

Gender Asymmetries in Slovak Personal Nouns

Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy

in the Graduate School of the Ohio State University

By

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The Ohio State University

2009

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## **Abstract**

The aim of the current study is to reveal asymmetries in the linguistic encoding of male and female persons in Slovak by analyzing ample lexical material from a synchronic perspective. Specifically, I examine a corpus of over 60,000 lemmas, document a sub-corpus of approximately 6,000 personal nouns, devise a taxonomy model of sixteen semantic classes based on Dickins (2001), and classify the Slovak personal nouns by semantic class. I further examine in detail the issue of the relationship between significant types of asymmetries (lexical gaps determined by biological, social, cultural and/or historical roles of men and women within the family unit, community, or society; gaps which are attributed to formal constraints; parallel designations for women and men with a semantic difference; epicene nouns; and double-gender nouns) and the semantic classes in which those asymmetries tend to occur. Based on the linguistic evidence, I determine which semantic classes show tendencies towards symmetrical gender relationships, and which classes resist forming parallel terms for male and female referents. The current analysis of the Slovak data contrasts with numerous articles dealing with gender asymmetry in that it shows that the tendency towards gender symmetry is greater than in some other related languages, for instance Czech and Polish.

To Martin, for love and inestimable support over the years

## **Acknowledgments**

First and foremost I acknowledge my sincerest thanks to my advisor, Dr. Daniel E. Collins, who guided me through this project from the preliminary to the concluding stage while allowing me the room to work in my own way. It would have been next to impossible to write this dissertation without his supervision, encouragement, invaluable advice and insight throughout my work as well as his impressive knowledge of all things linguistic and non-linguistic.

I am heartily thankful to Dr. Charles E. Gribble and Dr. Brian Joseph—not only for serving on my committee and offering useful comments and suggestions to improve my dissertation, but also (and mainly) for being truly inspirational linguists and teachers during my studies at the Ohio State University.

I wish I could thank in person someone I never met, Tom Dickens, whose “Gender differentiation and the asymmetrical use of animate nouns in contemporary Czech” inspired me to conceive my own research project.

I would also like to thank Dr. Margarita Mazo for serving as the Graduate School Representative; Dr. Neil Jakobs for reading my dissertation proposal and giving his feedback; Dr. Andrea Sims for her valuable comments; Dr. Mark Nuckols, who read and edited part of an early draft of this study which I presented at the Midwest Slavic

Conference in April 2009 in Columbus, OH; Dr. Andrei Cretu for helping me with some last-minute technical problems; and Dr. Jirka Hana, for correcting some of my Czech data, for sharing his insights, for his useful comments and suggestions (particularly for those which undermined my conclusions), and for his friendship and support over the years.

I am grateful to my mom Alžbeta Molčanová and my mother-in-law Monika Micháľková, who flew across the ocean multiple times to temporarily take over my non-academic responsibilities and provide me with moral support.

I also thank my sister Slávka Ivančová and my brother Juraj Molčan, for always believing in me and for their patience during my absence from the place where I was supposed be; Viktória Gačová, who left everything and everyone behind and flew in when I needed her most; Maggie Gruszcynska, for her constant encouragement and for being a true friend and a soulmate; Anastasia Kostetskaya, for making her home my office when I was “at the final stage of my final stage” of my dissertation writing; and Hanka Hanová, Larysa Stepanova, and Katie Manukyan for friendship and help.

Finally, I owe everlasting gratitude to Martin, Samuel and Aleš, who have been an invisible presence during the composition of this dissertation. Thank you for your love and patience.

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### **Fields of study**

Major field: Slavic and East European Languages and Literatures

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## List of Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
aug.	augmentative
coll.	colloquial
DAT	dative
dim.	diminutive
expr.	expressive
f., F, FEM	feminine
GEN	genitive
hyp.	hypocoristic
INSTR	instrumental
iron.	ironic
KSSJ	<i>Krátky slovník slovenského jazyka</i>
LOC	locative
m., M, MASC	masculine
met.	metaphoric
n., N, NEUT	neuter
N	noun
NOM	nominative
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
pej.	pejorative
pl.	plural
PSP	<i>Pravidlá slovenského pravopisu</i>
PST	past tense
SCS	<i>Slovník cudzích slov</i>
sg.	singular
SNK	Slovenský národný korpus
SSJ	<i>Slovník slovenského jazyka</i>
SSS	<i>Slovník slovenského jazyka</i>
substand.	substandard
zool.	zoological

## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1. Purpose of the dissertation**

In her introduction to the first collection of articles on Slavic gender linguistics, Mills (1999: vii) notes that this emergent discipline has clearly begun “to provide a wealth of new data, methodologies, and preliminary findings to scholars in the broader fields of Slavic linguistic, cultural, and literary studies.” While this has certainly been true of some Slavic languages, notably Russian, Polish, Czech, and Serbian,<sup>1</sup> Slovak has remained largely underrepresented in gender linguistics, even in scholarly publications in Slovak. The present dissertation will, in part, fill that gap.

The purpose of this study is to examine the differentiation of genders in Slovak and to document and explain patterns of gender asymmetry, which occur due to various linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, such as biologically, socially, culturally and/or historically determined roles of men and women within the family unit, community, or society. It is not my intention to study in detail the link between language and the assumed marginalization of women in Slovak society or to outline the sociological implications of gender differentiation—the goal of much of the existing work on Slavic

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<sup>1</sup> On Russian, see Doleschal and Schmid (2001:253-282), Zaitseva (1999:1-26), Urtz (1999:27-38), Grenoble (1999:113-130), and Martynyuk (1990:103-110). On Polish, see Koniuszaniec and Błaszowska (2003: 259-286). On Czech, see Dickins (2001: 212-247), Čmejrková (2003:27-58), and Sonková 1999: 183-200). On Serbian, see Hentschel (2003:287-310).

gender linguistics. Instead, at this initial stage of research, I focus on providing a comprehensive linguistic account of all the gender asymmetries attested in an authoritative contemporary dictionary, *Krátky slovník slovenského jazyka* (2003). KSSJ has been selected as a major source of my data for multiple reasons, including the number of lexical items it includes, which is large but manageable enough to facilitate in-depth analysis.

The current study focuses on the sphere of human/personal nouns and substantivized adjectives, which represent a lexical sphere of primary cultural and social significance:

[Human/personal nouns] are needed to communicate about the self and others, they are used to identify people as individuals or members of various groups, and they may transmit positive or negative attitudes. In addition, they contain schemata of, e.g., occupational activities and (proto- or stereotypical) performers of such activities (Hellinger and Bußmann, eds. 2001, vol. 1: 2–3).

*Krátky slovník slovenského jazyka* (KSSJ) includes over 60,000 entries in a single volume; of these, over 6,000 are personal nouns, which thus constitute one-tenth of the entire dictionary corpus. I identified and analyzed all 6,133 nouns.

In Slovak, the linguistic representation of men and women seemingly follows this pattern: lexemes with male referents are grammatically masculine, and lexemes with female referents are typically feminine gender (e.g., *Morfológia slovenského jazyka* 1966). Male/masculine and female/feminine forms tend to be paired by gender—either as lexical gender nouns, such as those in (a) below, or else as base-forms and derivatives, as illustrated in (b).

- a. *brat* (m.) ‘brother’ – *sestra* (f.) ‘sister’, *ženích* (m.) ‘groom’ – *nevesta* (f.) ‘bride’, *muž* (m.) ‘man’ – *žena* (f.) ‘woman’
- b. *odborár* (m.) – *odborárka* (f.) ‘unionist’, *zajatec* (m.) – *zajatkyňa* (f.) ‘captive’, *domáci* (m.) – *domáca* (f.) ‘native’.

However, the overall picture of the formal manifestations of femaleness and maleness in Slovak is more complex than this basic pattern suggests.

Consider some descriptions of physical appearance which are typically male, e.g., *bradáč* ‘bearded person’ and *plešivec* (m.) ‘bald’. *Bradáč* and *plešivec* are masculine nouns without feminine counterparts, due to biological restrictions. Similarly, *šestonedielka* (f.) ‘new mother during her post-partum stage’ and *dojka* (f.) ‘wet nurse’ are feminine-only due to biological constraints. Such biologically determined asymmetries are relatively rare. More frequently, socio-cultural norms within given historical contexts dictate gender asymmetry; for example, *honvéd* (m.) ‘honved, Hungarian soldier during the revolutionary war of 1848–49’, *kat* (m.) ‘executioner’, and *babica* (f.) ‘midwife’, *priadka* (f.) ‘weaver’ all lack symmetrical counterparts.

Various kinds of formal constraints can be found in the different designations for women and men, too. For example, there tend to be no feminine counterparts to masculine nouns terminating in the suffix *-ec*, e.g., *kupec* (m.) ‘merchant’, at least in certain semantic classes. Another striking area of asymmetry caused by formal rules is the class of masculine-only deverbal conversions such as *zved* (m.) ‘spy’ (from *zvediet* ‘to spy, learn something’).

Diminutives also represent great morphological complexity, because they resist generating the opposite-sex counterparts:

*mrzák* (m.)– *mrzáčka* (f.) ‘cripple (dim.)’  
*mrzáčik* (m., dim.)– \**mrzáčička* (f., dim) ‘cripple (dim.)’

In the first pair, *mrzáčka* (f.) is derived from *mrzák* (m.) by attaching the feminine suffix –*ka*. However, this rule does not apply to masculine diminutives. They cannot give rise to feminine diminutives; thus \**mrzáčička* in the second pair (f.) is an unattested word, which native speakers reject even as a nonce-formation.

Other complications in Slovak gender can be found in pairs of derivationally related masculine and feminine forms that involve a semantic difference (e.g., *kňaz* (m.) ‘clergyman in Christian churches who is authorized to perform various religious rites’ - *kňazka* (f.) ‘priestess in the pagan sense’), epicene nouns which lack counterparts by definition (e.g., *rojko* (m.) ‘daydreamer, idealist’, *ohava* (f.) ‘nasty person, monster’), and nouns which, according, to KSSJ, have two genders (e.g., *lotrisko* ‘bastard, rascal’ (m., n.)).

The major aim of this study is to provide insight into the world of gender asymmetries in Slovak by analyzing a large amount of lexical material it from a synchronic perspective. More particularly, I examine in detail the issue of the relationship between significant types of asymmetries and the semantic classes in which those symmetries tend to occur. As my analysis shows, the distribution of gender asymmetries is uneven across semantic classes. I offer some explanations for these tendencies, based on linguistic and extra-linguistic factors.

## 1.2. Previous research

There is a relatively sizable body of literature concerning the linguistic representation of men and women. Various linguistic, sociolinguistic, and feminist studies examine how female-specific and male-specific human referents are represented in individual languages and, in some cases, demonstrate the inherent inequalities in the linguistic treatment of women and men. For example, one of the most interesting projects of the past decade is a three-volume collection of articles on gender-related issues in thirty languages *Gender across languages: The linguistic representation of women and men*, edited by Marlis Hellinger and Hadumod Bußmann. *Slavic gender linguistics*, edited by Margaret H. Mills, was published in 1999; the first monograph on gender linguistics in the Slavic language communities, it covers morphology, syntax, pragmatics, discourse analysis, cognitive linguistics, and literary analysis.

Many works in contemporary gender linguistics argue that the linguistic features that contribute to “androcentrism” (“linguistic sexism,” “reinforcement of male dominance and social prestige,” “the unequal status of men and women,” “the marginalization of women”) should be eradicated. This study does not attempt to evaluate such feminist arguments. Nor does it seek to determine the degree of correlation between language use and women’s less prestigious position in society. Instead, it attempts to approach the problem from a purely linguistic point of view. The particular aim of this dissertation is to provide an overview of the gender asymmetries in Modern Standard Slovak.

The question of how maleness and femaleness are communicated in Polish and Czech, two West Slavic languages closely related to Slovak, has attracted limited attention among the linguistic community. However, virtually nothing has been written about such gender asymmetries in the Slovak language.

Although linguistic androcentrism is not central to Corbett's *Gender*, the book presents rich linguistic data from many different languages, including Polish, Czech, and Slovak, and draws attention to divisions into languages where the feminine is favored and those languages where the masculine is preferred. Karwatowska and Szpyra-Kozłowska's *Lingwistyka płci: On i ona w języku polskim* [*Linguistics of Gender: He and She in Polish*] is one of a very few Polish monographs which have attempted to address the gender-related linguistic problems in the Polish language from the feminist point of view. Koniuszaniec and Błaszczowska's "Language and gender in Polish," (in *Gender across languages*, volume 3) is an example of a linguistic study, which offers an interesting overview of lexical asymmetries in Polish, but is also heavily loaded with ideology. "'Male person' vs. 'Everything that is not a male person'" (in *Communicating gender in context*) by Miemietz, and Kryk-Kastovsky's "Norm versus use: On gender in Polish" (in *Gender in grammar and cognition*) also discuss gender and sex in Polish.

Contemporary sociolinguistic research on gender in Czechia is mainly represented by Valdrová's scholarly work (e.g., *Kontrastivní genderová lingvistika: Téma zviditelnění ženy v současném německém a českém jazyce* [*Contrastive Gender Linguistics: The Theme of the Visualization of the Woman in Contemporary German and Czech*], 1998). A remarkably informative article on Czech has been written by Dickins: "Gender differentiation and the asymmetrical use of animate nouns in contemporary Czech" (in

*Slavonic and East European Review*). Čmejrková's 2003 article "Communicating gender in Czech" (in *Gender across languages*, volume 3) provides a description of Czech gender system and draws attention to gender asymmetries and lexical gaps of various origins. Gender in Czech also gets some attention from scholars such as Hoffmannová (1995), and Nebeská (1996, 1997).

To my knowledge, the issue of language and gender in Slovak has attracted very little attention. I hope that this first systematic attempt at documenting and describing the Slovak system of personal nouns from the point of view of gender differentiation will inspire other linguists and foster further research.

### **1.3. Methodology**

#### **1.3.1. Sources of the data**

The Slovak data corpus for this research is drawn from *Krátky slovník slovenského jazyka* [*Concise Dictionary of the Slovak Language*], published in 2003 (hereafter KSSJ). KSSJ is a prescriptive monolingual dictionary of the codified standard language published by the recognized authoritative arbiter of language questions, the Ľudovít Štúr Institute of Linguistics of the Slovak Academy of Sciences; its authors are personnel of the institute and universities who specialize in Slovak linguistics. This dictionary has acquired importance as a prestigious and normative book among the general population, since it is socially obligatory to use the standard language in all public spheres. The first version of KSSJ, published in the 1980s, has been revised three times; the 2003 edition, used here, is the fourth and most recent one. It covers Slovak lexical material from the early 1940s through the end of the 1990s and incorporates many



changes in the language brought both by extensive computerization and globalization in the second half of the twentieth century and the major political, economic, and social changes of the 1990s. Thus it is the best available source for the lexicon of contemporary standard Slovak.

Despite being a "concise dictionary," KSSJ includes over 60,000 entries, including over 6,000 personal nouns that form the material of my corpus. Its goal is to give a comprehensive description of the vocabulary used in both spoken and written communication in the standard language in contemporary society (p. 14). Thus it focuses on the core, unmarked vocabulary of Slovak, and generally excludes archaisms, dialectalisms, jargon, and slang, as well as proper nouns unless they are parts of phraseologisms (p. 14). On the other hand, the fourth edition explicitly includes the derivatives of its base lemmas, including feminizations, diminutives, and augmentatives (pp. 11, 15). Thus it is an excellent source of information for the question investigated in the current study.

In addition to the material provided by KSSJ, I make reference to data from other sources when appropriate:

- Dictionaries and handbooks of standard Slovak:
  - *Slovník slovenského jazyka* [*Dictionary of the Slovak Language*] in six volumes (SSJ)
  - *Slovník cudzích slov* [*Dictionary of Foreign Words*] (SCS)
  - *Synonymický slovník slovenčiny* [*Dictionary of Synonyms in Slovak*] (SSS)
  - *Pravidlá slovenského pravopisu* [*Handbook of Slovak Orthography*] (PSP)
- The Slovak National Corpus (Slovenský národný korpus, SNK)

- Internet search engines
- Online *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED)
- Various academic articles and books, as listed in References.

My analysis of the data also benefited from the informal insights of native speakers.

My research relies heavily on the ‘traditional’ academic source of data (KSSJ) for documenting gender symmetry and asymmetry. In addition, as noted above, there is an extensive electronic corpus of Slovak (SNK), which could potentially serve as a main source. The current version of the Slovak National Corpus “prim-4.0” contains more than 526 million word tokens; however, it has only been accessible since the beginning of 2009, after much of this research was completed. Moreover, the scope and the nature of this study ultimately determined my choice of database. The strictly delimited but ample number of items collected from my main source, KSSJ, is enough to establish an accurate picture of the gender differentiation in Modern Slovak and to confirm the validity of the conclusions drawn in Chapters 4 and 5.

Even though the terms *word*, *lexeme*, *lemma*, *dictionary entry*, and *noun* are used more or less interchangeably in this study, the units predominantly examined are to be understood in the strict sense as *lexemes*, i.e., items in the lexicon, represented as dictionary entries. Crystal (1996:199) defines a *lexeme* as an abstract, minimal distinctive unit in the semantic system of a language, as opposed to the term *word*, which refers to the phonological, grammatical and lexical levels. Lexemes are characterized by Cruse (1986: 80) as families of lexical units, where “a lexical unit is the union of a single sense with a lexical form; a lexical form is an abstraction from a set of word forms (or

alternatively – it is a family of word forms) which differ only in respect of inflections.”

Lexemes are the units which are typically alphabetically listed in dictionaries as separate entries under their citation-forms. In KSSJ, the nominative singular of nouns and adjectives is used to represent all the inflected forms of the lexeme (all the paradigm cells).<sup>2</sup>

### 1.3.2. Classification of the data

The nouns that constitute the core of this study all denote human beings. The exhaustive list of 6,133 nouns obtained from KSSJ also includes some names of animals and inanimate entities, when KSSJ specifically identifies them as metaphoric extensions referring to humans.

Having identified the 6,133 lexical items in KSSJ as personal nouns, I further classified them by semantic category in a spreadsheet and then analyzed them. Collecting and organizing the data turned out to be rather pioneering work, which was extremely time-consuming and labor-intensive.

My classification model is based on Dickins's (2001) semantic classes, as presented in his article “Gender Differentiation and the Asymmetrical Use of Animate Nouns in Contemporary Czech”. However, Dickins' taxonomy proved to be not entirely satisfactory for working with the Slovak data. Therefore, I omitted, merged, or subdivided some of Dickin's categories and added several new categories of my own for a more refined approach to the data.

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<sup>2</sup> Some isolated instances of morphologically more complex lexemes have been identified in KSSJ such as *skaderuka-skadenoha* ‘rag, lit. from-where-hand + from-where-leg’, which can be considered an endocentric juxtaposition of two compounds.

Unlike Dickins (ibid.), I do not exclude from my study lemmas defined by lexical gender—e.g., kinship terms, terms defined by social roles or functions, native words and borrowings where social, religious or political norms define gender. I also include diminutives in my corpus, in contrast to Dickins. Dickins’ argument is that diminutives are merely derivatives of head words with the same gender and therefore should be omitted from the corpus; however, semantically, derivatives may gain meanings more or less different from the meaning of the corresponding head word (see, e.g., Kryk-Kastovsky 2000). Therefore, I choose to treat diminutive forms listed in KSSJ as separate lexemes and include them in my corpus.

It is important to note that a significant number of dictionary entries might seem to fall into more than one semantic category. For example, the noun *doktor* ‘doctor’ could relate to educational status, rank, or occupation. Unlike Dickins, I place such polysemes into every appropriate category, provided that each meaning is listed as a separate lexical entry in KSSJ.

Typically, all the separate meanings of one lemma (dictionary entry) such as *doktor* are numbered in KSSJ. I follow the numbering pattern given by KSSJ, except in those cases when the pattern is “disrupted” by numbering a meaning referring to an inanimate entity, in which case the number used for the inanimate meaning is “inherited” by the following personal meaning. Feminine counterparts of the various masculine meanings are assigned the corresponding numbers.

My goal has been to classify lexical material as neatly and consistently as possible. Nevertheless, I am aware of the fact that some overlaps, misfits or misinterpretations are unavoidable. Overall, it is reasonable to assume that general

tendencies can be confirmed by exact figures about the proportion of feminine and neuter to masculine nouns in sets of lexemes that are synonymous except for their referential gender.

The following table sets out my final classification model, including representative lexemes and their glosses. (The examples in the table were randomly selected from my database; in order to save space, I have not included opposite-gender counterparts.)

<b>1</b> <b>Generic terms for human beings</b>
1A <b>Generic-neutral</b> <i>človek</i> ‘person/man’, <i>osoba</i> ‘person’, <i>jednotlivec</i> ‘individual’, <i>indivídium</i> ‘individual’
1B <b>Gender- and/or age-specific</b> <i>muž</i> ‘male person/’man’, <i>žena</i> ‘woman’, <i>chlapec</i> ‘boy’, <i>dievčina</i> ‘girl’, <i>dojča</i> ‘suckling’, <i>adolescent</i> ‘adolescent’, <i>starena</i> ‘old woman’, <i>dieťa</i> ‘child’

<b>2</b> <b>Identity as determined by kinship or marriage (real, potential or symbolic) and other interpersonal relations</b>
2A <b>Identity as determined by kinship or marriage</b> <i>teta</i> ‘aunt’, <i>matka</i> ‘mother’, <i>dedo</i> ‘grandpa’, <i>rodič</i> ‘parent’, <i>predok</i> ‘ancestor’, <i>nastávajúca</i> ‘bride-to-be’, <i>kmotra</i> ‘godmother’, <i>spolubrat</i> ‘fellow brother (in religious orders)’

2B

Identity as defined by interpersonal relations other than kinship or marriage

*kamarátka* ‘(female) friend’, *priateľ* ‘(boy)friend’, *nepriateľ* ‘enemy’, *sused* ‘neighbor’,  
*milénec* ‘lover’, *spolubývajúci* ‘roommate’

3

**Racial, national, ethnic, regional, and linguistic identity**

*cudzinec* ‘foreigner’, *domáci* ‘native’, *nomád* ‘nomad’, *dedinčan* ‘villager’, *mešťan* ‘a  
city person’, *starousadlík* ‘autochton, pilgrim, settler’, *usídlenec* ‘resident, squatter’,  
*horal* ‘highlander’, *emigrant* ‘emigree’, *divoch* ‘savage’, *cudzí* ‘incomer, stranger’

4

**Identity based on social, economic, or educational status**

4A

Identity based on social status at large

4Aa

Own

*vladyka* ‘sovereign’, *(vaša) výsosť* ‘(your) highness’, *král* ‘king’, *ctihodnosť*  
‘Venerability’, *milost’pani* ‘madam’, *(vaše) veličenstvo* ‘(your) majesty’,  
*pracujúci* ‘proletarian’, *zeman* ‘country gentleman’, *šach* ‘shah’, *paša* ‘pasha’,  
*absolutista* ‘absolutist’, *despota* ‘absolute despot’, *samovládca* ‘autocrat’

4Ab

Father’s or spouse’s

*cisárovná* ‘empress, tsarevna’, *cárovič* ‘tsarevitch’

4B

Identity based on economic status

<p>4Ba</p> <p>Own</p> <p><i>dôchodca</i> ‘retiree’, <i>nezamestnaný</i> ‘unemployed person’, <i>milionárka</i> ‘woman millionaire’, <i>bedár</i> ‘pauper’, <i>boháč</i> ‘rich man’</p>
<p>4Bb</p> <p>Father’s or spouse’s</p> <p><i>None found</i></p>
<p>4C</p> <p>Identity based on educational status</p>
<p>4Ca</p> <p>Own</p> <p><i>Mgr.</i> ‘holder of a master's degree’, <i>(pán) bakalár</i> ‘holder of a bachelor's degree’, <i>žiak</i> ‘pupil, student’, <i>šstudent</i> ‘student’, <i>absolventka</i> ‘female alumnus’, <i>poslucháč</i> ‘university student’, <i>bohoslovec</i> ‘seminarist’, <i>gymnazistka</i> ‘secondary school female student’</p>
<p>4Cb</p> <p>Father’s or spouse’s</p> <p><i>(pani) inžinierová</i> ‘wife of someone holding an Engineering degree’ (<i>not from KSSJ</i>)</p>

<p>5</p> <p>Identity as defined by vocation and avocation</p>
<p>5A</p> <p>Own</p> <p><i>diplomat</i> ‘diplomat’, <i>kňaz</i> ‘priest’, <i>lekár</i> ‘physician’, <i>strojvodca</i> ‘engineer’, <i>redaktorka</i> ‘female editor’, <i>kozmetička</i> ‘beautician’, <i>mliekar</i> ‘dairy-man’, <i>cestovateľ</i> ‘traveler’, <i>bubeník</i> ‘drummer’, <i>kempista</i> ‘camper’, <i>turista</i> ‘tourist, traveler’, <i>brankár</i> ‘goalie’</p>

<p>5B</p> <p>Father's or spouse's</p> <p><i>bačovka</i> 'shepherd's wife', <i>horárka</i> 'forester's wife'</p>
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<p>6</p> <p><b>Identity as determined by a position/ rank/ function in a particular company or organization</b></p>
<p>6A</p> <p>Own</p> <p><i>vodca</i> 'leader', <i>riaditeľ</i> 'director', <i>(pani) vedúca</i> 'chairwoman', <i>asistent</i> 'assistant',  <i>minister</i> 'Secretary, minister', <i>veľvyslanec</i> 'ambassador',  <i>chargé d'affaires</i> 'chargé d'affaires', <i>poslanec</i> 'Congressman', <i>atašé</i> 'attaché'</p>
<p>6B</p> <p>Father's or spouse's</p> <p><i>(pani) riaditeľová</i> 'director's wife', <i>(pani) prezidentová</i> 'president's wife',  <i>ričtárka</i> 'mayor's wife', <i>profesorka</i> 'professor's wife'</p>

<p>7</p> <p><b>Identity based on membership in or adherence to an organization</b></p>
<p><i>odborár</i> 'unionist', <i>skautka</i> '(female) scout', <i>jezuita</i> 'Jesuit',  <i>pionierka</i> '(female) member of Pioneer Organization in former Czechoslovakia',  <i>slobodomurár</i> 'freemason'</p>



**8**

**Identity as defined by adherence to an ideology**

*romantik* ‘Romantic’, *mečiarovec* ‘Mečiar’s supporter’, *neonacista* ‘neo-Nazi’,  
*učeník* ‘apostle’, *veriac* ‘(female) believer’, *ateista* ‘atheist’, *pop-artista* ‘pop-artist’,  
*konzervatív* ‘conservative’, *katolík* ‘Catholic’, *mormón* ‘Mormon’, *kubista* ‘cubist’

**9**

**Identity as determined by physical appearance or other physical traits**

*krásavica* ‘beauty’, *bohyňa* ‘goddess (very attractive woman)’,  
*hrbáčka* ‘(female) humpback’, *ryšavec* ‘red head’, *dlháň* ‘tall person’

**10**

**Identity as determined by physical and mental health or diagnosis**

*nevidiaci* ‘blind person’, *cukrovkár* ‘diabetic’, *srdciar* ‘heart patient’, *idiot* ‘idiot’,  
*alergik* ‘allergic’, *epileptic* ‘epileptic’

**11**

**Evaluations based on behavior**

*úchyl* ‘pervert’, *skupáň* ‘tightwad’, *snob* ‘snob’, *perfekcionista* ‘(female) perfectionist’,  
*melhuba* ‘chatterbox’, *prepiduša* ‘rummy’, *skaderuka-skadenoha* ‘good-for-nothing’,  
*kávičkár* ‘coffee-holic’, *gurmán* ‘bon vivant’, *eklektik* ‘eclectic’, *epigón* ‘epigon’,  
*cundra* ‘slut’

<b>12</b>
<b>Evaluations based on skill or experience in performing a action or activity</b>
<i>amatér</i> ‘amateur’, <i>šampión</i> ‘champion’, <i>nemehlo</i> ‘clumsy oaf’, <i>začiatočník</i> ‘beginner’, <i>genius</i> ‘genius’, <i>samouk</i> ‘self-taught person’

<b>13</b>
<b>Descriptions denoting agents of specific actions or activities</b>
<i>účastník</i> ‘participant’, <i>usporiadateľ</i> ‘organizer’, <i>sponzor</i> ‘sponsor’, <i>celebrant</i> ‘celebrant’, <i>figurant</i> ‘figurant, helper’, <i>plagiátor</i> ‘plagiarist,

<b>14</b>
<b>Descriptions denoting patients/ recipients/ beneficiaries of specific actions or activities</b>
<i>obeť</i> ‘victim’, <i>zajatkyňa</i> ‘(female) captive’, <i>adresátka</i> ‘(female) addressee’, <i>birmovanec</i> ‘confirmand, confirmee’, <i>väzeň</i> ‘prisoner’, <i>ozbrojenec</i> ‘armed person’

<b>15</b>
<b>Identity as determined by possession/ acquisition/ managing of an external entity</b>
<i>majiteľ</i> ‘owner’, <i>podnájomníčka</i> ‘(female) subtenant’, <i>prevádzkovateľ</i> ‘operator’, <i>správca</i> ‘manager, custodian’, <i>kastelán</i> ‘castellan’,

16
<b>Identity as determined by of an authorship</b>
<i>vynálezca</i> ‘inventor’, <i>fejtonista</i> ‘columnist’, <i>evanjelista</i> ‘evangelist’, <i>epik</i> ‘epic poet’

Table 1. Classification of the data by semantic category

Exhaustive lists of personal nouns were composed for each semantic category and further organized in Excel sheets (see the Appendix) by alphabetical order and grammatical gender. Additional information e.g., expressivity, was also included in the spreadsheet when specifically labeled as such by the KSSJ lexicographers. A number in Column A in my Excel sheets indicates semantic category to which a given personal noun belongs. Masculine nouns are listed in Column B, feminine nouns are in Column C. Column D is reserved for those feminine descriptors whose identity is based on father’s or spouse’s status. Column E contains neuter nouns.

Only nouns which are attested in KSSJ are included in my Appendix and analyzed statistically. Often, for various reasons, the lexicographers of KSSJ did not acknowledge legitimate feminine counterparts of masculine lexemes. If relevant, I recognize that the dictionary has overlooked certain forms that are regular and widely used; in order to verify that these forms are not artificially concocted, I cross-check them with other dictionaries, SNK, or Internet data, and comment on them.

#### 1.4. Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation contains six chapters and an Appendix containing my classifications of the 6,133 lexemes analyzed. In Chapter 2, I begin by introducing the Slovak language and placing it in its broader geographic and historical context. Then I move on to the concept of *gender* and discuss various definitions of gender. Specifically, I focus on extra-linguistic gender and how it is reflected in language. Next, I discuss two types of correlation between the referential and grammatical gender—symmetry and asymmetry; I divide the latter correlation into lexical gaps, parallel designations for women and men with a semantic difference, epicene nouns, and double-gender nouns. Finally, I provide a detailed description of the gender system of Slovak.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the mechanisms of personal noun formation from the perspective of gender-symmetry. Based on the linguistic evidence later analyzed in Chapter 4, I argue that Slovak is a language with a strong tendency toward separate terms for male and female persons. Suffixation is the most prominent and highly productive word-formation process in the language. I give an overview of the rich repertory of derivational patterns in Slovak, then discuss some problems connected with the fact that compounding is not used as a means of gender specification in Slovak.

Chapter 4 is the central chapter of the dissertation, as it lays the foundation for my analysis of the collected data. In this chapter, my task is to look at the linguistic evidence and determine which semantic classes show tendencies towards symmetrical gender relationships, and which classes resist forming parallel terms for male and female referents. The question at issue is, what are the underlying factors behind those tendencies? Individual personal nouns or groups of personal nouns are discussed in

detail, and broad patterns of gender specification are established in each section. Chapter 4 is organized according to the sixteen semantic classes of lexical items. (My classification of personal nouns is explained in section 1.3.2, above.)

Chapter 5 focuses on some of the outcomes of my research and comments on them in further detail. I provide exact figures and draw generalizations from them. Chapter 5 establishes an overall picture of gender differentiation in Slovak personal nouns.

Finally, in Chapter 6 there are some concluding remarks on the issue of gender asymmetries in Modern Slovak and some ideas for further research. The Appendix contains all personal nouns identified in KSSJ (6,133), classified alphabetically by semantic categories and gender.

## Chapter 2

### The Gender System of Slovak

#### 2.1. Brief overview of Slovak

The Slovak language (*slovenský jazyk, slovenčina*) is the official language of the Slovak Republic (*Slovenská republika*). As of 2009, it is spoken by approximately 5.5 million people. Slovak belongs to the West Slavic subgroup of the Indo-European languages, along with Czech, Polish, Sorbian and Kashubian; its closest affiliate within the subgroup is Czech.

Two major efforts were made in the history of the Slovak nation to form a Slovak literary language. The first is referred to as the “Bernolákian movement” (*bernolákovské hnutie*) after its leading figure, Anton Bernolák, a Catholic priest who offered a codification based on Western Slovak dialects in the late eighteenth century. The latter was initiated by Ľudovít Štúr and his followers approximately six decades later, in the 1840’s. Štúr selected as the basis for his literary language a variant spoken by the intelligentsia and urban population of Central Slovakia. The new literary language (*štúrovčina*) was described and codified in Štúr’s *Nárečja slovenskuo alebo potreba písania v tomto nárečí* [*The Slovak Dialect and the Need for Writing in That Dialect*] (1846) and *Nauka reči slovenskej* [*The Study of Slovak Language*] (1846). In 1852, an

orthographical handbook of reformed *štúrovčina* was published under the title *Krátká mluvnica slovenská* [*Short Slovak Grammar*] by Martin Hattala. This form of the literary language has been preserved to the present day, with some minor revisions.

Typologically, Slovak is a highly inflecting language with a rich system of declensional and conjugational paradigms. Generally speaking, the inflectional categories of nouns, adjectives, pronouns and some numerals include case (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, locative, and instrumental), number (singular and plural), gender (masculine, feminine, neuter), and animacy within the masculine gender (animate, inanimate). The verb in Slovak is inflected for person (first, second, third), number (singular, plural), tense (past, present, future), mood (indicative, imperative, subjunctive, infinitive), voice (active, passive), aspect (imperfective, perfective).

In Slovak, many features of inflection inherited from Proto-Slavic have been weakened or lost entirely. For instance, certain grammatical categories have been lost, e.g., the dual number and the vocative case in nouns. In addition, the number of variants resulting from the soft/hard opposition within the declensional types has been reduced; for example, the soft declensional type *kráľ* ‘king’ has merged with the hard type *chlap* ‘man’. Morphophonemic alternations have been dramatically reduced, especially alternations at consonants at the end of stems.

## 2.2. Preliminary definitions

### 2.2.1. The notion of *gender*

#### 2.2.1.1. *Natural gender* and *grammatical gender*

Debates on language and gender almost necessarily revolve around the difference between *grammatical gender* and *natural gender*; see, e.g., Pauwels 1998, Corbett 1991, and numerous contributors to the volumes *Gender Across Languages* (Hellinger and Bußmann, eds., 2001, 2002, 2003). According to traditional linguistic thought, there is a distinction between *grammatical gender*, on the one hand, and *natural gender* (also known as *semantic, biological, or referential gender*), on the other. Notice that there is terminological inconsistency concerning the latter category; various terms are used more or less synonymically to refer to the extra-linguistic category of sex.<sup>3</sup> It has been suggested, e.g., by Wodak and Benke (1997: 127–50) and Escure (2001: 54), that the equation of natural (semantic/biological/referential) *gender* with *biological sex* may be problematic for social definitions of gender. However, this is irrelevant to the linguistic questions that are addressed here. In other words, a simple correlation between linguistic variables and referent's biological sex it is entirely sufficient for the purposes of this study

In this study, following Hellinger and Bußmann (2002: 8), I will use the term *referential gender* to link linguistic expressions with non-linguistic reality and refer to the

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<sup>3</sup> The term *natural gender* is used, e.g., by Sahoo (2003: 254), Schafroth (2003: 96), Bull and Swan (2002: 223), Hall (2002: 137), and Bull and Swan (2002: 223); the last pair of authors also speak of *semantic gender*. The term *biological gender* is used, e.g., by Hellinger and Bußmann (2002: 150) and Escure (2001: 54), and *referential gender*, e.g., by Hellinger and Bußmann (2002: 150) and Gunnarsdotter Grönberg (2002: 165).



property of extra-linguistic (i.e., “natural” or “biological”) femaleness or maleness. I will refer to those nouns which are not female-specific or male-specific as *sex-indefinite*.<sup>4</sup>

In Slovak, predictably, *chlap* ‘man, guy’ refers to a male person and is assigned masculine grammatical gender, while *žena* ‘woman’ has a female referent and is assigned feminine grammatical gender. On the other hand, *dieťa* ‘child’, which refers to a sexually immature human, and *človek* ‘person’, and *osoba* ‘person’, which can refer either a male or a female referent, are identified as sex-indefinite and, less predictably, are assigned neuter, masculine, and feminine genders, respectively.

Referential gender may identify a referent as a female, male, or sex-indefinite despite the lack of correspondence between non-linguistic reality and linguistic expression. For instance, the Slovak augmentative *ženisko* and diminutives *žieňa* and *žieňatko* are all grammatically neuter, while *žena* is feminine, but nevertheless all expressions refer to a biologically mature female person, ‘woman’ (with different evaluative nuances). Similarly, *chlapina* is grammatically feminine, but it refers to a male person, ‘man, guy’.

Metaphoric or idiomatic use of nouns may provide seemingly confusing gender information, too:

- a. *Bud’ už konečne poriadny chlap!* ‘Be a real man finally!’
- b. *Nebud’ také decko!* ‘Stop being such a child!’
- c.  *také dievča pre všetko* ‘such a subservient person, lit. such a girl for everything’

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<sup>4</sup> Hellinger and Bußmann (2002: 8) actually use the expression *gender-indefinite*. The component ‘gender’ in *gender-indefinite* may cause some ambiguities in the sense of mixing the planes of content and expression; therefore, I prefer the term *sex-indefinite* (or *sex-unspecified*).

In (a) above, masculine *chlap* ‘man, guy’ can be used to refer to females, too. Similarly, *decko* in (b) can refer to mature persons of both sexes; its grammatical gender is neuter, as seen from the agreeing adjective *také*. Likewise, neuter *dievča pre všetko* in (c) can be used of men, too, with a derogatory connotation.

As can be seen, certain lexemes are assigned a grammatical gender that is incongruent with the sex of the person so designated. For French, Schafroth (2003: 97) observes that such incongruities or even contradictions tend to occur with disrespectful personal nouns and invectives. The same seems to apply to Slovak, as illustrated by the following lexical gender masculine nouns denoting women in (d) and feminine nouns denoting men in (e):

- d. *vydriduch* ‘blood-sucker’, *gašpar* ‘clown’
- e. *baba* ‘coward [lit. old woman]’

Grammatical gender is often defined as an arbitrary grammatical category that conditions certain syntactic phenomena, while referential gender, rooted in biology, is simply a reflection of biological sex on the plane of linguistic expression. In reality, of course, this distinction is far more complex, in that grammatical gender is not a totally arbitrary phenomenon; for instance, referents of lexical-gender nouns are inherently either male or female). Conversely, natural gender is not always purely a reflection of biological sex. For example, some inanimate sexless entities such as natural phenomena (e.g., hurricanes), some means of transportations (e.g., ships) can, in particular systems of belief or custom, be viewed as female or male.

As mentioned earlier, grammatical gender seems to be independent of extra-linguistic factors. In principle, the assignment of a noun to one of the three gender classes, masculine, feminine or neuter, is arbitrary and is determined by an interaction of formal and semantic assignment rules. Grammatical gender is an inherent and invariant property of the noun, in contrast to the categories of number and case; it controls agreement between the noun and some adjacent elements both inside and outside the noun phrase,. In Slovak, the targets of agreement “satellite” elements are adjectives, certain numerals, anaphoric pronouns, and participles (including the I-participle used to form the past tense and conditional).

For a majority of personal nouns, there is a one-to-one correspondence between the grammatical “feminine” or “masculine” on the plane of expression and the lexical specification of a noun as “female” or “male” on the plane of content. However, there are some masculine nouns which may denote women, and some feminine nouns which may refer to men, as well as a neuter gender that can refer to humans but has no referential-gender counterpart.

The system of grammatical gender in Slovak will be discussed further in section 2.3, below.

#### 2.2.1.2. *Lexical gender*

Many nouns inherently denote male persons or female persons and are assigned the expected corresponding grammatical genders, i.e., masculine and feminine, respectively. In other words, there is often a straightforward relationship between

masculine/male and feminine/female, particularly in the following classes of personal nouns:

General terms for men and women:

*žena* (feminine) ‘woman’ (female), *muž* (masculine) ‘man’ (male)

Kinship terminology:

*matka* (feminine) ‘mother’ (female), *otec* (masculine) ‘father’ (male),

*neter* (feminine) ‘niece’, female, *synovec* (masculine) ‘nephew’, male

Terms of address:

*slečna* (feminine) ‘Miss’ (female) and *pani* (feminine) ‘Mrs.’ (female), *pán* (masculine) ‘Mr.’ (male)

The masculine/male and feminine/female nouns in these classes stand in equipollent opposition, i.e., they are mutually non-substitutable, except in figurative language<sup>5</sup>. These semantic classes are unproductive and closed in many languages, including Slovak.

Schafroth (2003: 95) defines semantic assignment in lexical gender nouns as follows: 1. sex-differentiable nouns denoting males are masculine; 2. sex-differentiable nouns denoting females are feminine. This implies that contradictions between the lexical specification and grammatical gender should be virtually absent in lexical gender nouns. In Slovak, this is true on the whole; however, there are a few exceptions such as *dievča* ‘girl’, which is grammatically neuter, like other nouns denoting immature beings.

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<sup>5</sup> Notice that even *slečna* ‘Miss’ and *pani* ‘Mrs’, two equivalent terms which only differ in the marital status of the corresponding female referents, i.e., unmarried and married, stand in opposition to *pán* ‘Mr.’, which refers to all adult male persons.

### 2.2.1.3. *Social Gender*

The term *social gender* refers “to the socially imposed dichotomy of masculine and feminine roles and character traits” (Kramarae and Treichler 1985: 173). Similarly, Eckert (1989: 245–67) defines *social gender* as the social construction of the biological category of “sex”, which, according to some scholars, is itself the outcome of social practices, in that it shapes women’s and men’s identities in terms of societal expectations, different social roles assigned to men and women, differences in language practices for men and women, etc. (see Butler 1990, among others). Societal scrutiny of biological sex translates into social gender, particularly in the semantic fields of occupational terms and religious hierarchies, but also in terms referring to one’s rank, position or function in a particular organization or company, and in evaluations based on one’s behavior, as demonstrated by data from KSSJ.

## 2.2.2. Types of correlation between grammatical and referential gender

### 2.2.2.1. Symmetry (symmetrical relationship)

*Gender symmetry (symmetrical relation)* refers to the equal representation of both sexes<sup>6</sup> through pairs of lexemes differentiated by grammatical gender, such that male referents are conveyed by masculine forms and female referents by feminine forms. In Slovak, two major gender-marking practices are employed in forming masculine – feminine pairs: derivation (*profesor* (m.) – *profesorka* (f.) ‘professor’, *krásavec* (m.) ‘handsome man’ – *krásavica* (f.) ‘beautiful woman’) and suppletion (*otec* (m.) ‘father’ –

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<sup>6</sup>The plane of content should be differentiated from the plane of expression here: the same *concept* on the plane of content has two forms on the plane of expression; these words are virtual synonyms distinguished only by the sex of the referent.

*matka* (f.) ‘mother’, (*zdravotná*) *sestra* (f.) ‘female nurse’ – (*zdravotný*) *brat* (m.) ‘male nurse’). Symmetry can be seen in some “emerging” (not yet established) pairs such as *missák* (m.) ‘male beauty queen’ and *letušák* (m.) ‘male flight attendant’, which dictionaries do not recognize.

In West Slavic linguistics, the term *motion* (*prechýľovanie* in Slovak) is traditionally used to refer to the formation of feminine forms from masculine forms, i.e., to the derivation of symmetrical gender pairs, on the assumption that the masculine is the starting-point. On the concept of motion in Slovak, see, e.g., Ondrus, Horecký, Furdík (1980: 138).

#### 2.2.2.2. Asymmetry (asymmetrical relationship)

##### 2.2.2.2.1. Lexical gaps

Lexical gaps in the most general sense concern the absence of some words for women or men. In the previous literature, lexical gaps have generally been claimed to be closely correlated with the invisibility of women in language (see, e.g., Pauwels 1998: 43–4), Čmejrková 2003: 49). Typically, feminine gaps are much more frequent than masculine lexical gaps; for example, Slovak *nedouk* (m.) ‘smatterer, half-scholar’ lacks its expected feminine counterpart *\*nedoučka* (f.). Nissen (2002: 261) illustrates masculine lexical gaps with some Spanish examples, including *ama de casa* ‘housewife’; *\*amo de casa* does not exist.<sup>7</sup> Pauwels (1998: 45–46) provides a limited number of examples of male gaps from Italian, Dutch, French, German, and Norwegian, in which male equivalents of words such as ‘midwife’, are non-existent.

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<sup>7</sup> However, Nissen’s data may not be entirely up to date. There were over 2,990,000 google hits for the supposedly non-existent phrase *amo de casa* on December 17, 2009.

Most of the lexical gaps that occur are due to social changes or constraints or else due to biological limitations. In Slovak, the following examples illustrate feminine lexical gaps: *hajdúch* (m.) —\**hajúška* (f.) ‘heyduck’, *paholok* (m.)—\**paholka/ paholkyňa* (f.) ‘varlet’, *kat* (m.)—\**katka/ katyňa* (f.) ‘executioner’. Masculine gaps include *primadona* (f.)—\**primadon* (m.) ‘diva’, *šestonedielka* (f.) ‘new mother in the post-partum period’ and *dojka* (f.) ‘wet nurse’.

However, it should be noted that, while some feminine or masculine counterparts are simply not attested in my sources, this does not necessarily imply that they are absent from the Slovak lexicon; they still may exist in the language as nonce uses or occasionalisms, e.g., *richtárka* (f.) ‘female reeve’, *kardinálka* (f.) ‘female cardinal’. Others are categorically impossible, e.g., the masculine equivalent of *dojka* ‘wet-nurse’.

In addition to those lexical gaps which are constrained by social and biological factors, there is a small class of possible words that seem to be avoided because they violate phonological constraints, e.g., *kouč* (m.) ‘coach’ - \**koučka* (f.) ‘female coach’ with the cluster [wčk]. Another factor in the gaps may be the avoidance of ambiguity (e.g., homonyms); for example, the conceivable femininization of *boss* (m.), \**boska*, ‘female boss’, would be partly homonymous with *božská* (adj., f.) ‘heavenly’.

#### 2.2.2.2.2. Parallel designations for women and men, with a semantic difference

Hellinger and Bußmann (2002: 12) claim that, on the plane of content, the female typically represents the lesser category; on the plane of expression, “their use may be stylistically marked and in many languages carries negative connotations, which makes them unacceptable in neutral contexts.” They also claim that in Polish and Russian, for

instance, female/feminine members of pairs denoting high-profile professions are intentionally avoided.

Likewise, according to Gerritsen (2002: 84), “the professional term indicating a woman refers to a job with a lower social status than the terms indicating a man.”

Gerritsen mentions the Dutch pair *secretaresse* (f.) - *secretaris* (m.) ‘secretary’, in which there is an obvious difference in function: *secretaresse* (f.) refers to an assistant who does clerical job, while *secretaris* (m.) refers to the head of a governmental administrative department.

Representing the female as the lesser category on the plane of content might sometimes be correlated with so-called *semantic derogation*, a term introduced by Schulz (1975). Semantic derogation often applies to the sexual vocabulary describing promiscuous persons, as observed by Engelberg (2002: 126). Ironically, here the asymmetrical pejorization, typical of terms referring to women rather than to men, greatly contributes to women’s linguistic visibility, albeit in a negative way.

#### 2.2.2.2.3. Epicene nouns

*Epicenes* are words whose referents are sexed beings (male or female persons, or animals), but the sex of the referents is not “translated” into the corresponding grammatical gender. Slovak *osoba* (f.) ‘person’, *jednotlivec* (m.) ‘individual’, and *individuum* (n.) ‘individual’ are good examples of this type. According to Corbett (1991: 68), epicenes “are below the threshold of sex-differentiability.” Instead, they have a fixed grammatical gender, i.e., they belong to one grammatical gender only (masculine, feminine or neuter) and require one corresponding agreement. The fact that they may



belong to any of the three genders is sometimes interpreted as a sign of their “gender-indefiniteness” (e.g., by Maurice (2001: 243), Bußmann and Helliger (2003: 148)).

Corbett (1991: 67) observes that the term *epicene* is sometimes used interchangeably with the term *common gender* (cf. Tobin (2001: 180)). However, in the traditional usage, the difference between the two is in number of sets of agreement forms: while common gender nouns take two sets, epicenes take only one. For example, in Russian *sirota* ‘orphan’ is common gender; the referential gender of the referent is shown only by agreeing forms: *kruglyj sirota* (m.)—*kruglaja sirota* (f.) ‘complete orphan’. By contrast, *osoba* ‘figure’ is epicene, with feminine agreement only: *velikaja osoba* ‘great figure’.

In some languages, epicenes tend to be masculine, and the set of feminine or neuter epicene nouns is relatively limited; this is the case in Norwegian (Bull and Swan 2002: 224), Icelandic (Gunnardotter Grönberg 2002: 166), Hindi (Hall 2002: 144), and Welsh (Awbery, Jones and Morris 2002: 319). Slovak, however, has all three genders represented relatively equally in the class of epicene nouns.

Nissen (2002: 257), discussing Spanish, claims that epicene nouns should be “capable of referring to women and men, to men alone and to women alone.” He further notes (*ibid.*),

In general, masculine nouns for which a corresponding noun of the feminine gender exists, cannot refer to women alone, simply because a corresponding noun is available. Therefore, the term ‘epicene’ should only be used when no counterpart of the opposite gender exists.

Since some neuter nouns can legitimately function as epicenes, in addition to masculines and feminines, this conclusion should, perhaps, be extended as follows: The term *epicene* should only be used when forms from the remaining genders do not exist.

However, Čmejrková (2003: 35) observes that some Czech masculine epicenes do, in fact, co-exist with feminine counterparts, though the latter are rarely used or else occasionalisms, and tend to be expressive, colloquial, or dialectal. This is due to a strong tendency in Czech to generate feminine counterparts to all masculines. The following are Čmejrková's (ibid.) examples of what she labels as feminine counterparts to masculine epicenes:

*bláznivka* (f.) 'female lunatic', from *blázen* (m.) 'lunatic'  
*génijka* (f.) 'female genius', from *génius* (m.) 'male genius'  
*opilka* (f.) 'female drunkard', from *opilec* (m.) 'drunkard'  
*anonymka* (f.) 'anonymous woman', from *anonym* (m.) 'anonymous person'

In other words, the masculines to the right are epicene normatively, but nascently symmetrical with the feminines to the left in popular usage.

Like Czech, Slovak has a comparable capacity to produce relatively systematically feminine-masculine pairs. This symmetry holds even between words which have not been fully established yet. The actual usage of some feminine derivatives can be restricted to certain contexts, but nevertheless the forms exist, are fully integrated in the language system, and are used selectively. Therefore, in my framework, nouns such as those cited by Čmejrková above are considered symmetrical rather than epicene. Only words which meet the criterion of one and only one gender are classified as epicenes.

Finally, it is generally assumed that masculine is used as the most unmarked gender. When used to refer to human beings, it is unmarked both with respect to the feminine and the neuter genders. However, markedness is irrelevant when it comes to epicene nouns.

#### 2.2.2.2.4. Double-gender nouns

Czech, the language that is most closely related to Slovak, is claimed by, e.g., Čmejrková (2003: 37–39) and Dickins (2001: 223–25) to contain so-called double (or dual) gender nouns.<sup>8</sup> Let us look at the following examples:

- a. *Můj choť mi nikdy nelhal.*  
My (m.) spouse (m.) has never lied (m.) to me.
- b. *Moje choť mi nikdy nelhala.*  
My (f.) spouse (f.) has never lied (f.) to me.
- c. *A pak ubohý sirota potkal vílu.*  
And then a poor (m.) orphan (m.) met (m.) a fairy.
- d. *A pak ubohá sirota potkala vílu.*  
And then a poor (f.) orphan (f.) met (f.) a fairy.

In the traditional analysis (articulated also by Čmejrková and Dickins), *choť* and *sirota* are single lexemes that have one form in nominative singular, but then bifurcate into two separate gender paradigms (masculine and feminine) both syntagmatically on the level of agreement, as in illustrated above, and paradigmatically on the level of morphological

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<sup>8</sup> The term *double gender nouns* is used by Čmejrková (2003); Dickins (2001) employs the alternate term *dual-gender nouns*. I avoid the latter in this dissertation due to its similarity to the grammatical category of number.

forms, as in Table 2, below<sup>9</sup>. (I have included possessive adjectives in the table in order to show the gender agreement pattern.)

<b>Singular</b>	<b>masculine</b>	<b>feminine</b>
NOM	můj choť	má choť
GEN	mého chotě	mé chotě
DAT	mému choti	mé choti
ACC	mého chotě	mou choť
VOC	můj choti	moje choti
LOC	mém choti	mé choti
INSTR	mým chotěm	mou chotí
<b>Plural</b>		
NOM	naši choti	naše chotě
GEN	našich chotí	našich chotí
DAT	našim chotěm	našim chotěm
ACC	naše chotě	naše chotě
VOC	naši choti	naše chotě
LOC	našich chotěch	našich chotích
INSTR	našimi chotěmi	našimi chotěmi

Table 2: Declension of můj/ moje *choť* ‘my spouse’ in Czech

The two gender paradigms (soft masculine of the *otec* pattern and soft feminine of the *píseň* pattern) are fully stable in contemporary Czech. Typically, as illustrated above, the choice is only between masculine or feminine; the neuter is not a possible alternant.<sup>10</sup> This is logical, given that the difference in the grammatical gender is directly attributed to the difference in semantics, namely maleness or femaleness.

For Corbett (1991: 181–83), double- (and multiple-) gender nouns are those that have two or more genders, and the difference in those genders correlates with either

<sup>9</sup> Jirka Hana, (p.c.), a native speaker of Czech, pointed out to me that the dative plural masculine and feminine form (*chotím*) and the locative plural masculine and feminine form (*chotích*) sound slightly more acceptable to him than the forms in the table.

<sup>10</sup> Interestingly enough, Čmejrková (2003) provides a rare example of a neuter personal noun, which that has only recently begun to be used as a masculine and feminine: *rukojmí* ‘hostage’ (neuter; masculine/feminine).

semantic factors, e.g., English *doctor* (with gender reflected in anaphoric pronouns), or formal factors (different paradigms), e.g., Russian *šampun* ' (m. or f.) 'shampoo' (with gender reflected in a variety of agreeing forms). Corbett also claims that, if a different agreement is taken for semantic or pragmatic reasons, the term *double gender* overlaps with the term *common gender*. According to Corbett (ibid.), there are two other types of double gender – borrowings and nouns that are in the process of changing gender. He also points out that so-called *hybrid words* such as Russian *vrač* 'doctor' are sometimes referred to as *double gender nouns* as well. *Vrač*, when denoting a female person, does not take consistently feminine agreements, nor does it take consistently masculine agreements; that is why it is claimed to be a hybrid noun.

Notice that there is a considerable inconsistency in terminology. For example, Schafroth (2003: 106–7) states that in French linguistics the term *épicènes* is preferred to *double gender*. Similarly, Yaguello (1978) defines *épicène* as a lexeme which is not overtly marked for either masculine or feminine. However, these scholars are talking about languages without the elaborate case-marking systems of Czech and Slovak.

The general consensus seems to be that epicenes and double gender nouns refer to both male and female persons, but only double gender nouns are always either masculine or feminine, while epicenes denote both men and women without a change of grammatical gender and with only a single paradigm. For terminological consistency, I suggest that double gender nouns be defined as follows: personal nouns that take consistently feminine or consistently masculine agreement, depending on their referential gender (male or female), while having a nominative singular form that is identical for both genders (cf. Corbett ((1991: 181–83) and Hentschel (2003: 291)).

This definition has several implications. First, it is only personal nouns, as opposed to inanimate nouns and names of animals (unless they both are used metaphorically to denote human beings<sup>11</sup>) that are candidates for the category. Second, all nouns in the category must be lexically specified as carrying the semantic property [male] or [female], which corresponds to the extralinguistic category of referential gender (sex of the referent). As a consequence, gender-unspecified nouns such as *kreatúra* (f.) ‘monster, creature’, *občan* (m.) ‘citizen’, *postava* (f.) ‘character’, *tvor* (m.) ‘creature, being’ are not considered double gender but rather epicene. Third, in terms of agreement, either masculine or feminine agreement must be used to refer to males and female, respectively. Fourth, the agreement must be used consistently. This consistency use excludes what Corbett calls *hybrid nouns* like Russian *vrač* or my own Slovak example *chlapina* ‘strong male’.

Fifth, the nominative singular feminine and nominative singular masculine must be formally identical. I only found non-personal examples in Slovak, Czech, and Polish for which this requirement would be relevant: Polish *zmarszczka* (f.)/ *zmarszczyk* (m.) ‘wrinkle’ (cited from Kryk-Kastovsky 2000), Slovak *pištoľ* (f.)/ *pištoľ* (m.) ‘pistol’, Czech *hranolka* (f.)/ *hranolek* (m.) ‘French fry’. Interestingly, Kryk-Kastovsky labels *zmarszczka* (f.)/ *zmarszczyk* (m.) as a double gender noun. She claims that their derivational suffixes are equally productive and competitive; thus they are accepted by the Polish norm. Otherwise, as in the case of *szczegóła* (f.) ~ *szczegół* (m.) ‘detail’, which vary by social and/or regional dialect, there is a strong tendency to limit what Kryk-Kastovsky (ibid.) calls the double gender form. However within my framework,

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<sup>11</sup>For example, *cap* ‘male goat’ might denote an old male person with sexually inappropriate behavior, and *otrava* ‘poison’ can metaphorically refer to a boring or nagging person.

*zmarszczka* (f.) ~ *zmarszczek* (m.), *pištoľa* (f.) ~ *pištoľ* (m.), *hranolka* (f.) ~ *hranolek* (m.) are just gender doublets, since all of them are non-personal and only have one gender-neutral referent.

Collective nouns are excluded as well. In Slovak, collectives always take only one type of agreement (e.g., *duchovenstvo* (n.) ‘clergy’, *klientela* (f.), ‘clients’, *disent* (m.) ‘dissent’). They do denote a gender-specific referent, but that referent is collective, i.e., either a group of female persons, or a group of male persons, or both. As a consequence, there is no one-to-one correspondence between grammatical gender and referential gender.

### 2.3. Description of the grammatical gender system of Slovak

As noted above, Slovak is a gender language, with masculine, feminine, and neuter categories in both singular and plural. It also has subgenres of animacy in the masculine singular and personal in the masculine plural.<sup>12</sup> As previously demonstrated, there is a high but not complete degree of correspondence between grammatical gender and lexical/referential gender in the field of personal nouns. It is generally assumed that in Slovak, as well as in the closely related languages Czech and Polish, nouns denoting male human beings are predominantly masculine, nouns denoting female human beings

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<sup>12</sup> There are four masculine non-personal nouns that behave as if personal in the plural by showing formal differences between the nominative and accusative: *pes* ‘dog’, *vlk* ‘wolf’ *vták* ‘bird’, *byk* ‘bull’. These are evidently archaisms. Otherwise, masculine nouns referring to animals show no formal difference between the nominative and accusative, e.g., *had* ‘snake’ (NOM/ACC pl. *hady*), *tiger* ‘tiger’ (NOM/ACC pl. *tigre*), *kôň* ‘horse’ (NOM/ACC pl. *kone*).

are predominantly feminine, while nouns denoting immature human beings tend to be neuter (like terms for young animals).<sup>13</sup>

In their discussion of Slovak nouns (non-personal as well as personal), Oravec, Bajžíková, and Furdík (1988) claim that the degree of correspondence between extra-linguistic reality (referential gender/sex/biological gender, if any) and the morphological category of gender is actually small (*ibid.*). According to these authors (*ibid.*: 19), “grammatical gender is a classification category that relies on a system of the case endings (the paradigm) rather than on the original semantic opposition of natural gender” [my translation]. Oravec, Bajžíková, and Furdík (*ibid.*) are undoubtedly right in that, for a majority of nouns, grammatical gender relates to the form (paradigm) alone, since no natural (biological) gender is present. However, in the area of personal nouns, the correspondence between semantics and grammar is, as already argued, extremely high. There is a relatively small number of mismatches between extra-linguistic reality (biological sex) and grammatical gender. The mismatches are typically correlated with expressivity or, insignificantly, caused by archaic stem declensions. Various types of mismatches will be discussed in upcoming chapters.

The formal aspect of a noun, namely the ending, is an important criterion in gender classification, though not all endings are equally relevant; the nominative singular offers the best clue, followed by accusative singular.<sup>14</sup> Plural endings are more problematic as indicators of gender membership. Formally, the most distinctive gender

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<sup>13</sup> For Czech, Čmejrková (2003: 29) observes that the degree of correspondence is high: “In most cases, nouns denoting male human beings are masculine, nouns denoting female human beings are feminine, while nouns denoting immature beings and young animals, such as dítě ‘child’, mládě ‘young’, or kotě ‘kitten’ are often neuter gender in Czech.”

<sup>14</sup> Dative and locative singular and nominative, genitive, and accusative plural serve as indicators of animacy rather than gender.



in Slovak is neuter, which stands in a privative opposition to masculine and feminine (the former only in the direct cases, and the latter only in the singular and in the nominative and accusative plural). Typically, nouns with final *-o*, and *-e*<sup>15</sup> (and its phonological variants *-ä* (*-a*),

*-ie*) in the nominative and accusative singular tend to be neuters, e.g., *trdlo* ‘twit’, *bábä* ‘baby’. By contrast, the masculine and feminine nominative endings are relatively ambiguous indicators of gender. Both masculine and feminine nouns (of the *dlaň* and *kost*’ declension) can have zero in the nominative and accusative; in addition, there are many masculine nouns that have *-a* in the nominative singular, like the most numerous class of feminines.<sup>16</sup> These formal syncretisms can be seen in the following examples:

- a. *chlap* ‘man, male’, *svedok* ‘witness’, *väzeň* ‘prisoner’, *Mozart* (all masculine)
- b. *hrdina* ‘hero’, *husita* ‘Hussite’, *darca* ‘donor’, *Gejza* (all masculine)
- c. *žena* ‘woman, female’, *kolegyňa* ‘female colleague’, *pracovníčka* ‘female employee/worker’, *Helena* (all feminine)
- b. *neter* ‘niece’, *mat’* ‘mother’ (both feminine)

However, the nominative singular forms cannot be the sole decisive factor in classifying the nouns as masculine, feminine or neuter; the entire paradigms, singular and plural, determine the grammatical gender of nouns. For instance, when a noun ending in a consonant in the nominative singular takes the feminine case endings, both in singular and plural, it is classified as feminine. Let us contrast *neter* ‘niece’ and *kolegyňa* ‘female

<sup>15</sup> The ending *-e* and its variants rarely occur with personal nouns. Examples of the neuter endings *-ä*, *-ie*, *-a*, *-ia* can be found in Oravec, Bajžíková, and Furdík (1983: 70–71).

<sup>16</sup> A small group of feminine nouns have a mixed adjectival-substantival declension: in the singular they decline as adjectives, while in the plural they behave like nouns, e.g., *švagriná* ‘sister-in-law’, *kráľovná* ‘queen’, *princezná* ‘princess’, *stryná* ‘aunt’.

colleague’, both grammatically feminine, against *frajer* ‘boyfriend’, which like *neter* ends in the consonant *-r*, too, but is a grammatical masculine (Table 3).

NOM	<i>neter-Ø</i>	<i>kolegyň-a</i>	<i>frajer-Ø</i>
GEN	<i>neter-e</i>	<i>kolegyn-e</i>	<i>frajer-a</i>
DAT	<i>neter-i</i>	<i>kolegyn-i</i>	<i>frajer-ovi</i>
ACC.	<i>neter-Ø</i>	<i>kolegyň-u</i>	<i>frajer-a</i>
LOC	<i>neter-i</i>	<i>kolegyn-i</i>	<i>frajer-ovi</i>
INSTR	<i>neter-ou</i>	<i>kolegyň-ou</i>	<i>frajer-om</i>
NOM	<i>neter-e</i>	<i>kolegyn-e</i>	<i>frajer-i</i>
GEN	<i>neter-í</i>	<i>kolegyň-Ø</i>	<i>frajer-ov</i>
DAT	<i>neter-iam</i>	<i>kolegyn-iam</i>	<i>frajer-om</i>
ACC	<i>neter-e</i>	<i>kolegyn-e</i>	<i>frajer-ov</i>
LOC	<i>neter-iach</i>	<i>kolegyn-iach</i>	<i>frajer-och</i>
INSTR	<i>neter-ami</i>	<i>kolegyň-ami</i>	<i>frajer-mi</i>

Table 3: Comparison of the declension of *neter*, ‘niece’ *kolegyňa* ‘female colleague’, and *frajer* ‘boyfriend’

*Neter* ‘niece’ and *kolegyňa* ‘female colleague’ belong to two different declensional classes of a single grammatical gender (feminine), but the partial identity of their declensional desinences is apparent, particularly in the plural. By contrast, *frajer* ‘boyfriend’ clearly belongs to a different gender paradigm (masculine).

In a similar manner, *hrdina* ‘hero’ is a masculine noun despite its formal resemblance in the nominative and accusative singular forms to the class of feminine nouns also terminating in *-a* (Table 4):

NOM	<i>hrdin-a</i>	<i>frajer-Ø</i>	<i>kolegyň-a</i>
GEN	<i>hrdinu-u</i>	<i>frajer-a</i>	<i>kolegyn-e</i>
DAT	<i>hrdin-ovi</i>	<i>frajer-ovi</i>	<i>kolegyn-i</i>
ACC	<i>hrdin-u</i>	<i>frajer-a</i>	<i>kolegyň-u</i>
LOC	<i>hrdin-ovi</i>	<i>frajer-ovi</i>	<i>kolegyn-i</i>
INSTR	<i>hrdin-om</i>	<i>frajer-om</i>	<i>kolegyň-ou</i>
NOM	<i>hrdin-ovia</i>	<i>frajer-i</i>	<i>kolegyn-e</i>
GEN	<i>hrdin-ov</i>	<i>frajer-ov</i>	<i>kolegyň-Ø</i>
DAT	<i>hrdin-om</i>	<i>frajer-om</i>	<i>kolegyn-iam</i>
ACC	<i>hrdin-ov</i>	<i>frajer-ov</i>	<i>kolegyn-e</i>
LOC	<i>hrdin-och</i>	<i>frajer-och</i>	<i>kolegyn-iach</i>
INSTR	<i>hrdin-ami</i>	<i>frajer-mi</i>	<i>kolegyň-ami</i>

Table 4: Comparison of the declension of *hrdina* ‘hero’, *frajer* ‘boyfriend’, and *kolegyňa* ‘female colleague’

This differentiation between the *hrdina* type and the *kolegyňa* type is the result of multiple analogies to the *frajer* type (as well as accusative-to-genitive rather than genitive-to-accusative syncretism in the singular, which is unique to Slovak among the Slavic literary languages). Historically, the masculines in *-a* had precisely the same declension as the feminines.

In traditional accounts of Slovak morphology, there are twelve major declensional classes of nouns in Slovak—four for each of the three grammatical genders. They are typically referred to as follows:

- a. Masculine gender:
  - Type *chlap* ‘man, guy’
  - Type *hrdina* ‘hero’
  - Type *dub* ‘oak’
  - Type *stroj* ‘machine’
- b. Feminine gender:
  - Type *žena* ‘woman’
  - Type *ulica* ‘street’

Type *dlaň* ‘palm’  
Type *kost* ‘bone’

c. Neuter gender:

Type *mesto* ‘city’  
Type *srdce* ‘heart’  
Type *vysvedčenie* ‘school report’  
Type *dievča* ‘girl’

All the declensional types are represented among the personal nouns in my corpus, including the *dub* ‘oak’ and *stroj* ‘machine’ types, which are almost exclusively reserved for masculine inanimate nouns. The opposition between animate and inanimate nouns only occurs in the masculine gender. Masculine inanimate nouns, which typically belong to the declensional types *dub* ‘oak’ and *stroj* ‘machine’, are peripherally represented in my corpus as metaphoric extensions, e.g., *mozog* ‘intelligent person, lit. brain’, *talent* ‘talent’, *zjav* ‘phenomenon, lit. figure’. Despite the fact that, as metaphoric extensions, they refer to humans rather than non-animate entities, they belong to inanimate declensional types (*dub* ‘oak’ or *stroj* ‘machine’). In contrast to this, a limited number of originally inanimate masculine nouns which denote people can follow the declensional pattern of *chlap* ‘guy, man’, both in singular and plural, e.g., *chren* (m.) ‘dumb person, lit. horseradish’ or *lekvár* (m.) ‘clumsy person, lit. fruit preserve, jam’. Compare the following two paradigms (Table 5):

	<i>Chren</i> ‘horseradish’		<i>Chren</i> ‘dumb person’	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
NOM	<i>chren-Ø</i>	<i>chren-y</i>	<i>chren-Ø</i>	<i>chren-i</i>
GEN	<i>chren-u</i>	<i>chren-ov</i>	<i>chren-a</i>	<i>chren-ov</i>
DAT	<i>chren-u</i>	<i>chren-om</i>	<i>chren-ovi</i>	<i>chren-om</i>
ACC	<i>chren-Ø</i>	<i>chren-y</i>	<i>chren-a</i>	<i>chren-ov</i>
LOC	<i>chren-e</i>	<i>chren-och</i>	<i>chren-ovi</i>	<i>chren-och</i>
INSTR	<i>chren-om</i>	<i>chren-mi</i>	<i>chren-om</i>	<i>chren-mi</i>

Table 5: Comparison of the inanimate and animate declensions of *chren* ‘horseradish; dumb person’

The opposition between the inanimate and the animate above is clearly expressed by the dative, locative, and accusative cases in the singular, and in the nominative and accusative cases in the plural. My corpus does not include enough masculine inanimate nouns functioning as denotations for people to draw a generalization regarding differences in their respective declensions.

According to Oravec, Bajžíková, and Furdík (1988: 38), the nominative singular form relatively clearly denotes neuter gender.<sup>17</sup> However, for identifying the difference between a masculine noun and a feminine noun, sometimes an additional set of case forms is needed (ibid.). Most of these diagnostic endings occur in the masculine plural: nominative *-i/-ia/-ovia*, genitive *-ov*, dative *-om*, accusative *-ov*, locative *-och*, and instrumental *-mi*. These endings unambiguously separate masculine nouns from both feminine and neuter. Likewise, the instrumental singular *-ou* is an exclusively feminine ending.

<sup>17</sup> Non-speakers of the Slovak language might face some ambiguities in identifying gender resulting from the homophony of the neuter type *dievča* ending *-a* and the feminine type *žena* ending *-a*.

The gender system of Slovak is fully productive and independent of declensional types. Some borrowings are non-declinable in Slovak, generally because their stems end in vowels; despite the absence of declensional paradigms, they all belong to one of the three genders: masculine, feminine, or neuter. Typically, borrowings denoting inanimate (including non-personal) entities are neuter; these include loanwords in final *-i*, *-e*, *-é*, *-ó*, *-ö*, *-u*, *-ü*, e.g., *harakiri* ‘hari-kari’, *ražniči* ‘Balkan kebabs with meat and vegetables’, *čevabčiči* ‘Balkan grilled minced meat’, *taxi* ‘taxi’, *finále* ‘finale’, *bienále* ‘biennium’, *komuniké* ‘communiqué’, *klišé* ‘cliché’, *plateau* ‘plateau’, *Bordeaux* ‘Bordeaux (wine)’, *menu* ‘menu’, etc. A great majority of these neuter nouns refer to objects, places, or abstract qualities and therefore they are irrelevant for our discussion of gender asymmetry in human nouns. However, borrowings that refer to animate and personal entities are typically masculine, judging from agreement; for example, *kakadu* ‘cockatoo’, *atašé* ‘attaché(e)’, and *guru* ‘guru’, though non-declinable, typically take masculine agreement (with some variation when the referents are female) and also show agreement for animacy. There are also non-declinable nouns assigned to feminine gender; these include personal nouns denoting female referents whose stems end in a consonant or *-i*, *-y*, *-o*, *-e*, e.g., *miss*, *madam*, *lady*, and some proper nouns which are not discussed in this study: *Manon*, *Ráchel*, *Rút*, *Oli*, *Sapfo*, *Inge*.

The gender of a non-declinable noun can be unambiguously determined (apart from native-speaker introspection) only on the basis of the grammatical agreement with syntactically dependent words, as in the following examples.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Here and elsewhere, I will gloss only when it is relevant to point out agreement patterns.

<i>skorumpovaný</i>	<i>kultúrny</i>	<i>atašé</i>
corrupt-M.NOM.SG	cultural-M.NOM.SG	attaché-M.NOM.SG

<i>zvodná</i>	<i>Sapfo</i>
seductive-F.NOM.SG	Sappho-F.NOM.SG

<i>napínavé</i>	<i>finále</i>
exciting-N.NOM.SG	finale-N.NOM.SG

In general, grammatical agreement in Slovak systematically pertains to adjectives, verbal participles, pronouns and some numerals, as illustrated below:

<i>Mária Terézia</i>	<i>rovnako</i>	<i>vyberala</i>
Maria Theresa-FEM.NOM.SG	similarly	choose-PST.FEM.SG

<i>manželku</i>	<i>aj</i>	<i>svojmu</i>
wife-FEM.ACC.SG	also	her-POSS-MASC.DAT.SG

<i>druhému</i>	<i>synovi</i>	<i>Leopoldovi</i> . <sup>19</sup>
second-MASC.DAT.SG	son-MASC.DAT.SG	Leopold-MASC.DAT.SG

‘Maria Theresa similarly chose a wife also for her second son, Leopold.’<sup>20</sup>

Gender is highly grammaticalized in Slovak. Semantic agreement, which often occurs in, e.g., Russian (see Doleschal and Schmid (2001: 263)) is virtually absent in Slovak. Some rare examples of nouns which take agreement based on the biological sex of a referent, e.g., *tlčhuba* ‘babbler’ (*taká* ~ *taký* *tlčhuba* ‘such a-FEM.NOM.SG ~ MASC.NOM.SG babbler-NOM.SG’), are discussed in Chapter 5.

In cases where referential gender and grammatical gender do not correspond, grammatical gender always takes preference over the referential gender:

<sup>19</sup> [http://www.sk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mária\\_Terézia](http://www.sk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mária_Terézia), accessed 11/19/09

<sup>20</sup> All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

*A ked' ma tam to drobne*  
and when me-ACC there that-NEUT.NOM.SG petite-NEUT.NOM.SG

*žieňa zbadalo...*  
woman-NEUT.NOM.SG notice-PST.NEUT.SG

‘And when that petite woman noticed me there...’<sup>21</sup>

As shown in the last two examples, there is also concord/verbal agreement in gender and number between the subject noun and the verb.

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<sup>21</sup> <http://www.khandlova.blog.sme.sk/c/115981/Stante-sa-modelkou-a-bude-vam-patrit-cely-svet.html>, accessed 11/19/09.



## **Chapter 3**

### **Personal Noun Formation and Gender Symmetry**

#### **3.1. Suffixation**

In linguistic debates about the relation of the feminine forms to masculine forms, various opinions have been voiced. Nevertheless, for many linguists gender suffixation characteristically means feminization, i.e., the use of suffixes mainly to derive feminine/female forms from existing masculine/male ones. The underlying assumption then is that masculine is the primary and unmarked form, while feminine is secondary and marked, even though the feminine forms themselves may be widely used.<sup>22</sup>

In Slovak, as in the other Slavic languages, derivation is the major process of word-formation. Gender specification in Slovak is almost exclusively done via suffixation. Generating two separate lexemes for both references (masculine and feminine) is much rarer, and compounding as a means of gender differentiation is virtually absent.

In Slovak linguistic studies, it is generally assumed that feminine forms are derived, for the most part, from masculine nouns by attaching one of numerous

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<sup>22</sup> See Koniuszaniec & Błaszowska (2003: 264) on Polish, Hentschel (2003:295) on Serbian, Gerritsen (2002:87) on Dutch, Bull and Swan (2002:231) on Norwegian, and Bußmann & Hellinger (2003:157) on German.

feminizing suffixes to a masculine stem. The opposite direction of derivation, from feminine to masculine, is rare in Slovak, as in the other Slavic languages. The process of forming paired terms for males and females via derivation of feminine forms from masculine ones is traditionally called *přechyľovanie* ‘motion’ (e.g., by Ondrus, Horecký, Furdík (1980:100); see section 2.2.2.1, above)<sup>23</sup>. Technically, feminine variants may be derived from any masculine form. In reality, various types of restrictions apply, particularly if one member of the pair lacks a referent.

Derivation of feminine nouns from the corresponding masculine nouns exhibits numerous asymmetries. In contrast, gender symmetry is remarkably high within the class of conversions of /parallel derivations from adjectives and participles, where both members of pairs maybe derived independently from the corresponding adjective or participle, and equally marked formally by their own suffixes (including zero derivational suffixes), e.g., *vyvolen-ý* (m.)—*vyvolen-á* (f.) ‘chosen one’, *nezvestn-ý* (m.)—*nezvestn-á* (f.) ‘missing person’.

There is a rich repertory of derivational patterns in Slovak for both genders. Masculine derivatives are almost always male-specific in their basic meaning, but may, in addition, be used in a generic sense, particularly in the plural. Derived masculine nouns are typically formed from adjectives, verbs, verbal participles, nouns and numerals. Ondrus, Horecký, and Furdík (1980:94–100) state that the following masculinizing

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<sup>23</sup> The term *přechyľování* is likewise used in Czech linguistics; see, e.g., *Mluvnice češtiny* (1986: 304), Hrušková (1967:536), Čmejrková (2003:41).

suffixes are productive: *-tel'*, *-ík*, *-ník*, *-č*, *-ec*, *-c*, *-ár*, *-iar*, *-ák*, *-iak*, *-an*, *-čan*, *-áň*, *-úň*, *-oš*, *-och*, *-oň*, *-aj*, *-ál'*, and the originally borrowed suffixes *-ista*, *-ita*, *-ik*, *-ér*, *-ant*.<sup>24</sup>

Derivation with the suffix *-tel'* is one of the most frequent morphological means of marking male reference, particularly nomina agentis, e.g., *čítateľ* 'reader', *pozorovateľ* 'observer', *skladateľ* 'composer'. Words in *-tel'* as well as those that end in *-č* (e.g., *donášač* 'informer, denouncer', *platič* 'payer'), *-ca* (e.g., *rozhodca* 'referee', *sprievodca* 'guide, conductor'), *-ák/-iak* (e.g., *žobrák* 'beggar', *spevák* 'singer') are typically derived from verbs and many of them serve as occupational titles. The suffix *-ník* can likewise be attached to verbal stems (e.g., *pracovník* 'worker, employee', *útočník* 'attacker'), but it can also be used to derive a smaller class of masculine terms from nouns, too (e.g., *zlatník* 'goldsmith', from *zlato* 'gold', *záhradník* 'gardener', from *záhrada* 'garden'). The suffix *-ák/-iak* attaches to substantival stems, in addition to verbal ones (e.g., *sveták* 'dandy, worldling', from *svet* 'world'). Other, less frequently used verbal suffixes are *-an* (e.g. *pijan* 'drunk'), *-úň* (e.g., *krikľúň* 'loudmouth'), *-oš* (e.g., *kradoš* 'thief'), and *-aj* (e.g., *motaj* 'muddle-headed person').

Substantival stems serve as bases for the formation of various semantic classes of personal nouns. For instance, nouns denoting members of organizations or supporters or opponents of movements or parties are formed using the suffixes *-ník*, e.g., *opozičník* 'oppositionist', from *opozícia* 'opposition'; *-(ov)ec*, e.g., *domobranec* 'member of militia/ home-defence, from *dom(a)* 'home' and *obrana* 'defense', *mečiarovec* 'supporter of Mečiar'; and *-ár/-iar* (e.g., *sektár* 'sectarian', from *sekta* 'sect'). Occupational terms

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<sup>24</sup> Despite their foreign origin, *-ista*, *-ita*, *-ik*, *-ér*, *-ant* are productive in Slovak and may combine with substantival, verbal, adjectival, and participial stems. The most frequent suffix is *-ista*, which is typically attached to substantival stems, e.g., *hokejista* 'hockey player'.

in the broadest sense are derived from substantival stems with the suffixes *-lk*, e.g., *zámočník* ‘locksmith’, from *zámok* ‘lock’; *-ec*, e.g., *letec* ‘pilot’, from *let* ‘flight’; *-ca*, e.g., *dozorca* ‘guardian’, from *dozor* ‘guard’; *-ár/-iar*, e.g., *mäsiar* ‘butcher’, from *mäso* ‘meat’. Names of people based on their national/ethnic/regional identity are typically be formed with the suffixes *-an* or *-čan*, e.g., *Kolumbijčan* ‘Colombian’, from *Kolumbia* ‘Colombia’; *-an/-čan*, e.g., *vidiečan* ‘villager’, from *vidiek* ‘village, countryside’.

Denominal nouns denoting people based on their personal characteristics are formed with suffixes including *-ák/-iak*, e.g., *silák* ‘strong man’, from *sila* ‘strength’; and *-ník*, e.g., *jazyčník* ‘gossipy person’, derived from the noun *jazyk* ‘tongue’ rather than the adjective *jazyčný* ‘gossipy’. However, the majority of Slovak nouns denoting people based on personal characteristics are derived from adjectives rather than nouns.

Deadjectival nouns typically involve the suffixes *-ec*, *-ák/-iak*, *-áň*, *-och*, and *-oň*, e.g. *slepec* and *slepán* ‘blind person’, from *slepý* ‘blind’; *beloch* ‘white person’, from *biely* ‘white’; and *mladoň* ‘young person’, from *mladý* ‘young’.

In Slovak, the inventory of productive suffixes that, according to the theory of motion, can be used to feminize personal nouns denoting men is relatively large, as compared to non-Slavic languages such as German or English. Before proceeding to feminine derivatives of masculine nouns, let us first briefly discuss non-derived feminine nouns and nouns which are derived from the parts of speech other than (masculine) nouns. Non-derived feminine personal nouns mostly include kinship terms based on natural gender, such as *matka* ‘mother’, *dcéra* ‘daughter’, *teta* ‘aunt’; gender-specific generic terms, e.g., *žena* ‘woman’; and a large number of given names, e.g., *Zuza*, *Mária*, *Klára*. Some feminine personal nouns (typically pejorative or expressive) are derived

from verbs, e.g., *čapta* ‘limping woman’, from *čaptat’* ‘to limp’, which lack word-formation suffixes; *cifruša* ‘dressy girl/foppish woman’, formed from *cifrovat’ sa* ‘to dress up’ with the suffix *-uša*; and *plačkul’a* ‘cry baby’, from *plačkat’* ‘cry’, formed with the suffix *-ul’a*.<sup>25</sup> The latter two suffixes are mainly productive for hypocoristics of feminine given names—for example, *Katuša*, *Maruša*, *Ivuša*, *Evul’a*, *Katul’a*. In addition, feminine personal nouns can be derived from adjectives, e.g., *mladucha* ‘bride’, derived from *mladý* ‘young’ with the suffix *-ucha*, and *bledul’a* ‘pale person’, derived from *bledý* ‘pale’. with the suffix *-ul’a*.

As mentioned earlier, the vast majority of feminine personal nouns are derived from masculine nouns by means of suffixation.<sup>26</sup> This word-formation process is highly productive in Slovak. The following suffixes are used to derive feminine counterparts of masculine nouns: *-a*, *-ka*, *-kyňa*, *-yňa*, *-ička*, and, to a lesser extent, *-ica*, *-ová*, *-iná*, *-ná*. The last four suffixes are associated with particular semantic classes, as will be illustrated below. In the process of motion (*prechyl’ovanie*), the attachment of some of the feminizing suffixes can condition alternations in the stem-final consonants. The first feminizing suffix listed, *-a*, can be seen in a few lexemes like *kmotra* ‘godmother’, cf. *kmotr* ‘godfather’, and *suseda* ‘neighbor’, cf. masculine *sused*. While traditionally classified as a feminizing suffix in Slovak grammatical works, *-a* is actually rather problematic. It differs from all other feminine suffixes in that it is an inflectional suffix, so that pairs like *kmotor* and *kmotra* are in fact parallel derivations, unless one wants to operate with a null feminizing suffix.

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<sup>25</sup> Here and elsewhere, I am citing the suffixes with the nominative singular endings used in dictionary entries.

<sup>26</sup> Prefixation is virtually non-existent in feminine noun formation.

The most productive derivational suffix is *-ka*. This can be attached to non-derived masculine nouns, e.g., *novicka* ‘novice’, from masculine *novic* (borrowed from Latin *novitius*); *Češka* ‘Czech woman’, from masculine *Čech*, with mutation of the stem-final velar; and *členka* ‘female member’, from masculine *člen*. The same suffix can be used to feminize derived masculine nouns, e.g., *vojačka* ‘female soldier’, from masculine *vojak*, with mutation of the stem-final velar; *klamárka* ‘female liar’, from masculine *klamár*; *udavačka* ‘female denouncer’, from masculine *udavač*; *ôsmáčka* ‘female eight-grader’, from masculine *ôsmak*; and *kaderníčka* ‘hair stylist’, from masculine *kaderník*, with mutation of the stem-final velar.

The suffix *-kyňa* is used to derive feminine counterparts to masculine nouns with the suffix *-ec*, which, according to the theory of motion, is deleted in the process of derivation. This can be seen, e.g., in *poslankyňa* ‘Congresswoman’, masculine *poslanec*; *chodkyňa* ‘female pedestrian’, masculine *chodec*; *bežkyňa* ‘female runner, jogger’, masculine *bežec*; and *horolezkyňa* ‘female rock-climber’, masculine *horolezec*. It is also used to derived feminine counterparts to masculine nouns with the suffix *-ca*, which is likewise deleted in the process of motion—for example, *hovorkyňa* ‘female speaker’, masculine *hovorca*; *žalobkyňa* ‘female prosecutor; female plaintiff’, masculine *žalobca*; *zradkyňa* ‘female traitor’, masculine *zradca*.

The feminine counterparts to some masculine nouns in *-ec* do not involve *-kyňa*, but rather the more productive suffix *-ka*. This is typical of nouns classifying people by regional, ethnic, or national identity, e.g., *Nemka* ‘German woman’, masculine *Nemec*; *Kórejka* ‘Korean woman’, masculine *Kórejec*; *Čečenka* ‘Chechnian woman’, masculine

*Čečenec*; and *Oravka* ‘woman coming from the Orava region in central Slovakia’, masculine *Oravec*.

The suffix *-yňa* has a much more limited distribution. It is mostly used in feminizing non-derived masculine nouns, e.g., *otrokyňa* ‘female slave’, masculine *otrok*; *bohyňa* ‘goddess’, masculine *boh* ‘god’; and *obryňa* ‘ogress, giantess’, masculine *obor* ‘ogre, giant’.

Also restricted is the suffix *-ička*, used to derive the feminine counterparts of borrowed or international masculine nouns in *-lóg* and *-urg*, e.g., *mikrobiologička* ‘female microbiologist’, masculine *mikrobiológ*; *patologička* ‘female pathologist’, masculine *patológ*; and *metalurgička* ‘female metallurgy technologist’, masculine *metalurg*. (Note that the long vowel of masculines in *-lóg* is shortened in the corresponding feminines.)

The feminine suffix *-ica* typically occurs with the names of animals, e.g., *holubica* ‘female dove’, masculine *holub*; *tigrica* ‘tigress’, masculine *tiger*; *levica* ‘lioness’, masculine *lev*. However, since animal nouns can be used metaphorically to refer to people, some personal nouns with the suffix *-ica* are included in this study.

The suffix *-ová* is regularly used to form female surnames, e.g., *Sabolová*, masculine *Sabol*; *Ivančová*, masculine *Ivančo*. In a very restricted, mostly obsolete usage, it can also form nouns denoting a wife of someone holding a certain rank or socially important occupation—for example, *(pani) profesorová* ‘professor’s wife’, from *profesor*; *(pani) majstrová* ‘craftsman’s wife’, from *majster* ‘craftsman’. (The noun *pani* ‘lady, Mrs.’ is generally included to convey referential deference.)

The suffixes *-iná* and *-ná* (including the compound suffixes *-ovná*, *-ezná*, *-ičná*) are nearly extinct now. In the past, they were used to derive a limited class of feminine nouns which express the kinship relationships, e.g., *ujčína* ‘aunt, wife of one’s mother’s brother, mother’s sister’, from *ujec* ‘uncle, mother’s brother’; *švagrína* ‘one’s husband’s or wife’s sister, wife of one’s brother’, from *švagor* ‘brother-in-law’. They also appear in archaic terms for members of feudal high society: *kňažná* ‘princess’, paired with *knieža* ‘prince’; *cisárovná* ‘empress’, from *cisár* ‘emperor’; *princezná* ‘princess’, from *princ* ‘prince’; *šľachtičná* ‘noblewoman’, from *šľachtic* ‘nobleman’.

The derivation of masculine nouns from originally feminine nouns is rare in Slovak and can be considered peripheral. This pattern mostly occurs with some terms for animals that can be extended to humans, e.g., *lišiak* (m.) ‘fox; slyboots’, from *liška* (f.), earlier *lisa* ‘fox; vixen’. Masculinization can also be seen in a few expressive human nouns: *maznák* ‘coddled man’, from feminine *mazna*; *lajdák* ‘slapdash man’, from feminine *lajda*; *citlivkár* (m.) ‘hyperemotional man’ from feminine *citlivka*; *čaptoš* ‘hobbling man’, from feminine *čapta*. Feminine-to-masculine derivation can also be seen in a few terms for supernatural beings, which can be used metaphorically to denote human beings: *strigôň* ‘warlock’, from feminine *striga* ‘witch’; *ježibábel* ‘sorcerer’, from feminine *ježibaba* ‘sorceress’. Finally, the term for a widower (*vdovec*) is derived from the feminine noun *vdova* ‘widow’; a similar pattern of derivation can be found in some other languages, such as Czech, Russian, and English.

Occupational terms represent the area in which derivational processes are most widely employed to form gender pairs. This applies mainly to the formation of feminine counterparts to masculine occupational terms (motion). The process of “reverse motion,”



that is, the derivation of masculine counterparts from feminine nouns, does not seem to occur in this category. This is not to say that speakers cannot perceive the feminine forms as primary. This can be seen, for instance, in their avoidance of the masculines in the pairs *upratovačka—upratovač* ‘cleaning person’ and *baletka—baletník* ‘ballet dancer’. In the first case, the masculine actually feels pejorative. In case of ‘ballet dancer’, *baletník* is the prescribed form listed in KSSJ, PSP, SCS, SSS, and SSJ, but users of the language (including the media) tend to avoid the form and use instead *baletný tanečník*, literally ‘ballet’ (ADJ, masc.) ‘dancer’ (N, masc.), or *tanečník v baletě*, literally ‘dancer’ (N, masc.) ‘in the ballet’.

Morphologically, it is possible to create a masculine back-formation *letuš* from *letuška* ‘female flight attendant’; a google search actually turned up a nonce-usage, complete with quotation marks indicating that the writer felt the term was odd or amusing (“letuš”). Such a term, if it gained more widespread usage, would be semantically derogative or burdened with gender implications; thus the borrowing *stevard* is preferred. As *letuška* is more widely used to refer to a female flight attendant than the equally acceptable *stevardka*, the relationship in the usage of the masculine and feminine counterparts is asymmetrical: *letuška—stevard*. Similarly, a morphologically possible construct *servír* ‘waiter’ back-formed from *servírka* ‘waitress’ is virtually non-existent in actual usage; instead, *číšník* is the only acceptable alternative for a male servant.

### 3.2. Compounding

In English, gender specification can be achieved by compounding: *chairman—chairwoman*, *congressman—congresswoman*, *policeman—policewoman*, *cowboy—*

*cowgirl*, *playboy*—*playgirl*. By contrast, in modern Slovak, compounding plays no role whatsoever in the creation of new feminine parallels to masculine names. Complex words consisting of two or more lexical morphemes, one of which would be the word *muž* ‘man’ or *chlapec* ‘boy’ for masculines or the word *žena* ‘woman’ or *dievča* ‘girl’ for feminines, do not occur in Slovak. As indicated above, the only productive and well established word formation process of gender specification is derivation by means of suffixation: *riaditeľ*—*riaditeľka* ‘chairman—chairwoman’, *poslanec*—*poslankyňa* ‘congressman—congresswoman’.

Slovak deals remarkably consistently even with (mostly English or German) loan compound word pairs such as *businessman*—*businesswoman*, *gentleman*—*gentlewoman*, *congressman*—*congresswoman*, *pivot man*—*pivot woman*, *SS-man*—*SS-woman*.

Interestingly enough, only the masculine forms are borrowed and are lexicalized as stems, e.g., *biznismen* ‘businessman’.<sup>27</sup> The Slovak feminine counterparts are formed according to the usual pattern, by suffixation on the masculine stem: *businessmanka*/*biznismenka*. Cf. also *gentlemanka*/*džentlmenka*, *kongresmanka*, *rekordmanka*, *pivotmanka*, *esesmanka*.

In Czech, by comparison, suffixation is not the only strategy for feminizing borrowed masculine compounds. For example, some foreign compounds are translated and transformed into one-form-only conversions with two grammatical genders assigned, masculine and feminine. This class of double gender nouns is limited. Čmejrková (2003: 43) lists the following two examples: *mluvčí* (masc. and fem.) ‘spokesperson’, and *předsedající* (masc. and fem.) ‘chairperson’. Despite the genetic closeness between

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<sup>27</sup> This is most likely due to the generic aspect of masculine forms.

Slovak and Czech, this is not a legitimate process of gender specification in Slovak. All human nouns are only assigned one grammatical gender. (For further details on double gender nouns see chapters 2 and 5).

## Chapter 4

### Analysis of Slovak Personal Nouns by Semantic Classes

#### 4.1. Preliminary remarks

In this chapter, I analyze the 6,133 personal nouns collected from KSSJ in order to determine which semantic classes show tendencies towards symmetrical gender relationships, and which classes resist forming parallel terms for male and female referents. The key issue is to identify the factors that lay behind those tendencies.

This chapter discusses the sixteen semantic categories of lexical items (plus some subcategories). For each category, I establish the broad patterns of gender specification in each section and discuss certain personal nouns or groups of personal nouns in detail. The first semantic class to be discussed is the broadest—generic terms for human beings.

#### 4.2. Category 1A: Generic neutral (sex-indefinite) nouns

This category comprises 26 lemmas, including six diminutives of all three grammatical genders. There are twelve masculine-gender nouns (including one diminutive entry *ľudkovia* ‘folks’ which is used in plural only) and eleven feminine-gender nouns. Only three neuters fall in this category. Category 1A is the only category

in my classification system which contains no masculine-feminine pairs. This is because, by definition, only sex-indefinite nouns are included.

#### 4.2.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 1A

No nouns in this category are paired by grammatical gender.

#### 4.2.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 1A

##### 4.2.2.1. Lexical gaps

Since all lemmas in Category 1A are sex-indefinite, the issue of pairing by sex (referential gender) is irrelevant.

##### 4.2.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men with a semantic difference

Pairing is irrelevant in generic sex-indefinite nouns, therefore no examples could be identified in Category 1A.

##### 4.2.2.3. Epicenes

All the nouns in Category 1A are epicenes. According to Corbett (1991: 68), “Epicene nouns are therefore those which denote sexed beings but which do not differentiate them according to sex...” As noted in Chapter 3, epicenes are nouns with one fixed grammatical gender, regardless of whether the referent is male or female. They are genuinely gender-indefinite. In other words, both female and male persons may equally figure as potential referents. Epicenes often denote non-human animate beings, too.

In Slovak, epicene nouns only take one set of agreement forms; this distinguishes them from common gender nouns, which take two or three, e.g., *doctor* (m. or f.) or *baby* (m., f., or n.) in English or *sirota* ‘orphan’ (m. or f.) in Russian. For instance, Slovak *osoba* (f.) ‘person’ consistently takes feminine agreement, regardless of the referential gender, as illustrated in the following examples:

*Každá osoba bez ohľadu na pohlavie, etnický pôvod, sociálne postavenie, politický názor, jazyk, vek, národnosť alebo náboženstvo je povinná zaobchádzať ľudsky so všetkými ľuďmi.*<sup>28</sup>

‘Each<sub>-F</sub> person<sub>-F</sub> regardless of sex, ethic origin, social standing, political conviction, language, age, nationality or religion is obliged<sub>-F</sub> to treat all people humanely.’<sup>29</sup>

*Maďarský prezident László Sólyom je dnes na Slovensku nevítaná osoba.*<sup>30</sup>  
‘Hungarian<sub>-M</sub> President<sub>-M</sub> László<sub>-M</sub> Sólyom<sub>-M</sub> is an unwelcome<sub>-F</sub> person<sub>-F</sub> in Slovakia today.’

... *ak je oprávnenou osobou dieťa*...<sup>31</sup>  
‘... if the entitled<sub>-F</sub> person<sub>-F</sub> is a child<sub>-N</sub>...’

One of the most common and frequently discussed personal nouns in gender linguistics is ‘person, man’, which in Slovak is the masculine epicene *človek*. *Krátky slovník slovenského jazyka* (2003: 100) defines *človek* as follows:

1. the most evolved being with mental and physical components, capable of thinking, speaking and working
2. male person, man
3. unspecified person, somebody, anybody
4. *človeče*, colloquial expression in addressing, exclamation, etc.

<sup>28</sup> <http://chmelar.blog.sme.sk/c/28494/Vseobecna-deklaracia-ludskych-povinnosti.html>, accessed 10/11/09

<sup>29</sup> All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

<sup>30</sup> [spravy.hnonline.sk/c1-38119500-fico-solyom-je-dnes-nevitana-osoba](http://spravy.hnonline.sk/c1-38119500-fico-solyom-je-dnes-nevitana-osoba), accessed 10/11/09.

<sup>31</sup> [www.obcianskaporadna.sk/docs/.../nahradne\\_vyzivne\\_na\\_dieta.doc](http://www.obcianskaporadna.sk/docs/.../nahradne_vyzivne_na_dieta.doc), accessed 10/11/09.

The first denotation, *človek 1* ‘person, man’, is a general personal noun, referential gender-unspecified.<sup>32</sup> Regardless of sex of the referent, *človek 1* takes masculine agreement, as shown in the following example.<sup>33</sup>

*Čaká ťa tam nejaký človek.*  
‘A man/person is waiting for you there.’

Here *človek 1* can be a man or a woman, or, in the modern androcentric practice, an adult transgendered person. Notice that the term *človek 1* in its gender-indefinite meaning is used if the sex of the person referred to (including a female person) is unknown or irrelevant. However, if in the very same context (“someone is waiting for you”) the gender of the person is known to be female, then it is highly improbable that one would use the term *človek 1*. It is much more likely that *žena* ‘woman’ (or *pani* or *dáma* ‘lady’) would be preferred:

*Čaká ťa tam nejaká žena.*  
‘Some woman is waiting for you there.’

On the other hand, if the person waiting is known to be male, *človek 2* ‘man’ (Category 1B) in its definite, non-generic sense can be present instead of the generic *človek 1*. The denotation *človek 3* can function either as an indefinite pronoun (‘someone, somebody, one’) or as a personal pronoun representing the speaker (*ja* ‘I’). It follows that its meaning is generic, as in the following example:

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<sup>32</sup> *Neandertálec* ‘Neanderthal man’ and *pračlovek* ‘primaeval man’ are evolutionary ‘types’ of *človek 1* and are used in the gender-indefinite sense.

<sup>33</sup> Examples cited without explicit sources are invented.

*Človeku sa nechce veriť, že také veci sa dejú.*  
'One/ I cannot believe that these sort of things happen.'

Likewise, *človeče 4*, a fossilized vocative form, can denote both sexes indiscriminately, and it is also used equally by women and men.<sup>34</sup>

The question of whether the referential gender of the referent is known is less relevant when *človek 1* is pluralized than when it is in the singular. The suppletive plural *ľudia* (and its diminutive form *ľudkovia*) can more or less equally denote a group of males and females, a group of males, and a group of female persons (particularly in instances when the number of women forming the group is large) . The plural *ľudia* referring to a group of women seems to be more acceptable by the speakers than the singular form *človek* referring to a single woman. In other words, the quality of femaleness appears to be “dissolved” (made irrelevant) when the reference is to a group.

Unlike English, the West Slavic languages, including Slovak, differentiate between a gender-indefinite *človek 1* and a male-specific noun *muž 1* (Category 1B). Interestingly, even a prototypically male-specific lexical noun *muž 1* can in some contexts function as a gender-indefinite term (*muž 3*, Category 1A), particularly in those contexts when individuals are referred to as members of a group. Consider the following example:

*Celkovo prišla Červená armáda do tej doby o najmenej 2 milióny mužov*<sup>35</sup>.  
'To that point the Red Army had lost at least 2 million men in total.'

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<sup>34</sup> The vocative case in Slovak is only used in a limited number of petrified forms, such as *chlape* (from *chlap* ‘man’), *Bože* (from *Boh* ‘god’), *otče* (from *otec* ‘father’ (in religious meaning)), *mužu* (from *muž* ‘husband’).

<sup>35</sup> [http://sk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Druh%C3%A1\\_svetov%C3%A1\\_vojna](http://sk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Druh%C3%A1_svetov%C3%A1_vojna), accessed 05/10/09



Clearly, the two million casualties had to include at least some women (particularly in the case of the Red Army). Therefore, we can conclude that *muž* 3 can denote a woman if the woman is a part of a highly masculinized system and the noun occurs in the plural number.

Six nouns in my corpus denote a single individual representing a whole category. *Jedinec* (m.), *exemplár* (m.), *subjekt* (m.), *indivídium* (n.), and *osoba* 1 (f.), and diminutive *osôbka* 1 (f.) all mean ‘subject, individual, person’. Another six nouns are names of body parts/ human body constituents which are metaphorically used to represent a human being: *postava* 1 (f.) and its diminutive *postavička* (f.) ‘stature, physique’, *duša* (f.) and its diminutive *dušička* (f.) ‘soul’, *hlava* 2 (f.) ‘head’, and *tvár* (f.) ‘face’. Finally, several lexemes in category 1A involve the very idea of existence or the concept of the Creation: *tvor* (m.) ‘creature’, *bytost’* (f.) ‘being’, *hlava* 1 (f.) ‘head, metaphorically life, person’ *kreatúra* 1 (f.) ‘creature’, *stvoreníe* 2 (n.) and its diminutive *stvoreníatko* 2 (n.) ‘creature’. It is interesting to note that the stem *tvor-* ‘create’ goes across all genders: *tvor* (m.), *stvora* (f.),<sup>36</sup> and *stvoreníe* 1 (n.), as well as the neuter collective *stvoreníe* 2.

#### 4.2.2.4. Double gender nouns

Double gender nouns do not occur in Category 1A.

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<sup>36</sup> *Stvora* ‘female creature’ is a female-specific noun; it is listed in 1.2. in the Appendix.

#### 4.2.2.5. Collective nouns

Generally speaking, collective nouns are beyond the scope of this study. However, the collective nouns falling in Category 1A are worth at least a brief commentary, since they are abundantly represented: twenty-one collective nouns were identified. Some collective nouns in Category 1A are directly derived from the lexemes that can denote individual human beings, e.g., *človek* (m.) - *človečenstvo* ‘humanity’ and *tvor* (m.) - *tvorstvo* ‘creation’. The collective meaning of all nouns in this category can be further specified roughly as follows: a) a sum, a collection in general: *ľud* 2<sup>37</sup>, *ľudstvo* 1, *národ* 1, *plemeno* 2, *pokolenie* 2, *populácia*, *stvoreníe* 1, *svet*, *tvorstvo*, *typ* 1, *verejnoscť*, *spoločenstvo*, *spoločnosť* 2; b) a mass, crowd: *ľudstvo* 2, *masa*; and c) a stratum, rank, class: *ľud* 1, *národ* 2, *národík* 2, *stav*, *spoločnosť* 1.

Given the semantics of all the collective nouns in 1A (plurality, abundance, the multitude of the entire human population), it is implicitly assumed that the class comprises both types of gender-specific referents—the males and the females. From a feminist perspective, one might conclude that collectives are highly “democratic” personal nouns, non-discriminating either gender.

Collective nouns can be any grammatical gender, including neuter, regardless of the referential gender. The referential gender(s) may even be in conflict with grammatical gender, e.g., *človek* (male-specific or female-specific) vs. *ľudstvo* (grammatical neuter). Generally speaking collective nouns occur in the singular and, in contrast to English, co-occur with singular verbs only. However, there are cases when

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<sup>37</sup> Note that neither *národ* ‘nation’ as a historically established society of people sharing a language, geographical area, economy, history, and culture, nor *národ* ‘nation’ as an ethnicity are included in the corpus, since they primarily express a formation or system rather than people in their collective meaning.

collectives can be pluralized and condition plural agreement; this only happens if a collection of individual entities is re-interpreted as a sum of single collective entities. For example, the collective noun *tvorstvo* ‘creation’ denotes a collection of individual ‘creatures’ (*tvory*); hence it takes a singular form and a singular agreement, as in the following example:

*Celé tvorstvo na zemi bolo dokonalým vyjadrením Božej vôle.*<sup>38</sup>  
‘The whole creation<sub>-N.SG</sub> on Earth was<sub>-N.SG</sub> a perfect expression of God’d will.’

However, if we want to obtain a meaning of a set or a sum or various types of such entities, we have to use the plural form and plural agreement:

*Vládol všetkým tvorstvám.*  
‘He ruled all<sub>-N.PL</sub> (n. pl.) creations<sub>-N.SG</sub>.’

#### **4.3. Category 1B: Gender and/or age-specific generic terms for human beings**

Category 1B contains 92 masculine nouns, 52 feminine nouns, 36 neuter nouns and 6 augmentative nouns that can be both neuter and masculine. The category contains general terms for people that are gender-specific or age-and-gender specific. Actually, it forms a continuum, with the words having natural gender as their prominent feature at one end of the spectrum, and the words having age as their prominent semantic feature at the other end. Examples of gender-prominent general personal nouns include *človek* 2 (m.) ‘man’; *muž* 1 (m.) ‘man’ and *žena* 1 (f.) ‘woman’; *pán* 7 (m.) ‘man, gentleman’ and *pani* 7 (f.) ‘woman, lady’; and *báči*, *ujo* 2, *strýc* (m.) ‘uncle’ and *teta* 2 (f.) ‘aunt’, terms

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<sup>38</sup> [http://www.reformacia.sk/.../Vyznanie\\_viere\\_zboru\\_NKZ\\_ZILINA.pdf](http://www.reformacia.sk/.../Vyznanie_viere_zboru_NKZ_ZILINA.pdf), accessed 5/7/09.

used in reference to adults (male and female, respectively) by children and teenagers.<sup>39</sup> Examples of age-prominent general personal nouns include *dospelý* (m.)—*dospelá* (f.) ‘adult, grown up’; *dorastenec* (m.)—*dorastenka* (f.) ‘junior, young competitor’; *adolescent* (m.)—*adolescentka* (f.) ‘adolescent’; and *štyridsiatnik* (m.)—*štyridsiatnička* (f.), ‘one in his/her forties’. Most of the other human nouns in Category 1B are spread between these two poles.

#### 4.3.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 1B

In Category 1B, the grammatical gender can generally be predicted from the semantics. Most of the words whose referential gender is semantically more prominent than age exhibit a correspondence between grammatical and referential genders; male referents tend to be assigned masculine gender, while female referents typically are of feminine gender. The neuter gender is reserved for gender-specific, but immature human beings. These patterns are illustrated the following examples:

Masculine/male terms:

*chlapec* ‘boy’

*muž* ‘man’

*šuhaj* ‘boy, young man’

*ujo 2* ‘uncle’ (term of address for a non-relative)

Feminine/female terms:

*dievča* ‘girl’

*žena* ‘woman’

*deva* ‘maiden’

*teta 2* ‘aunt’ (term of address for a non-relative)

Neuter/ female or male terms:

*bábä* ‘baby’

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<sup>39</sup> The actual kinship terms for ‘uncle’ and ‘aunt’ fall into Category 2A.

*dojča* ‘suckling’  
*nemluvňa* ‘bantling, infant’  
*novorodeniatko* ‘newborn’

However, the referential gender does not necessarily have to coincide with the grammatical gender. The most obvious example would be the neuter noun *dievča* ‘girl’, which is an exception to the natural disposition toward a correspondence between biological sex and grammatical gender. There is a neuter lexeme denoting a young male referent *chlapča* (diminutive *chlapčiatko*) that formally corresponds to *dievča*, but unlike *dievča*, which is a general term for a girl of any age, *chlapča* carries a significantly stronger semantic feature of immaturity. In other words, *chlapča* only refers to very young boys, or boys in general who are any (or a combination) of the following: insufficient in size, likable, immature. Semantically, *chlapec*, a general term for a boy of any age, is closer to *dievča* than *chlapča* is. Predictably, *chlapec* is a masculine noun.

In contrast to Slovak, in Polish, Czech, and Russian the relationship between the terms for a boy and a girl is symmetrical: girls are denoted by grammatically feminine lexemes (Polish *dziewczyna*, Czech *dívka*, *holka*, Russian девушка, девочка in Russian), and boys by grammatically masculine lexemes (Polish *chłopak*, *chłopiec*, Czech *hoch*, *kluk*, Russian мальчик.<sup>40</sup> This symmetry equally applies to the general terms for men and women: Polish *kobieta*, Czech *žena*, and Russian женщина ‘woman’ are feminine, while Polish *mężczyzna*, Czech *muž*, and Russian мужчина are masculine.

In sum, lexical gender in this category relates to the nonlinguistic property of maleness or femaleness. Typically, the grammatical genders of the general personal nouns denoting sexed human beings correspond to their biological sexes. Among the

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<sup>40</sup> The Russian diminutive мальчишка is a semantic parallel to Slovak *chlapča*.

West Slavic languages and Russian, the Slovak neuter *dievča*, a general term for a girl, demonstrates a rather unexpected lack of correspondence between its grammatical gender and its referential gender<sup>41</sup>.

A vast majority of the words in Category 1B where gender is semantically more prominent than age seem to occur in pairs (except for very young children). The following examples are paired by gender/sex, but are not derived from each other:

*chlapec* (m.)—*dievčina* (f.) ‘boy’—‘girl’  
*muž* (m.)—*žena* (f.) ‘man’—‘woman’  
*šuhaj* (m.)—*deva* (f.) ‘young man’—‘maiden’

However, it should be noted that such lexical gender nouns, i.e., non-derived terms, in fact occur in groupings with overlaps rather than in neat one-to-one correlations. Consider, for example the pair ‘boy’—‘girl’. The following terms can denote a young, immature female person (girl), as listed in KSSJ:

*dievča* 1, 2, 4 (dim. *dievčatko*, aug. *dievčatisko* or *dievčisko*) (n.), *deva* (f.), *devica* (f.), *devucha* (f.), *dievčica* (dim. *dievčička*) (f.), *dievčina* (dim. *dievčinka*) (f.), *dievka* 1, 3, and feminine slang expressions, such as *baba*, *babuľa*, *pipka* 1, *pipka* 2, *pipiška*.<sup>42</sup>

For a young, immature male person (boy), one of the following terms listed in KSSJ can be used:

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. German *Mädchen* ‘young woman’, which is likewise neuter, like all diminutives in *-chen*.

<sup>42</sup> The scope of the slang expressions can be extended from immature female persons to women.

the masculine-gender *chlapec* 1, 2, 4 (dim. *chlapček*, aug. *chlapčisko*), *mládenec* 1, 2 (dim. *mládenček*, aug. *mládenčisko*), *mladík*, *výrastok*, expressive *chalan*, (aug. *chalanisko*), bookish, poetic or archaic *čel'adník*, *chasník*, *junák*, *parobok*, *šuhaj*, or the the general neuter *chlapča*, *chlápä*, *chlápätko* (dim.), *chlapiatko* (dim.) *chlapčiatko* (dim.), *chlapčisko* (aug.), *mládenčisko* (aug.).

When the age dimension takes precedence over the gender dimension, the age- and-gender specific nouns tend to form symmetrical relationships with their opposite gender variants. Notice that the feminine-female variants are derived from the masculine-male terms:

*deväťdesiatnik* (m.) ‘man in his nineties’—*deväťdesiatnička* (f.) - ‘woman in her nineties’  
*adolescent* (m.)—*adolescentka* (f.) ‘adolescent’  
*mládežník* (m.)—*mládežnička* (f.) ‘youth’  
*starec* (m.) ‘old man’—*starena* (f.) ‘old woman’.

Category 1B also contains several nouns which are more general than the rest of the members. Semantically they are closer to 1A, since they are general terms for people. However, Category 1A only includes gender-indefinite nouns, while words such as *jednotlivec* (m.)—*jednotlivkyňa* (f.) ‘individual’, *dotyčný* (m.)—*dotyčná* (f.) ‘individual concerned’, *stvora* (dim. *stvorica*) (f.) ‘female creature’, *smrteľník*—*smrteľníčka* ‘mortal’ are gender-specific.

#### 4.3.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 1B

##### 4.3.2.1. Lexical gaps

There is a limited class of gender-specific nouns denoting children which lack opposite-gender counterparts in Category 1B. The lexemes *fajrnok* (m.), *frkan* (m.)

‘kiddo’ and *šarvanec* (m.), *výrastok* (m.) ‘teenager’ lack feminine counterparts (*\*fafrnka*, *\*frkanka*, *\*šarvanka*, *\*výrastka*). Conversely, *žaba* (dim. *žabka*, *žabička*) ‘schoolgirl, little girl [literally frog, froggie]’ has no masculine counterpart (*\*žabiak* ‘schoolboy, little boy [lit. male frog]’). The derivatives *stvora* (f.) and dim. *stvorička* ‘creature, being’ can also refer to female persons only.

#### 4.3.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men with a semantic difference

No examples were found in Category 1B.

#### 4.3.2.3. Epicenes

In Category 1B, most names for young children of both sexes are neuter gender. All neuter nouns referring to young persons function as epicenes. However, as noted earlier, not all non-neuter terms denoting babies and young children are epicenes, e.g., feminine-only *žabka* ‘little girl [lit. little frog]’ would typically refer to a girl, while masculine-only *frkan* ‘kiddo’ refers to a boy. Notice that some masculine-only denotations, such as *novorodenec* ‘newborn’, and *kojenec* ‘suckling’ have referents of both sexes.

As far as the neuter nouns are concerned, the grammatical gender primarily implies a certain degree of referential (natural) gender indefiniteness in the sense of biological immaturity or else insufficient size. Secondly, particularly in the case of augmentatives, it may also communicate some negative, insufficient or exaggerated



feature (whether physiological or inner).<sup>43</sup> It is important to point out that the grammatically neuter names for children could, technically, fall in Category 1A, since their referents are typically sex-unspecified young persons, but the domain of Category 1A is reserved for general terms for human being with no reference to age.

Diminutivization is a very common and predictable process in the class of the neuter personal nouns.<sup>44</sup> Most of the time, the neuter gender of the derivational base does not change in the process of diminutivization, e.g. *batol'a* (n.)—*batoliatko* (n.) ‘toddler’; *bábä*, *bábo* (n.)—*bábätko* (n.) ‘baby’; *dojča* (n.)—*dojčiatko* (n.) ‘suckling’; *nemluvnä* (n.)—*nemluvniatko* (n.) ‘child who cannot speak yet’. However, there are some cases that do feature changes in grammatical gender, e.g., *novorodenec* (m.)—*novorodeniato* (n.) ‘newborn’; *novonarodenec* (m.)—*novonarodeniato* (n.) ‘newborn’.

Other gender-indefinite epicene neuter terms include *škvŕňa* ‘tiny tot’, the metaphorical extensions *žabča* (n.) (dim. *žabčiatko* (n.)) ‘froggie’, *žriebä* (n.) (dim. *žriebätko* (n.)) ‘foal, filly, colt’, but also non-neuter *drobec* (m.) (dim. *drobček* (m.)) ‘kiddo’.

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<sup>43</sup> For example, the augmentative *dievčisko* (n.), derived from *dievča* (n.) can be interpreted as a ‘cheeky, naughty, disrespectful, or unthankful girl’, or as a ‘tall, big, fat girl’. The situation with augmentatives in—*isko* that are derived from masculine nouns, such as *chalanisko* ‘youngster’ or ‘naughty boy’, *lotrisko* ‘bastard, rascal, scoundrel’ or *faganisko* ‘brat, little terror’, is more complicated, since they can have two genders—masculine and neuter. For further discussion of what are generally referred to double-gender nouns, see Chapters 2 and 5.

<sup>44</sup> Interestingly, one of the most prototypical neuter personal nouns, *diet'a* ‘child’, can be diminutivized in the plural, without applying the same process in the singular number, i.e., *diet'a* becomes *deti*, but also dim. *dietky*, *detičky* (according to *Morfológia slovenského jazyka* (1966)).

#### 4.3.2.4. Double gender nouns

In Category 1B, there are six augmentative lexical-gender nouns—*corgonisko*, *chalanisko*, *chlapčisko 1*, *chlapčisko 2*, *chlapisko*, *mládenčisko*, all roughly meaning ‘youngster’—that can have both neuter and masculine gender, according to KSSJ. However, within my framework, they cannot be classified as double gender nouns. For further discussion, see Chapter 5.

#### 4.3.2.5. Collective nouns

Finally, a striking fact can be observed regarding the collective nouns in Category 1B: all the ones identified in KSSJ are age-and-gender related, but no instances of gender-only related terms are identified. Thus collectives like the following (listed in the singular) are attested: *drobizg* (m.) ‘tiny tots’, *junač* (f.) ‘young males’, *mládež* (f.) ‘the young’, *omladina* (f.) ‘the young’, *stárež* (f.) ‘the old’. However, collectives such as the following are not included in KSSJ and are questionable to native speakers: *?dievčerstvo* ‘girlhood, girls’; *?chlapčerstvo* ‘boyhood, boys’; *?mužstvo* ‘manhood, men’; *?ženstvo* ‘womenhood, women’. To be sure, the following citation is found in the *Slovenský národný korpus*:

*Chcela som pred tebou zachrániť celé trpiace ženstvo sveta!*<sup>45</sup>  
‘I wanted to save from you the entire suffering womanhood of the world.’

However, in the given context, the collective noun *ženstvo* seems to be an idiolectal poetic innovation rather than anything else. Apparently, then, general terms for human

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<sup>45</sup> *Literárny týždenník. Časopis Spolku slovenských spisovateľov* 2001, no. 13, Bratislava: Slovenský spisovateľ.

beings that are related only to gender (as opposed to those related to both gender and age) are not prone to occur in collective meanings.

#### **4.4. Category 2A: Identity as determined by kinship or marriage (real, potential or symbolic)**

This category consists of 226 lemmas, 113 of which are masculine forms, 99 are feminine forms, and 14 neuters. It is generally impossible to pair the masculine nouns neatly with their corresponding feminine counterparts, because many lexical gender nouns as well as derivatives occur in “nests” rather than in pairs.

In Slovak, kinship terms typically consist of terms for blood relatives and for people related by marriage. Kinship terms are used among extended family members and adopted for usage by friends and other non-kinsmen as reference terms and sometimes also as terms of address. There are also terms for potential and symbolic kin. Potential kin by marriage are expressed by the following personal nouns: *ženích* (m.) —*nevesta*, *mladucha* (f.) ‘groom’—‘bride’, *nastávajúci* (m.) —*nastávajúca* (f.) ‘groom-to-be’—‘bride-to-be’, *budúci* (m.)—*budúca* (f.) ‘future husband’—‘future wife’, and *snúbenec* (m.)—*snúbenica* (f.) ‘fiancé’. The class of symbolic kinship terms includes the following nouns: *matka 2* (f.) ‘spiritual mother’ – *otec 2* (m.) ‘spiritual father’, *spolusestra 2* (f.) ‘in Christian ethics, a female person in a relationship with other people at large’—*spolubrat 2* (m.) ‘in Christian ethics, a male person in a relationship with other people at large’; *sestra 2* (f.) ‘spiritual sister’—*brat 2* (m.) ‘brother 2, spiritual brother’; *krstný* (m.)—*krstná* (f.) ‘godfather’ - ‘godmother’; and *kmotor* (m.)—*kmotra* (f.) ‘godfather’—‘godmother’ (terms used by the baptized child’s parents to refer to or address the godparents of their child).

The terms in Category 2A exemplify relatively clear semantic motivations for gender assignment. Generally, in Slovak the sex-specific nouns denoting male family members are assigned masculine gender, while sex-specific nouns denoting female members are assigned feminine gender. The correspondence between non-linguistic maleness and femaleness and masculine and feminine grammatical gender, respectively, is also demonstrated neatly within the domain of some general personal nouns, such as *muž* (m.) ‘man’, *žena* (f.) ‘woman’, *chlapec* (m.) ‘boy’, *dievča* (f.) ‘girl’, which were discussed in detail in section 4.3.1.

Most kinship terms, along with some general personal nouns are generally referred to as lexical gender nouns. In lexical gender nouns, biological maleness and femaleness are an integral part of the lexical meaning. Thus it is typical of kinship terms to avoid cross-gendered references. Analysis of the material drawn from KSSJ shows that no feminine kinship terms denote male-only referents, and no masculine nouns refer to women only.

#### 4.4.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 2A

As noted above, kinship terms tend to be fairly symmetrical; most are paired by gender, i.e., male/ masculine and female/feminine.<sup>46</sup> However, majority of the paired

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<sup>46</sup> The overall picture is more complex, though. Given the rich derivational possibilities of Slovak, particularly diminutivization, some lemmas do not have an exact semantic equivalent, while others have several. Thus, instead of *pairing*, it is perhaps more appropriate to talk about *grouping* or *nesting*. For examples, the lexemes *otecko* - *ocino*—*ocinko*—*oco*—*ocko*—*tata*—*tato*—*tatko*—*tatík* - *tatičko*—*tatuško*—*tatino* - *tatinko* all refer to ‘dad’. (There is only one term for ‘father’ in Slovak, *otec*; all of its derivatives depart from the original meaning and convey the various emotive nuances of ‘dad’ or ‘daddy’. The female/feminine equivalents of ‘dad, daddy’ form a group consisting of the following terms: *mama*—*mamenka*—*maminka*—*mamina* - *mamka*—*mamča* - *mamul’ka* - *mamulienka*—*mamička*- *mamičenka* - *maminôčka* ‘mom, mommy’. *Matka*, *mat’*, *mater*, *mati* are more formal or honorific terms, roughly corresponding to English ‘mother’.

items are not derived from each other, as illustrated in (a) below. Examples in (b) are derivatives.

- a. *brat* (m.) ‘brother’—*sestra* (f.) ‘sister’  
*bratranec* (m.) ‘male cousin’—*sesternica* (f.) ‘female cousin’  
*tato* (m.) ‘dad’—*mama* (f.) ‘mom’  
*synovec* (m.) ‘nephew’—*neter* (f.) ‘niece’  
*ženích* (m.) ‘groom’—*nevesta* (f.) ‘bride’
- b. *manžel* (m.) ‘husband’—*manželka* (f.) ‘wife’  
*švagor* (m.) ‘brother-in-law’—*švagríná* (f.) ‘sister-in-law’  
*vnuk* (m.) ‘grandson’—*vnučka* (f.) ‘granddaughter’  
*budúci* (m.) ‘future (husband)’—*budúca* (f.) ‘future wife’  
*snúbenec*(m.)—*snúbenica* (f.) ‘fiancé’

The paired items in (a) can substituted for one another, though sometimes female referents can be included in a group and referred to as males; for example, the plural *vnuci* can be both gender-specific (‘grandsons’) and generic (‘grandchildren’). Other examples of nouns which acquire a generic function when pluralized, include *praotec* (m.) ‘forefather’, *ded(o)* (m.) ‘grandfather, forefather’, *pravnuk* (m.) ‘great-grandson’

A class of nouns denoting children also participates in gender symmetry. The denotations for children can be classified according to whether they are used vertically (by parents) or horizontally (by siblings). The terms used by parents to refer to and to address their children include general terms for daughters, such as *dcéra*, *dcérka* (f., dim.), *dcéruška* (f., dim.), *dcérenka* (f., hyp.) ‘daughter’, *dievka* 2 (f.), *dievča* 2 (n.),

*dievčisko* 2 (n., aug.) ‘daughter, girl’; and general terms for sons, such as *syn* (m.), *synček* (m., dim.), *synáček* (m., dim.), *synátor*, *junior 1* (m.) ‘son’.<sup>47</sup>

Among the kinship terms for children which are used horizontally, i.e., by male and female siblings who share parents, the central position belongs to the general terms for brother and sister. This class is closed and unproductive in Slovak.<sup>48</sup>

- a. *sestra* (f.), *sestrička* dim. (f.), *ségra* (f., coll.), all meaning ‘sister’
- b. *brat* (m.) *braček* dim. (m.), *brácho* (m., coll.), *bráško* (m., coll, dim. coll) ‘brother, bro’
- c. *súrodenec* (m.) ‘sibling’, *dvojča* (n.), *dvojčiatko* (n., dim.), *blizňa* (n.), *bliženec* (m.) ‘twin (brother or sister)’, *trojča* (n.), *trojčiatko* dim. (n.) ‘triplet brother or sister’.

Note that, while the terms in (a) and (b) above are lexical pairs, the more general terms in (c) are epicenes and will be discussed later.

#### 4.4.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 2B

##### 4.4.2.1. Lexical gaps

Due to biological constraints, *šestonediel'ka* is an exclusively female/feminine term for a new mother during her post-partum stage. Naturally, no such role is assigned to men. The majority of asymmetrical relationships in this category seem to be attributed to social conventions and standards. For example, a young man in a marriageable age can be referred to as *pytač* (m.) ‘the one who asks/ proposes’. The word implies the

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<sup>47</sup> There are other vertical terms, but they are asymmetrical, epicene, referential gender-opaque nouns: *potomok* (m.) ‘child, offspring’, *ratolest'* (f.) ‘offspring’, *diet'a* 2 (n.) (pl. *deti/ detváky* expr./ *deťúrence* expr./ *detiská* aug.), and *diet'atko* 2 (n., dim.) ‘child’. These will be discussed later.

<sup>48</sup> The terms *ségra*, *brácho*, and *bráško* are not listed in KSSJ.

referent's social and familial dominance and competence to take initiative and make decisions. There is no such role for a woman; thus no feminine equivalent exists for *pytač*.

Derogatory kinship terms are relatively uncommon in Slovak, but if they occur, they are applicable to children and women, but rarely to men: *prespanka* (f.) 'single mother, unmarried woman who slept with someone', *macocha* (f.) 'stepmother', *ľavoboček* (m.) 'out-of-wedlock child', and *pankhart, bastard* (m.) 'bastard'. These all carry a negative connotation.

In this context, it is interesting to note that behavioral expectations seem to be different for men and women in Slovak society. Socially unacceptable conduct, particularly sexual activities, are more tolerated in men than in women. It was once mandatory to have a legitimate husband, and it is still expected of women to marry. For a woman to have a sexual relationship outside of marriage once earned severe social disapproval, especially if it led to children; thus *prespanka* 'single mother' is a depreciatory label. Unlike women, men go "linguistically" unpunished for extramarital sexual conduct. For example, societal prejudices clearly state that having an affair is entirely or mainly the fault of the woman.

Another example of asymmetry is the borrowing *junior*. One of its meanings is 'son who has the same first name as his father'. Notice that this relationship is expressed linguistically if it occurs in the male lineage, but not in the female lineage. This property of *junior* is not exclusive to Slovak; it seems to be characteristic to the equivalents of this word in other languages, including the language of its origin, Latin.

Yet another example of gender-biased language comes from the area of marriage union. Before personal nouns are examined, let us take a look at verbs which exhibit gender bias similar to the one that is expressed by personal nouns. Marriage terms reflect traditionalism in social relations. Young women are sent to somebody else's house. Within a "patriarchal language paradigm" (a term introduced by Eisner (1946: 36), and used by Čmejrková (2003: 31), women are "given" to their husbands by their fathers; hence Slovak *vydat' sa* 'to get married', used only when referring to women getting married, is literally 'to be given away'. By contrast, men "take women"—hence Slovak *oženit' sa*, which includes the root *žen-* 'woman'. Note that the motivation is one-directional: there is no *omužit' sa* or similar expression in Slovak.<sup>49</sup> However, when marriage is viewed reciprocally, the term for 'to marry' is less male-biased: Slovak *vziať sa* and *zobrať sa* 'to take each other' focus more on simultaneous, reciprocal acts of giving rather than on the agents and patients of the acts.

Within the domain of personal nouns, grooms and male newlyweds "possess/own/contain" women they are marrying. Thus *ženích* (m.) 'groom', *mladoženích* (m.) 'groom', *mladoženáč* (m.) 'married man, newly wedded man', and *ženáč* (m.) 'married man, newly wedded man' are all derived from *žena* (f.) 'woman'. By contrast, the woman who is getting married is referred to as *mladucha* (from *mladá* 'young') or *nevesta*, *nevestička* (dim.), literally 'unknown'. These terms make no reference to the male person the bride is marrying; they appear to be taboo substitutions referring to her liminal status in her new household.

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<sup>49</sup> Czech exhibits similar sociolinguistic behavior. On the other hand, Polish *wyjść za mąż* 'to marry, lit. to follow the husband/man' and *ożenić się* 'to marry, to take the wife/woman' explicitly include both women and men (*mąż* in *wyjść za mąż*, and *-žen-* (from *żona*) in *ożenić się*) in the act of giving and receiving.



Another remarkable example that conveys an asymmetrical relationship between a married man and his wife is the phrase *moja pani* ‘my wife, lit. my lady’, whose logical converse *\*môj pán* ‘my husband, lit. my lord’ is none existent, except in metaphorical usage. In modern Slovak, *moja pani* is strictly used as a term of reference, never as an address term (except as a joke); it is a honorific form used by a husband to refer to his wife, but what is intriguing here is that the term has a formal effect that makes it most appropriate in polite interactions with distal addressees. In other words, the respect seems to be primarily paid to a third party, the listener, rather than to the wife herself. Typically, in more neutral or informal situations, a man refers to his spouse as *manželka* ‘wife’ or *žena* ‘wife; woman’.

Until very recently, the addressing practices in Slovak society stereotypically communicated information about the marital status of women. *Slečna* ‘miss’ as well as the borrowings *mademoiselle* and *kišasonka*, which are not used anymore in Modern Slovak, all indicated that the woman in question had never been married, regardless of her age.<sup>50</sup> Since it has been the social norm to be married, *slečna* when used for an older single woman almost always carried some degree of negative connotation. In present-day society, the use of *slečna* has become restricted to young rather than unmarried women. *Pani* ‘Mrs.’, a term originally used for married women only, has been extended to all adult females, regardless of their marital status. The same applies to the referential usage of the terms above. As might be expected, no such distinction exists in terms for the male population. Any man who has attained the age of 16 or older is addressed and referred to as *pán* ‘Mr.’, regardless of his age and/or marital status.

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<sup>50</sup> Typically, *slečna*, *mademoiselle*, *kišasonka*, and *pani* are followed by a first name, last name, or a nickname, but they can be freely used without the names, too.

There is an interesting correlation between grammatical gender and pluralization. When a plural kinship term is required for referents of both sexes (with their corresponding grammatical genders), only masculine nouns can be used: *manželia* ‘husband and wife, married couple’, *snúbenci* ‘engaged couple’, *pravnuci* ‘great-grandchildren’, *pankharti* ‘bastards’.<sup>51</sup> Such plurals can be used in a generic meaning as well. Note that the plural forms cited here refer to couples (*manželia*, *snúbenci*) as well as to groups of related persons (*pravnuci*, *pankharti*).

A limited class of the kinship terms in *-ovci* denotes couples (or a group of couples) only: *svokrovci* ‘parents-in-law, husband’s parents’, *test’ovci* ‘parents-in-law, wife’s parents’. The following plural kinship nouns in *-ovci* also refer to couples:

- a. *Peter a Hanka sú naši švagrovci.*  
Peter and Hanka are our brother- and sister-in-law.
- b. *Edo a Zita sú naši svatovci.*  
Edo and Zita are the parents of our daughter/son-in-law.

However, unlike *svokrovci* and *test’ovci*, *švagrovci* and *svatovci* can also go beyond one marriage and express a bidirectional relationship between two related couples, as illustrated below.

*Peter s Hankou a my sme švagrovci.*  
‘Peter and Hanka and we are siblings-in-law.’

*Edo a Zita a my sme svatovci.*  
‘Edo and Zita and we are connected by the marriage of our children’

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<sup>51</sup> It should be noted here that these plural examples can also refer to male referents only, in which case the plural does not indicate a mixed-sex pair, but rather a homogeneous group of males with the same family role/function; for example, *manželia* would be a group of non-related husbands.

Note that all the plural kinship terms in *-ovci* are formally derived from masculine nouns. In general, it is typical for female/feminine nouns to be derived from male/masculine ones (except in the case of lexical gender nouns). The only exception in Category 2B seems to be the word *vdovec* (m.) ‘widower’, which is claimed to be derived from *vdova* (f.) ‘widow’. From the synchronic point of view, however, *vdova* and *vdovec* can be considered parallel derivations from the same base.

Another type of asymmetry involves not merely gender but lineage/descent as well. In Slovak, as the findings of this study show, most kinship terms are used symmetrically by members of both sides of a family, e.g. *vnučka* ‘grand daughter’ is a term used to refer to a daughter of someone’s child, equally by maternal and paternal grandparents. However, some of the second grade kinship terms (reserved for a non-immediate family such as aunts and uncles) might indicate not only referential gender but also descent. Consider the following terms for uncles and aunts, which occur in my corpus:

<i>strýko, strýc</i>	‘father’s brother, paternal uncle’ ‘mother’s brother’ (mostly dialectal)
<i>ujo, ujec</i>	‘mother’s brother, maternal uncle’ ‘mother’s sister’s husband’ (mostly dialectal)
<i>sváko</i>	‘mother’s brother’s husband’ ‘father’s sister’s husband’ ‘mother’s sister’s husband’ ‘teta’s husband’
<i>teta</i>	‘ujo’s wife’ ‘father’s sister’ ‘mother’s sister’

<i>ujčiná</i>	‘ <i>ujec</i> ’s/ <i>ujo</i> ’s wife’, ‘wife of maternal uncle’ ‘mother’s sister
<i>stryná</i>	‘ <i>stryko</i> ’s wife’, ‘wife of paternal uncle’

Note that, while *teta* is a non-derived lexical gender noun, *ujčiná* and *stryná* are derived from *ujo/ ujec* and *stryc/stryko*, respectively. It was pointed out to me by Martin Michálek (p.c.) that the term *cetoš* is used to refer to an uncle in the Eastern Slovak regions of Spiš, Šariš and Zemplín. This is a rather remarkable occurrence of a male/masculine kinship term being derived from its female/feminine counterpart *teta*, *tetka* ‘aunt’ (*cetka* in Eastern Slovak dialects).

Following Habovštiaková (1978), Robert Short in Comrie and Corbett (2006: 587) claims that, while the distinctions between various uncles and aunts are still largely observed in Slovak<sup>52</sup>, attrition has greatly reduced the terms for cousins and nieces/nephews. Czech seems to have even more limited class of terms for aunts and uncles than Slovak. In the same volume (ibid.: 754), Gerald Stone also claim that Poles have a passive knowledge of an older complex system of kinship terms, which differentiate between, e.g., *wuj* ‘mother’s brother’/ ‘aunt’s husband’ and *stryj* ‘father’s brother’; however, the actual usage is limited, and the kinship system has been simplified in Modern Polish. However, unlike Slovak, Polish language does differentiate between a brother’s child (*bratanica* ‘niece, brother’s daughter’, *bratanek* ‘nephew, brother’s son’) and a sister’s child (*siostrzenica* ‘niece, sister’s daughter’, *siostrzeniec* ‘nephew, sister’s son’).

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<sup>52</sup> In practice, the complex system allows for simplifications among native speakers. Frequently, only *teta*, and *ujo* or *stryko* are used to refer to aunts and uncles, irrespectively of descent.

Another group of kinship terms that indicate both referential gender and descent are terms for parents-in-law: *test'* 'wife's father', *testiná* 'wife's mother', *svokor* 'husband's father', and *svokra* 'husband's mother'. In addition to these, there is a pair *svat* (m.)—*svatka* (f.), which is used reciprocally by both in-law couples, both referentially and as address forms: father-in-law "A" and his wife refer to and address father-in-law "B" as *svat* and his wife as *svatka*, and vice versa.

#### 4.4.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men with a semantic difference

One social role that is imposed upon both men and women, in their specific ways is that of parent. The term *rodič*, belonging to Category 2A, is both male-specific and generic (both in singular and plural). The derivative *rodička* does not mean a female parent, but strictly a woman during or after parturition.

#### 4.4.2.3. Epicenes

In Category 2A, there are a limited number of kinship terms that are semantically gender-opaque. These mostly refer to immature persons of both sexes, such as *dítě* (n.) 'child', *krstňa* (n.) 'godchild', *vnúča* (n.) 'grandchild'. They are typically assigned to the neuter gender.

Certain nouns used horizontally (for siblings), such as *súrodenec* (m.) 'sibling', *dvojča* (n.), *dvojčiatko* (n., dim.), *blizňa* (n.), *blíženec* (m.) 'twin (brother or sister)', *trojča* (n.), *trojčiatko* (n., dim.) 'triplet brother or sister', are also epicenes. Since triplets are rare in extra-linguistic reality, the terms *trojča* (n.), *trojčiatko* (n., dim.) are rarely used in the singular form to refer to a triplet's two triplet siblings, despite the fact that

KSSJ lists them both as singular forms. By my observations, the usage of *trojča* and *trojčiatko* is restricted to the plural (*trojčatá* and *trojčiatka*, respectively) and is purely vertical (i.e., used by a parent or other member of a family, rather than by the triplet siblings themselves). It is difficult to identify the referential gender in the above mentioned nouns for siblings. In most cases the referential gender (male or female) does not coincide with the grammatical gender (neuter). In fact, a male *bliženec* ‘twin sibling’ is the only exception to this asymmetry, if the referent is a boy/man. Twin and multiples siblings carry the semantic sex-opacity feature expressed by the neuter gender even when they grow up to adult persons.

Many epicenes are ‘types’ of children, denotations depending on a) the children’s relative birth order, b) the marital status of their parents, or c) the fact that one or both of their parents are deceased ((c) below):

- a. *prvorodenec* (m.) ‘first-born’, *benjamín* (m.) ‘the youngest child’  
*poškrabok, poškrabček* (m., dim.) ‘the youngest child in a family, born long after his siblings’
- b. *bastard* (m.), *ľavoboček, pankhart/panghart I* (m.) ‘bastard child, out-of-wedlock child’
- c. *pohrobok* (m.) ‘posthumous child’, *polosirotá* (f.) ‘semi-orphan’, *sirota, sirôtka* (f., dim) ‘orphan’.

It should be pointed out that, into the mid-twentieth-century, Slovakia followed the familial and social code dictated by Roman Catholicism. In the Catholic environment, the family was a unit that could not be disassembled. Divorce was unacceptable, socially stigmatized, and economically disadvantageous. Any out-of-wedlock offspring was

considered a symbol of disgrace and infamy— typically, the mother's. Even during the socialist regime, the compact family served as a sign of moral strength, indivisibility, and huge social potential. As a consequence, all the labels for a child born out of wedlock, illustrated in (b), above, bear strongly negative connotations and feel anachronistic in Modern Slovak.

However, Slovak continues to behave rather conservatively with regard to new family patterns. By contrast, English operates with a relatively wide variety of personal nouns reflecting specific roles within a family unit (and across other family units), such as those prefixed with *step-* (to refer to relatives related only by re-marriage, not blood), *half-* (to refer to children (but not to other relatives) who share only one parent), *ex-* (to refer to estranged non-blood relatives), etc. There are no straightforward equivalents to such terms in Slovak.

It has been mentioned that female referents can be included in a group of both sexes and, when pluralized, masculine gender is used to refer to all members of the group, including women or girls. For instance, *vnuci* can be both gender-specific ('grandsons') and generic ('grandchildren'); the latter might include granddaughters. Other examples of lexical-gender nouns which acquire a generic function when pluralized, but are gender specific (masculine) in singular, include *praotec* (m.) 'forefather', *ded(o)* (m.) 'grandfather', and *pravnuke* (m.) 'great-grandson'. In principle, the masculine gender has two referential functions in kinship terms: gender-specific (i.e., denoting male persons) and generic (referring to both males and females). This contributes greatly to lexical asymmetry not only in Slovak but also in other Slavic languages, which show the same pattern.

Note, however, that all the nouns above are lexical-gender nouns, which co-occur with female/feminine counterparts. In contrast, epicene nouns refer equally to men and women both in singular and plural. They simply lack the opposite grammatical gender counterpart. Examples include: *predok* (m.) ‘ancestor’, *potomok* (m.) ‘descendant’, *bastard* (m.) ‘bastard’, *benjamin* (m.) ‘the youngest child’, and *súrodenec* (m.) ‘sibling’.

#### 4.4.2.4. Double gender nouns

No examples were found in Category 2A.

### **4.5. Category 2B: Identity as determined by interpersonal relations other than kinship or marriage**

Category 2B contains 94 masculine nouns, 75 feminine nouns, and one neuter denoting a ‘girl’ or ‘young woman’. The scope of the types of the relationships covered in this category is relatively wide. It can include physical resemblance, e.g., *dvojník* (m.) ‘look-alike’; name identity, e.g., *menovec* (m.) ‘namesake’; contemporaneousness, e.g., *súčasník* (m.) ‘contemporary’; similarity of age, e.g., *rovesník* (m.), *vrstovník* (m.) ‘a person of nearly the same age as another’; propinquity, e.g., *sused* (m.) ‘neighbor’; and spiritual closeness, e.g., *blíženec* (m.), *blížny* (m.) ‘akin’, *spriaznenec* ‘soulmate’. It can denote a broad range of friendly relations, such as alliance, e.g., *spojenec* (m.) ‘ally’, *pajtáš* (m.) ‘pal’, *kumpán* (m.) ‘buddy, pal’, *druh* (m.) ‘pal, companion’; unilateral admiration, e.g., *favorit* (m.) ‘favorite’, *nápadník* (m.) ‘suitor, admirer’; romantic ties, e.g., *fešák* (m.) ‘hunk, boyfriend’, *frajer* (m.) ‘beau, boyfriend’, *chlapec* (m.) ‘boy(friend)’; and sexual relationships, e.g., *milenec* (m.) ‘lover’. It can also denote



relative indifference, e.g., *známy* (m.) ‘acquaintance’, and animosity or rivalry, e.g., *rival* (m.) ‘rival’, *protivník* (m.) ‘adversary’, *nepriateľ* (m.) ‘enemy’, *sok* (m.) ‘adversary’, *zakuklenec* (m.) ‘hidden enemy’, *súper* (m.) ‘competitor’, *protihráč* (m.) ‘opponent’. All of the nouns mentioned here occur in pairs with feminine forms, though some of the feminine counterparts are not listed in KSSJ, e.g., *pajtáš* (m.) - *pajtáška*<sup>53</sup> (f.) ‘buddy, pal, companion’, *rival* (m.) - *rivalka*<sup>54</sup> (f.) ‘rival, adversary’, *spojenec* (m.) - *spojenkyňa*<sup>55</sup> (f.) ‘ally’, *spoluvorca* (m.) - *spoluvorkyňa*<sup>56</sup> (f.) ‘co-author’, and *spriaznenec* (m.) — *spriaznenkyňa*<sup>57</sup> (f.) ‘soulmate’. With the exception of the lexical gender noun *dievča* ‘girlfriend’, paired with *chlapec* ‘boyfriend’, all these female/feminine counterparts are formally derived from the base masculine nouns by suffixation in the process known as *motion* (see Chapter 2).

#### 4.5.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 2B

The relationship between masculines and feminines in Category 2B tends to be relatively symmetrical. Of the 170 personal nouns expressing interpersonal relations other than kinship or marriage, there are 70 feminine-masculine pairs and one neuter-masculine pair; only 5 feminine nouns and 24 masculine nouns remained unpaired.

<sup>53</sup> <http://www.luno.hu/content/view/8002/93/>, accessed 10/15/09

<sup>54</sup> PSP, SCS

<sup>55</sup> <http://www.aktualne.centrum.sk/clanek.phtml?id=1167655> accessed 10/15/09

<sup>56</sup> SSJ, PSP

<sup>57</sup> <http://www.modrykonik.sk/forum/show.php?vThreadID=83048&vGroupOffset=0&vOffset=1380>, accessed 10/15/09

#### 4.5.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 2B

##### 4.5.2.1. Lexical gaps

*Rytier* 5 ‘companion’, *nápadník* ‘suitor’, *ženích* 5 ‘suitor’ never denote female referents, because there is a strict correlation between a person’s sex (male) and their social role. In a feudal society, initiating relationships, courtship, and providing protection were strictly male domains.

Three diminutives lack counterparts: *frajerôčka* (f.) ‘girlfriend’, *kolegynka* (f.) ‘colleague’, *kamarátik* (m.) ‘buddy, friend’. As I will argue in Chapter 5, this kind of asymmetry is due to formal constraints in the Slovak language.

##### 4.5.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men with a semantic difference

No instances of this type of asymmetry are attested in Category 2B.

##### 4.5.2.3. Epicenes

There are three feminine epicenes in Category 2B; these originated from non-personal abstract nouns: *známost* ‘comes from the deadjectival noun ‘acquaintance’, while *strana* ‘a party, an individual (or a group) with respect to another individual (or a group)’ and *stránka* ‘citizen/ individual with respect to the institution s/he is dealing with’ come from a word denoting ‘party, side’, ‘one part of something’, or ‘aspect’. While these lexemes can refer equally to men and women, they take exclusively feminine agreement. Likewise, the nouns *blíženec* ‘soulmate’, *miláčik* ‘darling’, and *náprotivok* 1, 2 ‘counterpart 1, 2’ are also sex-indefinite epicenes that take exclusively masculine agreement.

#### 4.5.2.4. Double gender nouns

No examples were found in Category 2B.

### 4.6. Category 3: Racial, national, ethnic, regional, and linguistic identity

One hundred and fifteen lemmas belong to Category 3. Forty-two of them are feminine nouns, each having a masculine counterpart. According to KSSJ, the remaining twenty-seven masculine nouns are masculine-only. One noun is masculine and feminine (*skaderuka-skadenoha* ‘rag’), and one augmentative is masculine and neuter (*sedliačisko* 2 ‘villager’). Two nouns are neuter gender.

Nouns denoting nationality, which one might expect to be abundantly represented in Category 3, are not included in KSSJ, even as a separate appendix part<sup>58</sup> (unlike the Czech ethnonyms in *Slovník spisovné češtiny*, 2006); thus they are not considered in this study. Other proper names indicating regional, ethnic or linguistic identity are also excluded from KSSJ. In fact, the dictionary only lists noun of this type: *Amerikán*—*Amerikánka* ‘American Slovak, a person returning to Slovakia from immigration in America, especially in the past’.

However, KSSJ does include adjectives, adverbs, and nouns denoting names of languages, which are derived from proper nouns implying nationality, ethnicity, regional or linguistic identity. For instance, the adjective *grécky* and the noun *gréčtina* ‘Greek’ are defined in KSSJ as follows:

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<sup>58</sup> For a comprehensive study of anthroponyms derived from toponyms, see Ripka 2006.

*grécky* *príd. ku Grék, Grécko*: g. jazyk, g. mytológia; *grécky* *prisl.*: učiť sa (po) g.  
‘**Greek** *adj.* to Greek, Greece: G. language, G. mythology; G *adv.*: study G.’

*gréčtina* -y *ž. grécky jazyk*  
‘**Greek** (genitive singular ending) f. Greek language’

As a result, Category 3 “Racial, ethnic, regional, and linguistic identity” consists of appellatives (i.e., non-proper personal nouns) only.

Proper personal nouns denoting nationality, ethnicity or regional identity are of lesser importance for gender studies than appellatives, since the lexicon treats nationalities equally: virtually all masculine nouns have a derived feminine counterpart, e.g.:

*Dán*<sup>59</sup> (m.)—*Dánka* (f.) ‘Dane’  
*Azerbajdžanec* (m.)—*Azerbajdžanka* (f.) ‘Azeri, Azerbaijani’  
*Malťan* (m.)—*Malťanka* (f.) ‘Maltese’  
*Jakut* (m.)—*Jakutka* (f.) ‘Yakut’  
*Záhorák* (m.)—*Záhoráčka* (f.) ‘one from the region Záhorie in Western Slovakia’

From this perspective, personal nouns describing national identity do not pose problems of asymmetry.

According to Dickins (2001:231), in Czech feminine/masculine pairs referring to national (and ethnic, regional and linguistic) identity constitute a statistically large portion of the class of personal nouns; therefore, their inclusion would considerably skew the findings concerning gender symmetry at large. The same is presumably true for Slovak. However, some comments regarding the derivational morphology of such nouns

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<sup>59</sup> All examples here are from SSJ, except for *Jakut*—*Jakutka*, which were googled (<http://www.skrz.sk/vychodna-sibir-2000---cast-1----a14-11850-sk.htm>, accessed 10/26/09).

might be useful here, since the same set of rules applies to a great extent to other kinds of appellatives as well.

In Slovak, masculine expressions relating to racial, national, ethnic, regional, and linguistic identity are either non-derived (*Grék* ‘Greek’, *Kurd* ‘Kurd’, *Čech* ‘Czech’, *kreol* ‘Creole’, *mestic* ‘mestizo’, *migrant* ‘migrant’, *žid* ‘Jew’), or else derived by the means of the following set of suffixes.<sup>60</sup>

-ec<sup>61</sup> (*Kórejec* ‘Korean’, *Iránec* ‘Iranian’, *Japonec* ‘Japanese’, *Topolčanec* ‘person coming from or residing in Topolčany, Slovakia’, *cudzinec* ‘foreigner’, *suchozemec* ‘landsman’)

-an (*Američan* ‘American’, *Théban* ‘Theban’, *Hyban* ‘person coming from or residing in Hybe, Slovakia’, *ostrovan* ‘islander’, *severan* ‘northerner’, *krajan* ‘countryman’)

-čan (*Somálčan* ‘Somali’, *Zemplínčan* ‘person from the region of Zemplín in Slovakia’, *dedinčan* ‘villager’, *vesmírčan* ‘citizen of universe’)

-ák/-iak (*horniak* ‘Slovak northerner’)

-ita (*kozmopolita* ‘cosmopolitan’)

-iar (*západniar* ‘westerner’, *východniar* ‘easterner’, *hraničiar* ‘borderman’)

-och (*černoch* ‘black’, *divoch* ‘savage’)

-ík (*kočovník* ‘nomad’, *starousadlík* ‘autochthon, denizen’)

-el’ (*obyvateľ* ‘inhabitant’)

Most of feminine nouns are further derived from their masculine counterparts through the process of motion (*prechýľovanie*) by attaching the suffix -ka, which

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<sup>60</sup> These are all my examples, used to demonstrate the unifying quality of the word-formation process when it comes to appellatives of this class.

<sup>61</sup> This class of derivatives includes also multiple participial nouns, such as *osídlenec* ‘settler’, *odídlenec* ‘expatriate, emigrant’, *presídlenec* ‘displaced person’, *prišelec* ‘newcomer’.

conditions palatalization of stem-final velars ( $k \rightarrow \check{c}$ ,  $ch \rightarrow \check{s}$ ) and, in case of nouns with the suffix *-ec* with the deletion of that suffix. In addition to *-ka*, the rarer suffix *-yňa* is also used.

#### 4.6.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 3

As noted earlier, lemmas relating to national identity (frequently corresponding to linguistic identity) were all omitted. Descriptions indicating racial, ethnic, regional, and linguistic identity are all personal nouns with a variety of more or less general meanings. Symmetrical expressions referring to race include the following: *černoch* (m.)—*černoška* (f.) ‘black’, *beloch* (m.)—*beloška* (f.) ‘white’, *árijec* (m.)—*árijka* (f.) ‘Aryan’ (an ideological construct), *mestic* (m.)—*mesticka* (f.) ‘mestizo’, *murín* (m.)—*murínka* (f.) ‘black’, *neger* (m.)—*negerka* (f.) ‘Negro’, and *kreol* (m.)—*kreolka* (f.) ‘Creole’. Ethnicity (and linguistic identity) is represented by *cigán I* (m.)—*cigánka I* (f.) ‘Gypsy’.

Some elements in Category 3 are entries relating to (general) regional identity at large—for instance, *horniak* (m.)—*horniačka* (f.) ‘Slovak northerner’, *lazník* (m.)—*lazníčka* (f.) ‘one who lives in seclusion, in the wilderness’, *vidiečan* (m.)—*vidiečanka* (f.) ‘villager’, and *ostrovan* (m.)—*ostrovanka* (f.) ‘islander’. Other nouns in this category are general words accentuating the migration and/or the settling aspect involved in acquiring (or losing) an identity, e.g., *migrant* (m.)—*migrantka* (f.) ‘migrant’, *emigrant* (m.)—*emigrantka* (f.) ‘émigré(e)’, *starousadlík* (m.)—*starousadlička* (f.) ‘autochton, longtime inhabitant’, *odídenec* (m.)—*odídenkyňa* (f.) ‘émigré(e)’, *domorodec* (m.)—*domorodkyňa* (f.) ‘native’, *kozmpolitá* (m.)—*kozmpolitka* (f.) ‘cosmopolitan’, *tulák* (m.)—*tuláčka* (f.) ‘drifter, wonderer’, and *západniar* (m.)—*západniarka* (f.) ‘westener’.

Category 3 contains no feminine-only entries. As indicated earlier, KSSJ cites 27 masculine-only entries; however, when these are cross-checked with other Slovak dictionaries, the Slovak National Corpus, and Google results, they all prove to have feminine counterparts, e.g., *árijka*<sup>62</sup> ‘female Aryan’, *beduínka*<sup>63</sup> ‘female Bedouin’, *goralka*<sup>64</sup> ‘female inhabitant of the Polish side of the High Tatra mountains, or northern Beskydy region (Polish or Silesian)’. The feminine and masculine variants seem to be semantically identical, apart from the sex of the referents.

In sum, in the field of terms relating to racial, national, ethnic, regional, and linguistic identity, there is a remarkably symmetric relationship between masculine and feminine variants. Even though the compilers of KSSJ chose not to include more than two dozens feminine derivatives, the feminine female-specific nouns participate equally in denoting human beings on the basis of their race, nationality, ethnicity, regional identity, and linguistic identity.

#### 4.6.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 3

##### 4.6.2.1. Lexical gaps

No instances of asymmetry due to biological, historical-social, or formal constraints were identified in Category 3. Interestingly, unlike in most other categories in this study, where masculine nouns in *-ec* resist feminization, Category 3 exhibits consistent symmetry even in the class of words ending in *-ec*, e.g., *vyst'ahovalec* (m.)—

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<sup>62</sup> PSP, SCS, [http://www.ostium.sk/Html/Ostium/09\\_3/09\\_3\\_04\\_eseje\\_olsavska.html](http://www.ostium.sk/Html/Ostium/09_3/09_3_04_eseje_olsavska.html), accessed 10/15/09

<sup>63</sup> PSP, SCS

<sup>64</sup> SCS

*vyst'ahovalkyňa*<sup>65</sup> (f.) ‘expatriate, emigrant’, *árijec* (m.)—*árijka*<sup>66</sup> (f.) ‘Aryan’,  
*cudzinec*(m.)—*cudzinka* (f.) ‘foreigner’, *cudzozemec* (m.)—*cudzozemka* (f.) ‘foreigner’,  
*domorodec* (m.)—*domorodkyňa* (f.) ‘native’, *odídenec* (m.)—*odídenkyňa* (f.) ‘émigré(e)’,  
*presídlenec* (m.)—*presídlenkyňa*<sup>67</sup> (f.) ‘displaced person’, *prist'ahovalec* (m.)—  
*prist'ahovalkyňa* (f.) ‘immigrant’, *privandrovalec* (m.)—*privandrovalkyňa*<sup>68</sup> (f.)  
‘newcomer’.

#### 4.6.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men with a semantic difference

No instances were identified in Category 3.

#### 4.6.2.3. Epicenes

*Skaderuka-skadenoha 1* ‘newcomer’, the juxtaposition of two parallel juxtaposed compounds which do not exist on their own—*skaderuka*, literally ‘from where hand’, and *skadenoha* ‘from where leg’—is a unique example of gender complexity and ambiguity. It is both masculine and feminine, but is often declined inconsistently and inconsistently takes masculine or feminine agreement. It can refer both to women and men, but it is not necessarily feminine when referring to female persons, nor masculine when referring to male persons. *Skaderuka-skadenoha 1* can be considered an epicene, because, regardless of its grammatical gender, it can apply equally to men and women. For further discussion, see also the discussion of Category 4Ba, below, which examines the same form in a different meaning: *skaderuka-skadenoha 2* ‘rag’.

<sup>65</sup> <http://ipsc.ksp.sk/contests/ipsc2005/real/problems/f1.in>, accessed 10/15/09

<sup>66</sup> [http://www.ostium.sk/Html/Ostium/09\\_3/09\\_3\\_04\\_eseje\\_olsavska.html](http://www.ostium.sk/Html/Ostium/09_3/09_3_04_eseje_olsavska.html), accessed 10/15/09

<sup>67</sup> <http://ipsc.ksp.sk/contests/ipsc2005/real/problems/f1.in>, accessed 10/15/09

<sup>68</sup> <http://www.transparency.sk/acrc/dt/912.htm>, accessed 10/15/09



#### 4.6.2.4. Double gender nouns

Two nouns in Category 3 can have more than one gender. The augmentative noun *sedliačisko* ‘villager’ can be masculine or neuter, while the compound *skaderuka-skadenoha* 2 ‘newcomer’ can be masculine or feminine. However, neither lexeme meets the criteria to be classified as a double-gender noun (see Chapters 2 and 5).

### 4.7. Category 4Aa: Identity based on one’s own social status

Category 4, “Identity based on social, economic, or educational status,” is large and complex; as noted in Section 1.3, I divide it into three major subcategories, 4A (*“Identity based on social status at large”*), 4B (*“Identity based on economic status”*), and 4C (*“Identity based on educational status”*). Within each of these subcategories, there is a further division, designated by lowercase letters, based on whether the status is one’s own (a) or acquired due to one’s father or husband’s status (b). (No nouns are attested for Category 4Bb.)

In Category 4Aa (*“Identity based on one’s own social status”*), there are 128 human nouns. Of these, 82 masculine nouns were identified, as well as 42 feminine nouns, and 4 nouns which can be either masculine or neuter. No neuter-only nouns belong to this category.

The concept of social status inherently implies a hierarchical structure. The crucial distinction between this category and Category 6 (*“Identity as determined by position/rank/function in a particular company or organization”*) primarily lies in the degree of complexity of the social system and the way the system is entered by an individual (i.e., whether their status is ascribed/inherited or achieved). Category 4Aa

deals with the personal nouns within a general social system which is extremely extended, open, complex and vaguely defined, in contrast to very specific sub-hierarchies with a definite number of elements, realized in particular administrative, political, educational, and ecclesiastical organizations, units or companies (Category 6A).

Another distinction must be made between this category and Category 4B (*"Identity based on economic status"*). Economic status usually results from a combination of an individual's education level, occupation, and income, while social status at large might entail the previous factors and, additionally, hereditary factors such as landholding (at least in the context of feudal society, which is the major source of the personal nouns in this category). In other words, feudal social standing is primarily determined by ancestry and property. Naturally, economic status and social status are often interwoven; thus in my classification and analysis some semantic overlaps have of necessity been resolved in favor of only one of the two categories.

As noted earlier, a significant number of entries in KSSJ placed in this category refer to a social stratification in Western and Central Europe during the Middle Ages. One of the major oppositions within the feudal system, a complex set of rights and obligations, is between the powerful and the powerless. At the highest layer of the hierarchy there is powerful elitist royalty and nobility (e.g., *král* (m.) 'king'—*kráľovná* (f.) 'queen', *monarcha* (m.) 'monarch', *šľachtic* (m.) 'aristocrat, nobleman'—*šľachtičná* (f.) 'noblewoman', *vojvoda* (m.) 'duke' - *vojvodkyňa* (f.) 'duchess'), which maintains control over the lower classes of peasants (*sedliak* (m.) - *sedliačka* (f.)) and serfs (*nevoľník* (m.)—*nevoľníčka* (f.)), who supply their lords with labor services.

The major characteristic of the peasantry is their administrative, legal, and economic subjection to their kings and landlords. This power-powerlessness relationship is explicitly expressed in Slovak by some general terms for rulers and vassals, e.g., *pán* (m.) ‘master, (liege) lord’—*pani* (f.) ‘(liege) lady’, *mocnár* (m.) - *mocnárka*<sup>69</sup> (f.) ‘sovereign, monarch, potentate’ (from *mocný* ‘powerful’), *panovník* (m.) - *panovníčka* (f.) ‘ruler’ (from *panovat* ‘to rule’), *vládca* (m.) - *vládkyňa* (f.) ‘ruler, sovereign’ (from *vládnut* ‘to rule’, *poddaný* (m.) - *poddaná* (f.) ‘subject, serf’ (literally ‘subservient, dependent, subordinate’).

In the sphere of nouns denoting a person’s identity based on their social rank, there are also numerous borrowings from other languages, including borrowings referring to social systems other than the feudal one. The contemporary Slovak lexicon includes words from the ancient world, e.g., *faraón* (m.) ‘pharaoh’, *plebej* (m.) - *plebejka* (f.) ‘plebeian’, *patricij* (m.)—*patricijka* (f.) ‘patrician’; from feudal China, e.g., *mandarín* (m.) ‘mandarin’; from feudal Japan, e.g., *samuraj* (m.) ‘samurai’; from premodern India, e.g., *radža* (m.) ‘rajah’, *maharadža* (m.) ‘maharajah’, *pária* (m.) ‘pariah’; from premodern Russia, e.g., *bojar* (m.) ‘boyar’, *cár* (m.) ‘tsar’, *ataman* (m.) ‘attaman’, *kulak* (m.) ‘kulak’, *proletár* (m.)—*proletárka* (f.) ‘Proletarian’; from the Islamic world (*šejk* (m.) ‘sheikh’, *sultán* (m.) ‘sultan’), *vezír* (m.) ‘vizier’; and so forth. The category also includes the subgroup of nouns denoting various types of rulers, such as *despota* (m.) ‘absolute despot’, *diktátor* 1 (m.) ‘dictator’, *absolutista* (m.) ‘absolutist’, *magnát* 1 (m.) ‘lord, magnate, mogul’, *oligarcha* (m.) ‘oligarch’, *samovládca* (m.) ‘autocrat’, *imperátor* (m.) ‘imperator’.

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<sup>69</sup> SSJ

Feminine derivatives in Category 4Aa are typically formed by attaching the suffix *-ka* (*mešťanka* ‘burgheress’, *grófka* ‘countess’). Other suffixes employed include *-a* (*markíza* ‘marquise’), *-kyňa* (*vojvodkyňa* ‘duchess’), *-yňa* (*otrokyňa* ‘woman slave’, *vládkyňa* ‘woman ruler’), *-ica* (*cárica* ‘tsaritzá’), *-ná* (*kňažná* ‘princess’), *-ičná* (*šľachtičná* ‘noble woman, aristocrat’), *-iná* (*gazdiná* ‘woman landowner’), *-ovná* (*kráľovná* ‘queen’, *cisárovná* ‘empress’), *-ezná* (*princezná* ‘princess’). The nouns terminating in *-ná* (and *-ičná*, *-iná*, *-ovná*, *-ezná*) are mostly historical terms denoting feudal royalty and nobility, and belong to an a small and unproductive morphological class, along with some kinship terms (*stryná* ‘aunt’, *švagríná* ‘sister-in-law’).

#### 4.7.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 4Aa

The analysis of the words denoting social status at large reveals that, out of the 127 entries identified in KSSJ, 74 occur in pairs, within which most feminine members are derivatives. A further seven constitute lexical pairs, including *lord 1* (m.) ‘lord’- *lady 1* (f.) ‘lady’, and *pán 4* ‘member of the nobility, feudal superior’, which has two feminine counterparts, *pani 4* and *dáma*.

Several feminine nouns which are well-formed and used by the speakers of the language are not provided by KSSJ. Numerous masculine nouns in this category do have feminine counterparts, as documented by additional search (SSS, SSJ, PSP, SCS, SNK, Google), including those feminines which denote relatively unusual and typically historical concepts such as female knights, female attamans, etc.: *veľmožka*<sup>70</sup> (f.) ‘female

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<sup>70</sup>

[http://books.google.sk/books?id=oKIDAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA82&lpg=PA82&dq=ve%C4%BEmo%C5%B Eka&source=bl&ots=rAlIGBiHb&sig=TyWpebTY09R8nQ1rRwOha7\\_AIgg&hl=sk&ei=dIHISqnmIcXl8](http://books.google.sk/books?id=oKIDAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA82&lpg=PA82&dq=ve%C4%BEmo%C5%B Eka&source=bl&ots=rAlIGBiHb&sig=TyWpebTY09R8nQ1rRwOha7_AIgg&hl=sk&ei=dIHISqnmIcXl8)

magnate', *rytierka*<sup>71</sup> (f.) 'knightess', *atamanka*<sup>72</sup> (f.) 'woman attaman, hetman', *bojarka*<sup>73</sup> (f.) 'female boyar', *vezírka*<sup>74</sup> (f.) 'vizieress'.

As previously noted, the social and political status of women is reflected and reinforced in language. In Slovak, if a female referent is specifically recognized and assigned a specific linguistic form different from a form for a male referent (e.g., *kňazná* (f.) *veľmožka*<sup>75</sup> (f.) 'female magnate', *vazalka*<sup>76</sup> (f.) *imperátorka*<sup>77</sup> (f.)), it must be assumed that women shared the high status and exercise of power. This is particularly true of the female representatives of military, political, or occasionally, ecclesiastical authority, which has been thought to be automatically attributed to men only, e.g. *rytierka* (f.) 'knightess', *atamanka* (f.) 'attamaness'. (Note that women could enjoy power in ancient patriarchal civilizations as well, even though this was more of an exception than a rule; hence the terms *faraónka* (f.) 'pharaohess',<sup>78</sup> *vizírka* (f.) 'female vizier', *patricijka* (f.) 'female patrician'.)

A clear distinction must be drawn between the terms for female representatives of power and the wives and other female dependents of men constituting a power elite. In Slovak, one term can sometimes be applied to both; for example, *faraónka* can denote a female pharaoh or the wife or a mother of a pharaoh. The wives of male members of royalty and nobility are discussed later in this chapter.

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QaTweD4AQ&sa=X&oi=book\_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CAcQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=ve%C4%BEmo%C5%BEka&f=false, accessed 8/12/09.

<sup>71</sup> <http://www.programy.pravda.sk/filmDetail.aspx?id=70723>, accessed 10/22/09.

<sup>72</sup> <http://www.alterego.sk/index.php?action=kniha...2366>, accessed 10/22/09.

<sup>73</sup> <http://www.ruskodnes.sk/?w=hi&sec=3&id=35>, accessed 10/22/09.

<sup>74</sup> <http://www.babkove-divadlo.sk/princezna-sulimanska.htm>, accessed 10/22/09.

<sup>75</sup> SSJ

<sup>76</sup> PSP, SCS

<sup>77</sup> PSP, SCS

<sup>78</sup> E.g., Nebet of Egypt (after 2295 -2250): <http://www.funtrivia.com/en/.../Women-of-Ancient-Egypt-173123.html>, accessed 07/23/09

This subcategory is comprised of symmetrical pairs. From the extra-linguistic point of view, both men and women participated in various extents in practicing power. In linguistic terms, regardless of frequency of occurrence, referents of both sexes exist or existed at some point, and the nouns are assigned to the respective grammatical genders, e.g., *panovník* (m.) ‘male ruler’—*panovnička* (f.) ‘female ruler’.

#### 4.7.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 4Aa

##### 4.7.2.1. Lexical gaps

No gaps due to biological constraints were identified in Category 4Aa, nor are gaps due to social factors typical in this category. As noted earlier, the patterns of male dominance in societies established in the Indo-European context by the Early Bronze Age<sup>79</sup> did not prevent women from accessing and exercising power and enjoying high social status. Most denotations occur in both genders referring to respective sexes. In some questionable instances, such as borrowings lacking feminine counterparts, it is difficult to draw a clear-cut line between social/historical and formal constraints.

The lexical gaps in Category 4Aa that are due to formal constraints are of various types. A small group of nouns in *-ec* relating to social status fail to form feminine derivatives; KSSJ only lists two—*kupec* (m.) ‘merchant’ (*\*kupkyňa*) and *plebejec* (m.) ‘plebeian’ (*\*plebejkyňa*). Note that the absence of a feminine counterpart to *plebejec* cannot be due to social constraints; besides *plebejec*, there is a cognate loanword *plebej* with the same meaning that lends itself easily to feminization: *plebej* (m.)—*plebejka* (f.).

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<sup>79</sup> Cf. Marler (2006).

Two masculine a-stem nouns belonging to this category have been identified in KSSJ—*paša* (m.) ‘pasha’ and *buržoa* (m.) ‘bourgeois’.<sup>80</sup> Only masculine forms are attested in the Slovak lexicon, possibly due to the fact that both words are borrowings and, in the case of *paša*, it is uncertain whether potential female referents exist. The masculine ending *-a* in *buržoa* preceded by a vowel *-o-* creates what is perceived by the Slovak speakers as a rather unusual, “too foreign” combination of sounds. Therefore, *buržuj* is preferred, with a well-attested feminine counterpart *buržujka*.

Other formal constraints may be phonological in nature. The stem-final cluster /rxk/ seems to be disallowed in Slovak.<sup>81</sup> Therefore, *oligarcha* (m.) ‘oligarch’ and *monarcha* (m.) ‘monarch’ lack feminine counterparts: *\*oligarchka* (f.), *\*monarchka* (f.). Functionally, both masculine forms are epicene.

As in other categories, masculine diminutives and augmentatives resist feminization; thus words like *gazdíček* (m., dim.), *gazdík* (m., dim.) ‘landlord’, *sedliačik* (m., dim.), and *sedliačisko* (m., aug.) ‘peasant’ lack feminine counterparts.

Finally, the feminization of some masculine improper/juxtaposed compounds<sup>82</sup> in this category is interesting. Consider the following examples:

<i>zeme+pán</i> (m.)	— <i>*zeme+pani</i> (f.), <i>zeme+pán-ka</i> (f.)	‘landlord, landowner’
<i>milost’+pán</i> (m.)	— <i>milost’+pani</i> (f.), <i>*milost’+pánka</i> (f.)	‘gracious lord, lady’

<sup>80</sup> Two other masculine a-stems, *maharadža* (m.) ‘maharajah’ and *radža* (m.) ‘rajah’, were borrowed along with their feminine equivalents: *maharání* (f., non-declinable) ‘maharani’ and *rání* (f., non-declinable) ‘rani’, respectively (listed in SCS, but not in KSSJ). From the synchronic point of view, *maharadža* (m.)—*maharání* (f.) and *radža* (m.)—*rání* (f.) can be considered lexical pairs. The “foreign” feel of these terms is evident from their violation of the Slovak Rhythmic Law, according to which there should not be long vowels in adjacent syllables.

<sup>81</sup> No words at all with the consonant cluster *-rchk-(a)* appear in *Retrográdny slovník slovenčiny* (1976).

<sup>82</sup> Juxtaposed/ improper compounds differ from the proper compounds in not involving morphological change of the modifying elements (Cf. Mluvnice češtiny I (1986:469)).

Considering that *pán*, which constitutes the second element in the all juxtapositions above, is a member of a lexical pair *pán -pani*, it might seem natural for *pani* to participate in feminization of the juxtapositions. However, this outcome is only present in *milost'pani*. For the feminization of *zemepán*, instead of *\*zemepani*, we get a feminine derivative of the masculine juxtaposition: *zemepánka*. Note that *\*pánka* does not exist as an independent element outside the improper compounds.

An interesting correlation is observed between the behavior of the juxtapositions as described above and their internal structure. In *milost'pán*, the first element *milost'* (non-declinable adjective) functions as a pre-posed adjectival concordant attribute (rather than an appositive like *pánboh* (m.) 'Lord God'). By contrast, in *zemepán* the first elements are substantival non-concordant attributes in the genitive case<sup>83</sup>, as shown below:

<i>zeme</i> <sub>-GEN.SG</sub> + <i>pán</i> <sub>-NOM.SG</sub>	from <i>pán zeme</i> or <i>zeme pán</i>
<i>milost'</i> <sub>-ADJ.NOM.SG.M</sub> + <i>pán</i> <sub>-NOM.SGM</sub>	from <i>milost' / milostivý pán</i>

#### 4.7.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men with a semantic difference.

No examples were identified in Category 4Aa.

#### 4.7.2.3. Epicenes

Three honorific titles in Category 4Aa might refer equally to men and women of a high social standing: *jasnost'* (f.) 'Excellency' (literally, 'clarity'), *výsost'* (f.)

'Highness', *ctihodnost'* (f.) 'Worship' (literally, 'respectability, venerability'. These are

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<sup>83</sup> An alternative interpretation involves two roots linked through a theme vowel (Bindesvokal); the whole complex is suffixed.



all feminine, originally abstract nouns. As noted earlier, *oligarcha* (m.) ‘oligarch’ and *monarcha* (m.) ‘monarch’ are also used as epicenes, since feminine derivatives appear to be blocked due to phonological constraints.

#### 4.7.2.4. Double gender nouns

The following nouns in Category 4Aa can be assigned either masculine or neuter gender: *knieža 1* (m., n.) ‘prince’, *knieža 2* (m., n.) ‘duke’, *arciknieža* (m., n.) ‘archduke’, *sedliačisko* (m., n.) ‘peasant (dim.)’. However, none of them qualifies as a double gender noun due to the lack of correlation between a referential and a grammatical gender. For a more detailed discussion of double gender nouns, see chapters 2 and 5.

### 4.8. Category 4Ab: Identity based on one’s father’s or spouse’s social status

There were 9 personal nouns identified in this category. This figure includes 7 feminine nouns and 2 masculine nouns. However, there is no semantic correspondence between masculine nouns and feminine nouns. No neuter nouns occur in this category.

#### 4.8.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 4Ab

Almost by definition, no symmetrical pairs have been identified in this subcategory, which contains denotations of social dependents, most of which would be wives. The very concept of spousal dependency (in monogamous relationships, typical of Central and Western European regions) excludes the possibility of symmetrical pairs.

Theoretically, there is no constraint preventing forming both masculine and feminine derivatives for children, i.e., sons and daughters of a male person of a certain

social standing (e.g., *cárovič* (m.) - *\*cárovička* (f.) ‘tsar’s child’, *kráľovič* (m.) - *\*kráľovička* (f.) ‘king’s child’, *\*kontes* (m.) – *kontesa* (f.) ‘count’s child’), but such pairs are not attested in Slovak.

It should also be noted that not a single noun has been found which refers to one’s identity based on the mother’s social status or wife’s status, in contrast to nouns which express dependency on father’s or husband’s status.

#### 4.8.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 4Ab

##### 4.8.2.1. Lexical gaps

Lexical gaps in this class of nouns can be attributed to biological and social-historical constraints. According to KSSJ, one feminine noun refers to a daughter only: (*kontesa* (f.) ‘unmarried daughter of a count’), while two denote a wife only (*kráľovná* 2 (f.) and *kráľovnička* 2 (f., dim.) ‘wife of a king’). *Kňažná* 2 (f.) is used to denote a wife of a prince or any female member of the princely dynasty. The remaining three feminine nouns might denote both wives and daughters of a ruler: *cárica* 2 /*cárovná*’ 2<sup>84</sup> (f.) ‘wife or daughter of tsar’ and *cisárovná* 2 (f.) ‘emperor’s wife or daughter’. Notice that the primary meaning of all feminine nouns in this category, except for *kontesa*, is a female ruler (see category 4Aa): ‘queen’, ‘princess’, ‘tsarina/tsaritz/tsarevna’, ‘empress’, respectively.

A striking and rather unexpected observation can be made: two personal nouns have been attested that denote a male offspring of a male ruler: *cárovič* (m.) ‘tsar’s son, tsarevich’ and *kráľovič* (m.) ‘king’s son, prince’. Unlike the social dependency of a wife,

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<sup>84</sup> Notice that unlike e.g., in Russian, *cárica* and *cárovná* are synonyms; they can be used interchangeably to refer both to a wife and a daughter.

daughter or other female relative on a male representative of authority and power, which is primarily based on sex, the dependency relationship between *cár* and *cárovič*, and between *král'* and *král'ovič* is based on a lineal descent from an immediate male ancestor. *Cárovič* and *král'ovič* are linguistically derived from masculine *cár* and *král'*, respectively, rather than from feminine *cárovná* and *král'ovná*. It can be assumed that – *ovič* in *cárovič* and *král'ovič* is associated with the patronymic suffix for children/ descendants.

#### 4.8.2.2. The same designations for women and men with a semantic difference

No examples were found in this category.

#### 4.8.2.3. Epicenes

No examples of epicene nouns were found in this category.

#### 4.8.2.4. Double gender nouns

No instances of double-gender nouns were identified in this category.

### **4.9. Category 4Ba: Identity based on one's own economic status at large**

The total number of lemmas in this class is 53, the majority of which are masculine personal nouns (38). There are 12 feminine nouns, all of which constitute pairs with masculine nouns; one neuter noun; one noun which, according to KSSJ, is masculine and neuter; and one noun which is masculine and feminine.

What sets this category apart from many others is the fact that many lexemes have a significant amount of evaluative information encoded in their semantics—typically depreciatory, unfavorable or ironic. An individual's status based on their income or material provision seems to be a social construct, not only created and developed by society, but continuously scrutinized and critically and emotively evaluated by its members.

The group of pejorative and expressive nouns includes, in particular, denotations based on a low economic status—for example, *všivák* (m.)—*všivaňa* (f.) ‘louser’, *šklban* (m.) ‘ragamuffin’, *šupák* (m.) ‘disreputable or contemptible person’, *trhan* (m.) - *trhanka* (f.) ‘disreputable or contemptible person’, *niktoš* (m.) ‘wretch’, *otrhanec* (m.) ‘ragamuffin’, *handrár* (m.) ‘disreputable or contemptible person’, *trochár* 1 (m.) ‘wretch’. Terms that convey a high economic status may have also contemptuous connotations, e.g., *pracháč* (m.) ‘money-bags, stinking rich person’, *pupkáč* 2 (m.) ‘pot-belly’. In addition, there is a group of more neutral descriptions for people of a given economic status: *milionár* 1 (m.) ‘millionaire’, *nezamestnaný* (m.) ‘unemployed’, *dôchodca* (m.)—*dôchodkyňa* (f.) ‘retired person’, *pracujúci* (m.) ‘working man, worker’, *proletár* (m.)—*proletárka* (f.) ‘proletarian’, *rentier* (m.)—*rentierka* (f.) ‘annuitant, rentier’, *zbohatlík* (m.) - *zbohatlíčka* (f.) ‘get-rich-quick, nouveau riche’, *bedár* (m.) ‘poor person’, *boháč* (m.)—*boháčka* (f.) ‘wealthy person’.

From the point of view of word formation, Category 4Ba exhibits remarkable variability. It includes a few nonderived words, e.g., *červ* (m.) ‘pauper’ and *pária* (m.) ‘pariah’. In addition, it includes numerous suffixed derivatives, e.g., *otrhan-ec* (m.) ‘rag’, *dôchod-kyň-a* (f.) ‘retired woman’, *žobr-ák* 2 (m.) ‘beggar’; words that are combinations

of juxtaposition and suffixation, e.g., *na-nič-hodn-ík* (m.) ‘good-for-nothing’, from *na* ‘for’ + *nič* ‘nothing’ + *hodný* ‘worth, good’); combinations of compounding and suffixation, e.g., *sedm-o-slivk-ár* (m.) ‘poverty-stricken country gentleman’, from *sedem/sedmoro* ‘seven’ + *slivka* ‘plum’); and nominalized adjectives, e.g., *pracujúc-i* (m.) ‘working man’, *nezamestnan-ý* (m.) ‘unemployed’.

#### 4.9.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 4Ba

Here KSSJ is highly inconsistent in listing feminine forms. According to KSSJ, only 12 of the nouns in Category 4Ba occur in pairs. In reality, masculine-feminine pairs constitute much larger portion of this category. Actually, the only masculine-only words are diminutives such as *chudáčik*, (from *chudák* ‘poor person’), the metaphorically used animal diminutives *červík*, *červíček* (from *červ* ‘worm’, used in the sense of ‘pauper’), and one derivative with the suffix *-ec* (*otrhanec* ‘ragamuffin’).

#### 4.9.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 4Ba

##### 4.9.2.1. Lexical gaps

The only gaps found in this class of personal nouns are caused by formal constraints—in particular, issues involving diminutives, which will be discussed fully in Chapter 5. As mentioned above, the masculine diminutives *červík*, *červíček* ‘worm, i.e., poor and insignificant person’ and *chudáčik* ‘poor person’ have no feminine counterparts. (The feminine diminutives *chuderka* and *chudinka* are not derived from *chudáčik*, but from the feminine nouns *chudera* and *chudina*, respectively.) The lack of feminine diminutive derivative of *červík*, *červíček* can be explained by the general lack of

a feminine form for the lexeme *červ* ‘worm’. Like some other animal nouns that can be metaphorically extended to humans, the diminutives *červík*, *červíček* and the base form *červ* can function as epicenes, i.e., denote persons of both sexes, while grammatically belonging to only one gender.

#### 4.9.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men with a semantic difference

No asymmetrical pairs of this type were found in Category 4Ba.

#### 4.9.2.3. Epicenes

It was noted in 4.9.2.1 that the masculine-only forms *červ*, *červík*, and *červíček* may have referents of both sexes. In addition, the neuter *žobráča* ‘beggar’ is sex-unspecified and may refer to both males and females. This form, which co-exists with *žobrák* (m.) and *žobráčka* (f.), indicates that, depending on the context, the referent is either young or small in size or that the referent is being subject to negative evaluation.

#### 4.9.2.4. Double gender nouns

Two nouns in Category 4Ba are assigned more than one grammatical gender in KSSJ: the expressive augmentative derivative *chudáčisko* ‘rag’, which is both masculine and neuter, and *skaderuka-skadenoha 2* ‘rag, a disreputable or contemptible person’, which is masculine and feminine.

In Chapter 2, I claim that one of the major criteria for classifying a personal noun as a double gender noun is its consistency in taking only feminine or only masculine agreement, depending on the referential gender (male or female). However, even though

*chudáčisko* might refer to women, it never takes feminine agreement; instead, it is assigned neuter or masculine gender and so takes neuter or masculine agreement.

On the other hand, *skaderuka-skadenoha* 2 can be either masculine or a feminine and take either masculine or feminine agreement, but it does so rather inconsistently. Instances that involve mismatches between referential and grammatical gender are not unusual, as illustrated below:

- a. Male referent, masculine gender:  
*Od susedného stola vstal chlapík, taký skaderuka-skadenoha.*<sup>85</sup>  
'From the next table, a guy<sub>-M</sub> stood up, such<sub>-M</sub> a ragamuffin<sub>-M</sub>.'
- b. Female referent, feminine gender:  
*Predsa len, oni sú už Niečo, ba dokonca už aj nejaké svoje knihy vydali, kým ja so svojou sivou myšou som len taká jemnocitná skaderuka-skadenoha.*<sup>86</sup>  
'Anyway, they are already Something; they have even already published their books, while, with my grey mouse, I am just such<sub>-F</sub> a delicate<sub>-F</sub> rag<sub>-F</sub>.'
- c. Male referent, feminine gender:  
*Paľo bol taká skaderuka-skadenoha, dedinčan z východu.*<sup>87</sup>  
'Paľo<sub>-M</sub> was<sub>-M</sub> such<sub>-F</sub> a ragamuffin<sub>-F</sub>, a villager<sub>-M</sub> from East.'
- d. Female referent, masculine gender:  
*Nikto ju tam nerešpektoval, bola tam len obyčajný skaderuka-skadenoha.*<sup>88</sup>  
'Nobody there respected her<sub>-F</sub>, she was<sub>-F</sub> just an average<sub>-M</sub> ragamuffin<sub>-M</sub> there.'

Note that all these examples are in the nominative forms, which are the same for both genders, so the gender is only evident through agreeing forms.

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<sup>85</sup> [http://www.koxo.sk/koxo/generate\\_page.php3?page\\_id](http://www.koxo.sk/koxo/generate_page.php3?page_id), accessed 7/15/09

<sup>86</sup> <http://www.ajlavida.sk/post/osobna-drama-v-petrzlene-19/>, accessed 7/15/09

<sup>87</sup> My example.

<sup>88</sup> My example.

Interestingly enough, *skaderuka-skadenoha* is inconsistent in other respects as well.

The expression can be non-declinable as well as declinable:

*Počúvaj, myšací chvostík, premeň tohto<sub>ACC m sg</sub> skaderuka-skadenoha<sub>non-decl</sub> na starú... Starena chcela povedať ešte jedno slovo: kosť.*

“Listen, Mouse Tail, transform this<sub>-ACC.SG.M</sub> ragamuffin<sub>-NON-DECL</sub> into an old...” The old woman wanted to say one more word: “bone.””

*Nuž, nenechať sa obľnúť bársakým skaderuka-SKADENOHOM<sub>-INST.SG.M...</sub>*<sup>89</sup>  
‘Well, not to get fooled by any<sub>-INST.SG.M</sub> ragamuffin<sub>-INST.SG.M...</sub>’

The singular and plural forms seem to be used rather variably as well:

*A je nehoráznosť, že tieto skaderuky-skadenohy si neuvedomujú...*<sup>90</sup>  
‘And what an outrage that these<sub>-PL</sub> ragamuffins<sub>-PL</sub> don’t realize...’

*Veru, viac než polovica ľudí v Bratislave sú všelijakí skaderuka-skadenoha*<sup>91</sup>.  
‘Indeed, more than one half of the people in Bratislava are all sorts<sub>-PL</sub> of ragamuffins<sub>-SG</sub>.’

#### 4.10. Category 4Ca: Identity based on one's own educational status

This category includes 60 lemmas, 52 of which occur in masculine-feminine pairs. The remaining eight lemmas, are, at least according to KSSJ, masculine only.

<sup>89</sup><http://komunita.exil.sk/viewtopic.php?t=121&postdays=0&postorder=asc&start=6045&sid=a6639368319f063d066a5178ee54c91c>, accessed 10/14/09.

<sup>90</sup><http://www.povazska-bystrica.otvorene.sk/Members/sevcik/.../view>, accessed 10/14/09.

<sup>91</sup>[http://blog.sme.sk/diskusie/reaction\\_show.php?id\\_theme=1476714&page=0&id\\_reaction=10180438&action=show\\_reply\\_form#10180438](http://blog.sme.sk/diskusie/reaction_show.php?id_theme=1476714&page=0&id_reaction=10180438&action=show_reply_form#10180438), accessed 10/14/09.



#### 4.10.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 4Ca

The linguistic treatment of boys/men and girls/women in this category is remarkably symmetrical. Analysis of nouns associated with educational background and/or social status based on educational background mirrors the fact that virtually all areas of education and training have become accessible to both sexes. According to KSSJ, 50 of the 59 lemmas occur in symmetrical male/masculine-female/feminine pairs; the number is in fact even higher, as documented by other sources (PSP and SNK). The only exclusively male domain is theological training, which prepares future priests for their career; \**klerička* (f.) (from *klerik* (m.) ‘seminarist’), \**seminaristka* (f.) (from *seminarista* (m.) ‘seminarist’), and \**bohoslovkyňa* (from *bohoslovec* (m.) ‘student of theology, seminarist’), all denoting a future female priest, are morphologically possible, but unattested.

Overall, only the three above mentioned terms for theology students and one masculine diminutive (*žiačik* (m., dim.) ‘pupil’) which is discussed below, resist feminization.

Category 4Ca comprises the following semantic subclasses:

a. General terms for students and trainees:

*študujúci* (m.) ‘student’  
*školák* (m.)—*školáčka* (f.) ‘pupil, student’  
*žiak* (m.)—*žiačka* (f.) ‘pupil, student’  
*kurzista* (m.)—*kurzistka* (f.) ‘trainee, participant in a course’  
*učeň* (m.)—*učnica* (f.) ‘apprentice, trainee’  
*poslucháč* (m.)—*poslucháčka* (f.) ‘university student’  
*vysokoškolák* (m.)—*vysokoškoláčka* (f.) ‘university student’  
*doktorand* (m.)—*doktorandka* (f.) ‘Ph.D. student’,  
*postgraduand* (m.)—*postgraduandka* (f.) ‘graduate student, postgraduate student, postdoctoral fellow’  
*škôlkar* (m.) ‘preschooler, kindergartener’

- b. Types of high schoolers:  
*konzervatorista* (m.)—*konzervatoristka* (f.) ‘conservatorist, academy/school of music student’  
*gymnazista* (m.)—*gymnazistka* (f.) ‘high school student, secondary grammar school student’
- c. Nouns referring to university programs:  
*medik* (m.)—*medička* (f.) ‘medic, a student of medicine’  
*technik* (m.)—*technička* (f.) ‘student of engineering’
- d. Nouns referring to people involved in an institutional learning process, based on the temporal character of their study in the institution:  
*dial’kar* (m.)—*dial’karka* (f.) ‘part-time student’  
*externista* (m.)—*externistka* (f.) ‘part-time student’  
*stážista* (m.)—*stážistka* (f.) ‘intern’
- e. Historical terms:  
*abiturient* (m.)—*abiturientka* (f.) ‘high school graduate’  
*frekventant* (m.)—*frekventantka* (f.) ‘participant, trainee, student’
- f. Types of graduates and/or holders of various degrees:  
*maturant* (m.)—*maturantka* (f.) ‘high school graduate’  
*absolvent* (m.)—*absolventka* (f.) ‘graduate; alumnus’  
*bakalár* (m.)—*bakalárka* (f.) ‘bachelor’  
*magister* (m.)—*magisterka* (f.) ‘master’  
*doktor* (m.)—*doktorka* (f.) ‘doctor’  
*architect* (m.)—*architektka* (f.) ‘architect’

For no obvious reasons, the lexicographers in KSSJ excluded the following feminine derivatives: *kadetka* (f.) ‘cadet’, *postgraduantka* (f.) ‘graduate student, post-Master student, postdoctoral fellow’, *škôlkarka* (f.) ‘preschooler, kindergartener’, *študujúca* (f.) ‘student’. All of these terms except for the nominalized active participle *študujúca* are attested in dictionaries other than KSSJ, specifically in PSP.

In the domain of education, it is worth highlighting the fact that KSSJ also includes several abbreviations for various degrees and their respective holders. However, only abbreviations listed below are relevant for the purposes of this study, because they co-occur with their non-abbreviated masculine or feminine form.

*Bc.* = *bakalár, bakalárka* ‘bachelor’  
*Mgr.* = *magister 2, magisterka 2* ‘master’  
*Dr.* = *doktor 1, doktorka 1* ‘doctor’  
*Arch.* = *architekt, architektka* ‘holder of a Master’s degree in architecture’  
*Ing.* = *inžinier, inžinierka* ‘holder of a Master’s degree in engineering’  
*Ing. arch.* = *inžinier architekt* ‘holder of a Master’s degree in architectural engineering’

The abbreviations above are genderless per se. The vast majority of the remaining abbreviations refer to doctors in various fields, e.g., *Pharm.Dr. pharmaciae doctor/ doktor farmácie* ‘doctor of pharmacy’. Since the first element of the expression (*doktor* (m.)—*doktorka* (f.)) is already included in Category 4Ca (see above), and since multi-word expressions like *doktor*<sub>-NOM</sub> *farmácie*<sub>-GEN</sub> are not a subject of our study, the abbreviations below are not considered any further.

*ArtD.* (*artis doctor*)  
*JUDr.* (*iuris utrisque doctor*)  
*MUDr.* (*medicinae universae doctor*)  
*MVDr.* (*medicinae veterinariae doctor*)  
*PaedDr.* (*paedagogicae doctor*)  
*Pharm.Dr.* (*pharmaciae doctor*)  
*PhDr.* (*philosophiae doctor*)  
*RNDr.* (*rerum naturalium*)  
*ThDr.* (*theologiae doctor*)  
*Mgr. art.* (*magister artis*)

#### 4.10.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 4Ca

##### 4.10.2.1. Lexical gaps

No gaps due to biological constraints are found in Category 4Ca; however, there are a few gaps due to social factors. As noted earlier, the terms for women theology students preparing to serve as priests (*\*bohoslovkyňa* (f.) ‘female student of theology, seminarist’, *\*seminaristka* (f.) ‘woman seminarist’, *\*klerička* (f.) ‘seminarist’) are non-existent because Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy do not permit female priests.

One diminutive represents a lexical gap due to a formal constraint: *žiacík* (m.) ‘pupil (dim.)’ does not form a feminine counterpart.

##### 4.10.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men with a semantic difference

No examples from KSSJ fall into this class in Category 4Ca. However, further research through Internet searches reveals that *klerička* (f.) and *seminaristka* (f.) do exist, but there is a discord between the meanings of feminine and masculine forms. While *klerik* (m.) denotes a seminarist preparing to become a priest, *klerička* (f.) is a term from role-playing games meaning ‘female member of the Cleric class’.<sup>92</sup> Similarly, there is an asymmetrical relationship between *seminaristka* (f.) ‘female seminarist—future nun/member of a religious order’ and *seminarista* (m.) ‘seminarist—future priest’.

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<sup>92</sup>[http://www.dohr.lonet.cz/lgnthr/svitek\\_ukaz.php?id=28](http://www.dohr.lonet.cz/lgnthr/svitek_ukaz.php?id=28), accessed 07/27/09.

#### 4.10.2.3. Epicenes

No instances of epicene nouns were identified in Category 4Ca.

#### 4.10.2.4. Double gender nouns

No examples were identified in Category 4Ca.

#### 4.11. Category 4Cb: Identity based on one's father' or spouse's educational status

Such nouns are not attested in KSSJ, although some archaic expressions can be found in other sources, e.g., (*pani*) *doktorová*<sup>93</sup> (f.) 'doctor's wife'. Note however, that here we face a semantic ambiguity because in the word *doktor* (m.), both vocation (Category 5) and degree (Category 4C) typically blend together.

#### 4.12. Category 5A: Identity as determined by one's own vocation or avocation

Category 5, "*Identity as determined by vocation or avocation*," can be divided into two subcategories, 5A ("*Identity as determined by one's own vocation or avocation*") and 5B ("*Identity as determined by one's father's father's or spouse's vocation or avocation*"). Category 5A is the largest category in my classification system. It contains 1,754 lemmas, the majority of which are masculine forms (1,059). More than half of the masculine forms occur in pairs with feminine counterparts (656 pairs). There are 692 feminine nouns, including 37 feminine-only forms. Neuters constitute an

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<sup>93</sup>[http://books.google.sk/books?id=mT5EAAAIAAJ&pg=PA82&lpg=PA82&dq=pani+doktorov%C3%A1&source=bl&ots=dFBXo64UPO&sig=1OQTSYZZhCuIFq8UDVwgW--qUgk&hl=sk&ei=QIzjSuiIKoO-lAf8jJmKBw&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CBEQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q=pani%20doktorov%C3%A1&f=false](http://books.google.sk/books?id=mT5EAAAIAAJ&pg=PA82&lpg=PA82&dq=pani+doktorov%C3%A1&source=bl&ots=dFBXo64UPO&sig=1OQTSYZZhCuIFq8UDVwgW--qUgk&hl=sk&ei=QIzjSuiIKoO-lAf8jJmKBw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CBEQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q=pani%20doktorov%C3%A1&f=false), accessed 10/24/09.

insignificant portion of category 5A: there are only three of them, two of which are diminutive derivatives.

The class of nouns denoting identity based on vocation and avocation is mostly comprised of occupational terms. There is no clear line dividing occupational terms from lexemes denoting people skilled at, interested in, or engaged in certain activities (particularly in the leisure time ones). For example, *hokejista* (m.) can either be a paid professional hockey player (vocation) or a person for whom hockey is a spare-time activity (avocation). Therefore, vocational and avocational terms are grouped together in this study for semantic and pragmatic reasons.

#### 4.12.1. Symmetrical relations in Category 5A

In modern society, what we as human beings do defines who we are. Therefore, the lexicon relating to one's usual employment and the pursuits or affairs that occupy one's spare time is quite extensive. As indicated earlier, KSSJ contains 1,754 lemmas relating to work, hobby or other interest, most of which are neatly paired by referential sex and grammatical gender. The only exception to this male/masculine-female/feminine symmetry is the grammatical neuter *páža* 'page', a young male servant in medieval times, which belongs to a class of nouns whose neuter gender is assigned based on the immaturity of the referent rather than his/her sex, e.g., *dievča* 'girl', *teľa* 'calf'.

It should be noted, that despite the fact that the KSSJ lists 404 masculine nouns in this category without feminine counterparts, many of these nouns do in fact have feminine counterparts in actual usage, as searches in the Slovak National Corpus, online Slovak dictionaries (PSP, SCS, SSS, and SSJ), and Slovak Google show. Examples

include *rusofilka*<sup>94</sup> (f.) ‘female Russophile’, *vodohospodárka*<sup>95</sup> (f.) ‘female water economy manager’, *vedátorka*<sup>96</sup> (f.) ‘female pundit’, *pumpárka*<sup>97</sup> (f.) ‘female gas station attendant’, and many others. In fact, almost all vocational and avocational descriptors referring to men can be transformed into feminine counterparts by adding a derivational suffix. Exceptions include some brand-new loan words that have not been fully assimilated to Slovak morphology (e.g., *kouč* (m.)—\**koučka* (f.)<sup>98</sup> ‘coach, trainer’) and historical words referring to certain contexts that did not include women (e.g., *hajdúch* (m.)—\**hajúška* (f.) ‘heyduck’, *paholok* (m.)—\**paholka/ paholkyňa* (f.) ‘varlet’). Conversely, there is a limited number of professional terms semantically derived from lexical gender nouns such as (*zdravotná*) *sestra* (f.) ‘nurse [literally, medical sister]’—*zdravotný brat* (m.) ‘male nurse, [literally, medical brother]’.

Other lexical spheres in Slovak in which gender formation was at least historically asymmetric include the terms for the practitioners of type of trades, crafts, and professions traditionally held by men only or other predominantly male activities, typically requiring fitness, physical strength and flexibility. Again, data from KSSJ confirm that in Modern Slovak it is possible to form and use female/feminine counterparts of most of male/masculine nouns, as illustrated below: *dozorkyňa* (f.) ‘female (prison) guard’, *miešačka* (f.) ‘female blender, stirrer, mixer’ *kopáčka* (f.) ‘female digger’, *kurička* (f.) ‘female boiler attendant, fire tender, stoker’, *krotiteľka* (f.) ‘female tamer’, *požiarnička* (f.) ‘female firefighter’, *potápačka* (f.) ‘female diver’,

<sup>94</sup> <http://www.civil.gov.sk/archiv/casopis/2005/.../1926st.htm>, accessed 10/31/01

<sup>95</sup> PSP

<sup>96</sup> PSP

<sup>97</sup> PSP, SCS

<sup>98</sup> In the case of a ‘coach’, Slovak lexicon contains only one female/feminine term – *trénerka* (f.), derived from *tréner* (m.). Masculine *tréner* co-exists with the borrowing *coach* (also written *kouč*).

*alpinistka* (f.) ‘female alpinist’. The following additional examples come from sources other than KSSJ: *boxerka* (f.) ‘female boxer’,<sup>99</sup> *banička* (f.) ‘female miner’,<sup>100</sup> *hrobárka* (f.) ‘female grave digger’,<sup>101</sup> *kompárka* (f.) ‘ferry woman’,<sup>102</sup> *lodiarka* (f.) ‘female ship-builder’.<sup>103</sup>

Gender asymmetry can also be found in a small group of entries in Category 5A, most of which are terms (including some loanwords) denoting representatives of certain spheres of pre-modern culture that were considered male domains. These consist of terms referring to wandering performers in popular culture such as circus artists, rambling singers, theater actors, comedians, and magicians: *kaukliar* (m.) ‘juggler, magician’, *mág* (m.) ‘magician’, *šašo* (m.) ‘clown’, *klaun* (m.) ‘clown’, *mím* (m.) ‘mime’, *igríc* (m.) ‘rambling singer or actor’. Some of the nouns in this group are also connected to high culture, such as the old Italian Commedie dell’arte, e.g., *harlekýn* (m.) ‘harlequin’. Others are associated with entertaining royalty and nobility: (*dvorný*) *šašo* (m.) ‘(court) clown’. All of these words have female/feminine counterparts: *kaukliarka* (f.), *magička* (f.), *šašica/šašul’a* (f.), *klaunka* (f.), *mímka* (f.), *igricka* (f.), *harlekýnka* (f.), respectively, despite the fact that the female referents are even nowadays extremely rare.

The same applies to another group of loan words such as *pirátka* (f.) ‘female pirate’, *gladiátorka* (f.) ‘female gladiator’, *gondolierka* (f.) ‘female gondolier’, *jágerka* (f.) ‘female jäger’, *mušketierka* (f.) ‘female musketeer’. Even though historically women seem to have been less active than men in committing robberies, plundering, and violence

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<sup>99</sup> SCS

<sup>100</sup> <http://www.priateliazeme.sk/cepa/pdf/letak-gender.pdf>, accessed 10/31/09

<sup>101</sup> <http://www.pluska.sk/vybrali-sme-pre.../hrobarka.html>, accessed 10/31/09

<sup>102</sup> <http://www.zivot.lesk.cas.sk/cl/10189/.../Kr--om-cez-vodu>, accessed 10/31/09

<sup>103</sup> <http://matowild.blogspot.com/2008/06/part-iv-bla-bla-bla.html>, accessed 10/31/09



at sea<sup>104</sup> or in engaging in ancient Roman gladiatorial games, both the female referents and the terms used for them have existed<sup>105</sup>, as illustrated below:

*Gladiátorské hry boli veľmi obľúbenou zábavou cisára Nera (vládol v rokoch 54—68 n. l.) a Domitiana (81—96 n. l.), pričom s obľubou obaja sledovali zápasy žien—gladiátoriek. O tom, že v arénach bojovali aj ženy, sa vie málo.*<sup>106</sup>

‘The gladiatorial games were the very favorite pastime of the Emperor Nero (ruled 54–68 A.D.) and Domitian (81–96 A.D.), during which time both enjoyed watching with pleasure the fights of female gladiators.’

*Zlatý vek pirátstva bol od roku 1650 približne do roku 1720. Nazýva sa to Zlatým vekom, pretože vtedy žili slávni piraté: Čiernofúz, kapitán Kidd, ženy – pirátky.*<sup>107</sup>

‘The Golden Age of piracy was from 1650 until approximately 1720. It is called the Golden Age because famous pirates lived then: Blackbeard, Captain Kidd, women – pirates’.

Perhaps the most curious case of a female/ feminine word derived from a male/ masculine word describing an occupation is *eunuška* (f.) ‘female eunuch (harem guard)’, from *eunuch* (m.). In harem cultures, eunuchs—castrated young males—were often used as harem servants or guards. However, *eunuška* is used in the sense of ‘female harem servant’ with no reference to castration in the following example from *Sladké zajtrajšky*, Viera Detková’s translation of Beatrice Small’s historical romance novel *All the Sweet Tomorrows* (Bratislava: Ikar, 1999):

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<sup>104</sup> As pointed to me by D. Collins (p.c.), there are famous cases of female pirates—Mary Read and Anne Bonny.

<sup>105</sup> In modern Slovak, all the words above can carry additional meanings, e.g., *pirát* and *pirátka* mean ‘illegal copier of published material, hijacker, reckless driver, or aggressive or rude person in general’.

<sup>106</sup> <http://korzar.sme.sk/c/4534630/zeny-gladiatoroky-v-antickom-rime.html>, accessed 8/15/09

<sup>107</sup> <http://pirati-nej.blog.cz/rubrika/historie-piratu>, accessed 8/15/09

*‘Hodia sa k sebe,’ podotkla Selwa, eunuška pridelená Hamalovi. ‘Pozri na môjho zverenca, Rabi, nie je dnes večer očarujúci?’*

“‘They go together,” Selwa, the female eunuch assigned to Hamala, remarked.  
“Look at my ward, Rabi, isn’t he charming tonight?””

This is a perfect example of stretching semantics to its limits and yet acting in accordance with Slovak rules for deriving feminines. Even if we consider *eunuška* (f.) a nonce-formation, it is interesting to see how systematically it follows the common pattern of feminine masculine-derived nouns formation, including the velar mutation  $x > \check{s}$  expected before the suffix *-ka*; cf. *slaboch* (m.) – *slaboška* (f.) ‘weakling, sissy’; *Kazach* (m.) – *Kazaška* (f.) ‘Kazakh’.

Generally, Slovak morphology appears to generate relatively systematically parallel terms for women performing typically male jobs, including those that used to be a male domain in the past, particularly in a rural setting: hard agricultural labor, home construction, mending household necessities such as clay dishes and tools, creating folk artifacts and playing folk musical instruments. The following feminine counterparts<sup>108</sup> were not listed in KSSJ (except for *bačovka*), but were found in other sources: *bača* (m.) – *bačovka* (f.) ‘oldest and most experienced shepherd, chief shepherd’,<sup>109</sup> *kováč* (m.) – *kováčka* (f.) ‘blacksmith’,<sup>110</sup> *drotár* (m.) – *drotárka* (f.) ‘tinker’,<sup>111</sup> *fujarista* (m.) – *fujaristka* (f.) ‘fujara player’,<sup>112</sup> *gajdoš* (m.) – *gajdoška* (f.) ‘bagpiper’.<sup>113</sup> Notice that at least some of the feminine terms above have undergone semantic changes: *kováčka*,

<sup>108</sup> *Bačovka*, *kováčka*, *drotárka* can additionally mean ‘a wife of’ *bača*, *kováč*, *drotár*, respectively. These words belong to category 5B and will be discussed later.

<sup>109</sup> <http://www.plus1den.sk/showdoc.do?docid=81950&showRate=true>, accessed 10/31/09

<sup>110</sup> <http://www.slovenka.sk/index.php?id=blog&no=2275>, accessed 10/31/09

<sup>111</sup> [http://www.zena.sme.sk/clanok\\_tlac.asp?cl=4371335](http://www.zena.sme.sk/clanok_tlac.asp?cl=4371335), accessed 10/31/09

<sup>112</sup> [http://www.luno.hu/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=2048&Itemid=84](http://www.luno.hu/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2048&Itemid=84), accessed 10/31/09

<sup>113</sup> [http://www.novypopular.sk/keltska\\_hudba.php](http://www.novypopular.sk/keltska_hudba.php), accessed 10/31/09

*drotárka*, *fujaristka*, *gajdoška* in the present might also denote smiths, tinkers, fujara players (in a folk music group or ensemble), bagpipers, but also makers of fujaras and bagpipes. All of the meanings above co-exist with the trades of blacksmithing, tinkering, fujara and bagpipes playing, which in the past were dominated by men.

World War II was a crucial political, social, economic and cultural milestone in twentieth-century Europe. It brought a lot of changes, including new socio-linguistic concepts. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, women won equality in accessing jobs which involved newly introduced technologies and heavy machinery. Women worked both in rural areas and in city factories as ‘harvester operators’, ‘tractor operators’, ‘excavator operators’, and even highly-profiled *konštruktérky* ‘design engineers’ (*kombajnista* (m.) – *kombajnistka* (f.), *traktorista* (m.) – *traktoristka* (f.), *bagrista* (m.) – *bagristka* (f.), *konštruktér* (m.) – *konštruktérka* (f.), respectively).

#### 4.12.1.1. Compound loanwords containing *-man/-men* and *-boy*

In the case of current loanwords in Slovak, it appears that the same treatment is applied to them as to native female/feminine occupational and avocational terms and older borrowings. This is even true of foreign compounds with ‘man’ or ‘boy’ as their second component. Such words are adopted by Slovak lexicon and treated as indivisible complexes. They are assigned masculine gender, and when a feminine variant is required, a feminine derivational suffix (typically *-ka*) is attached to the word-formation base:

[lexical morpheme<sub>1</sub> + lexical morpheme<sub>2</sub> (man, boy)]<sub>base</sub> + *-ka*

In other words, constituents of a foreign masculine compound collapse together to form one lexical morpheme, a base for both genders: *pivotman* (m.) – *pivotmanka* (f.) ‘pivotman’ – ‘pivotwoman’. It should be noted that foreign female/feminine compounds with ‘woman’ or ‘girl’ as their second member never enter Slovak lexicon as independent loanwords, nor do they serve as bases for feminine derivatives: \**pivotwomanka*. (Cf. the recent Russian substandard borrowing *biznesvumen(ka)* alongside older *biznesmenka*.). Examples of current loanwords of the type discussed above are *rekordman* (m.) – *rekordmanka* (f.) ‘record holder’, *esesman* (m.) – *esesmanka* (f.) ‘SS-man’, *barman* (m.) – *barmanka* (f.) ‘bartender’, *biznisman/ biznismen/ businessman* (m.) – *biznismanka/ biznismenka/ businessmanka* (f.) ‘businessman’ – ‘businesswoman’, *kovboj*(m.) – *kovbojka* (f.) ‘cowboy’ – ‘cowgirl’.<sup>114</sup>

By contrast, in contemporary English, the source of the given loanwords, there is a strong tendency towards avoiding compounds involving *-man* and *-woman*. Sex-specific occupational terms are almost exclusively used in contrastive meaning (men versus women). ‘Barman’ and feminine ‘barwoman, barmaid’ have tended to be replaced by a sex-indefinite, generic, and politically correct *bartender* or *barkeeper*. Similarly, referential-gender specific *businessman* and *businesswoman* co-exist with the sex-indefinite, generic *businessperson*. In Slovak, by contrast, sex-indefiniteness only exists in the masculine plural forms: *barmani* can be a group of male persons serving beverages

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<sup>114</sup> Out of 46 lemmas for *kovbojka* in Slovenský národný korpus, 45 denote ‘Western/ horse opera’; only one refers to a ‘cowgirl’: “Scenár divertimenta je jednoduchý: kovboji na texaskom ranči prenasledujú každú ženu , ktorú vidia , a neuvedomujú si , že je medzi nimi krásna kovbojka , ktorej pôvab objaví až pri dedinskej sobotňajšej tancovačke” (“The script of the divertissement is simple: the cowboys on a Texas ranch pursue every woman they see but do not realize that in their midst there is an beautiful cowgirl, whose attractiveness they don’t discover until the Saturday village ”; Robert Ainsley, *Encyklopédia vážnej hudby*, transl. Milada Pauleová (Bratislava: Perfekt 1998)).

in a pub, bar, or tavern, or a group of men and women. *Biznisman/ biznismen/ businessman* ‘businessman’ does not pose any problem (except for an orthographic one) as far as its feminization is concerned. *Biznismanka/biznismenka/ businessmanka* ‘businesswoman’ is a term that has been coined in accordance with a productive Slovak word formation pattern, and adopted by the users of the language.

Sometimes masculine singular forms can be used as generic/sex-indefinite, too, but this almost exclusively applies to predicative and appositional constructions. Some personal nouns belonging to other categories exhibit this behavior—for example, terms denoting identity based on behavior (*snob* ‘prig’), skill or experience in performing an activity (*začiatočník* ‘beginner’), or identity as determined by authorship (*kronikár* ‘chronicler, recorder’). In occupational terms, however, Slovak tends to maintain a gender-distinction in the singular, even in originally compound loanwords such as *barman*; in other words, it avoids using masculine forms for women even in predicative and appositional structures: *Pracuje ako barmanka* (f.)/ *\*/?barman* (m.) ‘She works as a bartender’. Analysis of the data shows that, in the field of vocational and avocational terms, masculine predicative and appositional nouns for female referents tend to occur chiefly in borrowings terminating in the foreign suffixes such as *-ista* or *-óg* (*komparatista* ‘comparativist’, *ichtyológ* ‘ichthyologist’).<sup>115</sup>

Unlike in Slovak, in Polish, according to Miemietz (1993: 34), it can be a challenge to find appropriate, inoffensive designations for a female engaged in

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<sup>115</sup> In addition, masculine singular nouns can apparently be used predicatively in reference to women when the feminine counterpart poses the risk of homonymy, as in the following examples: *Pracuje ako vodič* (m.) *autobusu* ‘She works as a female bus driver’ (*vodička* (f.) 1. female driver; 2. water (dim.)); *Pracuje ako diplomat* (m.) ‘She works as a diplomat’ (*diplomátka* (f.) 1. female diplomat; 2. kind of briefcase); *Aneta, rodený básnik* (m.), *mlčala* ‘Aneta, a natural poet, kept quiet’ (*básnička* (f.) 1. female poet; 2. poem (dim.)).

commercial or industrial business might be a challenge. Miemietz refers to Dunaj's (1993: 167–72) list of possible Polish female/feminine variants of 'businessman' compiled from Polish daily newspapers. It includes the following expressions: *businesswoman/ bizneswomen, kobieta biznesu, kobieta robiąca/prowadząca interesy, biznesmenka*. Of these, native speakers tend to find the non-analytic expressions more acceptable (ibid.).

Like Slovak, Czech has masculine lexicalized loanwords such as *superman, businessman/byznysmen, gentleman/džentlmen*, the vast majority of which have been borrowed from English, but lexicalized female counterparts with the English or Czech morphemes for 'woman' and 'girl' are not attested. In general, according to Čmejrková (2003: 43) compounding with the words *muž* 'man', *žena* 'woman', *kluk/hoch* 'boy' or *dívka/holka* 'girl' cannot be used to specify gender in Czech, nor can *žena* or *dívka/holka* be juxtaposed with masculine nouns à la Russian *ženščina-vrač* 'woman doctor' or English *female firefighter*. Instead of such compounds, Czech features what Čmejrková calls 'double gender nouns', e.g., *předsedající* (m./f.) 'chairperson (chairman/ chairwoman)', or else feminization by means of derivation, e.g., *obchodník* (m.)—*obchodnice* (f.) 'businessman—businesswoman'.<sup>116</sup>

According to Čmejrková (ibid.), Czech prefers native *obchodník* and *obchodnice* to English loanwords. However, it should be clear that *obchodník* and *obchodnice* are prescribed terms which do not reflect the complexity of the actual usage. Their meaning is slightly different from modern-day 'businessperson'; they typically denote a person involved in a small-scale business, a tradesman/tradeswoman, and are slowly becoming

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<sup>116</sup> Double gender nouns are discussed in detail in chapters 2 and 5.

obsolete. *Nová slova v češtině: Slovník neologizmů* (2004), which captures the dynamics of the Czech lexicon between 1996 and 2002, does not contain Czech equivalents of ‘businessman’ and ‘businesswoman’, but it does list *sexbyznysmen* ‘sex businessman’ (with no feminine counterpart) and *byznysmenství* ‘businessmanship’. By contrast, *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* (1989) contains an entry for *businessman*, but there is no female equivalent. In practice, however, *byznysman/ byznysmen/ businessman* and *byznysmanka/ byznysmenka*, and even *businesswoman/ byznyswoman* are frequently used in Czech to refer to people engaged in business. *Ústav pro jazyk český Akademie věd České republiky* in *Internetová jazyková příručka* (<http://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz>), updated in December 2008, cites both *byznysmen* and *byznysmenka*. *Byznysman/ byznysmen* and *byznysmanka* are also cited in *Český národní korpus*.

To sum up, the formation of feminine forms of loanwords containing *-man/-men* or *-boj* ‘-boy’ by adding a feminine derivational suffix (typically *-ka*) to what in the input language is a compound is a common word-formation strategy in Slovak, Czech, and Polish. What all three languages also share is their tendency to avoid clumsy analytic expressions such as the existing but artificially sounding *kobieta robiąca/ prowadząca interesy*. Slovak, unlike Polish and Czech, actually does not allow for feminine independent loanwords of the ‘businesswoman’ type.

#### 4.12.1.2. Comparison to other languages

Against all expectations, the Slovak data document that most terms for high-status or intellectual professions occur both in feminine and masculine gender. However, the

symmetry characteristic of Slovak is not found in some other Slavic languages, including Polish and Russian. For example, Doleschal and Schmid (2001: 260) claim that

... in Russian, high prestige is connected with masculinity (in a social sense), therefore female counterparts of personal nouns denoting prestigious occupations are avoided. When addressed or referred to by a corresponding feminine form, women feel downgraded or not treated seriously.

Similarly, in Polish, according to Koniuszaniec and Błaszowska (2003: 269), numerous professions and positions lack feminine denotations. They specifically mention the following classes of masculine nouns denoting high-profile jobs for which feminine counterparts are missing.<sup>117</sup>

- a. many nouns terminating in *-og* (mostly loanwords): *archeolog* ‘archeologist’, *psycholog* ‘psychologist’, *kardiolog* ‘cardiologist’,
- b. nouns ending in *-owiec*: *bankowiec* ‘banker’,
- c. some foreign terms : *chirurg* ‘surgeon’, *jubiler* ‘jeweler’, *dealer* ‘car dealer’, *inwestor* ‘investor’, *dystributor* ‘distributor’.
- d. adjectival occupational terms such as *motorniczy* ‘tram driver’, *leśniczy* ‘forest-ranger’

Notice that Polish contains entire classes of words that have been resistant to feminization rather than just the isolated lexical gaps seen in Slovak.

Łaziński (2003: 322) also points out the lack of feminine occupational and professional forms in Polish, particularly those denoting socially prestigious jobs, e.g., *minister* (m./f.) ‘secretary, minister’, *premier* (m./ f.) ‘prime minister’, among others.

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<sup>117</sup> Koniuszaniec and Błaszowska (2003: 269) also list some non-occupational personal nouns that block the derivation of feminine counterparts, such as nouns in *-ec* (*ślepiec* ‘blind man’, *głupiec* ‘fool’).



This asymmetry is even more striking in the light of the fact that derivation of feminine nouns from masculine ones is very common in Polish.

Jaworski (1989: 90) claims that, in Polish culture, the fewer females in a profession, the higher its prestige. With the rising number of women entering a given profession, the prestige of the profession is gradually diminished. In linguistic terms, women are entitled masculine forms when there are relatively few of them in a group, but feminine forms, when the profession loses its prestige (ibid.). Łaziński (2003: 322) indirectly illustrates the type of the sociolinguistic change described by Jaworski with the term *szełowa* (f.) ‘female boss’, a feminine derivative of *szeł* ‘boss’.<sup>118</sup> According to Łaziński, this lexeme predominantly denotes the female managers of small companies, shops, and restaurants, and the female chairs of university or company departments, which several decades ago were typically managed by men. However, a female head of diplomacy, government, or a national bank would most likely be referred to and addressed as *szeł*. Nowadays, the term *szeł* is reserved only for highly prestigious positions held by persons of either sex.

One of the crucial, implications of Jaworski’s rather simplistic claim is that there is a direct correlation in Polish between the social prestige of a job and the grammatical gender assignment of the term referring to its holder.<sup>119</sup> This, however, does not seem to hold at least in some of the cases that Łaziński pinpoints—nouns that describe occupations enjoying high social prestige and end in the historical suffix *–or*. It must be

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<sup>118</sup> *Szełowa* is a personal noun which refers to a position, rank, or function in a particular company or organization, rather than to an occupation. Nevertheless, I use this example due to an absence of a better example in Łaziński’s article.

<sup>119</sup> Weiss (1985: 321, 1989: 260–61) and Miemietz (1993: 180) explain the lack of vocational feminine derivatives by the influence of Russian on Polish during the socialist times, and/or by the influence of German, which was the official language of two of the three partitions of Poland prior to 1918.

admitted that a relatively large class of words represented by *ambasador* ‘ambassador’, *prokurator* ‘district attorney’, and *redaktor* ‘editor’ predominantly occur in the masculine gender, regardless of the sex of their referents.<sup>120</sup> One explanation for this asymmetry may be the argument that all these nouns also serve as honorific titles. On the other hand, some equally prestigious occupational terms with the final Latin *-or*, such as *autor* ‘author’, *aktor* ‘actor’, and *organizator* ‘organizer’, form regular feminine derivatives: *autorka*, *aktorka*, *organizatorka*.

Another argument against the Jaworski’s claim that the fewer females in a profession the higher its prestige is that there are occupations that are held equally by women and men or are primarily the domain of women, and yet are generally considered as prestigious, such as architect, psychologist, physician, opera singer, and artist. Of course, this argument is more of a social nature than linguistic. *Profesor* (m./f.) is a neat illustration of a profession which enjoys high social status in Poland, despite the fact that, without a doubt, it is an overfeminized occupation, at least on the high school level. Nevertheless, the feminine derivative *profesorka* is claimed by Łaziński (2003) to be a purely colloquial and archaic term.

Interestingly, from the synchronic point of view, in Slovak and in Czech, the variable ‘high-status or intellectual occupation’ seems to play much less significant role than in Polish. Virtually all nouns connected to socially highly appreciated occupations occur in both genders, masculine and feminine, irrespective of the statistical majority. For Slovak, this rule is even more noticeable and transparent in category 6A “*Identity as*

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<sup>120</sup> According to Łaziński (2003: 322–23), the ratio between masculine and feminine forms in the PWN Web Corpus of Polish is e.g., 24:1 for *redaktor-redaktorka*. *Ambasador* and *prokurator* do not have feminine counterparts at all.

*determined by a position/rank/function in a particular company or organization*”, which contains words such as those below: *admirálka* (f.) ‘female admiral’, *ministerka* (f.) ‘female Minister’, *akademička* (f.) ‘female academician’, *generálka* (f.) ‘female general’. (Czech has identical lexemes for all these meanings.) Two or three decades ago, words like *generálka* (f.) ‘female general’, *diplomatka* ‘female diplomat’, *ministerka* (f.) ‘female Minister’, *hoteliérka* (f.) ‘hotel proprietor’, *chirurgička* (f.) ‘female surgeon’, *kozmonautka* (f.) ‘female astronaut’, etc. would have been rather odd, but their oddity would have been extra-linguistic rather than linguistic. The reality of female holders of prestigious jobs or highly ranked officers, officials, and managers was relatively foreign to a common Czech or Slovak raised in the traditionally patriarchal society. However, whenever a mention of a non-domestic female performer of a high-profile job occurred in the Czechoslovak media (e.g., information about Soviet female cosmonauts, the British female Prime Minister, etc.), Slovak and Czech morphology readily provided female/feminine terms, which were accepted without hesitation among Slovak and Czech speakers and became instantly used. Notice that the feminine terms in question were smoothly adopted by the speakers not due to any prescriptive policy of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences or the power of the centralized media, but due to the language system alone.

In their study of Polish gender, Koniuszaniec and Błaszowska (2003: 268–69) attempt to demonstrate the asymmetrical relationship between some masculine and feminine members of the pairs of related personal nouns by examples like *dyplomata* ‘diplomat’—*dyplomarka* ‘kind of briefcase’, *drukarz* ‘printer (person)’—*drukarka* ‘printer (object)’, and *pielgrzym* ‘pilgrim’—*pielgrzymka* ‘pilgrimage’, where the

masculine forms are personal, i.e., denote holders of the respective professions, while the feminine forms denote non-personal entities. However, in my opinion, the authors seem to be misinterpreting the examples in an effort to identify a male bias. The correlation between masculine and feminine forms should be approached more carefully, since it is primarily formal rather than sex/gender-related. The non-existent *\*dyplomatka* ‘female diplomat’ and *dyplomatka* ‘kind of briefcase’ would be homonyms synchronically.<sup>121</sup> Both are derivatives formed by means of the suffix *-ka*, which is itself semantically broad; it can denote a female agent and a thing. The same applies to *drukarz* — *drukarka*, and *piegrzym* — *pielgrzymka*.

Slovak exhibits similar behavior, as shown below. Just as in Polish, some Slovak masculine personal nouns also appear to be “paired” with non-personal nouns, as in (a); in some cases, homonymous feminine personal variants also exist, as illustrated in (b).

- a. Masculine personal and feminine non-personal nouns with the same stem
  - kovboj* (m.) ‘cowboy’
  - kovbojka* (f.) ‘western, horse opera’
  - furman* (m.) ‘carter, carrier’
  - furmanka* (f.) ‘carrying trade, carter’s business’
  - chytač* (m.) ‘catcher (person)’
  - chytačka* (f.) ‘hunting game, chase, tag (children’s game)’
- b. Homonymous feminine personal and non-personal nouns
  - lekárnik* (m.) ‘pharmacist’ — *lekárnička 1* (f.) ‘female pharmacist’
  - lekárnička 2* (f.) ‘first-aid kit’
  - mastič* (m.) ‘lubricator (person)’ — *mastička 1* (f.) ‘female lubricator’
  - mastička 2* (f.) ‘ointment’

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<sup>121</sup> Diachronically, there is a semantic relationship (metaphor).

*miešač* (m.) ‘blender, compounder’—*miešačka 1* (f.) ‘female blender, compounder’  
*miešačka 2* (f.) ‘cement mixer, mixing device’

*detektív* (m.) ‘detective’—*detektívka 1* (f.) ‘female detective’  
*detektívka 2* (f.) ‘detective story’

The masculine forms above are all agentive nouns, while the feminine forms are either agentive denotations for women holding the same kinds of jobs or homonymous non-personal nouns.

Curiously enough, an even more complex situation can arise in Slovak: *čistič* (m.) means 1. ‘cleaner, sweeper, sewerman’ (male person), 2. ‘filter, strainer, purifier, cleanser, refiner, depurator’ (inanimate object), while *čistička* (f.), formed on the same stem with the suffix *-ka*, denotes 1. ‘female cleaner’, 2. ‘purifier, sewage plant, purification plant’. Here we have two type of masculine forms —personal and non-personal, and two corresponding types of feminine forms – again, personal and non-personal.

In any case, the putative pairing of masculine personal nouns with homonyms of existent or non-existent feminine agentives in *-ka* should not be interpreted as evidence for androcentrism. Rather, it is an accident resulting from separate processes of word-formation.

#### 4.12.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 5A

##### 4.12.2.1. Lexical gaps

As noted above, virtually all the masculine vocational and avocational terms in Category 5A have or can theoretically have feminine counterparts; this renders the given

part of the Slovak lexicon highly symmetrical. Nevertheless, some female/feminine nouns fail to serve as sources of male/masculine derivatives. In some cases, biological restrictions—e.g., the inability of men to nurse and be a child's *dojka* 'wet nurse'—may be the cause of this asymmetry. However, more frequently the cause of the lexical gap is strictly prescribed social roles prior to the modern era. Words like *baba* 'midwife', *babica* 'midwife', *guvernantka* 'nurserymaid, governess', *varovkyňa* 'babysitter' are a reflection of this socio-cultural background; actively participating in delivering babies and taking care of young children was until recently considered a female domain, not suitable for men. Similarly, in rural culture in feudal times, only the following occupations were open to and predominantly held by women: *priadka* (f.) 'weaver', *driapačka* 'quilter', *páračka* 'woman who strips feathers from quill', *trepáčka* 'swingle, a woman beating flax', *práčka* 'washerwoman'.

Conversely, it must be noted that in Slovak there is also a limited class of masculine nouns denoting occupations which are exclusively associated with male agents, for which no feminine nouns can be derived. What is significant with respect to those terms is the fact that all the professions they denote were exclusively performed by men at some point of human history (mostly in feudal times), but nowadays are extinct. In other words, the social-economic situation changed before there was any sociolinguistic need to coin feminine counterparts for masculine personal nouns such as *furman* (m.) 'carter', *paholok* (m.) 'varlet', *valach* (m.) 'chief shepherd's helper', *honec* (m.) 'beater of a flock of sheep', *mendík* (m.) 'in the past, a poor student helping a protestant pastor at the parsonage'.

Another group of occupational terms that lack parallel feminine forms are those describing representatives of feudal military authority whose mission was to protect centralized Hungarian power<sup>122</sup>, ensure public security, and provide a basis for the development of agriculture, industry and commerce. The following male/masculine nouns fall in this group: *hajdúch* (m.) ‘heyduck, a mercenary foot soldier in Hungarian Empire; a halberdier of a Hungarian noble’; *pandúr* (m.) ‘a member of a security service in Hungary, a soldier in the Habsburg army of the eighteenth century’; *husár* ‘hussar, originally a noblemen’s armed security in the fifteenth century in Hungary; later in most European armies a member of the light horse cavalry’; *dráb* ‘feudal labor security provider, guard, messenger, performer of physical punishment, etc.’; *dragún* (m.) ‘a mounted soldier who dismounts to fight’. Evidently, women did not serve as protectors of the barons, feudal lords and nobles, thus no nouns had been created to denote female soldiers and security guards in feudal Hungary. These words, which are all archaisms found only in historical contexts, are of Hungarian, Balkan, or Western European provenience. However, the native lexemes *kat* (m.) ‘executioner’ and *hlásnik* (m.) ‘armed guard and night watchman’ also belong to this category.

Several other nouns exhibit gender asymmetry due to formal constraints. One example of this type of asymmetry (though not necessarily a clear gender-bias) can be found in the different designations for women and men with respect to job titles. In one of the so-called “women’s professions”, a female flight attendant is referred to as *letuška* (-ka being the typical feminine derivational suffix). However, there is no masculine counterpart \**letuš*; a male flight attendant is instead called *steward/steward* (m.). KSSJ

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<sup>122</sup> The Slovak lands were annexed to the Hungarian Kingdom in 1000 A.D. and remained part of Hungary (later the dual state of Austria-Hungary) until it collapsed in 1918.

lists *stevard* (originally *steward*) and its less frequently used feminine counterpart *stevardka* (f.), as well as *letuška*, for which, however, it does not cite any male/masculine counterpart.

In the Slovenský národný korpus, 996 lemmas for ‘*letuška*’ were identified, one of which, curiously enough, is feminine in agreement but clearly has a male referent:

*Fúzatá letuška—chlap , nám namiesto občerstvenia doniesol na tácke klbko vaty.  
Do uší...*<sup>123</sup>  
‘A moustached stewardess – a guy—brought us a cotton ball on a tray instead of refreshment. For the ears...’

The feminine loanword *stevardka/stewardka* has a considerably smaller number of lemmas: 40 for the first spelling, and 108 for the second. Masculine *letuš* was found only in three contexts, one of which is followed by a comment that suggests that the word is not fully assimilated:

*Už vidím nášeho letuša (alebo stewarda?), prináša nám chladené nápoje na malom vozíku...*  
‘I can already see our *letuš* (or steward?); he is bringing us refrigerated drinks on a small cart...’

The low number of lemmas, the Corpus comment above, and the mere three hits on Google (see below) clearly demonstrate that the word *letuš* is an occasionalism or an idiolectic expression.

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<sup>123</sup> [http://www.inzine.sk/support/article\\_short.asp?art=1939](http://www.inzine.sk/support/article_short.asp?art=1939), accessed 8/14/09.



*Nekonečnosť frankfurtského letiska, oduť letuš a štyri uškriekané detiská...*<sup>124</sup>

‘The infinity of the Frankfurt airport, a grumpy *letuš* and four screaming kids...’

*V lietadle sme sedeli spolu, ale vedľa mňa ešte sedel nejaký Englishman, ktorého “letuš” presadil, aby sme my dve mali viac miesta pri jedení.*<sup>125</sup>

‘On the plane we sat together, but next to me some Englishman sat too, who was asked to change seats by a “letuš”, so that the two of us could have more room while eating.’

*Chvíľu potom začali dve strašne škaredé letušky a jeden letuš servírovať jedlo a tak som ich bez váhania zobudil.*<sup>126</sup>

‘A moment later two terribly ugly female flight attendants and one *letuš* started serving the meal, so I woke them up without hesitation.’

The prescriptive guide *Kultúra slova* (1995) mentions an alternative masculine form for ‘flight attendant’, *letušiak*, which it classifies as colloquial or substandard.

Czech, it may be noted, has the same asymmetry: *?letuš* (m.) – *letuška* (f.), *stevard/steward* (m.) – *stevardka/stewardka* (f.). Curiously, the form *letuš* apparently can function as a female/feminine noun, too, as illustrated in the googled example below:

*Ve dverích nás vítá sympatická letuš v červené uniformě.*<sup>127</sup>

‘At the door an attractive<sub>F</sub> flight attendant<sub>F</sub> in a red uniform is welcoming us.’

Here the seemingly masculine form terminating in a consonant is, based on its agreement pattern, in fact a feminine, which is apparently non-declinable. One explanation for this

<sup>124</sup> <http://www.roncak.blog.sme.sk/c/.../Na-veku-nezalezi-3-Erekcia-z-exotiky.html>, accessed 8/17/09

<sup>125</sup> <http://www.klubsmvpo.szm.sk/stories/podte.htm>, accessed 8/17/09

<sup>126</sup> <http://vodaci.info/akcie/ekvador/>, accessed 8/17/09

<sup>127</sup> <http://www.stevard.net/madrid.htm>, accessed 8/17/09

may be that *letuš* is formed analogically with hypocoristics of women's proper names (e.g., *Maruška* — *Maruš*) in order to sound equally colloquial, familiar and/or “cool”. It is interesting to note that the pair ‘female flight attendant, stewardess’ – ‘male flight attendant, steward’ is frequently used to illustrate lexical gender asymmetry in other languages, too, including some non-Slavic languages. For example, Nissen (2002: 260) cites Spanish *azafata* (f.) ‘stewardess’ but *auxiliar de vuelo* (m.) ‘flight attendant’, while Engelberg (2002: 115) note the Finnish parallels *lentoemäntä* (f.) ‘flight hostess, stewardess’ but borrowed *stueritti* (m.) ‘steward’. On the other hand, Polish exhibits gender symmetry by using parallel loanwords as the terms for female and male flight attendants: *stewardesa* (f.) – *steward* (m.).

The type of asymmetry seen in *letuška*—*steward*, where two different lexical items are used to describe a male and a female holder of the same job, is relatively scarce in Slovak. The only other asymmetrical occupational terms are: *\*servír* (m.)/ *časník* (m.) – *servírka* (f.)/ *časníčka* (f.) ‘waiter’ – ‘waitress’ and *kouč* (m.), *tréner* (m.)/ *\*koučka* (f.), *trénerka* (f.) ‘coach, trainer’. We can also include the terms for village healers, *vedma* (f.)— *mudrc* (m.) ‘wise woman’ – ‘wise man’, if these are to be regarded as vocational or avocational terms. These asymmetries are laid out in Table 6.

masculine forms		feminine forms	
native	loanword	native	loanword
*/? <i>letuš</i>	<i>stevard/ steward</i>	<i>letuška</i>	<i>stevardka/ stewardka</i>
<i>čашník</i>	* <i>servír</i>	<i>čашníčka</i>	<i>servírka</i>
<i>tréner</i>	<i>kouč</i>	* <i>koučka</i>	<i>trénerka</i>
<i>mudrc</i>	—	<i>vedma</i>	—

Table 6. Asymmetrical pairs in Category 5A

#### 4.12.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men with a semantic difference

Within the domain of vocational and avocational terms (Category 5A), it is rather rare to find semantic differences between the two members of a pair, other than the reference to biological sex. In some languages, such gender-stereotypical asymmetries exist, e.g., English *governor/governess*, *mister/mistress*, *major/majorette*.<sup>128</sup> In some cases, the masculine members of the pairs are semantically neutral, while the feminine forms can be depreciative; such derogation often involves sexuality, e.g., *mistress* has mostly lost its original meaning ‘a woman in charge of a household’ and became ‘a woman who has an ongoing extramarital sexual relationship with a man’. (Cf. also *headmistress* ‘woman in charge of a preparatory school’. Historically, *mistress* could also be ‘female owner’ or ‘liege lady’.)

In Slovak, derogation of this type is usually not present, based on the data in KSSJ. Almost all existing pairs are semantically symmetrical. The only identified pair in

<sup>128</sup> Examples are from Hellinger (2001:109).

which the feminine member may (though need not) have a derogatory nuance is *masér* (m.) – *masérka* (f.) ‘masseur’ – ‘masseuse’, but this seems to be a matter of connotation rather than denotation.<sup>129</sup> Another semantically asymmetrical pair that does not involve any derogatory meaning is *sekretár* (m.) – *sekretárka* (f.), which reflects a difference in social status of a male and a female holder of the job: *sekretár* ‘secretary’ is characteristically a head of an administrative governmental department, while *sekretárka* is a personal assistant who performs clerical tasks for a boss or an organization. Similarly, *gazdiná* (f.) is a ‘housekeeper’, while *gazda* (m.) is either a ‘householder’, or a ‘manager’, or an ‘administrator of an estate’.

Two more pairs have been identified that exhibit partial asymmetry. The lexem *kartárka* (f.) denote a woman fortune-teller, while *kartár* (m.) means a person (male or female) who passionately likes playing cards. The noun *kňaz* (m.) refers to a clergyman in Christian churches who is authorized to perform various religious rites, while *kňazka* (f.) denotes a priestess in the pagan sense – a non-Christian spiritual leader.

#### 4.12.2.3. Epicenes

No examples are attested in Category 5A.

#### 4.12.2.4. Double gender nouns

No double-gender nouns are attested in Category 5A.

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<sup>129</sup> <http://www.bratislava.olx.sk/maserka-iid-2549763>, accessed 10/31/09

#### **4.13. Category 5B: Identity based on one's father's or spouse's vocation or avocation**

Category 5B contains a small class of the female/feminine counterparts to male/masculine professional terms; these denote the wives of men having high-status occupations, mostly in a historical context.<sup>130</sup> Examples of this type are not numerous: *farárka* (f.) 'wife of a clergyman', cf. *farár* (m.) 'clergyman'; *bačovka* (f.) 'wife of a chief shepherd', cf. *bača* (m.) 'chief shepherd'; *hájnička*, *horárka* (f.) 'wife of a ranger, game keeper', cf. *hájnik*, *horár* (m.) 'ranger, game keeper'. Notice again that all seven of the feminine forms in this category can also function as denotations of female holders of jobs, i.e., can belong to Category 5A.

#### **4.14. Category 6A: Identity as determined by one's own position/ rank/ function in a particular company or organization**

Like Category 5, Category 6 is divided into two subcategories, based on whether the position/rank/function in a particular company or organization belongs to the referent (6A) or the referent's father or spouse (6B). Category 6A contains a total of 372 dictionary entries. There are 172 masculine-feminine pairs; masculine-only nouns are better represented (118) than feminine-only forms (10). Only two neuter nouns are attested in the category.

Category 6A also includes eleven abbreviated degrees or ranks. All of these can refer to both sexes, although only four of the corresponding full forms (in both genders) are listed in KSSJ; those four are also included in the count of masculine-feminine pairs

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<sup>130</sup> They can also refer to the wives of a male member of the royalty and nobility, e.g., *cisár* (m.) – *cisárovná* (f.) 'emperor' – 1. 'wife of emperor', 2. 'empress' (See Category 4Ab).

above. The remaining seven forms are not relevant for the overall statistics of this dissertation.

On the basis of the analysis of Slovak personal nouns relating to position, rank, or a function in a company or organization, the following major semantic classes can be established:

- a. General terms such as *subordinate, leader, boss*.
- b. Terms referring to ranks, positions or functions in military hierarchies, e.g., *captain, general, lieutenant*.
- c. Terms referring to ranks, positions or functions in administrative or political hierarchies, e.g. *mayor, reeve, governor*.
- d. Terms referring to ranks, positions or functions within an educational system, e.g., *principal, sophomore, dean*.
- e. Terms referring to ranks, positions or functions in an ecclesiastical hierarchy, e.g., *cardinal, novice, bishop*.

#### 4.14.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 6A

Women in Slovakia are increasingly engaged in managing, directing, leading, chairing and other activities that involve subordination, particularly in small businesses, academia, and administration, and to a lesser extent in the military and in political life. The actual usage of the feminine forms generated by the language is increasing in proportion. Most of the general terms such as *funkcionár* (m.) ‘official’, *hodnostár* (m.) ‘dignitary’, *podriadený* (m.) ‘subordinate’, *nadriadený* (m.) ‘supervisor’, *líder* (m.) ‘leader’, *asistent* (m.) ‘assistant’ are cited in KSSJ as masculine-only. However, their feminine counterparts are listed in other prestigious dictionaries, including SSJ, and are frequently used by speakers of Slovak: *funkcionárka* (f.) ‘female official’, *hodnostárka*

(f.) ‘female dignitary’, *podriadená* (f.) ‘female subordinate’, *nadriadená* (f.) ‘woman supervisor’, *líderka* (f.) ‘woman leader’, *asistentka* (f.) ‘female assistant’.

One of the features that sets Category 6A apart from the rest of the categories in this study is the fact that the semantic meaning of the category (rank, function, position) is in many personal nouns directly encoded in a prefix or in a lexical morpheme constituting a compound. This applies equally to feminine and masculine forms. The most typical prefixes indicating a position within a structure on a vertical line are *pod-* ‘sub’- and *nad-* ‘super-’. In spatial terms, *pod-* indicates a downward direction, while *nad-* suggests an upward direction. Within a social hierarchy, *pod-* can be metaphorically translated as subordination, inferiority, subjection, and subservience, and *nad-* as supervising, managing, inspecting, and directing.

KSSJ includes only two prefixed entries that imply superior status (in both grammatical genders): *nadporučík* (m.)—*nadporučíčka* (f.) ‘first lieutenant’, *nadpráporčík* (m.)—*nadpráporčíčka* (f.) ‘chief warrant officer 3’. However, the dictionary cites more examples expressing subordinate status: *poddůstojník* (m.)—*poddůstojníčka* (f.) ‘non-commissioned officer’, *podplukovník* (m.)—*podplukovníčka* (f.) ‘lieutenant colonel’, *podporučík* (m.)—*podporučíčka* (f.) ‘third lieutenant’, *podpráporčík* (m.)—*podpráporčíčka* (f.) ‘chief warrant officer 1’. Note that all of these terms are from the lexical field of military ranks. This is an illustration of the fact that not only extra-linguistic reality changes—in particular, the proportion of men and women entering a military service<sup>131</sup>—but also the perception of women’s occupational and power roles.

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<sup>131</sup> Until December 25, 2005, all male individuals who met the age and physical readiness standards had to fulfill (originally a two-year, later a shorter) military service obligation, either by active service or, exceptionally, through some alternatives (typically, as civilian professionals). Women could join the

Such changes are closely correlated with language dynamics and are manifested by parallel grammatical gender forms. It should also be noted that the highest ranks such as general, major general, and lieutenant general are, in Slovakia, still typically reserved for men; hence the corresponding terms *generál* (m.) ‘general’, *generálmajor* (m.) ‘major general’, and *generálporučík* (m.) ‘lieutenant general’ occur only in the masculine, a presumably transient reflection of extra-linguistic reality. The generative potential of Slovak morphology allows for the respective feminine forms, but since the female referents are absent, at least in reference to the Slovak context, the terms do not occur in common usage. However, change can be effected quickly. In reference to non-Slovak contexts the feminine forms are freely used, as illustrated below:

*Správkyňa väznice Abú Ghraib v Bagdade, brigádna generálka americkej armády Janis Karpinski tvrdí, že zneužívanie väzňov pred ňou úmyselne tajili.*<sup>132</sup>  
 ‘The commander of the prison in Abu Ghraib in Baghdad, Brigadier-General Janis Karpinski of the American Army, claims that the prisoner abuse was deliberately kept secret from her.’

KSSJ lists only three other personal nouns prefixed with the prefix *pod-*. One is the general term *podriadený* (m.) ‘subordinate’, a substantivized adjective; its feminine counterpart *podriadená* (f.) is absent from KSSJ. The remaining two are historical terms: *podrichtár* (m.) ‘deputy reeve’ and *podžupan* (m.) ‘deputy district administrator’, which lack feminine counterparts because there were no possible female referents in the society in which these words were current.

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military voluntarily; however, such cases used to be rather rare. In 2004, Slovakia joined NATO and engaged in forming a professional army, which is equally open to men and women. According to *Pravda* (November 6, 2007) one of the major Slovak daily newspapers, women now constitute more than 10 percent of the army.

<sup>132</sup> <http://www.obroda.sk/clanok/12034/Vojacka-Englandova-vypoveda-pred-sudom/>, accessed 11/1/09.



Another prefix which specifies a position within a series of ordered groupings is the borrowing *vice-*. According to the OED, in English *vice-* is used with “personal designations, especially titles of office, indicating that the person so called acts temporarily or regularly in place of, in the absence of, or as assistant to, another who properly holds the office or bears the title or name.”<sup>133</sup> In other words, *vice-* indicates position number two from the top down. The same principle of use is found in Slovak words with *vice-*, e.g., *vicekonzul* (m.)—*vicekonzulka* (f.) ‘vice-consul’, *vicepremiér* (m.)—*vicepremiérka* (f.) ‘vice-prime minister’, *viceprezident* (m.)—*viceprezidentka* (f.) ‘vice-president’, *vicemajster* (m.)—*vicemajsterka* (f.) ‘vice-champion’, *vicemissák* (m.)—*vicemiss* (f.) ‘first runner-up/second runner-up in a beauty pageant’.<sup>134</sup> Predictably enough, *vicemissák* (m.) ‘male first runner-up/male second runner-up in a beauty pageant’ (as well as *missák*<sup>135</sup> (m.) ‘Mr. [lit. ‘male Miss’]) are not present in KSSJ, PSP SCS, SSS, or HSJ. The basic feminine term *miss* is a relatively new loanword and is non-declinable; *vicemissák* is a masculine derivative referring to a male person. As Slovakia is becoming a modern Western society, preoccupation with body image, fashion, and concern for personal appearance in general are becoming more and more typical of men, particularly in urban areas. Beauty pageants, once considered an exclusively female domain, are slowly opening to men, too.

In terms of hierarchy, the Latin prefix *pro-* has a meaning similar to *vice-*: ‘deputizing for’. Consider the following examples from academia: *prodekan* (m.) ‘assistant dean’, *prorektor* (m.) ‘sub-rector’. On a social level, overt sex discrimination is

<sup>133</sup> <http://www.oed.com>, accessed 6/24/09.

<sup>134</sup> <http://www.icm.sk/subory/04poprad.pdf>, accessed 10/31/09.

<sup>135</sup> *Missák* and *Mr.* co-exist in Slovak as terms describing a male winner of a beauty pageant.

not present anymore in certain hierarchies. This applies primarily to fields like education (including academia), since both sexes have had equal access to education since the end of the Second World War. Also, both men and women have been given an equal opportunity to be employed in the educational system and to work in leading positions such as principal, headmaster/headmistress, dean, rector, etc. Thus, even though the feminine counterparts of the terms cited above do not appear in KSSJ, they do occur in PSP and in SNK. Judging from my Google searches, women are in leadership positions in a number of Slovak universities, colleges, and schools.

Consider also the following examples representing various levels within student and other academic hierarchies: *prvák* (m.)—*prváčka* (f.) ‘first-grader’, *ôsmak* (m.)—*ôsmačka* (f.) ‘eight-grader’, *primán* (m.)—*primánka* (f.) ‘first-former in a so-called (eight-year) classical grammar-school ((*osemročné*) *reálne gymnázium*); equivalent to a fifth-grader in a regular primary (i.e., elementary + middle) school’; *tercián* (m.)—*terciánka* (f.) ‘third-grader in a so-called (eight-year) classical grammar-school ((*osemročné*) *reálne gymnázium*)’; *treťoročiak* (m.)—*treťoročička* (f.) ‘third-year university student’; *dekan* (m.)—*dekanka* (f.) ‘dean’; *rektor* (m.)—*rektorka* (f.) ‘rector, president of a university’. Here again, the gender symmetry in the given lexical field of educational hierarchies is obvious. The only terms in this category that depart from masculine-feminine symmetry are the feminine epicene honorific titles *Spektabilita* ‘honorific title of a dean’ and *Magnificencia* ‘honorific title of the president of a

university’ and gender-less abbreviated titles<sup>136</sup> (e.g. *mjr* ‘major’, *pplk.* ‘lieutenant colonel’, etc.).

The Catholic and Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy in Slovakia exhibits a remarkably high degree of gender asymmetry, as will be shown in the following sections. However, there are two spheres within which all ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchical structure of both Churches are equally accessible to both women and men. One is life in religious orders — sex-segregated religious communities residing in monasteries or convents, dedicated to prayer, contemplation and/or active service to the poor, needy, or sick. Religious orders play a significant role in the Roman Catholic, Byzantine Catholic, and Eastern Orthodox churches. (They are also part of religious service in some Protestant churches, but to a much smaller extent, and they are less formally organized there.) Within both men’s and women’s orders, relatively parallel hierarchies exist. For example, KSSJ contains the following lexical pairs which denote heads or superiors of abbeys, monasteries, or convents, or orders in general: *abbé* (m.) ‘abbot’—*abatyša* (f.) ‘abbess’, *opát* (m.) ‘abbot’—*opátka* (f.) ‘abbess’, *prior* (m.) ‘male prior’—*priorka* (f.) ‘woman prior’, *(otec) predstavený* (m.) ‘(Father) Superior’—*(matka) predstavená* (f.) ‘(Mother) Superior’. There are also terms for the different stages at the beginning of monastic life, which apply equally to nuns/sisters and monks/brethren: *kandidát* (m.)—*kandidátka* (f.) ‘candidate’, *postulant* (m.)—*postulantka* (f.) ‘postulant’, *novic* (m.)—

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<sup>136</sup> Syntactically, these are treated like the equivalent non-abbreviated forms; they mainly occur before surnames.

*novicka* (f.) ‘novice’, *junior* (m.)—*juniorka* (f.) ‘junior’.<sup>137</sup> Of these terms, only *novic* (m.)—*novicka* (f.) are listed in KSSJ; all the other examples were found in the SNK.

The second class of symmetrical nouns are masculine and feminine terms referring to deceased members, both men and women, enjoying high status due to their spiritually perfect and morally virtuous life: *svätý, svätec* (m.)—*svätá, svätica* (f.) ‘saint’, *blahoslavený* (m.)—*blahoslavená* (f.) ‘blessed’.<sup>138</sup> Only those who lead exemplary life, could be recognized by the Catholic and Orthodox churches as saints—*svätí, svätci* (m., pl.)—*sväté, svätice* (f., pl.) after their death and—as believed—accession to heaven. The process of canonization, i.e., church’s official recognition of the person’s sanctity is gradual and is preceded by beatification of the person (declaring him or her a ‘blessed’—*blahoslavený* (m.)/*blahoslavená* (f.)). Note that both *svätý* (m.)—*svätá* (f.) ‘saint’ and *blahoslavený* (m.)—*blahoslavená* (f.) are substantivized adjectives.

It was noted above that the clerical hierarchy is a male-only domain in the Roman Catholic, Byzantine Catholic, and Eastern Orthodoxy churches of Slovakia. By contrast, The socio-linguistic situation in other two major churches in Slovakia—the Augsburg Lutherans (*evanjelici (augsburského vyznania)*) and the Reformed Christian Church (*reformovaní kresťania*) is different, since their ecclesiastical structure allows for the ordination of women as well as men. Consequently, the following examples of lexical pairs can be found in Slovak: *kaplán* (m.)—*kapláňka* (f.) ‘priest assisting a parish priest’, *farár* (m.)—*farárka* (f.) ‘parish priest’, *vikár* (m.)—*vikárka* (f.) ‘vicar’, *biskup* (m.)—*biskupka* (f.) ‘bishop’. In addition to denoting a person in lesser theological orders, the

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<sup>137</sup> The terms *nun*, *sister*, *monk*, and *brother* are used very loosely here. Since they do not relate to a rank, position, or function, but rather vocation (Category 5A in my classification), no detailed explanation of the difference is necessary.

<sup>138</sup> The feminine form *blahoslavená* is not listed in KSSJ.

terms *diakon* (m.) and *diakonka* (f.) in Protestant churches also denote a person performing acts of charity called ‘diakonia’, mostly tending to the sick, the old and the weak in hospitals.

#### 4.14.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 6A

##### 4.14.2.1. Lexical gaps

The question of how the church hierarchy is reflected in language deserves special attention, because it represents one of major semantics fields involving lexical gaps. For historical reasons (which, in many cases, persist into the present day), women are underrepresented and often invisible linguistically in the church system of ranking and organizing people.<sup>139</sup> According to the U.S. Department of State 2005 census, based on information from the Government of the Slovak Republic, Roman Catholics (*(rímsko)katolíci*) constitute 68.9 percent of Slovakia’s population, Byzantine Catholics (*(gréckokatolíci)*)- 4.1 percent, and Orthodox Christians (*prvoslávní*) 1 percent. In all three churches, the ecclesiastical hierarchy is exclusively male. The Catechism of the Catholic Church (the predominant denomination in Slovakia) describes the position of the church on ordaining women as follows: “Only a baptized man (In Latin, *vir*) validly receives sacred ordination.”<sup>140</sup> Similarly, the Declaration on the Question of the Admission of Women to the Ministerial Priesthood” (1976)<sup>141</sup> concludes that the Church “... does not consider herself authorized to admit women to priestly ordination.” This situation results

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<sup>139</sup> The only systemic occurrence of terms referring to women is in protestant churches of Slovakia and in religious orders, which is discussed in Section 4.13.1.

<sup>140</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catholic\\_Church\\_doctrine\\_on\\_the\\_ordination\\_of\\_women](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catholic_Church_doctrine_on_the_ordination_of_women), accessed 06/20/09

<sup>141</sup> <http://www.ourladywarriors.org/teach/inteinsi.htm>, accessed 6/20/09

from various doctrinal, theological, and historical reasons, including the faithfulness of Catholic Church to its historic tradition, and its doctrine of the “sacramental nature” of the priesthood (ibid.). Extra-linguistic reality, in particular the absence of women in the Catholic and Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchies, does not prevent the Slovak language from generating feminine counterparts, but, with no female referents, the slots in lexical pairs are typically blank<sup>142</sup>.

Therefore, statistically, the terminology for the Catholic and Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy demonstrates the highest number of lexical gaps in Category 6A. Very few terms can function generically, representing both sexes, since female referents are for the most part absent in the real world. In KSSJ, 36 masculine terms are found in this semantic domain, 27 of which lack feminine counterparts. The remaining pairs primarily denote representatives of religious orders (see 4.13.1, above). Note that one feminine-only noun is identified (*eminencia*), but its referent is always a male person (bishop).

The concept of *ecclesiastical hierarchy*, in its modern and narrow usage, refers to the ordering of the clergy of the church. In the case of Roman Catholicism, the dominant religion in Slovakia, this means bishops (including the Pope, the Bishop of Rome), priests and deacons: *pápež* (m.) ‘Pope’, *prelát* (m.) ‘prelate’, *kardinál* (m.) ‘cardinal’, *metropolitan* (m.) ‘metropolitan’, *arcibiskup* (m.) ‘archbishop’, *biskup* (m.) ‘bishop’, *prepošt* (m.) ‘provost’, *monsignor* (m.) ‘monsignor’, *farár* (m.) ‘parish priest’, *vikár* (m.) ‘vicar’, *kaplán* (m.) ‘young priest assisting a parish priest’, *diakon* ‘deacon’, etc. It

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<sup>142</sup> *Pápežka Jana* ‘(Female) Pope Joan’ is one of a very few exceptions. The feminine form does not occur in any of major Slovak dictionaries, but it was attested on Internet, e.g., [www.modlitba.sk/htm/zaujem/.../news19\\_2007.htm](http://www.modlitba.sk/htm/zaujem/.../news19_2007.htm), accessed 11/1/09.

should be noted that the examples above do not reflect a vertical hierarchy alone, but rather represent various types of positions, functions, ranks, and honorary titles within the Roman Catholic Church. This is due to the fact that, although Catholic priests usually serve in a diocese or in one of the religious orders, they may be assigned to act as priests outside their diocese or religious order, e.g., in a seminary, in the Holy See's diplomatic services, in a military unit, in a hospital, as missionaries, etc.

In linguistic terms, all identified (male) referents are assigned masculine gender, except for some feminine honorific terms of address (and reference): (*Vaša*) *svätost'* (f.) '(Your) Holiness' (of the Pope), (*Vaša*) *eminencia* (f.) '(Your) Eminence' (of cardinals), (*Vaša*) *arcibiskupská milost'* (f.) '(Your Archiepiscopal) Grace' (of archbishops), (*Vaša*) *biskupská milost'* (f.) '(Your Episcopal) Grace' (of bishops).<sup>143</sup> These honorific titles are "personalized" feminine abstract nouns. Their grammatical gender has not been changed, regardless of the shift from an abstract noun to a personal noun. All the feminine honorific titles follow the regular feminine agreement pattern, as illustrated below:

*Vaša Svätost' k týmto svedkom viery priradila aj Božích služobníkov biskupov Michala Buzalku a Jána Vojtaššáka.*<sup>144</sup>

'Your<sub>F</sub> Holiness<sub>F</sub> included<sub>F</sub> among those witnesses of faith also God's servants bishops Michal Buzalka and Ján Vojtaššák.'

Other masculine words related to males representing certain rank within a religious structure are mostly loan words such as *láma* (m.) 'lama', *dalajláma* (m.) 'dalajlama', *ajatolláh* (m.) 'ayatollah', *guru* (m.) 'guru', etc.

<sup>143</sup> *Eminencia* is the only feminine noun in this semantic class that is listed in my primary source, KSSJ.

<sup>144</sup> <http://www.czsk.net/svet/clanky/sr/papezodjezd.html>, accessed 11/1/09.

As indicated earlier, due to social-historical reasons two historical terms *podrichtár* (m.) ‘deputy reeve’ and *podžupan* (m.) ‘deputy district administrator’ lack feminine counterparts because there were no possible female referents. Interestingly enough, with a relatively recently introduced geographical-administrative reform, the terms *župan* (m.) and *županka* (f.) ‘district administrator’ are being revived in Slovak.

Some terms do not occur in pairs due to formal and/or pragmatic reasons, e.g., *koryfej* (m.) ‘coryphaeus’, *bos(s)* (m.) ‘boss’. One possible reason for this asymmetry may be the fact that their meaning may be relatively obscure to the speakers of the language, so that the words are avoided in actual usage in either gender (e.g., *koryfej*). Alternatively, the asymmetry may be due to their phonetic realization, which might resemble other words which speakers tend to avoid in a context of hierarchy; for example, *boska/bosska* might sound similar to a feminine adjective *božská* ‘heavenly’ or the verb ‘to kiss’ in the third-person singular present *bozká* ‘s/he kisses’.

#### 4.14.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men, with a semantic difference

No examples were found in Category 6A.

#### 4.14.2.3. Epicenes

Some feminine non-personal words can be used metaphorically to refer to humans, e.g., *hlava* (f.) ‘head’, *štruktúra* (f.) ‘structure’ (used as a pejorative noun to refer to a hard-core Communist collaborator, official, or dignitary), *šarža* (f.) ‘rank’. As mentioned in Section 4.13.1, the feminine epicene honorific titles *Spektabilita* ‘dean’ and *Magnificencia* ‘rector’ can refer to both sexes as well.



#### 4.14.2.4. Double gender nouns

No instances of double gender nouns were found in Category 6A.

#### **4.15. Category 6B: Identity as determined by one's father's or spouse's position/ rank/ function in a particular company or organization**

According to KSSJ, only two feminine terms can function as denotations of female spouses of the holder of some rank: *richtárka* 'reeve's wife' and *senátorka* 'senator's wife'. These nouns can also denote a female reeve and a woman senator, respectively.

#### **4.16. Category 7: Identity based on membership in or adherence to an organization**

Category 7 contains 107 lemmas, 60 of which occur in pairs. There are 44 masculine-only nouns and three feminine-only nouns. Neuters are not represented. One explanation for this is that there is little compatibility between the concept of a young, immature person (on the plane of expression frequently assigned a neuter gender) and their membership in an organization, which almost exclusively refers to adult, sex-specified persons (which typically are assigned either a masculine or feminine gender).

Category 7 comprises personal nouns denoting members of cultural and intellectual societies, associations, groups or organizations, e.g., *davista* (m.) 'DAV-ist, a member of a group of intellectuals around the journal DAV'; singing and dancing ensembles, e.g., *filharmonik* (m.) 'member of a philharmonic orchestra', *sľukárka* (f.) 'female member of the Slovak Folk Ensemble *Slovenský ľudový umelecký kolektív*

(*SLUK*), *lúčničiar* ‘dancer or musician in the folk ensemble ‘*Lúčnica*’; co-operatives, e.g., *družstevníčka* ‘female member of a co-operative’; criminal organizations, e.g., *mafian* ‘mafioso’, *mafisto* ‘mafioso’, *gangster* ‘gangster’; youth organizations, e.g., *skautka* (f.) ‘female scout’, *pionier* (m.) ‘young pioneer’; lodges, e.g., *murár* (m.) ‘freemason’; political parties, e.g., *republikán* (m.) ‘Republican’, *agrárnik* (m.) ‘Agrarian’, *koaličník* (m.) ‘Coalitionist’, *ľudák* (m.) ‘member or supporter of Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party’; military, militia, police or resistance units and organizations, e.g., *gestapák* (m.) ‘Gestapo’, *červenoarmejec* (m.) ‘Red Army soldier’, *partizán* (m.) ‘resistance fighter, guerilla’, *kozák* (m.) ‘Cossack’, *gardista* (m.) ‘Hlinka’s guardsman’, *eštebák* (m.) ‘member of or collaborator with the State Secret Service (*Štátna bezpečnosť* ŠTB)’; religious-administrative units, e.g., *farník* (m.) ‘parishioner’, *sektár* (m.) ‘sectarian’; and religious orders (e.g., *benediktín* (m.) ‘Benedictine’, *alžbetínka* (f.) ‘sister of the *Order of St. Elizabeth of Hungary*’, *salezián* (m.) ‘Salesian’, *karmelitánka* (f.) ‘Carmelitan’).

As mentioned earlier, there are certain inconsistencies in the lexicographic recording of feminine forms in KSSJ; many well-attested lexemes are absent for no apparent reason. For example, the feminine counterparts of the most general terms such as ‘members’ and ‘non-members’, are symmetrical: *straník* (m.)—*stranička* (f.) ‘party member’; *nestránik* (m.)—*nestarnička* (f.) ‘party non-member’; *člen* (m.)—*členka* (f.) ‘member’. However, the feminine counterpart to *nečlen* ‘non-member’, *nečlenka* ‘non-member’, is not cited in KSSJ. Other attested feminine forms that are omitted in KSSJ include *gardistka* (f.) ‘guardswoman’,<sup>145</sup> *odbojárka* (f.) ‘female resistance member’,<sup>146</sup>

<sup>145</sup> <http://www.juls.savba.sk/sr/1942/5-6/sr1942-5-6-lq.pdf>, accessed 10/29/09

*audítorka* (f.) ‘woman financial guard commissary’,<sup>147</sup> *legionárka* (f.) ‘woman legionary’,<sup>148</sup> and *gangsterka* (f.) ‘female gangster’.<sup>149</sup>

#### 4.16.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 7

Of the 107 lemmas identified in KSSJ, 60 occur in pairs (30 pairs total). However, as noted earlier, the figure representing symmetrical pairs in this category should actually be higher, given that some feminine forms which are absent from KSSJ are attested in other sources.

The symmetrical relationships in this category include both established pairs, e.g., *člen* (m.)—*členka* (f.) ‘member’, and nascent ones, e.g. *mafisto* (m.) ‘male mafioso’, which is paired with the occasionalism *mafistka* (f.) ‘female mafioso’. (The more frequent synonymical term *mafiánka* is formed on a different stem.)

A very intriguing area of research is the relatively symmetrical word-formation of (popular) personal nouns denoting members of religious orders. These are well represented in Category 7, despite the fact that the existing symmetry is sometimes ignored by KSSJ. Some terms are motivated by the name of a place that was crucial to the order’s history; for example, *premonštráti* (m. pl.) ‘Premonstratensians’ are named after their place of foundation, Prémontré, France.<sup>150</sup> Other terms derive from a charismatic feature typical for the order, e.g., *verbisti* (m., pl.) ‘Divine Word Missionaries (Societas Verbi Divini)’, from Latin *verbum* ‘word’, or the name of one of

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<sup>146</sup> PSP

<sup>147</sup> PSP, SCS

<sup>148</sup> PSP

<sup>149</sup> SCS

<sup>150</sup> [http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prémontré\\_Abbey](http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prémontré_Abbey), accessed 7/3/09

the order's religious symbols, e.g., *kapucíni* 'Capuchin Franciscans', from Italian *cappuccio* 'long hood'. However, most religious orders are named after their founder or some other saint or a biblical figure.

From the point of view of word-formation, one of the following suffixes is added to the proper name to form a masculine noun denoting a male member of a religious order: *-ín*, e.g., *palotín* 'Pallottine', from (Vincent) Pallotti; *-ián*, e.g., *bazilián* 'Basilian', from St. Basil the Great; *-án*: *dominikán* 'Dominican', from St. Dominic; and *-ita*, e.g., *jezuita* 'Jesuit', from (Latin) Iesu 'Jesus'. In other words, a proper noun (denoting a single male person or a single female person) serves as the base for a new word-formation; a common personal noun is created, which carries the meaning 'follower of the person thus named'. This may subsequently give rise to a noun denoting a 'follower' of an opposite sex. To form a feminine counterpart denoting a female member of a religious order, *-ka* is added to the name of the male member: *paulín* (m.)—*paulínka* (f.) 'Paulinist', *albertín* (m.)—*albertínka* (f.) 'Albertine', *bazilián* (m.)—*baziliánka* (f.) 'Basilian', *benediktín* (m.)—*benediktínka* (f.) 'Benedictine', *vincentín* (m.)—*vincentka* (f.) 'Vincentian', *františkán* (m.)—*františkánka* (f.) 'Franciscan'.

What is striking about this lexical class is the multi-directionality of the motivation and derivation. The most typical pattern is that a masculine proper noun denoting a male person gives rise to a masculine common personal noun, which subsequently can (but need not to) give rise to a feminine noun referring to a woman, as illustrated in Table 7. This kind of derivation is a two-stage process, during which feminine common nouns (if appropriate referents exist) are created from masculine common nouns, which are derived from male/masculine proper nouns.

Proper noun (man)	Masculine common noun	Feminine common noun
<i>Pavol</i> ‘Paul the First Hermit’	<i>paulín, pavlín</i> (m.)	<i>paulínka, pavlínka</i> (f.)
<i>Albert</i> ( <i>Adam Chmielowski</i> )	<i>albertín</i> (m.)	<i>albertínka</i> (f.)
<i>Bazil</i> ‘Basil (the Great)’	<i>bazilián</i> (m.)	<i>baziliánka</i> (f.)
<i>Benedikt</i> ‘Benedict’	<i>benediktín</i> (m.)	<i>benediktínka</i> (f.)
<i>Vincent</i> ( <i>de Paul</i> )	<i>vincentín</i> (m.)	<i>vincentka</i> (f.)
<i>František</i> ‘Francis’	<i>františkán</i> (m.)	<i>františkánka</i> (f.)
<i>Cyril</i>	—————	<i>cyrilka</i>

Table 7: Names of members of religious orders derived from masculine proper nouns

Feminine common nouns denoting women derived from a male proper noun are rare, but possible, as illustrated by the last entry in Table 7. Interestingly, the given feminine noun *cyrilka* is derived directly from the masculine proper name *Cyril*, without being “mediated” via masculine common noun derivative. If a male counterpart existed, the morphological rules illustrated by the other nouns in Table 7 would probably generate one of the following (non-existing) forms: *\*cyrilánka* (from *\*cyrilián*), *\*cyrilistka* (from *\*cyrilista*), *\*cyrilínka* (from *\*cyrilín*) or *\*cyrilitka* (from *\*cyrilita*).

Female/feminine proper nouns may also serve as bases for common names (Table 8).

Interestingly enough, there is only one instance of a female/feminine noun that serves as the base a masculine common nouns that, in its turn, serves as the base for a feminine derivative, on the pattern of most of the nouns in Table 7: *Mária* ‘Mary’— *marián* (m.)—

*mariánka* (f.). All other examples follow a different rule, according to which masculine nouns are possible (given the morphological structure of feminine nouns), but non-existent. These can be considered true lexical gaps. (No male/masculine nouns have been identified which would be directly derived from a female/feminine proper noun.)

Proper noun (woman)	Masculine common noun	Feminine common noun
<i>Mária</i> ‘Mary’	<i>marián</i> (m.)	<i>mariánka</i> (f.)
<i>Alžbeta</i> ‘Elizabeth’	* <i>alžbetín</i>	<i>alžbetínka</i>
<i>Uršula</i> ‘Ursula’	* <i>uršulín</i>	<i>uršulínka</i>
<i>Klára</i> ‘Clara’	* <i>klaris</i> (?)	<i>klariska</i>

Table 8: Names of members of religious orders derived from feminine proper nouns

#### 4.16.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 7

##### 4.16.2.1. Lexical gaps

No gender asymmetry is attested due to biological constraints. However, there are several masculine nouns that lack feminine counterparts due to social constraints in the past. For example, the masculine lexeme *pétepák* denotes a soldier assigned to the auxiliary technical battalion (PTP, ‘Pomocný technický prápor ‘Auxiliary technical battalion’) in Czechoslovakia in the 1950s. The noun *davista* denotes a member of a leftist group of Slovak intellectuals, artists, and politicians who published the journal “DAV”; the group was founded in 1922 and had a strong influence on cultural and political life of Slovakia between the two world wars. The term *labanec* (m.) denotes a

Hapsburg's soldier during the Tököli, Rákóczi and Boczkai's uprisings; the term *honvéd* (m.) refers to the Hungarian home defence soldier during Austrian-Hungarian Empire. *janičiar* (m.) 'janizary', was a member of a Turkish elitist infantry that existed until 1826.<sup>151</sup> Similarly, *mameluk* 'mameluk' is a historic term referring to an Egyptian slave soldier.

Not only was the military previously an exclusively male domain, but certain religious orders were (and continue to be) strictly male as well, or strictly female for that matter. For instance, there is no female/feminine parallel to *kamaldul* 'Camaldulite, Camaldolese' or *karuzián* 'Carthusian', and no male/masculine counterpart exists to *klariska* 'Poor Clare' (see also Table 8, above).

#### 4.16.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men with a semantic difference

No examples were found in Category 7

#### 4.16.2.3. Epicenes

No epicene nouns occur in Category 7.

#### 4.16.2.4. Double gender nouns

No double-gender nouns are not found in Category 7.

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<sup>151</sup><http://www.dictionary.reference.com/browse/janizary>; accessed 7/4/09.

#### 4.17. Category 8: Identity as defined by adherence to an ideology

This category contains 254 lemmas. Of the 169 masculine forms, 84 are paired with feminine counterparts. Only one feminine noun lacks a counterpart. Category 8 does not include any neuters at all.

The masculine nouns in this category display a variety of suffixes:

-*ista* (*dadaista* ‘dadaist’, *pacifista* ‘pacifist’)  
-*ita* (*husita* ‘Hussite’)  
-*óg* (*demagóg* ‘demagogue’, *ideológ* ‘ideologist’, *scientológ* ‘scientologist’)  
-*ik* (*dialektik* ‘dialectician’, *pragmatik* ‘pragmatist’)  
-*ár* (*doktrinár* ‘doctrinarian, dogmacist’, *bludár* ‘misbeliever’, *frakcionár* ‘fractionalist’, *slobodomurár* ‘free-mason’)  
-*iar* (*ľavičiar* ‘leftist’)  
-*ník* (*učeník* ‘apostle, follower’)  
-*tel’* (*buditel’* ‘revivalist, awakener’)  
-*č* (*vyznavač* ‘worshipper, professor’)  
-*ca* (*zástanca* ‘advocate, proponent’)  
-*ec* (*neverec* ‘non-believer’, *osvietenec* ‘enlightener’).

Among all these suffixes, the originally borrowed *-ista* is the most frequent. Other originally borrowed suffixes (*-ita*, *-ik*, *-óg*) are far less productive. Nouns with the indigenous suffixes *-tel’*, *-č*, *-ník* are often derived from verbs, less frequently from participles, adjectives or nouns. Derivation from verbs is rather limited in masculine nouns in *-iar/-ár*.

Strikingly, whereas masculine nouns can take a variety of suffixes, feminization of personal nouns denoting adherers to an ideology is restricted to the suffix *-ka*. The only two exceptions in my corpus drawn from KSSJ are feminine nouns in *-k-yňa* (*zástankyňa* ‘votaress, female advocate, follower’, from masculine *zástanca*, and *osvietenkyňa* ‘woman enlightener’, from *osvietenec*).



#### 4.17.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 8

As noted above, of the 254 personal nouns describing identity as defined by adherence to ideology, 168 are identified in KSSJ as members of masculine/feminine pairs. However, other sources (SSJ, SCS, PSP, SSS, SNK, and Google searches) suggest that the number of masculine/feminine pairs in this category is considerably higher. Overall, Category 8 exhibits remarkable gender symmetry.

#### 4.17.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 8

##### 4.17.2.1. Lexical gaps

No instances of asymmetry due to biological constraints were observed. However, there is at least one case of asymmetry due to social and historical factors. The borrowing *sufražetka* ‘suffragette’ has no masculine counterpart and can refer to a female only. In KSSJ, SSJ, and SCS, there is a clear indication that the word denotes women only: the definitions in Slovak dictionaries include the words *bojovníčka* ‘female fighter, advocate’ or *členka* ‘female member’. The situation is similar for the source language of *sufražetka*, English; the OED defines *suffragette* as a “female supporter of the cause of women’s political enfranchisement, esp[ecially] one of a violent or ‘militant’ type”<sup>152</sup> Interestingly, however, there are some mentions of male suffragettes, e.g., in the *New York Times* for May 21, 1909 (ibid.). However, in Slovak no masculine equivalent seems to be attested.

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<sup>152</sup>[http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50241700?single=1&query\\_type=word&queryword=suffragette&first=1&max\\_to\\_show=10](http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50241700?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=suffragette&first=1&max_to_show=10), accessed 07/06/09.

Several masculine nouns occur without feminine counterparts due to formal constraints. It has been indicated in previous sections that masculine nouns in *-ec* resist feminization. The non-attested *\*neverkyňa*, the logical feminine counterpart to *neverec* ‘non-believer’, is an example of this pattern of word-formation. Similarly, *osvietenkyňa*, paired with *osvietenec* ‘enlightener’, is absent from all the major dictionaries; however, a single instance referring to Catherine II of Russia, was found in a Google search.<sup>153</sup>

Finally, two masculine diminutives in this category are not able to form feminine counterparts—the negatively expressive *židko* and *židáčik* ‘Jew’. As has been noted elsewhere, the feminization of diminutivized masculines seems to be blocked in Slovak.

#### 4.17.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men with a semantic difference

No instances were identified in Category 8.

#### 4.17.2.3. Epicenes

No epicene belong to Category 8.

#### 4.17.2.4. Double gender nouns

No examples were found in Category 8.

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<sup>153</sup> <http://www.gymza.sk/gymza/archiv/1D-dejepis/Franc,Rus17-18.htm>, accessed 07/04/09

#### 4.18. Category 9: Identity as determined by physical appearance or other physical trait

This category is comprised of 141 dictionary entries: 79 masculine nouns, 52 feminine nouns, 9 neuters, and one noun that KSSJ assigns both masculine and neuter gender. The uniqueness of Category 9 lies in its low number of masculine-feminine pairs (only 22) and its high number of masculine-only (57) and feminine-only lexemes (30).

Category 9 consists of nouns that define types of people according to their physical appearance. This includes descriptions related to size and/or height in general, e.g., *trpaslik* ‘dwarf’, *lilipután* (m.) ‘midget’, *obryňa* (f.) ‘female giant’, *špunt* (m.) ‘elf’, *škriatok* (m.) ‘gremlin, elf, dwarf’, *býk* (m.) ‘bull’, *hebedo* (n.) ‘ogre’, *tučko* (m.) ‘fatty’, *stonoha* (f.) ‘leggy, lanky person [literally, centipede]’, and *kostlivec* (m.) ‘skeleton’; descriptions connected with physical fitness, e.g., *svalovec* (m.) ‘muscleman’ and *ml'andravec* (m.) ‘flabby person’; descriptions related to the size of body parts, e.g., *uchaňa* (f.) ‘long-eared female’, *okán* (m.) ‘goggle-eyed person, big-eyed person’, *nosán* (m.) ‘big-nosed person’, and *zubaňa* (f.) ‘toothy woman/girl’; descriptions related to hair color or quality, e.g., *strapaňa* (f.) ‘ragged, shaggy, elf-locked woman/girl’, *plavováska* (f.) ‘blond’, *vlasáč* (m.) ‘hairy’, and *ryšavec* (m.) ‘red haired person’; and descriptions relating to physical anomalies or irregularities, e.g., *škulaňa* (f.) ‘squint-eyed or crossed-eyed woman’, *okuliarník* (m.) ‘four-eyes’, *čapta* (f.) ‘woman hobbler’, *šmatlavý* (m.) ‘male hobbler’, *hrbáčik* (m.) ‘humpback (dim.)’, *pehaňa* (f.) ‘freckly woman’, and *ľavák* (m.) ‘lefthanded person’. Some clear-cut examples of feminine or masculine derivatives—e.g., *gambán* (m.) ‘thick-lipped person’, *dlhaňa* (f.) ‘woman longshanks, beanpole, six-footer’—are excluded from the KSSJ.

In comparison with other categories, Category 9 exhibits a remarkable variety of feminizing suffixes. These range from the most typical *-ka* to peripheral suffixes such as *-ul'a*, and *-anda*. The following is a complete list of the suffixes found in the feminine nouns in this category:

<i>-ka</i>	<i>ľaváčka</i> ‘left-handed person’
<i>-yňa</i>	<i>bohyňa</i> ‘goddess’, <i>obryňa</i> ‘female giant, ogre’
<i>-(a)nda</i>	<i>fešanda</i> ‘cover girl, peach, dish’
<i>-(a)ňa</i>	<i>strapaňa</i> ‘shaggy, ragged woman’, <i>škulaňa</i> ‘cross-eyed woman’
<i>-ul'a</i>	<i>bledul'a</i> ‘tallow faced, pale woman’, <i>černul'a</i> ‘woman with darker complexion, black eyes and hair’
<i>-izňa</i>	<i>babizňa</i> ‘hag (aug.)’

The suffix *-ka* is the most frequent feminizing ending in Slovak. Personal nouns in *-aňa* are expressive and typically denote a carrier of a certain characteristic. Frequently they are formed from adjectives, nouns, and verbs. The suffix *-izňa* is a typical augmentative suffix, while *-yňa* is usually attached to previously non-derived nouns. The suffix *-(a)nda* is rare; its masculine parallel is *-ák*. Feminine derivatives in *-ul'a* also denote carriers of some characteristics, but are rare and are only formed from adjectives.

Feminine nouns that are deverbal tend to be derived from perfective rather than imperfective stems. The unsuffixed feminines *fufna* ‘female twang’ and *čapta* ‘female hobbler’, represent this deverbative word formation type. These lexemes are expressive, and have a depreciative interpretation.

It should be noted that in addition to numerous feminine derivatives, some instances of the formation of masculines from feminines are found in Category 9 as well, e.g., *čaptoš* (m.)—*čapta*, *čaptaňa* (f.) ‘hobbler’. Here possibly belong the evident

back-formations *fešák* (m.)—*fešanda* (f.) ‘beau’, *štramák* (m.) - *štramanda* (f.) ‘beau, fashionable man’.

#### 4.18.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 9

In KSSJ, 44 nouns belonging to Category 9 occur in pairs, e.g., *blondín* (m.) — *blondína* (f.) ‘blond’, *hrbáč* (m.)—*hrbáčka* (f.) ‘humpback’, *krpáň* (m.)—*krpaňa* (f.) ‘squirt, tot’, *l'avák* (m.)—*l'aváčka* (f.) ‘left-handed person’, *obor* (m.)—*obryňa* (f.) ‘ogre, giant’, *lilipután* (m.)—*liliputánka* (f.) ‘midget’. The ratio between the total number of lemmas in this category and the number of the paired ones (141: 60) implies a relatively high number of asymmetrical gender relations (see below).

#### 4.18.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 9

##### 4.18.2.1. Lexical gaps

Some biologically determined differences are expressed linguistically as gender asymmetrical pairs, e.g., *bradáč* (m.) - \**bradáčka* (f.) ‘bearded person’,<sup>154</sup> *fuzáč* (m.) - \**fuzáčka* (f.) ‘person with moustache’, *fuzáň* (m.)—\**fuzánka* (f.) ‘person with moustache’, *plešivec* (m.) - \**plešivka*, \**plešivkyňa* (f.). ‘baldy’. The nouns *bradáč*, *fuzáč*, *fuzáň*, and *plešivec* can be used exclusively of male referents, who are thereby described on the basis of a (male) sex-specific physical characteristic. Conversely, *grácia* (f.) is a metaphorical extension of the proper noun ‘Grace’, one of three sister-goddesses in Greek mythology who were personifications of feminine grace and

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<sup>154</sup> It was pointed out to me by D. Collins (p.c.) that the "bearded lady" was a fixture of American circus sideshows. I am not aware of a similar phenomenon in the Slovak sociolinguistic context. *Bradáčka* (f.) has a non-personal meaning in Slovak; it refers to a dog breed.

exquisite beauty. For obvious reasons, there is no masculine equivalent. Similarly, *matróna* (f.) ‘matron, burly woman’ lacks a masculine counterpart, too, but there is no obvious synchronic reason; however, diachronically, the word is a borrowing from the Latin word for ‘married woman’, a fact that evidently blocks masculinization.

Several nouns are asymmetrical due to social constraints. *Holopupkáč* 1/ *holopupkár* 1 (compounds, composed of *holý* ‘naked’ and *pupok* ‘belly button’) refers to a male person wearing a traditional folk costume (typical of the Detva region) which included a kind of shirt which was cut above the belly button. Slovak folk costumes for women did not consist of high-cut blouses or shirts, so there is no possibility of a feminine referent here.

Some feminine (and often pejorative) words (*špata*, *škrata*, *kl'ampa*) that denote an ‘ugly woman/gargoyle’ do not have male/masculine counterparts; indeed, it is striking that masculine-only words meaning ‘an ugly man’ are not attested in KSSJ at all.

Physical beauty (or lack thereof) seems to be a fundamental characteristic of cultural definitions of women (cf. e.g., Pauwels, 1998:50), as opposed to men. The evaluative aspect of physical beauty makes it more of a social than biological category; in other words, the constraints put on nouns denoting an unattractive, ugly person are of a social rather than biological nature. There appears to be a cross-cultural social agreement on perceiving women through the optics of the aesthetic, and men through the prism of authority and strength.

Among the feminine-only nouns that appear in KSSJ, *bledul'a* ‘pale woman’ and *černul'a* ‘woman with dark complexion and/or dark eyes and hair’ are descriptions of women based on color of their complexion and/or hair and eyes; their logical masculine

counterparts are non-existent. The suffix *-ul'a* (as in *bledul'a* and *černul'a*), along with the some other personal nouns suffixes such as *-ucha*, *-uša*, and *-da*,<sup>155</sup> are peripheral feminine suffixes and have no masculine variants *\*-ul'*, *\*-uch*, *\*-uš*, *\*-d*, respectively.<sup>156</sup> No masculine personal nouns ending in the final suffixes *\*-ul'*, *\*-uch*, *\*-uš*, *\*-d* are identified in *Retrográdny slovník slovenčiny* (1976).

As discussed in previous sections, lexical gender nouns are paired by gender (masculine and feminine), but are not derived from each other. The sex of a referent is inherently incorporated in the lexical meaning of a personal noun. However, the lexical gender noun *baba 1* (f.) 'old and ugly or fat woman' and its augmentative *babizňa 1* (f.) 'old and ugly or fat woman' do not have any masculine counterparts. An old and ugly or fat man is never referred to as *dedo* (m.), which corresponds to *baba* in other categories. In other words, even though the semantic feature "old" is present in *dedo*, physical repulsion does not constitute part of the lexical meaning of the word. Likewise, no masculine counterparts exist for *baba 3* (f.) and its diminutive *babka 3* 'chick, heart-throb, babe', perhaps because, as noted above, physical beauty and attractiveness are, in Slovak culture, stereotypically attributes of women.

Formal constraints also play a role in the lexical gaps in Category 9. It has already been observed that there is an asymmetry in the semantic field of hair color as synecdochical description of humans: native compound nouns referring to women with a certain color of hair do not have masculine equivalent in the same word class, but rather are formed as compound adjectives, as illustrated below: *svetlovláska* (f.), but adjectival

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<sup>155</sup> Feminine nouns in *-ucha*, *-uša*, and *-da* are not attested in Category 9, but occur in other categories.

<sup>156</sup> The masculine suffix *-úch* and feminine suffix *-ucha* are two separate suffixes. Masculine nouns in *-úch* are typically feminized by means of the suffix *-ka* (which causes the mutation of the stem-final velar *x > š*).

*svetlovlasý (muž)* (m.) ‘fair-haired, blond person’; *tmavovláska* (f.), but adjectival *tmavovlasý (muž)* (m., a.) ‘dark-haired person’; *hnedovláska* (f.), but adjectival *hnedovlasý (muž)* (m.) ‘brunette’; *čiernovláska* (f.), but adjectival *čiernovlasý (muž)* (m.) ‘black-haired, dark-haired person’; *červenovláska* (f.), but adjectival *červenovlasý (muž)* (m.) ‘red-haired person’; *sivovláska* (f.), but *sivovlasý (muž)* (m.) ‘gray-haired person’.

Alternatively, the masculine compound adjectives can be replaced by periphrastic expressions such as *muž s hnedými vlasmi* ‘man with brown hair’. While masculine nouns such as *čiernovlások* ‘black-haired male’ and *zlatovlások* ‘golden-haired male’ are morphologically possible, they are used only as occasionalisms for very young boys, often with an endearing effect. Masculine compound nouns used for adult male humans are probably avoided because of ambiguity caused by the second member of the compound *-vlások*, which otherwise indicates a non-personal entity—in particular, one piece of hair. According to D. Collins (p.c.), there may be cultural factors as well, e.g., a stronger tendency to classify women by hair than men. This is definitely the case in English, where technically there is a word *brunet* for a brown-haired male, but it is much rarer than *brunette*. Similarly, the noun *blond(e)* is generally used for women.

Interestingly, however, in Slovak the non-compound loanwords *blondiak* ‘blond male’ and *brunet* ‘brunet’ are well formed and frequently used masculines referring to male persons.

A similar instance of morphological asymmetry is illustrated by *moletka* ‘full-figure woman’, a feminine noun which lacks a masculine counterpart in the same word class. The adjectives *molet* (non-declinable) and *moletný* (declinable) can be used as legitimate masculine counterparts, but they are from a different word class.



A second type of morphological asymmetry occurs with masculine diminutives (e.g., *blondiačik* ‘blond, fair-haired’, *hrbáčik* ‘humpback’, *chrústik* ‘cute, petite person [literally, maybeetle]’, *naháčik* ‘nude, naked person, often about a child’, *pehánik* ‘freckled person’, *strapánik* ‘raged, shaggy person’, *trpaslíček* ‘dwarf’) and augmentatives (e.g., *dlhánisko* ‘beanpole’). Evidently derived forms of this kind cannot serve as bases for feminization in Slovak. For example, the non-diminutivized masculine form *hrbáč* can give rise to the feminine form *hrbáčka*, but the diminutivization of the masculine noun (*hrbáčik*) prevents another further derivation of a feminine counterpart.

By contrast, two feminine words *buchta* ‘plump or fat woman/girl [lit. bun]’ and *kost’* ‘chick, babe [literally, bone]’ do not have masculine counterparts and exclusively refer to women. One possible explanation for *buchta* and *kost’* referring to women only is that the feminine gender of *buchta* and *kost’*, the metaphoric extensions of non-personal nouns, determines or at least correlates in some way with the sex of their new human referent (female).

#### 4.18.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men with a semantic difference

Two pairs have been found which exhibit semantic asymmetry: the metaphorical *boh* (m.) ‘god (the highest authority, idol)’—*bohyňa* (f.) ‘goddess (beautiful, attractive, majestic and gracious woman)’, and *brucháň* (m.) ‘potbelly’—*bruchaňa* (f.) ‘pregnant woman’. Both *brucháň* and *bruchaňa* are derived from *brucho* ‘belly, stomach, abdomen’, but while *brucháň* (m.) is often associated with beer-drinking or excessive eating, *bruchaňa* tends to denote an expecting mother. The origin of the asymmetrical relationship between *boh* and *bohyňa* seems to be derived from culturally stereotypical

correlations of women with the aesthetic and the sexual, and men with power, authority and respect. On the other hand, the difference between *brucháň* and *bruchaňa* is biologically determined, although not entirely; a ‘pot-bellied woman’ is conceivable, while a ‘pregnant man’ is not. Interestingly, none of the dictionaries I consulted address the semantic incongruity between *brucháň* and *bruchaňa*. A Google search of *bruchaňa* showed 19 results,<sup>157</sup> 15 of which were connected to pregnancy, medical issues related to pregnancy, and family life, contexts unspecified in the dictionaries. The remaining three hits were from the keyword suggest portals, and one was found as proper noun for a cow.

#### 4.18.2.3. Epicenes

There is a prevalence of masculine epicenes in Category 9, but several feminine epicenes are identified in KSSJ, too: *cintľavka* ‘emotionalist’, *ohava* ‘nasty, monster’, *maškara* ‘scarecrow’, *štangľa* ‘lanky person’, *stonoha* ‘lanky person [lit. centipede]’. The asymmetry of the masculine epicenes is less clear-cut than that of the feminines, since some of them may occasionally form feminine counterparts: *ošklivec*—?*ošklivka* ‘gargoyle’, *pehavec*—?*pehavka* ‘freckled person’, *kostlivec*—?*kostlivka* ‘skeleton’, *tučko*—?*tučka* ‘fatty’. Two neuter epicenes are also attested in this category: *hebedo* (n.) ‘cubbish, clumsy and fat person’ and *človieča* (n.), originally a general term for a human, but here denoting ‘a person of small size’.

A rather surprising observation for Category 9 is that a subclass of masculines exists that feature the suffix *-ec*, but do not trigger creation of feminines with the typical counterpart suffix *-kyňa*, but rather suffix *-ka*, which is typically reserved for the female

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<sup>157</sup> The search was restricted to Slovak-written web sites. Date of search : 8/19/09.

descriptors of nationalities and/or for previously non-derived nouns.. It is also important to note that none of these feminine forms were identified in KSSJ, PSP, SSJ, SSJ or SCS. According to these sources, *ošklivec*, *pehavec*, *ryšavec*, *tučko*, and *kostlivec* as well as *človiečik* (dim.) *skrček*, *špunt*, *svalovec*, *krpec*, *škriatok*, *trpaslík*, and some others are masculine-only nouns with two possible types of referents, males and females.

The Category 9 epicenes also include several animal names that function as metaphorical descriptors for people based on some perceived similarity (shared physical feature). The analyzed data include several masculine epicenes (*býk* ‘bull’, *chrt* ‘grey hound’, *chrúst* ‘maybeetle’, *chrústik* ‘maybeetle (dim.)’, *škrečok* ‘hamster’) and one feminine epicene (*bzdocha* ‘stink bug’).

#### 4.18.2.4. Double gender nouns

Interestingly, the augmentative *chlapina* (from *chlap* ‘guy, fellow, bloke’) features a rather unexpected discrepancy between its lexical meaning and the grammatical gender assigned to it (f.). In all the Slovak dictionaries utilized for my analysis, *chlapina* is defined as a feminine noun. However, in SNK and on some web-sites, *chlapina* occurs as a masculine, too, i.e., takes masculine agreement. It might seem that the two grammatical genders assigned to *chlapina* qualify this word as a double gender noun. However, based on a thorough analysis of similar data in Chapter 5, I conclude that *chlapina* is not an instance of a double gender noun because, even when it is grammatically feminine, it cannot be used of female referents. In other words, *chlapina* does not meet the criterion to be considered a double gender noun because it has

referents of only a single biological gender. For further discussion of double gender nouns, see Chapter 5.

#### **4.19. Category 10: Identity as determined by physical and mental health or diagnosis**

Category 10 includes 104 entries: 70 masculine nouns, 31 of which occur in pairs with feminine nouns; 32 feminine nouns; and two neuter nouns. All of the lexemes in this category are descriptions connected with long-lasting, often serious conditions of the body or mind, syndromes that might cause disabilities, deviant or atypical behaviors, or various dysfunctions. This includes personal nouns denoting addicts and descriptions relating to people's well-being. It can be noted that personal names are rarely created for people who suffer from temporary illnesses or experience occasional relievable pain, injuries, or infections; thus, for example, there are no terms like *\*žltáčkár* (m.) 'person with hepatitis' (from *žltáčka* 'hepatitis'), *\*nohár* 'person who has broken his/her leg' (from *noha* 'leg'), *\*hlavár* 'person having a headache' (from *hlava* 'head'), or *\*kiahniar* 'person with chickenpox' (from *kiahne* 'measles').

##### **4.19.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 10**

Masculine nouns dominate Category 10. Based on the data drawn from KSSJ, it contains 70 masculine lemmas in comparison with 32 feminine lemmas and two neuter lemmas; 39 of the masculine forms have no feminine counterpart. However, the ratio of 70 masculine nouns to 32 feminine nouns does not reflect linguistic reality. Rather, it is due to failure of the KSSJ lexicographers to acknowledge legitimate feminine derivatives.

Examples of feminine nouns that are omitted in KSSJ but attested in other dictionaries (PSP, SCS, SSS, SSJ) include *astenička* (f.) ‘woman suffering from asthenia’,<sup>158</sup> *bacilonosička* (f.) ‘female germ carrier’,<sup>159</sup> and *daltonistka* (f.) ‘woman suffering from color blindness’.<sup>160</sup>

All the feminine forms in Category 10 that have masculine counterparts are derivatives, with the exception of parallel-derivation substantivized adjectives (e.g., *nemý* (m.)—*nemá* (f.) ‘mute’, *hluchý* (m.)—*hluchá* (f.) ‘deaf’) and substantivized active participles (*nevidiaci* (m.) ‘blind, literally not seeing’). The most common suffix to form feminine nouns from masculine bases is *-ka*, e.g., *alergik* (m.)—*alergička* (f.) ‘allergic person’, *diabetik* (m.)—*diabetička* (f.) ‘diabetic’, *suchotinár* (m.)—*suchotinárka* (f.) ‘person suffering from tuberculosis’.

#### 4.19.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 10

##### 4.19.2.1. Lexical gaps

Some of the masculine nouns in Category 10 do not lend themselves easily to feminization due to a variety of reasons. Due to biological constraints, *impotent* (m.) ‘impotent’ has no feminine counterpart in Slovak (*\*impotentka* (f.) ‘woman impotent’), unless it is used metaphorically for e.g., an unproductive author. Interestingly, in English the noun *impotent* can be used (albeit marginally) for women with sexual dysfunctions as well as men.

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<sup>158</sup> SCS, PSP, SSJ

<sup>159</sup> PSP, SCS

<sup>160</sup> PSP, SCS

Formal constraints causing gender asymmetry can be observed in a limited class of masculine nouns formed from passive participles by means of the suffixes *-ok* and *-ec*, which lack feminine counterparts. These are all expressive/pejorative words and refer to a physically weak, developmentally delayed, and often also mentally retarded persons: *nedorobok* (m.) from *nedorobený* ‘undone, incomplete’, but *\*nedorobka/ \*nedorobkyňa* (f.); *nedorastok* (m.) from *nedorastený* ‘undergrown’, but *\*nedorastka/ \*nedorastkyňa* (f.); *nedonoseneec* (m.) from *nedonoseny* ‘premature’, but *\*nedonosenkyňa/ \*nedonosenska* (f.). Three more nouns in *-ec* have been identified in Category 10 that exhibit a similar inability to form feminine counterparts: *neduživec* (m.)—*\*neduživka/ \*neduživkyňa* (f.) ‘weak or sickly person’, *prašivec* (f.)—*\*prašivkyňa/ \*prašivka* (f.) ‘person with scabies’, and *slepec* (f.)—*\*slepkyňa/ \*slepka* (f.) ‘blind person’. These three lexemes are all derived from adjectives. *Neduživec* and *prašivec* are expressive words, but *slepec* is a relatively neutral term.

It is striking that none of the six personal nouns in *-ec* in this category (*šialenec*, *pomätenec*, *nedonoseneec*, *neduživec*, *prašivec*, and *slepec*) can form feminine counterparts. According to Ondrus, Horecký and Furdík (1980:101), personal feminine nouns are formed from masculine nouns terminating in *-ec* (and *-ca*) by attaching the suffix *-kyňa* (or *-ka* in some cases, mostly in personal nouns denoting nationality) after “the original suffix is dropped.” Interestingly, all six identified words consistently fail to follow this word-formation pattern. Regardless of whether the feminine forms in general are derived from masculine nouns (see *ibid.*) or whether the derivation of feminine forms and masculine forms is parallel, the question remains why so many feminine counterparts of masculine nouns in *-ec* are lacking.

A similar observation for Czech has been made by Dickins (2001: 226–27), who identifies masculine words with final *-ec* as a class of nouns not prone to feminization. The origin of the Czech nouns in *-ec* varies; some are formed from participles, others from adjectives, while still others are previously non-derived. The lexemes fall into various semantic categories, e.g., kinship terms (*sourozenec* ‘sibling’), descriptions relating to behavior (*sobec* ‘egoist’, *pokrytec* ‘hypocrite’), health (*slepec* ‘blind person’), and occupational and avocational terms (*životopisec* ‘biographer’). Dickins’s explanation for their inability to derive feminine forms is that “they have acquired the permanent semantic status of generic (non gender-specific, but grammatically masculine) nouns.” (ibid.).

Another illustration of formal constraints blocking feminization is diminutives. In Category 10, as in some of the other categories discussed above, diminutivized masculine nouns typically cannot serve as bases for feminine derivatives: *mrzáčik* (m.)—\**mrzáčička* (f.) ‘cripple, dim.’

Finally, it should be noted that all nouns in Category 10 that lack feminine counterparts due to formal constraints function as epicenes (see also 4.18.2.3, below).

#### 4.19.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men with a semantic difference

No instances of this type of asymmetry are attested in Category 10.

#### 4.19.2.3. Epicenes

In addition to the nouns terminating in *-ec* or *-ok* that were discussed in section 4.18.2.1., five sex-unspecified nouns have fixed gender: *lázár* ‘poor wretch, lazarus’ ,

and *kretén* ‘idiot’ are masculine epicenes, *kalika* ‘cripple’ is a feminine epicene, and *nedôchodča* ‘feeble or inept person’ and *žobráča* ‘ailing person’ are neuters. These nouns may refer equally to both sexes, but they require different corresponding agreements, masculine, feminine, and neuter, respectively. Unlike most of the words in Category 10, the epicenes are all expressive and convey the general meaning of a sick or crippled person or a person of poor health, except for *kretén* which refers to a mentally retarded person. In addition, *nedôchodča* and *žobráča*, like other neuter personal nouns, primarily refer to children.

There is also a small group of symmetrical (masculine-feminine) terms, originally medical, which were used in recent past and which all broadly convey the idea of a ‘(moderately to profoundly) retarded person’, e.g., *debil* (m.)—*debilka* (f.),<sup>161</sup> *idiot* (m.)—*idiotka* (f.), *imbecil* (m.)—*imbecilka* (f.). However, other personal nouns that denote persons with the same conditions depart from this symmetrical pattern: *blázon* (m.)—*\*blázonka* (f.) ‘fool, lunatic’, *poloblázon* (m.)—*\*poloblázonka* (f.) ‘semi-fool’, *cvok* (m.)—*\*cvočka* (f.) ‘loony, crazy’, *šialenec* (m.)—*\*šialenka/ \*šialenkyňa* (f.) ‘crazy, lunatic, maniac, mad’, *pomätenec* (m.)—*\*pomätenka/ \*pomätenkyňa* (f.) ‘crackpot, crazy’. These colloquial and pejorative masculine personal nouns can be epicene, that is, can have female referents. The avoidance of feminine derivatives in these cases is correlated with a preference for masculine substitutes in certain positions—in particular, as predicative nominals and appositions:

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<sup>161</sup> *Debilka* ‘severely retarded woman’ co-exists with the more frequent inanimate *debilka* ‘a type of hat’.



*Bola blázon, načisto pomätená rozprávala sa s kvetmi.*<sup>162</sup>  
'She was<sub>-F</sub> a lunatic<sub>-M</sub>, completely delirious<sub>-F</sub>, talked<sub>-F</sub> to plants.'

*Suseda, blázon starý, schmatla sekeru.*  
'The neighbor<sub>-F</sub> (f.), old<sub>-M</sub> fool<sub>-M</sub>, grabbed<sub>-F</sub> an ax.'

However, in subject position the masculine forms are rare in reference to women and feel unnatural to the speakers of the language as. Thus words like *blázon*, *poloblázon*, *cvok*, *šialenec*, *pomätenec* typically are avoided for subjects with female referents because of possible agreement conflicts:

\* *Blázon sa rozprávala s kvetmi.*  
The lunatic<sub>-M</sub> talked<sub>-F</sub> to plants.

#### 4.19.2.4. Double gender nouns

No double gender nouns occur in Category 10.

### 4. 20. Category 11: Evaluations based on behavior

Category 11 contains 943 lemmas. Masculine forms overwhelmingly dominate the group; there are 623 of them, 232 of which co-exist with feminine counterparts. Sixty-one nouns are feminine only, and there are also 16 neuter nouns. One noun is, according to KSSJ, both masculine and feminine, and 10 nouns (mostly augmentatives) are assigned both masculine and neuter gender. Interestingly, in comparison with other categories, Category 11 has a much higher number of expressive and pejorative terms than any other category in my classification.

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<sup>162</sup> [www.deviantart.com/.../Sutaz\\_cajovych\\_ruzi\\_by\\_Shiny\\_Day.html](http://www.deviantart.com/.../Sutaz_cajovych_ruzi_by_Shiny_Day.html) , accessed 7/3/09.

#### 4.20.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 11

Less than one half of all the entries in Category 11 participate in gender symmetry, e.g., *altruista* (m.)—*altruistka* (f.) ‘altruist’, *čert* (m.)—*čertica* (f.) ‘devil’, *divoch* (m.)—*divoška* (f.) ‘wild person’, and *márnotratník* (m.)—*márnotratnica* (f.) ‘extravagant, wasteful person’. A vast majority of feminine forms are derived from masculine nouns (e.g., *mamonár* (m.)—*mamonárka* (f.) ‘mammonist’), but some are parallel derivations (e.g. *lajdák* (m.)—*lajda* (f.) ‘sluggish person’, and some masculine forms are derived from feminine bases (e.g., *citlivka* (f.)—*citlivkár* (m.) ‘emotionalist’, *ježibaba* (f.)—*ježibábel’* (m.) ‘witch’.

#### 4.20.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 11

##### 4.20.2.1. Lexical gaps

Category 11 contains a few positive evaluations of women, e.g., *dáma 2* ‘lady, a cultured woman with good manners’. On the other hand, it includes a large number of exclusively feminine terms that are used as pejoratives for female referents. This includes a class of feminine nouns derived from proper nouns that denote women by describing them metaphorically as acting like the eponyms: *harpya* ‘harpy’,<sup>163</sup> *xantipa* ‘Xantippe’,<sup>164</sup> *fúria* ‘fury, ferociously angry or malignant woman’,<sup>165</sup> *rebeka* ‘cunning,

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<sup>163</sup> “A rapacious, plundering, or grasping person; one that preys upon others”; in Greek and Roman mythology, “a fabulous monster, rapacious and filthy, having a woman’s face and body and a bird’s wings and claws, and supposed to act as a minister of divine vengeance” (OED).

<sup>164</sup> After Xantippe, the wife of Socrates, “an ill-tempered woman or wife, a shrew, a scold” (OED).

<sup>165</sup> In Greek and Roman mythology, one of the avenging deities, “dread goddesses with snakes twined in their hair” (OED).

ugly, ill-tempered or 'dirty and untidy woman',<sup>166</sup> *madona* 'chaste woman',<sup>167</sup> and *amazonka* 'female warrior, strong, masculine woman'.<sup>168</sup>

A significant group of five nouns in Category 11 classifies women negatively by describing them described as sexually loose or suggestive: *cundra* (f.), *fl'andra* (f.), *švandra* (f.) 'slut, tart, hooker, tramp', and *pobehlica* (f.) 'wanton', *ženština* (f.) 'hussy'. The list of Slovak insults aimed at women which focus upon their sexuality is actually more extensive; it includes obscene and/or taboo expressions that are diligently avoided not only by lexicographers but by Slovak linguists in general and are to a great extent an oral phenomenon. My primary source, KSSJ, only contains the given five nouns that devalue women for their supposedly inappropriate sexual behavior; it is significant that none of these words has a masculine counterpart.<sup>169</sup> As Braun (2001) points out for Turkish, such terms "are not only used in their literal sense (i.e., to express doubt of a woman's virtuousness), but also to voice any kind of discontent." This observation also applies to Slovak, where sexual pejoratives can be used, for instance, during arguments unrelated to a woman's sexual behavior.

It is interesting (though not unexpected) that the implications of loose sexual behavior are different for man and women. While *cundra*, *fl'andra*, *švandra*, *pobehlica*, and *ženština* carry a social stigma and are clearly negative evaluations, semantically related terms for men found in KSSJ, e.g., *frajerkár* (m.) 'womanizer, philanderer [literally, one who has (many) girlfriends]' and *sukničár* (m.) 'womanizer, philanderer

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<sup>166</sup> From Rebecca, the wife of Isaac in the Old Testament.

<sup>167</sup> "A woman regarded as resembling the Virgin Mary, especially with respect to chastity" (OED).

<sup>168</sup> "Amazons, *pl.* a race of female warriors alleged by Herodotus, etc. to exist in Scythia" (OED).

<sup>169</sup> Unlike the remaining four nouns, *ženština* is a lexical gender noun, but still lacks a masculine counterpart.

[literally one who chases (little) skirts]’), while still disapproving, also imply an achievement, success, or even social prestige. Clearly, the promiscuity of men is considered socially more acceptable than that of women.

Another common notion related to women in Category 11 nouns is vanity. *Koketa* (f.), *koketka* (f.) is a woman who actively seeks admiration and affection of men, not for sexual pleasure, but for the gratification of vanity. A man is never labeled *\*koket*.<sup>170</sup> The negative pejorative evaluations *fiflena* (f.), *frnda* (f.), and *frndul’a* (f.) are used for foppish, dressy women who have an unrealistically high opinion of their own appearance and try to gain the admiration or affection of men. Of course, indulgence in dressing up is not an exclusive quality of women; however, the notion of a man striving for perfect looks is viewed much more positively than that of a woman. In fact, two different aspects of the same conduct are emphasized for men and for women. While the terms for females stereotypically imply the process of dressing up, spending long hours in front of the mirror (and are, presumably, derived from archaic verbs, which no longer exist in modern language), the similar (but not parallel) masculine-only terms *fičúr* (m.) ‘gallant, dandy’ and *švihák* (m.) ‘gallant, beau’ focus on the results—elegance, fashionable and neat appearance, and exquisite taste—and are outrightly positive evaluations.

There is less asymmetry in the terms that classify people as mean, malicious, spiteful, and deceitful. Here dozens of neat masculine-feminine pairs exist in Slovak, e.g., *zlomyseľník* (m.)—*zlomyseľníčka* (f.) ‘malicious, spiteful person’. Nevertheless, in

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<sup>170</sup> However, *koketník*, a masculine counterpart of *koketnica*, *koketníčka* ‘coquette, flirt’, can be used metaphorically of men. *Koketník* was not attested in any of my dictionaries, but a Google search identified several instances, e.g., [http://www.google.sk/#hl=sk&lr=lang\\_sk&q=koketnik&start=0&sa=N&fp=3bccae0d3da5e39d](http://www.google.sk/#hl=sk&lr=lang_sk&q=koketnik&start=0&sa=N&fp=3bccae0d3da5e39d), accessed 8/12/09.

KSSJ there are three feminine-only terms that exclusively refer to women exhibiting these qualities: *mrcha* (f.) ‘jade, puss’, *rafika* (f.) ‘deceitful, mendacious woman’, and *macocha* (f.) ‘malicious, cruel woman [lit. stepmother]’; there are no masculine-only counterparts to refer to male persons. Three other feminine-only denotations classify women on the basis of behavior thought to reflect a the lack of intelligence: *t’apa* (f.), *t’apša* (f.), *kača* (f.) ‘dumb woman, silly goose, judy’. (The last of these terms may stem from a hypocoristic of the proper name ‘Catherine’, perhaps because of a fairy-tale character; likewise, there are two male/masculine-only hypocoristics *d’uro* (m.) (from ‘George’) and *kubo* (m.) (from ‘Jacob’ denoting a stupid males.<sup>171</sup> A dumb, silly, thoughtless man can also be referred to as *chren* (m.) ‘blockhead [lit. horseradish’.

The complete list of masculine nouns which only have male referents exhibiting certain behavior, as attested in KSSJ, is as follows: *frajerkár*, *sukničár* (m.) ‘womanizer, philanderer’, *fičúr*, *švihák* (m.) ‘gallant, dandy, beau’, *d’uro* (m.) (George), *kubo* (m.) (Jacob) ‘dumb, sill, thoughtless man’, *chren* (m.) ‘blockhead, lit. horseradish’, *faun* (m.) ‘faun, lustful man, pleasure seeker’, *fanfaron* (m.) ‘fanfaron, empty boaster, bigmouth’, *chalan 2* (m.) ‘mischievous boy, a handful’, *muž 2* (m.) ‘man, a mature, respectable or brave man’, *strýko 3* (m.) ‘a sedate, serious-minded man, lit. uncle’. *Chalan 2* (m.), *muž 2* (m.), and *strýko 3* (m.) are lexical gender nouns (like *ženština* ‘hussy’); as such, they refer to gender-specific characteristics and resist application to the opposite sex, and, in grammatical terms, feminization.

It is indisputable that even male/masculine-only and female/feminine-only expressions can sometimes be used metaphorically to refer to the opposite sex. However,

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<sup>171</sup> Another possibility is that *kača* is derived from the term for ‘duck’ (modern Slovak *kačica*, *kačka*). Cf. English *goose*.

it is necessary to note that the metaphoric use of a feminine noun to refer to a man ascribes a female quality to him, which tends to be evaluated as negative. When a woman is metaphorically referred to by a male/masculine-only noun such as *stry'ko* (m.) ‘a sedate, serious-minded man, lit. uncle’, the female referent tends to acquire an additional male quality.

Like most of the categories in my corpus, Category 11 also includes a limited number of masculine diminutives that lack feminine counterparts, e.g., *gašparko* (dim.) ‘clown’, *huncútik* (dim.) ‘rascal’, *posmievačik* (dim.) ‘mocker’, and *tut'máčik* ‘slow, clumsy and/or dumb person’. For a more detailed discussion of the relationship between grammatical gender and the formation of diminutives see Chapter 5.

Several loan compound forms with final *-man* or *-boy (-boj)* exhibit interesting behavior. As previously discussed, these compounds can be feminized by adding the suffix *-ka* while preserving the male lexical gender stems *-man* and *-boy*. As a result, we get pairs such as *džentlmen/gentleman* (m.)—*džentlmenka/gentlemanka* (f.), *superman* (m.)—*supermanka* (f.), and *plejboj/playboy* (m.)—*plejbojka/playboyka/playboyka* (f.), despite the availability of female-specific counterparts for borrowing (*gentlewoman*, *superwoman*, *playgirl*, respectively). The gender contradiction in which lexical ‘man’ or ‘boy’ become a part of female/feminine nouns can be explained by the fact that the original morphological structure of the compound forms is opaque to Slovak speakers. In other words, some kind of selection mechanism prefers borrowing only one form to borrowing the ready-made pair.

When only one member of such a pair is borrowed, it tends to be the unmarked masculine form. In addition, the masculine forms can function as generic terms for both

sexes, as illustrated by the two examples in (a) below. However, when a female referent is specifically identified, the masculine forms get a male-specific reading instead, as in (b).

- a. *Metro bolo zrazu plné džentlmenov, ktorí mi uvoľňovali miesta.*  
 ‘The Metro was suddenly full of gentlemen<sub>-M,PL</sub> who<sub>-M,PL</sub> were vacating<sub>-M,PL</sub> their seats for me’

*Džentlmen by takú vec nikdy neurobil!*  
 ‘A gentlemen<sub>-M</sub> would never do<sub>-M</sub> such a thing!’

- b. *Asi tak o 14 dní niečo na tému Gentlemani a gentlemanky vyvesím a možno z toho bude aj fórum.*<sup>172</sup>  
 ‘In about 14 days, I will post something on the topic of gentlemen and gentlewomen, and perhaps it’ll become a forum.’

Masculine personal names that are used allusively to denote a person based on behavior follow the same pattern. In the singular, they can refer to one male, but also to one female in specific contexts (in predicative constructions and in appositions); in the plural, they can refer to a group of males, a group of females, or a group of people of both sexes. However, it needs to be noted that only foreign nouns display this behavior, while native (or “nativized”) nouns fail to do so. Consider the following examples:

- a. *donchuan—donchuanka* (literally, Don Juan) ‘philanderer, Don Juan’<sup>173</sup>  
*judáš—judáška* (literally, Judas) ‘Judas, traitor’  
*antikrist—antikristka* (literally, Antichrist) ‘evildoer, malefactor, morally depraved, wicked person’  
*lucifer—luciferka* (literally, Lucifer) ‘devil, wicked person’  
*šalamún—šalamúnka* (literally, Solomon) ‘profoundly wise person’

<sup>172</sup> [http://www.inzine.sk/forum.asp?id\\_forum=29&page=4](http://www.inzine.sk/forum.asp?id_forum=29&page=4), accessed 08/11/09.

<sup>173</sup> <http://www.kirjasto.sci.fi/balazs.htm>; accessed 08/11/09: 1927 Krásna donchuanka (orig. “Doña Juana”, 1927, German comedy (directors: Czinner Paul, s Béla Balazs):

- b. *tomáš*—\**tomáška* (literally, Thomas, the doubting apostle) ‘doubting person’  
*d’uro*—\* *d’ura* (literally, George (hypocoristic)) ‘blockhead, dumb person’  
*kubo*—\**kuba* (literally, Jacob (hypocoristic)) ‘blockhead, dumb person’

While the examples in (a) exhibit gender symmetry, those in (b) are masculine-only and should be considered lexical gaps.

Unlike in English, the source of the compounds *džentlmen/gentleman* (m.), *superman* (m.), and *plejboj/playboy* (m.), in Slovak native feminine compounds involving morphemes with explicitly male reference are extremely rare. The only case that I found is *zlosynka* (f.) ‘female evildoer’, formed on the basis of *zlosyn* (m.) ‘evildoer (masculine or generic)’. While the latter can be epicene (just like *gentleman*, *superman* and *playboy*), it also allows for a feminization similar to *gentleman*, *superman* and *playboy* by taking the suffix *-ka*: *zlosynka* (f.) ‘female evildoer [lit. evil+son]’).  
 \**Zlodcéra* (lit. evil+daughter-ka) is not attested in Slovak dictionaries and is not accepted by native speakers.

#### 4.20.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men with a semantic difference

A different evaluation of men and women is documented in the following pairs:  
*boh* (m.) ‘god’—*bohyňa* (f.) ‘goddess’, *diabol* (m.) ‘devil’—*diablica* (f.) ‘she-devil’,  
*kocúr* (m.) ‘tomcat’—*mačka*, *mačička* (dim.) (f.) ‘cat’, *hovädo* ‘bull’—*krava* ‘cow’.  
 While *boh* (m.) ‘god’ typically refers to a person of seemingly absolute power, the greatest authority, *bohyňa* (f.) ‘goddess’ is an object of adoration, a beautiful, gracious and/or noble woman. *Diabol* (m.) ‘devil’ denotes an evil person. By contrast, *diablica* (f.) ‘she-devil’ can have both negative and positive connotations; it refers primarily to a



very assertive, fiery, passionate woman, but sometimes also to an evil one. Of the lexical gender noun metaphorically extended from animal terms, *kocúr* (m.) means ‘womanizer’, particularly in expressions such as *starý kocúr* ‘old tomcat’, while *mačka*, *mačička* (dim.) (f.) is a fake, fawning, or weak person (man or woman). In addition, *mačka*, *mačička* can be used as terms of address for women or children in the meaning ‘darling’. Both *hovädo* (n.) and *krava* (f.) are terms of abuse (with address and referential functions). In the context of human behavior, *hovädo* roughly means a brute, while *krava* is a term for a dumb person. Notice that, although *hovädo* typically refers to males, grammatically it is neuter.

#### 4.20.2.3. Epicenes

Human behavior is sometimes metaphorically described in terms of animal behavior. Animal characteristics can be assigned to humans, e.g. *pijavica* (f.) ‘leech, bloodsucker’; metaphorically ‘bloodsucker, sponger’; conversely, human characteristics can be assigned to animals and then reapplied to humans, e.g., *somár* ‘donkey’; metaphorically ‘dumb person’). Some of the animal names used to describe humans on the basis of their behavior come in pairs—either lexical pairs (sometimes with a minor semantic differences), e.g., *pes* (m.) ‘dog’, metaphorically ‘an evil, inconsiderate person, brute’—*suka* (f.) ‘bitch, she-dog’, metaphorically ‘evil, immoral woman’; or pairs in which one member (typically the feminine) is a derivative of the other, e.g., *páv* (m.) ‘peacock’—*pávica* (f.), *páva* (f.) ‘peahen’, used metaphorically of proud, vain, peacock-like persons. However, in this section, I am not concerned with such gendered pairs, but

rather with epicene nouns that exist in one grammatical gender only, though they can refer to both sexes. Consider the following lists compiled from nouns found in KSSJ:

a. Masculine epicenes:

*baran* (m.) ‘ram, metaphorically a headstrong, stubborn, or stupid person’  
*baránok* (m., dim.) ‘lamb, metaphorically an innocent or tame person’  
*kuvik* (m.) ‘little owl (zool. *Athene nocturna*), metaphorically a pessimist’  
*moriak* (m.) ‘turkey, metaphorically a bed-tempered, sulky person’  
*sokol, sokolík* (m., dim.) ‘falcon, metaphorically a brave, courageous person’  
*somár* (m.) ‘donkey, metaphorically an idiot, dumb person’  
*sup* (m.) ‘vulture, metaphorically an inconsiderate, ruthless person’  
*sysel’* (m.) ‘gopher, metaphorically a passive person or a loner’  
*škrečok* (m.) ‘hamster, metaphorically a hoarder, niggard’

b. Feminine epicenes:

*hus* (f.) ‘goose, metaphorically a dumb, naive person, ninny’  
*zmija, vretenica* (f.) ‘viper, metaphorically a fake, cunning person’  
*hnida* (f.) ‘nit, metaphorically a parasite or an insignificant person’  
*hyena* (f.) ‘hyena, metaphorically a heartless, ruthless person’  
*krysa* (f.) ‘rat, metaphorically a deceitful treacherous person’  
*pijavica* (f.) ‘leech, metaphorically a bloodsucker, sponger’

c. Neuter epicenes

*zviera* (n.) ‘animal, metaphorically a brute, beast’  
*mača, mačiatko* (n., dim.) ‘kitten, metaphorically darling (about children and women)’

While for some animals there are separate lexemes for each sex (*baran* (m.) ‘ram’—*ovca* (f.) ‘sheep’, *baránok* (dim.) (m.) ‘lamb’—*ovečka* (dim.) (f.) ‘little sheep’, *moriak* (m.) ‘turkey’—*morka* (f.) ‘she-turkey’, *hus* (f.) ‘goose’—*gunár* (m.) ‘gander’ (m.), they are functionally unpaired and epicene in their metaphorical use as human nouns: \**ovca* (f.) ‘headstrong, stubborn, or stupid woman’, \**ovečka* (dim.) (f.) ‘an innocent or tame woman’, \**morka* (f.) ‘a bed-tempered, sulky woman’, \**gunár* (m.) ‘naive man, ninny’. In other words, the referential gender and grammatical gender distinctions that exist

when the nouns in (a), (b), and (c) denote animals cease to exist when they are used to refer to humans. Notice that the rule equally applies to both grammatical genders: metaphorical *baran* (m.)—\**ovca* (f.), *baránok* (m.)—\**ovečka* (f.), *moriak* (m.)—\**morka* (f.), *hus* (f.)—\**gunár* (m.).

A second class of epicenes in the field of terms related to human behavior are derived from the general terms for people—*človek* (m.) ‘man, person’ and *tvor* (m.) ‘being, creature’, as discussed in Chapter 4.2. Prefixation changes the meaning, so that, instead of a neutral reference to people in general (Category 1A), there is a reference to people exhibiting specific behavior (Category 11): *nečlovek* (m.) ‘beast, ruthless person [literally not-person]’, *netvor* (m.) ‘monster [literally, not-creature]’ *odlud* (m.) ‘weirdo, a solitary [literally away-person]’.<sup>174</sup>

A third class of epicenes in Category 11 are pejorative or expressive nouns that can denote both males and females without a change of grammatical gender, which can be masculine (a), feminine (b), or neuter (c).

- a. *chmuľo* (m.), *chruňo* (m.) ‘idiot, a dumb or primitive person’  
*jašo* (m.), *šal’o* (m.) ‘crackpot, featherbrain’  
*rojko* (m.) ‘daydreamer, idealist’  
*smejo/ smejko* (m.) ‘one who often laughs’  
*sraľo* (m.) ‘funk, loser’
- b. *baba 5* (f.) ‘funk, loser’  
*žalobaba* (f.) ‘squealer, pickthank, denouncer’  
*beštia* (f.) ‘beast, brute’  
*buchta* (f.) ‘passive person’  
*koťuha* (f.) ‘rascal, rogue’  
*naivka* (f.) ‘naive person’  
*netykavka* (f.) ‘touch-me-not’  
*trasorítka 1* (f.) ‘shy person’  
*trasorítka 2* ‘chicken-heart’

<sup>174</sup> *Lud* is a suppletive form of *človek* ‘man, person’.

- c. *neviniatko* (n.) ‘innocent person’
- strídža* (n.) ‘fidget (about children and woman)’
- táradlo* (n.) ‘chatter-box’

Interestingly, the ending *-o* in the masculine examples in (a) above is not a typical masculine ending; however, it is rather frequent with pejoratives. In (b) above, *baba 5*, a metaphoric extension of the lexical noun ‘old woman’, can equally be applied to female and male cowards. Similarly, the compound *žalobaba* ‘squealer’ (consisting of the stem *žal-* ‘squeal, denounce’ plus *baba*) can denote both a woman and a man.

Other epicenes of all grammatical genders are metaphorical extensions—originally abstract nouns, e.g., *číslo* (n.) ‘number, met. one who attracts attention, typically by negative behavior’, *existencia* (f.) ‘existence, met. a suspiciously behaving person’; and concrete nouns originally used to denote inanimate objects, e.g., *trúba* (f.) ‘trumpet, met. idiot, dumb person’, *handra* (f.) ‘wiping cloth, weakling, sissy’, *kvietok* (m., dim.) ‘flower, met. one who attracts attention, typically by negative behavior’, *lekvár* ‘jam, met. clumsy, lummo’. By definition, inanimate objects and abstractions are sexless, hence there is no polarity in terms of referential gender. This lack of male—female polarity is naturally “translated” into one grammatical gender only in the metaphorical uses.

#### 4.20.2.4. Double gender nouns

According to KSSJ, the following nouns are masculine and/or neuter in gender: *faganisko* ‘naughty boy’, *chalanisko 2* ‘naughty boy’, *chlapisko 2* ‘very masculine and strong man’, *lapajisko 1* ‘scoundrel’, *lapajisko 2* ‘mischief—maker, rogue’, *lumpáčisko*

‘bastard, crook’, *lotrisko* ‘bastard, rascal’, *oplanisko* ‘rogue, rascal’, *lomidrevo* ‘excessively strong and brave man’, *miesiželezo* ‘very strong and brave man’. *Tlčhuba* ‘chatterbox’ is a unique form in Category 11, since it can be assigned masculine and/or feminine gender.

As discussed in Chapter 2, double gender nouns are defined as having two grammatical genders—masculine and feminine—which correspond to the semantic features of maleness and femaleness, respectively. What we have above are nouns which only have one referent, a male person. Additional arguments against classifying the nouns above as double gender will be provided in Chapter 5.

#### **4.21. Category 12: Identity based on skill or experience in performing an action or activity**

One hundred and seventy-six lemmas from KSSJ fall into Category 12. Most of them are masculine forms (111 entries, 60 of which are masculine-only). Feminine personal nouns constitute about one third of the entire lexicon in Category 12; there are 60 feminine nouns, 9 of which lack masculine counterparts. Fifty-one masculines and 51 feminines occur in pairs. Five neuters are included in the category, too.

Category 12 covers relatively diverse linguistic material, ranging from nouns referring to people with special skills to nouns for people referring to their rank based on their performance. Therefore the human nouns in Category 12 naturally split further into several major semantic subcategories determined by the following:

- a. Special skills and competences (or the lack of them), *e.g.*, *bruchomluvec* (m.) ‘ventriloquist’, *jasnovidec* (m.) ‘clairvoyant, seer’, *plavec* (m.) ‘swimmer’, *neplavec* (m.) ‘non-swimmer’, *polyhistor* (m.) ‘polyhistor’, *polyglot* (m.) ‘polyglot’, *prorok* 2 (m.) ‘fortune teller, palm reader’, *hypnotizér* (m.) – *hypnotizérka* (f.) ‘hypnotizer’, *vizionár* (m.) – *vizionárka* (f.) ‘seer, clairvoyant’, *vodič* (m.) – *vodička* (f.) ‘driver’, *všeumelec* (m.) ‘jack of all trades’.
- b. Experience, *e.g.*, *začiatočník* (m.) – *začiatočníčka* (f.) ‘beginner’, *zelenáč* (m.) ‘greenhorn’, *ucho* (n.) ‘greenhorn, lit. ear’, *zajac* (m.) ‘greenhorn, lit. rabbit’, *adept* (m.) – *adeptka* (f.) ‘adept’, *veterán* 2 (m.) ‘veteran’.
- c. Level of professionalism, *e.g.*, *amatér* (m.) – *amatérka* (f.) ‘amateur’, *profesionál* (m.) ‘professional’, *virtuóz* (m.) – *virtuózka* (f.) ‘virtuoso’.
- d. Way of achieving a goal, *e.g.*, *samouk* (m.) ‘self-taught person’, *naturista* (m.) ‘self-taught person’.
- e. Social role as ascribed by others, based on achievement, accomplishment, and/or popularity: *duch* (m.) ‘genius, an outstanding, remarkable person’, *klasik* (m.) ‘classic’, *megahviezda* (f.) ‘mega star’, *bard* (m.) ‘bard’, *autorita* (f.) ‘authority’, *gigant* (m.) ‘giant, Titan’, *kapacita* (f.) ‘mastermind’, *zjav* (m.) ‘figure’.

- f. Ranking in a competition, based on performance, e.g., *prvologista* (m.) 'major-league player', *finalista* (m.) – *finalistka* (f.) 'finalist', *štvrtfinalista* (m.) – *štvrtfinalistka* (f.) 'quarter-finals player', *favorit* 1 (m.) – *favoritka* 1 (f.) 'anticipated winner', *medailista* (m.) – *medailistka* (f.) 'medalist', *vicemajster* (m.) – *vicemajsterka* (f.) 'vice-champion, runner-up', *šampión* (m.) – *šampiónka* (f.) 'champion', *miss* 2 (f.), *misska* (f.) 'Miss (in a beauty contest)', *milionár* 2 (m.) 'one who meets a goal worth/valued at one milion (e.g., in mining, or one milion kilometers without an accident)'.

The semantic categorization presented above is meant to point out the fact that some individual nouns or even some subcategories might partly overlap with other categories. For instance, some names of people with special skills or competences could possibly be placed in category 5 ("Identity as determined by vocation and avocation"). Technically, *jasnovidec* (m.) 'clairvoyant, seer' and *hypnotizér* (m.) – *hypnotizérka* (f.) 'hypnotizer' could make living using their special skills, therefore falling in category 5, but the final decision is based on what is semantically primary – the person's special skill or his/her vocation. In some cases KSSJ explicitly points out the difference between a skill and a vocation (or avocation), as illustrated below:

*plavec -vca m.*  
 1. *kto vie plávať*  
 2. *pretekár v plávaní;*  
*plavkyňa -e -kyň ž.*

*plavec*, - *vca* GEN. m.  
 1. one who can swim  
 2. an athlete, contestant in swimming  
 fem. *plavkyňa* -e<sub>GEN. sg. f.</sub> -kýň<sub>GE pl. f.</sub>

From a methodological point of view, what ultimately matters is that each human nouns is listed in and analyzed within one category only. In this study, semantic nuances and ambiguities needed to be addressed and dealt with but should not stand in the way of a more complex analysis.

Interestingly, from the point of view of word formation, it is characteristic of Category 12 that it employs a wide range of prefixes, e.g., the negation prefix *ne-*, and foreign lexical morphemes whose form is obscure to Slovak speakers, which are traditionally analyzed as prefixes, too, e.g., *kvázi-*, *poly-*, *semi-*, *vice-*. In addition, some native, originally lexical morphemes might function as prefixes, too: *polo-* ‘half’, *samo-* ‘self-, auto-’, *tiež-* ‘also’, *veľ-* ‘grand, big, great’, *vše-* ‘all-, omni-, pan-’<sup>175</sup>. There is no direct correlation between a grammatical gender of a noun and the type of prefix that is used in a particular word-formation.

#### 4.21.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 12

Typically, in all pairs attested in this category one member is a derivative of another, e.g., *adept* (m.) – *adeptka* (f.) ‘adept’, *analfabet* 1 (m.) - *analfabetka* 1 (f.) ‘illiterate’, *kráľ* 2 (m.) – *kráľovná* 2 (f.) ‘king, leading figure’, *neplavec* (m.) - *neplavkyňa* (f.) ‘non-swimmer’, *nešikovník* (m.) – *nešikovnica* (f.) ‘fumbler, butterfingers’, *odborník* (m.) – *odborníčka* (f.) ‘expert’, *tiežslovák* (m.) – *tiežslovenka* (f.) ‘Slovak who denies or feels embarrassed by his nationality, lit. also-Slovak’.

<sup>175</sup> This is the typical treatment in Slovak linguistic studies, see e.g., Ondrus, Horecký, Furdík (1980:100).



Lexical gender nouns, i.e., words which are paired by gender but not derived from each other, are not attested in Category 12.

Some feminine forms are not listed in KSSJ, but occur in other sources, along with their masculine counterparts, for instance, *borec* (m.) – *borkyňa*<sup>176</sup> (f.) ‘champion’, *bohater* (m.) – *bohaterka*<sup>177</sup> (f.) ‘hero’, *bard* (m.) – *bardka*<sup>178</sup> (f.) ‘bard’, *exmajster* (m.) – *exmajsterka*<sup>179</sup> (f.) ‘ex-champion’, *nestor* (m.) – *nestorka*<sup>180</sup> (f.) ‘doyen’, *nevzdelanec* (m.) – *nevzdelankyňa*<sup>181</sup> (f.) ‘uneducated person’, *profesionál* (m.) – *profesionálka*<sup>182</sup> (f.) ‘professional’, *praktik* (m.) – *praktička*<sup>183</sup> (f.) ‘practician’, *prvoligista* (m.) – *prvoligistka*<sup>184</sup> (f.) ‘major-league player’, *ucháň* (m.) – *ucháňka* (f.) ‘greenhorn, lit. eared person’, *velikán* (m.) – *velikánka*<sup>185</sup> (f.) ‘giant, genius’.

#### 4.21.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 12

##### 4.21.2.1. Lexical gaps

Two nouns in this category exhibit asymmetrical behavior due to biological constraints: *holobriadok* (m.) ‘shaveling, puppy, whipster’ and miss 2 ‘Miss, beauty queen’.

*Holobriadok* (m.), a compound consisting of the lexical morphemes *hol-* ‘old, bare, naked’ and *brada* ‘chin’, meaning ‘shaveling, puppy, whipster’ predictably occurs

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<sup>176</sup> SSJ

<sup>177</sup> <http://42195.sk/spravy/2006/07/12.htm>, accessed 9/14/09.

<sup>178</sup> <http://bayer.blog.sme.sk/c/123528/Fujavica-v-Bullerbyne-Podcast-Schumenie.html>, accessed 10/5/09.

<sup>179</sup> PSP, SCS

<sup>180</sup> [http://mesto.sk/bratislava/kultura\\_\\_spolocnost/?STRANA=195](http://mesto.sk/bratislava/kultura__spolocnost/?STRANA=195), accessed 10/10/09

<sup>181</sup> [http://mesto.sk/bratislava/kultura\\_\\_spolocnost/?STRANA=195](http://mesto.sk/bratislava/kultura__spolocnost/?STRANA=195), accessed 10/10/09

<sup>182</sup> PSP, SCS, SSJ

<sup>183</sup> PSP, SCS

<sup>184</sup> PSP

<sup>185</sup> <http://www.24hod.sk/clanok-54357-Holly-Hunter-ma-svoju-hviezdu-na-Chodniku-slavy.html>, accessed 10/10/09

as a masculine-only form, given that it is a metaphor based on the idea of being too young to have facial hair. Nevertheless, *holobriadok* can easily be applied as an epicene to an unexperienced female, too. On the other hand, the indeclinable *miss* 2 (f.) ‘Miss, beauty queen’, the term for a female winner of a beauty pageant, and the synonymical *misska* (f.), a slovakized, declinable form of the borrowing, which is formed by attaching the feminine derivative suffix *-k(a)* to the foreign stem *miss-*, cannot function as an epicene denoting a male winner of the pageant. Instead, a masculine derivative is formed: *missák* (m.). However, as a newly formed noun, it sounds very colloquial, unusual, and/or non-grammatical to many native speakers.

No examples of gender asymmetry due to social/historical constraints have been found in KSSJ.

Several nouns are asymmetrical as a result of formal constraints:

First, as in several other categories in this study, grammatically masculine forms ending in the suffix *-ec* hardly ever co-occur with the feminine variants, e.g., *usmrkanec* (m.) – *\*usmrkanka* (f.), *\*usmrkankyňa* ‘sniveller’. The feminine counterpart of *bruchomluvec* (m.) ‘ventriloquist’ was attested only once, with an interesting metalinguistic comment:

“o Mary Shaw, ktorá bola bruchomlúvka (má to vôbec SK ekvivalent? ...)”<sup>186</sup>  
 “about Mary Shaw, who was a ventriloquist (f.) (does it actually have any Slovak equivalent?...)”

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<sup>186</sup> <http://markoff.biz/pivot/entry.php?id=1231>, accessed 9/14/09

Second, diminutives exhibit gender asymmetry, too: *majsterko* (m.), *majstrič* (m.) ‘a proficient person, champion’ and *nováčik* (m.) ‘beginner, novice, trainee, greenhorn’ have no feminine equivalents.

Third, there is a group of words which are deverbal conversions. They only exist as grammatical masculine and function as epicenes:

*nedouk* (m.) – \**nedoučka* (f.) ‘smatterer, half-scholar’ (*nedoučiť sa* ‘not to complete learning/ studying’)  
*samouk* (m.) – \**samoučka* (f.) ‘autodidact, self-taught person’ (*učiť sa sám* ‘to teach oneself’)  
*samorast* (m.) – \**samorastka* (f.) ‘self-made’ (*rásť sám* ‘to grow by oneself’)  
*vševed* (m.) – \**vševedka*<sup>187</sup> (f.) ‘know-it-all’ (*vedieť všetko* ‘to know everything’)  
*zjav* (m.) – \**zjavka* (f.) ‘figure’ (*zjaviť sa* ‘to appear, occur’)

Finally, *titan* (m.) ‘Titan, giant’ seems to resist feminization. Despite the fact that Titan, originally a foreign proper name, can refer to both sexes, as illustrated below by a definition in OED, in Slovak the concept of a male giant strongly dominates the concept of a female giant.

“*Gr. Mythol.* In *sing.* The ancestor of the Titans [...]. In *pl.* a family of giants, the children of Uranus (Heaven) and Gæa (Earth), who contended for the sovereignty of heaven and were overthrown by Zeus.”<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> Vševedka is attested as a nonce-formation, specifically a proper noun, referring to a animated (personalized) story character, an owl: [www.stromzivota.sk/medialib/.../Strom-zivota-nas-zachranil.pdf](http://www.stromzivota.sk/medialib/.../Strom-zivota-nas-zachranil.pdf)

<sup>188</sup> <http://oed.com>, accessed 10/10/09.

#### 4.21.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men, with a semantic difference

No clear-cut example has been found belonging to this class, but the etymologically related nouns *duch* 2 (m.) 'genius, outstanding, remarkable person' and *duša* 2 (f.) 'main factor, the most important or crucial person' at least formally seem to constitute a pair. However, notice the difference in their semantic meanings which makes them an asymmetrical pair.

#### 4.21.2.3. Epicenes

As indicated previously, masculine epicenes include several conversions:

*nedouk* (m.) 'smatterer, half-scholar', *samouk* (m.) 'autodidact, self-taught person', *samorast* (m.) 'self-made person', *vševěd* (m.) 'know-it-all', and *zjav* (m.) 'figure'.

According to KSSJ, several grammatically masculine animal names may metaphorically refer to both sexes, too: *bažant* (m.) 'pheasant', *zajac* (m.) 'hare, rabbit'.

Some diminutives (*majsterko* (m.), *majstrik* (m.) 'a proficient person, champion' and *nováček* (m.) 'beginner, novice, trainee, greenhorn'), one abstract noun (*talent* (m.) 'talent'), and the metonymic extension *mozog* (m.) 'brain' are all masculine epicenes, too.

There are also some feminine epicenes referring equally to both sexes; these include abstract nouns or metaphoric extensions: *autorita* (f.) 'authority', *kapacita* (f.) 'mastermind', *megahviezda* (f.) 'mega-star', *stálica* (f.) 'fixed star'.

The three neuter nouns *drevo* (n.) 'clumsy person, lit. wood, lumber', *eso* (n.) 'ace', and *ucho* (n.) 'greenhorn, lit. ear' are also epicenes.

#### 4.21.2.4. Double gender nouns

No double-gender nouns are found in this category.

#### 4.21.2.5. Complex factors

Finally, it should be noted that some nouns might exhibit gender asymmetry due to a combination of several factors. Consider, for instance, *pánbožko* (m.) ‘an influential person’. *Pánbožko* is a rather remarkable example of an interplay of four factors which contribute to its inability to form a feminine counterpart. First, *boh* 2 ‘god, i.e., a powerful person’, the second lexical morpheme in the compound form, is in a semantically asymmetrical relation with *bohyňa* 2 ‘goddess, i.e., a beautiful, gracious woman’. Second, *pánbožko* (m.) is a diminutive and as such resists feminization. Third, no juxtaposition with the first element *pani* (a feminine form of *pán*) has been attested in my sources. And fourth, the referent of the undiminutivized compound *pánboh* is conceptualized as male (the Lord God, God the Father).

### 4.22. Category 13: Descriptions denoting agents of specific actions or activities

This category consists of 987 lemmas, 591 of which are masculine nouns. Of those, 388 occur in pairs with feminine forms. The total number of feminine nouns is 395, which means that only seven forms are feminine-only, as opposed to 203 masculine-only forms. Only one neuter, a loan word, belongs to this category.

In terms of semantic detail, some members of Category 13 posed a classification problem; they could potentially fit into two categories. For instance, some lexical items can potentially denote both agents of specific actions or activities (Category 13) and

persons as defined by their profession, hobby or interest (Category 5)—e.g., *karavanista* (m.) ‘caravan camper’, *kempista* (m.) ‘camper’, *vreckár* (m.)—*vreckárka* (f.) ‘pickpocket’. Ultimately, the decision about how the nouns like these should be categorized was determined by the following criterion: Category 13 took precedence over Category 5 when the activity or action implicitly expressed in a personal noun could be interpreted as a one-time or specific action rather than a general or repeated or habitual activity or action with the potential to become a vocation or habitual leisure activity.

There is a further small group of personal nouns represented by the noun *percipient 1*, which may also be ambiguous with respect to semantic categorization. In KSSJ, the lemma *percipient 1*, a term used in psychology, is defined as *vnímatel’* ‘one who perceives’. *Vnímanie*, i.e., ‘perceiving’, has the implication of receiving, getting, taking in something, obtaining something through mind or senses (e.g., knowledge, understanding, observations). Accordingly, *percipient 1*, the one who perceives, appears to refer less to a type of agent than to a type of a patient, toward which the process of obtaining something abstract is directed; therefore, it could conceivably belong to Category 14. Seemingly, the directionality of the process might be reversed. Note, however, how *vnímatel’* (m.), a Slovak equivalent of the loan word *percipient 1*, is explained in SSJ:

*vnímatel’<sup>189</sup> - kto vníma; kto sa zámerne sústreďuje na vnímanie niečoho (napr. umeleckého diela, hovoreného al. písaného jazykového prejavu a pod.)*

‘percipient—who perceives; who *deliberately* focuses on perceiving of something(e.g., a piece of art, spoken or written linguistic discourse or like) [emphasis mine —MM]’

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<sup>189</sup> SSJ

In accordance with this definition, ‘perceiving’ is a deliberate, active involvement in a process, initiated by a person, rather than a imposition on someone passive.

Yet another subclass of words that are seemingly problematic consists of loan words with either an obsolete or an implicit reference to a specific action or activity. The original morphological structure of those loan words may be transparent in the donor language, but it is opaque in Slovak and thus does not indicate what type of action/activity the given lexemes express. In such cases, the decision to place a noun in Category 13 was based on dictionary definitions that specified activities/actions directly, in native terms. Consider, for instance, the word *patrón* (m.) ‘patron, sponsor, benefactor’, which is of Latin origin and is defined in Slovak dictionaries as follows: ‘one who sponsors someone’<sup>190</sup>; ‘protector, patron, benefactor’<sup>191</sup>; ‘one who shows support, friendliness, one who sponsors somebody’.<sup>192</sup> Clearly, then, *patrón* is a legitimate member of Category 13, despite the obscured reference to an action or activity its referent performs. The same argument also applies to lexemes like the following, whose denotations involve specific actions or activities (italicized): *parlamentár* (m.) ‘parliamentarian, one who is delegated to *discuss* terms with the enemy’; *terorista* (m.)—*teroristka* (f.) ‘terrorist, a person *inflicting* terror or violence’; *pasažier* (m.)—*pasažierka* (f.) ‘passenger, one who *travels*’; *renegát* (m.) ‘renegade, one who *deserts* something or somebody, a turn-coat, an apostate’; *mecén*, *mecenáš* (m.)—*mecénka*,

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<sup>190</sup> KSSJ

<sup>191</sup> SCS

<sup>192</sup> SSS

*mecenáška* (f.) ‘one who *renders* aid or service to others, or *makes* a benefaction or endowment’.

From the point of view of word-formation, and, ultimately, gender symmetry, it is noteworthy that the vast majority of lexical units in Category 13 are derived directly from verbs. Typically, if the agentive personal noun is deverbal, its base is the imperfective form of the verb: *dohadzovač* (m.)—*dohadzovačka* (f.) ‘match-maker, matcher’, from *dohadzovať*; *dodávateľ* (m.)—*dodávateľka* (f.) ‘supplier, provider’, from *dodávať*; *donášač* (m.) ‘informer, denouncer’, from *donášať*; *zakladateľ* (m.)—*zakladateľka* (f.) ‘founder’, from *zakladať*; *kazateľ* (m.)—*kazateľka* (f.) ‘preacher’, from *kázať*. The respective perfective forms, which do not participate in formation of such nouns, are *dohodiť*, *dodať*, *doniesť*, *založiť*, and *dokázať* or *odkázať*.<sup>193</sup> There are some cases of agentive nouns derived from perfective verbs, but this type of derivation is much less productive: *spasiteľ* (m.) ‘saviour’, from *spasiť*; *vykupiteľ* (m.) ‘redeemer’, from *vykúpiť*; *usporiadateľ* (m.)—*usporiadateľka* (f.) ‘organizer’, from *usporiadať*.

Occasionally, parallel agentives can be found that are derived from the perfective and imperfective forms of the same verb: *uchvatiteľ* (m.)—*uchvatiteľka* (f.) ‘occupant, usurper’ (from *uchvátiť*<sub>-PFV</sub>) alongside *uchvacovateľ*<sup>194</sup> (m.)—*uchvacovateľka* (f.) ‘occupant, usurper’ (from *uchvacovať*<sub>-IPV</sub>); *osloboditeľ* (m.)—*osloboditeľka* (f.) ‘liberator’ (from *oslobodiť*<sub>-PFV</sub>) alongside *oslobodzovateľ*<sup>195</sup> (m.) ‘liberator’ (from *oslobodzovať*<sub>-IPV</sub>);

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<sup>193</sup> Two possible perfectives are given for *kázať* because, like numerous other primary (unprefixed) imperfectives, it can have a number of prefixed perfective counterparts.

<sup>194</sup> <http://zslubica.edupage.org/kruzky/?file=kruzok.html&kruzok=37748>

<sup>195</sup> <http://kultura.sme.sk/diskusie/1284286/3/7820497/Saakasvili-vyzval-EU-aby-neustupila-Rusku.html#7820497>



*objavitel'* (m.)—*objavitel'ka* (f.) ‘discoverer, inventor’ (from *objavit'*<sub>-PFV</sub>) alongside *objavovatel'*<sup>196</sup> (m.)—*objavovatel'ka*<sup>197</sup> ‘discoverer, inventor’ (from *objavovat'*<sub>-IPV</sub>).

Interestingly, while the perfective/imperfective dichotomy is clear-cut when it comes to verbs, it appears to be weakened in agentives derived from those nouns. For example, *oslobodzovat'*<sub>-IPV</sub> implies an unfinished, repeated, or habitual event or a yet unaccomplished goal, or an event in the process of unfolding, while *oslobodit'*<sub>-PFV</sub> describes either an event as a whole, or as a momentary action, or focuses on the completion or end or, alternatively, the beginning of the action. However, this does not seem to apply to the same extent to the corresponding personal nouns. While *oslobodzovatel'* (from *oslobodzovat'*<sub>-IPV</sub>) clearly and exclusively denotes an ongoing event, *osloboditel'* (from *oslobodit'*<sub>-PFV</sub>) can refer to either an ongoing action or a completed action.

Several nomina agentis are derivatives of verbal participles (mostly passive), a fact which, technically, might predetermine them to belong to Category 14 (patients of actions). Nevertheless, words such as *vzbúrenec* (m.)—*vzbúrenkyňa* (f.) ‘insurgent, rioter’, *oneskorenenec* (m.) ‘latecomer’, *navrátenec* (m.)—*navrátenkyňa* (f.) ‘repatriate’, *samozvanec* (m.) ‘usurper’ (from *vzbúrenený*, *oneskorenený*, *navrátený*, *samozvaný*, respectively) denote initiators or active participants of actions/events/activities and as such belong to Category 13.

A limited number of nomina agentis are noun derivatives: *pištoľník I* (m.) ‘gunman’, from *pištoľ* (f.) ‘gun’; *barikádnik* (m.) ‘barricade fighter’, from *barikáda* (f.) ‘barricade’; *anketár* (m.)—*anketárka* (f.) ‘pollster’, from *anketa* (f.) ‘poll, questionnaire’;

<sup>196</sup> <http://zivot.lesk.cas.sk/cl/100010/247349/Rudolf--va---ek-Objavovate--du-->

<sup>197</sup> <http://www.noveslovo.sk/archiv/1999-43/okulture.html>

*vreckár* (m.)—*vreckárka* (f.) ‘pickpocket’, from *vrecko* (n.) ‘pocket’; *kasár* (m.) ‘safe-cracker’, from *kasa* (coll.) (f.) ‘safe’; *značkar* (m.)—*značkárka* (f.) ‘marker’, from *značka* (f.) ‘mark’.

The most common masculine suffixes associated with agentive nouns are *-tel’* (e.g., *podnecovateľ* ‘instigator’), *-ca* (e.g., *zvodca* ‘seducer’), *-ik/-ík* (e.g., *brigádnik* ‘brigade worker, team worker’), *-ec* (e.g., *vzbúrenec* ‘rioter, insurgent’), and *-č* (e.g., *nosič* ‘carrier’). Agentive nouns denoting women are usually formed by means of the suffixes *-ka*, *-kyňa*, *-ica*, *-ička*, as illustrated by the following examples: *travička* (f.) - *travič* (m.) ‘poisoner’, *zradkyňa* (f.)—*zradca* (m.) ‘traitor’, *kajúcnica* (f.)—*kajúcnik* (m.) ‘penitent’, and *priekopníčka* (f.)—*priekopník* (m.) ‘pioneer’. It should be noted that verbal bases can combine easily with various agentive suffixes, which can lead to parallel formations.<sup>198</sup> This is illustrated by the following masculine doublets: *neplatič* ~ *neplatiteľ* (m.) ‘dodger’, *obranca* ~ *obranár* (m.) ‘defender’, *privatizant* ~ *privatizátor* (m.) ‘privatizer’.

#### 4.22.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 13

From the point of view of gender symmetry, this category exhibits a remarkably high number of paired personal nouns: according to KSSJ, out of 987 nouns, 776 occur in pairs. By definition, *nomina agentis* are not restricted by referential gender. Usually, a person’s sex has little relevance to his/her active participation in or initiating of most kinds of activities/actions/events. Therefore, almost all the verbal and many of the nominal bases can combine with both masculine and feminine suffixes.

<sup>198</sup> The same is true in Czech; see *Mluvnice češtiny* (1986:234).

Even compounds participate in this symmetry, regardless of whether the verbal base is the first (a) or second element (b):

- a. *kazisvet* (m.)—*kazisvetka* (f.) ‘destroyer’, from *kazit* ‘to destroy’ and *svet* ‘world’
- b. *chlebodarca* (m.)—*chlebodarkyňa* (f.) ‘provider, employer’, from *chlieb* ‘bread’ and *darovat* ‘to give’<sup>199</sup>  
*hrdlorez* (m.)—*hrdlorezka* (f.) ‘cut-throat, thug’, from *hrdlo* ‘throat’ and *rezat* ‘to cut’

#### 4.22.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 13

##### 4.22.2.1. Lexical gaps

No instances of asymmetrical relationships caused primarily by biological factors are found in this category. Four masculine-only nouns are reflections of concepts perceived by society as typically male: *kúpač* (m.) ‘a boy or young man in Slovakia, who would pour water over the girls on Easter Monday’<sup>200</sup>; *šibač* (m.) ‘a boy or young man in Slovakia who would symbolically whip the girls with a thin willow branch on Easter Monday’<sup>201</sup>; *spovedník* (m.) ‘confessor,’ that is, a priest who hears confessions (Catholic or Orthodox); and *kosec* (m.) ‘scyther, mower’.

The nature of the following type of asymmetry is not biological or social-historical, but rather linguistic: *zbeh* (m.) ‘deserter’, *zved* (m.) ‘spy’, *špeh* (m.) ‘spy’, *psovod* (m.) ‘dog handler’. Lexemes such as these are sometimes classified as conversions from verbs. However, as Beard (1998: 62) points out, “we find precisely the same semantic relations between conversional pairs as between derivational pairs”, which

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<sup>199</sup> SSS.

<sup>200</sup> This old pagan ritual was supposed to ensure that girls stay beautiful and healthy throughout the year.

<sup>201</sup> Whipping the young women with the willow branch was supposed to ensure their fertility.

are formally expressed by suffixes. The lack of a derivational suffix in words like *zbeh* might, at least in some frameworks, be interpreted as the presence of a zero suffix, parallel to other agentive suffixes such as *-tel'*, *-ca*, *-ik/-ík*, *-ec*, or *-č*. Note that, while a few conversional masculine nouns are attested in Category 13, their feminine equivalents are completely unattested.

A further class of nouns that lack opposite-gender counterpart comprises certain lexemes terminating in *-ec*, e.g., *kupec* *l* (m.) 'buyer, customer', *opilec* (m.) 'drunk', *sprisahanec* (m.) 'conspirator', *betlehemec* (m.) 'one who during Christmas goes from house to house with an image of the Nativity and sings Christmas carols'. It is clear from these examples that the conceptual categories of 'buyer', 'drunk', 'conspirator', and 'Christmas caroller', respectively, are not exclusive to one gender, as evidenced by the following pair of personal nouns which are semantically identical with *kupec* (m.): *kupujúci* (m.)—*kupujúca* (f.) 'buyer, customer'.

Interestingly enough, Category 13 contains no diminutives of either gender. However, the absence of diminutives should not be attributed to the impossibility of such forms or to limitations on derivational rules, since virtually all personal nouns in this category can actually be diminutivized by native speakers, even though the forms do not appear in the dictionaries. Instead, the lack of diminutive forms can easily be explained in methodological terms as the dictionary's compromise between its degree of comprehensiveness and the need (or lack of need) to define all possible semantic nuances of individual nouns.

#### 4.22.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men with a semantic difference

There are different archaic designations for a man and a woman who accompany and protect a young unmarried woman in public. The loan word *gardedáma* (f.) ‘female chaperone’ refers to a woman only. A parallel term denoting a male companion is not \**gardepán* (m.), as might be expected, but the asymmetrical *gavalier* (m.) ‘chevalier, escort, gallant’, whose meaning includes ‘man who is chivalrous, attractive in manners and polished’.

Another example of parallel designations with a semantic difference can be found in the pair *sluha* (m.)—*slúžka* (f.). According to KSSJ, *sluha* is a general term for the one who serves, a ‘servant’, while the meaning of *slúžka* is more specific—a female servant who is hired to do all kinds of housework or farm work, a *bonne à tout faire*.

#### 4.22.2.3. Epicenes

The epicene nouns in this category differ from the epicenes in all the other categories in one major respect: they have both a singulative and a collective meaning. Unlike the epicene nouns in the rest of the corpus, words like those in (a) below can denote to a larger variety of referents: a single male, a single female, a mixed-sex group of at least two individuals, a group of at least two women, and a group of at least two men. Even more interestingly, a subgroup of the singulative/collective epicene nomina agentis was identified that co-exists with the feminine and masculine forms of the same meaning used in the singulative sense only (see (b) below).

- a. *doprovod* (m.) ‘accompanying party, entourage’  
*garde* (n.) ‘accompanying and escorting and protecting person/people’  
*záštita* 2 (f.) ‘auspices, patronage, protection’  
*spojka* (f.) ‘link (contact person, messenger)’
  
- b. *dozor* (m.) ‘supervision, control’, also *dozorca* (m.), *dozorkyňa* (f.)  
*stráž* (f.) ‘guard’, also *strážca* (m.), *strážkyňa* (f.)  
*ochrana* 3 (f.) ‘protection, patronage, escort’, also *ochranca* (m.), *ochrankyňa* (f.)  
*pomoc* 2 (f.) ‘help, assistance’, also *pomocník* (m.), *pomocníčka* (f.)  
*náhrada* (f.) ‘substitute’, also *náhradník* (m.) *náhradníčka* (f.)

#### 4.22.2.4. Double gender nouns

No double gender nouns were found in this category.

### 4.23. Category 14: Descriptions denoting patients/ recipients/ beneficiaries of specific actions or activities or persons affected by circumstances

This category comprises 167 nouns in total, including 49 pairs of masculine and feminine nouns, 53 masculine-only nouns, three neuter-only nouns, and three feminine-only personal nouns. Of the latter, two are abstract nouns (*obeť* (f.) ‘victim’ and *nádej* (f.) ‘hope’), while the third is a metaphoric extension of a personal noun (*popoluška* (f.) ‘Cinderella’). In addition, Category 14 contains several derivatives referring to a ‘poor thing, poor soul’, which cannot be paired in a one-to-one manner but rather constitute a derivational nest. This nest includes two masculine, three neuter, and four feminine nouns, as well as one augmentative noun that is both masculine and neuter (*chudáčisko*).

It should be noted first that there are several feminine forms which are absent from KSSJ and therefore not included in this analysis, but which are nevertheless well-formed and frequently used among Slovak speakers, as documented by other sources,

e.g., PSP, SCS, SSJ. The nouns *basista* (m.)—*basistka* (f.) ‘prisoner’,<sup>202</sup> *deputátník* (m.)—*deputátnička* (f.) ‘household servant, agricultural laborer’,<sup>203</sup> and *outsider* (m.)—*ousiderka* (f.) ‘outsider’<sup>204</sup> are omitted for no obvious reason. Also omitted in KSSJ are the feminines of nominalized adjectives: *nezvestný* (m.)—*nezvestná* (f.) ‘missing person’, *obvinený* (m.)—*obvinená* (f.) ‘accused person’, *opýtaný* (m.)—*opýtaná* (f.) ‘interviewed person, one who is inquired of or asked’, and *podpísaný* (m.)—*podpísaná* (f.) ‘undersigned person, signatory’. However, this omission is consistent with the dictionary's practice of listed adjectives only in the masculine form. All these pairs illustrate symmetrical relationships between the denotations for men and those for women (see 4.23.1, below).

Second, pairing nouns according to their grammatical/referential gender can sometimes lead to serious methodological complications, because their derivatives are not always paired. As indicated in the analysis of some of the previous categories, many grammatically masculine nouns denoting male referents lack feminine counterparts referring to women, while some grammatically feminine nouns lack masculine counterparts. Yet another type of asymmetrical relationship is the derivational nest, which involves both masculines and feminines, and sometimes also neuter genders, with two or more synonymical derivational suffixes of one grammatical gender corresponding to only one suffix of the opposite gender, or with non-corresponding derivational suffixes. Consider the examples in Table 10, in which all nouns roughly mean ‘poor thing, poor soul’:

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<sup>202</sup> PSP, SCS.

<sup>203</sup> PSP, SCS, SSJ.

<sup>204</sup> SCS.

Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
<b><i>chudák 1</i></b>	<b><i>*/?chudáčka 1<sup>205</sup></i></b>	<b><i>*chudáča 1</i></b>
<b><i>*chuder 1</i></b>	<b><i>chudera 1</i></b>	<b><i>*chuderča 1</i></b>
<b><i>*chudin 1</i></b>	<b><i>chudina 1</i></b>	<b><i>*chudinča 1</i></b>
<b><i>*chúd' 1</i></b>	<b><i>*chúd'a 1</i></b>	<b><i>chúd'a 1</i></b>
<b><i>chudáčik 1</i> expr dim</b>	<b><i>*chudáčička 1</i> expr dim</b>	<b><i>*chudáčičko 1</i> expr dim</b>
<b><i>*chuderko 1</i> exp dim</b>	<b><i>chuderka 1</i> expr dim</b>	<b><i>*chuderča 1</i> expr dim</b>
<b><i>*chudinko 1</i> expr dim.</b>	<b><i>chudinka 1</i> expr dim</b>	<b><i>*chudinča 1</i> expr dim</b>
<b><i>?</i></b>	<b><i>?</i></b>	<b><i>chúd'atko, chudiatko 1</i> expr dim</b>
<b><i>chudáčisko 1</i> expr aug</b>	<b><i>*chudáčiska 1</i> expr aug</b>	<b><i>chudáčisko 1</i> expr aug</b>

Table 9: Derivational nest of Category 14 personal nouns with the root *chud*- ‘poor’

Notice that the structure above is of a theoretical nature, precisely because it is not always possible to group the nouns into exact pairs or triads (including neuter forms).

Within my methodological framework, if at least one form of a lexeme exists which corresponds to at least one form of the opposite gender, I consider them a lexical pair. In

<sup>205</sup> An example of this form, not cited in KSSJ, is found at <http://www.juko56.allforum.sk/rozpravky/ax455.htm>, accessed 8/18/09.



particular, *chudák* (m.) is paired with *chudera* and *chudina* (both f.), and the diminutive form *chudáček* (m.) constitutes a pair with *chuderka* and *chudinka* (both f.).

#### 4.23.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 14

Examples of straightforward relationships between masculine/male and feminine/female include the following symmetrical pairs: *birmovanec* (m.)—*birmovanka* (f.) ‘confirmand, confirmee’, *dedič* (m.)—*dedička* (f.) ‘heir, inheritor’, *evakuant* (m.)—*evakuantka* (f.) ‘evacuee’, and *chránenec* (m.)—*chránenka*, *chránenkyňa* (f.) ‘protégé’. Even the word *paroháč* (m.) ‘cuckold, deceived husband, literally one with antlers’ has a feminine counterpart *paroháčka* (f.) ‘deceived wife’,<sup>206</sup> despite the fact that in a literal interpretation only male deer have antlers.

Strikingly, unlike in the other fifteen categories, Category 14 has numerous masculines terminating in the suffix *-ec* that co-occur with feminine variants: *oblíbenec* (m.)—*oblíbenkyňa* (f.) ‘favourite’,<sup>207</sup> *odchovanec* (m.)—*odchovankyňa* (f.) ‘pupil, disciple’, *odsúdenec* (m.)—*odsúdenkyňa* (f.) ‘convict’,<sup>208</sup> *osvojenec* (m.)—*osvojenka* (f.) ‘one who is adopted’, *poverenec* (m.)—*poverenkyňa* (f.) ‘appointee’,<sup>209</sup> *splnomocnenec* (m.)—*splnomocnenkyňa* (f.) ‘delegate, commissioner’,<sup>210</sup> *zmocnenec* (m.)—*zmocnenkyňa* (f.) ‘deputy, agent, assignee, envoy’,<sup>211</sup> *stroskotanec* (m.)—*stroskotankyňa* ‘cast-away’,<sup>212</sup> *utopenec* (m.)—*utopenkyňa* ‘drowned person’,<sup>213</sup> *štvaneč* (m.)—*štvankyňa* (f.)

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<sup>206</sup> <http://plus7dni.pluska.sk/plus7dni/vsimli-sme-si/2009/09/parohacka.html>, accessed 9/22/09.

<sup>207</sup> PSP.

<sup>208</sup> [www.onlineslovník.sk/prechadzat/sk-hu/o/7](http://www.onlineslovník.sk/prechadzat/sk-hu/o/7), accessed 9/22/09.

<sup>209</sup> <http://dnes.atlas.sk/svet/232351/>, accessed 9/22/09.

<sup>210</sup> PSP

<sup>211</sup> [www.usske.sk/ov/2009/0926001s.htm](http://www.usske.sk/ov/2009/0926001s.htm), accessed 9/22/09.

<sup>212</sup> <http://programy.pravda.sk/tvDetail.aspx?id=77486>, accessed 9/22/09.

‘outcast’,<sup>214</sup> *zapredanec* (m.)—*zapredankyňa* (f.) ‘sell-out’,<sup>215</sup> *zasvätenec* (m.)—*zasvätenkyňa* (f.) ‘devotee, insider, informed person’,<sup>216</sup> *zaľúbenec* (m.)—*zaľúbenkyňa* (f.) ‘one who is in love’,<sup>217</sup> *poručenec* (m.)—*poručenkyňa* (f.) ‘one who is in custody, one who is guarded’.<sup>218</sup> The unifying feature of all the examples above is the fact that, with the exception of the non-prefixed *štvaneč*, they are derived from prefixed (that is, typically perfective) verbal past participles; for example, *odsúdenec* (m.) ‘convict’ comes from *odsúdený* ‘convicted’, *utopenec* (m.) ‘drowned person’ from *utopený* ‘drowned’, and *zasvätenec* (m.) ‘devotee, insider, informed person’ from *zasvätený* ‘devoted’. This type of formation seems to be relatively productive. Feminine deparicipial nouns are formed with the aid of the suffix *-kyň(a)*, or, occasionally, *-k(a)*: *odsúdenkyňa* (f.) ‘convict’ from *odsúdená* ‘convicted’, *osvojenka* (f.) ‘one who is adopted’ from *osvojená* ‘adopted’.

However, several deverbals with the same formal properties do not exhibit such gender symmetry: *obrneneč* (m.) ‘armored person’, *ozbrojeneč* (m.) ‘armed person’, *opatrovaneč* (m.) ‘one who is looked after, in custody’, *poblúdenec* (m.) ‘stray, lost person’, *pohorelec* (m.) ‘one who lost something in fire’, *stratenec* (m.) ‘lost or misplaced person’, *vydedeneč* (m.) ‘outcast, disinherited person’, *nájdeneč* (m.) ‘foundling’, *obesenec* (m.) ‘hanged person’. None of these masculine forms has an

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<sup>213</sup> [http://www.facebook.com/note.php?note\\_id=69484003706&comments](http://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=69484003706&comments),  
<http://www.csfd.cz/uzivatel/138473-primavera/komentare/>, accessed 9/22/09.

<sup>214</sup> [http://www.google.sk/#hl=sk&q=%C5%A1tvanky%C5%88a&meta=lr%3Dlang\\_sk&fp=fff0428edd318d46](http://www.google.sk/#hl=sk&q=%C5%A1tvanky%C5%88a&meta=lr%3Dlang_sk&fp=fff0428edd318d46), accessed 9/22/09.

<sup>215</sup> [http://www.ta3.com/sk/diskusie/709\\_zucastnite-sa-2-kola-volby-prezidenta-a-co-vas-moze-odradit?pridaj=222448](http://www.ta3.com/sk/diskusie/709_zucastnite-sa-2-kola-volby-prezidenta-a-co-vas-moze-odradit?pridaj=222448), accessed 9/22/09.

<sup>216</sup> <http://sirver.neutral.cz/EE/print.php?id=518>, accessed 09/22/09.

<sup>217</sup> <http://bulvar.atlas.sk/celebrity/145533/krainova-odletela-za-milencom>, accessed 9/22/09.

<sup>218</sup> [http://www.google.sk/#hl=sk&q=poru%C4%8Denky%C5%88a&meta=lr%3Dlang\\_sk&fp=fff0428edd318d46](http://www.google.sk/#hl=sk&q=poru%C4%8Denky%C5%88a&meta=lr%3Dlang_sk&fp=fff0428edd318d46), accessed 9/22/09.

attested feminine counterpart. Some of the missing feminine forms can perhaps exist as nonce formations: *porazenec* (m.) — ?*porazenkyňa* (f.) ‘defeated person’, *poškodenec* (m.) — ?*poškodenkyňa* (f.) ‘harmed person, one to whom damage has been caused’.

However, typically this type of asymmetry is resolved in the language by avoiding the participial substantival form altogether and replacing it with a substantivized participle: *porazený* (m.) — *porazená* (f.), *poškodený* (m.) — *poškodená* (f.). Normally, all the masculine participials, both those that are paired and those that lack feminine counterparts, can be used as epicenes.

#### 4.23.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 14

##### 4.23.2.1. Lexical gaps

No noun in Category 14 exhibits an asymmetrical relationship due to biological constraints. However, several personal nouns occur in the masculine gender only due to social/historical constraints. According to KSSJ, the words *odvedenec* (m.), *branec* (m.), *povolaneč* (m.), *zverbovanec*, all meaning ‘recruit, draftee’, are masculine-only. The overt masculinity in these examples can be explained by extralinguistic, in particular socio-historical factors: in the former Austro-Hungarian Empire and in the former Czechoslovakia, military service was mandatory only for men; therefore, *odvedenec* (m.), *branec* (m.), and *povolaneč* (m.) ‘recruit, draftee’ are used only as masculines in their primary, non-metaphorical meaning. *Zverbovanec* is an archaic word, referring to a pre-Czechoslovakian reality, when women were excluded from serving in the army altogether.

One diminutive, *úbožiačik* (m.) ‘poor little thing’ represents asymmetry due to formal constraints. A feminine counterpart does not exist. For further discussion, see Chapter 5.

#### 4.23.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men with a semantic difference

No instances of this type of asymmetry were identified in Category 14.

#### 4.23.2.3. Epicenes

As noted earlier, all masculine deparicipials in this category can be used as epicenes. Additional masculine epicenes include *idol* (m.) ‘idol’, and *najdúch* (m.) ‘foundling’. There are also two feminine nouns, four neuters, and a neuter or masculine augmentative that can serve as neutral expressions capable of referring to both men and women: *nádej* (f.) ‘hope’, *obet’* (f.) ‘victim’, *nebožiatko* (n.), *úbožiatko* (n.), *chúd’a* (n.), *chudiatko/chúd’atko* (n.), *chudáčisko* 1 (m., n., aug.), all roughly meaning ‘poor little thing, person deserving pity’.

#### 4.23.2.4. Double gender nouns

No double gender nouns, as defined within this framework, are attested in Category 14. *Chudáčisko* 1 (m., n., aug.) ‘person deserving pity’, despite having a consistent masculine paradigm and a consistent neuter paradigm, is not considered a double gender noun on the grounds of the mismatch between its grammatical gender and referential gender, since both the masculine and the neuter forms can refer equally to both sexes. Functionally, therefore, *chudáčisko* 1 (m., n., aug.) is an epicene noun.

#### 4.24. Category 15A: Identity as determined by one's possession, acquisition, and/or managing of an external entity

The total number of lexemes in this category is 99. Although KSSJ contains 62 masculine nouns relating to a person's identity as determined by his/her possession, acquisition, and/or managing of an external entity, only 37 have feminine counterparts. However, as a matter of fact, of the remaining 25 masculine nouns, 18 actually prove to have feminine counterparts, as shown in dictionaries other than KSSJ (SSJ, PSP, SCS, and SSS). One further feminine word, *išpánka* (f.), paired with *išpán* 'administrator/manager of lands belonging to Hungarian feudalists', does not occur in any major Slovak dictionary, but two instances have been found elsewhere—one (in the prefixed form *vice-išpánka*) in a nineteenth-century source,<sup>219</sup> and one through a Google search.<sup>220</sup> No neuter personal nouns are found in Category 15A.

##### 4.24.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 15A

This class contains several general personal nouns relating to possession and/or acquisition of an external entity, e.g., *vlastník* (m.)—*vlastníčka* (f.) 'owner', *majitel* (m.)—*majitelka* (f.) 'owner', *domáci 1* (m.) 'landlord'—*domáca 1* (f.) 'landlady', *účastinár* (m.)—*účastinárka* (f.) 'stock holder', *spoločník* (m.)—*spoločníčka*, *spoločnica* (f.) 'partner'. There are also personal nouns which refer to managing an external entity,

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<sup>219</sup> *Slovenský národný zábavník*. 1873. Sväzok V. Povesti Jána Kalinčáka. Knieža liptovský. Serbianka. Turč. Sv. Martin, ed. Ján Francisci, found on Internet: [http://zlatyfond.sme.sk/dielo/54/Kalinciak\\_Serbianka](http://zlatyfond.sme.sk/dielo/54/Kalinciak_Serbianka), accessed 12/2/09.

<sup>220</sup> On the official website of the Slovak city of Nemčianany, there is a reference to Tereza *išpánka*, who was a resident of the city between the two world wars: <http://www.nemcinany.estranky.cz/clanky/nieco-o-historii/abs>, accessed 8/10/09.

such as *správca* (m.)—*správkyňa* (f.) ‘land agent, manager’, *prevádzkovateľ* (m.)—*prevádzkovateľka* (f.) ‘operator, entrepreneur’, *nájomca 1* (m.) ‘renter, tenant’, *nájomník 1* (m.)—*nájomníčka 1* (f.) ‘renter, tenant’, *prenajímateľ* (m.)—*prenajímateľka* (f.) ‘landlord’, *kastelán* (m.)—*kastelánka* (f.) ‘castellan’.

Most words in Category 15A are derivatives of the names of the given types of external entities, as shown in the examples below:

<i>banka</i> ‘bank’	<i>bankár 2</i> (m.)— <i>bankárka 2</i> (f.) ‘banker’ <sup>221</sup>
<i>hotel</i> ‘hotel’	<i>hotelier 1</i> (m.)— <i>hotelierka 1</i> (f.) ‘hotel proprietor, hotelier’
<i>statok</i> ‘land’	<i>statkár 1</i> (m.)— <i>statkárka 1</i> (f.) ‘landowner’
<i>dom</i> ‘house’	<i>domkár</i> (m.)— <i>domkárka</i> (f.) ‘village house owner’ <sup>222</sup>
<i>továreň</i> ‘factory’	<i>továrnik</i> (m.)— <i>továrnička</i> (f.) ‘factory owner’ <sup>223</sup>
<i>fabrika</i> ‘factory’	<i>fabrikant</i> (m.)— <i>fabrikantka</i> (f.) ‘factory owner’ <sup>224</sup>
<i>plantáž</i> ‘plantation’	<i>plantážnik</i> (m.)— <i>plantážnička</i> ‘planter’ <sup>225</sup>
<i>statok</i> ‘livestock, farm’	<i>statkár 2</i> (m.)— <i>statkárka 2</i> (f.) ‘farmer’
<i>chata</i> ‘cottage’	<i>chatár 1</i> (m.)— <i>chatárka 1</i> (f.) ‘cottager, owner of a summer house’
<i>chalupa</i> ‘cottage’	<i>chalupár</i> (m.)— <i>chalupárka</i> (f.) ‘cottager, owner of a summer house’
<i>ranč</i> ‘ranch’	<i>rančer</i> (m.)— <i>rančerka</i> (f.) ‘rancher’ <sup>226</sup>
<i>farma</i> ‘farm’	<i>farmár 2</i> (m.)— <i>farmárka 2</i> (f.) ‘farmer’,
<i>kapitál</i> ‘capital’	<i>kapitalista 1</i> (m.)— <i>kapitalistka 1</i> (f.) ‘capitalist’
<i>domov</i> ‘home’	<i>bezdomovec</i> (m.)— <i>bezdomovkyňa</i> (f.) ‘homeless’ <sup>227</sup>

<sup>221</sup> SCS.

<sup>222</sup> PSP, SSJ.

<sup>223</sup> SSJ.

<sup>224</sup> SCS, SSJ.

<sup>225</sup> <http://www.teleplus.sk/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=1382>, accessed 08/07/09

<sup>226</sup> <http://objavitelia.blogspot.com/2008/09/dedinky-nad-buov-turov-tnie-elezn.html>, accessed 08/07/09.

<sup>227</sup> From the point of view of word-formation and semantics, *bezdomovec* (m.)—*bezdomovkyňa* (f.) ‘homeless person’ are of a different nature than all the other examples above; they express a lack of ownership, which is formally indicated by the prefix *bez-* ‘without’.

#### 4.24.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 15A

##### 4.24.2.1. Lexical gaps

No lexical gaps due to biological constraints are found in Category 15A.

Surprisingly enough, *oceliarka* (f.) ‘female owner of a steel mill’, *piliarka* (f.) ‘female owner of a saw mill’, and *petrolejárka* (f.) ‘female owner of a petroleum refinery’ are unattested in my sources. Despite my native speaker’s linguistic intuition that these feminines are well-formed, not a single example denoting a female owner of a steel mill, a saw mill, and a petroleum refinery, respectively, was found. However, two of these lexemes exist with different meanings: *oceliarka* can denote a US Steel employee, and *piliarka* the European Apple Sawfly (*Hoplocampa testudinea*). *Petrolejárka* was not found in any source. The absence of these three feminine human nouns can, perhaps, be attributed to social and/or historical factors.

Diminutives can be considered a demonstration of formal constraints. Four masculine diminutives—*gazdik* 2 ‘manciple, landlord (dim.)’, *gazdik* 4 ‘owner’ (dim.), *gazdíček* 2 ‘manciple, landlord (dim.)’, *gazdíček* 4 ‘owner (dim.)’—resist feminization. However, corresponding feminine diminutives (*gazdinka* 2, *gazdinka* 4) can be derived from the feminine words *gazdiná* 2 and *gazdiná* 4.

##### 4.24.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men with a semantic difference

No instances of this kind of asymmetry were identified in Category 15A.

#### 4.24. 2.3. Epicenes

*Bezzemok* ‘landless person’, and *majordóm/majordómus* ‘seneschal, major-domo, steward’ are both masculine-only terms but may refer to both sexes.<sup>228</sup> Their ability to refer to a female person is grammatically restricted: a masculine form can typically only be used in appositions (e.g., *ona, bezzemok* ‘she, a landless person’) and predicative constructions (e.g., *bola bezzemok/bezzemkom* ‘she was a landless person’). The plural masculine form can also be used generically to refer to women:

*Pôvodné nemecké obyvateľstvo bolo po II. svetovej vojne vysťahované a nahradili ho bezzemkovia z okolitých obcí, najmä z Vikartoviec.*<sup>229</sup>

‘The original German population was displaced after the Second World War and replaced by landless people from the surrounding villages, especially from Vikartovce.’

Often, potential female referents remain linguistically invisible, as in the following example, where a female landless person is implicitly included in the word *rodina* ‘family’:

*Ukážku bývania najchudobnejšej rodiny bezzemka tzv. želiara poskytnie návštevníkom domček rodiny Majdiakovcov z Liptovskej Sielnice.*

‘An example of the housing of the extremely poor family of a landless person, a so called *želiar*, is offered to visitors by the house of the Majdiak family from Liptovská Sielnica.’

#### 4.24.2.4. Double gender nouns

No examples were found in Category 15A.

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<sup>228</sup> Female referents are explicitly attested in, e.g., <http://ozene.zoznam.sk/cl/11133/163665/Som-ta-zla->, accessed 10/18/09, and <http://myvtoronto.com/weblog/2009/jul/16/moja-dung/>, accessed 10/18/09.

<sup>229</sup> <http://www.e-obce.sk/obec/mlynica/2-historia.html>, accessed 08/07/09.



#### 4.25. Category 15B: Identity as determined by one's father's or spouse's possession, acquisition, and/or managing of an external entity

According to KSSJ, Category 15A contains two feminine nouns denoting wives: *gazdiná 2* 'wife of a landlord' and *gazdiná 4* 'wife of an owner'. Formally, these are polysemes of the same lexeme *gazdiná 2* 'landlady' and *gazdiná 4* 'female owner', respectively. It appears that, in the domain of archaic terms, even more feminine nouns can denote the wife of an owner or manager of a property. Examples that are not explicitly defined in KSSJ as denotations for wives include *šafárka* 'wife of a bailiff, wife of a landholder's steward',<sup>230</sup> *veľkostatkárka* 'wife of a land owner',<sup>231</sup> and *kastelánka* 'wife of a castellan'.<sup>232</sup>

However, this does not imply that the vocabulary of the modern language (including loan words) is less susceptible to forming feminine nouns denoting the female spouses of male owners or managers of external entities. While, for instance, *akcionárka* 'stockholder's wife' does not exist, some other modern words have a potential to denote wives, e.g., *chatárka* (f.) 'wife of an owner and/or a manager of a cottage'<sup>233</sup> and *továrnička* (f.) 'wife of a factory owner'.<sup>234</sup>

#### 4.26. Category 16: Identity as determined by authorship

Of the 47 lemmas in this category, 28 are grammatically masculine and 19 are feminine. All of the feminine nouns are paired with masculine counterparts. The nine

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<sup>230</sup> SCS.

<sup>231</sup> SSJ.

<sup>232</sup> SSJ.

<sup>233</sup> <http://www.porada.sk/inzercia/showproduct.php?product=1469>, accessed 10/20/09.

<sup>234</sup> SSJ.

remaining masculine gender nouns lack feminine counterparts. No neuter personal nouns have been found in this category.

As has been previously noted, it is generally accepted that in Slovak, as in some other Indo-European languages, masculine nouns typically serve as the bases for deriving feminine forms. The dominant masculine endings in Category 16 are *-ista*, *-ár* (*-ar*), and *-ik*. Feminine counterparts are mostly formed by means of the suffix *-ka*.

Human nouns with the originally borrowed suffix *-ista* are often loanwords themselves, e.g., *aforista* ‘aphorist’, *fejtonista* ‘feuilletonist, columnist’, *novelista* ‘nouvelle writer’. In this category, they are all nomina agentis, derived from nouns that denote the products or results of activities. Similarly, masculines in *-ár* (*-ar*) are derived from nouns denoting the products of activities. Unlike *-ista*, *-ár* (*-ar*) is typically attached to native stems, e.g., *krajinár* ‘landscape painter’, *bájkár* ‘fabler’. The suffix *-ik* is also found in loanwords (cf. the native *-ík*): *satirik* ‘satirist’, *prozaik* ‘prose writer’.

The majority of feminine nouns in Category 16 are formed with the suffix *-ka*. However, there are three feminine deverbal nouns that end in *-kyňa*: *vynálezkyňa* ‘female inventor’, *umelkyňa* ‘artist, author of an art work’, *pôvodkyňa* ‘author, creator’.

#### 4.26.1. Symmetrical relationships in Category 16

All the symmetrical nouns in this category are attested in lexicographic sources; therefore their symmetry can be considered established rather than just potential or nascent. Three lemmas in both genders denote an author in general: *autor* (m.)—*autorka* (f.) ‘author’, *anonym* (m.)—*anonymka* (f.) ‘anonym’, *pôvodca* 2 (m.)—*pôvodkyňa* 2 (f.) ‘author, creator’. Some words refer to the creators of works of art: *krajinár*, *krajinkár*

(m.)—*krajinárka*, *krajinkárka* (f.) ‘landscape-painter’, *portrétista* (m.)—*portrétistka* (f.) ‘portraitist’. However, the vast majority of nouns describing identity as determined by an authorship are connected with literary genres or sub-genres, e.g., *fejtonista* (m.)—*fejtonistka* (f.) ‘feuilletonist, columnist’, *kronikár* (m.)—*kronikárka* (f.) ‘chronicler, recorder’, *novelista* (m.)—*novelistka* (f.) ‘nouvelle writer’, *poet(a)* (m.) ‘poet’—*poetka* (f.) ‘poetess’, *poviedkar* (m.)—*poviedkarka* (f.) ‘short-story writer’, *scenárista* (m.)—*scenáristka* (f.) ‘scriptwriter’, *prozaik* (m.)—*prozaička* (f.) ‘prose-writer’.

The feminine forms *aforistka*<sup>235</sup> (f.) ‘woman aphorist’, paired with *aforista* (m.), and *bájkarka*<sup>236</sup> (f.) ‘woman fabulist’, paired with *bájkar* (m.), are not included in KSSJ but can be found in other sources. *Epička* (f.), a feminine form for an epic poet (*epik* (m.)) which is missing from KSSJ, but attested in SNK, is avoided due to its phonetic resemblance to an obscene word; instead, Slovak speakers prefer the generic masculine *epik* (in apposition or predicative use) or else periphrastic expressions such as *epická*<sub>-ADJ.F</sub> *autorka*<sub>-F</sub> ‘epic author’ (f.) or *epická*<sub>-ADJ.F</sub> *poetka*<sub>-F</sub> ‘epic poet’ (f.).

#### 4.26.2. Asymmetrical relationships in Category 16

##### 4.26.2.1. Lexical gaps

No examples of lexical gaps due to biological constraints were found. The nouns *evanjelista I* (m.) ‘Evangelist’ and *žalmista* (m.) ‘Psalmist’ can be considered unpaired due to social-historical constraints. *Evanjelista I* (m.) denotes one of four specific male

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<sup>235</sup> PSP, SCS

<sup>236</sup> SSJ

referents, the writers of the Four Gospels, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.<sup>237</sup> The apocryphal Gospel according to Mary Magdalene is mentioned on various websites,<sup>238</sup> mostly in relation to *The Da Vinci Code*, a thriller novel written by Dan Brown, but the actual personal noun *evanjelistka* ‘female evangelist’ is attested in any of my sources. A second meaning of *evanjelista*, ‘one who preaches the Gospel’, has both gender forms: *evanjelista* 2 (m.)—*evanjelistka* 2 (f.).<sup>239</sup>

Similarly, according to OED<sup>240</sup>, *žalmista* 1 (m.) ‘psalmist’, one who composes psalms, is specifically associated with the male person believed to have composed the Book of Psalms, formerly identified as King David (“the Psalmist”). This particularity makes *žalmista* functionally similar to proper nouns, while a possible multiplicity of designation would imply that it was an epicene. Notice that *žalmista* 2 ‘singer of psalms’ (Category 13) occurs in a pair: *žalmista* 2 (m.)—*žalmistka* 2 (f.).<sup>241</sup>

Four personal nouns, *letopisec* (m.) ‘chronicler, chronicle-writer, annalist’, *románopisec* (m.) ‘novel-writer’, *životopisec* (m.), ‘biographer’, *veršotepec* (m.) ‘verse-monger, rhymers’, all formed through a derivational-compositional process, lack feminine correlates due to formal constraints. Chapter 5 discusses in detail possible explanations for why numerous masculine nouns terminating in the suffix *-ec* (including compounds such

<sup>237</sup> In SCS, *evanjelista* is defined as “a religious writer, author of a Gospel: one of the four evangelists (Matthew, Mark, Luke, John).” Cf. also the OED entry for *evangelist*: <http://www.oed.com>, accessed 08/04/09

<sup>238</sup> See, e.g., e.g., in [www.putnici.sk/newsread\\_print.php?newsid=3355](http://www.putnici.sk/newsread_print.php?newsid=3355).

<sup>239</sup> Technically, *evanjelista* 2—*evanjelistka* 2 should fall in the Category 13, but since neither a feminine nor a masculine form is given in KSSJ, they are not considered in any further detail in this study.

<sup>240</sup> See also the OED on English *psalmist*: <http://www.oed.com>, accessed 08/04/09. Interestingly, the OED explains that, even though it is now generally recognized that the Book of Psalms had multiple authors, the singular designation *the Psalmist* is still frequently used to denote King David.

<sup>241</sup> In my classification, *žalmista* 2 (m.) falls in Category 13. However, only a masculine form is listed in KSSJ. *Žalmistka* 2 (f.) was found in SCS.

as *letopisec* (m.) ‘chronicler, chronicle-writer, annalist’) resist formation of feminine counterparts.

#### 4.26.2.2. Parallel designations for woman and men, with a semantic difference

No examples were found in Category 16.

#### 4.26.2.3. Epicenes

As indicated above, some of the expected feminine counterparts to Category 16 masculines are unattested: *\*letopiskyňa* (f.) ‘female chronicler, chronicle-writer, annalist’, *\*románopiskyňa* (m.) ‘female novel-writer’, *\*životopiskyňa* (m.), ‘female biographer’, *\*veršotepkyňa* (m.) ‘female verse-monger, rhymers’. Instead, masculine epicene forms tend to be utilized: *letopisec* (m.) ‘chronicler, chronicle-writer, annalist’, *románopisec* (m.) ‘novel-writer’, *životopisec* (m.), ‘biographer’, *veršotepec* (m.) ‘verse-monger, rhymers’, respectively. Note, however, that the masculine terms are used for female referents in a limited number of contexts—typically in apposition or predicative position. Generally speaking, in Category 16 all masculine nouns, except for *evanjelista* (m.) ‘evangelist’ and *žalmista* (m.) ‘psalmist’, have dual function—gender-specific and gender-neutral/epicene.

#### 4.26.2.4. Double gender nouns

No instances of double gender nouns were found in Category 16.

## Chapter 5

### Synthesis

#### 5.1. General observations

In Chapter 4, I provided an in-depth analysis of gender in Slovak personal nouns by semantic class. These findings are summarized in Table 10.

As noted in Chapter 1, over 60,000 lexical entries in KSSJ were examined for this study; approximately one tenth of them were identified as personal nouns. Non-personal nouns that can be applied to people as metaphoric extensions were not included in the analysis, unless explicitly defined as such by KSSJ, as, e.g., the following dictionary entry:

**žralok** [...] *veľká morská dravá ryba*, zool. *Scylliorhinus*, *Rhinodon*, *Carcharodon* ap.; pren. pejor. *nenásytný, bezohľadný človek*

‘**shark** [...] big seawater predaceous fish, zool. *Scylliorhinus*, *Rhinodon*, *Carcharodon* etc., met. pej. greedy, ruthless person’

		total	m.	m. only	f.	f. only	m.—f. pairs	nests	n.	m./n.	m./f.
1	1A	26	12	12	11	11	0		3	0	0
	1B	186	92	30	52	10	*	62m, 42f	36	6	0
2	2A	226	113	15	99	8	*	98m, 91f	14	0	0
	2B	170	94	24	75	5	70		1	0	0
3		115	69	27	42	0	42		2		1
4	4Aa	128	82	45	42	5	37		0	4	0
	4Ab	9	2	2	7	7	0		0	0	0
	4Ba	53	38	26	12	0	12		1	1	1
	4Bb	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
	4Ca	60	34	8	26	0	26		0	0	0
	4Cb	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
5	5A	1,754	1,059	404	692	37	655		3	0	0
	5B	7	0	0	7	7	0		0	0	0
6	6A	372	239	118	131	10	121		2	0	0
	6B	2	0	0	2	2	0		0	0	0
7		107	74	44	33	3	30		0	0	0
8		254	169	85	85	1	84		0	0	0
9		141	79	57	52	30	22		9	1	0
10		104	70	39	32	1	31		2	0	0
11		943	623	391	293	61	232		16	11	1
12		176	111	60	60	9	51		5	0	0
13		987	591	203	395	7	388		1	0	0
14		167	104	53	56	3	49	2m, 4f	6	1	0
15		99	62	25	37	0	37		0	0	0
16		47	28	9	19	0	19		0	0	0
Total		6,133	3,745	1,677	2,260	217	1,906 pairs	299	101	24	3

Table 10: Types of gender pairings in Slovak personal nouns by semantic class

Of the 6,133 human nouns identified in KSSJ, 61.06% (3,745 nouns) are masculine and 36.85% (2,260 nouns) are feminine. Of these, 1,677 are masculine-only (27.34% of the total, and 44.78% of all masculine nouns), while 217 nouns are feminine-only (3.54% of the total, and 9.6% of all feminine nouns).

The number of neuter nouns denoting predominantly young or immature persons of both sexes is insignificantly low: there are 101 neuter-only forms, which constitute a

mere 1.65% of all personal nouns.<sup>242</sup> According to KSSJ, twenty-four nouns (0.39%) are both masculine and neuter; their referents can either be persons of both sexes (*oplanisko*) or males only (*chalanisko*). Three nouns (0.049%) are classified as both masculine and feminine: *skaderuka-skadenoha 1* (Category 3), *skaderuka-skadenoha 2* (Category 4Ba), and *tlčhuba* (Category 11).

Over half of all the human nouns in my corpus (3,812 nouns, or 62.16%) occur in pairs (1,906 pairs). An additional 299 nouns (162 masculine and 137 feminine) participate in a more complex system of gender relationships in which every member has more than one counterpart. In particular, it proved extremely challenging to organize some masculine and feminine nouns in Category 1B, Category 2A, and Category 14 into neat pairs. In all the other categories, each member of the set of feminine nouns was either evenly matched with one and only member of the set of masculine nouns or else unpaired, but in Category 1B, Category 2A, and Category 14 this clear-cut one-to-one correspondence was absent for a majority of the members. Instead, these categories contain many correlations between one masculine noun and more than one feminine nouns or between one feminine form and more than one masculine forms. Most of the nouns in question are lexical-gender nouns, particularly in categories 1B and 2A; however, some derived noun also did not participate in a one-to-one correspondence.

Specifically, Category 1B contains 186 dictionary entries. Of the 92 masculine nouns, 30 lack feminine counterparts, while 10 of the 52 feminine nouns lack masculine counterparts. The remaining 62 masculine nouns and 42 feminine nouns have more than

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<sup>242</sup> Marginally, some neuter forms can have a female-only referent, e.g. the lexical-gender *dievča* ‘girl’ and its neuter derivatives and *žieňa* ‘small woman’; others can only refer to young male persons, e.g., *chlapča*, *chlápätko* ‘boy’.



one corresponding noun of the opposite gender. Similarly, in category 2A, 98 of the 113 masculine nouns and 91 of the 99 feminine nouns are members of a lexical “nest” characterized by no clear-cut one-to-one correspondence. Likewise, category 14 consists of 167 entries: 104 masculine nouns (53 of which are masculine-only), 56 feminine nouns (3 of which are feminine-only), 6 neuter nouns, and one noun that, according to KSSJ, is both masculine and neuter. Forty-eight masculine forms and forty-eight feminine forms occur in pairs. Two masculine forms and 4 feminine forms do not occur in straightforward non-one-to-one correspondences. All six forms are derivationally related and roughly mean ‘poor thing, poor soul’.<sup>243</sup>

## 5.2. Distribution of personal nouns by semantic class

The semantic classes that have the strongest representation in my corpus are lexemes related to the area of employment and leisure-time activities (Category 5A, “*Identity as defined by vocation and avocation/Own*”)—1,754 lemmas (28.6%); lexemes expressing agents of specific activities (Category 13: “*Descriptions denoting agents of specific actions or activities*”)—987 lemmas (16.09%); and lexemes referring to one’s behavior (Category 11: “*Evaluations based on behavior*”)—943 entries (15.38%).

In contrast, the class of general—i.e., gender and/or age-nonspecific—generic terms for human beings (Category 1A) is very small; the 26 nouns (12 masculine, 11 feminine, and 3 neuter) constitute a mere 0.42% of the total number of human nouns. Category 1A is also the only category in my classification system which contains no masculine—feminine pairs. This is because, by definition, 1A only includes referential

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<sup>243</sup> *Chudáčisko*, which is both masculine and neuter, according to KSSJ, is also a member of this nest.

gender-indefinite nouns, that is, nouns that are used without regard to the sex of the referent, e.g., *človek* (m.) ‘person, man’, *osoba* (f.) ‘person’, *indivídium* (s.) ‘individual’.<sup>244</sup> All members of this category are epicene nouns capable of denoting both female and male persons without a change of grammatical gender. It is noteworthy that, in addition to the above-mentioned 26 epicene personal nouns, a high number of the collective nouns (21) identified in KSSJ would technically also belong to Category 1A, e.g., *tvorstvo* (n.) ‘creation’, *človečenstvo*, *ludstvo* (n.) ‘humanity’. The semantic feature of collectiveness/plurality allows for the possibility of having referents of both sexes. However, a more in-depth discussion of collectives is beyond the scope of this study.

Personal nouns referring to spouses and children are also underrepresented in my corpus. They are absent from most of my categories, except for two entries in Category 6B (“*Identity as determined by position/rank/function in a particular company or organization/Father’s or spouse’s*”), seven entries in Category 5B (“*Identity as defined by vocation and a-vocation/ Father’s or spouse’s*”) and nine entries in Category 4Ab (“*Identity based on social status at large/ Father’s or spouse’s*”). Significantly, all the nouns that refer to spouses or children are feminine nouns denoting women (categories 4Ab, 5B, 6B) or girls (Category 4Ab), except for the two masculine forms *král’ovič* and *cárovič* in Category 4Ab, which denote a male offspring of a royalty.

### 5.3. Distribution of personal nouns by gender

It has been mentioned that 62.16% of all personal nouns in my corpus (3,812 out of 6,133) occur in masculine-feminine pairs, in which feminine gender is assigned to

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<sup>244</sup> Curiously, Czech has a feminine counterpart of the word *člověk* (m.) ‘man, person’—*člověčice* (f.), which is very unusual and stylistically marked occasionalism (Čmejrková 2003:33).

lexemes with female referents and masculine gender to lexemes with male referents. Thus 50.89% of the masculine personal nouns identified belong to 1,906 masculine-feminine pairs.<sup>245</sup> There is a significantly higher proportion of feminine nouns with masculine counterparts—84.34% (1,906 out of 2,260). As noted earlier, only 217 feminine nouns are unpaired (9.6%), as opposed to 1,677 unpaired masculine nouns (44.78%).

The following categories exhibit the strongest tendency towards the symmetrical pairing of masculine and feminine forms: Category 4Ca (*“Identity based on educational status/Own”*)—52 out of 60 nouns (86.67%); Category 2B (*“Identity as defined by interpersonal relations other than kinship and marriage”*)—140 out of 170 nouns (82.35%); and Category 16 (*“Identity as determined by authorship”*)—38 out of 47 nouns (80.85%). The two largest categories, 5A (*“Identity as defined by vocation and avocation/ Own”*) and 13 (*“Descriptions denoting agents of specific actions or activities”*), also show a relatively high ratio between the total number of members and the number of symmetrical pairs—655 pairs out of 1754 nouns (74.69%) and 388 pairs out of 987 nouns (78.62%), respectively.

It is interesting to contrast the results of this study with Dickins’ analysis of Czech data. To be sure, the corpora are not fully comparable, since Dickins’ database is based on the reports of three informants and on the three largest Czech frequency lists and is cross-checked with *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého*.<sup>246</sup> Nevertheless, his analysis is

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<sup>245</sup> By comparison, Dickins claims that only around 44% of Czech nouns represent the masculine members of gender pairs.

<sup>246</sup> For more information, see Dickins (2001: 216–17).

the closest approximation to my research, and the implications of gender asymmetry in Czech deserve at least a brief mention here.

While none of Dickins' eighteen semantic categories of Czech personal nouns<sup>247</sup> were more than 40% feminine, four of my categories exceeded the 40% limit—Category 2A (*"Identity as determined by kinship or marriage (real, potential, or symbolic)"*), which is 43.81% feminine; Category 4Ca (*"Identity based on educational status/Own"*), which is 43.33% feminine; Category 1A (*"General, sex-unspecified terms for human beings"*), which is 42.31% feminine; and Category 16 (*"Identity as determined by authorship"*), which is 40.43% feminine.<sup>248</sup> Note, however, Dickins' corpus does not include lemmas relating to states, roles and functions defined by natural gender (my Category 2A). Obviously, terms for wives and female children are either exclusive feminine or else show a majority of feminines in their respective categories (5B: 100%, 6B:100%, 4Ab: 77.78%).

In Slovak, many feminine nouns can be applied to men as well as women, and many masculine nouns can be applied to women as well as men. However, feminine nouns with male-only referents are rare, while masculine nouns that would refer to an exclusively female subject would, presumably, be even more out of the ordinary.<sup>249</sup> In fact, no masculine nouns referring to an exclusively female person are attested in KSSJ.<sup>250</sup>

One lexeme has been identified whose feminine grammatical gender is incongruent with the biological gender of the referent (male)—*chlapina* (f.) 'he-guy, he-

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<sup>247</sup> The categories are listed in Dickins (2001:232–33).

<sup>248</sup> Note that the feminine forms in these categories do not necessarily have to participate in feminine-masculine symmetry.

<sup>249</sup> In all cases, grammatical agreement systematically dominates semantic agreement.

<sup>250</sup> In Czech, Cummins (1998: 2–3) has identified two instances of masculine nouns applicable to women only: *babec* (m.) 'little old woman' and *žabec* 'little girl, lit. frog'.

man’. In fact, the grammatical gender and referential gender (biological sex) are directly contradictory here. Note that *chlapina* is feminine only in all the major Slovak dictionaries (KSSJ, SSJ, PSP, SCS). This is a rather unusual phenomenon, particularly in the light of the fact that *chlapina* is a lexical-gender noun. Hentschel (2003:296) mentions a similar example in Serbian, where a masculine lexical gender noun *muškarac* ‘man’ is augmented to form the feminine noun *muškarčina* ‘he-man’.

However, there is a major difference between Serbian and Slovak in gender assignment to augmentative nouns in general and in the semantic interpretation of the augmented noun in question. While in Serbian augmentatives are always feminine, regardless of the original noun’s grammatical gender or declension class, in Slovak the augmentation process typically involves the assignment of neuter gender; less frequently, augmentatives can be feminine or masculine, depending on the type of augmentative suffix. (The augmentative suffix *–ina* tends to be associated with feminine nouns.) Moreover, unlike Serbian *muškarčina*, Slovak *chlapina* does not have a pejorative connotation.

Interestingly enough, in linguistic practice the contradiction caused by the clash of referential and grammatical gender in the noun *chlapina* seems to cause confusion despite the authoritative power of Slovak dictionaries. The following examples illustrate disagreement among the Slovak speakers regarding the gender of the word:

*Tento 37-ročný chlapina terchovskej postavy nie je za mikrofónom nováčikom, od roku 2001 účinkoval v muzikáloch Hamlet Janka Ledeckého, Cigáni idú do neba...*<sup>251</sup>

‘This<sub>-M</sub> 37-years old<sub>-M</sub> he-man<sub>-M</sub> of terchovian stature is not a beginner behind the microphone; since 2001 he has played<sub>-M</sub> in the musicals “Hamlet” by Janek Ledecký, “Gypsies are going to heaven”...’

*Goliáš bol poriadna chlapina, nikto si netrúfol.*<sup>252</sup>

‘Goliath was a real<sub>-F</sub> he-man<sub>-F</sub>, no one could beard him.’

One more feminine-only noun was identified—the honorary title *eminencia* ‘Eminence’, whose referent is always a male person (a Roman Catholic cardinal). This example is different from *chlapina* in one aspect: *eminencia* is originally an abstract feminine noun, in contrast to the lexical gender noun *chlapina*; therefore, the discord between its grammatical and referential gender is less obvious.

Neuter nouns, where the sex distinctions of the human referents are unspecified or irrelevant, are represented in my corpus only marginally. A mere 1.65% (101 nouns) of all personal nouns are grammatically neuter.

The distribution of neuter nouns is uneven across the sixteen categories in my corpus. Predictably enough, no neuter forms are used to denote representatives of certain social or educational status (Categories 4Aa, 4Ab, and 4Ca), workers or professionals (Category 5B), individuals having certain rank, position or function in a particular company or organization (Category 6B), members of an organization (Category 7), supporters of certain ideology (Category 8), owners or managers of an external entity

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<sup>251</sup> <http://www.tasr.sk/36/218.axd>, accessed 11/7/09.

<sup>252</sup> <http://www.desjano.host.sk/dav/david3.htm>, accessed 11/7/09.

(Category 15), or authors (Category 16). On the other hand, numerous neuter nouns occur in Category 1B, where they are mostly denotations for babies, toddlers and young children, e.g. *novorodeniatko* ‘newborn’, *dojča* ‘suckling’, *batol’a* ‘toddler’, *diet’a* ‘child’; in Category 2A, where they are kinship terms for children, e.g., *vnúča* ‘grandchild’, *dvojča* ‘twin’, *krstňa* ‘godchild’; and Category 11, where they are mostly evaluative epicenes referring to people’s behavior, e.g., *číslo* ‘one who attracts attention, typically by a negative behavior, lit. number’, *trdlo* ‘dumbhead’, *táradlo* ‘chatterbox’.

## 5.4. Lexical gaps

### 5.4.1. Lexical gaps due to biological constraints

Biological conditions can be the cause of asymmetrical expressions. Predictably, biologically determined female roles and characteristics tend to be grammatically feminine, e.g., *šestonediel’ka* (f.) ‘new mother during her post-partum stage’, *dojka* (f.) ‘wet nurse’, while male roles and evaluations of physical appearance and other characteristics are typically masculine, e.g., *bradáč* ‘bearded person’, *fuzáč* ‘person with a moustache’, *plešivec* (m.) ‘baldy’, *holobriadok* (m.) ‘shaveling, puppy, whipster’.

Biologically determined asymmetries are relatively rare. Most of them occur in Category 9 (“Identity as determined by physical appearance or other physical characteristics”). Some feminine-only or masculine-only metaphoric extensions of one particular person’s behavior might be biologically constrained by that person’s sex. For instance, *Xantipa* (f.) ‘Xantippe’, originally a female proper name (Xantippe, the wife of Socrates) can only be applied to ill-tempered women, never to men.

#### 5.4.2. Lexical gaps due to social and/or historical constraints

Cultural/societal knowledge and experience also pertain to personal noun formation, and the distribution of grammatical masculinity and femininity (or absence of thereof) can depend not only on the sex of a referent per se, but also on social expectations. Socio-cultural norms within given historical frameworks dictate, for instance, the absence of feminine counterparts of the words below due to the absence of corresponding female referents:

*pytač* (m.) ‘the one who asks/proposes marriage’—\**pytačka* (f.)  
*rytier* 5 (m.) ‘knight, companion’—\**rytierka* 5(f.)  
*kúpač* (m.) ‘boy or young man in Slovakia, who, following traditional custom, would pour water over the girls on Easter Monday’—\**kúpačka* (f.)

The category in which such social constraints are most visible is denotations based on a person’s vocation. Some occupations used to be socially (and, partly, biologically) constrained, particularly in feudal society:

*furman* (m.) ‘carter’  
*valach* (m.) ‘chief shepherd’s helper’  
*kosec* (m.) ‘scyther, mower’  
*baba, babica* (f.) ‘midwife’  
*guvernantka* (f.) ‘nurserymaid, governess’  
*varovkyňa* (f.) ‘babysitter’  
*práčka* (f.) ‘washerwoman’

In both urban and rural settings, many other aspects of feudal social life remained male-only domains, including the military protection of centralized power, public security, most of industry and commerce, Catholic and Orthodox ecclesiastical authority.



The following are examples of masculine-only denotations in these semantic spheres, which are conceptually related to the male population only:

*hajdúch* (m.) ‘heyduck, a mercenary foot soldier in Hungarian Empire; a halberdier of a Hungarian noble’  
*honvéd* (m.) ‘honved, Hungarian soldier during the revolutionary war of 1848-9’  
*spovedník* (m.) ‘confessor, a priest who hears confessions’ (Catholic or Orthodox, males only)  
*kňaz* (m.) ‘priest’

Several loan words from outside the domestic context illustrate similar tendencies to male dominance in various social domains, e.g., in religion: *ajatolláh* (m.) ‘ayatollah’, *guru* (m.) ‘guru’, etc.

There seems to be a cross-cultural social agreement on perceiving men through the prism of authority and strength, and women through the optics of the aesthetic. Male bias has existed in evaluating women (and sometimes children), especially with respect to their appearance and behavior. Such bias is palpable in the following negative evaluations:

*prespanka* (f.) ‘single mother, unmarried woman who slept with someone’  
*pobehlica* (f.) ‘wanton’  
*koketa* (f.), *koketka* (f.) ‘coquette, flirt’  
*fičlena* (f.), *frnda* (f.), *frndul’a* (f.) ‘flapper, dressy girl’  
*rafika* (f.) ‘deceitful, mendacious woman’  
*macocha* (f.) ‘malicious cruel woman, lit. stepmother,’  
*ťapa* (f.), *ťapša* (f.), *kača* (f.) ‘dumb woman, silly goose, judy’  
*špata* (f.) ‘unattractive, ugly woman’

Characteristically, no male/masculine counterparts exist in Slovak for the examples above. Moreover, men’s negative behavior seems to be judged more mercifully by society

than women's; for instance, the sexually loose behavior of men might even carry connotations of achievement.

Naturally, in the course of time, some stereotypical assumptions about the appropriateness or inappropriateness of certain social roles for men and women can change, a fact that tends to be reflected linguistically in contemporary Slovak. One of the major categories in which male bias has been disappearing is the class of words referring to one's identity depending on their occupation. Many originally male/masculine-only human nouns have acquired a female/feminine counterpart, e.g., in Modern Slovak *admirál* (m.) 'admiral' and *poslanec* (m.) 'Congressman' co-exist with *admirálka* (f.) 'woman admiral' and *poslankyňa* (f.) 'Congresswoman', respectively.

Finally, our discussion of lexical gaps due to social and/or historical constraints should at least briefly mention the notion of "social gender". Bußmann and Hellinger (2003: 149), following Kramaræ and Treichler (1985: 173), claim that social gender is "a non-linguistic category which reflects social and cultural stereotypes of female and male traits, behaviors, and roles." Within my classification system, social gender is present in one way or another in most types of asymmetrical relationships, particularly in lexical gaps caused by social and/or historical constraints, but also in the class of paired masculine-feminine designations with a semantic difference, and in epicene nouns such as *hlava* (f.) 'head'. However, the category of social gender seems to operate even within some symmetrical pairs, both established and nascent, and pertains to some aspects of an extra-linguistic reality, such as the size of a class of female referents denoted by a particular feminine noun, as opposed to the size of a group of male referents. In other words, despite the fact that linguistically both grammatical gender

forms for a miner (*baník* (m.) and *baníčka* (f.)) are well-established in Slovak, predictably, *baníčka* as an extra-linguistic category is subject to “discrimination”.

#### 5.4.3. Lexical gaps due to formal constraints

##### 5.4.3.1. Diminutives

Attested instances of lexical asymmetry involving diminutives revealed an interesting and unexpected problem: it is evidently impossible to modify the gender of already diminutivized words. An example is given below:

*mrzák* (m.)– *mrzáčka* (f.) ‘cripple, dim.’  
*mrzáčik* (m., dim.)– \**mrzáčička* (f., dim) ‘cripple, dim.’

*Mrzáčka* (f.) is clearly derived from *mrzák* (m.) by attaching the feminizing suffix –*ka*. However, this rule does not apply to masculine diminutives, which cannot give rise to feminine diminutives; thus \**mrzáčička* (f., dim.) is not an attested word.

Diminutives, of course, present far greater morphological complexities than can be discussed in the framework of my research. The aim of this section is to discuss some cases of diminutive nouns that display lexical asymmetry, in order to highlight the resistance of diminutives to generating opposite-sex counterparts, and to suggest an explanation for this phenomenon.

It is difficult to establish an exact figure reflecting the proportion between masculine and feminine diminutive personal nouns, because KSSJ is inconsistent in listing diminutives. The lexicographers of KSSJ do not explicitly state their principles for selecting diminutive forms for the dictionary, but frequency of usage seems to be

one of them. Nevertheless, KSSJ omits a number of existing and relatively frequently used masculine diminutives for no apparent reason; for example, it lists *pehánik* (m.), from *pehán* (m.) ,freckly person, lit. one having freckles’, but not *štrbánik* (m.), from *štrbán* (m.) ‘a person with a missing tooth or teeth, lit. one having a gap’, which belongs to the same semantic category. Similarly, some terms for a dumb or naive person are listed along with their diminutivized forms, e.g., *tůtmák* (m.)—*tůtmáček* (m.) (dim.), *sprosták* (m.)—*sprostáček* (m.) (dim.), while others are listed without their well-formed diminutive counterparts, e.g., *trpák* (m.). Feminine diminutives are far less represented in my corpus drawn from KSSJ, primarily because many of the head words are themselves omitted.

From the methodological point of view, all the diminutives in KSSJ are listed according to the principle of *hniezdovanie* ‘nesting’, that is, the placing of a group of morphologically related words in one dictionary article. As noted in Chapter 1 in the section on the methodology of my research, every bold printed expression in KSSJ is treated as a separate lexical entry in my corpus, including words that are listed as members of a single “nest” in the dictionary, e.g., diminutives.

It has been noted previously that my research was inspired by Dickins’ work on asymmetrical use of animate nouns in Contemporary Czech. While Dickins’ meticulous and insightful analysis contributes greatly to this underexplored area of linguistics, his categorization of Czech data excludes diminutives listed in the standard single-volume dictionary *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost* (1998, second edition, almost 50,000 entries): “Diminutives were omitted, on the grounds that they are merely derivatives of head words” (Dickins 2001: 231).

It feels appropriate to raise two major concerns related to Dickins' omission of diminutive forms, one theoretical, and the other relating to methodology. First, Dickins seems to underestimate the fact that, despite the close morphological, semantic, and/or stylistic relations between a head word and its diminutivized form, diminutive suffixes can and often do contribute to the change in the interpretation of the base.<sup>253</sup> The semantic readings of the diminutive forms can pertain to the quantity or size of an entity; for example, *sestrička* (f.) from *sestra* (f.) 'sister' can denote a little, i.e., younger sister. They can also convey attitudes to the quality of the referent; thus *účtovníček* (m.) from *účtovník* (m.) 'accountant' can refer to an incompetent accountant. Finally, they can pertain to both quality and quantity; for instance, *dievčatko* (n.) from *dievča* (n.) 'girl' can be used as a term of endearment for a young girl. The kind of information relating to quality conveyed by a diminutive can range from favourable, positive, affectionate (e.g., with hypocoristics<sup>254</sup>) to the opposite (pejorative words).

Second, it is understandable that the analysis of such ample material required certain compromises, and the excluded diminutives did not seem to have any significant impact on the overall statistical accuracy and the conclusions drawn in Dickins' study. Nevertheless, the fact that diminutives were not considered resulted in missing yet another interesting aspect of lexical asymmetry.

In Slovak, diminutivization is done by means of suffixation. Diminutive suffixes can apply to substantival, adjectival, verbal or adverbial bases. The process of attaching

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<sup>253</sup> See, e.g., Ștefănescu (1992:355), Wierzbicka (1980:57).

<sup>254</sup> Notice that in my study (in particular in my Appendix), following the methodology of the compilers of KSSJ, hypocoristic suffixes are clearly indicated, but formally, hypocoristic are considered diminutives.

diminutive suffixes does not involve any change of word class; that is, both the base word and the diminutive share the same word class characteristics, as illustrated below.<sup>255</sup>

Nouns: *dom*—*domček* (dim.) ‘house’

Adjectives: *pekny*—*peknučký* (dim.), *peknušký* (dim.), *peknunký* (dim.), *peknulinký* (dim.) ‘pretty’

Verbs: *spať*—*spínkať* (dim.) ‘to sleep’

Adverbs: *nízko*—*nizučko* (dim.), *nizunko* (dim.), *nizulinko* (dim.) ‘low’

Most concrete nouns and some abstract nouns have some capacity to derive diminutive forms. In the field of personal nouns, certain semantic classes are more prone to form diminutives than others. In particular, Category 9 (“*Identity as determined by physical appearance or other physical traits*”) and Category 11 (“*Evaluations based on behavior*”) have a great potential to generate diminutive forms, while diminutives are virtually non-existent in categories 6 (“*Identity as determined by a position/rank/function in a particular company or organization*”), 13 (“*Descriptions denoting agents of specific actions or activities*”), and 8 (“*Identity as defined by adherence to an ideology*”). However, one should keep in mind that the low number of instances of diminutive forms in certain categories is not always due to the limited generative capacity of the Slovak language but may be at least partly a by-product of lexicographers’ decisions not to include those forms in the KSSJ. For example, even expressions denoting people on the basis of their position/rank/function in a particular company or organization can form diminutives, e.g., *veliteľko* (m.) from *veliteľ* (m.), ‘commander, chieftain’, or *richtárôčka* (f.), from *richtárka* (f.) ‘female mayor’. The same is true of personal nouns relating to membership in or adherence to an

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<sup>255</sup> All examples are from KSSJ.

organization, e.g., *liberálik* (m.), from *liberál* (m.) ‘liberal’, or *kresťanôčka* (f.), from *kresťanka* (f.) ‘female Christian’. These words are all well-formed diminutives with various stylistic functions depending on the context—lexical or expressive (e.g., terms of endearment, pejorative words). Moreover, numerous other diminutives are legitimate nascent formations, that is, potential words.

The inventory of Slovak diminutive suffixes is typically broken down by grammatical gender. Out of all the available resources, I found no scholarly work containing a complete list of Slovak substantival diminutive suffixes. In *Morfológia slovenského jazyka* (1966: 80), the following masculine diminutive suffixes are briefly mentioned: *-ček -ek, -ik -čík*. David Short in Comrie and Corbett (2002: 564) notes that Slovak has “a good repertoire of suffixes based on *-k-, -čk-, and -nk-*.” Other than the two comments above, no list of Slovak diminutive suffixes was found. In addition to the above-mentioned primary suffixes *-(e)k* and *-ik/-ík*, the inventory of masculine diminutive suffixes in Slovak also includes *-ok*, as well as various secondary suffixes, e.g., *-ček, -iček, -inček, -ánik, -áčik*. The most typical feminine suffix is *-ka*; others include the secondary suffixes *-ička, -inka, -ienka, -enka, -ôčka, -očka, -uška*, and tertiary suffixes such as *-čička, -činka, -čenka, -ulinka, -ulienka*. Neuter diminutives are formed by means of suffixes such as *-ko, -atko/-átko, -čko, -ečko/-éčko, -ičko/-íčko, -inko, -enko, -enuško*.

Formally, the secondary and tertiary suffixes are iterations of the primary ones. One base can take several suffixes. Rubach (1993:94) illustrates this synonymical nature of diminutive suffixes by the thirteen dictionary forms of the noun *mama* (f.) ‘mother’,

including *mam-ka*, *mam-ul'-ka*, *mam-úl-ik*, *mam-ič-ka*, *mam-uš-en-ka*, *mam-uš-in-ka*, *mam-ul-ien-ka*, etc.

The lexical asymmetry attested in my corpus pertains to those diminutives which lack opposite gender counterparts completely, even though the base words exist in both genders. In most cases, the missing diminutive forms are feminine.

In this section, I will not consider following diminutives of lexemes denoting abstract or non-personal entities, including animals, that can be metaphorically or metonymically extended to people, such as *dušička* (from *duša* (f.) 'soul'), *hviezdička* (from *hviezda* (f.) 'star'), or *chrústik* (from *chrúst* (m.) 'cute, petite person, lit. maybeetle'). I will also exclude the diminutives of lexical gender nouns that lack opposite gender counterparts, e.g., *páterko* (from *páter* (m.) 'pater'). The words in the first category are one-gender-only epicenes; those in the second reflect other types of lexical gaps (due to various reasons, e.g., biological, socio-historical, formal). Therefore, any further discussion of lexical gaps in their diminutives is irrelevant.

Now, consider the following examples:

*vojak* (m.) 'soldier'—*vojačka* (f.) 'woman soldier'  
*vojačik* (m., dim.), but \*/?*vojačička*, \*/?*vojačôčka* (f., dim.)

*žiak* (m.) 'pupil'—*žiačka* (f.) 'female pupil'  
*žiačik* (m., dim.)—\*/?*žiačička*, \*/?*žiačôčka*, \*/?*žiačinka* (f., dim.) 'female pupil'

The masculine nouns *vojak* and *žiak* co-occur with diminutive derivatives, while feminine nouns *vojačka* and *žiačka* lack the respective diminutive forms. Notice that the asterisk (\*) indicates that the words are unattested in the Slovak dictionaries listed in my



bibliography, as well as in the SNK; a Google search showed no results either. The question mark (?) represents potential existence (e.g., as a nonce formation). Forms such as \*/?vojač-ič-ka, \*/?vojač-ôč-ka, \*/?žiač-ič-ka, \*/?žiač-oč-ka, \*/?žiač-in-ka sound highly unusual and artificial, and would likely be rejected by most speakers of the language. Nevertheless, some of those expressions could potentially be used by me and two other native speakers I consulted informally.

When the concept for a certain type of female person exists (a female soldier, a girl pupil, respectively), and a base noun is at our disposal, too, technically, there should not be any reason preventing formation of the feminine diminutive forms, unless these are isolated exceptions to some kind of derivational rule. However, in my corpus there are more examples similar to those in above:

*blondiačik* (m., dim.) ‘blond, fair-haired male’ — \*/?blondiačička (f., dim.)<sup>256</sup>  
*hrbáčik* (m., dim.) ‘hunchback’ — \*/?hrbáčička (f., dim.)  
*naháčik* (m., dim.) ‘nude, naked person (often about a child)’, but \*/?naháčička (f., dim.)  
*pehánik* (m., dim.) ‘freckled person’, but \*/?pehánička (f., dim.)  
*strapánik* (m., dim.) ‘ragged, shaggy person’, but \*/?strapánička (f., dim.)  
*trpaslíček* (m., dim.) ‘dwarf’, but \*/?trpasličička, \*/?trpasličočka (f., dim.)  
*mrzáčik* (m., dim.) ‘cripple’, but \*/?mrzáčička (f., dim.)  
*huncútik* (m., dim.) ‘rascal’, but \*/?huncútička (f., dim.)  
*posmievačik* (m., dim.) ‘mocker’, but \*/?posmievačička (f., dim.)  
*ťuťmáček* (m., dim.) ‘slow, clumsy and/or dumb person’, but \*/?ťuťmáčička (f., dim.)  
*sedliačik* (m., dim.) ‘peasant’, but \*/?sedliačička, \*/?sedliačočka (f., dim.)  
*majstričik* (m., dim.) ‘proficient person, champion’, but \*/?majstrička (f., dim.)

<sup>256</sup> *Blondinočka* is a well-formed diminutive feminine noun. However, its base noun is different from that of masculine *blondiačik*.

From the examples above, it is not clear what the base words of all the unattested (but potential) feminine derivatives would be. One possibility would be that feminine diminutives are derived from masculine diminutives. This assumption would not be illogical at all, particularly given that many scholars claim that, in most cases, feminine nouns are derived from masculine ones.<sup>257</sup> An alternative approach assumes that the relationship between diminutives and their derivational bases is “horizontal” (derivation from base nouns of the same grammatical gender) rather than “vertical” (derivation of one diminutive from another of the opposite grammatical gender). For example, Doležel (1967:495) makes the following statement about Czech: “A diminutive is motivated by a base word—a noun of the same gender with a non-diminutive meaning” [my translation]. He elaborates on this claim in a footnote (ibid.):

It is characteristic of diminutives that a base word and a derived word are of the same gender, that is, the formation remains within one gender. There are only a very few exceptions among the neuter diminutives which do not follow this rule, e.g., “květ“ (m.)—kvítko (n.) (along with kvítek(m.)); myš (f.)—myšátko (n) [my translation].

Similarly, it is claimed in *Mluvnice češtiny* (1986:300) that “diminutives are always of the same gender as their base nouns.”<sup>258</sup>

The “horizontal” approach, in which feminine diminutives are derived from feminine non-diminutives, seems to be a better explanation for my Slovak data than the

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<sup>257</sup> See, e.g., Hentschel (2003: 295), Koniuszaniec and Błaszowska (2003: 264), and Bull and Swan (2002: 230).

<sup>258</sup> Nevertheless, some feminine and masculine nouns can easily be made into neuter diminutives, e.g., *žieňa* ‘small woman’ and *chlapčá* ‘boy’.

“vertical” one, in feminine diminutives are derived from masculine diminutives. Cf. the following examples, in which all the forms denote a ‘poor person’:

*chudák* (m.)—*chudáček* (m., dim.)  
*chudera* (f.)—*chuderka* (f., dim.)  
*chudina* (f.)—*chudinka* (f., dim.)

*Chudáček* is a diminutive derivative of the base word *chudák*; both forms are masculine. The feminine forms *chuderka* and *chudinka* are clearly not derived from the masculine diminutive form *chudáček*, but rather from the base feminine nouns *chudera* and *chudina*, respectively.

In either case, regardless of the gender of the base word, feminine diminutives are much less robustly attested than the corresponding masculine diminutives; this is the case not only in KSSJ but also in the other sources I utilized. If it is the case that feminine diminutives are derived from feminine nouns (the “horizontal” approach), one possible explanation for their underrepresentation in KSSJ—and possibly, in other dictionaries—is that the presence of the feminizing suffix *-ka*, which is frequent in feminine non-diminutivized nouns (see Chapter 3), may block the diminutivizing suffix *-ka*. From the synchronic point of view, then, the two suffixes would be simply mutually incompatible, although historically they are the same.

In any case, morphological analysis of feminine diminutives and the corresponding masculine base words does not appear to confirm the assumption that there is a direct correlation between feminine derivatives and masculine base words. Masculine diminutives are also weak candidates for forming feminine diminutives, as can be seen from the examples above. Another conclusion that can be drawn is that the lack

of feminine diminutives should not be classified as male bias but rather a structural/formal phenomenon.

#### 5.4.3.2. Nouns in *-ec*

One of the most interesting findings of this study is that the derivational suffix *-ec* in Slovak masculine nouns seems to act as major constraint on the probability of feminization. Similarly, in his study of Czech, Dickins (2001: 226–27) identifies a class of masculine nouns terminating in *-ec* that likewise resist feminization. In his view (ibid.), those nouns are likely to have masculine-only forms not “because of phonological constraints, but because they have acquired the permanent semantic status of generic (non gender-specific, but grammatically masculine) nouns.”

In this study, masculine nouns ending in *-ec* are attested in most categories, and they typically occur without feminine counterparts, although some sub-classes contain symmetric masculine-feminine pairs. Semantically, virtually all categories in my corpus do or could contain nouns with the final *-ec*, e.g., kinship terms (*súrodenec* (m.) ‘sibling’), descriptions relating to behavior (*sebec* (m.) ‘egoist’, *pokrytec* (m.) ‘hypocrite’), health (*slepec* (m.) ‘blind person’), occupation and avocational activities (*životopisec* (m.) ‘biographer’). Often, human nouns in *-ec* are expressive/pejorative, e.g., *nedonosenec* (m.) ‘premature baby; dumb person’, *neduživiec* (m.) ‘person who is weak or sickly in health’.

A vast majority of the masculine nouns in *-ec* are derived from adjectives (e.g., *slepec* (m.) ‘blind person’, from *slepý* ‘blind’) or participles (e.g., *odsúdenec* (m.) ‘convict’, from *odsúdený* ‘convicted’), which themselves can be previously derived or

non-derived. Other, rarer origins include compounds with the second element verbal, e.g., *letopisec* (m.) ‘chronicler, chronicle-writer, annalist’, *románopisec* (m.) ‘novel-writer’, *životopisec* (m.), ‘biographer’, *veršotepec* (m.) ‘verse-monger, rhymmer’; deverbal personal nouns, e.g., *kupec* (m.) ‘merchant’, from the verb *kúpit* ‘to buy’; and descriptors of nationalities and/or ethnicities derived from place-names, e.g., *Kórejec* (m.) ‘Korean’, from *Kórea* ‘Korea’.

The examples above clearly demonstrate that the respective conceptual categories are not intrinsically masculine-only. Nevertheless, Slovak speakers experience difficulty in formulating most feminine variants of the masculine nouns ending in *-ec*. Often, feminine participial or deadjectival substantival forms are avoided altogether, as in (a) below; instead, they are replaced by nominalized participles or adjectives, as in (b):

- a. *porazenec* (m.) ‘defeated person’—?*porazenkyňa* (f.)
- b. *porazený* (m.) ‘defeated person’—*porazená* (f.)

If a feminine counterpart does exist, either as a nonce word or as an established formation, one of the following three suffixes is used: *-kyňa*, e.g., *športovec* (m.)—*športovkyňa* (f.) ‘athlete’; *-ica*, e.g., *krásavec* (m.)—*krásavica* (f.) ‘good-looker, beauty’; or *-ka*, e.g., *ryšavec* (m.)—*ryšavka* (f.) ‘red-head’. The general view has been that the feminines are derived from the masculines in the process of “motion” (*prechyl’ovnie*). Thus, according to Ondrus, Horecký and Furdík (1980: 101), personal feminine nouns are formed from masculine nouns terminating in *-ec* (and *-ca*) by attaching the suffix

–*kyňa* (or –*ka* in some cases, mostly in personal nouns denoting nationality), while “the original suffix is dropped” [my translation]. Dokulil (1967: 349) also claims that feminine forms are derived from masculine nouns in –*ec* rather than from the respective adjectives. However, given that both the masculines and the feminines involve suffixes attached to the same presumably gender-indefinite stem, one might be justified in treating them as the result not of “motion” from masculine to feminine but as parallel derivations.

Regardless of whether the feminine forms are derived from the masculines or whether the feminine and masculine forms result from parallel derivations, the question remains why so many feminine counterparts of masculine nouns in –*ec* are lacking. Curiously, one semantic category which exhibits numerous pairs is Category 14 (*“Descriptions denoting patients/ recipients/beneficiaries of specific actions or activities or persons affected by circumstances”*). Note, however, that almost all the feminine examples were found in sources other than KSSJ.

*osvojenec* (m.)—*osvojenka* (f.) ‘one who is adopted’  
*splomocnenec* (m.)—*splnomocnenkyňa*<sup>259</sup> (f.) ‘delegate, commissioner’  
*zmocnenec* (m.)—*zmocnenkyňa*<sup>260</sup> (f.) ‘deputy, agent, assignee, envoy’  
*utopenec* (m.)—*utopenkyňa*<sup>261</sup> ‘drowned person’  
*zapredanec* (m.)—*zapredankyňa*<sup>262</sup> (f.) ‘sell-out’

All the examples above are derived from prefixed verbal past participles, e.g., *utopenec* (m.) ‘drowned person’ (from *u-top-en-ý* ‘drowned’). This type of formation seems to be

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<sup>259</sup> PSP

<sup>260</sup> <http://www.usske.sk/ov/2009/0926001s.htm>, accessed 9/22/09

<sup>261</sup> [http://www.facebook.com/note.php?note\\_id=69484003706&comments,](http://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=69484003706&comments,)  
<http://www.csfd.cz/uzivatel/138473-primavera/komentare/>, accessed 9/22/09

<sup>262</sup> [http://www.ta3.com/sk/diskusie/709\\_zucastnite-sa-2-kola-volby-prezidenta-a-co-vas-moze-odradit?pridaj=222448](http://www.ta3.com/sk/diskusie/709_zucastnite-sa-2-kola-volby-prezidenta-a-co-vas-moze-odradit?pridaj=222448), accessed 9/22/09

rather productive. It should be noted that such gender symmetry is not typical for all the participials in Category 14, as shown by examples such as *ozbrojenec* (m.) ‘armed person’, *pohorelec* (m.) ‘one who lost something in fire’, *stratenec* (m.) ‘lost or misplaced person’, *nájdeneč* (m.) ‘foundling’, and *obesenec* (m.) ‘hanged person’—masculine nouns that do not have attested feminine counterparts.

In sum, it is difficult to explain why many nouns terminating in *-ec* have relatively systematically become fixed as masculine-only nouns, when complex linguistic tools are available for forming feminine terms to denote female referents.

#### 5.4.3.3. Deverbal conversions

Another class of nouns that are masculine-only is deverbal conversions:

*zjav* (m.) ‘figure’ (*zjaviti sa* ‘to appear, occur’)  
*zbeh* (m.) ‘deserter’ (*zbehnúť* ‘to desert’)  
*zved* (m.) ‘spy’ (*zvedieť* ‘to spy, learn something’)  
*špeh* (m.) ‘spy’ (*špehovať* ‘to spy’)  
*samorast* (m.) ‘self-made’ (*rásť sám* ‘to grow by oneself’)  
*vševěd* (m.) ‘know-it-all’ (*vedieť všetko* ‘to know everything’)

Such conversions do not seem to permit feminization, despite the fact that the necessary linguistic means are potentially available in the morphological system.

### 5.5. Parallel designations for woman and men with a semantic difference

Paired lexical items can have two interpretations, depending on whether the referent is a male or female person. Some masculine-feminine pairs are unexpectedly asymmetrical, e.g., *rodič* (m.)—*rodička* (f.), where a masculine epicene ‘parent’ is the

morphological base of a feminine-only noun that has exclusively female referents, ‘woman in labor’. Despite the universality of the social and familial role of the female parent, there is no term for a female parent in Slovak.

Sometimes there is a difference in the social status of a man and a woman having, seemingly, the same job. For example, *sekretár* (m.) characteristically refers to the head of an administrative governmental department, while *sekretárka* denotes a personal assistant who performs clerical tasks for a boss or an organization. Similarly, *gazdiná* (f.) signifies a ‘housekeeper’, while *gazda* (m.) denotes a ‘householder’, ‘manager’, or ‘administrator of an estate’.

In the area of the spiritual and the supernatural, masculine terms tend to be strictly associated with Christian religion and life, while the feminine counterparts can relate to sorcery, black magic, and astrology. For example, *klerik* (m.) is a seminarist preparing to become a priest, while *klerička* (f.) is female member of the “cleric” character class in role-playing video games. *Kňaz* (m.) is a ‘priest’ or ‘clergyman’ in Christian churches, while *kňažka* (f.) is a ‘priestess’ in the pagan sense.

Metaphorical extensions can exhibit asymmetry, too. For instance, the origin of the asymmetrical relationship between *boh* (m.) ‘god (highest authority, idol)’ and *bohyňa* (f.) ‘goddess (beautiful, attractive, majestic and gracious woman)’ seems to be derived from the stereotypical description of a woman as a sexual, physical, and aesthetically pleasing being, and man as a symbol of power, authority and respect.

Even metaphorically used names of animals typically reflect the opposition between power, dominance, authority, aggression on one hand and weakness, playfulness,



or stupidity on the other hand, e.g. *byk* ‘brute, strong and/or rude male [lit. bull]’ vs. *krava* ‘dumb woman [lit. cow]’.

## 5.6. Epicenes

Epicene nouns do not constitute true lexical gaps, because they can refer to both sexes, though only one grammatical gender is used. Epicenes are widely represented in my corpus. The only two semantic spheres in which epicene nouns are absent are Category 7 (“*Identity based on membership in or adherence to an organization*”) and Category 8 (“*Identity as defined by adherence to an ideology*”). On the other hand, all the nouns in Category 1A (“*General terms for human beings/ Generic sex-unspecified*”) are, by definition, epicenes.

Frequently, nouns with pejorative or expressive load can refer to people of both sexes while maintaining only one gender paradigm, e.g., *chmul’o* (m.), *chruño* (m.) ‘idiot, dumb or primitive person’, *jašo* (m.), *šal’o* (m.) ‘crackpot, featherbrain’, *rojko* (m.) ‘daydreamer, idealist’, *cintl’avka* (f.) ‘emotionalist’, *ohava* (f.) ‘nasty person, monster’, *maškara* (f.) ‘scarecrow’, *štangl’a* (f.) ‘lanky person’, *hebedo* (n.) ‘clumsy and fat person’, *človieča* (n.) ‘person of small size’.

The category of epicenes also includes several animal names used for people on the basis of physical resemblance or analogical behavior: *byk* (m.) ‘strong and rude person, lit. bull’, *chrt* (m.) ‘gaunt person, lit. greyhound’, *chrúst* (m.) ‘fragile, weak person, lit. maybeetle’, *škrečok* ‘scrooge, hoarder, lit. hamster’, *bažant* (m.) ‘beginner, inexperienced person, lit. pheasant’, *zajac* (m.) ‘young, inexperienced person, lit. hare,

rabbit’, *mačička* (f.) ‘darling, a clingy, playful person (typically child or woman), lit. kitty’.

Some originally non-personal words, both concrete and abstract, can be used for humans, e.g., *hlava* (f.) ‘head’, *mozog* (m.) ‘brain’, *ucho* (n.) ‘greenhorn, lit. ear’, *drevo* (n.) ‘clumsy person, lit. wood, lumber’, *štruktúra* (f.) ‘structure’ (used as a pejorative noun to refer to a hard-core Communist collaborator, official, or dignitary), *šarža* (f.) ‘rank’, *autorita* (f.) ‘authority’, *kapacita* (f.) ‘mastermind’, *megahviezda* (f.) ‘mega-star’, *stálica* (f.) ‘fixed star’. Among these lexemes are honorific titles derived from abstract nouns, which are used to refer equally to men and women of a high social standing: *jasnosť* (f.), *výsosť* (f.) ‘highness’, *ctihodnosť* (f.) ‘respectability, venerability’.

### 5.7. Double gender nouns

In this study, I conclude that two-gendered personal nouns are non-existent in Slovak. The finding that they are absent in Slovak, even though they are attested in two other closely related West Slavic languages, Polish and Czech, is rather surprising even to me as a native speaker. In this section I attempt to examine all potential candidates and explain why none of them can be considered as a double gender noun. When appropriate, I contrast my findings from Slovak with Czech data from various sources. I support my claim by analyzing 24 nouns that are classified by KSSJ as both masculine and neuter, and three nouns which are analyzed as both feminine and masculine.

As mentioned earlier, in KSSJ I found 6,133 Slovak personal nouns, the vast majority of which occur in gender pairs. Given the definition of the double gender nouns above, I argue, and the data support my claim, that none of the classes of human nouns

listed below which might seem to be double gender nouns, are in fact double gender nouns.

- a. Augmentatives in *-isko* (m./n.)—19
- b. Augmentatives in *-isko* (f./n.) —1
- c. Augmentatives in *-isko* (n./n.)—2
- d. Folktale characters—compounds -2
- e. Other compounds—2 (+5)
- f. Borrowings —2
- g. The archaic –a declension nouns—2
- h. *Chlapina* (m./ f.)—1

#### 5.7.1. Augmentatives in *-isko*

In Slovak, there is a group of neuter and masculine augmentatives in *-isko*. In KSSJ, I found nineteen augmentative personal nouns that are used for male referents<sup>263</sup> but belong to two gender paradigms—masculine and neuter. All of these nouns are expressive or pejorative and/or colloquial, and refer to one or more of the following characteristics: sex (maleness), age and/or marital status, body size, physical strength and abilities, socially undesired or unacceptable behavior, and overall dominance. In general, they tend to carry a connotation of a strong person, whether it is positive or negative.

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<sup>263</sup> *Chudáčisko* is the only m./ n. augmentative which might refer to a female person, too. It never takes a feminine agreement, though.

<i>capisko</i>	‘lecher, dirty old man’	<i>dlhánisko</i>	‘longshanks, beanpole’
<i>corgonisko</i>	‘youngster’	<i>lapajisko 1</i>	‘scoundrel’
<i>faganisko</i>	‘brat, little terror’	<i>lapajisko 2</i>	‘mischief-maker, rogue’
<i>chalanisko 1</i>	‘youngster’	<i>lotrisko 1</i>	‘bastard, rascal’
<i>chalanisko 2</i>	‘naughty boy’	<i>lotrisko 2</i>	‘scoundrel, scallywag’
<i>chlapčisko 1</i>	‘youngster’	<i>lumpáčisko</i>	‘bastard, crook’
<i>chlapčisko 2</i>	‘single young man’	<i>mládenčisko</i>	‘young, handsome man’
<i>chlapisko 1</i>	‘male, man’	<i>oplanisko</i>	‘rogue, rascal’
<i>chlapisko 2</i>	‘very masculine man’	<i>sedliačisko 3</i>	‘mannerless, ignorant cad’
<i>chudáčisko</i>	‘poor wretch’		

Table 11: Slovak augmentatives in *-isko*

All these lexemes have one paradigm but allow two patterns of agreement; cf. the following examples (all are mine):

*To naše lumpáčisko nás poriadne zahanbilo.*  
‘This rascal<sub>-N</sub> of ours<sub>-N</sub> embarrassed us completely.’

*Ten náš lumpáčisko je všade!*  
‘This<sub>-M</sub> rascal<sub>-M</sub> of ours<sub>-M</sub> is all over the place!’

Can the personal nouns above be classed as double gender nouns?

In the traditional interpretation, double gender nouns should have two grammatical genders—masculine and feminine, which correspond to the semantic features of maleness and femaleness, respectively. What we have above are nouns which have only one type of referent, a male person. The neuter grammatical gender takes the focus to a very minor extent away from the sex of the referent (implies that it is irrelevant), but does not change it. Moreover, both patterns of agreements (m. and n.) can intersect. I would explain the mixing of the two paradigms by the stylistic or pragmatic preferences of

individual speakers. Consider the paradigms of the example below and the grammatically and stylistically acceptable co-occurrence of two genders within one discourse.

*Lumpáčisko* ‘rascal’

Dative sg.	<i>lumpáčisku(n.)/ lumpáčiskovi (m.)</i>
Nominative pl.	<i>lumpáčiská (n.)/ lumpáčiskovia (m.)</i>
Dative pl.	<i>lumpáčiskám (n.)/ lumpáčiskom(m.)</i>
Locative pl.	<i>lumpáčiskách (n.)/ o lumpáčiskoch (m.)</i>

*Lumpáčiská hnusné! Zas sú na jablkách! Ved’ ja raz poviem nášmu farárovi o tých lumpáčiskoch!* (my example)

‘Evil-<sub>N</sub> rascals-<sub>N</sub>! Stealing apples again! Just wait, one day I’m gonna tell our parish priest about those rascals-<sub>M</sub>’

Augmentatives in *-isko* can be formed from nouns of all three genders and can refer both to male and female persons. Given the extent of the Slovak lexicon, the twenty m./n. augmentatives listed above constitute a rather limited class. F./n. and n./n. personal augmentatives are even rarer. In fact, KSSJ contains just one instance of a f./n. augmentative—*babisko* ‘old, repulsive and/or annoying, disagreeable female person’, *babisko* derived from *baba* (f.) ‘old woman’— and two instances of n./n. human nouns—*dievčatisko* ‘young female’ and *dievčisko* ‘single young female’. The suffix seems to be far more productive with animals and inanimate objects than with people—for example, *loptisko* (from *lopta* (f.)) ‘ball’, *domisko* (from *dom* (m.)) ‘house’, *autisko* (from *auto* (n.)) ‘car’, *rybisko* (from *ryba* (f.)) ‘fish’, and *psisko* (from *pes* (m.)) ‘dog’.

An interesting observation about the two n./n. augmentatives is that their referent is a female person. *Dievčatisko* is derived from *dievča* (n.) ‘young female’ and *dievčisko* is formed from *dievka* (f.) ‘single young female’. In other words, the neuter gender of

these two augmentatives as well as the neuter gender of the non-derived *dievča* does not fully correspond to extra-linguistic reality, at least not to its biological sex aspect. It does refer to age/immaturity, which overrides the semantic feature femaleness and assigns neuter to *dievča*. In personal nouns, neuter typically implies that the referential gender is irrelevant, even though it is, of course, a permanent characteristic of the referent.

*Babisko*, *dievčatisko* and *dievčisko* still have a single type of referent, a female person.

### 5.7.2. Compounds

Two exocentric verbal compounds that originally referred to characters from folktales are used metaphorically to denote an exceedingly physically strong person.

<i>lomidrevo</i>	<i>lámat' + drevo</i>	'break' + 'wood'
<i>miesiželezo</i>	<i>miesit' + železo</i>	'knead' + 'iron'

KSSJ labels both these lexemes as masculine only. However, the neuter forms are acceptable and widely used as well, as documented by Internet search and confirmed by some native speakers.<sup>264</sup> The question arises whether these nouns refer to male persons only or can denote females, too. I have not found a single instance of the m./n. nouns denoting a female. But even if I did, there would not be a direct correlation between a grammatical gender (m. or n.) and a referential gender (female). This diagnostic rules out *miesiželezo* and *lomidrevo*.

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<sup>264</sup> Speakers of the language might chose the neuter form over masculine one under the influence of the second constituent, which is neuter.

KSSJ list three more masculine compounds; one is fully declinable, while the other two are declined inconsistently.

<i>tlčhuba</i>	‘chatterbox’
<i>skaderuka-skadenoha 1</i>	‘newcomer’
<i>skaderuka-skadenoha 2</i>	‘ragamuffin’

*Skaderuka-skadenoha 1* ‘newcomer’ and *skaderuka-skadenoha 2* ‘ragamuffin’, are both masculine and feminine, but are often declined inconsistently and inconsistently take masculine or feminine agreement. They can refer both to women and to men; they are not necessarily feminine when referring to female persons, nor masculine when denoting male persons.

One more source, MSJ, mentions the following five compounds which could not be found in any other contemporary Slovak dictionary or handbook: *bažihuba* ‘chatter-box’, *mel’huba* ‘chatter-box’, *prepiduša* ‘drunk’, *utrimiska* ‘niggard’, *vyskočkura*<sup>265</sup>.

These are either archaic or bookish expressions which are not used anymore in Modern Slovak. MSJ (1966: 136) comments on these compounds as follows: “They are masculine and also have parallel feminine forms with homonymous form of the N sg” [my translation].

The problem with nouns such as *tlčhuba* is agreement. As noted earlier, either masculine or feminine agreement must be used to refer to males and female, respectively.

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<sup>265</sup> *Vyskočkura* is an archaic pejorative personal noun, not defined in the source, whose meaning is obscure to me even after extensive research. Therefore the glosses are not provided here.

*Rešpektujem výsledky volieb, ľúto mi je ale to, že nám vládne nevyzretý tlčhuba, ktorý nemá víziu.*<sup>266</sup>

‘I respect the results of the elections, but I am sorry that we will be governed by a not-too-well-matured<sub>-M</sub> chatterbox<sub>-M</sub>, who<sub>-M</sub> lacks vision.’

In this example, *nevyzretý*, *tlčhuba*, and *ktorý* all show masculine agreement; the referent here is male (Robert Fico, Slovakia’s current prime minister). In the following example, the same noun has a female referent and consistently conditions feminine agreement:

*Dobrý nápad, vieš len, že moja mama (f.) je taká (f.) tlčhuba (f.), že mu to určite vykecá.*<sup>267</sup>

‘Good idea, but you know that my mom is such<sub>-F</sub> a chatterbox<sub>-F</sub> that she will certainly blab it to him.’

However, mixed patterns of agreement are also possible, regardless of the referential gender, as in the following examples

*Bol taká “tlčhuba”*<sup>268</sup>.  
‘He was<sub>-M</sub> such<sub>-F</sub> a ‘chatterbox<sub>-F</sub>.’

*Zuza je strašný (m.) tlčhuba (m.). Včera nám to vytárala.* [My example]  
‘Zuza is a terrible<sub>-M</sub> chatterbox<sub>-M</sub>. Yesterday, she blabbed it to us.’

In these examples, there is a lack of correlation between the grammatical and the referential gender. In the first case, the noun *tlčhuba* has a male referent; there is

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<sup>266</sup> <http://blog.tyzden.sk/robert-zitnansky/2007/07/04/ficov-najlepsi-rok%20/>, accessed 12/6/09

<sup>267</sup> [http://aktualne.centrum.sk/domov/politika/forum.phtml?Forum\\_Q=Kon%E1+slovensk%E1+v%E1da+spr%E1vne%3F&Title=&id=1188984&op=text&showall=true](http://aktualne.centrum.sk/domov/politika/forum.phtml?Forum_Q=Kon%E1+slovensk%E1+v%E1da+spr%E1vne%3F&Title=&id=1188984&op=text&showall=true), accessed 12/6/09

<sup>268</sup> <http://www.mojasvadba.sk/forum/show.php?vThreadID=37681&vGroupOffset=0&vOffset=600>, accessed 6/12/09



feminine agreement within the noun phrase, but masculine agreement outside the noun phrase. In the second case, *tlčhuba* has a female referent, but shows masculine agreement within its immediate phrase. Other compound nouns like *skaderuka-skadenoha* can exhibit similar behavior.

### 5.7.3. Borrowings (m./f.)

Borrowings are another class of personal nouns that might be double gender. Both Slovak and Czech morphology tend to incorporate borrowings immediately into their existing systems, assigning a single unambiguous gender characteristic. However, under certain circumstances, they can be treated initially both as masculine and as feminine.

Frequently, the nouns remain non-declinable. KSSJ contains only two such entries, *atašé* and *chargé d'affaires*. Both nouns are treated by KSSJ as masculines. However, an internet search shows that they can be equally used to denote female persons. They consistently take masculine or feminine agreement, depending on the referent.

*Naše mesto a ZŠ A. Sládkoviča navštívila atašé Veľvyslanectva Fínskej republiky pani Virpi Hanhikoski.*<sup>269</sup>

‘The attaché of the Embassy of Finland Ms. Virpi Hanhikoski visited our city and the A. Sládkovič Elementary School.’ [My translation.]

*Na vernisáži bola prítomná chargé d'affaires Veľvyslanectva Indickéj republiky v SR Aruna S. Fontanová a ďalší hostia.*<sup>270</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> [http://www.banskastiavnica.sk/stranka\\_data/subory/.../2007-kronika-internet.pdf](http://www.banskastiavnica.sk/stranka_data/subory/.../2007-kronika-internet.pdf), accessed 12/22/09

<sup>270</sup> [http://www.mesto.sk/bratislava/kultura\\_\\_spolocnost/?STRANA=637](http://www.mesto.sk/bratislava/kultura__spolocnost/?STRANA=637), accessed 12/22/09

‘At the private view, chargé d’affaires of the Embassy of India in SR Mrs. Aruna Fontana was present as well as other guests. [My translation.]

These two words (*atašé* and *chargé d’affaires* are) the only possible instances of double-gender nouns in my corpus—insofar as the term is applicable to words without paradigms. It is evident that they are still foreign words in the Slovak lexicon (cf. the non-native orthography of *chargé d’affaires*). Since there is a very strong tendency towards a stable system in Slovak, it is likely or at least probable that they eventually will be adopted by the Slovak orthography and morphology, or perhaps replaced by native neologisms. Thus Corbett’s term *unstable gender* seems more appropriate here than *double gender*.

#### 5.7.4. Archaic -nt-stem nouns (n./m.)

*knieža*                    ‘prince, earl’  
*arciknieža*

According to KSSJ, both *knieža* ‘prince, earl’ and *arciknieža* ‘archduke’ are neuter nouns, but in the nominative singular they can be masculines as well—i.e., condition masculine agreement. There is just one class of referents (male) and one declension (neuter). *Knieža* and *arciknieža* fail to meet our criteria to be considered double gender nouns.

#### 5.7.5. *Chlapina* (m./f.)

Though KSSJ only admits feminine gender, the lexeme *chlapina* ‘strong, mature male, strapper’ actually occurs with two types of agreement—masculine and feminine. However, *chlapina* carries the semantic property [male], which does not correspond to feminine gender. The grammatical gender ambiguity here seem to be rooted in a clash between the meaning of the word and its form, specifically the suffix *-ina*, which is a typically feminine augmentative suffix.

#### 5.7.6. Comparison with Czech

Before leaving the topic of double-gender nouns, I would like to return to the language I started with—Czech. In addition to *choť* (m./f.) ‘spouse’ and *sirota* (m./f) ‘orphan’, there are at least two major classes of what are generally considered double gender personal nouns: pejorative/expressive nouns in *-a* (see (a)) and personal nouns in *-í* derived from verbs and nominalized adjectives (see (b)).

##### a. Pejorative/expressive nouns in *-a* (Examples are from Dickins, 2001)

<i>neposeda</i>	‘fidget’
<i>nemotora</i>	‘clumsy oaf’
<i>naivka</i>	‘naïve person’
<i>bábovka</i>	‘sissy’
<i>dětina</i>	‘childish person’
<i>chuděra, chuděrka</i>	‘poor wretch’
<i>nemluva</i>	‘non-talkative person’
<i>mluvka</i>	‘chatterbox’
<i>nešika</i>	‘butter-fingers’
<i>ohava</i>	‘monster’
<i>otrapa</i>	‘vagabond’
<i>protiva</i>	‘detestable person’
<i>sušinka</i>	‘bag of bones’
<i>všetečka</i>	‘nosy person’

b. Personal nouns in *-í* derived from verbs and nominalized adjectives (examples from Čmejrková (2003) and Dickins (2001))

<i>rukojmi</i>	‘hostage’
<i>mluvčí</i>	‘speaker’
<i>průvodčí</i>	‘conductor’
<i>výpravčí</i>	‘train dispatcher’
<i>cestující</i>	‘traveler’
<i>studující</i>	‘student’
<i>nákupčí</i>	‘buyer’
<i>nebydlící</i>	‘unhoused, homeless person’
<i>přednášející</i>	‘lecturer’
<i>rozhodčí</i>	‘referee, judge’
<i>spoluúčinkující</i>	‘fellow-contributor’
<i>stavbyvedoucí</i>	‘site managee’
<i>strojvedoucí</i>	‘engine-driver’
<i>vlakvedoucí</i>	‘train crew boss’

The Czech double gender nouns in *-a* can be derived from other nouns (*děťina* ‘childish person’), verbs (*neposeda* ‘fidget’), adjectives (*nešika* ‘butter-fingers’). Some are compounds (*všetečka* ‘nosy person’); others are metaphorical extensions of non-personal nouns (*bábovka* ‘sissy, lit. marble cake’). They all have pejorative or negative connotations. The human nouns in *-í* convey various neutral meanings. All the pairs above have identical nominative singulars, but two grammatical genders, masculine and feminine, corresponding to male and female referents, respectively.

Slovak avoids double gender nouns like those above by consistently assigning only one grammatical gender to each referent. For example, while Czech *ohava* ‘monster’ can be masculine or feminine, the Slovak equivalent *ohava* is a feminine-only epicene. Alternatively, Slovak can add gender-differentiating suffixes; thus, corresponding to Czech *neposeda* ‘fidget’ (m./f.), Slovak has two separate lexemes, masculine *neposedník* (m.) and feminine *neposednica* (f.)

In sum, by examining approximately 6,000 personal nouns from KSSJ and additional data from other sources, I conclude that Slovak, unlike Czech and Polish, does not contain any double gender nouns.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Conclusions**

The aim of the current study has been to reveal asymmetries in the linguistic encoding of male and female persons in Slovak. Specifically, the study was designed to identify, isolate and compare personal nouns in KSSJ, and discuss them from the point of view of gender symmetry. I examined a corpus of over 60,000 dictionary entries , documented a sub-corpus of 6,000 personal nouns (see Appendix), and discussed asymmetrical patterns of gender of various origins.

My research provides evidence that socio-cultural norms within given historical contexts can lead to both formal and semantic asymmetry in the derivation of feminine forms in Slovak. In fact, the traditional social stratification of men and women in society at large is one of the major contributors to the disruption of the typical symmetrical pattern of gender. Note, however, that for the most part it is archaic lexicon and denotations of newly formed professions that are asymmetrical. The distribution of roles in the current social and occupational settings is relatively even.

While statistically less significant than socio-cultural factors, biological factors can also block gender symmetry. Most of the lexemes influenced by this factor are

descriptions of physical appearance or other physical characteristics that are restricted to a single biological gender.

Grammatical constraints inherent in the Slovak language also cause gender asymmetry. For example, the diminutives attested in KSSJ resist gender derivations; this results primarily in a lack of feminine diminutive forms. Following Doležal (1967:495), I conclude that the process of diminutivization cannot cross the border of the grammatical genders; in other words, diminutives keep the gender of their base forms.

One of the most interesting findings of this study is the fact that the derivational suffix *-ec* in Slovak masculine nouns acts as major constraint on the probability of feminization. Dickins (2001: 226-227) finds the same constraint in Czech. In his view, the Czech nouns in *-ec* have acquired the permanent semantic status of generic nouns (non gender-specific, but grammatically masculine); this prevents them from undergoing feminization. Overall, Slovak nouns terminating with *-ec* appear to be semantically generic, too. However, Slovak data also provide evidence that in some classes of nouns gender-specificity is present and linguistically expressed in a symmetrical manner. Data in both Slovak and Czech languages show that phonological reasons play a minimal role in preventing masculine forms lending themselves for feminization.

Another class of nouns which is masculine-only due to formal constraints of unspecified nature is deverbal conversions such as *zbeh* (m.) ‘deserter’ (from *zbehnúť* ‘to desert’), which lack feminine counterparts despite the fact that the needed linguistic means are available.

In most of the above mentioned types of asymmetry, it is explicitly feminine forms which are missing. It should be emphasized again that the lexicographers of

*Krátky slovník slovenského jazyka* omitted a large number of legitimately formed and commonly used feminine forms, whose existence is acknowledged by other sources. However, it should not be concluded automatically that the compilers of the dictionary were deliberately trying to reinforce the dominance of masculine terms as a result of a superior position of men in society. Instead, their omission of numerous feminine forms can be easily attributed to the fact that the scope of this *concise* (my italics) dictionary was restricted; moreover, the formation of feminine derivatives from listed masculine form is highly predictable to native speakers. In other words, within the scope of KSSJ, morphological information seems to give way to semantic information.

This study has documented that in Slovak the categories exhibiting the strongest tendency towards pairing masculine and feminine forms include descriptions based on educational status, identity as defined by interpersonal relations other than kinship and marriage, and identity as determined by authorship. The two largest semantic classes in my corpus—identity as defined by vocation and avocation and descriptions denoting agents of specific actions or activities—also have a relatively high ratio between the total number of lexemes and the number of gender pairs.

My analysis of the Slovak data contrasts with numerous articles dealing with gender asymmetry in that it shows that the linguistic treatment of men and women is less discriminatory than in some other languages. (The putative reflection of discrimination in language has been one of the major focuses of gender linguistics, with some scholars explicitly arguing that the linguistic portrayal of women is biased; see Pauwels (1998) and Koniuszaniec and Błaszowska (2003), among others.) For instance, 61.06% of all the personal nouns identified in KSSJ are masculine, while 36.85% are feminine. By



comparison, in Dickins's analysis of Czech data, drawn primarily from *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost* (1998), over two-thirds of the nouns identified are masculine, while marginally fewer than one-third are feminine (ibid.: 233). Therefore, the proportion of masculine and feminine nouns seems to be more balanced in Slovak than in Czech. Almost 51% of the Slovak masculine personal nouns identified belong to masculine-feminine pairs. On the other hand, Dickins claims that only around 44% of Czech masculine nouns participates in gender symmetry, as represented by masculine-feminine pairs.

Predictably, as indicated earlier, the semantic class that has the strongest representation in my corpus is a class of words related to the area of employment and leisure activities, a class which has been widely discussed in numerous other languages.<sup>271</sup> (It is followed by words expressing the agents of specific activities, and then by nouns referring to behavior.) Interestingly enough, Slovak again comes out as a rather “democratic” language, with about two-thirds of masculine nouns related to work and hobbies participating in a symmetrical relationship with the corresponding feminine terms, compared to fewer than half the masculine nouns in Czech. Dickins (2001) concludes that, whatever gender asymmetries exist in the Czech lexicon resulting from unequal treatment of both sexes, *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost* does little to promote the use of feminine derivatives.

A final point concerns future directions in the study of gender asymmetry in Slovak. As little research has been done so far in the Slovak context, it would be of great importance to conduct a statistical test on a much larger scale than the current one. Given

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<sup>271</sup> For instance, Romanian (Maurice 2001:241-243), Turkish (2001:287-289), Danish (2003:64-67), Polish 2003:268-269), among others.

the specific focus of this study, I have not exhausted the explanatory power of the data. One issue directly linked to my research which needs to be discussed in further detail is the nature of the formal constraints operating on personal nouns; another is the relation between a grammatical gender distinction and collective nouns. An in-depth study in the area of sensitive contexts in which feminine and masculine nouns occur, e.g., predicative positions, is also needed. Another area that has not yet been properly documented is the implications of gender asymmetry for the contemporary usage of nominal and pronominal address terms and for naming practices in Slovakia.

In sum, the current dissertation offers a wealth of insights and information connected with gender asymmetry in Slovak, one of the Slavic languages that is underrepresented in gender linguistic studies. It is my belief that this project will serve as a reference source for other scholars and foster further research in this fascinating field.

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## Appendix 1 Category 1A

### Generic neutral (sex-indefinite) nouns

1A		bytosť	
1A	človek 1		
1A	človek 3		
1A	človek 4		
1A		duša	
1A		dušička dim	
1A	exemplár		
1A		hlava 1met	
1A		hlava 2	
1A			individuum 1
1A	jedinec		
1A		kreatúra 1 pej	
1A	ľudkovia expr dim		
1A	muž 3		
1A	neandertálec		
1A		osoba 1	
1A		osôbka 1 dim	
1A		postava 1	
1A		postavička 1 dim	
1A	pračlovek		
1A			stvorenie 2
1A			stvoreniatko 2 dim
1A	subjekt		
1A		tvár	
1A	tvor		
1A	tvorček		

## Appendix 2

### Category 1B

#### Gender and/or age-specific generic terms for human beings

1B	adolescent	adolescentka	
1B			batola
1B			batoliatko dim
1B			bábä coll
1B			bábo coll
1B			bábätko dim
1B		baba 3 coll	
1B		babuľa hyp	
1B	báčik		
1B	báči		
1B	báčino		
1B	báčinko hyp		
1B	baťko hyp		
1B	cicak met pej		
1B	ciciačik dim epr		
1B	corgoň		
1B	corgonisko		corgonisko
1B	cvrček met expr		
1B	čeladník 2		
1B	človek 2		
1B			človieča 2
1B			decko
1B	ded 3		
1B	dedo 3		
1B	dedko 3		
1B	deduško 3 hyp		
1B		deva expr	
1B	deväťdesiatnik	deväťdesiatnička	
1B		devica expr	
1B		devucha expr	
1B			diet'a 1
1B			diet'atko 1 dim
1B			dievča 1
1B			dievča 2
1B			dievča 4
1B			dievčatko 1 dim
1B			dievčatisko 1 aug
1B			dievčatisko 2 aug
1B		dievčica expr	
1B		dievčička dim	
1B		dievčina expr	

1B		dievčinka dim	
1B		dievka 1	
1B		dievka 3 expr	
1B			dievčisko 1 aug
1B			dievčisko 2 aug
1B			dojča
1B			dojčiatko dim
1B	dorastenec	dorastenska	
1B	dospelý		
1B	dospelák slang		
1B	dotyčný coll	dotyčná coll	
1B	drobec expr		
1B	drobček dim		
1B	fafrnok expr		
1B	frkan coll pej		
1B	chalan 1 coll expr		
1B	chalanisko 1 aug		chalanisko 1 aug
1B	chasník exp		
1B	chlap 1		
1B	chlapák expr		
1B			chlapča
1B			chlápä expr
1B			chlápätko dim
1B			chlapiatko dim
1B			chlapčiatko dim
1B	chlapec 1		
1B	chlapec 2		
1B	chlapec 4		
1B	chlapček 1dim		
1B	chlapčisko 1aug		chlapčisko 1 aug
1B	chlapčisko 2 aug		chlapčisko 2 aug
1B	chlapík expr 1		
1B	chlapisko 1		chlapisko 1
1B	jednotlivec	jednotlivkyňa	
1B			
1B	junák		
1B	junior 2		
1B	junior 4		
1B	kmeť		
1B	kojenec		
1B	maloletý		
1B	malý	malá	
1B		matróna 1	
1B	mládenec 1		
1B	mládenec 2 expr		
1B	mládenček 1 expr		
1B	dim		
1B	mládenčisko 1 aug		mládenčisko 1 aug
1B			

1B	mládežník	mládežníčka	
1B	mladík	mladica expr	
1B	mladíček expr dim		
1B	mladistvý		
1B	mladoň expr		
1B	muž 1		
1B	mužík 1 dim		
1B	mužíček 1 dim		
1B	mužský		
1B			nemluvňa
1B			nemlumníčko dim
1B		nevesta 2	
		nevestička 2 dim	
1B		expr	
1B			nevinníčko 1 expr
1B	novorodenec		
			novonarodeníčko
1B			expr
1B	novonarodený		
			novorodeníčko
1B			expr
1B	osemdesiatnik	osemdesiatnička	
1B	paholček dim expr		
1B			pachol'a
1B			pacholíčko dim
1B	pán 7	pani 7	
1B	pán 8	pani	
1B	pánko 7 iron or pej	panička 7 dim pej	
1B		panenka	
1B	parobok		
1B	päťdesiatnik	päťdesiatnička	
1B		pipíška met expr	
1B		pipka 1	
1B		pipka 2 slang	
1B		položena 1	
1B	sedemdesiatnik	sedemdesiatnička	
1B	smrteľník expr	smrteľníčka expr	
1B	sopliak pej	sopľa, sopľaňa pej	
1B	sopľoš pej		
1B	starec	starena	
1B	starček dim expr	starenka dim expr	
1B	starigáň pej ■		
1B	starík dim expr		
1B	starký 1 expr	starká 1 expr	
1B	strýc 2		
1B	strýko 2		
1B	strýčko 2 hyp		
1B		stvara expr	
1B		stvoríčka dim	
1B	svák, sváko coll 2		

1B	sváčik, sváčko hyp		
1B	syn 2		
1B	synak 2		
1B	šarvanec expr		
1B	šesťdesiatnik	šesťdesiatnička	
1B			škvŕňa
1B	štyridsiatnik	štyridsiatnička	
1B	šuhaj		
	šuhajček, šuhajko,		
1B	šuhajík dim		
	šuhajíček,		
1B	šuhajíčko dim		
1B	šuhajec expr		
1B	teenager		
1B		teta 2	
1B		tetka 2	
1B		tetuška 2 hyp	
1B	ujo 2		
1B	ujko 2 hyp		
1B	veľký		
1B	výrastok		
1B	zasran 1		
1B		žaba met expr	
1B		žabka dim	
1B		žabička dim expr	
1B			žabča met
1B			žabčiatko dim
1B		žena 1	
1B		ženská pej	
1B		žienka dim	
1B		ženička dim expr	
1B			žriebä met expr
1B			žriebätko dim

### Appendix 3

#### Category 2A

*Identity as determined by kinship or marriage (real, potential or symbolic)*

2A	apík coll hyp		
2A	apko coll hyp		
2A	apo coll		
2A		babička hyp	
2A		babka 2 hyp	
2A	bastard pej		
2A	benjamín coll		
2A			blizňa
2A	blíženec 1		
2A	brat 1		
2A	brat 2		
2A	brat 3		
2A	braček 1 dim		
2A	braček (sg)		
2A	bratanec, bratranec		
2A	bratanček,		
2A	bratranček dim		
2A	budúci coll	budúca coll	
2A		dcéra	
2A		dcérka	
2A		dcéruška	
2A		dcérenka hyp	
2A	ded 1		
2A	dedo 1		
2A	dedko 1		
2A	deduško hyp		
2A			dieťa 2
2A			dieťaťko 2 dim
2A		dievka 2 coll	
2A			dievčisko 2 aug
2A	druh 2	družka 2	
2A			dvojča
2A			dvojčiatko dim
		chovanka 2,	
		chovanica 2,	
2A	chovanec 2	chovankyňa 2	
2A	jedináčik		
2A	junior 1		
2A		kišasonka	
2A	kmotor	kmotra	
2A	kmotrík hyp dim	kmotrička hyp dim	

2A			krstňa
2A			krstniatko
2A	krstný	krstná	
2A	ľavoboček		
2A		macocha	
2A		madam	
2A		mama 1	
2A		mama 2 coll	
2A		mama 3 coll	
		mamenka,	
2A		maminka hyp 1	
		mamenka,	
2A		maminka hyp 2	
		mamenka,	
2A		maminka hyp 3	
2A		mami 1hyp	
2A		mami 2 hyp	
2A		mami 3 hyp	
2A		mamička 1hyp	
2A		mamička 2 hyp coll	
2A		mamička 3 hyp coll	
2A		mamičenka 1 expr	
2A		mamičenka 2 expr	
2A		mamičenka 3 expr	
2A		mamka 1 hyp	
2A		mamka 2 hyp, coll	
2A		mamka 3 hyp, coll	
2A		mamuľka 1 hyp	
2A		mamulienka 1 dim	
2A	manžel	manželka	
		mať, mater,	
2A		mati - coll	
2A		matka 1	
2A		matka 2 met	
2A	milý 1	milá 1	
2A		miss 1	
2A	mladomanžel	mladomanželka	
2A	mladoženáč coll		
2A	mladoženích		
2A		mladucha	
2A		mladá coll	
2A	môj	moja	
2A	muž 4		
2A	mužíček 4 hyp		
2A	nastávajúci coll	nastávajúca coll	
2A		neter	
2A		neterka dim	
2A		nevesta 1	
2A		nevesta 3	
2A		nevestička 1 dim	

2A		nevestička 3 dim expr
2A	novomanžel	novomanželka
2A	ocino 1 hyp	
2A	ocino 3 hyp	
2A	ocino 4 hyp	
2A	ocinko 1 dim expr	
2A	ocinko 3 dim expr	
2A	ocinko 4 dim expr	
2A	ocko 1hyp	
2A	ocko 2 hyp	
2A	ocko 4 hyp	
2A	oco 1 hyp	
2A	oco 3 hyp	
2A	oco 4 hyp	
2A	otčim	
2A	otec 1	
2A	otec 2 met	
2A	otec 3	
2A	otec 5	
2A	otec 6	
2A	otec 7 met	
2A	(only in pl.)	
2A	otecko 1 hyp	
2A	otecko 2 met hyp	
2A	otecko 5 hyp	
2A	otecko 4 hyp	
2A		pani
2A	pankhart, panghart	
2A	pastorok	pastorkyňa
2A	pohrobok	
2A		polosirota
2A		polovica, polovička
2A	poškrabok expr	
2A	poškrabček dim	
2A	potomok	
2A		prababička coll
2A	praded 1	
2A	praded 2	
2A	pradedo	
2A		pramať, pramater 1
2A		pramať, pramater 2
2A		pramatka
2A	praotec	
2A	prarodič	
2A		pravnúča
2A	pravnuke	pravnučka
2A	predok 1	
2A	predok 2	
2A		prespanka coll pej



2A	príbuzný	príbuzná	
2A	prvorodenec		
2A	pytač 1		
2A		ratolest' met expr	
2A	rodič 1		
2A		rodina	
2A		sestra 1	
2A		sestra 2	
2A		sestrička 1	
2A		sesternica	
2A		sesternička dim	
2A		sirota	
2A		sirôtka dim expr	
2A		slečna	
2A		slečinka dim expr	
2A	snúbenec	snúbenica	
2A	spolubrat 2		
2A		spolusestra 2	
2A	starký 2 fam	starká 2 fam	
2A	starký 3	starká 3	
2A	starý 1 expr	stará	
2A	strýc 1		
2A			stryná
2A			strynká hyp
2A	strýko 1		
2A	strýčko 1 hyp		
2A	súrodenec		
2A	svák, sváko coll 1		
2A	sváčík, sváčko hyp		
2A	svať	svatka	
2A	svokor 1	svokra 1	
2A	svokor 2 coll	svokra 2 coll	
2A	syn 1		
2A	synček 1,		
2A	synáčík 1 hyp		
2A	synátor coll expr		
2A	synovec		
2A		šestonediel'ka	
2A	švagor	švagrína	
2A	švagrík, švagorko	švagrínka	
2A	tata, tato hyp		
2A	tatíčko hyp		
2A	tatko hyp		
2A	tatko met		
2A	tatuško hyp		
2A	test'	testiná	
2A		teta 1	
2A		tetka 1	
2A		tetuška 1 hyp	

2A				trojča
2A				trojčiatko
2A	ujec		ujčiná	
2A	ujček hyp		ujčinka hyp	
2A	ujo 1			
2A	ujko 1 hyp			
2A	vdovec	vdova		
2A		vdovica coll		
2A		vdovička dim		
2A				vnúča
2A				vnúčatko dim hyp
2A	vnuk	vnučka		
2A	zať			
2A	zaťko hyp			
2A		žena 2		
2A		žienka hyp		
2A		ženička dim hyp		
2A		ženuška hyp		
2A	ženáč coll			
2A	ženích 1			
2A				žieňa 2 hyp

## Appendix 4

### Category 2B

*Identity as determined by interpersonal relations other than kinship or marriage*

2B	blíženec 2		
2B	blížny		
	bratko		
2B	(sg, only VOC)		
2B	chlapec 3 coll		dievča 3
2B	dôverník 1	dôverníčka 1	
2B	drahý	drahá	
2B	druh 1	družka 1	
2B	favorit 2	favoritka 2	
2B	fešák 3	fešanda 3	
2B	frajer 1 coll	frajerka 1	
2B		frajerôčka 1 dim expr	
2B	kamarát 1	kamarátka 1	
	kamarátik expr		
2B	dim		
2B	kolega	kolegyňa	
2B		kolegynka hyp	
	kompán, kumpán		
2B	coll expr		
2B	menovec	menovkyňa	
2B	miláčik 1		
2B	milenec	milenska	
2B	milý 2	milá 2	
2B	nápadník	nápadníčka	
2B	náprotivok 1		
2B	náprotivok 2		
2B	nepriateľ 1	nepriateľka 1	
2B	nepriateľ 3	nepriateľka 3	
2B	neznámy	neznáma	
2B	pajtáš coll expr		
2B	partner	partnerka	
2B	protihráč	protihráčka	
2B	protivník 1	protivníčka 1	
2B	protivník 2	protivníčka 2	
2B	rival		
2B	rovesník	rovesníčka	
2B	rytier 5		
2B	sok	sokyňa	
2B	spojenec		
		spoločníčka,	
2B	spoločník 1	spoločnica	

2B	spolubesedník	spolubesedníčka
2B	spolubojovník	spolubojovníčka
2B	spolubývajúci	spolubývajúca
2B	spolucestujúci	spolucestujúca
2B	spoludedič	spoludedička
2B	spolufinancovateľ	spolufinancovateľka
2B	spoluherec	
2B	spoluhrač	spoluhračka
2B	spoluidúci	
2B	spoluinvestor	
2B	spolujazdec	spolujazdkyňa
2B	spolumajiteľ	spolumajiteľka
2B	spolunájomník	spolunájomníčka
2B	spoluobčan	spoluobčianka
2B	spoluobjaviteľ	spoluobjaviteľka
2B	spoluobyvateľ	spoluobyvateľka
2B	spoluobžalovaný	spoluobžalovaná
2B	spoluorganizátor	spoluorganizátorka
2B	spolupacient	spolupacientka
2B	spolupáchateľ	spolupáchateľka
2B	spolupodnikateľ	spolupodnikateľka
2B	spolupracovník	spolupracovníčka
2B	spolupredkladateľ	spolupredkladateľka
2B	spolupredseda	spolupredsedníčka
2B	spolupútnik 1	spolupútnička 1
2B	spolupútnik 2	spolupútnička 2
2B	spoluriešiteľ	spoluriešiteľka
2B	spoluručiteľ	spoluručiteľka
2B	spolutrpiaci	spolutrpiaca
2B	spolutrpiteľ	spolutrpiteľka
2B	spolutvorca	
2B	spoluúčastník	spoluúčastníčka
2B	spoluúčinkujúci	spoluúčinkujúca
2B	spoluužívateľ	spoluužívateľka
2B	spoluväzeň	spoluväzenkyňa, spoluväzenka
2B	spoluvinník	spoluvinníčka
2B	spoluvládca	
2B	spoluvlastník	spoluvlastníčka
2B	spoluzakladateľ	spoluzakladateľka
2B	spoluzamestnanec	spoluzamestnankyňa
2B	spolužiak	spolužiačka
2B	spriaznenec	
2B		strana
2B		stránka
2B	súčasník 1	súčasníčka 1
2B	súčasník 2	súčasníčka 2
2B	súdruh	súdružka
2B	súkmeňovec 1	

2B	súkmeňovec 2 pej	
2B	súper 1	súperka 1
2B	súper 2	súperka 2
2B	sused 1	suseda 1
2B	sused 2	suseda 2
2B	susedko hyp	susedka dim expr
2B	štramák 2 coll	štramanda 2 coll
2B	tandemista	tandemistka
2B	tovariš 2	
		vrstovníčka, vrstovnica
2B	vrstovník	
2B	zakuklenec expr	
2B	známy	známa
2B		známost'
2B	ženích 2	

## Appendix 5

### Category 3

#### Racial, national, ethnic, regional, and linguistic identity

3	Amerikán	Amerikánka	
3	árijec		
3	azylant		
3	barbar 1		
3	beduín		
3	beloch	beloška	
3	cigán/ň, Cigán/ň 1	cigánka, Cigánka 1 cigánočka,	
	cigánik, Cigánik 1	Cigánočka 1 dim	
3	dim expr	expr	
3			cigánča, Cigánča 1 cigánčatko, Cigánčatko 1 dim expr
3			
3	cudzinec 1	cudzinka 1	
3	cudzozemec	cudzozemka	
3	černoch	černoška	
3	dedinčan 1	dedinčanka 1	
3	divoch 1	divoška 1	
3	dolniak	dolniačka	
3	domorodec	domorodkyňa	
3	emigrant		
3	exulant	exulantka	
3	goral		
3	habán		
3	horniak	horniačka	
3	hraničiar 1	hraničiarka 1	
3	izraelita	izraelitka	
3	južan	južanka	
3	kočovník		
3	kopaničiar	kopaničiarka	
3	kozmopolita	kozmopolitka	
3	krajan	krajanka	
3	kreol	kreolka	
3	lazník	lazníčka	
3	legionár 2		
3	maďarón		
3	majerčan	majerčanka	
3	mestic		
3	migrant	migrantka	
3	murín		

3	neger pej		
3	novousadlík		
3	obyvateľ	obyvateľka	
3	odídenec	odídenkyňa	
3	osadník	osadníčka	
3	osídlenec		
3	ostrovan	ostrovanka	
3	praobyvateľ		
3	presídlenec		
3	prist'ahovalec	prist'ahovalkyňa	
3	prišelec		
3	privandrovalec pej		
3	repatriant	repatriantka	
3	rodák	rodáčka	
3	sedliak 2	sedliačka 2	
3	sedliačik 2 dim expr		
3	sedliačisko 2 aug		sedliačisko 2 aug
3	severan	severanka	
3	sídlišťan	sídlišťanka	
3	skaderuka- skadenoha 1	skaderuka- skadenoha 1	
3	starousadlík	starousadlíčka	
3	suchozemec		
3	tulák 1	tuláčka 1	
3	usadlík		
3	usídlenec		
3	vandrák 1 pej		
3	vesmírčan		
3	vidiečan	vidiečanka	
3	vrchár 1	vrchárka 1	
3	východniar coll	východniarka	
3	vyst'ahovalec		
3	zálesák		
3	západniar 1	západniarka 1	
3	západniar 2	západniarka 2	
3	žid 2	židovka 2	
3	židko dim expr	židovčička	

## Appendix 6 Category 4Aa

### Identity based on one's own social status

4Aa		dáma	
4Aa	absolutista 1		
4Aa	arciknieža		arciknieža
4Aa	aristokrat 1	aristokratka 1	
4Aa	ataman		
4Aa	barón	barónka	
4Aa	buržoa		
4Aa	cár 1	cárica 1	
4Aa		cárovná 1	
4Aa	cisár 1	cisárovná 1	
4Aa	despota		
4Aa	diktátor 1		
4Aa	exkráľ		
4Aa	faraón	faraónka	
4Aa	feudál		
4Aa	gazda 1	gazdiná 1	
4Aa	gazdík 1		
4Aa	gazdíček 1		
4Aa	grand 1		
4Aa	gróf	grófka	
4Aa	agrárnik 1		
4Aa		ctihodnosť	
4Aa	bojar		
4Aa	magnát 1		
4Aa	mocipán pej		
4Aa	mocnár 1		
4A	mocnár 2		
4Aa	knieža 1		knieža 1
4Aa	knieža 2	kňažná 2	knieža 2
4Aa	kráľ 1	kráľovná 1	
4Aa		kráľovnička 1	
4Aa	kulak pej		
4Aa	kupec 2		
4Aa		lady 1	
4Aa	lord 1		
4Aa	maharadža		
4Aa	mandarín		
4Aa	markíz	markíza	
4Aa	mešťan	mešťianka	
4Aa	meštiak	mešťačka	
4Aa	milosťpán 1	milosťpani 1 coll	



4Aa	milost'pánko 1 hyp	milost'panička 1hyp
4Aa	monarcha	
4Aa	nevoľník	nevoľníčka, nevoľnica
4Aa	náčelník 2	náčelníčka 2
4Aa	oligarcha	
4Aa	otrok 1	otrokyňa 1
4Aa	pán 1	
4Aa	pán 2	
4Aa	pán 3	pani 3
4Aa	pán 4	pani 4
4Aa	pánko 4	
4Aa	panovník	panovníčka
4Aa	pária 1	
4Aa	paša	
4Aa	patricij	patricijka
4Aa	plebej, plebejec	plebejka
4Aa	plutokrat	
4Aa	poddaný	
4Aa	proletár 1	proletárka 1
4Aa	rab	
4Aa	radža	
4Aa	regent 1	regentka 1
4Aa	rytier 1	
4Aa	rytier 2	
4Aa	samovládca	
4Aa	samuraj	
4Aa	sedliak 1	sedliačka 1
4Aa	sedliačik 1 dim expr	
4Aa	sedliačisko 1 aug	sedliačisko 1 aug
4Aa	sultán	
4Aa	suverén 1	suverénka 1
4Aa	šejk	
4Aa	šľachtic	šľachtičná
4Aa	vazal 1	
4Aa	veľkomožný	veľkomožná
4Aa	veľmož	
4Aa	vezír	
4Aa	vladár	vladárka
4Aa	vládca 1	vládkyňa 1
4Aa	vojvoda	vojvodkyňa
4Aa	vojvodca	
4Aa		výsost'
4Aa	zeman	zemianka
4Aa	zemepán	
4Aa	želiar	želiarka
4Aa	otrokár 1	
4Aa	imperátor	
4Aa	imperialista	

4Aa		jasnosť
4Aa	junker	
4Aa	kapitalista 2	kapitalistka 2
4Aa	princ	princezná

**Appendix 7**  
**Category 4Ab**

*Identity based on one's father's or spouse's social status*

4Ab		cárica 2
4Ab		cárovná 2
4Ab	cárovič	
4Ab		cisárovná 2
4Ab		kňážná 2
4Ab		kontesa
4Ab		kráľovná 2
4Ab		kráľovnička 2
4Ab	kráľovič	

## Appendix 8 Category 4Ba

### Identity based on one's own economic status at large

4Ba	bedár		
4Ba	bíreš	bíreška	
4Ba	boháč	boháčka	
	červ, červiak met		
4Ba	expr		
4Ba	červík met expr		
4Ba	červíček dim		
4Ba	dôchodca	dôchodkyňa	
4Ba	handrár 2 pej		
4Ba	chudák 2		
	chudáčik 2 expr		
4Ba	dim		
	chudáčisko 2 expr		chudáčisko 2 expr
4Ba	aug		aug
4Ba	krpčiar pej	krpčiarka pej	
4Ba	magnát 2		
4Ba	miliardár		
4Ba	milionár 1		
4Ba	multimilionár		
4Ba	naničhodník 2 pej	naničhodnica 2 pej	
4Ba	nezamestnaný		
4Ba	niktoš 1 pej		
4Ba	otrhanec pej		
4Ba	pária 2 met pej		
4Ba	penzista coll		
4Ba	pracujúci		
4Ba	pracháč subst		
4Ba	proletár 2	proletárka 2	
4Ba	pupkáč 2		
4Ba	rentier	rentierka	
4Ba	sedmoslivkár 1 iron		
4Ba	sedmoslivkár 2 met		
4Ba	senior 5		
	skaderuka-	skaderuka-	
4Ba	skadenoha 2	skadenoha 2	
4Ba	šklban 2 pej		
4Ba	šupák coll pej		
4Ba	trhan 2 pej	trhanka 2 pej	
4Ba	trochár 1 expr		
4Ba	trochár 2		

4Ba	všivák pej	všivaňa pej	
4Ba	zbohatlík	zbohatlíčka	
4Ba			žobráča 2 expr
4Ba	žobrák 2 expr	žobráčka 2 expr	
4Ba	žobrák 3 expr	žobráčka 3 expr	

## Appendix 9 Category 4Ca

### Identity based on one's own educational status

4Ca	abiturient	abiturientka
4Ca	absolvent	absolventka
4Ca	architekt	architektka
4Ca	bakalár	bakalárka
4Ca	bohoslovec	
4Ca	doktor 1	doktorka 1
4Ca	doktorand	doktorandka
4Ca	externista	externistka
4Ca	frekventant	frekventantka
4Ca	gymnazista	gymnazistka
4Ca	diaľkar 2 coll	diaľkarka 2
4Ca	medik	medička
4Ca	inžinier	inžinierka
4Ca	kadet 1	
4Ca	klerik 2	
4Ca	konzervatorista	konzervatoristka
4Ca	kurzista	kurzistka
4Ca	magister 2	magisterka 2
4Ca	maturant 1	maturantka 1
4Ca	maturant 2	maturantka 2
4Ca	poslucháč 2	poslucháčka 2
4Ca	postgraduand	
4Ca	seminarista	
4Ca	stážista	stážistka
4Ca	stredoškólák	stredoškóláčka
4Ca	škólák	škóláčka
4Ca	škôľkar 1	
4Ca	študent	študentka
4Ca	študujúci	
4Ca	technik 1	technička 1
4Ca	učeň	učníca
4Ca	vysokoškólák	vysokoškóláčka
4Ca	žiak 1	žiačka 1
4Ca	žiačik 1 dim	

## Appendix 10 Category 5A

*Identity as determined by one's own vocation or avocation.*

5A	agent 1	agentka 1
5A	agent 3	agentka 3
5A	advokát 1	advokátka 1
5A	agronóm	agronómka
5A	agropodnikateľ	agropodnikateľka
5A	agrotechnik	agrotechnička
5A	akrobat	akrobatka
5A	alchymista	
5A	alpinista	alpinistka
5A	altista	altistka
5A	anestéziológ	anestéziologička
5A	angličtinár	angličtinárka
5A	anglista	anglistka
5A	antropológ	antropologička
5A	archeológ	archeologička
5A	architekt	architektka
5A	archivár	archivárka
5A	artista	artistka
5A	astrológ	astrologička
5A	astronaut	astronautka
5A	astronóm	astronómka
5A	atlét	atlétka
5A	audítor 2	
5A	automechanik	
5A	automobilista	automobilistka
5A		baba 4
5A		babica coll
5A	bábkar	
5A	bača	bačovka 1
5A	bádateľ	bádateľka
5A	bagrista	
5A	bakteriológ	
5A		balerína
5A	baletník	baletka
5A	balič	balička
5A	bandita	
5A	baník	
5A	bankár 1	
5A	barytón coll	
5A	barytonista	
5A	basista	

5A	basketbalista	basketbalistka
5A	básnik	
5A	betonár	betonárka
5A	bežec	bežkyňa
5A	bežkár	bežkárka
5A	biatlonista	biatlonistka
5A	bibliofil	
5A	bibliograf	bibliografka
5A	bibliotekár	bibliotekárka
5A	bicyklebalista	
5A	bicyklista	
5A	biletár	bilatárka
5A	bilingvista	
5A	biotronik	
5A	blázon 2	
5A	bohemista	bohemistka
5A	bosorák	bosorka 1
5A	botanik	botanička
5A	boxer	
5A	brankár	brankárka
5A	brat 4	
5A	brusič	brusička
5A	bryndziar	
5A	bubeník 1	
5A	bubeník 2	
5A	budovateľ 1	budovateľka 1
5A	buldozerista	
5A	cenzor	
5A	cestár	
5A	cestovateľ	cestovateľka
5A	cimbalista	
5A	coach, kouč	
5A	colník	
5A	cukrár	cukrárka
5A	cvičiteľ	cvičiteľka
5A	cyklista	cyklistka
5A	čalúnnik	
5A	čarodej	čarodejka
5A	čarodejník	čarodejnica,
5A	časník	čarodejníčka
		časníčka, časnica
5A	čeladník 1	čeladníčka 1,
5A	čerpádlár	čeladnica 1
5A	česáč	
5A	činoherec	česáčka
5A	čipkár	čipkárka
5A	čistič	čistička
5A	daniar	daniarka
5A	debnár	



5A	defektológ	
5A	dejepisec	
5A	dekódovač	
5A	dekoratér	
5A	delostrelec	
5A	demograf	demografka
5A	dentista	
5A	desaťbojár	
5A	desiatar	desiatarka
5A	designer, dizajnér	
5A	detektív	detektívka
5A	diagnostik	
5A	dialektológ	
5A	dial'kar 1	dial'karka 1
5A	dial'kar 3	dial'karka 3
5A	didaktik	
5A	diplomat 1	diplomatka 1
5A	dirigent	dirigentka
5A	diskár	
5A	diskdžokej slang	
5A	diskotekár	diskotekárka
5A	dispečer	
5A	divadelník	
5A	dláždič	
5A	dobytkár	
5A	dojič	dojička
5A		dojka
5A	dokár	
5A	doktor 4	doktoka 4
5A	dokumentarista 1	
5A	dokumentarista 2	
5A		domáca 3
5A	domovník	domovníčka
5A	dopisovateľ	dopisovateľka
5A	dopravár coll	dopravárka
5A	doručovateľ	doručovateľka
5A	dozorca	dozorkyňa
5A	dozorný	
5A	dráb	
5A	dráhar	dráharka
5A	dramatik	
5A	dramaturg	dramaturgička
5A	drevár	
5A	drevorubač	
5A		driapačka
5A	drobnochovateľ	drobnochovateľka
5A	drogérista	drogéristka
5A	drogista 1	drogistka 1
5A	drotár	

5A	drotárík dim	
5A	družínár 2	družínárka 2
5A	drvič	
5A	duatlonista	duatlonistka
5A	duchovný	
5A	džbankár	
5A	džokej	
5A	džudista	
5A	editor	editorka
5A	egyptológ	
5A	ekológ	ekologička
5A	ekonóm	ekonómka
5A	ekvilibrista	ekvilibristka
5A	elektrikár	elektrikárka
5A	elektroinštalatér	
5A	elektromechanik	elektromechanická
5A	elektromontér	
5A	elektrotechnik	elektrotechnická
5A	emisár	
5A	endokrinológ	endokrinologička
5A	energetik	energetička
5A	etnomológ	etnomologička
5A	eskamotér 1	
5A	estetik	estetická
5A	etik	
5A	etnograf	etnografka
5A	etnológ	etnologička
5A	etymológ	etymologička
5A	eugenik	
5A	eunuch	
5A	exlibrista	
5A	fakír 2	
5A	farár 2	farárka 2
5A	farbiar	farbiarka
5A	farmaceut	farmaceutka
5A	farmakológ	farmakologička
5A	farmár 1	farmárka 1
5A	felčiar 1	felčiarka 1
5A	felčiar 2 coll pej	felčiarka 2 coll pej
5A	figurant 1	figurantka 1
5A	filatelista	filatelistka
5A	filmár	filmárka
5A	filológ	filologička
5A	filozof 1	filozofka 1
5A	filumenista	filumenistka
5A	financ 1	
5A	financ 2	
5A	finačník 1	
5A	finančník 2	

5A	fiškál coll expr	
5A	fízel coll pej	
5A	flautista	
5A	folklorista	folkloristka
5A	fonetik	fonetička
5A	fonológ	fonologička
5A	fotoamatér	fotoamatérka
5A	fotograf	fotografka
5A	fotografista	fotografistka
5A		fotomodelka
5A	fotoreportér	fotoreportérka
5A	frazeológ	frazeologička
5A	frézar	
5A	fujaráš	
5A	fujarista	
5A	fúkač	
5A	furman coll	
5A	futbalista	
5A	futurológ	futurologička
5A	fyzik	fyzička
5A	fyziológ	fyziológica
5A	gajdoš	
5A	galejník 1	
5A	garbiar	
5A	garderobier 1	
5A	garderobier 2 coll	
5A	gastronóm 1	
5A	gastronóm 2	
5A		gazdiná
5A		gazdinka dim
5A		gejša
5A	genealóg	genealogička
5A	genetik	genetička
5A	geodet	geodetka
5A	geofyzik	geofyzička
5A	geograf	geografka
5A	geológ	geologička
5A	geometer	geometrička
5A	geometer	geometrička
5A	geriater	geriatrica
5A	germanista	germanistka
5A	gerontológ	gerontologička
5A	gitarista	gitaristka
5A	gladiátor	
5A	gondolier	
5A	grafik	grafička
5A	grafitista	grafitistka
5A	grafológ	grafologička
5A	guliar	guliarka

5A	gul'ometník	
5A	gumár	gumárka
5A		guvernantka
5A	gymnasta	gymnastka
5A	gynekológ	gynekologička
5A	hádač	hádačka
5A	hádzanár	hádzanárka
5A	hajdúch 1	
5A	hájnik	hájnička 1
5A	hajtmán 2	
5A	hajtmán 3	
5A	handrár 1	
5A	harfista	harfistka
5A	harlekýn	
5A	harmonikár	harmonikárka
5A	hasič	hasička
5A	haviar	
5A	helmintológ	helmintologička
5A	hematológ	hematologička
5A	herec	herečka
5A	hispanista	hispanistka
5A	historik	historička
5A	hladič	hladička
5A	hlásateľ	hlásateľka
5A	hlásnik	
5A	hlbič	
5A	hnetač	hnetačka
5A	hobojista	hobojistka
5A	hodinár	hodinárka
5A	hokejista	hokejistka
5A	holič	holička
5A	holubár, holubiar	
5A	honec	
5A	honetník	
5A	horár	horárka 1
5A	horolezec	horolezkyňa
5A		hosteska
5A	hostinský	hostinská
5A	hotelier 2	hotelierka 2
5A	hovorca	hovorkyňa
5A	hrabáč	hrabáčka
5A	hráč 2	hráčka 2
5A	hradlár	hradlárka
5A	hraničiar 2	hraničiarka 2
5A	hrnčiar	hrnčiarka
5A	hrobár 1	
5A	hubár	hubárka
5A	hudec	
5A	hudobník	hudobníčka

5A	hungarista 2	
5A	husár	
5A	husiar	husiarka
5A	husliar	
5A	huslista	huslistka
5A	hutník	
5A	hvezdár	hvezdárka
5A	hydrológ	hydrologička
5A	hygienik	hygienička
5A	chemik	chemička
5A	chirurg	chirurgička
5A	chodbár 1	chodbárka
5A	chodec 2	chodkyňa 2
5A	choreograf	choreografka
5A	chórista	chóristka
5A	chovateľ	chovateľka
5A		chyžná
5A	igric	
5A	ichtyológ	
5A	ilustrátor	ilustrátorka
5A	iluzionista 3	iluzionistka 3
5A	impresário	
5A	imunológ	imunologička
5A	informatik	informatička
5A	inkvizítor	
5A	inscenátor	
5A	inšpektor	inšpektorka
5A	inšpicient	inšpicientka
5A	inštruktor	inštruktorka
5A	inštrumentár	inštrumentárka
5a	internetista	
5A	internista	internistka
5A	interpretátor	interpretátorka
5A	išpán 1	
5A	jáger 1	
5A	jáger 2	
5A	jachtár	
5A	jaskyniar 1	
5A	jaskyniar 2	
5A	jazykovedec	jazykovedkyňa
5A	kádrovník coll	kádrovníčka coll
5A	kachliar	
5A	kaligraf	kaligrafka
5A	kamenár	
5A	kameraman	
5A	kanoista	kanoistka
5A	kanonier 1	kanonierka 1
5A	kanonier 2 met	kanonierka 2 met
5A	kantor	

5A	kapelník	
5A	karatista	karatistka
5A	kardiológ	kardiologička
5A		kartárka 2
5A	kartograf	kartografka
5A	kaskadér 1	kaskadérka
5A	kaskadér 2	
5A	kat 1	
5A	katechéta	katechétko
5A	kaukliar 1	
5A	keramikár	keramikárka
5A	klampiar	
5A	klarinetista	klarinetistka
5A	klasik 1	
5A	klaun	
5A	klavirista	klaviristka
5A	klenotník	klenotníčka
5A	klobučník	klobučníčka
5A	kľučiar	kľučiarica
5A	kmín coll	
5A	kňaz	
5A		kňazka
5A	knihár	
5A	kníhkupec	kníhkupkyňa
5A	knihovník	knihovnička
5A	kníhtlačiar	
5A	kočič	
5A		kofa 1 coll
5A	kolár	
5A	kolkár	kolkárka
5A	kombajnista	kombajnistka
5A	komediant 1	
5A	komik 1	komička 1
5A	kominár	
5A	kominárik dim exp	
5A	komorník 1	komorníčka 1
5A		komorná 1
5A	kompár coll	
5A	komponista	komponistka
5A	konateľ 2	konateľka 2
5A	koniar 1	
5A	koniar 2	
5A	koničkár 1 coll	
5A	konštruktér	konštruktérka
5A	kontrabasista	kontrabassistka
5A	kontráš	
5A	konzervátor	konzervátorka
5A	konzultant	konzultantka
5A	kopáč	kopáčka

5A	korčuliar	korčuliarka
5A	korektor	korektorka
5A		korenárka
5A	korešpondent 1	korešpondentka
5A	korešpondent 2	
5A	kormidelník	
5A	korzár	
5A	kostolník	kostolníčka
5A	košíkár	košíkárka
5A	kotlár	
5A	kouč, coach	
5A	kováč	
5A	kovboj	
5A	kovorobotník	
5a	kozmetik	kozmetička
5A	kozmonaut	kozmonautka
5A	kožiar	
5A	kožušník	kožušníčka
5A	krajčír	krajčírka
5A	krasojazdec	krasojazdkyňa
5A	kraviar	kraviarka
5A	krčmár	
5A	kreslič	kreslička
5A	kriminalista	kriminalistka
5A	kritik 2	kritička 2
5A	kímič	kímička
5A	krotiteľ	krotiteľka
5A	krpčiar	krpčiarka 1
5A	kryštalograf	kryštalografka
5A	kuchár	kuchárka
5A	kukláč	
5A	kuli	
5A	kulturista	
5A	kunsthistorik	kunsthistorička
5A	kurátor	kurátorka
5A	kúrenár	
5A	kurič	kurička
5A	kúzelník	
5A	kvetinár	kvetinárka
5A	kybernetik	kybernetička
5A	kynológ	kynologička
5A	laborant	laborantka
5A	lahôdkar	lahôdkarka
5A	lakovač also expr	lakovačka
5A	lakovník	lakovníčka
5A	lámač	lámačka
5A	lampár	
5A	lanár 1	
5A	lanár	lanárka

5A	latinčinár	latinčinárka
5A	legislatívec	legislatívkyňa
5A	lejár	lejárka
5A	lekár	lekárka
5A	lekárnik	lekárnička
5A	lektor 1	lektorka 1
5A	lektor 2	lektorka 2
5A	lektor 3	lektorka 3
5A	lepič	lepička
5A	lesník	
5A	leštič	leštička
5A	letec	letkyňa
5A		letuška
5A	lexikograf	lexikografka
5A	lexikológ	lexikologička
5A	lezec	lezkyňa
5A	libretista	libretistka
5A	liečiteľ	liečiteľka
5A	liehovarník	
5A	lingvista	lingvistka
5A	lisovač	lisovačka
5A	listár	listárka
5A	literát	literátka
5A	litograf	litografka
5A	lodiár	
5A	lodivod	
5A	lodník	
5A	logik	logička
5A	logopéd	logopedička
5A	lokaj 1	
5A	lukostrelec	lukostrelkyňa
5A	lyžiar	lyžiarka
5A	maďarčinár	maďarčinárka
5A	maďarofil	
5A	mág 1	
5A	mág 2	
5A	magister 3	magistra 3
5A	majster 1	majstrová 1
5A	majsterko 1 hyp	
5A	majstrík 1 iron	
5A	maklér	
5A	maliar 1	maliarka 1
5A	maliar 2	maliarka 2
5A	manažér 2	manažérka 2
5A	manekýn	manekýnka
5A	manikér	manikérka
5A	manipulant	manipulantka
5A	maratónec	maratónkyňa
5A	masér	masérka



5A	maskér	maskérka
5A	masliar	masliarka
5A	mastič	mastička
5A	mastičkár 1	mastičkárka 1
5A	mastičkár 2 coll pej	mastičkárka 2 coll pej
5A	matador	
5A	matematik	matematička
5A	matematikár	matematikárka
5A	matrikár	matrikárka
5A	matróz	
5A		mažoretka
5A	mäsiar	mäsiarka 1
5A	medailér	
5A	mediar	
5A	medirytéc	
5A	medovníkár	
5A	mechanik	mechanická
5A	mechanizátor	
5A	mendík	
5A	metafyzik	
5A	metalurg	
5A	meteorológ	meteorologická
5A	metodik 1	metodička 1
5A	mezzosopranista	mezzosopranistka
5A	miesič	miesička
5A	miešač	miešačka
5A	mikrobiológ	mikrobiologická
5A	milovník 2	
5A	mím	
5A	míner	
5A	mineralóg	mineralogická
5A	mínometník	
5A	miškár	
5A	mixér 1	mixérka 1
5A	mixér 2	mixérka 2
5A	mlatec	
5A	mliekar 1	mliekarka 1
5A	mliekar 2	mliekarka 2
5A	mlynár	mlynárka 1
5A	mnemotechnik	
5A	mních	mníška
5A	modelár	modelárka
5A	moderátor	moderátorka
5A		modistka
5A	montážnik	
5A	montér	
5A	moralista 1	moralistka 1
5A	moreplavec	
5A	mostár	

5A	mototurista	
5A	murár 1	
5A	mušketier 1	
5A	múzejník	
5A	muzeológ	muzeologička
5A	muzikant coll	muzikantka coll
5A	muzikológ	muzikologička
5A	mykológ	mykologička
5A	nábytkár	nábytkárka
5A	nádenník	nádennička
5A	nakladač	nakladačka
5A	nakladateľ	nakladateľka
5A	nákupca	
5A	nakupovač	nakupovačka
5A	námorník	námornička
5A	národohospodár	
5A	národopisec	
5A	nástrojár	nástrojárka
5A	natierač	natieračka
5A	navigátor	navigátorka
5A	navíjač	navíjačka
5A	návrhár	návrhárika
5A	nemčinár	nemčinárka
5A	neuroológ	neurologička
5A		neviestka
5A	nimród coll	
5A	nitár	
5A	nitovač	
5A	nohejbalista	nohejbalistka
5A	normovač	
5A	nosič 1	
5A	notár 1	notárka 1
5A	novinár	novinárka
5A	novokňaz	
5A	numizmatik 1	numizmatička 1
5A	numizmatik 2	numizmatička 2
5A	obhajca	obhajkyňa
5A	obchodník	obchodníčka
5A	obilninár	
5A	obkladač	obkladačka
5A	obrábač	obrábačka
5A	obrábateľ	
5A	obuvník	obuvníčka
5A	oceliar 1	
5A	odborár 2	
5A	odbytár	
5A	odhadca	
5A	odlievač	
5A	ochotník	ochotníčka

5A	ochranár	ochranárka	
5A	ochrankár		
5A	ochutnávač		
5A	olejkár		
5A	omietkar		
5A	onkológ	onkologička	
5A	opatrovatel'	opatrovatel'ka	
5A	opatrovník	opatrovníčka	
5A	operatér 1	operatérka 1	
5A	operatér 2	operatérka 2	
5A	operátor 1	operátorka 1	
5A	operátor 2	operátorka 2	
5A	operátor 3	operátorka 3	
5A	opravár	opravárka	
5A	optik		
5A	optoelektronik		
5A	oráč		
5A	organista	organistka	
5A	orientalista	orientalistka	
5A	ortopéd		
5A	osembojár		
5A	osvetľovač		
5A	ošetrovatel' 1	ošetrovatel'ka 1	
5A	oštepár	oštepárka	
5A	ovocinár	ovocinárka	
5A	paholok		
5A	pamiatkar	pamiatkarka	
5A	pandúr		
5A	panelár		
5A		páračka	
5A	parašutista	parašutistka	
5A	parazitológ	parazitologička	
5A	parketár		
5A	parochniar		
5A	pasák 1 coll	pasáčka 1 coll	
5A	pasák 2		
5A	pasáček 1 dim		
5A	pasienkar		
5A	pastier	pastierka	
5A	pastierik dim		
5A	pastor		
5A	patológ	patologička	
5A			páža
5A			pážatko dim
5A	pästiar		
5A	päťbojár	päťbojárka	
5A	peciar 1		
5A	peciar 2		
5A	pečivár		

5A	pedagóg	pedagogička
5A	pediater	pediatricka
5A	pedikér	pedikérka
5A	pedológ 1	pedologička 1
5A	pedológ 2	pedologička 2
5A	pekár	pekárka 1
5A	peňažník	
5A	perohryz 1pej	
5A	perohryz 2 met	
5A	personalista	
5A	pesničkár	pesničkárka
5A	pestovateľ 1	pestovateľka 1
5A	pestún	pestúnka
5A	petrolejár 1	
5A	pevec 1	pevkyňa 1
5A	pevec 2	pevkyňa 2
5A	pianista	pianistka
5A	piliar 1	
5A	pilot	pilotka
5A	pingpongista	pingpongistka
5A	pisár 1	
5A	pisár 2	
5A	pisár 3	pisárka 3
5A	pisárik 1 iron	
5A	pisárik 2 iron	
5A	pisárik 3 iron	
5A	pivotman, pivot	pivotmanka, pivotka
5A	pivovarník	
5A	plachtár	
5A	planograf	planografka
5A	plánovač	plánovačka
5A	plátenník	plátenníčka
5A	plavčík 1	
5A	plavčík 2	
5A	plavec 2	plavkyňa 2
5A	pletiar	pletiarka
5A	plochodrážnik	
5A	plošinár	
5A	pltník	
5A	plynár	
5A	podnikateľ	podnikateľka
5A	pohonič	
5A	pohraničník	
5A	pochôdzkar	
5A	pokladník	pokladníčka
5A	pokrývač	
5A	polárnik	
5A	polarograf	polarografka
5A	polesný	

5A	policajt	
5A	polievkar 1	
5A	pólista	
5A	politik	politička
5A	politikár pej	
5A	politológ	politologička
5A	polonista	polonistka
5A	poľovník	poľovníčka
5A	poľštinár	poľštinárka
5A	polygraf	polygrafka
5A	pomológ	pomologička
5A	pop	
5A	poradca	poradkyňa
5A		pornohviezda
5A	porotca 1	porotkyňa 1
5A		posluhovačka
5A	postrekovač	postrekovačka
5A	posunovač	
5A	poštár 1	poštárka 1
5A	poštár 2	poštárka 2
5A	potápač	potápačka
5A	potravínár	
5A	potrubár	
5A	povozník	
5A	povrazník	
5A	povrazolezec	povrazolezkyňa
5A	pozaunista	pozaunistka
5A	pozlacovač	pozlacovačka
5A	požiarnik	požiarnička
5A	pôdohospodár	pôdohospodárka
5A	pôdoznalec	pôdoznalkyňa
5A	pôrodník	pôrodníčka
5A	pracovník 1	pracovníčka 1
5A	práč	práčka
5A	pradiar	pradiarka
5A	praktik 2 coll	
5A	právnik	právnička
5A	pravotár	
5A	pražiar	
5A	preberač	
5A	predavač	predavačka
5A	prekážkar	prekážkarka
5A	prekladateľ	prekladateľka
5A	premietač	premietačka
5A	presbyter 2	
5A		priadka
5A	prírodopisec	prírodopiskyňa
5A	prírodovedec	prírodovedkyňa
5A	príslušník 2	príslušníčka 2

5A	príštipkár 1	
5A	producent	producentka
5A	produkčný	produkčná
5A	profesor 2	profesorka 2
5A	prognostik	prognostička
5A	programátor	programátorka
5A	projektant	projektantka
5A	prokurátor	prokurátorka
5A	prokurista	
5A	propagandista	propagandistka
5A	prorok 2 expr	prorokyňa 2 expr
5A		prostitútka
5A	prsiar	prsiarka
5A	psičkár coll	psičkárka
5A	psychiater	psychiatricka
5A	psychoanalytik	
5A	psychológ 1	psychologička 1
5A	psychoterapeut	psychoterapeutka
5A	psychotronik	psychotronička
5A	publicista	publicistka
5A	pumpár	
5A	puškár	
5A	pyrotechnik	pyrotechnička
5A	rádioamatér	
5A	rádiológ	
5A	rádiomechanik	
5A	rádiotechnik	rádiotechnička
5A	rádiotelegrafista	
5A	rabín	
5A	radista	
5A	raketometník	
5A	ramár	
5A	rastlinár	
5A	razič	
5A	recepčný coll	recepčná
5A	redaktor	redaktorka
5A	referent 3	referentka 3
5A	rekvizitár	rekvizitárka
5A	remeselník 1	remeselníčka 1
5A	repár	
5A	reportér	reportérka
5A	reštaurátor	
5A	reverend	
5A	revírnik	
5A	revízor	revízorka
5A	rezbár	rezbárka
5A	režisér	režisérka
5A	robotník 1	robotníčka 1
5A	rogalista	rogalistka

5A	roľník	roľníčka
5A	romanista	romanistka
5A	rozhodca 2	rozhodkyňa 2
5A	röntgenológ	
5A	rubáč 1	
5A	rubáč 2	
5A	rubár	
5A	rukavičkár	rukavičkárka
5A	rusista	rusistka
5A	rusofil	
5A	rušňovodič	
5A	ruštinár	ruštinárka
5A	rybár	rybárka
5A	rybníkár	
5A	rýchlokorčuliar	rýchlokorčuliarka
5A	rýchlorazič	
5A	rysovač	
5A	rytec	
5A	sadovník	
5A	sadzač	sadzačka
5A	salašník 1	
5A	samopalník	
5A	samosudca	samosudkyňa
5A	sanitár 1	sanitárka 1
5A	sanitár 2 coll	sanitárka 2 coll
5A	sánkar	sánkarka
5A	saxofonista	saxofonistka
5A	scénograf	scénografka
5A	scientológ 1	scientologička 1
5A	sedlár	
5A	seizmológ	seizmologička
5A	sekáč	
5A	sémantik	sémantička
5A	semenár	semenárka
5A	semiotik	semiotička
5A		servírka
5A	sexuológ	sexuologička
5A	silnoprúdar	silnoprúdarka
5A	sinológ	
5A	sitár	sitárka
5A	skalolezec	skalolezkyňa
5A	skejtboardista	skejtboardistka
5A	skialpinista	skialpinistka
5A	skladateľ	skladateľka
5A	skladník	skladníčka
5A	sklár	sklárka
5A	sklenár	sklenárka
5A	skokan 2	skokanka 2
5A	slaboprúdar	slaboprúdarka

5A	slalomár	slalomárka
5A	slavianoofil	
5A	slavista	slavistka
5A	slovakista	slovakistka
5A	slovakofil	
5A	slovanofil	
5A	slovenčinár	slovenčinárka
5A	slovníkár	slovníkárka
5A	sluha 2	
5A		slúžka
5A		slúžtička dim expr
5A	smetiár	smetiarka
5A	snoubordista	snoubordistka
5A	sociolingvista	sociolingvistka
5A	sociológ	sociologička
5A	sofista 1	
5A	sofista 2	
5A	sokoliar	
5A	soliar 1	
5A	soliar 2	
5A	solič	
5A	sólista	sólistka
5A	sopranista	sopranistka
5A	spájkovač	
5A	speleológ	speleologička
5A	spevák	spevážka
5A	spíker, speaker	spíkerka
5A	spisovateľ	spisovateľka
5A	spojár 1	spojárka 1
5A	spojár 1	spojárka 2
5A	spojovateľ	spojovateľka
5A	správár	správarka
5A	spravodajca	spravodajkyňa
5A	spriadač	spriadačka
5A	sprievodca 2	sprievodkyňa 2
5A	sprievodca 3	sprievodkyňa 3
5A	srdciar 1	
5A	starinár	
5A	starožitník	
5A	statik	statička
5A	stavbár	stavbárka
5A	stavitel'	stavitel'ka
5A	stenograf	stenografka
5A	stenotypista	stenotypistka
5A	steward, steward	stewardka
5A	stíhač	
5A	stolár	
5A	stomatológ	stomatologička
5A	stopér	stopérka



5A	stratég	strategička
5A	strážnik	strážnička
5A	stredopoliar	stredopoliarka
5A	strelec 3	
5A	strihač	strihačka
5A	striptér	striptérka
5A	stríbalista	stríbalistka
5A	strojník	
5A	strojvodca	
5A	studniar	
5A		subreta
5A	sudca 1	sudkyňa 1
5A	sudca 3 coll	sudkyňa 3 coll
5A	súkenník	
5A	surfista	surfistka
5A	sústružník	sústružníčka
5A	sviniar 2	sviniarka 2
5A	sviniarik dim	
5A	šachista	šachistka
5A	šaman	
5A	šamotár 1	
5A	šamotár 2	
5A	šansoniér,	šansoniérka,
5A	šansonier	šansonierka
5A	šarha 1	
5A	šarlatán 1	šarlatánka 1
5A	šašo 1	
5A	šašo 2	
5A	šaško 1 dim	
5A	šaško 2 dim	
5A	šatniar	šatniarka
5A	šenkár	šenkárka
5A	šepkár	šepkárka
5A	šerif 2	šerifka 2
5A		šička
5A	šinter 1	
5A	školiteľ	školiťel'ka
5A	školník	školníčka
5A	škôlkar 2	
5A	škrabák coll pej	
5A		šľapka subst
5A	šofér	šoférka
5A	španielčínar	španielčínárka
5A	špeditér 1	
5A	športovec	športovkyňa
5A	šprintér	šprintérka
5A	štepár	
5A	štukatér	
5A	štvorstovkár	štvorstovkárka

5A	štylistik	štylistička
5A	šuster coll	
5A	švec	
5A	tabačiar	tabačiarka
5A	tabelista	tabelistka
5A	taliančinár	taliančinárka
5A	tankista	
5A	tavič	
5A	taxikár	taxikárka
5A	ťažbár	
5A	ťažkotonážnik	
5A	tehliar	tehliarka
5A	technik 2	technička 2
5A	technológ	technologička
5A	telefonista	telefonistka
5A	telegrafista	telegrafistka
5A	telocvikár 1	telocvikárka 1
5A	tenista	tenistka
5A	tenor coll	
5A	tenorista	
5A	teológ	teologička
5A	teoretik	teoretička
5A	terenár coll	
5A	tesár	
5A	textár	textárka
5A	tiráč coll	
5A	titulkár	titulkárka
5A	tkáč	tkáčka
5A	tlačiar 1	tlačiarica 1
5A	tlačiar 2	tlačiarica 2
5A	tlmočník 1	tlmočnice 1
5A	toaletár	toaletárka
5A	tokár	
5A	topograf	topografka
5A	toreador	
5A	tovariš 1	
5A	tovaroznalec	tovaroznalkyňa
5A	trafikant	trafikantka
5A	tragéd	tragédka
5A	traktorista	traktoristka
5A	tramp	trampka
5A	transfúziológ	transfúziologička
5A	traťmajster	
5A	traumatológ	traumatologička
5A	tréner	trénerka
5A		trepáčka
5A	triatlonista	triatlonistka
5A	triedny	triedna
5A	triedič	triedička

5A	trojbojár	trojbojárka
5A	trombonista	trombonistka
5A	trubač	
5A	trubadúr	
5A	trúbkar	trúbkarka
5A	truhlár	
5A	tunelár 1	tunelárka 1
5A	turista	turistka
5A	typograf	typografka
5A	učenec	
5A	učiteľ 1	učiteľka 1
5A	účtovník	účtovníčka
5A	údenár	
5A	údržbár	údržbárka
5A	ufológ	ufologička
5A	uhliar 1	uhliarka 1
5A	uhliar 2	uhliarka 2
5A	ukrajinčinár	ukrajinčinárka
5A	umenohistorik	umenohistorička
5A	umenovedec	umenovedkyňa
5A	umývač	umývačka
5A	upratovač	upratovačka
5A	úradník	úradníčka
5A	urbanista	urbanistka
5A	urológ	urologička
5A	uvádzač	uvádzačka
5A	valach	
5A	valcovač	
5A	varechár,	varechárka,
5A	vareškár	vareškárka
5A		varovkyňa
5A	včelár	včelárka
5A	vedátor coll expr	
5A	vedec	vedkyňa
5A	veslár	veslárka
5A	veštec	veštkyňa
5A	veterinár	veterinárka
5A	viacbojár	viacbojárka
5A	viazač	viazačka
5A	vinohradník	vinohradníčka
5A	violista	violistka
5A	violončelista	violončelistka
5A	viroológ	virologička
5A	vizážista	vizážistka
5A	vodák	vodáčka
5A	vodca 2	vodkyňa 2
5A	vodohospodár	
5A	volejbalista	volejbalistka
5A	voňavkár	voňavkárka

5A	vrátník	vrátnička
5A	vrhač	vrhačka
5A	vrchár 2	vrchárka 2
5A	vřtač	
5A	vtáčnik	
5A	výčapník	výčapníčka
5A	vydavatel'	vydavatel'ka
5A	výhybkár	výhybkárka
5A	vychovávateľ 2	vychovávateľka 2
5A	výpravca	výpravkyňa
5A	výsadbár	
5A	výskumník	výskumníčka
5A	vyšetrovateľ	vyšetrovateľka
5A		vyšívačka
5A		vyšivkárka
5A	výškar	výškarka
5A	výtahár 1	výtahárka 1
5A	výtahár 2	výtahárka 2
5A	vytrvalec	vytrvalkyňa
5A	výtvarník	výtvarníčka
5A	vyučujúci	
5A	vývojár	vývojárka
5A	windsurfista	windsurfistka
5A	xylofónista	
5A	zabávač 2	zabávačka 2
5A	zabijak pej	
5A	záhradkár	záhradkárka
5A	záhradník	záhradníčka
5A	záchranár	záchranárka
5A	zákonník	
5A	zameriavač	zameriavačka
5A	zametač	zametačka
5A	zámočník	zámočníčka
5A	zápasník 2	
5A	zásobovač	zásobovačka
5A	zástavník 1	
5A	závlahár	závlahárka
5A	závodník subst	závodníčka
5A	závozník	závozníčka
5A	zberateľ	zberateľka
5A	zbrojár	
5A	zbrojnoš	
5A	zdravotník	zdravotníčka
5A	združenár	
5A	zeleninár	zeleninárka
5A	zememerač	zememeračka
5A	zjazdár	zjazdárka
5A	zlatník	zlatníčka
5A	zlatokop	

5A	zlatotepec		
5A	zlievač	zlievačka	
5A	zmenárnik	zmenárnička	
5A	zmrzlinár	zmrzlinárka	
5A	znakár	znakárka	
5A	zoológ	zoologička	
5A	zootechnik	zootechnička	
5A	zriadenec		
5A	zubár	zubárka	
5A	zvárač	zváračka	
5A	zverolekár	zverolekárka	
5A	zvonár 1	zvonárka 1	
5A	zvonár 2	zvonárka 2	
5A	zvukár	zvukárka	
5A	žalárnik		
5A	žandár 1		
5A	žandár 2 coll		
5A	žehliar	žehliarka	
5A	žehlič	žehlička	
5A	železiar		
5A	železničiar	železničiarka	
5A	žeriavnik	žeriavnička	
5A	živnostník	živnostníčka	
5A	živočíchár	živočíchárka	
5A	žnec	žnica 1	
5A			žobráča 1
5A	žobrák 1	žobráčka 1	
5A	žoldnier 1		
5A	žonglér 1		
5A	žrdkár	žrdkárka	
5A	žrec		
5A	žurnalista	žurnalistka	

**Appendix 11**  
**Category 5B**

*Identity based on one's father's or spouse's vocation or avocation*

5B	bačovka 2 coll
5B	farárka 3
5B	hájnička 2
5B	horárka 2
5B	mlynárka 2
5B	pekárka 2
5B	profesorka 3 coll

## Appendix 12 Category 6A

*Identity as determined by one's own position/rank/function  
in a particular company or organization*

6A	abbé	abatyša	
6A	ablegát		
6A	adjunkt	adjunktka	
6A	admirál		
6A	ajatolláh		
6A	arcibiskup		
6A	ašpirant 2	ašpirantka 2	
6A	blahoslavený		
6A	bos, boss		
			CSc. (candidatus scientiarum)
6A			
6A	čatár 1		
6A	čatár 2		
6A	dalajláma		
6A	dekan	dekanka	
6A	desiatnik	desiatnička	
6A	deviatak	deviatačka	
6A	diakon 1		
6A	dielovedúci		
6A	direktor	direktorka	
6A	docent	docentka	
6A	doktor 2	doktork 2	
6A	doktor 3	doktorka 3	
6A	dôstojník	dôstojníčka	
6A			Dr. (doktor) 2
6A			Dr. (doktor) 3
			Dr. h.c. (doctor honoris causa)
6A			DrSc.(doctor scientiarum)
6A			
6A	druhák	druháčka	
6A	druháčik		
6A	druhorochiak		
6A		eminencia	
6A	emir		
6A		excelencia	
6A	expremiér	expremiérka	
6A	exprezident		
6A	farár 1		

6A	farárko expr		
6A	fráter		
6A	funcionár	funkcionárka	
6A	gazda 3		gazdiná 3
6A	generál		
6A	gubernátor		
6A	asistent	asistentka	
6A	baša		
	atašé		
6A	(non-decl)	atašé (non-decl)	
6A			doc. (docent)
6A	guvernér		
6A	administrátor 2	administrátorka 2	
6A	administrátor 1	administrátorka 1	
6A	gazdík 3		
6A	gazdíček 3		
6B	biskup		
6A	hajtman 1		
6A		hlava 3	
6A	hlaváč pej		
6A	hodnostár	hodnostárka	
6A	chán		
	chargé		
6A	d'affaires		
6A	kadet 2		
6A	kancelár		
6A	kandidát 2	kandidátka 2	
6A	kanonik		
6A	kapitán 1	kapitánka 1	
6A	kapitán 2	kapitánka 2	
6A	kapitán 3	kapitánka 3	
6A	kapitán 4		
6A	kaprál		
6A	kardinál		
6A	klerik 1		
6A	komisár	komisárka	
6A	komorník 2		
6A	kongresman		
6A	konzul 1	konzulka 1	
6A	konzul 2		
6A	koryfej		
6A	láma		
6A	legát		
6A	líder 1		
6A	líder 3		
6A	ligista		
		magisterka 1,	
6A	magister 1	magistra 1	
6A	magister 4		
6A		magnificencia	



6A	majestát		
6A	major	majorka	mjr. (major)
	majordóm,		
6A	majordómus 1		
6A	majster 2	majsterka 2	
6A	majster 5		
6A	majster 7		
	majsterko 2		
6A	hyp		
6A	majstrík 2 iron		
6A	majstrík 5 iron		
6A	majstrík 7 iron		
6A	manažér 1	manažérka 1	
6A	maršal		
6A	metropolita		
6A	minister	ministerka	
6A	monsignor		
6A	náčelník 1	náčelníčka 1	
6A	nadporučík	nadporučíčka	
6A	nadpráporčík	nadpráporčíčka	
6A	nadriadený	nadriadená	
6A	námestník	námestníčka	
6A	notár 2	notárka 2	
6A	novic	novicka	
6A	nuncius		
	oficier hist or		
6A	coll		
6A	oktaván	oktavánka	
6A	opát	opátka	
6A	otec 8		
6A	ôsmak	ôsmačka	
6A	palatín		
6A	pán 9	pani	
6A	pánko 9		
6A	pápež		
6A	patriarcha 2		
6A	patrón 2	patrónka 2	
			PhD. (philosophiae doctor)
6A	piatak	piatačka	
6A	plukovník	plukovníčka	plk. (plukovník)
6A	pobočník 1		
6A	poddôstojník	poddôstojníčka	
			pplk. (podplukovník)
6A	podplukovník	podplukovníčka	
6A	podporučík	podporučíčka	
6A	podpráporčík	podpráporčíčka	
6A	podpredseda	podpredsedníčka	
6A	podriadený		

6A	podrichtár		
6A	podžupan		
6A	poručík	poručíčka	por. (poručík)
6A	poslanec	poslankyňa	
6A	potentát expr		
	potentátnik		
6A	expr		
6A	práporčík 1	práporčíčka	
6A	práporčík 2		
6A	predák 1	predáčka 1	
6A	predák 2	predáčka 2	
6A	prednosta		
6A	predseda	predsedníčka	
6A	predstavený	predstavená	
6A	prefekt		
6A	prelát		
6A	premiér	premiérka	
6A	prepošt		
6A	presbyter 1	presbyterka 1	
6A	prezident 1	prezident 1	
6A	prezident 2	prezidentka 2	
6A		primabalerína	
6A		primadona 1	
6A	primán	primánka	
6A	primár	primárka	
6A	prímas		
6A	primáš		
6A	primátor	primátorka	
6A	principál		
6A	prior	priora	
6A	prodekan		
6A	profesor 1	profesorka 1	
6A	prominent		
6A	prorektor		
6A	protektor 1	protektorka 2	
6A			prváča expr
6A	prvák	prváčka	
6A	prváčik dim		
6A	prvoročiak		
6A	radný		
6A	richtár 2		
6A	rotný	rotná	
6A	rotmajster	rotmajsterka	
6A	rytier 4		
6A	sekretár	sekretárka	
6A	sekundán	sekundánka	
6A	sekundár	sekundárka	
6A	senátor	senátorka	
6A	senior 2	seniorka 2	

6A	senior 3	seniorka 3	
6A	senior 4		
6A	septimán	septimánka	
6A	seržant	seržantka	
6A	sextán	sextánka	
6A	siedmak	siedmačka	
6A	skupinár	skupinárka	
6A	slobodník		
6A		spektabilita	
6A	správca 2	správkyňa 2	
6A	strojmajster		
6A		šarža met expr	
6A	šéf 1	šéfka 1	
6A	šéf 2 coll	šéfka 2	
6A	šéf 3 coll		
6A	šéfko 2		
6A	šéfko 3		
6A	šéfdirigent		
6A	šéfkuchár	šéfkuchárka	
6A	šéflekár	šéflekárka	
6A	šéfpilot		
6A	šéfproducent	šéfproducentka	
6A	šéfredaktor	šéfredaktorka	
6A	šéftrener	šéftrenerka	
6A	šerif 3 slang	šerifka 3 slang	
6A	šiestak	šiestačka	
6A	špirituál		
6A	štátnik 1		
6A		štruktúra pej	
6A	štvrták	štvrtáčka	
6A	štvrtáčik		
6A	štvrtoročiak	štvrtoročiačka	
6A	tajomník 1	tajomníčka 1	
6A	tajomník 2	tajomníčka 2	
6A	tercián	terciánka	
6A	tretiak	tretiačka	
6A	treťoročiak	treťoročiačka	
6A	vajda		
6A	vedúci	vedúca	
6A			veličenstvo
6A	veliteľ 1	veliteľka 1	
6A	veliteľ 2	veliteľka 2	
6A	veľkňaz		
6A	veľvyslanec	veľvyslankyňa	
6A	vicekonzul	vicekonzulka	
6A	vicemajster	vicemajsterka	
6A		vicemiss	
6A	vicepremiér	vicepremiérka	
6A	viceprezident	viceprezidentka	

6A	vikár	
6A	vodca 1	vodkyňa 1
6A	vojak 2	vojačka 2
6A	vyslanec	vyslankyňa
6A	zbormajster	zbormajsterka
6A	žiak 2	žiačka 2
6A	župan	
6A	kaplán	
6A	líder 2	
6A	patriarcha 1	
6A	tribún 1	
6A	pohlavár	
6A	ombudsman	ombudsmanka
6A	miestodržiteľ	
6A	pobočník 2	
6A	starejší	starejšia
6A	páterko expr	
6A	páter	
6A	rektor	rektorka
6A	stavbyvedúci	stavbyvedúca
6A	radca 2	radkyňa 2
6A	starosta	starostka
6A	starosvat	
6A	staršina 1	
6A	papaláš col pej	
6A	pán 5	pani 5
6A	staršina 2	
6A	šerif 1	šerifka 1
6A	nováčik 2	
6A	riaditeľ	riaditeľka
6A	richtár 1	
6A	strážmajster	strážmajsterka
6A	svätý 1	svätá 1
6A	svätec 1 expr	svätica 1 expr

**Appendix 13**  
**Category 6B**

*Identity as determined by one's father's or spouse's position/rank/function  
in a particular company or organization*

6B  
6B

richtárka  
senátorka

## Appendix 14

### Category 7

#### Identity based on membership in or adherence to an organization

7	agrárnik 2	
7	akademik	akademička
7		alžbetínka
7	aparátnik pej	
7	audítor 1	
7	bazilián	
7	benediktín	
7	bernardín	
7	červenoarmejec	
7	člen	členka
7	davista	
7	demokrat 2	
7	dominikán	dominikánka
7	dragún	
7	družstevník	družstevníčka
7	dvoran	
7	eštebák coll	eštebáčka
7	farník	farníčka
7	filharmonik	
7	františkán	františkánka
7	gangster 1	
7	gardista	
7	gestapák coll pej	
7	honvéd	
7	janičiar also pej	
7	jezuíta	
7	kamaldul	
7	kapucín	
7	karmelitán	karmelitánka
7	kartuzián	
7		klariska
7	koaličník	koaličníčka
7	konzervátec 1	
7	kozák 1	
7	labanec	
7	labourista	labouristka
7	laik 2	laička 2
7	legionár 1	
7	liberál 2	liberálka 2
7	lúčničiar	lúčničiarka
7	ľudák	ľudáčka

7	ľudovec	
7	mafista	
7	mafán	
7	mameluk 1	
7	matičiar	matičiarka
7	milicionár	milicionárka
7	minorita	
7	murár 2	
7	nečlen	
7	nestránik	nestranička
7	odbojár	
7	odborár 1	
7	partizán	partizánka
7	pešiak	
7	pétepák coll	
7	piarista	
7	pionier 2	pionierka 2
7	porotca 2	porotkyňa 2
7	príslušník 1	príslušníčka 1
7	redemptorista	
7	rehoľník	rehoľníčka
7	republikán 2	
7	rytier 3	
7	salezián	
7	sektár	sektárka
7	skaut 1	skautka 1
7	sľukár coll	sľukárka
7	straník	stranička
7		uršulínka
7	verbista	
7	veriaci 2	
7	vojak 1	vojačka 1
7	vojačik dim expr	
7	výborník coll	výborníčka coll
7	zborista	zboristka
7	zväzák	zväzáčka

## Appendix 15

### Category 8

#### Identity as defined by adherence to an ideology

8	absolutista 2	
8	abstrakcionista	
8	adventista	adventistka
8	agnostik	
8	anarchista	anarchistka
8	anglikán	anglikánka
8	antifašista	
8	antimilitarista	
8	antisemita	antisemitka
8	apoštol 1	
8	apoštol 2	
8	apoštol 3	
8	asketik	asketička
8	askéta	askétka
8	ateista 1	ateistka 1
8	ateista 2	ateistka 2
8	bludár 2	bludárka 2
8	bolševik 1	bolševička 1
8	bolševik 2 pej	bolševička 2 pej
8	budhista	
8	buditeľ	buditeľka
8	centralista	
8	cynik 1	
8	čechoslovákista	
8	dadaista	
8	dedič 2	dedička 2
8	deista	
8	dekadent 2	
8	demagóg	
8	demokrat 1	
8	dialektik	
8	dogmatik 2	
8	doktrinár	
8	estét 1	estétka 1
8	euroskeptik	euroskeptička
8	evanjelik	evanjelička
8	existencialista	
8	expresionista	expresionistka
8	fakír 1	
8	fanatik	fanatička



8	farizej 1	farizejka 1
8	fašista	fašistka
8	fatalista	fatalistka
8	feudalista	
8	formalista	formalistka
8	frakcionár	
8	fundamentalista	fundamentalistka
8	futurista	
8	gréckokatolík	gréckokatolíčka
8	heretik 1	
8	heretik 2 met	
8	humanista 1	humanistka 1
8	hungarista 1	
8	husita	
8	idealista 1	idealistka
8	ideológ	
8	iluzionista 1	iluzionistka 1
8	impresionista	
8	internacionalista	internacionalistka
8	iredentista	
8	jehovista	jehovistka
8	jogín	
8	jogista	jogistka
8	kacíř 1	kacířka 1
8	kalvín	kalvínka
8	kalvinista	kalvinistka
8	katolík	katolíčka
8	klasicista	
8	klerikál	klerikálka
8	kolonialista	kolonialistka
8	kresťan	kresťanka
8	kryptokomunista	
8	kubista	kubistka
8	ľavičiar	ľavičiarka
8	liberál 1	liberálka 1
8	lokálpatriot	lokálpatriotka
8	luterán	luteránka
8	manierista	
8	marxista	marxistka
8	marxista-leninista	
8	materialista 1	materialistka 1
8	modernista	
8	mohamedán	mohamedánka
8	monarchista	
8	monoteista	
8	moslim	moslimka
8	nacionalista 1	nacionalistka 1
8	nacista	nacistka
8	nadrealista	

8	naturalista	
8	neofašista	
8	neokolonialista	
8	neonacista	
8	neverec	
8	neveriaci 1	
8	neveriaci 2	
8	nihilista	
8	novopozitivistka	
8	novoromantik	
8	objektivistka	objektivistka
8	okultista	
8	osvietenec	
8	pacifista	pacifistka
8	pankáč coll	pankáčka
8	pansláv	
8	panslavista	panslavistka
8	panteista	
8	pietista	
8	platonik	
8	pluralista	
8	pohan 1	pohanka 1
8	pohan 2	pohanka 2
8	polyteista	
8	popartista,	
8	pop-artista	
8	postkomunista	
8	postmodernista	
8	pozitivistka	pozitivistka
8	pragmatista	
8	pragmatik 1	
8	pravičiar	
8	presbyterián	presbyteriánka
8	protestant	protestantka
8	puritán 1	
8	purista	puristka
8	racionalista	racionalistka
8	radikál	
8	radikalista	
8	rasista	
8	reakcionár	reakcionárka
8	realista 2	realistka
8	reformista	reformistka
8	republikán 1	
8	revanšista	
8	revizionista	
8	romantik 1	romantička 1
8	satanista	satanistka
8	scientológ 2	scientologička 2

8	separatista	separatistka
8	scholastik	
8	sionista	sionistka
8	skeptik 1	skeptička 1
8	skinhead, skinhed	
8	slobodomurár	
8	socialista	socialistka
8	stoik	
8	subjektivista	subjektivistka
8	súduh 2 coll	
8		sufražetka 1
8	surrealista	surrealistka
8	symbolista	
8	šamanista	
8	šovinista	šovinistka
8	špiritista	špiritistka
8	štrukturalista	štrukturalistka
8	učeník	
8	ultraľavičiar	ultraľavičiarka
8	ultranacionaliata	ultranacionalistka
8	ultrapravičiar	ultrapravičiarka
8	utopista	utopistka
8	veriaci 1	
8	voľnomyšlienkar	voľnomyšlienkárka
8	voluntarista	voluntaristka
8	vyznavač	vyznavačka
8	zástanca 2	zástankyňa 1
8	zástavník 2 met	
8	žiak 3	žiačka 3
8	žid 1	židovka 1
8	židko dim expr	
8	židák 1 pej	
8	židáčik 1 dim expr	

## Appendix 16

### Category 9

#### Identity as determined by physical appearance or other physical trait

9		baba 1 pej	
9		baba 3 slang	
9			babisko 1 pej
9		babizňa 1 pej	
9		babka 1 expr	
9	bachráč expr		
9	bachráň expr	bachraňa expr	
9		bleduľa expr	
9	blondiak coll		
9	bondiačik dim		
9	blondín	blondína	
9		bohyňa met expr	
9	bradáč		
9	brucháč expr		
9	brucháň expr		
9	brunet	brunetka	
9	bucko hyp		
9		buchta 2 expr	
9	bumbaj pej ■		
9	býk met expr		
9		bzdocha met ■	
9	cigán/ň 2 met expr	cigánka 2 met expr	
9		cigánočka 2 dim	
9	cigánik 2 dim expr	expr	
9			cigánča 2
9			cigánčatko 2 dim
9			expr
9		cintľavka expr	
9	čaptoš	čapta expr	
9	čaptáň expr	čaptaňa expr	
9		černuľa expr	
9		čiernovláska	
9			človieča 1 dim expr
9	človiečik dim expr 1		
9	dlháň expr		
9	dlhánisko aug		dlhánisko aug
9	dvojník		
9	elegán coll		
9	fešák 1	fešanda 1	

9	fešák 2	fešanda 2	
9	fit'firiť 3 iron		
9	fuzáč		
9	fuzáň		
9	gambáč pej		
		gambaňa pej	
9		grácia expr iron	
9			hebedo pej
9	holáň expr		
9			holíča expr
9			holíčatko dim
	holopupkáč 1 coll		
9	expr		
9	holopupkáč 2 met		
	holopupkár 1 coll		
9	expr		
9	holopupkár 2 met		
9	hrbáč expr	hrbáčka expr	
9	hrbáčik dim		
9		chlapina expr	
9	chrt met expr		
9	chrúst met expr		
	chrústik met expr		
9	dim		
9		kl'ampa pej ■	
9		kosť met coll expr	
9	kostlivec expr		
9		krásavica	
9	krpáň expr	krpaňa expr	
9	krpec pej		
9	ľavák	ľaváčka	
9	lilipután	liliputánka	
9		maškara also expr	
9		matróna 2 expr pej	
9	mľandravec expr		
9		moletka coll	
9	naháč coll		
9	naháčik dim		
9	nosáň expr		
9	obor	obryňa	
9		ohava pej	
9	okáň expr	okaňa expr	
9	okuliarnik expr		
9	ošklivec expr		
9	peháň coll expr	pehaňa	
9	pehánik		
9	pehavec coll expr		
	piadimužík met expr		
9	pej		
9	piadimužíček dim		

9		plavovláska	
9	plešivec pej		
9			prasiatko met
9	pupkáč 1		
9	ryšavec		
9	skrček, skrčok expr		
9		stonoha 1 expr	
9	strapáň expr	strapaňa	
9	strapánik		
9	svalovec expr iron		
9		svetlovláska	
9	šklban 1 pej		
9		škrata expr	
9	škrečok met expr 2		
9	škriatok pej ■		
9	škuláň expr	škulaňa	
9	šmatlavý		
9	šmatliak expr		
9		špata expr	
9	špunt expr		
9		štangľa met expr	
9	štramák 1 coll	štramanda 1 coll	
9	štrbák pej		
9	štrbáň pej	štrbaňa	
9	šupák met		
9		tmavovláska	
9	trhan 1 pej	trhanka 1 pej	
9	trpaslík		
9	trpaslíček dim		
9	tučko expr		
9	tučniak met expr		
9	ucháň 1 expr	uchaňa 1 expr	
9	vlasáč		
9		zlatovláska expr	
9		zubaňa coll expr 1	
9			žieňa 1 expr

## Appendix 17

### Category 10

Identity as determined by physical and mental health or diagnosis

10	alergik	alergička	
10	alkoholik	alkoholička	
10	astenik		
10	astmatik	astmatička	
10	bacilonosič		
10	blázon 1		
10	cvok subst		
10	daltonista		
10	debil 1		
10	diabetik	diabetička	
10	drogista 2	drogistka 2	
10	epileptik	epileptička	
10	exhibicionista 1		
10	gambler		
10	heroinista	heroinistka	
10	hlucháň pej	hluchaňa	
10	hluchý	hluchá	
10	hypochonder	hypochonderka	
10	hysterik	hysterička	
10	choromyseľný		
10	chorý		
10	idiot		
10	imbecil 1		
10	impotent 1coll pej		
10	invalid		
10		kalika	
10	kretén 1		
10	lazár coll		
10	malomocný		
10	maród coll		
10	mrzák 1	mrzáčka 1	
10	mrzáčik dim		
10	námesačník	námesačnica, námesačníčka	
10			nedôchodča pej
10	nedonosenec		
10	nedorastok expr		
10	nedorobok expr		
10	neduživiec		
10	nemocný		
10	nemý	nemá	

10	neurotik	neurotička	
10	nevidiaci		
10	paralytik		
10	paraplegik		
10	pedofil		
10	poloblázon		
10	pomätenec		
10	práceneschopný		
10	práceschopný		
10	prašivec 1		
10	psychopat	psychopatka	
10	rachitik		
10	rekonvalescent	rekonvalescentka	
10	reumatik	reumatička	
10	sadista 1	sadistka 1	
10	schizofrenik	schizofrenička	
10	sklerotik	sklerotička	
10	slepec		
10	slepý	slepá	
10	srdciar 2		
10	suchotinár	suchotinárka	
10	syfilitik	syfilitička	
10	šialenec 1		
10	toxikoman	toxikomanka	
10	tuberkulotik	tuberkulotička	
10	úchylák subst	úchyláčka	
10	umierajúci		
10	vozičkár	vozičkárka	
10	zdravý		
10	žalúdkar	žalúdkarka	
10	žlčníkár	žlčníkárka	
10	žobrák 4 expr	žobráčka 4 expr	žobráča 3



## Appendix 18

### Category 11

#### Evaluations based on behavior

11	absentér	
11	abstinent	abstinentka
11	aktivista	aktivistka
11	alibista	
11	altruista	altruistka
11		amazonka
		analfabetka 2 met
11	analfabet 2 met pej	pej
11	anjel met expr	
11	anjelik dim	
11	anjeliček	
11	antikrist	
11	aristokrat 2	aristokratka 2
11	asociál coll	
11	aziat pej	aziatka pej
11		baba 5
11		bábka met
11	baran met expr	
11	baránok met expr	
11	barbar 2 pej	
11		beštia 1 met pej
11		beštia 2
11	beťár coll	
11	bezočivec	
11	bibas coll pej	
11	bitkár	
11	blázon 3 coll expr	
11	blbec subst	
11	bludár 1	bludárka 1
11	bohém	
11	bojazlivec	
11	bojko expr	
11		bosorka 2 met pej
11		buchta 2 expr
11	búrlivák	
11	byrokrat	
11		cárica 2 met expr
11	citlivkár	citlivka expr
11	cudzoložník	cudzoložnica
11	cudzopasník pej	

11		cundra pej	
11	cynik 2		
11	čachrár pej		
11	čert met expr	čertica met expr	
11	čertík dim expr		
11			číslo met coll
11	čudák	čudáčka	
11		dáma 2	
11	darebák 1 expr	darebáčka 1 expr	
11	darebák 2	darebáčka 2	
11	darmožráč pej		
11	daromník	daromnica	
11	debil 2 met expr		
11	dedinčan 2 pej	dedinčanka 2 pej	
11	defetista		
11	dekadent 1		
11	delikvent		
11	diabol met expr	diablica met expr	
11	diktátor 2 met		
11	diplomat 2	diplomatka 2	
11	divoch 2	divoška 2	
11	divoch 3 expr	divoška 3 expr	
11	dobrák	dobráčka	
11	dobrodinec	dobrodinka	
11	dobrodruh		
11	dogmatik 1		
11	domased expr		
11	donchuan expr		
11	donkichot expr		
11	dotieravec		
11	dráč 1	dráčka 1	
11	dráč 2	dráčka 2	
11	drak met expr	dračica met expr	
11	dravec met expr		
11	držgroš pej		
11	ďuro expr		
11	džentlmen		
11	egoista	egoistka	
11	eklektik		
11	epigón	epigónka	
11	eskamotér 2 met		
11	pej		
11	estét 2	estétka 2	
11	exhibicionista 2		
11		existencia coll pej	
11	exploatátor 2		
11	extrémista	extrémistka	
11	fagan pej		
11	faganisko aug		faganisko aug

11	fajčiar	fajčiarka
11	falošník	falošnica
11	fanfarón	
11	fantasta	fantastka
11	farizej 2 pej	farizejka 2
11	faun	
11	fičúr pej	
11	fifik, fifik	
11	fiflena pej	
11	fiflenka dim	
11	figliar	figliarka
11	fiktus coll expr	
11	filantrop	
11	filister	
11	filozof 2 expr	filozofka 2
11	fiškál met	
11	fiškus	
11	fit'firit' 2 iron	
11	fl'andra	
11	flegmatik	flegmaticka
11	fluktuant	fluktuantka
11	frajer 2	frajerka 2
11	frajer 3 coll expr	
11	frajerkár coll pej	
11	frázista	frázistka
11	frčkár expr	
11	frfloš pej	
11		frnda pej
11		frnduľa expr
11		fufna 2
11		fúria expr
11	furták	furtáčka
11	gadžo expr	
11	galejník 2	
11	galgan 1	
11	galgan 1	
11	gangster	
11	gašpar pej	
11	gašparko dim	
11	gauner coll pej	
11	gavalier 1	
11	gavalier 3	
11	gentleman,	
11	džentlmen	
11	grand 2 met	
11	grázel subst	
11	grobian	grobianka
11	gurmán	
11		handra 4 pej

11		harpya pej	
11	havkáč met pej		
11	hazardér		
11	hedonista	hedonistka	
11	herec met pej	herečka met pej	
11	herkules expr		
11	hladoš		
11	hlavaj expr		
11	hlaváň expr	hlavaňa	
11	hlupák pej	hlupaňa	
11	hmotár pej	hmotárka	
11	hnevník	hnevnička	
11		hnida met pej	
11	hniliak coll pej		
11	hnusák pej		
11	hnusník pej		
11		hnusoba met pej	
11	hochštapler 1 coll	hochštaplerka 1 coll	
11	pej	pej	
11	hochštapler 2 coll	hochštaplerka 2 coll	
11	pej	pej	
11	homosexuál		
11	horenos pej		
11	hospodár 2	hospodárka 2	
11	hotentot coll pej		
11			hovädo pren expr
11	hrabivec pej		
11	hraboš pren pej		
11	hrdina 1	hrdinka 1	
11		hrdopýška pej	
11	hriešnik 1	hriešnica 1	
11	hriešnik 2 coll expr	hriešnica 2 coll expr	
11	hrobár 2 met pej		
11	hrubokožec met pej		
11	humanista 2	humanistka 2	
11	humorista 2	humoristka 2	
11	huncút expr		
11	huncútik dim		
11	hundroš pej		
11		hus met pej	
11		hyena met pej	
11	hýrivec		
11	chalan 2 pej		
11	chalanisko 2 aug		chalanisko 2 aug
11	chameleón met pej		
11	chamtivec pej		
11	chlap 2		
11	chlapík expr 2		
11	chlapisko 2 aug		chlapisko 2 aug
11	chlipník pej		

11	chmuľo pej	
11	chmuľko dim	
11	cholerik	cholerička
11	chrapúň pej	
11	chrček met pej	
11	chren met pej	
11	chruňo pej	
11	chuligán pej	chuligánka
11	chumaj pej	
11	chválenkár coll	chválenkárka
11	chvastúň pej	chvastúnka
11	chytrák pej	chytráčka
11	idealista 2	idealistka 2
11	idiot met expr	
11	ignorant pej	ignorantka pej
11	iluzionista 2	iluzionistka 2
11	imbecil met expr	
11	impotent 2 coll pej	
11	individualista	individualistka
11	intelektuál	intelektuálka
11	inteligent 1	inteligentka 1
11	intrigán	intrigánka
11	ironik	ironička
11	jašo expr	
11		jazyčnica pej
11	jedák 1expr	
11	jedoš expr	
11	ježibábel' met pej	ježibaba met pej
11	judáš pej	
11	kacír 2	kacírka 2
11		kača pej
11	kanibal	
11	karierista pej	karieristka pej
11	kartár	kartárka 1
11	kat 2	
11	katan pej	
11	kaukliar 2	
11	kávičkár	kávičkárka
11	klamár	klamárka
11	klebetník	klebetnica
11	knihomoľ expr	
11	kocúr met expr	
11		kofa 2 met pej
11		koketa pej
11		koketka pej dim
11	komediant 2	
11	komik 2	komička 2
11	konformista	
11	koničkár 2 expr	

11	konzervatívec 2		
11	korhel' coll pej		
11		koťuha expr	
11		koza pren expr	
11	krasorečník		
11	kretén 2 met expr		
11	krikľúň 1 pej		
11	krikľúň 2 met humor		
11	kriminálnik coll	kriminálnička	
11	kritik 1	kritička 1	
11		krysa met pej	
11	kubo expr		
11	kujon expr		
11	kulinár		
11	kuvik met expr		
11	kvietok dim iron		
11	labužník	labužníčka	
11		lady 2 met	
11	lagan expr		
11	ľahkomysel'ník	ľahkomysel'nica, ľahkomysel'níčka	
11	ľahťikár expr	ľahťikárka	
11	lajdák pej	lajda, lajdáčka	
11	lakomec	lakomica, lakomnica	
11	lakotník expr	lakotníčka	
11	ľa'o pej		
11	lapaj		
11	lapaj expr pej		
11	lapajisko 1 aug		lapajisko 1 aug
11	lapajisko 2 aug		lapajisko 2 aug
11	lapikurkár expr		
11		lasica pren expr	
11	lekvár met pej		
11	lenivec		
11	leňoch		
11		lesbička	
11	lev met expr	levica met expr	
11	lichotník	lichotnica	
11	liknavec		
11	lišiak met expr	líška met expr	
11	líškavec		
11	logik		
11	lomidrevo		lomidrevo
11	loptoš expr		
11	loptoš pej		
11	lotor		
11	lotor expr		
11	lotrisko aug		lotrisko aug
11	lucifer met pej		

11	ľudojed		
11	ľudomil	ľudomilka	
11	ľudožrút		
11	ľuhár	ľuhárka	
11	lump 1		
11	lump 2		
11	lumpák 1 expr		
11	lumpák 2 expr		
11	lumpáčisko aug		lumpáčisko aug
11	ľupežník		
11	ľupič	ľupička	
11	maco met expr		
11		macocha met	
11			mača pren
11			mačiatko pren
11		mačička dim expr	
11		madona met expr	
11	malomeštiak	malomeštiačka	
11	mameluk 2 pej		
11	mamičkár expr		
11	mamľas pej		
11	mamonár pej	mamonárka pej.	
11	maniak	maniačka	
11	manipulátor		
11	márnotratník	márnotratnica	
11	marodér 1		
11	marodér 2 pej		
11	maškrtník	maškrtnica	
11	materialista 2 pej	materialistka 2 pej	
11	maximalista		
11	maznák	mazna expr	
11	maznáčik dim expr		
11	mäkkýš met expr		
11	medveď met pej		
11	megaloman		
11	melancholik	melancholička	
11	mentor		
11	meštiak	meštiačka	
11	metodik 2		
11	miesiželezo		miesiželezo
11	milost'pán 2 iron	milost'pani 2 iron	
11	milost'pánko 2 iron	milost'pánko 2 iron	
11	minimalista		
11	mizantrop		
11	mizerák expr		
11	moralista 2	moralistka 2	
11	moralizátor		
11	moriak met expr		
11		mrcha expr met	

11	mrmlôš expr	
11	mudrák expr	mudráčka expr
11	mudrc 2 expr iron	
11	mudrlant expr	mudrlantka expr
11	muž 2	
11	mužík 2 dim	
11	mysliteľ	mysliteľka
11	nacionalista 2	nacionalistka 2
11	nactiutŕhač pej	
11	nadháňač met pej	
11	nadutec pej	
11	nafúkanec pej	
11		naivka coll
11	namyslenec	
11	naničhodník 1 pej	naničhodnica 1 pej
11	narkoman	narkomanka
11	národovec	národovkyňa
11	náruživiec	
11	násilník	
11	nebojsa expr	
11	necudník	necudnica
11	nečlovek	
11	nedbaj expr	nedbajka
11	nedbanlivec	
11	nedočkavec	
11	nedôverčivec	
11	nehanblivec	nehanblivica
11	nehanebník	nehanebnica
11	nehodník	nehodnica
11	nemravník	nemravnica
11	nenásytník	
11	nenážranec pej	
11	neogabanec coll	
11	expr	
11	neohrabanec coll	
11	expr	
11	neokresanec expr	
11	neokrôchanec coll	
11	expr	
11	neporiadnik expr	neporiadnica
11	neposedník expr	neposednica
11	neposlušník	neposlušnica
11	neprajník	neprajníčka
11	nerestník	nerestnica
11	nervák coll expr	
11	nespokojenec	
11	nespratník expr	
11	netvor pren pej	
11		netýkavka met expr
11	nevďačník	nevďačnica



11	nevedomec pej		
11	neverník	nevernica	
11			neviniatko 2 expr or iron
11	nevychovanec		
11	nezbedník	nezbednica	
11	neznaboh,		
11	neznajboh coll pej		
11	nežičlivec		
11	ničomník pej	ničomnica	
11	niktoš 2 pej		
11	novotár pej		
11	nudista	nudistka	
11	obmedzenec pej		
11	obojživelník met pej		
11	obšmietač expr		
11	odkundes coll pej		
11	odľud 1 expr		
11	odľud 2 pej		
11	odroň pej		
11	odronisko aug		
11	ohovárač	ohováračka	
11	opatrník pej		
11	opilec 2		
11	oplan pej		
11	oplanisko aug		oplanisko aug
11	oportunista	oportunistka	
11	opovážlivec		
11	optimista	optimistka	
11	osol met pej		
11	otrokár 2 pej		
11	otužilec		
11	ozembuch pej		
11	ožran pej		
11	pahltník pej	pahltnica pej	
11	pajác		
11			páňa pej
11	panák pej		
11			páňatko pej
11			pánča pej
11			pánčatko pej
11	panikár	panikárka	
11	papáč, papkáč coll pej		
11	papagáj met pej		
11	parádnik coll	parádnica	
11	parazit pej		
11	patriot	patriotka	
11	patrón 3 coll expr		
11		pávica met	

11		páva met
11	pavúk met expr	
11	pažravec pej	
11	pätolizač pej	pätolizačka
11	pecúch expr	
11	pedant	pedantka
11	pekelník met expr	pekelníčka
11	perfekcionista	perfekcionistka
11	pes met pej	
11	pesimista	pesimistka
11	pierot	
11	pijak coll	pijačka
11	pijan	pijanka
11		pijavica met
11	pirát 2 pej	
11	pištoľník 2 pej	
11	pivár coll	
11	plačko 1	plačka 1
11	plejboy, playboy	
11	plejboy, playboy	
11	pletkár coll	pletkárka
11		pluha pej
11	pluhák pej	
11	pluhavec pej	
11	pobehaj pej	pobehajka
11		pobehlica
11	pobožnostkár pej	
11	poctivec	
11	podfukár coll expr	
11	podivín	
11	podliak	
11	podlizovač coll pej	
11	podpichovač expr	
11	podrývač expr	podrývačka
11	podrývateľ	podrývateľka
11	pochábeľ expr	
11	pochlebník pej	
11	pochlebovač pej	
11	pochybovač	
11	pokrytec	
11	pokušiteľ	pokušiteľka
11	polievkar 2	
11	poloboh pej	
11	polointeligent pej	
11	polovzdelanec pej	
11	populista	
11	poskok coll pej	
11	posmeškár	
11	posmešník	posmešnica

11	posmievač expr	posmievačka
11	posmievačik	
11	postávač expr	
11	postrach	
11	potkan met expr	
11	potmehúd 1	potmehúdka 1
11	potmehúd 2	potmehúdka 2
11	potrimiskár pej	
11	povaľač	povaľačka
11	povýšenec	
11	pozér	pozérka
11	požívačnik	
11	pôžitkár	
11	pracant coll expr	
11	pragmatik 2	
11	prefíkanec expr	
11	prešibanec expr	
11	priečnik expr	
11		primadona 2 pej
11	primitív 2 pej	
11	prisluhovač pej	
11	pritakávač pej	
11	príživník pej	príživníčka
11	prospechár pej	prospechárka
	puntičkár,	
11	puntičkár pej	
11	puritán 2	puritánka
11	rabiát pej	
11	rabiátnik pej	
11		rafika pej
11	ranostaj coll	
11		rapotačka expr
11	realista 1	realistka 1
11		rebeka pej
11	recidivista	
11	rečník 2	rečníčka
11	remeselník 2 pej	remeselníčka 2
11	revolucionár 2	revolucionárka 2
11	robot met	
11	rojko	
11	romantik 2	romantička 2
11	rozkošník	rozkošnica
11	rozmaznanec	
11	rozprávač 2	rozprávačka 2
11	roztopašník	
11	rytier 6	
11	sadista 2 met expr	sadistka 2 met expr
11	samaritán	samaritánka
11	samec met pej	samica

11	samopašník	samopašnica	
11	samotár	samotárka	
11	sangvinik	sangvinička	
11	satyr met		
11	sebec		
11	sedliak 3 pej	sedliačka 3	
11	sedmospáč	sedmospáčka	
11	seladón pej		
11	silák	siláčka	
	skaderuka-	skaderuka-	
11	skadenoha 3	skadenoha 3	
11	skeptik 2	skeptička 2	
11	skuhroš pej	skuhroška	
11	skupáň pej	skupaňa	
11	slaboch	slaboška	
11	slepáň pej	slepaňa	
11	služobník pej		
11	smejo, smejko expr		
11	smilník	smilnica	
11	snaživec		
11	snob	snobka	
11	sokol met expr		
11	sokolík dim		
11	somár met pej	somarica met pej	
11		sova met	
11	spáč 2		
11	spiatočník		
11	sprosták expr	sprostaňa expr	
11	sprostý		
11	sraľo der		
11	stonoha 2 expr	stonoha 2 expr	
11	strachopud expr	strachopudka	
11	strachoš expr		
11	straško expr		
11	strigôň met pej	striga met pej	
11			strídža met expr
11	strýko 3		
11	strýčko 3 hyp		
11		sufražetka 2 met	
11	suchár coll pej	suchárka coll pej	
11	sukničár coll pej		
11	sup met pej		
11	superman pej		
11	surovec		
11	suverén 3 pej	suverénka	
11	svätec 2 expr	svätica 2 expr	
11	sväťušár pej	sväťušárka	
11	sveták pej	svetáčka	
11	svetobežec	svetobežkyňa	

11	svetobežník	svetobežníčka	
11		sviňa vulg	
11	sviniar 1 vulg	sviniarka 1 vulg	
11	svojvoľník	svojvoľnica	
11	sysel' met pej		
	Šalamún met, hum/		
11	iron		
11	šaľbiar expr		
11	šaľo expr		
11	šarha 2 met		
11	šarkan met pej	šarkanica met pej	
11	šarlatán 2 pej	šarlatánka 2 pej	
11	šašo 3 expr		
11	šaško 3 dim		
11		šelma met pej/ expr	
11		šelma met pej/ expr	
11	šialenec 2 met expr		
11	šibal	šibalka	
11	šibenec coll expr		
11			šidlo expr
11			šidielko
11	šikovník 1 coll	šikovnica 1 coll	
11	šikovník 2 pej	šikovnica 2 coll	
11	šinter 2 expr		
11	šklban 3 pej		
11	škodoradosťník		
11	školomet		
11	škrečok met expr 1		
11	škrekl'úň expr		
11	škrob coll expr		
11	škrupulant		
11	šlendrián coll pej		
11	špekulant 2	špekulantka 2	
11	špekulant 3 pej	špekulantka 3	
11	špinavec expr		
11	šplhúň pej		
11	športkár		
11	štatista 2	štatistka 2	
	šudiar, šudier coll		
11	pej	šudiarka, šudierka	
11		švandra pej	
11	švihák coll		
	švindler, švindliar	švindlerka,	
11	coll	švindliarka	
11	tajnostkár	tajnostkárka	
11	talian pej		
11		ťapa pej	
11		ťapša met expr	
11	táraš, táraj expr	táračka, tárajka	
11			táradlo expr

11			táradielko dim
11	ťarbák expr		
11	tlčhuba pej	tlčhuba pej	
11	tmár pej		
11	Tomáš, tomáš		
11	tradicionalista	tradicionalistka	
		trasorítka 1	
11		met expr	
		trasorítka 2	
11		met expr	
11			trdlo coll pej
11	trémista	trémistka	
11	trepaj expr	trepajka	
11	trepák expr	tropaňa	
11	trkvas expr		
11	trochár 3		
11	trochár 4 coll pej		
11	trpák pej	trpáčka	
11		trúba met	
11	trubiroh pej		
11	trúd met expr		
11	truľo coll pej		
11	tulák 2 expr	tuláčka 2 expr	
11	ťulpas coll pej		
11	tunelár 2 pej	tunelárka 2 pej	
11	tupec expr		
11	ťuťmák coll pej	ťuťmáčka	
11	ťuťmáček dim		
11	tyran 2 met		
11	ufňukanec expr		
11	ukrutník	ukrutnica	
11	uličník	uličnica	
11	ulievač coll pej	ulievačka	
11	úlisník	úlisnica	
11	upír met pej		
11	usmrkanec 1 expr		
11	vagabund 1 coll pej		
11	vagabund 2 coll pej		
11	vandrák 2 pej		
11	vandrovník 2 expr	vandrovníčka 2 exp	
11	vegetarián	vegetariánka	
11	velikáš pej		
11	vetroplach expr		
11	viťúz iron		
11	vlastenec	vlastenka	
11	vlk met expr		
11	vlak met pej		
11	vorkoholik	vorkoholička	
11	vrah 2 met expr	vrahyňa 2 met expr	
11	vtichvost pej		

11	vtáčik iron	
11	vtipkár	vtipkárka
11	vydriduch expr	
11	výmyselník expr	výmyselníčka
11		xantipa pej
11	zábudlivec expr	zábudlivkyňa
11	zadubenec pej	
11	zaháľáč	zaháľačka
11	záletník pej	záletnica
11	zápecník pej	
11	zaslepenec expr	
11	zasran 2	
11	závistlivec	závistlivkyňa
11	zbabelec	
11	zbojník 2 expr	zbojníčka 2 expr
11	zhýralec pej	
11	ziskuchtivec pej	
11	zjašenec expr	
11	zločinec	
11	zloduch expr	
11	zlomyseľník	zlomyseľníčka
11	zlostník	
11	zlosyn	
11	zmätkár coll expr	
11		zmija met expr
11	zmyselník	
11	zúfalec	
11	zúrivec also met	
11	expr	
11	zurvalec expr	
11	zvedavec	
11	zver met pej	
11		zvíra expr
11		žalobaba coll expr
11		žalobníčka,
11	žalobník 2	žalobnica 2
11	žalobníček dim expr	
11		ženština pej
11	žgrloš expr	žgrloška
11	žiarlivec	
11	žičlivec	
11	židák 3 pej	
11	židáčik 3 dim expr	
11	živáň 1 coll expr	
11	živel	
11	žoldnier 2 pej	
11	žonglér 2 met	
11	žráč pej	žráčka pej
11	žralok met pej	
11	žrút pej	

## Appendix 19

### Category 12

*Identity based on skill or experience in performing an action or activity*

12	adept	adeptka	
12	amatér	amatérka	
12	analfabet 1	analfabetka 1	
12	antitalent		
12		autorita	
12	babroš coll expr	babra coll expr	
12	babrák coll expr	babraňa coll expr	
12	bard		
12	bažant slang		
12	bohatier		
12	borec		
12	bruchovravec, bruchovravca		
12	debutant	debutantka	
12	diletant pej	diletantka pej	
12			drevo met expr
12	duch		
12	dvojkár coll		
12			eso coll expr
12	exmajster		
12	fachman coll		
12	favorit 1	favoritka 1	
12	finalista	finalistka	
12	formát met coll		
12	fušer coll pej	fušerka coll	
12	génus		
12	gigant		
12	holobriadok pej		
12	hypnotizér	hypnotizérka	
12	inteligent 2	inteligentka 2	
12	jasnovidec	jasnovidka	
12	jednotkár coll	jednotkárka	
12		kapacita coll	
12	kapitán 5	kapitánka 5	
12	klasik 2		
12	kormidelník met		
12	kozák 2 expr	kozáčka 2	
12	král' 2	kráľovná 2	
12	kváziodborník		



12	laik 1	laička 1	
12	laureát	laureátka	
12	macher coll expr		
12	majster 3	majsterka 3	
12	majster 4	majsterka 4	
12	majster 6	majsterka 6	
12	majsterko 3 hyp		
12	majstrič 3 iron		
12	majstrič 4 iron		
12	majstrič 6 iron		
12	medailista	medailistka	
12		megahviezda	
12	milionár 2		
12		miss 2	
12		misska coll	
12			mláďa expr
12			mláďatko expr
12	mnemotechnik		
12	mozog met		
12	mudrc 1		
12	naturista		
12	nedouk pej		
12	neodborník	neodborníčka	
12	neplavec	neplavkyňa	
12	nestor		
12	nešikovník coll	nešikovnica	
12	nevodič	nevodička	
12	nevzdelanec pej		
12	nováčik 1		
12	odborník	odborníčka	
12		osobnosť 2	
12	otec 4		
12	pánbožko met		
12	panic	panna	
12	pašák coll expr		
12	plavec 1	plavkyňa	
12	poloprofesionál		
12	polyglot		
12	polyhistor		
12	praktik 1		
12	primitív 1		
12	príštipkár 2 met pej		
12	profesionál		
12	profík substan		
12	prorok 1	prorokyňa 1	
12	prvoligista		
12	rekordér	rekordérka	
12	samorast		
12	samouk		

12	semifinalista	semifinalistka	
12	senzibil		
12		stálica met	
12		superhviezda	
12	suverén 2 coll	suverénka 2 coll	
12	šampión	šampiónka	
12	špecialista	špecialistka	
12	štworkár	štworkárka	
12	štvrťfinalista	štvrťfinalistka	
12	talent met		
12	technik 3	technička 3	
12	tiežpodnikateľ pej	tiežpodnikateľka pej	
12	tiežslovák pej	tiežslovenka pej	
12	tiežšportovec pej		
12	tiežumelec pej		
12	titan		
12	trojkár	trojkárka	
12	úderník	údernička	
12	ucháň 2 met pej		
12			ucho
	usmrkanec 2 met		
12	pej		
12	veľduch		
12	velikán		
12	veterán 2		
12	vicemajster	vicemajsterka	
12		vicemiss	
12	virtuóz	virtuózka	
12	víťaz	víťazka	
12	vizionár	vizionárka	
12	vodič 1	vodička 1	
12	všeumelec		
12	vševed		
12	vzdelanec	vzdelankyňa	
12	začiatovník	začiatovníčka	
12	zajac met expr		
12	zelenáč pej		
12	zjav		
12	znalec	znalkyňa	

## Appendix 20

### Category 13

#### Descriptions denoting agents of specific actions or activities

13	abonenet	abonentka
13	advokát 2 pej	advokátka 2 pej
13	agent 2	agentka 2
13	agitátor	agitátorka
13	agresor	
13	aktér	aktérka
13	anketár	anketárka
13	autičkár coll	
13	bankár 3	
13	barikádník	
13	besedník	
13	betlehemec	
13	bojovník	bojovníčka
13	brigádník	brigádnička
13	burič	
13	celebrant	
13	cestujúci	cestujúca
13	ctiteľ	ctiteľka
13	cvičenec	cvičenka
13	čakateľ	čakateľka
13	časomerač	
13	činiteľ	činiteľka
13	čitateľ	čitateľka
13	dablér	dablérka
13	daňovník	
13	darca 1	darkyňa 1
13	darca 2	darkyňa 2
13	dealer, díler	
13	defraudant	
13	dekabrista	
13	demonštrant	
13	demonštrátor	
13	denunciant	denunciantka
13	dezertér	
13	disident	disidentka
13	diskutér	diskutérka
13	diskutujúci	
13	distributér,	distributérka,
13	distribútor	distribútorka

13	divák	diváčka	
13	diverzant		
13	dlžník 1	dlžníčka 1	
13	dlžník 2	dlžníčka 2	
13	dobrovoľník		
13	dobyvateľ		
13	dodávateľ	dodávateľka	
13	dohadzovač	dohadzovačka	
13	dohodca	dohodkyňa	
13	donášač		
13	dopravca		
13	doprovod 1		
13	dorábateľ	dorábateľka	
13	dovolenkár coll		
13	dovozca		
13	dozor		
13	dražiteľ	dražiteľka	
13	družinár 1	družinárka 1	
13	držiteľ	držiteľka	
13	examinátor	examinátorka	
13	exekútor		
13	expedient	expedientka	
13	experimentátor	experimentátorka	
13	expert	expertka	
13	exploatátor 1		
13	falšovateľ	falšovateľka	
13	falzifikátor		
13	fanúšik	fanúšička	
13	figurant 2	figurantka 2	
13	figurant 3	figurantka 3	
13	financovateľ		
13	flákač subst		
13	fuškár	fuškárka	
13	garant		
13			garde
13		gardedáma coll	
13	gavalier 2		
13	gestor		
13	gratulant	gratulantka	
13	hádankár	hádankárka	
13	haker		
13	hanobiteľ	hanobiteľka	
13	hľadač	hľadačka	
13	hladovkár	hladovkárka	
13	hlásateľ	hlásateľka	
13	hltač		
13	hodovník	hodovníčka	
13	horliteľ book	horliteľka book	
13	host' 1	hostka 1	

13	host' 2	hostka 2
13	host' 3	hostka 3
13	hostiteľ' 1	hostiteľ'ka 1
13	hostiteľ' 2	hostiteľ'ka 2
13	hráč 1	hráčka 1
13	hrdlorez pej	
13	hubiteľ' book	hubiteľ'ka book
13	chlebobarca pej	
13	chodbár 2	
13	chodec 1	chodkyňa 1
13	chytač	
13	imitátor	imitátorka
13	improvizátor	
13	informátor	informátorka
13	iniciátor	iniciátorka
13	inšpirátor	inšpirátorka
13	inštalátor	
13	interpret	interpretka
13	intervent	
13	investor	
13	inzerent	
13	jarmočník	jarmočnica
13	jasličkár	
13	jazdec	jazdkyňa
13	jubilant	jubilantka
13	kajúčnik	kajúčnica
13	kandidát 1	kandidátka 1
13	kapitulant	
13	karavanista	
13	kasár	
13	kazár	
13	kazateľ	kazateľ'ka
13	kazisvet expr	
13	kempista	
13	keťas coll pej	
13	kibic	
13	kibic	
13	kódovač	
13	kolaborant pej	kolaborantka pej
13	kolonista	
13	kolonizátor	
13	kolportér	kolportérka
13	komentátor	komentátorka
13	komparzista	komparzistka
13	konateľ' 1	konateľ'ka 1
13	konferencier	konferencierka
13	konfident	
13	konkurent	konkurentka
13	kontrolór	kontrolórka

13	konvertita	konvertitka
13	konzument	konzumentka
13	koordinátor	
13	koristník	
13	kosec	
13	kresliar	kresliarka
13	krížovkár	krížovkárka
13	kronikár 2	kronikárka 2
13	kúpač	
13	kupec 1	
13	kupliar	kupliarka
13	kupujúci	
13	kurizant	
13	kvalitár	kvalitárka
13	lanár 2 coll	
13	lapač	
13	likvidátor	
13	lobista	
13	lokaj 2 pej	
13	lovec	lovkyňa
13	lúštitel'	lúštitel'ka
13	maloobchodník	
13	maloodberateľ	maloodberateľka
13	malopredajca	
13	malospotrebiteľ	malospotrebiteľka
13	malovýrobca	
13	mandant	mandantka
13	manifestant	manifestantka
13	mecén	mecénka
13	mecenáš	mecenáška
13	merač	meračka
13	milovník 1	milovníčka 1
13	milovník 3	milovníčka 3
13	mimik	
13	miništrant	
13	misionár	misionárka
13	monopolista 2	
13	motocyklista	motocyklistka
13	motorista	motoristka
13	mučiteľ	mučiteľka
13	nacvičovateľ	nacvičovateľka
13	nadháňač	
13	nadobúdateľ	nadobúdateľka
13	nadšenec	
13	nahovárač 1	nahováračka 1
13	nahovárač 2	nahováračka 2
13		náhrada 2
13	náhradník	náhradníčka
13	nahuckávač expr	

13	nálezca	nálezkyňa
13	napodobňovateľ,	napodobňovateľka,
13	napodobovateľ	napodobovateľka
13	narušiteľ	narušiteľka
13	narušovateľ,	narušovateľka,
13	narúšateľ	narúšateľka
13	následník	následníčka
13	nasledovateľ	nasledovateľka
13	nástupca	nástupkyňa
13	nástupník	nástupníčka
13	našepkávač pej	
13	navrátenec	navrátenkyňa
13	navrhovateľ	navrhovateľka
13	návštevník	návštevníčka
13	navštevovateľ	navštevovateľka
13	nefajčiari	
13	neplatič	
13	neplatiteľ	neplatiteľka
13	neplnič	
13	nepriateľ 2	nepriateľka 2
13	ničiteľ	ničiteľka
		noclažnica,
13	noclažník	noclažníčka
13	normalizátor pej	
13	nosič 2	nosička
13	nositeľ 1	nositeľka 1
13	nositeľ 3	nositeľka 3
13	novátor	novátorka
13	obdivovateľ	obdivovateľka
13	oberač	oberačka
13	obhajovateľ	obhajovateľka
13	objaviteľ	objaviteľka
13	objednávateľ	objednávateľka
13	obnovovateľ	obnovovateľka
13	obradník	obradníčka
13	obranár	
13	obranca	obrankyňa
13	obžalobca	
13	odberateľ	odberateľka
13	odbojník	
13	odosielateľ	odosielateľka
13	odpadlík	odpadlíčka
13	odporca	odporkyňa
13	odrodilec	
13	odštiepenec	
13		ochrana 3
13	ochranca	ochrankyňa
13	okoloidúci	
13	okolostojaci	
13	okrádač	

13	okupant	
13	olympionik	olympionička
13	oneskorenec	
13	opilec 1	
13	oponent1	oponentka 1
13	oponent 2	oponentka 2
13	opozičník pej	
13	organizátor	organizátorka
13	orodovník expr	orodovníčka expr
13	osloboditeľ	osloboditeľka
13	osnovateľ 1	
13	osnovateľ 2	
13	ostreľovač	
13	osvetár	
13	osvojiteľ	osvojiteľka
13	ošetrovateľ 2	ošetrovateľka 2
13	overovateľ	overovateľka
13	oznamovateľ	oznamovateľka
13	oživovateľ	oživovateľka
13	páchateľ	páchateľka
13	pamätník	pamätnička
13	parlamentár	
13	pasažier coll	pasažierka coll
13	pašerák	pašeráčka
13	pátrač	
13	patrón 1	patrónka 1
13	peňazokaz	
13	peňazokazec	
13	percipient 1	
13	pestovateľ 2	pestovateľka 2
13	pionier 1	pionierka 1
13	pirát 1	
13	pisateľ	pisateľka
13	pištoľník 1	
13	plagiátor	plagiátorka
13	platca	
13	platiteľ	platiteľka
13	poburovateľ	poburovateľka
13	pocestný	pocestná
13	počtár	počtárka
13	podávač	podávačka
13	podávateľ	podávateľka
13	podkušiteľ	podkušiteľka
13	podmaniteľ	podmaniteľka
13	podnecovateľ	podnecovateľka
13	podpaľač	podpaľačka
13	podporovateľ	podporovateľka
13	podvodník	podvodníčka
13	podvratník	podvratníčka



13	poistovateľ	poistovateľka
13	pokračovateľ	pokračovateľka
13	pomáhač	pomáhačka
13	pomáhateľ	pomáhateľka
13		pomoc 2
13	pomocník 1	pomocníčka 1
13	pomstiteľ	pomstiteľka
13	poplatník	poplatníčka
13	popularizátor	popularizátorka
13	poručiteľ	poručiteľka
13	poručník	poručníčka
13	porušovateľ	porušovateľka
13	poskytovateľ	
13	poslucháč 1	poslucháčka 1
13	posudzovateľ	posudzovateľka
13	potlačovateľ	potlačovateľka
13	používateľ	používateľka
13	poverovateľ	poverovateľka
13	povstalec	povstalkyňa
13	pozorovateľ	pozorovateľka
13	pozývateľ	pozývateľka
13	požívač	
13	požívateľ	požívateľka
13	pôvodca 1	pôvodkyňa 1
13	prebehlík	
13	predajca	
13	predchodca 2	predchodkyňa 2
13	predjazdec	predjazdkyňa
13	predkladateľ	predkladateľka
13	prednášateľ	prednášateľka
13	predplatiteľ	predplatiteľka
13	predrečník	
13	predriekač,	
13	predriekavač	
13	predskokan	
13	predspevák	predspeváčka
13	predstaviť 1	predstaviťka 1
13	predstaviť 2	predstaviťka 2
13	prehliadač	
13	prekladač	
13	prelamovač	
13	premožiteľ	premožiteľka
13	prenasledovateľ	prenasledovateľka
13	prenášač	
13	prenášateľ	prenášateľka
13	prepisovač	
13	prepravca	
13	prerážač	
13	presekávač	

13	pretekár	pretekárka
13	pretvárateľ	pretvárateľka
13	prevádzač	prevádzačka
13	prevádzateľ	
13	preverovateľ	preverovateľka
13	priateľ 2	priateľka 2
13	pridávač	
13	priekopník	priekopníčka
13	prieskumník	
13	prievozník	
13	prihlasovateľ	prihlasovateľka
13	príkazca	
13	pripravovateľ	pripravovateľka
13	prispievateľ	prispievateľka
13	privatizant	
13	privatizátor	
13	privatizér coll	
13	prívrženec	prívrženkyňa
13	promótor	
13	propagátor	propagátorka
13	prostredník	
13	protektor 1	protektorka 1
13	provokatér	
13	prútikár	
13	prvodarca	
13	prvovolič	prvovolička
13	prvovýrobca	
13	psovod	
13	pučista	
13	pútnik 1	pútnička 1
13	pútnik 2	pútnička 2
13	radca 1	radkyňa 1
13	rebelant	
13	recenzent	recenzentka
13	recitátor	recitátorka
13	rečník 1	
13	referent 1	
13	referent 2	
13	reformátor	reformátorka
13	registrátor	registrátorka
13	rekreant	rekreantka
13	renegát pej	
13	reprezentant 1	reprezentantka 1
13	reprezentant 2	reprezentantka 2
13	respondent	
13	revolucionár 1	revolucionárka 1
13	riešiteľ	riešiteľka
13	robotník 2 coll	robotníčka 2 coll
13	rokovateľ	

13	rozbíjač	
13	rozhodca 1	rozhodkyňa 1
13	rozkolník	
13	rozkrádač	rozkrádačka
13	roznášač	roznášačka
13	rozohrávač	
13	rozprávač 1	rozprávačka 1
13	rozsievač	
13	rozširovateľ	rozširovateľka
13	rozvážač	
13	rozvracač	
13	rozvratník	rozvratníčka
13	ručiteľ	ručiteľka
13	rušiteľ	rušiteľka
13	sabotážnik	
13	sabotér	
13	samoplatca	samoplatkyňa
13	samoplatiteľ	samoplatiteľka
13	samovrah	samovrahyňa
	samozásobovateľ,	samozásobovateľka
13	samozásobiteľ	samozásobiteľka
13	samozvanec	
13	signatár	
13	simulant	simulantka
13	skaut 2	skautka 2
13	skúmateľ	skúmateľka
13	sliedič	
13	sluha 1	
		služobníčka,
13	služobník	služobnica
13	smečiar	smečiarka
13	spáč 1	
13	spasiteľ	
13	splnomocniteľ	splnomocniteľka
13	spojka	
13	sporiteľ	
13	spotrebiteľ	spotrebiteľka
13	spovedník	
13	spracovateľ	spracovateľka
13	sprejer	sprejerka
13	sprievodca 1	sprievodkyňa 1
13	sprisahanec	
13	sprostredkovateľ	sprostredkovateľka
13	staromilec	
13	stavebník	stavebníčka
13	stávkár	stávkarka
13	sťažovateľ	sťažovateľka
13	stolovník	
13	stopár coll	stopárka
13	stravník	stravníčka

13		stráž
13	strážca	strážkyňa
13	strážny	
13	strelec 1	strelkyňa 1
13	strelec 2	strelkyňa 2
13	strojca	strojkyňa
13	stúpenec	stúpenkyňa
13	stvárňovateľ	stvárňovateľka
13	stvoriteľ	
13	subdodávateľ	subdodávateľka
13	sudca 2	sudkyňa 2
13	súložník	súložnica
13	súťažiaci	súťažiaci
13	súťažiteľ	súťažiteľka
13	svadobčan	svadobčianka
13	svadobník	svadobníčka
13	svedok 1	svedkyňa 1
13	svedok 2	svedkyňa 2
13	svedok 3	svedkyňa 3
13	šibač	
13	šíriteľ	šíriteľka
13	škodca	
13	šľachtiteľ	šľachtiteľka
13	šmelinár coll pej	šmelinárka
13	šoumen	
13	špeditér 2 coll	
13	špeh	
13	špehúň expr	špehúnka expr
13	špekulant 1	špekulantka 1
13	špicel' coll pej	
13	špión	špiónka
13	štartér	
13	štatista 1	štatistka 1
13	štrajkokaz	
13	štváč pej	
13	štylista	štylistka
13	štylizátor	štylizátorka
13	ťahúň met expr	
13	taktik	taktička
13	tanečník	tanečnica
13	terorista	teroristka
13	tlmočník 2	tlmočníčka 2
13	travič	travička
13	trhač	trhačka
13	trhovec	trhovkyňa
13	tútor 2 expr	tútorka 2 expr
13	tvorca	tvorkyňa
13	týždenník	týždenníčka
13	účastník	účastníčka

13	účinkujúci	účinkujúca
13	udavač	udavačka
13	uchádzač	uchádzačka
13	uchvatiteľ	uchvatiteľka
13	úchylkár pej	úchylkárka
13	úkolár	úkolárka
13	únosca	únoskyňa
13	úplatkár	úplatkárka
13	upravovač	upravovačka
13	upravovateľ	upravovateľka
13	usporiadateľ 1	usporiadateľka 1
13	usporiadateľ 2	usporiadateľka 2
13	utečenec	utečenka
13	utláčateľ	utláčateľka
13	útočník	útočníčka
13	úžerník	úžerníčka
13	užívateľ	užívateľka
13	vandrovník 1	
13	vekslák coll pej	veksláčka
13	velezradca	velezradkyňa
13	veľkoodberateľ	veľkoodberateľka
13	veľkopestovateľ	veľkopestovateľka
13	veľkospotrebitel'	veľkospotrebitel'ka
13	veriteľ	veriteľka
13	veterán 1	veteránka
13	vierozvest,	
13	vierozvestca	
13	vinník	vinníčka
13	vinšovník coll	vinšovníčka
13	vkladateľ	vkladateľka
13	vládca 2	vládkyňa 2
13	vľajkonosič	
13	vlamač	
13	vlastizradca	vlastizradkyňa
13	vodič 2	vodička 2
13	volič	volička
13	voliteľ	voliteľka
13	votrelec	votrelkyňa
13	vrah 1	vrahyňa 1
13	vreckár coll	vreckárka
13	vybehávač	vybehávačka
13	vyberač	vyberačka
13	výberca	výberkyňa
13	vydierač	vydieračka
13	vydražiteľ	vydražiteľka
13	výherca	výherkyňa
13	vyhľadávač	
13	vyhlasovateľ	vyhlasovateľka
13	vychovávateľ 1	vychovávateľka 1

13	vyjednávač	
13	vykladač 1	vykladačka 1
13	vykladač 2	vykladačka 2
13	vykonávateľ	vykonávateľka
13	vykorisťovateľ	
13	vykrádač	vykrádačka
13	výkupca	výkupkyňa
13	vykupiteľ	
13	vykupovač	vykupovačka
13	výletník	výletníčka
13	vymáhač	vymáhačka
13	výpalník	výpalníčka
13	vyprávač coll	vyprávačka
13	výrobca	výrobkyňa
13	vysloboditeľ	vysloboditeľka
	vyslúžilec,	
13	vyslúženec	
13	vystavovateľ	vystavovateľka
13	výtržník	výtržníčka
13	vyvolávač	
13	vývozca	
13	vyzvedač	vyzvedačka
13	vyzývateľ	vyzývateľka
13	vzbúrenec	vzbúrenkyňa
13	zabávač 1	zabávačka 1
13	zadávatel'	zadávatel'ka
13	záchranca	záchrankyňa
13	zákazník	zákazníčka
13	zakladateľ	zakladateľka
13	zaklínač	
13	zakončovateľ	zakončovateľka
13	zákonodarca	zákonodarkyňa
13	zamestnávateľ	zamestnávateľka
13	zápasník 1	
13	zapisovateľ	zapisovateľka
13	zasielateľ 1	zasielateľka 1
13	zásobovateľ	zásobovateľka
13	zástanca 1	zástankyňa 1
13	zástupca 1	zástupkyňa 1
13	zástupca 2	zástupkyňa 2
13	zástupca 3	zástupkyňa 3
13	záškodník	záškodníčka
13	záškolák	záškoláčka
13		záštita 2
13	záujemca	záujemkyňa
13	zbeh	
13	zberač	zberačka
13	zbojník 1	zbojníčka 1
13	zbožňovateľ	zbožňovateľka

13	zhanobiteľ	
13	zhotovovateľ	zhotovovateľka
13	zjednocovateľ	zjednocovateľka
13	zjednotiteľ	
13	zlepšovateľ	zlepšovateľka
13	zlodej	zlodejka
13	zmocniteľ	zmocniteľka
13	zmocňovateľ	zmocňovateľka
13	značkář	značkárka
13	znečisťovateľ	znečisťovateľka
13	zostavovateľ	zostavovateľka
13	zotročovateľ	zotročovateľka
13	zradca	zradkyňa
13	zriaďovateľ	zriaďovateľka
13	zved	
13	zveľaďovateľ	zveľaďovateľka
13	zvelebovateľ	zvelebovateľka
13	zvestovateľ	zvestovateľka
13	zvodca	zvodkyňa
13	zvolávateľ	zvolávateľka
13	žalmista 2	
13	žalobník 1	žalobníčka, žalobnica 1
13	žalobca	žalobkyňa
13	ženista	
13	žiadateľ	žiadateľka
13	živiteľ	živiteľka
13		žnica 2

## Appendix 21

### Category 14

*Descriptions denoting patients/ recipients/beneficiaries of specific actions or activities  
or persons affected by circumstances*

14	adresát 1	adresátka 1	
14	adresát 2	adresátka 2	
14	ašpirant 1	ašpirantka 1	
14	basista coll expr		
14	birmovanec	birmovanka	
14	branec		
14	dedič 1	dedička 1	
14	delegát	delegátka	
14	deputátnik		
14			dieťa 4
14	evakuant	evakuantka	
14	hrdina 3	hrdinka 3	
		chovanka 1,	
		chovanica 1,	
14	chovanec 1	chovankyňa 1	
		chránenka,	
14	chránenec	chránenkyňa	
14			chúďa
14			chúďatko expr dim
14			chudiatko expr dim
14	chudák 1		
14	chudáčik 1 expr dim		
	chudáčisko 1 expr		chudáčisko 1 expr
14	aug		aug
14		chudera	
14		chuderka expr dim	
14		chudina	
14		chudinka dim	
14	idol		
14	katechumen	katechumenka	
14	klient	klientka	
14	konfirmand	konfirmandka	
14	krstenec	krstenka	
14	martýr	martýrka	
14	model	modelka	
14	mučeník	mučenica	
14		nádej	
14	nájdeneč		



14	najdúch expr		
14	neborák	neboráčka, neborka	
14	neboráčik dim expr		
14	neborký	neborká	
14			nebožiatko expr
14	nešťastník	nešťastnica	
14	nezvestný		
14	nominant	nominantka	
14	obesenec		
14		obet'	
14	oblúbenec		
14	obrnec		
14	obvinený		
14	obžalovaný	obžalovaná	
14	odchovanec	odchovankyňa	
14	odsúdenec		
14	odvedenec		
14	opatrovanec		
14	opýtaný		
14	oslávenec	oslávenkyňa	
14	osvojenec	osvojenka	
14	otrok 2 expr	otrokyňa 2	
14	outsider		
14	ozbrojenec		
14	pacient	pacientka	
14	paroháč met iron		
14	percipient 2		
14	poberateľ	poberateľka	
14	poblúdenec		
14	podpísaný		
14	pohorelec		
14	poistenec	poistenka	
14		popoluška met expr	
14	porazenec pej		
14	porazený		
14	poručenec		
14	poslík, poslíček		
14	posol		
14	postihnutý		
14	poškodenec		
14	poškodený	poškodená	
14	poverenec		
14	povereník	povereníčka	
14	povolaniec		
14	pridelenec	pridelenkyňa	
14	príjemca	príjemkyňa	
14	prijímateľ	prijímateľka	
14	prosebník	prosebníčka	
14	ranený		

14	regrút coll		
14	rukojemník	rukojemníčka	
14	smoliar coll	smoliarka	
14	splnomocnenec		
14	stratenec		
14	stroskotanec		
14	štipendista	štipendistka	
14	štvanec		
		trestanka,	
14	trestanec	trestankyňa	
14	trpiteľ	trpiteľka	
14	úbožiak	úbožiačka	
14	úbožiačik dim expr		
14			úbožiatko expr
14	úpadca	úpadkyňa	
14	utopenec		
14	vazal 2 pej		
		väzenka,	
14	väzeň	väzenkyňa	
14	vydedenec expr		
14	vyhnanec	vyhnankyňa	
14	vykorisťovaný		
14	vyvolenec coll	vyvolenkyňa	
14	vyvolený	vyvolená	
14	vyvrhel' pej		
14	zadržaný		
14	zaistenec		
14	zajatec	zajatkyňa	
14	záložník	záložníčka	
14	zaľúbenec 1		
14	zapredanec pej		
14	zasvätenec		
14	zatratenec		
14	zmocnenec		
14	zverbovanec		
		zverenica,	
		zverenka,	
14	zverenec	zverenkyňa	
14	žalovaný		

## Appendix 22

### Category 15

Identity as determined by one's possession, acquisition,  
and/or managing of an external entity

15	akcionár		
15	bankár 2		
15	bezdomovec	bezdomovkyňa	
15	bezzemok		
15	domáci 1	domáca 1	
15	domkár		
15	dôverník 2	dôverníčka 2	
15	fabrikant coll		
15	farmár 2	farmárka 2	
15	garážmajster		
15	gazda 2	gazdiná 2	gazdiná 2
15	gazda 4	gazdiná 4	gazdiná 4
15	gazdík 2		
15	gazdík 4		
15	gazdíček 2		
15	gazdíček 4		
15	hofier	hofierka	
15	hospodár 1	hospodárka 1	
15	hotelier 1	hotelierka 1	
15	chalupár	chalupárka	
15	chatár 1	chatárka 1	
15	chatár 2	chatárka 2	
15	išpán 2		
15	kapitalista 1	kapitalistka 1	
15	kastelán	kastelánka	
15	kustód	kustódka	
15	latifundista		
15	majetník		
15	majiteľ	majiteľka	
	majordóm,		
15	majordómus 2		
15	maloroľník	maloroľníčka	
15	nájomca		
15	nájomník 1	nájomníčka 1	
15	nájomník 2	nájomníčka	
15	oceliar 2		
15	operátor 4	operátorka 4	
15	pán 6	pani 6	
15	petrolejár 2		
15	piliar 2		
15	plantážnik		

15	podielnik	
15	podnájomník	podnájomníčka
15	prenajímateľ	prenajímateľka
15	prevádzkovateľ	prevádzkovateľka
15	priemyselník	
15	rančer	
15	regent 2	regentka 2
15	reštituent	
15	salašník 2	
15	spoločník 2	spoločnica, spoločníčka 2
15	správca 1	správkyňa 1
15	statkár 1	statkárka 1
15	statkár 2	statkárka 2
15	súkromník	súkromníčka
15	šafár 1	šafárka 1
15	šafár 2	šafárka 2
15	továrnik	
15	účastinár	účastinárka
15	veľkoobchodník	veľkoobchodníčka
15	veľkostatkár	veľkostatkárka
15	vlastník	vlastníčka
15	zasielateľ 2	zasielateľka 2

## Appendix 23

### Category 16

#### Identity as determined by authorship

16	aforista	
16	anonym	anonymka
16	autor	autorka
16	bájkar	
16	budovateľ 2	budovateľka 2
16	epik	
16	esejista	esejistka
16	evanjelista	
16	fejtonista	fejtonistka
		krajinárka,
16	krajinár, krajinkár	krajinkárka
16	kronikár 1	kronikárka 1
16	letopisec	
16	novelista	novelistka
16	poet, poeta	poetka
16	portrétista	portrétistka
16	poviedkar	poviedkarka
16	pôvodca 2	pôvodkyňa 2
16	prozaik	prozaička
16	románopisec	
16	rozprávkar	rozprávarkarka
16	satirik	satirička
16	scénarista	scénaristka
16	úvodníkár	úvodníkárika
16	umelec 2	umelkyňa 2
16	veršotepec	
16	vynálezca	vynálezkyňa
16	žalmista 1	
16	životopisec	