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THE USE OF THE UPPER SORBIAN ADJECTIVAL SUFFIX -ISK IN COMPARISON WITH ITS BASIC ALLOMORPH -SK

1. Introduction

The present work follows on from my recent study *The Use and Frequency of the Adjectival Suffix -i(j)sk in Slavonic Languages* (Hagåsen 1985). Both studies are based on my paper "Adjektivsuffixet -ijsk i slaviska språk, särskilt högsorbiska" ("The Adjectival Suffix -ijsk in Slavonic Languages, Especially Upper Sorbian"), read at the 10th Congress of Scandinavian Slavists and Baltologists at Turku (Finland) in August 1984. Whereas in my recent study I dealt with the -i(j)sk suffix on the basis of ten Slavonic languages, not including Upper Sorbian, this study is concerned with the distribution in the latter language of the compound suffix -isk in comparison with its simple counterpart -sk.

The aim of this study is to describe the use of -isk in Upper Sorbian. The work is part of an investigation of, *inter alia*, Upper Sorbian detoponymical adjectives. Throughout the study the use of -isk is compared with that of the basic allomorph -sk. However, the latter suffix is of interest here only in cases that I consider essential for the description of -isk, which is the actual object of my study. I hope to show the specific conditions for the use of -isk in Upper Sorbian which differs palpably from that of -i(j)sk in other Slavonic languages.

My study is based on examples ending in -isk and -sk taken

mainly from Völkel's fourth, considerably revised and extended, edition of his Upper Sorbian-German and orthographic dictionary (1981). A fairly small number of examples have been taken from the first edition (1970).

Apart from a mere mention of the suffix *-isk* (e.g. Šewc 1968, p. 101)¹, I know of only one very brief comment on the use of it in Upper Sorbian. In his review of the first edition of Völkel (1970) H. Fasske (1971, p. 237) remarks that adjectives with foreign stems ending in *-isch* in German are adopted into Upper Sorbian with the suffix *-isk(i)* ("Adjektiwy z cuzo-rěčnym zdónkom, kiž w němčinje na *-isch* kónča, přejimuja so do serbšćiny [...] ze sufiksom *-iski*"). Fasske's statement, however, overlooks the fact that many German *-isch* adjectives derived for example from foreign toponyms have been Sorabized by means of the Upper Sorbian suffix *-sk*, and not *-isk*.

Concerning the comparisons with German appearing in this quotation and in the following, 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).

2. Adjectives derived from appellatives (other than ethnonyms)

2.1. Non-foreign appellatives

I have noted eleven examples of *-isk* added to non-foreign

¹In his study of Upper Sorbian word-formation Krječmar' (1954) does not include *-isk* in his list of adjectival suffixes. Under *-sk(i)*, however, his examples include adjectives that must be considered to be formed with *-isk*, such as *komunistiski*, p. 59, and *sferiski*, p. 63.

bases, all of which are appellative. They are²: *čěsla* 'Zimmermann' - *čěsliski* 'Zimmermanns-', *domizna* 'Heimat, Heimatland' - *domizniski* 'Heimat-', *duch* 'Geist', *duchowny* 'geistlich, geistig, Geistlicher' - *duchowniski* 'geistlich', *kmót* (derivational base *kmótr-*) 'Pate, Gevatter' - *kmótriski* 'Paten-', *knježna* 'Fräulein, Jungfrau' - *knježniski* 'jungfräulich', *přiwuzny* 'verwandt, Verwandter' - *přiwuzniski* 'verwandtschaftlich, Verwandtschafts-',³ *rjadownja* 'Klasse, Schulklasse, Klassenzimmer, Rang' - *rjadowniski* 'Klassen-', *staršej* 'Eltern' - *staršiski* 'Eltern, elterlich', *stawizny* 'Geschichte, Historie' - *stawizniski* 'geschichtlich, Geschichts-', *strona* 'Partei, Seite, Gegend' - *stroniski* 'parteiisch', *strowota*

²Translations of Upper Sorbian examples are given in German and are taken from Völkel (1970, 1981). In examples only proper nouns are written with initial capitals. All ethnonyms and toponymical adjectives are written with small initial letters. The many cases of a noun and an adjective ending in *-(n)ik* and *-(n)iski* respectively and included in the same derivational nest are irrelevant here, as, at least formally, *-(n)iski* can be regarded as formed from *-(n)ik* by the addition of a simple *-sk*. The alternation *k~Ø* found in e.g. *Afrika* - *afriski* causes the change of *-(n)ikski* into *-(n)iski*. I do not assume the suffix to be *-isk* in such cases. This can be exemplified by *knihwjednik* 'Buchhalter' and *knihwjedniski* 'Buchhaltungs-'. Semantically the adjective would be motivated rather by *knihwjednistwo* 'Buchhaltung'.

³Semantically *přiwuzniski* is more likely motivated by *přiwuznistwo* 'Verwandtschaft'. If *přiwuznik*, found in Jakubaš (1954) and there given the meaning 'der Verwandte', was taken into consideration, the adjective could formally be regarded as derived from that word by means of the suffix *-sk*. - When first collecting my material, I did not intend to include *-isk* adjectives which could be assumed to be formally connected with adjectives ending in the suffix *-n*, e.g. *duchowny* : *duchowniski*. Some examples of this type might therefore not be included in the list.

'Gesundheit', *strowotny* 'gesundheitlich, Gesundheits-, heilsam' - *strowotniski* 'Gesundheits-'.

In the last case, the choice of *-isk* in *strowotniski* is possibly semantically conditioned and intended to distinguish this word from *strowski* 'Partei-', formed with *-sk*. In all the other cases where *-isk* occurs after consonant clusters (here consonant + *n*, *r*, *l* and *š*), *-isk* must have been chosen instead of *-sk* for morphophonological reasons. The consonant clusters of hypothetical constructions such as **čěslski*, **domiznski* and **kmótrski* would certainly have gone beyond - or at least verged on - the bounds of the combinability of *-sk* in Upper Sorbian, notwithstanding the fact that this language accepts consonant clusters to a very great extent, e.g. in combination with the suffix *-n* (*kormny*, *kumštny*, *wjaceličbny*, *wobskóržbny* etc.).

2.2. Foreign appellatives

It was mentioned above that *-isk* generally occurs with foreign bases. The principles I have found for the distribution of *-sk* and *-isk* in Upper Sorbian adjectives derived from foreign appellatives are quite simple. The suffix *-sk* is used in cases where German has a compound, in a few cases a suffix other than *-isch*, e.g. US *filister*, *filisterski* - Ger *philister*, *philisterhaft*, US *natura*, *nadnatorski* - Ger *natur*, *übernatürlich*, whereas *-isk* appears as an equivalent to Ger⁴ *-isch*. The *-isk* adjectives concerned here are included in a greater com-

⁴US and Ger are abbreviations of "Upper Sorbian" and "German". I use them before examples.

plex of international, mostly Greek and Latin, bases to which each language attaches its own suffix, e.g. English *-ic* (*despotic*), French *-ique* (*despotique*), Swedish *-isk* (*despotisk*), Czech *-ick* (*despotický*), Polish *-yczny* (*despotyczny*) and Russian *-ičesk*, *-ičn* (*despotičeskij*, *despotičnyj*), to be compared with the *-isk* of Upper Sorbian (*despotiski*) and the *-isch* of German (*despotisch*). Examples of the connection between US *-isk* and Ger *-isch* are *alfabetiski* - *alphabetisch*, *epizodiski* - *episodisch* and *genitiwiski* - *genitivisch*. The connection between US *-sk* and German compounds can be exemplified by *abonementski* - *abonnement(s)-*, *literski* - *liter-* and *silwesterski* - *silvester-*. From a German perspective, however, *-sk* is, to be true, not the only equivalent to composition, as is shown by such examples as Ger. *episoden-*, *genitiv-* and *konsontanten-*, but US *epizodowy*, *genitiwowy* or *genitiwny*, and *konsontantowy*, formed with the suffixes *-n* and *-ow*. A German formation with *-isch* in this category of foreign appellatives is expected to have an Upper Sorbian equivalent formed with *-isk*.

On going through Völkel (1981) I noted a certain number of deviations from the hundreds of manifestations of these general principles governing the use of US *-sk* and *-isk* in relation to the situation in German. These divergent Upper Sorbian adjectives and their German equivalents will be listed here together with their base words and, to a certain extent, commented upon.

a) Upper Sorbian *-sk* : German *-isch*

anglikanski - anglikaner, anglikanisch, bandit, banditski - bandit, banditisch, barbar, barbariski - barbar, barbarisch, benediktin, benediktinski - benediktiner, benediktinisch, bibliotekar, bibliotekarski - bibliothekar, bibliothekarisch,

dominikan, dominikanski - dominikaner, dominikanisch, ewangelium, ewangelski - evangelium, evangelisch, farizej, farizejski - pharisäer, pharisäisch, husit, husitski - hussit, hussitisch (also *hussiten-*), jezuit, jezuitski - jesuit, jezuitisch, kardinal, kardinalski - kardinal, kardinalisch, karnewal, karnewalski - karneval, karnevalisch, katolik, katolski - katholik, katholisch, medicina, medicinski - medizin, medizinisch (also *medizin-*), mohammedan, mohammedanski - mohammedaner, mohammedanisch, nektar, nektarski - nektar, nektarisch, puritan, puritanski - puritaner, puritanisch, republikan, republikanski - republikaner, republikanisch, student, studentski - student, studentisch (also *studenten-*), wazal, wazalski - vasall, vasallisch.⁵ (In the case of *anglikanski Völkel* does not give any base words. The German base word has therefore been taken from another source.)

From a synchronic point of view I have not been able to find any probable causes, whether phonological, morphophonological or semantic, for these 20 deviating cases. In five of the examples *-sk* is preceded by the element *-an-* (*anglikanski, dominikanski, mohammedanski, puritanski, republikanski*), in three by *-al-* (*kardinalski, karnewalski, wazalski*), *-ar-* (*barbarski, bibliotekarski, nektarski*) and *-it-* (*banditski, husitski, jezuitski*) (I disregard here the origin or word-formational status of these elements). The use of *-sk* here cannot, of course, be morphophonologically conditioned, *-sk* being if

⁵I have excluded cases such as US *sektërar, sektërariski* - Ger *sektierer, sektiererisch*. Here the Upper Sorbian base word is a Sorabization involving the non-foreign suffix *-ar/-arj* (cf. gen. sing. *sektërarja*) corresponding to the German suffix *-er*. As far as I have been able to ascertain, this suffix never combines with *-isk*, in contrast to the foreign suffix *-ar* occurring in both languages, e.g. US *komisar* (gen. sing. *komisara*), *komisariski* - Ger *kommissar, kommissarisch*.

anything less combinable than *-isk*. Moreover, there are many examples of *-isk* preceded by the elements in question, such as *galwaniski*, *mechaniski*, *organiski*; *kanibaliski*, *kristaliski*, *metaliski*; *komisariski*, *proletariski*; *diakritiski*, *parazitiski*; also in the compound suffixes *-anisk* (*gregorianiski*, *julianiski*), *-alisk* (*bestialiski*, *katarrhaliski*), *-arisk* (*kon-sulariski*, *fragmentariski*) and *-itisk* (*glagolitiski*). 16 of the 20 cases above have bases denoting persons. Considering the frequent use of *-sk* with ethnonyms (see 3.3.), *-sk* obviously tends to occur in spite of German *-isch* with foreign appellative bases denoting persons. None the less, there are probably more examples of *-isk* adjectives derived from bases denoting persons and ending in the same elements as occur in the base words above, e.g. *admiraliski*, *kosmopolitiski*, *notariski* and *titaniski*.

b) Upper Sorbian *-isk* : German compounds or suffixes other than *-isch*

abstinenca, *abstinenciski* - *abstinenz*, *abstinenz-*, *admiral*, *admiraliski* - *admiral*, *admirals-*, *balada*, *baladiski* - *ballade*, *balladesk*, *benefic*, *beneficiski* - *benefiz*, *benefiz-*, *figura*, *figuriski* - *figur*, *figürlich*.

I shall make some remarks on three of these five deviating cases, viz. *abstinenciski*, *admiraliski* and *baladiski*. The expected form **abstinencski* (with *-sk* because of German composition) would, even though not impossible morphophonologically (cf. *mainzski* and *pfalcski* from the toponyms *Mainz* and *Pfalca* with /*tʃs*/ combined with the suffix *-sk*), be an inexpedient formation because of the homonymous *abstinentiski* 'Absti-

nenten-' belonging to the same derivational nest. This fact might have necessitated the use of another suffix than -sk, in this case -isk. *Abstinenciski* is nevertheless a somewhat surprising formation - as, incidentally, a hypothetical **abstinencski* would be - in that I have not found a similar combination with -sk or -isk among the derivatives of the quite numerous loan-words ending in -enca in Upper Sorbian. *Awdienca*, *inteligenca*, *konferenca* and *tendenca*, for example, have the derivatives *awdiencowy*, *inteligency*, *konferency* or *konferencowy*, and *tendencowy*, formed with -n or -ow and corresponding to the German compositional elements *tendenz-*, *intelligenz-* etc.

Admiralski instead of an expected **admiralski* is puzzling in the light of the regular *generalski* within the same semantic field, which corresponds to Ger *generals-*.

The use of -isk in *baladiski* as a parallel to the -esk of Ger *balladesk* is exceptional, judging from the variant *baladeskny*, and, in addition, *burleskny*, *groteskny* and *pitoreskny* corresponding to Ger *burlesk*, *grotesk* and *pittoresk*.

c) Völkel not only gives -isch adjectives, but also compound elements as German counterparts to US *husitski*, *medicinski* and *studentski* under a) above. These adjectives are thus regular in relation to the compound forms in German. I have, moreover, noted some Upper Sorbian cases of -isk (*agresorski*, *imperatiwiski*, *kristaliski*, *okcidentaliski*, *sferiski*), where, alongside the expected -isch adjectives, there are German counterparts formed in other ways (compounds, other suffixes), e.g. *aggressor-* and *aggressorisch*, *kristallen* and *kris-*

tallisch.⁶ In most cases, however, Upper Sorbian uses different suffixes to render such German formations, such as US *scena* - Ger *szene* with the derivatives US *sceniski* - Ger *szenisch* and US *scenowy* - Ger *szenen*-.

Going back to *husitski*, *medicinski* and *studentski*, it was mentioned above that *-sk* here corresponds to *-isch* as well as to a compound element in German. In cases like these, parallel *-isk* and *-sk* forms in Upper Sorbian corresponding to *-isch* and compounds respectively would probably be less acceptable, judging from the fact that I have not been able to find any examples of Upper Sorbian *-sk* and *-isk* used in derivatives of the same foreign base word (one example, however, of this with the non-foreign *strona*, see 2.1.). Consequently, both *husitski* and **husitiski* are not to be expected.

Many of the deviations mentioned should probably be seen as inconsistencies arising during the standardization of Upper Sorbian for Völkel (1981). In this connection it can be observed that after noting a relationship between US *-isk* and Ger *-isch* (quoted above) Fasske (1971) mentions the two examples *agresorski* and *puritanski* (p. 237) found in Völkel (1970). He obviously considers them undesirable exceptions to the relationship mentioned. In Völkel (1981) the former example was replaced with *agresoriski*, whereas the latter, *puritanski*, still remained (through an oversight?). Even though reference to a person plays a certain part in the choice of *-sk*, Upper Sorbian would most likely accept *-isk* instead of *-sk* in the examples under a) above. It should be emphasized again, how-

⁶As regards appellatives as well as proper nouns and ethnonyms, I am, of course, aware of the fact that Völkel does not render Upper Sorbian *-isk* and *-sk* adjectives by German compound elements in all those cases where such formations might occur in German.

ever, that these 25 exceptional cases under a) and b) stand out against a many times larger number of instances which are regular.

3. Adjectives derived from proper nouns and ethnonyms

3.1. Nearly all the adjectival derivatives dealt with in this section are either deethnonymical or detoponymical. As regards adjectives derived from other proper nouns than toponyms, such as personal names, my material is most scanty and therefore very few such examples will be listed.

Whereas both US *-sk* and *-isk* correspond to Ger *-isch*, of the two suffixes only *-sk* corresponds to a German compound form (US *alpski* - Ger *Alpen-*) or to the German adjectival suffix *-er* (US *londonski* - Ger *Londoner*). German composition can, however, be related to US *-isk* provided that German uses an adjective formed with *-isch* as well, e.g. US *actek* - *actehiski*, and Ger *azteke* - *aztekisch*, *azteken-* (cf. note 6). As with the appellatives I have not found any cases among the proper nouns and ethnonyms of both *-isk* and *-sk* derivatives of the same base word (cf. 2.2.c above).

All *-isk* adjectives derived from proper nouns and ethnonyms will be listed below. For the sake of comparison between *-isk* and *-sk*, cases where US *-sk* corresponds to Ger *-isch* are also included.

3.2. Proper nouns

a) Toponyms⁷aa) Upper Sorbian *-isk* : German *-isch*

Afghanistan, afghaniski⁸ - Afghanistan, afghanisch, Apenniny, apenniniski - Apenninen, apenninisch, Apenninen⁹, Belučistan, belučiski - Belutschistan, belutschisch, Dolomity, dolomitiski - Dolomiten, dolomitisch, Iran, iraniski - Iran, iranisch, Kanada, kanadiski - Kanada, kanadisch, Kurdistan, kurdiski - Kurdistan, kurdisch, Kuweit, kuweitiski - Kuweit, kuweitisch, Laos, laotiski (also *laoski* below) - Laos, laotisch, Niger, nigriski - Niger, nigrisch, Tadžikistan, tadžikiski - Tadshikistan, tadshikisch, Venezuela, venezueliski - Venezuela, venezuelisch, Wales, waliziski (also *waleski* below) - Wales, walisisch, Wulka Britaniska, britiski - Grossbritannien, britisch.

This category contains 14 examples, all with foreign bases.

ab) Upper Sorbian *-sk* : German *-isch*

Aden, adenski - Aden, adenisch, adener, Altaj, altajski -

⁷The special category of Upper Sorbian adjectival toponyms ending in *-iska* and *-ska* will be dealt with in a forthcoming study. Only *Wulka Britaniska - Grossbritannien* with a specifically truncated base *brit-* both in Upper Sorbian and German will be listed below.

⁸The *-istan* in *Afghanistan*, *Belučistan* etc. is considered the deleted element.

⁹The order of German derivatives is in every case *-isch*, *-er*, compound, irrespective of the order in which they are given in the source.

Altai, altaisch, Altai-, Arameja, aramejski - Aramäa, aramäisch, Azerbajdžan, azerbajdžanski - Aserbaidshan, aserbaidshaniš, Babylon, babylonski - Babylon, babylonisch, babylo-
ner, Balkan, balkanski - Balkan, balkaniš, Balkan-, Berlin, berlinski - Berlin, berlinisch, berliner, Biskaya, biskayski - Biskaya, biskayisch¹⁰, Burundi, burundiski - Burundi, burundisch¹¹, Dagestan, dagestanski - Dagestan, dagestaniš, Delphi, delphiski - Delphi, delphiš, Feuerland, feuerlandski - Feuerland, feuerländisch, Gabun, gabunski - Gabun, gabuniš, Gambia, gambiski - Gambia, gambiš, Ghana, ghanaski - Ghana, ghanaiš, Guinea, guineski - Guinea, guineiš, Haiti, haitiski - Haiti, haitiš, Hawaii, hawaiiski - Hawaii, hawaiisch, Hercegowina, hercegowinski - Herzegowina, herzegowiniš, Hornja Volta, hornjovoltaski - Obervolta, obervoltaiš, Irak, irakski - Irak, irakiš, Israel, israelski - Israel, israeliš, Kamerun, kamerunski - Kamerun, kameruniš, Laos, laoski (also laotiski above) - Laos, laotiš, (Delnja, Hornja) Lužica, (delnjo-, hornjo-) lužiski - (Nieder-, Ober-) Lausitz, (nieder-, ober-) lausitzisch, (nieder-, ober-) lausitzer¹², Mali, maliski - Mali, mališ (also mali-

¹⁰These derivatives are extracted from the head-word *Biskayski zaliv* and its German translation *Biskayischer Meerbusen*.

¹¹In German examples such as *Burundi - burundisch*, *Somalia - somališ* the adjective is assumed here to be formed with *-sch*. This would then be a parallel to the segmentation I assume for US *burundiski* from a derivational base *burundi-* (not *burund-* + *-isk*).

¹²The form *lužiski* is an example of the alternation *c~∅*. As for German only *lausitzer* has been found as a derivative of the simple *Lausitz*.

nesisch below), Mazury, mazurski - Masuren, masurisch, Moçambique, moçambiqueski - Moçambique, moçambiquisch, Nepal, nepalski - Nepal, nepalisch, Pakistan, pakistanski - Pakistan, pakistanisch, Palestina, palestinski - Palästina, palästinisch (also *palästinen-sisch* below), Paraguay, paraguayski - Paraguay, paraguayisch, Pfalca, pfalcski - Pfalz, pfälzisch, Pfalz-, Pyreneje, pyrenejski - Pyrenäen, pyrenäisch, Pyrenäen-, Rom, romski - Rom, römisch, römer, Ryn, rynski - Rhein, rheinisch, Serby, serbski - Sorbenland, sorbisch, Somalia, somaliski - Somalia, somalisch, Sudan, sudanski - Sudan, sudanisch, Tansania, tansanski - Tansania, tansanisch, Thailand, thailandski - Thailand, thailändisch, Tibet, tibetski - Tibet, tibetisch, Tirol, tirolski - Tirol, tirolisch, Togo, togoski - Togo, togoisch, Trinidad a Tobago, trinidadski - Trinidad und Tobago, trinidadisch, Ukraina, ukrainski - Ukraine, ukrainisch, Uruguay, uruguayski - Uruguay, uruguayisch, Uzbekistan, uzbekski - Usbekistan, usbekisch, Vogtland, vogtlandski - Vogtland, vogtländisch, Wales, waleski (also *waliziski* above) - Wales, walisisch.

This category contains 50 examples. Most bases are foreign. In a couple of cases we find German toponyms, taken over unchanged by Upper Sorbian (*Feuerland*), or Sorabized (*Pfalca*). The native toponym *Lužica* also belongs to this group.

ac) Upper Sorbian *-isk* : German compound variant of *-isch*
 Montenegro, montenegriski - Montenegro, montenegrinisch.

Here we find one case, the foreign toponym *Montenegro*, where German uses the compound *-isch* variant *-inisch*.

ad) Upper Sorbian *-sk* : German compound variant of *-isch*

Afrika, afriski - Afrika, afrikanisch, Amerika, ameriski - Amerika, amerikanisch, Angola, angolski - Angola, angolansisch, Azija, aziski - Asien, asiatisch, Ceylon, ceylonski - Ceylon, ceylonesisch, Chile, chilski - Chile, chilenisch, China, chin-ski - China, chinesisches, China-, Ekuador, ekuadorski - Ekuador, ekuadorianisch, Europa, europski - Europa, europäisch, Guatemala, guatemalski - Guatemala, guatemaltekiš, Jamaika, jamaiski - Jamaika, jamaikanisch, Jemen, jemenski - Jemen, jemenitiš, Kongo, kongoski - Kongo, kongolesisch, Koreja, korejski - Korea, koreanisch, Liberia, liberiski - Liberia, liberianisch, Mali, maliski - Mali, malinesisch (also *malisch* above), Mexiko, mexiski - Mexiko, mexikanisch, Nigeria, nigeriski - Nigeria, nigerianisch, Palestina, palestinski - Palästina, palästinensisch (also *palästinisch* above), Peru, peruski - Peru, peruanisch, Senegal, senegalski - Senegal, senegalesisch, Vietnam, vietnamski - Vietnam, vietnamesisch.

This category contains 22 examples, all with foreign bases. The German adjectives are formed with different compound variants of *-isch*, such as *-anisch*, *-esisch* etc.

ae) Upper Sorbian compound variant of *-isk* : German compound variant of *-isch*

Bycanc, bycantiniski - Byzanz, byzantinisch.

There is one case here, the foreign toponym *Bycanc*, where Upper Sorbian uses the compound *-isk* variant *-inisk* in accordance with German *-inisch*.

af) Upper Sorbian compound variant of *-sk* : German compound variant of *-isch*

Kuba, kubanski - Kuba, kubanisch.

Here we find one case, the foreign toponym *Kuba*, where Upper Sorbian uses the compound -sk variant -ansk, agreeing with German -anisch.

b) Proper nouns other than toponyms

The examples found are, with two exceptions (*antika*¹³, *Hansa*), anthroponyms and mythonyms. Where Völkel does not give the proper nouns I have taken the German names from other sources.

ba) Upper Sorbian -isk : German -isch

herkuliski - Herkules, herkulisch, homeriski - Homer, homerisch, Neptun, neptuniski - Neptun, neptunisch, platoniski - Platon, platonisch, sapphiski - Sappho, sapphisch, satan, sataniski - Satan, satanisch.

This category contains six examples, all with foreign bases.

bb) Upper Sorbian -sk : German -isch

antika, antikski - Antike, antikisch, darwinski - Darwin, darwinisch, lutherski - Luther, lutherisch, Napoleon, napoleonski - Napoleon, napoleonisch, Shakespeare, shakespearski - Shakespeare, shakespearisch.

This category contains five examples, four with foreign bases.

¹³In spite of the Upper Sorbian use of a lower case *a* and *s*, *antika* and *satan* below are here considered proper nouns.

Luther perhaps not being conceived as foreign.

bc) Upper Sorbian compound variant of *-isk* : German compound variant of *-isch*

Apoll(o), apolliniski - Apoll, apollinisch, Hansa, hanseatiski - Hanse, hanseatisch, Mars, martialiski - Mars, martialisch, Messias, messianiski - Messias, messianisch, Nero, neroniski - Nero, neronisch, salomoniski - Salomo, salomonisch.

This category contains six examples, five with foreign bases. *Hansa* perhaps not being conceived as foreign.

bd) Upper Sorbian compound variant of *-sk* : German compound variant of *-isch*

Marija, marianski - Maria, marianisch

This category contains one example with a foreign base.

3.3. Ethnonyms

a) Upper Sorbian *-isk* : German *-isch*

actek, actekiski - azteke, aztekisch, azteken-, aleman, alemanski - alemanne, alemannisch, awar, awariski - aware, awarisch, balt, baltiski - balte, baltisch, bask(a)¹⁴, baskiski - baske, baskisch, čukč, čukčiski - tschuktsche, tschuktschisch, gota, gotiski - gote, gotisch, hamit(a), hamitiski - hamit,

¹⁴Alternative forms *bask* or *baska*; also below *hamit* or *hamita* etc.

hamitisch, hetit, hetitiski - hethiter, hethitisch, hun(a), huniski - hunne, hunnisch, israelit, israelitiski - israelit, israelitisch, kelt(a), keltiski - kelte, keltisch, kirgiz(a), kirgiziski - kirgise, kirgisisch, malajowc, malajiski - malaie, malaiisch, osman(a), osmaniski - osmane, osmanisch, pygmej(a), pygmeiski - pygmäe, pygmäisch, semit, semitiski - semit, semitisch.

This category contains 17 examples, all with foreign bases.

b) Upper Sorbian *-sk* : German *-isch*

angelsaks(a), angelsakski - angelsachse, angelsächsisch, beduin, beduinski - beduine, beduinisch, berber, berberski - berber, berberisch, berber-, eskimowc, eskimowski - eskimo, eskimoisch, eskimo-, flam(a), flamski - flame, flämisch, frank, frankski - franke, fränkisch, franken-, hebrej, hebrejski - hebräer, hebräisch, indian, indianski - indianer, indianisch, jakut(a), jakutski - jakute, jakutisch, obodrit, obodritski - obodrit, obodritisch, połobjan, połobski - polabe, polabisch, tatar, tatarski - tatar, tatarisch.

This category contains 12 examples, all but one with foreign bases. Only *połobjan* is native.

I have not found any examples of compound variants of *-isk* and *-sk* among the deethnonymical adjectives studied.

3.4. Above I have listed the Upper Sorbian and German proper nouns and ethnonyms from my material whose adjectival derivatives are formed with *-isk* or *-sk* in Upper Sorbian, and with *-isch* in German. It appears from the examples presented that

-isk is used with foreign bases. The suffix *-sk*, on the other hand, occurs with both foreign bases and with a few native or Sorabized bases. In deethnonymical adjectives German *-isch* corresponds fairly equally to *-isk* (17 examples) and *-sk* (12 examples). With toponyms, however, *-sk* (50 examples) prevails markedly over *-isk* (14 examples). I have found no clear-cut principles for the use of *-isk* and *-sk* in the overwhelming majority of cases where there are foreign bases. The use of *-sk* in the few native or Sorabized examples here must be seen in the light of the absence of *-isk* on the whole in adjectival derivatives of non-foreign toponyms¹⁵. The very scanty material on other proper nouns does not speak in favour of either *-isk* or *-sk* (six and five examples each).

If German uses a compound variant of *-isch* in detoponymical adjectives, the Upper Sorbian equivalent is as a rule formed with *-sk* (22 examples, all foreign bases). Only in one case, *montenegriski - montenegrinisch*, does *-isk* correspond to an extension of *-isch*, probably for morphophonological reasons due to the consonant cluster *gr*. Upper Sorbian has compound variants of *-isk* or *-sk* agreeing with similar German suffixes in the cases of *apolliniski*, *bycantiniski*, *hanseatiski*, *kubanski*, *marianski*, *martialiski*, *messianiski*, *neroniski* and *salomoniski*.

4. Closing words

The Upper Sorbian suffix *-isk* in deappellative adjectives occurs as a rule with foreign bases for which there are equi-

¹⁵According to my collection of such adjectives taken from Völkel (1970, 1981), which will be presented in a forthcoming study.

valent German adjectives formed with *-isch*. Upper Sorbian uses the suffix *-sk* in derivatives of foreign appellatives in cases where the corresponding German form is a compositional element. Cf. *alfabetiski* - *alphabetisch*, but *abonementski* - *abonnement(s)-*. I have found very few deviations from this. Most deviations are examples of Upper Sorbian *-sk* in spite of German *-isch*, especially with bases denoting persons, e.g. *anglikanski* - *anglikanisch*.

With foreign bases denoting proper nouns (mostly toponyms) and ethnonyms both *-isk* and *-sk* correspond to German *-isch*. The suffix *-sk* also corresponds to a German compound form of the base word and to the suffix *-er* in German detoponymical adjectives. Examples: *apenniniski* - *apenninisch*, *actekiski* - *aztekisch*; *sudanski* - *sudanisch*, *obodritski* - *obodritisch*; *alpski* - *Alpen-*, *londonski* - *londoner*. In the case of the very few non-foreign proper nouns and ethnonyms, e.g. *berlinski* - *berlinisch*, *połobski* - *polabisch*, *rynski* - *rheinisch*, it is *-sk* that corresponds to German's *-isch*.

Whereas *-isk* and *-sk* are evenly distributed in the case of ethnonyms, *-sk* clearly predominates over *-isk* in detoponymical adjectives corresponding to German *-isch* adjectives. In adjectival derivatives of foreign proper nouns and ethnonyms the distribution of *-isk* and *-sk* as equivalents to the simple German *-isch* seems to be quite arbitrary.

The suffix *-sk* is as a rule used in detoponymical adjectives when the German equivalents are formed with compound *-isch* variants, e.g. *ceylonski* - *ceylonesisch*.

In the few cases of *-isk* in combination with non-foreign bases, all appellative, the occurrence of the suffix is almost exclusively conditioned by the morphophonology of the base, as in *domizna* - *domizniski*.

Fasske's remark (1971), quoted in the introduction of this

study, might perhaps be taken to mean that in the course of time *-isk* will be used with all foreign appellative bases where German has *-isch*. The suffix *-isk* is probably gaining ground even among adjectival derivatives of proper nouns and ethnonyms. The adjectives *apenniniski*, *dolomitiski*, *iraniski*, *kanadiski*, *kirgiziski*, *kuweitiski*, *neptuniski*, *osmaniski* and *sataniski* in Völkel (1981) were formed with *-sk* in the 1970 edition.

Finally, as has already been pointed out, the use of Upper Sorbian *-isk* differs substantially from that of *-i(j)sk* in other Slavonic languages. As I tried to show in a previous study, in the other Slavonic languages this suffix is connected with proper nouns (as well as a few appellatives, most of which are close to proper nouns) and ethnonyms. Upper Sorbian *-isk* occurs under the influence of German *-isch* and has its strongest position among appellatives. The connection with foreign bases, however, is common to both the Upper Sorbian *-isk* and the *-i(j)sk* of the other Slavonic languages.

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