Lapp-*) and *Estiska* (*Est-*) are here considered monosyllables, *Bayerska* (*Bayer-*) and *Andalusiska* (*Andalus-*) polysyllables.

The factors are as follows:

F1 indicates that the corresponding German toponym is formed with the segment *-ien* from a basic segment that coincides substantially with that of the Upper Sorbian toponym (Upper Sorbian *Brasilska*, *Šleziska* - German *Brasilien*, *Schlesien*, with the basic segments *brasil-* and *šlez-/schles-*).

F2 indicates that the Upper Sorbian male ethnonym is formed with a derivational zero suffix added directly to the basic segment (*Šwedaska* - *šwed(a)*, *Serbiska* - *serb*, with the basic segments *šwed-* and *serb-*). This derivational zero suffix (*-ø*) can itself occur with an inflectional zero suffix (*-Ø*) (*Serbiska* - *serb* (= *serb-ø-Ø*)) or an inflectional suffix *-A* (*Šwedaska* - *šweda* (= *šwed-ø-A*)), *-Ø* and *-A* often used indiscriminately, with *šwed* occurring alongside *šweda*.

F3 indicates that the basic segment ends in one of the sonorants *l*, *m*, *n* or *r*. This group includes *Galliska*, *Němska*, *Danska*, *Assyriska* etc., with the basic segments *gall-*, *něm-*, *dan-* and *assy-*.

F4 indicates the absence of F1, F2 or F3. An example belonging here is *Mecklenburgska*, which has a German equivalent *Mecklenburg*, not formed with *-ien*, further a male ethnonym, *mecklenburgčan*, not formed with a derivational zero suffix, and, finally, a basic segment, *mecklenburg-*, not ending in a sonorant.

Examples of combinations of F1, F2 and F3 are *Algeriska* (F1+F3) with (F1) a German equivalent, *Algerien*, ending in *-ien*, and (F3) a basic segment *alger-*, ending in the sonorant *r*, and *Danska* (F2+F3) with (F2) a male ethnonym, *dan(a)*, formed with a derivational zero suffix, and (F3) a basic segment, *dan-*, ending in the sonorant *n*.

In view of F1 and F2, the list also contains the corre-

sponding German toponyms, as well as the Upper Sorbian male ethnonyms,⁶ not only zero suffix ethnonyms, but also those formed with other derivational suffixes (-an, -čan etc.).

Support for the relevance of F1, F2 and F3 and for the importance of the number of syllables can be found by comparison with other languages. The assumption of F1 is reasonable in the light of the use of Latin-based toponyms ending in -ia, -ien etc. in many languages (English *Austria*, *Nigeria*, German *Italien*, *Spanien*). A connection between Upper Sorbian and, in the first place, German is the most likely one. It is a well-known fact that German exerts a considerable influence on all levels of the Upper Sorbian language (Schuster-Šewc 1979, p. 110). The *i* of the Upper Sorbian segment -iska, which F1 generally results in, when occurring alone (see Table 1 and the subsequent discussion below), and the *i* of the German segment -ien could be considered equivalent.

As regards the assumption of F2, there is also a parallelism outside Upper Sorbian. From my material on Polish -ia toponyms it appears that the deletion in detoponymical adjectives of the *i* in -ia is connected, *inter alia*, with the occurrence of zero suffix male ethnonyms, e.g. *Arabia* - *arab*, *arabski*, *Karelia* - *karel*, *karelski* (Hagâsen forthcoming).

F3 can to a great extent also be motivated with reference to my Polish material. The *i* of Polish -ia toponyms is regularly deleted in adjectives when preceded by the sonorant *n*, e.g. *Estonia* - *estoński*, *Macedonia* - *macedoński* (Hagâsen forthcoming; a similar conclusion is drawn by Kreja 1978, p. 9: "[W jednej z obu podgrup] owo końcowe -i(a) nie ma swego

⁶In the case of many toponyms no ethnonyms are given by Völkel.

odbicia w derywacie, np. *Algieria* [...] - *algierski* [...]. Tu należy cała seria nazw na *-nia*, np. *Abisynia* [...]”). But whereas in Polish the other sonorants (*l, m, r*) do not cause the deletion of *i* to as high a degree as *n* (Hagåsen forthcoming), I find it appropriate to treat all the four sonorants as one category in the Upper Sorbian *-ska* and *-iska* toponyms.

Regarding the importance of the number of syllables, Kowalik (1977, p. 197) mentions a regular inverse proportionality in Polish between the length of the suffix and the length of the base (“Jest to stała prawidłowość, że długość ciagu sufiksального jest odwrotnie proporcjonalna do długości podstawy”). As for Russian, Lopatin (1977, pp. 51f.) remarks that it is no accident that monosyllabic bases occupy a prominent position among bases combining with long suffixal morphs (“Ne slučajno i to, što v sovremennom russkom jazyke sredi kornej, naibolee “ochotno” sočetajuščichsja s bolee dlinnymi suffiksálnymi morfami [...], zametnoe mesto zanimajut odnosložnye korni”).

The material, which the present study is based upon, is as follows:

F1 alone

-ska

Monosyllables

Šleska, basic segment *šlez-* (cf. *Šleziska* below) -
Schlesien

Polysyllables

Bessarabska - *Bessarabien*

-iska

Monosyllables

Belgiska, *belgičan* - *Belgien*, *Indiska*, *indičan* (also

F1+F2 ind) - Indien, Lydiska - Lydien, Nubiska, nubičan - Nubien, Persiska, persičan (also F1+F2 pers(a)) - Persien, Šleziska, šlezičan - Schlesien

Polysyllables

Andalusiska, andalusičan - Andalusien, Boliviska, bolivičan - Bolivien, Dalmaciska, dalmatinjan - Dalmatien, Etiopiska,⁷ etiopjan - Äthiopien, Feniciska, feničan - Phönizien, Galiciska - Galizien, Georgiska, georgičan - Georgien, Kolumbiska, kolumbičan - Kolumbien, Melanesiska, melanesičan - Melanesien, Mikronesiska, mikronesičan - Mikronesien, Polynesiska - Polynesien, Rhodesiska, rhodesičan - Rhodesien, Skandinawiska, skandinawičan - Skandinavien, Tunesiska, tunesičan - Tunesien

F2 alone

-ska

Monosyllables

Grjekska, grjek - Griechenland, Lappska, lapp(a) - Lappland, Pruska, basic segment prus-, prus(a) - Preussen, Ruska, basic segment rus-, rus(a)⁸ - Russland, Sakska, basic segment saks-, saks(a) - Sachsen, Šwabska, šwab(a) - Schwaben, Šwedska, šwed(a) - Schweden

Polysyllables

Běloruska, basic segment bělorus-, bělorus - Belorussland/Weissrussland, Francoska, basic segment francoz-, francoz(a) - Frankreich, Kašubska, kašub(a) -

⁷Völkel (1970) has the form Etiopska.

⁸The variant rusa according to Fasske & Michalk (1981, p. 492).

Kaschubei, Kazachska, kazach(a) - Kasachstan, Norwegska,
norweg(a) - Norwegen, Słowakska, słowak - Slowakei

-iska

Monosyllables

Estiska, est(a) - Estland, Friesiska, fries(a) -
Friesland, Letiska, let(a) - Lettland,⁹ Šotiska, šot(a) -
Schottland

Polysyllables

No examples

F3 alone

-ska

Monosyllables

Němska, němc - Deutschland, Pólska, polak - Polen

Polysyllables

Braniborska, braniborčan - Brandenburg, Durinska, durin-
čan - Thüringen, Hessenska - Hessen, Holsteinska -
Holstein, Japanska, japanc/japanjan - Japan, Jendźelska,
jendźelčan - England, Nižozemska, nižozemjan -
Niederlande, Pomorska - Pommern, Portugalska, portugalčan
- Portugal, Poruhrska - Ruhrgebiet, Porynska - Rheinland,
Posaarska - Saarland, Westfalska - Westfalen

-iska

Monosyllables

Awstriska, awstričan - Österreich

Polysyllables

No examples

⁹The Upper Sorbian toponym taken from HRS, p. 464, the German from several dictionaries.

F4

-ska

Monosyllables

Česka - Böhmen¹⁰

Polysyllables

Achajska /-ajska/¹¹ - Achaja, Československa -
 Tschechoslowakei, Egyptowska, egyptowčan - Ägypten,
 Elsass-Lothringska - Elsass-Lothringen, Frankowska, frank
 - Frankenreich,¹² Grönlandska, grönlandčan - Grönland,
 Hollandska, hollandčan - Holland, Islandska, islandčan -
 Island, Libyska, libyčan - Libyen, Litawska, litawčan -
 Litauen, Luxemburgska, luxemburgčan - Luxemburg,
 Mecklenburgska, mecklenburgčan - Mecklenburg,
 Nowofundlandska - Neufundland, Nowoseelandska,
 nowoseelandčan - Neuseeland, Rakuska, basic segment
 rakus-, rakušan - Österreich, Sowjetska - Sowjetunion,

¹⁰The ethnonym *čech*, found in Völkel, means 'Czech'. It is therefore not synchronically relevant in the case of *Česka* 'Bohemia' in spite of the historical connection.

¹¹I assume the Upper Sorbian pronunciation on the basis of the diphthong in German *Achaja* and with reference to the orthographic principles of Völkel (1981, p. 599, points 168 and 169).

¹²Taken from Völkel (1970). The 1981 edition gives only the ethnonym *frank* and the adjective *frankski* connected with it. The derivational zero suffix of *frank* does not justify the assumption of F2 here, as the basic structure differs between the toponym *Frankowska*, containing a segment *-ow-*, and the ethnonym *frank*, which has no such segment.

Sydmihródska - Siebenbürgen, Turkowska, turk(a)¹³ -
Türkei, Vogtlandska - Vogtland

-iska

Monosyllables

No examples

Polysyllables

Lombardiska - Lombardei

F1+F2

-ska

Monosyllables

No examples

Polysyllables

Arabska, arab - Arabien, Chorwatska, chorwat - Kroa-
tien, Indoneska, basic segment indonez-, indonez(a) -
Indonesien

-iska

Monosyllables

Frygiska, fryg - Phrygien, Indiska, Persiska (for these
two, see F1 alone above), Serbiska, serb - Serbien

Polysyllables

No examples

¹³The derivational zero suffix of the ethnonym turk(a) does not justify the assumption of F2 here, as the basic structure differs between the toponym Turkowska, containing a segment -ow-, and the ethnonym turk(a), which has no such segment.

F1+F3

-ska

Monosyllables

No examples

Polysyllables

Abesinska, abesinjan - Abessinien, Aeolska - Äolien,
 Albanska, albanjan - Albanien, Aragonska, aragončan -
 Aragonien, Argentinska, argentinjan - Argentinien,
 Armenska, armenjan - Armenien, Awstralska, awstralčan -
 Australien, Brasilska, brasilčan - Brasilien, Gruzinska,
 gruzinjan - Grusinien, Italska, italčan - Italien,
 Makedonska, makedonjan - Makedonien, Sibirska, sibirčan -
 Sibirien, Sicilska, sicilčan - Sizilien, Słowjenska,
 słowjenc - Slowenien

-iska

Monosyllables

Bosniska, bosničan - Bosnien, Galliska - Gallien,
 Španiska, španičan - Spanien, Syriska, syričan - Syrien

Polysyllables

Algeriska, algeričan - Algerien, Anatoliska¹⁴ - Anato-
 lien, Apuliska - Apulien, Assyriska - Assyrien, Asturiska
 - Asturien, Jordaniska, jordaničan - Jordanien,
 Kaliforniska, kaliforničan - Kalifornien, Mesopotamiska -
 Mesopotamien, Oceaniska - Ozeanien, Sardiniska, sardinjan
 - Sardinien, Wulka Britaniska (adjective wulkobritaniski
 or britiski) - Grossbritannien

¹⁴Völkel (1970) has the form *Anatolska*.

F2+F3

-ska

Monosyllables

Danska, dan(a) - Dänemark, Finska, fin(a) - Finnland,
 Irska, ir(a) - Irland.

Polysyllables

Bayerska, bayer - Bayern, Juhošłowjanska, juhošłowjan
 - Jugosławien,¹⁵ Mađarska, mađar - Ungarn, Mazurska,
 mazur - Masuren, Mongolska, mongol(a) - Mongolei,
 Šwicarska, šwicar - Schweiz, Wuherska, wuher - Ungarn

-iska

No examples

F1+F2+F3

-ska

Monosyllables

No examples

Polysyllables

Baškiriska, baškir - Baschkirien, Bołharska, bołhar
 - Bulgarien, Germanska, german - Germanien, Rumunska,
 rumun(a) - Rumänien

-iska

No examples

¹⁵The German -ien form does not justify the assumption of F1 here, as the basic structure differs between Upper Sorbian *Juhošłowjanska*, containing a segment -an-, and German *Jugosławien*, which has no such segment.

3. Results and discussion

The list presented comprises 126 cases of *-ska* and *-iska* (but only 124 toponyms because of the occurrence of both F1 alone and F1+F2 with *Indiska* and *Persiska*). As is shown in Table 1, cases of *-ska* (81 = 64.3%) are more frequent than those of *-iska* (45 = 35.7%). The total number of monosyllables is 33 (26.2%) and of polysyllables 93 (73.8%), i.e. a fourth of all the cases are monosyllables. The monosyllables are quite evenly distributed, with 14 cases (11.1%) of *-ska* and 19 (15.1%) of *-iska*, while the polysyllables are not, with 67 cases (53.2%) of *-ska* against 26 (20.6%) of *-iska*.

For reasons of space the arrangement of Table 1 deviates from the hierarchy otherwise applied in this study, with the factors first, the segments *-ska* and *-iska* second, and the number of syllables in the third place. In Table 1 the factors are set out at the far left, whereas the two other items are found at the top.

F1 alone

F1 alone occurs with *-ska* in two cases (9.1%) and with *-iska* in 20 (90.9%). The two *-ska* cases involve one monosyllable (*Šleska*) and one polysyllable (*Bessarabska*). The 20 *-iska* cases involve six monosyllables and 14 polysyllables. It can therefore be established quite simply that, when F1 occurs alone, *-iska* is chosen regardless of the number of syllables.

The two cases of *-ska* are thus to be considered exceptions. As regards *Šleska*, it is to be noted that there also occurs an alternative form *Šleziska*, included in the above six

Table 1. The influence of various factors on the use of the segments *-ska* and *-iska* in Upper Sorbian toponyms. The mono- or polysyllabic nature of the basic segments is indicated.

	<i>-ska</i>		<i>-iska</i>		total
	mono	poly	mono	poly	
F1 alone	1	1	6	14	22
F2 alone	7	6	4	0	17
F3 alone	2	13	1	0	16
F4	1	19	0	1	21
F1+F2	0	3	4	0	7
F1+F3	0	14	4	11	29
F2+F3	3	7	0	0	10
F1+F2+F3	0	4	0	0	4
Total	14	67	19	26	126

F1 = German toponyms ending in *-ien*, F2 = zero suffix male ethnonyms, F3 = basic segments ending in the sonorants *l*, *m*, *n* or *r*, F4 = absence of F1, F2 or F3.

monosyllabic *-iska* cases. *Bessarabska* (ethnonyms missing), in German *Bessarabien*, has *-ska* despite the German *-ien*, possibly through analogy with *Arabska* (F1+F2 below).

F2 alone

F2 alone occurs with *-ska* in 13 cases (76.5%) and with *-iska* in four (23.5%). The 13 *-ska* cases involve seven monosyllables and six polysyllables. The four cases of *-iska* all involve

monosyllables (*Estiska*, *Friesiska*, *Letiska*, *Šotiska*). It can therefore be established that, when F2 occurs alone, *-ska* is chosen for most monosyllables and for all polysyllables.

The four cases of *-iska* are thus to be considered exceptions. In the case of *Estiska*, *-iska* is possibly chosen to avoid the *stsk* cluster of a hypothetical form **Estiska*. In the case of *Friesiska*, a hypothetical **Frieska* formed with *-ska* would be homophonous with *frieska* 'Frisian woman' (i.e. the corresponding female ethnonym) and might therefore be avoided.¹⁶

For *Letiska* and *Šotiska* there are no obvious explanations. The fact that the basic segments are monosyllabic may have contributed to the choice of the longer *-iska* instead of *-ska* in these two cases. Possibly monosyllabicity is also of some importance alongside the two other particular factors referred to above in the cases of *Estiska* and *Friesiska*.

Thus, I do not think it likely in any of the four cases of *-iska* that any other language could have served as a model for Upper Sorbian (as seems to apply to *Awstriska* (F3 alone) and *Lombardiska* (F4) below with *-iska* because of *-ia* etc. in other languages). To my knowledge no language that might have influenced Upper Sorbian uses forms like **Estia* or **Lettia* containing the same basic segments as in Upper Sorbian combined with *-ia*. I also reject the Polish *-ia* toponyms *Fryzja* and *Szkocja* (cf. its male ethnonym *szkot* with a *t*) as models for Upper Sorbian, since the basic segments of Upper Sorbian *Friesiska*

¹⁶In the other *-ska* and *-iska* cases with basic segments ending in *s* and *z* (*Ruska*, *Francoska* etc.) and with zero suffix male ethnonyms, the female ethnonyms are formed with the derivational suffix *-owka* (*rusowka*, *francozowka* etc.). Homophony or other resemblance with toponyms is thus avoided (Hagāsen forthcoming).

and *Šotiska* are clearly phonologically (in the former case also orthographically) connected with those of German *Friesland* and *Schottland*.

F3 alone

F3 alone occurs with *-ska* in 15 cases (93.8%) and with *-iska* in one case (6.3%). The 15 *-ska* cases involve two monosyllables and 13 polysyllables. The single *-iska* case (*Awstriska*) is a monosyllable. It can therefore be established that, when F3 occurs alone, *-ska* is chosen.

The exceptional case of *Awstriska* is a loan-word from Polish (Stone 1971, p. 97), where its equivalent is *Austria*. The German form *Österreich*, of course, has no influence on the Upper Sorbian *Awstriska*. Consequently, a connection can be assumed in this case between the Upper Sorbian *-iska* and the Polish *-ia*, similar to the link I assume for *Lombardiska* (F4 below). A connection in the case of *Awstriska* between Upper Sorbian *-iska* and Polish *-ia* would then be a parallel to the connection I consider regular between *-iska* and German *-ien* (F1). The use of *-iska* here could, however, despite the link with Polish *-ia*, also be explained by the final cluster of the basic segment *awstr-*. A form **Awstrska* containing *-ska* would probably be less acceptable phonologically.

F4

By definition F4 is always alone. F4 occurs with *-ska* in 20 cases (95.2%) and with *-iska* in one case (4.8%). The 20 *-ska* cases involve one monosyllable and 19 polysyllables. The single *-iska* case (*Lombardiska*) is a polysyllable. It can there-

fore be established that *-ska* is chosen with F4.

The exceptional case of *Lombardiska* possibly contains *-iska* under the influence of e.g. Polish and Italian *Lombardia* with *-ia* or Czech *Lombardie* with *-ie*. The occurrence of *-iska* would then be a parallel to one of the explanations for *-iska* in *Awstriska* above. A connection between Upper Sorbian *-iska* and *-ia*, *-ie* in other languages would thus be similar to the connection between *-iska* and German *-ien* which constitutes F1.

F1+F2

F1+F2 occurs with *-ska* in three cases (42.9%) and with *-iska* in four (57.1%). All three *-ska* cases (*Arabska*, *Chorwatska*, *Indoneska*) are polysyllables, whereas all four *-iska* cases (*Frygiska*, *Indiska*, *Persiska*, *Serbiska*) are monosyllables. It can therefore be established that, when F1 and F2 occur in combination, the number of syllables decisively affects the choice of *-ska* or *-iska*. Thus *-iska* is chosen for monosyllables, *-ska* for polysyllables.

F1+F3

F1+F3 occurs with *-ska* in 14 cases (48.3%) and with *-iska* in 15 (51.7%). The 14 *-ska* cases all involve polysyllables, the 15 *-iska* cases four monosyllables and 11 polysyllables. It can therefore be established that, when F1 and F3 occur in combination, both *-ska* and *-iska* are chosen for polysyllables, but only *-iska* for monosyllables. The distribution of *-ska* and *-iska* among the polysyllables is apparently arbitrary (*Albanska*, *Brasiliska* etc. against *Asturiska*, *Jordaniska* etc.).

The four monosyllabic examples of F1+F3 are *Bosniska*, *Gal-*

liska, *Španiska*, and *Syriska*. In the case of *Bosniska* the cluster *sn* alone probably necessitates the use of *-iska*, regardless of the occurrence of F1 or monosyllabicity. A formation such as **Bosnska* would certainly be doubtful for Upper Sorbian phonology. As regards *Calliska*, *Španiska* and *Syriska*, it seems probable that the use of *-iska* is conditioned by the fact that the basic segments are monosyllabic.

F2+F3

F2+F3 occurs only with *-ska*. The ten cases belonging here involve three monosyllables and seven polysyllables. The use of *-ska* is to be expected, since, as has been shown above, F2 usually and F3 almost always results in *-ska* when occurring alone.

F1+F2+F3

F1+F2+F3 occurs only with *-ska*. The four cases belonging here are all polysyllables. In the four cases in question F2 and F3 together eliminate the influence of F1 and hence the choice of *-iska*.

Finally, F3 alone occurred with three monosyllables, two of which had *-ska* and one *-iska*. F4 occurred with one monosyllable, which had *-ska*. F1+F2+F3 did not occur with any monosyllables at all. Therefore, it has not been possible to conclude anything regarding these three categories about the significance of the number of syllables to the choice of *-ska* or *-iska*.

4. Conclusions

The distribution of the elements *-ska* and *-iska* in Upper Sorbian adjectival toponyms denoting nations and territories and the factors governing that distribution are the subject of this study. I have found the distribution to be based either on the presence of three specific factors, alone or combined, (F1 = German toponyms ending in *-ien*, F2 = zero suffix male ethnonyms, F3 = basic segments ending in the sonorants *l*, *m*, *n* or *r*), or on the absence of these factors (F4). Obviously, whether basic segments are monosyllabic or polysyllabic is also of some importance to the distribution of *-ska* and *-iska*.

The distribution is governed as follows:

F1 alone and, in monosyllables, F1+F2 and F1+F3 result in *-iska*,

F2 alone, F3 alone, F4, F2+F3, F1+F2+F3, and, in polysyllables, F1+F2 result in *-ska*,

F1+F3 in polysyllables results in both *-ska* and *-iska*.

Furthermore, the monosyllabicity of a few exceptional cases of F2 alone (*Estiska*, *Friesiska* - both also below -, *Letiska*, *Šotiska*) has possibly caused or contributed to the choice of *-iska* here.

In a few cases the use of *-ska* or *-iska* might be influenced by special factors without general validity in other respects here, such as analogy (*Bessarabska*), avoidance of homophony (*Friesiska*), consonant clusters (*Awstriska* - also below -, *Bosniska*, *Estiska*), or the influence of languages other than German (*Awstriska*, *Lombardiska*).

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