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LEXICAL BLENDS IN SERBIAN: AN ANALYSIS OF MORPHOSEMANTIC TRANSPARENCY

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Abstract. The present paper investigates the two data sets of Serbian lexical blends by applying a typology of the four blending techniques (i.e. complete blending, contour blending, semi-complete blending, and fragment blending) scaled according to the relative morphosemantic transparency of the resulting blends, as proposed by Ronneberger-Sibold (2006, pp. 168–169) for German blends, with the aim of determining whether the users of contemporary Serbian are able to consciously and deliberately use the different degrees of morphosemantic transparency of blends for achieving various communicative purposes, namely humorous-satirical purposes and purposes of brand naming. Additionally, the paper aims to compare and contrast these results with the results obtained by Ronneberger-Sibold (2006) for 612 German satirical blends and brand names, thereby examining differences and similarities between the two typologically different languages. The data collection for the qualitative and quantitative analyses consists of 202 humorous-satirical blends and 102 brand names created by humorists, satirists, journalists, branding or marketing agencies, manufacturers, etc. The examples of blends are partly taken from a number of existing studies into Serbian blends and partly collected from a wide variety of sources including literary works, (political) satirical shows, journalistic media, official websites of companies and other manufacturers, etc., as well as by field research methods. The results of the analyses show that the creators of the Serbian humorous-satirical blends and brand names are actually well aware of the varying degrees of morphosemantic transparency of blends produced by the four blending techniques and are perfectly able to utilize these techniques for fulfilling various communicative functions. In addition, it has been shown that the users of the Serbian blends tend to prefer the same blending techniques as the users of the German blends (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, p. 175) for the creation of humorous-satirical blends and brand names, respectively, though not in the same proportions.

Introduction

Lexical blends (and English lexical blends in particular) are probably one of the most popular and fascinating topics of contemporary (lexical) word-formation in many languages of the world, Serbian being no exception (Bugarski, 2019, pp. 21–22, 25), especially because such unconventional or odd-looking combinations of two or, sporadically, more words, at least one of which is shortened or overlaps with the other, or both, do not form an inherent part of our (Serbian) cultural and linguistic heritage (Bugarski, 2019, p. 22) (e.g. *zimoća* ← *zima* ‘winter’ and *hladnoća* ‘cold’, *škozorište* ← *škola* ‘school’ and *pozorište* ‘theatre’, *Gramatolomija* ← *gramatika* ‘grammar’ and *vratolomija* ‘stunt’ (Bugarski, 2019, pp. 108, 111)).² Blending is still considered a relatively new process of forming words in Serbian (Bugarski, 2019, pp. 17, 25; Клајн, 2002, p. 91; Лалић-Крстин & Халупка-Решетар, 2007, p. 26), not yet completely integrated into its word-formation system, though examples of authentic Serbian blends date back to the 1990s (Halupka-Rešetar & Lalić-Krstin, 2009, p. 115).³ In spite of this, Prčić (2018, p. 86) claims that blends are indeed the most original and humorous lexical formations in present-day Serbian. Similarly, Bugarski (2019, p. 25) considers blends to be the products of the most dynamic of all word-formation processes in contemporary Serbian.

There are a number of possible reasons why blends represent a particularly important source of interest and intrigue to linguists, morphologists in particular. One of these reasons may be blends’ formal unconventionality or

² The examples of blends, as well as the blended elements, are given in italics. Overlapping of elements, be it at the phonological or graphical level, or both, is indicated by underlining. All blends are given in Latin script, regardless of their original system of writing.

³ Blending is firmly believed to have appeared in Serbian under the dominant influence of English (Halupka-Rešetar & Lalić-Krstin, 2009, p. 115), where it was presumably popularized by L. Carroll in his famous nonsense poem *Jabberwocky* (e.g., Balteiro, 2013, p. 3; Mattiello, 2013, p. 111). For more detailed discussions of Serbian blends, see, for instance, Bugarski (2019), Halupka-Rešetar & Lalić-Krstin (2009), Лалић-Крстин & Халупка-Решетар (2007), or Томић (2019).

creativity, which has produced numerous formal patterns and led some authors (e.g. Cannon, 1986, p. 748) to conclude that “the numerous patterns that they [blends] exhibit are too diverse to be generated within the traditional framework of generative rules”. Despite linguists’ growing fascination with blends, they “are still a descriptive problem” (Bauer, 2012, p. 21). Brdar-Szabó and Brdar (2008, p. 171) maintain that lexical blending is still one of “the most poorly understood” processes of word-formation. That is, blends are still rather difficult to adequately define and, consequently, to separate and distinguish from other word-formation processes (Bauer, 1983, p. 236) (see, for instance, Beliaeva (2019a), for an attempt at “delimiting the [fuzzy] boundaries of blends as a type of word-formation”).⁴

Therefore, the aim of the present paper is to contribute to better understanding some aspects of blends, in particular the morphosemantic transparency of contemporary Serbian blends. Specifically, the paper aims to both qualitatively and quantitatively analyze the different degrees of the relative morphosemantic transparency of the two data sets of Serbian blends, namely humorous-satirical blends and brand names. A qualitative analysis is performed by applying Ronneberger-Sibold’s (2006) typology of German blends created by the four blending techniques (i.e. complete blending, contour blending, semi-complete blending, and fragment blending) scaled according to the relative morphosemantic transparency of their products (see Section 5 for more detail about these techniques). A basis for comparing the humorous-satirical blends with brand names created by blending is provided by their different requirements regarding the morphosemantic transparency of complex words (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, pp. 166, 175). To be specific, whereas satirical blends can produce “the desired satirical effect only if they are understood”, that is, if they are morphosemantically transparent enough, brand names need not be transparent to be able to “fulfil its primary purpose of [naming or] identifying its referent” (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, p. 166). It must be remarked, however, that satirical blends should not be fully transparent, “for this would not allow for the surprising and slightly mystifying effect, which is important for linguistic humor [in general] and for satirical texts in particular” (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, p. 166). By contrast, “semitransparent structures are generally preferred in proper names” (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, p. 166), to which brand names bear a strong resemblance to (Baldi & Dawar, 2000, p. 966).⁵ By means of a

⁴ Though the term *blend* has been variously used, it may be broadly defined as “a combination of two or more forms, at least one of which has been shortened in the process of combination. The shortening may be by simple [deletion] of some part of a form, or it may result from overlapping of sounds (or letters)” (Algeo, 1977, p. 48). Similarly, Beliaeva (2019b, p. 1) provides yet another, rather loose definition of blending, but adds that “[t]he visual and audial amalgamation in blends is reflected on the semantic level”.

⁵ According to Baldi and Dawar (2000, p. 966), brand names constitute a subcategory of commercial names, which are strongly linked to the history of advertising (Sjöblom, 2016, p. 455).

quantitative analysis of the two data sets (i.e., by analyzing the percentage distribution of the four techniques), I aim to compare and contrast the results obtained for the Serbian blends with those of Ronneberger-Sibold (2006, p. 175) for the German satirical blends and brand names. Finally, the analyses of the blends to be performed here seem to be all the more necessary because of the fact that many blends are ephemeral and do not become stable part of the vocabulary, as well as because, to the best of my knowledge, the aspect of the morphosemantic transparency of Serbian blends has not been discussed yet.

The remainder of the paper is divided into 6 sections. Section 2 briefly discusses blending as an extra-grammatical phenomenon as well as the definition of blending adopted for the purpose of this paper. Brief discussions of the two communicative contexts where blends are identified as particularly abundant, that is, brand naming and humorous-satirical (con)texts, are given in Sections 3 and 4, respectively. Section 5 is devoted to describing the data collection and methodology. The focus of Section 6 is the analysis as well as discussion of the two data sets of Serbian blends. The concluding section summarizes the results of the present investigation. It also discusses some implications for future (cross-linguistic) research into blends.

Theoretical Framework: Blending as an Extra-Grammatical Phenomenon

Blends (especially English blends) have been investigated within a variety of theoretical frameworks, including, but not limited to, Prosodic Morphology (e.g. Arndt-Lappe & Plag, 2013; Plag, 2003), Optimality Theory (e.g. Bat-El & Cohen, 2012; Tomaszewicz, 2012), Natural Morphology and Extra-grammatical Morphology (e.g. Dressler, 2000; 2005; Mattiello, 2013; Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006; 2010). Despite the (primarily phonological) regularities of blends that have been identified within the frameworks of Prosodic Morphology and Optimality Theory, respectively, that is, notwithstanding the evidence provided thereby for the grammaticality of blends or their being “phonologically part of the core grammar” (i.e., “grammatical morphology” or regular word-formation) (e.g. Plag, 2003, pp. 116, 121, 123–126), it has generally been agreed that blends differ from regular word-formation and are therefore considered peripheral or marginal to morphological grammar (e.g. Dressler, 2000; Mattiello, 2013; Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006; 2010), mostly because of some of their “formal features such as [submorphemic elements], overlapping constituents, which are impossible in normal formations, and lack of transparency” (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, pp. 159–160).⁶ However, there are some “recurring [(formal)]

⁶ Submorphemic elements that constitute blends are traditionally termed *splinters* (see, e.g., Adams, 1973, pp. 142, 147).

patterns” blends actually follow, which though not identical to word-formation rules (WFRs) (as used by generative morphologists) are at least comparable to those rules and “hence part of normal grammatical competence” (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, p. 159). One such approach to blends is offered by Mattiello (2013) within the theoretical framework of Extra-grammatical Morphology (or extra-grammatical word-formation (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2010, p. 210)), which will be adopted here as “a functional description and explanation of [the] blending [phenomenon]” (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, p. 160) in Serbian.

The term *extra-grammatical morphology* was first introduced by Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994, pp. 36–41, as reported in Mattiello (2013, p. 1)) to refer to “a set of heterogeneous formations (of an analogical or *rule-like* (author’s emphasis) nature) which do not belong to morphological grammar, in that the processes through which they are obtained are not clearly identifiable and their input does not allow a prediction of a regular output. [...] examples of extra-grammatical morphological phenomena include: blends, acronyms, initialisms, clippings, hypocoristics, reduplicatives, back-formations, and expletive infixes”. Furthermore, “[t]hese extragrammatical operations [...] are governed by their own extragrammatical competence, which is based on, but different from, the grammatical competence governing regular inflection and word-formation” (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, pp. 160, 177). In Ronneberger-Sibold’s (2006, p. 161) opinion, “[t]he most important output characteristics aimed at by choosing to blend words instead of compounding them are certain sound shapes and a reduced transparency”, which is determined by the specific blending technique (see Section 5 below), as well as communicative functions or purposes they are intended to serve (see Sections 3 and 4 below, or Ronneberger-Sibold (2010, pp. 203, 206–208). Accordingly, for the purpose of this paper, I will adopt Ronneberger-Sibold’s (2006, p. 157) definition of blending as a “deliberate creation of a new word out of two [...] existing ones in a way which differs from the rules [...] of regular compounding”, extragrammatical derivation, as well as from other extra-grammatical morphological phenomena (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, pp. 162–164; 2010, pp. 203–205), notably acronyms and (complex) clippings, which blends are frequently compared to (see, e.g., Bauer, 2003, p. 124; Gries, 2004, p. 215; Plag, 2003, p. 13).

Blends and Brand Naming

Though there is practically no domain where at least some type of blend has not been created, most authors who discuss blending agree that the contexts of brand naming or marketing, as well as that of advertising abound with blends (e.g. Adams, 2001, p. 140; Beliaeva, 2019a, pp. 2–3; 2019b, p. 18; Bryant, 1974, pp. 163–164; Bugarski, 2019, pp. 75–76; Crystal, 1995, p. 130; Fandrych, 2008, pp.

113, 115; Halupka-Rešetar & Lalić-Krstin, 2009, p. 115; Hamans, 2009, pp. 13, 22; Lalić-Krstin, 2010, pp. 5, 18; Lehrer, 2007, pp. 115, 128, 130, 132; López Rúa, 2010, p. 53; Mattiello, 2019, pp. 7, 18–19, 24; Ronneberger-Sibold, 2010, pp. 201, 206; Лалић-Крстин & Халупка-Решетар, 2007, p. 28; Томић & Даниловић Јеремић, 2020, p. 299; Томић, 2019, p. 65).⁷ Considering this general agreement, the question naturally arises as to which properties make blends particularly suitable for use in brand naming. Before we briefly discuss some of these properties, it seems appropriate to say a few words about brand names, as they represent an enormously important part of brand's positioning or marketing (e.g. Panić, 2004; Sjöblom, 2016, p. 455). Furthermore, according to Piller (2001, p. 189), “[i]n capitalist consumer society, it is not products [or services] that are sold but names”.

The term *brand names*, which frequently “overlaps with company names, product names, and trademarks” (Sjöblom, 2016, p. 454) is understood here more broadly. That is, it is used to refer to “a product [or service] or a group of products [or services] [...] as well as to a company [...] [or a manufacturer]” (Sjöblom, 2016, p. 454) by means of which it is individualized or distinguished from other similar companies, products, or services (Panić, 2004, p. 285). Introducing a new company, product, or service into the market requires a catchy or otherwise memorable name, which is why the process of brand naming “inevitably depends on the mechanisms of language [...]” (Panić, 2004, p. 285). Furthermore, according to Panić (2004, pp. 285–286), “[t]he linguistic approach to brand name creation is both scientific and creative – it makes use of well-established morphological, phonological and semantic principles, combining them in a creative way. Thus, a brand name formed according to such principles should be characterized by a creative and imaginative structure that produces a pleasant psycho-acoustic effect and a meaning rich in layers of associativeness that should contribute to the product's recognition value”. Finally, “[a]ll aspects of brand naming are governed by two general [but at the same time essential] principles – language economy and language creativity” (Panić, 2004, p. 286).

Regarding the properties that may be said to make blends particularly suitable for brand naming, it is first important to remember that blends are frequently described as being “queerious” (Kelly, 1998, p. 588), “clever, trendy, eye-and-ear-catching words” (Lehrer, 2003, p. 369), cool, “cute and amusing” (Lehrer, 2007, pp. 115–116), and creative (Beliaeva, 2019a, p. 2; Fandrych, 2008, p. 111). Such qualities make blends highly desirable candidates for names of new products, services as well as companies, especially because those who create brand names intend to draw the attention of the target audience to the company, product or service and persuade potential consumers to try and, eventually, buy

⁷ Despite the fact that advertising or marketing contexts abound with blends, studies or papers that exclusively or, at least, to a greater degree discuss this topic are rather lacking (but see, for instance, Danilović Jeremić & Josijević (2019) or Томић (2020)).

it, or at least remember its name (Lehrer, 2007, pp. 128–129). One other quality of blends which seems to perfectly suit the above-mentioned principles of brand name creation is their brevity (Thornton, 1993, pp. 148, 150). This could be well illustrated by comparing the brand names *Wheatables*[™] and *Craisins*[™] with their longer and rather ineffective alternatives *Wheat Crackers* and *Dried Cranberries*, respectively, which “would not produce much interest or curiosity” (Lehrer, 2003, p. 380), or, by considering the possible descriptions of the Serbian brand names *Akvadajz* ‘a brand of juice (or sauce) made from tomatoes which have been grown in an innovative food production system referred to as Aquaponics’ ← *Akvap*onija ‘Aquaponics’ and *paradajz* ‘tomato’ (Томић & Даниловић Јерemiћ, 2020) and *Medoriki* ‘sesame coated caramel peanuts’ ← *med* ‘honey’ -o- *kikiriki* ‘peanuts’ (Bugarski, 2019).

Blending and Humorous-Satirical (Con)Texts

In addition to being abundantly used for commercial name giving, as well as other marketing or advertising purposes, blending has been recognized as a particularly popular technique for creating new words which function as expressions of humour or wit.⁸ In other words, most authors who discuss blending agree that blends are frequently coined for humorous-satirical purposes or comic effects (e.g. Adams, 1973, p. 149; Balteiro, 2013, p. 19; Benczes, 2019, pp. 114–121; Hamans, 2009, p. 22; Lalić-Krstin, 2014, pp. 357–360; Mattiello, 2013, pp. 213, 215, 237; Prčić, 2018, p. 86; Ronneberger-Sibold, 2010, p. 201).⁹ Accordingly, blends are also frequently described as witty, playful, and ludic (e.g. Beliaeva, 2019a, p. 2; 2019b, p. 18; Fandrych, 2008, p. 115; Kelly, 1998, p. 586; Lalić-Krstin & Silaški, 2019, pp. 223, 227; Lehrer, 2003, p. 370; Renner, 2015, *passim*).

For instance, Renner (2015, p. 119) claims that blends, “because of their very formation process, [...] are instances of wordplay”, by which he understands “*an intentional and formally ingenious way of associating the semantics of two or more words in a new morphological object*” (author’s emphasis). In fact, “blending can be claimed to be the most complex form of wordplay in word-formation” “because

⁸ According to Blake (2007, p. 54), “[w]hen we think of humour, we think of something *new*, something *fresh* at least” (my emphasis). It is therefore not at all surprising that people make considerable use of an innovative word-formation process such as blending when communicating humor. Wit is understood here to mean “power of giving a sudden intellectual pleasure by unexpected combining or contrasting of previously unconnected ideas or [verbal] expressions” (Alexander, 1997, p. 9).

⁹ Mattiello (2013, p. 237), for instance, observes that “[m]ost of [extra-grammatical phenomena] exploit the similarity between the source words to obtain humorous effects, as in [the blend] *sexretary*, playing on the phonemic/graphemic resemblance between *sex* and *sec*”. The humorous or ludic exploitation of phonological similarity in blends is reiterated and further elaborated by Benczes (2019, pp. 114–121).

of the wide variety of attested patterns” (Renner, 2015, p. 121). Furthermore, according to Renner (2015, p. 124), there are a few factors that “can be claimed to increase the wordplayfulness of a blend” such as “formal complexity, structural transgression, graphic play on words, semantic play on words, and functional ludicity”, of which the last one is of special interest to this research. Specifically, Renner (2015, p. 129) states that “[p]layfulness is backgrounded when the act of word-formation [in this case blending] primarily has a naming and an information condensation function”, that is, “blends which have retained minimal material from their source words [...] are closer to the naming end of the [continuum], i.e. [they] are less playful, than complete blends [...], which contain their source words in full”. On the other hand, “playfulness is foregrounded when [blending] primarily fulfills a ludic function”, that is, when the coiner of the blend is, for example, “motivated by the possibility of maximizing overlapping” (Renner, 2015, pp. 129–130). At the extreme ludic end of the continuum are blends which Renner (2015, p. 130) appropriately terms “semasiological blends” because they “have been coined on purely formal grounds, a humorous definition being forged only subsequently to the formation of the blend”. For instance, a considerable number of the Serbian humorous-satirical blends created by the authors of a satirical dictionary *Paranojeva barka: rečnik marginalizama* (PBRM, 2017) are excellent examples of such creations (see the next section). Similarly to Renner, Beliaeva (2019a, p. 2) states that blending, as a word formation process, can be motivated by factors that increase the predictability of the output, that is, those that increase its punning nature and playful character, or both.

Mention must additionally be made of the actual satirical (con)texts where blends are created as a means of communication to which humor and wit, as well as an object of attack, are essential (Frye, 1944, p. 76; for more detail about the nature of satire, see Milner Davis & Foyle, 2017, pp. 8–10).¹⁰ To be specific, by *satire* I understand a verbal expression used as part of a literary work or journalistic media (e.g. print, satirical TV shows, the Internet, etc.) where language users creatively manipulate linguistic features “– such as a word, [...], a part of a word, a group of sounds, a series of letters” (Crystal, 2001, p. 1), with the intention of satirizing, criticizing, or making fun of human actions, vices and follies, weaknesses, stupidities, etc., at the same time trying to make the target audience at least aware of some of the burning issues related to society, politics, sex, religion, etc.¹¹ Though these topics are no laughing matter, blends triggered by various socio-political, religious, sexual, and other similar situations may fulfill multiple functions such as creating laughter or providing (short-term) comic relief (see, e.g., Lalić-Krstin & Silaški, 2019, pp. 230–231, for a further discussion of such and similar functions of ludic neologisms). Finally, the particular

¹⁰ The term *text* is used here to refer to written as well as spoken material.

¹¹ The term *literary* is understood in its broadest sense.

suitability of some of the blending techniques for producing humorous-satirical effects is maybe best summarized by Ronneberger-Sibold (2006, p. 178), who writes that “humoristic language must be neither entirely transparent, [...], nor entirely opaque”, for the former would reduce amazement aimed at by a joke, and the latter “would make enlightenment impossible”.

Data Collection and Methodology

The two data sets of Serbian blends include 304 one-word blends collected from a variety of printed as well as electronic and online sources. The first data set contains 202 blends which are best characterized as having humorous-satirical tendency. A considerable number of these blends are sourced from a satirical dictionary *Paranojeva barka: rečnik marginalizama* (PBRM, 2017), where each blend is accompanied by a definition which served as the basis for the reconstruction of its source words. Other literary sources of humorous-satirical blends include two books which are notable for their wry humor and biting satire, namely *Nacionalni park Srbija* (NPS, 1999) and *Nacionalni park Srbija 2: Polusmak polusveta* (NPS2, 2007). Both these literary works provide a critical perspective on the social and political ferment in Serbia within the last decade of the XX century and after the October 5 Revolution, respectively. Finally, one such literary blend, which appears as part of the book title – *Slobotomija* ← *Slobo* ‘the term of endearment for the former President of Yugoslavia *Slobodan Milošević*’ and *lobotomija* ‘lobotomy’, is taken from Bugarski (2019).

Additional examples of humorous-satirical blends are collected from various types of journalistic media such as the online editions of daily newspapers and magazines (mostly their regular columns) (the *Danas*, *NIN*, *Vreme*, *ETNA*, *Nedeljnik*, *Peščanik*, the *Blic*, the *Informer*, the *Kurir*, the *Novosti*, the *Politika*) or satirical TV shows (*PLjiŽ* (2018–2021)).¹² A number of journalistic blends are taken from Bugarski (2019). It must, however, be emphasized that the original journalistic source of each of these blends was established by searching for a specific blend on *Google*. Double quotation marks were used around the blend. Each source was carefully checked for the context in which the blend appears, especially because the interpretation of most such blends is “possible only in the context in which they appear, as they require knowledge of the extra-linguistic world [(and its socio-political reality)]” (Koniczna, 2012, p. 70).

The second data set of blends contains 102 (un)registered brand names of various semantic fields including, for the most part, brand names of food and drink, but also cosmetics brands, health care brands, paint brands, pharmacy

¹² The *PLjiŽ* blends were actually collected from the show’s Facebook page where the written forms of most blends are provided as part of a specific episode. The episodes were consulted when the etymology of the blend was ambiguous.

brands, etc. Most of these blends are taken from the papers or studies investigating Serbian blends (Bugarski, 2019; Лалић-Крстин & Халупка-Решетар, 2007; Томић & Даниловић Јеремић, 2020; Томић, 2019). Other examples of brand names created by blending are collected by visiting the official websites of a number of companies (e.g. *Galenika*, *MAXIMA*^{*}, *Slatkoteka*^{*}, etc.) or manufacturers (e.g. the platform *Mali proizvođači Srbije*, etc.) (see Sources), as well as by field research, which included visits to shops, restaurants, etc.

Both these data sets are first analyzed with regard to the source words of the blends as well as the blending technique used for their creation. The four blending techniques proposed by Ronneberger-Sibold (2006, pp. 168–169) for German will be briefly discussed here with reference to the examples of Serbian blends collected for the purpose of this paper. To be more specific, the blends of each data set are first qualitatively analyzed, that is, their constituents, as well as possible overlaps, are identified. Following this, Ronneberger-Sibold's (2006) transparency-based typology of the four blending techniques is applied to the two sets of Serbian blends, with the aim of grouping the blends created by the same blending technique (ranging from most to least transparent) and performing the quantitative analysis of the data. Finally, the two data sets are compared and contrasted with each other, as well as to the results obtained by Ronneberger-Sibold (2006, p. 175) for the German satirical blends and brand names.

In the most transparent type – *complete blends*, as the term itself suggests, the constituents of a blend are fully contained in the blend. The products of this blending technique can further be divided into *telescope blends* and *inclusive blends*, as a result of their different degrees of morphosemantic transparency. Namely, the former subtype denotes formations where the end of the first constituent (be it a letter and/or phoneme, a string of letters and/or phonemes, or a whole syllable) overlaps with the beginning of the second constituent, whereas the latter subtype denotes formations where “one constituent includes the other[(s)] as part of its sound” sequence. In Renner's (2015, p. 127) words, the inclusive blend “is homophonous with one of the source words”. The presence of the included word in inclusive blends is perceivable in writing only, which is why they are sometimes termed (*ortho*)*graphic blends* (e.g. Beliaeva, 2019b, p. 10; Fandrych, 2008, pp. 111, 113; Konieczna, 2012, p. 63, who, for instance, observes that graphic blends in Polish quite frequently contain an abbreviation or an acronym denoting political parties as one of their constituents, as well as the fact that they are frequently used by newspapers as a means of fighting the political opposition or for expressing strong disapproval; Lehrer, 2007, p. 120).¹³ With regard to Konieczna's (2012, p.

¹³ Note that orthography, which includes a range of graphic means such as font styles, sizes, colors, symbols, or bicapitalization (Crystal, 2006, p. 93), is frequently employed as a means of achieving higher morphosemantic transparency (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, p. 178).

63) observation, it is interesting to remark that the Serbian examples of inclusive blends of the first data set also make frequent use of acronyms or initialisms denoting political parties or politicians, sports associations, and other organizations (e.g. *DOS* ‘the Democratic Opposition of Serbia’, *EU* ‘the European Union’, *SPO* ‘The Serbian Renewal Movement’, *OKS* ‘The Olympic Committee of Serbia’, *KUP* ‘the national football cup of Serbia’, etc.).

The relative character of (morphosemantic) transparency is further evidenced by the fact that not all telescope blends are equally transparent. Specifically, telescope blends are more transparent if the resulting overlap corresponds to some existing morpheme than if it is simply a submorphemic element (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, p. 167). By contrast, the degree of opacity of telescope blends is higher if the overlap is only phonological, but not graphical and vice versa, though it must be remarked that “the degree of ‘enlightenment’ [is thereby] higher” (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, p. 167; cf. Mattiello, 2013, p. 24). Here are some examples of the humorous-satirical blends created by telescope blending and inclusive blending (the two subtypes are separated by semicolon): *bagnostik* ← *bag* ‘a transphonemized English lexeme *bug*, meaning an error in a computer program or system’ and *agnostik* ‘agnostic’ (PBRM, 2017), *skorupcija* ← *skorup* ‘a creamy dairy product, similar to clotted cream’ and *korupcija* ‘corruption’ (PBRM, 2017), *Dodikonostas* ← *Dodik* ‘(Milorad) Dodik, a Serbian politician’ and *ikonostas* ‘an iconostasis’ (PLjiŽ), *Koronateisti* ← *korona* ‘short for coronavirus’ and *ateisti* ‘atheists’ (PLjiŽ); *GIM-nastika* ← *GIM* ‘a company name (arms and armament industry)’ and *gimnastika* ‘gymnastics’ (NIN), *NaKUPci* ← *nakupci* ‘middlemen’ and *KUP* ‘the national football cup of Serbia’ (the *Danas*), *EUforija* ← *EU* ‘the European Union’ and *euforija* ‘euphoria’ (NPS2, 2007).¹⁴

Brand names created by telescope blending include, for example, *SRBERRY* ‘a brand of berry fruit juice sweetened with honey, with no additives or artificial sweeteners’ ← *SRB* ‘a clipped form of Serbia’ and *berry* ‘a non-transphonemized English lexeme’ (<https://maliproizvodjaci.rs/>) or *Mjautoritet* ‘a brand of cat furniture’ ← *mjau* ‘the characteristic crying sound of a cat (imitative)’ and *autoritet* ‘authority’ (Bugarski, 2019).¹⁵ Examples of brand names created by inclusive blending are *Muskarada* ‘luxury, handmade plant oil soap, with strong oriental, musky scent’ (<https://www.allnut.rs/>) ← *musk* ‘a non-transphonemized English lexeme’ and *maskarada* ‘masquerade, a party where people wear masks’ (here, the segments overlap phonologically only, thereby producing a higher degree of opaqueness) or *Kiflizza* ‘a type of BigPizza’s pizza edged with small bread

¹⁴ Though the example *Koronateisti* is quite close to compounds, the overlapping of the vowel “a” and the fact that overlapping constituents “are impossible in regular compounds” (Mattiello, 2013, p. 57) led me to consider it an instance of blending.

¹⁵ The font effects, as well as the font colors employed by the creators of the brand *SRBERRY* are well worth mentioning because its constituents are printed in capital letters and in two different colors.

rolls' ← *kiflica* 'a small bread roll' and *pizza* (Томић, 2019) (in Serbian, the underlined part of the second source word is pronounced (though wrongly) the same way as the underlined part of the first one).

The next type of blends is termed *contour blends* because “the word which is primary for analysis”, that is, the matrix word, functions as a *contour* of the blend as a whole (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, p. 170). Though the matrix word is not normally fully contained in the blend, it can be reconstructed by means of a number of phonological properties such as the number of syllables, the position of the main stress, or the remaining part of the rhyme (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, p. 170).¹⁶ The inserted word, on the other hand, is typically contained in the blend in full. With regard to the stress of these blends, it should be noted that the Serbian blends collected for the purpose of this paper are additionally analyzed for the position of their stress because the sources do not provide stressed examples of blends. For the analysis of the stress position of the Serbian blends, I adopted the method of prediction rules formulated by Renner and Lalić-Krstin (2011), that is, the stress pattern homology rule and the last stressed nucleus rule. Two Serbian dictionaries were consulted for the stress of the source words of the blends (Бујанић & al., 2011; <http://www.srpskijezik.com/>). Similarly to complete blends, contour blends can be subdivided into those where one source word is inserted into the pretonic part with(out) overlap and those where the inserted word is inserted into the posttonic part with overlap (normally not changing the stressed vowel of the matrix word), with the latter being less transparent than the former (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, pp. 168–169, 171).¹⁷ According to Ronneberger-Sibold (2006, pp. 172, 176), overlaps in contour blends (especially in its second subtype) tend to facilitate the reconstruction of the source words. The importance of overlapping as regards blends has been emphasized by other authors as well (see, e.g., Халупка-Решетар & Лалић-Крстин, 2012, p. 107). Here is a small selection of humorous-satirical contour blends: *ambisioznost* ← *ambis* 'abyss' and *ambicioznost* 'ambition' (PBRM, 2017), *ćoratorijum* ← *ćoratati* 'walk in the dark, as if blind' and *moratorijum* 'moratorium' (PBRM, 2017), *jazmimoilaženje* ← *jaz* 'gap' and *razmimoilaženje* 'disagreement' (PBRM, 2017), *kleptomantija* ← *kleptomanija* 'kleptomania' and *mantija* 'cassock' (PBRM, 2017), *Miškolovka* ← *Mišković* 'the last name of a Serbian businessman Miroslav Mišković' and *mišolovka* 'a mousetrap' (Bugarski, 2019), *Balkanalije* ← *Balkan* 'the Balkans' and *bahanalije* 'bacchanalia' (the *Danas*).

Examples of brand names created by contour blending include, for example, *Bancipan* 'a brand of chocolate bar with marzipan produced by the company *Banat*' ← *Banat* 'the chocolate company which was based in Vršac

¹⁶ Similarly, Beliaeva (2019b, p. 13) regards “the preservation of the prosodic contour” as “an important factor contributing to recognition of the source words in the blend”.

¹⁷ Here, we refer to both these subtypes as *contour blends*.

(Banat, Serbia)’ and *marcipan* ‘marzipan’ (Лалић-Крстин & Халупка-Решетар, 2007), *Breskosaurus* ‘a neXt’ brand of fruit juice with a picture of a dinosaur carved out of a peach’ ← *breskva* ‘peach’ and *dinosaurus* ‘dinosaur’ (Томић, 2019) and *Limunana* ‘a neXt’ brand of fruit juice’ ← *limunada* ‘lemonade’ and *nana* ‘mint’ (Томић, 2019).¹⁸

In the other, less transparent, half of Ronneberger-Sibold’s (2006, pp. 168–169) scale of the four blending techniques, one first finds *semi-complete blends* which, similarly to the previous type, contain one shortened source word and one unshortened source word, though there are no identifying phonological prompts for the shortened source word. That is, it is the unshortened word which may determine the rhythmical shape of a semi-complete blend. This implies that factors such as the length of the shortened source word are more important for semi-complete blends than for contour blends. One other factor that may positively influence the morphosemantic transparency of semi-complete blends is, of course, overlapping. Here are some examples of brand names created by semi-complete blending: *Смокисе* ← *смoк* ‘a loud kiss’ and *кoкисе* ‘popcorn’ (Томић & Даниловић Јерemiћ, 2020), *Higlo* ← *Horgoš* ‘a village located in the municipality of Kanjiža, Serbia’ and *iglo* ‘igloo’ (Bugarski, 2019), *MAXIMAL* ← *MAXIMA* ‘a brand of paints and facades’ and *malter* ‘mortar’ (<https://www.maximapaints.com/sr/>). Humorous-satirical blends created by semi-complete blending include examples such as *Dinstagram* ← *dinstanje* ‘stewing’ and *Instagram* (PBRM, 2017) or *Nasamarićanin* ← *nasamariti* ‘to fool (someone)’ and *Samarićanin* ‘Samaritan’ (PBRM, 2017).

Finally, the least transparent type of blends is produced by the technique of *fragment blending*. *Fragment blends*, as is suggested by the term itself, contain neither of the two constituents in full.¹⁹ According to Ronneberger-Sibold (2006, pp. 169, 175), products of fragment blending are frequently “opaque new root[s]” with suggestive sound shapes, as evidenced by some Serbian brand names (e.g. *Griski* or *Filbi*). Lehrer (1996, p. 363; 2007, p. 132) similarly observes that there are examples of words (of which many are brand names) “whose blend etymologies have become unnecessary for most speakers” such as *Bisquick*™ ← *biscuit* and *quick*. Consider, for instance, the following two Serbian brands created by fragment blending which date back to the 1980s – *Griski* ‘grissini filled with

¹⁸ Though the analysis of *Limunana* as consisting of the source words *limun* and *nana* seems plausible (in which case it would be a telescope blend), the fact that it denotes ‘mint lemonade’ led the author to interpret it as a blend of *limunada* and *nana*. Furthermore, the drink advertisement says “Novi NeXt JOY, više od limunade!” (Eng. “New NeXt JOY, more than lemonade!”) (NeXtsokovi, see Sources). Note that Bugarski (2019, pp. 37, 193) also analyzes *Limunana* as a blend of *limunada* and *nana*.

¹⁹ Regarding those less transparent types of blends, Cacchiani (2016, p. 307) observes a significant correlation between the reduced transparency of blends and an increase in their playfulness.

peanuts' ← *grisini* 'grissini' and *kikiriki* (or, *kikiriki*) 'peanuts' (Томић, 2019) or *Filbi* 'cocoa cream-filled biscuit' ← *filovani* 'filled' and *biskvit* 'biscuit' (Томић, 2019), both of which are now almost unrecognizable as blends. Fragment blends, like semi-complete blends, "can be *relatively* (my emphasis) transparent only if long and distinctive strings of the blended words are retained" (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2010, p. 213). Here is a small selection of examples of brand names created by fragment blending: *Galesil* ← *Galenika* 'a pharmaceutical company' and *silikonski* 'silicone', *Borogal* ← *borna* (kiselina) 'bor(ac)ic acid' -o- *Galenika* (<https://www.galenika.rs/sr/>), *MAXIFAS* ← *MAXIMA* and *fasad(n)a* 'façade', *MAXIKRIL* ← *MAXIMA* and *akrilni* 'acrylic' (<https://www.maximapaints.com/sr/>), *Chocomelo* 'chocolate-coated marshmallow treats produced by the brand TAKO' ← *chocolate* and *mančmelou* 'Munchmallow' (<https://tako.rs/sr/>), *Nutelofna* 'a kind of Slatkoteka's nutella-filled donut' ← *nutela* 'nutella' and *krofna* 'a donut' (<https://slatkoteka.rs/>). Examples of satirical blends created by fragment blending are *Diplomislav* ← *diploma* 'a diploma' and *Tomislav* 'the name of the ex-president of Serbia Tomislav Nikolić' (Bugarski, 2019) or *Hipnovizija* ← *hipnotisati* 'hypnotize' and *televizija* 'television' (NPS2, 2007).

Data Analysis and Discussion

Detailed qualitative and quantitative analyses of the two data sets of Serbian blends show, firstly, that there is a clear preference for the different degrees of morphosemantic transparency of the humorous-satirical blends, on the one hand, and brand names, on the other (see Figure 1 below). Specifically, the products of the four blending techniques are distributed as follows within the data set of humorous-satirical blends: contour blends, as the second most transparent type, dominate this data set with 111 examples (54.95%); complete blends, as the most transparent type, represent the next most frequent group with 61 examples (30.19%), that is, with 46 telescope blends and 15 inclusive blends; the less transparent types such as semi-complete blends and fragment blends account for as much as 12.87% and 1.98% of the whole data set, respectively. The distribution of the four types of blends within the second data set clearly indicates that the language users prefer more opaque techniques such as semi-complete blending or fragment blending for the creation of brand names, as these two types of blends make up 58.82% of all examples. Namely, there are 37 (36.27%) and 23 fragment blends (22.54%) attested within the data set of brand names. This preference becomes more obvious if these results are compared with the number of brand names created by the most transparent technique – complete blending, which provides as few as 11 examples (10.78%) (3 telescope blends and 8 inclusive blends). Somewhat surprisingly, though, there are as many as 31 brand names (30.39%) created by contour blending within this second data set.

Interestingly enough, the percentage of the German brand names created by the same technique is only slightly higher (31.80%) (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, p. 175). With regard to the distribution of the contour blends in the two corpora of German blends, it is further interesting to observe that the brand names created by contour blending (31.80%) slightly outnumber those satirical blends created by the same technique (30.60%) (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, p. 175).

Secondly, an interesting observation between the two data sets of Serbian blends concerns the use of (dis)continuous overlapping (see Figure 2 below). To be specific, overlaps are identified with 187 humorous-satirical blends (92.57%), whereas the overlapping brand names make up 49.01% of the second data set (50 examples). This further implies that the creators of (especially humorous-satirical) blends tend to select the source words which show a closer phonological and/or graphical similarity to each other where they are to be fused or blended. The shared segment therefore represents phonological or graphical overlap, or both. Correspondingly, the creators of (especially humorous-satirical) blends tend to shorten one or both source words where they show some phonological and/or graphical resemblance to each other. These results demonstrate that similarity (be it phonological or graphical, or both) between the (parts of) source words is one of the major motivating factors behind conscious and deliberate blending, particularly behind those blending techniques which produce more transparent types of blends. It is further interesting to observe that overlaps within the data set of brand names are generally kept to a minimum, that is, the segment the (parts of) source words share is typically one or two letter(s) and/or phoneme(s) (e.g. *Akvadajz* ← *Akva*ponija ‘a food production system’ and *paradajz* ‘tomato’ (Томић & Даниловић Јеремић, 2020), *Čokolend* ← *čokolad*ni ‘chocolate’ and *lend* ‘a transphonemized English lexeme *land*’, *Malinada* ← *malina* ‘raspberry’ and *limunada* ‘lemonade’, *Medodija* ← *med* ‘honey’ and *nedodija* ‘neverland’ (all three examples are taken from Томић, 2019), *Joaza* ← *jogurt* ‘yogurt’ and *oaza* ‘oasis’ (Лалић-Крстин & Халупка-Решетар, 2007)). On the other hand, within the data set of humorous-satirical blends, overlaps are generally much greater, that is, the shared segments are typically entire syllables or existing (bound or free) morphemes (e.g. *estradalac* ← *estrada* ‘show business’ and *stradalac* ‘sufferer’ (PBRM, 2017), *DijaSPOra* ← *dijaspora* ‘diaspora’ and *SPO* ‘The Serbian Renewal Movement’ (the *Danas*), *Kosmoarnaut* ← *kosmonaut* ‘cosmonaut’ and *Arnaut* ‘Albanian’ (PBRM, 2017)), which adds to the higher transparency of the blend, further facilitating the recognizability of its source words, as well as to the (more) successful interpretation of the blend as a whole. Additionally, all this seems to suggest that (the amount of) overlapping is not only one of those formal factors which are of great importance for producing more transparent blends, but also that the language users are well aware of its importance when adjusting the morphosemantic transparency of the output to fulfill the desired communicative function.

Though the constituents of brand-name blends, for the most part, overlap both phonologically and graphically (43 examples) (e.g. *Смокѝце* ← *смoк* and *кoкѝце* (Томић, 2019), *Љоколeнд* ← *ћоколaдни* ‘chocolate’ and *лeнд* ‘a transphonemized English lexeme *land*’ (Томић, 2019), *Кeрaмeтaл* ← *кeрaмѝкa* ‘ceramics’ and *мeтaл* ‘metal’ (Лалић-Крстин & Халупкa-Решeтaр, 2007), *Крeмeнтѝнa* ← *крeм* ‘cream’ and *клeмeнтѝнa* ‘clementine’ (Лалић-Крстин & Халупкa-Решeтaр, 2007), *Кoкѝрѝкѝ* ← *кoкѝцe* ‘popcorn’ and *кѝкѝрѝкѝ* ‘peanut’ (Bugarski, 2019)), there are 6 blends which exhibit a phonological overlap only, as one of the constituents is typically a non-adapted foreign word (e.g. *ВaкLоVЕѝсa* ← *бaклaвѝцa* ‘a small baklava’ and *LоVЕ* (<https://maliproizvodjaci.rs/>), *Вeерoкрaтe* ← *вeер* and *бѝрoкрaтe* ‘bureaucrats’ (Томић, 2019)) and one blend which exhibits a graphical overlap only (*Aпeтѝт* ‘a brand of biscuits’ ← *aпeтѝт* ‘appetite’ and *пeтѝт* ‘as in *Petit Beurre*, a kind of shortbread’ (Томић & Дaнѝлoвѝћ Јeрeмѝћ, 2020)). With regard to these phonological overlaps, it is worth remembering that the degree of opacity is higher if overlap is only phonological, but not graphical, or vice versa (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, p. 167). The fact that (non-)adapted foreign lexemes (mostly Anglicisms) are used for the creation of brand names, but not for the creation of humorous-satirical blends (which predominantly exploit native-word stock) may be partly explained by the above-mentioned requirement for brand names to be, *inter alia*, ear-catching creations, that is, to be striking or pleasing to the ear, or to sound (more) exotic (e.g. *Сѝлвeргaл* ‘a silver filling or dental amalgam’ ← *сѝлвeр* and *Гaлeнѝкa* (Томић, 2019) or *Зoopa* ‘a brand of soup with animal-shaped pasta’ ← *зoo* and *сѝпa* ‘soup’ (Bugarski, 2019)). Finally, it should be noted that the humorous-satirical blends typically overlap both phonologically and graphically and are therefore much more transparent.

Thirdly, if the obtained results are further contrasted with those obtained by Ronneberger-Sibold (2006, p. 175) for German blends, it is interesting to remark that the German satirical blends are most frequently created by complete blending (66.30%), whereas the quantitative analysis of the Serbian humorous-satirical blends show that contour blending is the much preferred technique (54.95%), though the language users’ preference for these more transparent types of blends is quite obvious within both Serbian (85.14%) and German (96.90%) data sets of humorous-satirical blends. The (relatively) high percentage of the Serbian blends created by contour blending in general and humorous-satirical blends in particular may be, at least in part, accounted for by what Ronneberger-Sibold (2012, p. 128) refers to as “the universal ability” of language users to reconstruct the constituents of complex words such as blends by their rhythmical contour, the position of the main stress, or their syllable structure. A further comparison of the results obtained for the two languages shows that, whereas there are no German satirical blends created by fragment blending (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, p. 175), fragment blends make up 1.98% of the data set of the Serbian humorous-satirical creations. Regarding

the humorous-satirical blends created by the other less transparent technique, that is, semi-complete blending, it is interesting to observe that they are nearly five times more common in Serbian (12.87%) than in the German corpus of satirical creations (2.60%) (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, p. 175). On the other hand, a comparison between the German brand names and Serbian brand names created by the least transparent blending technique seems to suggest more similarity between the two languages, as fragment blends account for 25% of the German corpus of brand names and 22.54% of the data set of Serbian brand names.

Figure 1. Percentage distribution of the four blending techniques in the two data sets

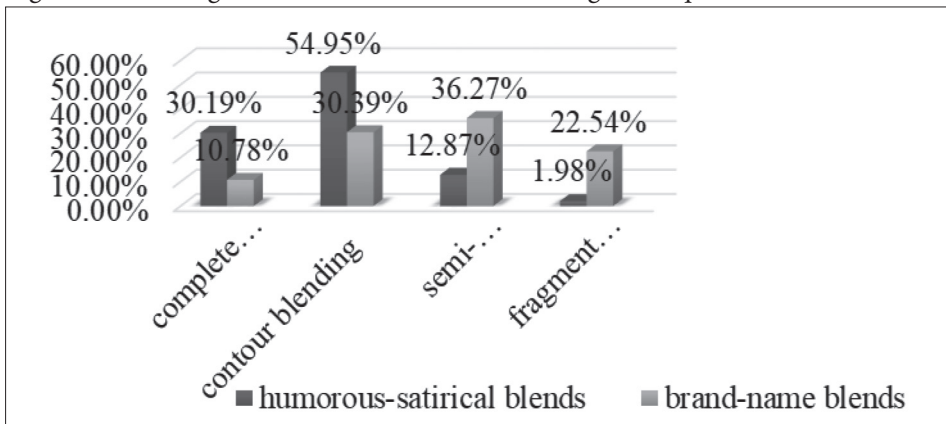
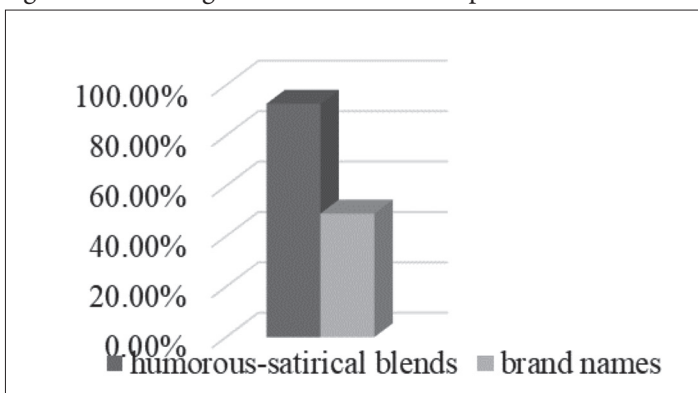


Figure 2. Percentage distribution of overlaps in the two data sets



Conclusion

In this paper, the author has made an attempt to investigate whether the creators of contemporary Serbian blends, namely humorous-satirical blends and brand names, have an intuition about the different degrees of the relative morphosemantic transparency which are produced by consciously and deliberately using the four blending techniques, that is, complete blending, contour blending, semi-complete blending, and fragment blending (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, pp. 168–169), as well as if they have the ability to employ these techniques to achieve the desired communicative purposes or effects. Additionally, it has been attempted to contrast the obtained results with those of Ronneberger-Sibold (2006) for German satirical blends and brand names. The qualitative and quantitative analyses of 202 humorous-satirical blends and 102 brand names show that the creators of contemporary Serbian blends are indeed well aware of the varying degrees of morphosemantic transparency the four blending techniques produce and are able to knowingly utilize these mechanisms to perform a variety of communicative functions (e.g. holding people or their actions up to ridicule, expressing social, political and religious criticism or protest, amusing, capturing attention of the target audience or potential consumers, distinguishing themselves from others, etc.) or to demonstrate their own lexical ingenuity. To be more specific, the results obtained for the two data sets of Serbian blends clearly show that the users of humor and satire tend to prefer complete blending and contour blending, as morphosemantically more transparent techniques, to those more opaque ones such as semi-complete blending or fragment blending, whereas the creators of brand names have a preference for the two less transparent techniques. Such preferences may be due to different requirements of these two sets of blends in terms of transparency (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, p. 166). Namely, while it is preferable for humorous and satirical blends to be relatively morphosemantically transparent so as to be intelligible and produce the surprising effect, lower degrees of transparency are preferred in brand names, as transparent structures are neither legally nor psychologically acceptable in brand naming (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006, p. 166). Additionally, it has been shown that contemporary Serbian speakers use the same blending techniques as German speakers for creating humorous-satirical blends and brand names, respectively, though not in the same proportions.

By means of this small-scale analysis of Serbian humorous-satirical blends and brand names, as well as by the small-scale comparison with their German counterparts, the author hopes to further stimulate similar (cross-linguistic) research approaches to lexical blends, especially because the application of Ronneberger-Sibold's (2006) typology proved particularly useful for better understanding the wider sociolinguistic context of blends' creation and usage. Last but not least, the blends collected and analyzed for the purpose of this

paper are all fairly recent coinages and their number is by no means trivial, which implies that they represent an important part or indicator of an ongoing change in contemporary Serbian and that they definitely deserve a far more systematic investigation in the future. It is therefore hoped that this paper will make at least a small contribution to keeping alive the idea of lexical blending as worth researching not only in Serbian, but also in other languages.

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Лексичке сливенице у српском језику: анализа морфосемантичке прозирности

Резиме

У раду испитујемо морфосемантичку прозирност двеју група лексичких сливеница у савременом српском језику (тј. хумористично-сатиричних сливеница и сливеница у називима брендова) примењујући типологију четири технике лексичког сливања – потпуног, контурног, полупотпуног и фрагментног сливања – којима се добијају различити нивои морфосемантичке прозирности сливеница, а коју је у раду на тему немачких сатиричних сливеница и сливеница у називима брендова предложила ауторка Ронебергер-Сиболд (2006, стр. 168–169). Циљ рада јесте да се испита да ли су језички корисници или, прецизније речено, језички ствараоци као што су хумористи, сатиричари, новинари, маркетиншке агенције, мали и велики произвођачи и сл. свесни различитих нивоа морфосемантичке прозирности сливеница које је могуће произвести горенаведеним техникама сливања, односно да ли су способни да их употребе у остваривању различитих комуникативних намера. Резултати квалитативне и квантитативне анализе даље се упоређују са резултатима до којих је дошла Ронебергер-Сиболд (2006) у немачком језику на корпусу од 612 сливеница, у намери да се испитају сличности и разлике у употреби четири технике сливања у двама типолошки различитим језицима. Истраживачку грађу чине 202 хумористично-сатиричне сливенице и 102 сливенице у називима најразноврснијих брендова, прикупљене једним делом из постојеће литературе на тему сливеница у савременом српском језику, а другим делом из извора као што су књижевна дела, (новински) медији, хумористично-сатиричне емисије, званични веб-сајтови произвођача и сл., односно кроз теренско истраживање. Резултати анализе показују да творци српских сливеница не само да поседују свест о различитим нивоима морфосемантичке прозирности које је могуће произвести применом четири технике сливања већ и да их зналачки користе у намери да извргну подсмеху различите људе и догађаје, да освесте заблуде и (по)грешке у мишљењу и делању, да забаве, да скрену пажњу потенцијалних потрошача на себе, своје производе и(ли) услуге, итд. Анализа је показала да у хумористично-сатиричним сливеницама доминира употреба техника као што су потпуно и контурно сливање којима

се остварује већа прозирност форме и семантике, односно да су у називима брендова доминантне технике полупотпуно и фрагментно сливање којима се остварује мања морфосемантичка прозирност сливенице. Поређење овде добијених резултата са онима до којих је дошла Ронебергер-Сиболд (2006) у немачком језику показало је да језички ствараоци у савременом српском језику преферирају употребу истих техника сливања у стварању двеју група сливеница као и ствараоци немачких сливеница, премда не у истом обиму.

Кључне речи: лексичке сливенице; ванграматичка морфологија; морфосемантичка прозирност; српски језик.



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