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ON A NEW TYPE OF WORD-FORMING ELEMENT IN SERBIAN²

Abstract: This paper qualitatively and quantitatively analyses a new type of word-forming element in Serbian, known as a splinter, used in the formation of lexical blends. The aims of the present research are: (a) to identify the most frequent splinters in Serbian blends, (b) to investigate which words or parts of words they tend to combine with and how, (c) to identify the meanings of these splinters, and (d) to explore whether the splinters show the potential to develop into new combining forms. The research is corpus-based. The examples of 172 lexical blends containing the 14 most frequent splinters are collected from several sources, including the studies and papers on blends in Serbian, the Serbian Web Corpus, and various other Internet and print sources. The analysis indicates that the vast majority of the splinters, which are segmented from nouns whose meanings they retain, combine also with nouns. Some of the splinters show the potential to become well-established bound morphemes, i.e. combining forms, through regularity in use or semantic generalisation and specialisation.

Key words: word-formation, blends, splinters, modern combining forms, Serbian.

1. Introductory remarks. Lexical blending (hereinafter *blending*) is a relatively new word-formation process in Serbian. According to Bugarski (2001: 1) and Halupka-Rešetar and Lalić-Krstin (2009: 115), blending first appeared in Serbian around the 90s of the previous century in very few lexemes within the domains of advertising, brand-naming, the mass media, and politics, most probably under the

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dominant influence of English.³ It is only since recently that blending has grown in popularity and has produced a substantial number of blends by means of primarily native lexical units (Bugarski 2014: 227).⁴ On the basis of the structural analysis of blends in Serbian thus far (Halupka-Rešetar and Lalić-Krstin 2009: 116–117; Bugarski 2013: 80; 2014: 244), it appears that the two most productive mechanisms of blending are the one in which the first unclipped word is combined with the second part of the second word, with possible overlapping, as in *sirane* < *sir* + *pirane* ('cheese' + 'piranhas'), and the other in which the first part of the first word is combined with the second part of the second word, with possible overlapping, as in *Medulence* < *medenjak* + *srculence* ('honey cake' + 'heartlet').⁵ With regard to the grammatical and semantic headedness of blends in Serbian, in most of them the righthand constituent lexeme is both the grammatical and the semantic head (Halupka-Rešetar and Lalić-Krstin 2009: 123). Therefore, similarly to English (cf. Olsen 2014: 46), blending in Serbian can be broadly defined as the word-formation process in which two (or rarely three) lexemes are combined in such a way that one or both of them are clipped and/or superimposed upon one another, with the meaning of each constituent lexeme in most cases contributing to that of the blend.

Another prominent feature of blends (Saavedra 2014: 2; Mattiello 2018: 3) that Serbian examples have in common with those in English and probably other languages is that parts of blends "can serve as an analogical base" (Olsen 2014: 47) for other similar formations, such as the oft-cited *-tainment* (from *entertainment*) in *datatainment*, *EQtainment*, *futuretainment*, *GenreTainment*, *phototainment*, or

³ The examples such as: *kakbavno* < *kaka* + *zabavno* ('pooh' (used especially by children or with children) + 'amusing'), *kakaput* < *kaka* + *kaput* ('pooh' + 'coat'), *kakaceza* < *kaka* + *princeza* ('pooh' + 'princess'), *kakamorgana* < *kaka* + *fatamorgana* ('pooh' + 'mirage'), *kakavizija* < *kaka* + *televizija* ('pooh' + 'television'), *Kakanik* < *kaka* + *Titanik* ('pooh' + 'the Titanic'); *šumkula* < *šumska* + *ajkula* ('forest' + 'shark'), excerpted from some of the most recently published children's books, namely *Kakakralj* (2016), *Kakograd* (2016), and *Šumkula u škripcu: basnoslovno bajkovanje* (2017), prove that new blends in Serbian are thriving in literature domain as well. The segments given in italics represent the parts of constituent lexemes used in blend creation. Underlined are the (strings of) phonemes and letters that overlap.

⁴ In Bugarski (2013; 2014) there are 1,395 blends recorded during a period of two decades. It is also estimated that approximately 100 new blends enter the Serbian lexicon every year (Bugarski 2014: 227). Furthermore, considering Bugarski's claim that most of these blends are formed from native elements, it seems that most blends in Serbian are the result of structural borrowing rather than lexical borrowing. See Renner (2018) for an exploratory overview of structural borrowing in word-formation, including blending, across some of the world's languages.

⁵ The first blend refers to the name of piranha-shaped munchies with cheese. Available at: <https://bambi.rs/brendovi/josh/>. The second one is used in the name of a confectionery item similar to a honey cookie having the shape of a little heart. Available at: <http://www.chocoline.rs/portfolio/medulence-150g/>.

-holic⁶ (from *alcoholic*) in *bikeholic*, *bookoholic*, *MOOCaholic*, *traveloholic*, *wordaholic*⁷. Such segments are sometimes referred to in the pertinent literature as *splinters*, (*new or modern*) *combining forms*, or *affixes* (cf. Breman 1961, as cited in Adams 1973: 147 and Miller 2014: 194; Soudek 1971: 1978, as cited in Miller 2014: 194; Lehrer 1996, 2003, 2007; López Rúa 2004, 2012; Prčić 2007; Fandrych 2008; Böhmerová 2010; Lalić-Krstin 2010; Stojičić 2010; Bauer et al. 2013; Saavedra 2014; Mattiello 2013, 2017, 2018).⁸

For instance, Soudek (1971: 72) is of the opinion that splinters, “or segments, found in blendings need not have been morphemes in the source words, they may function as signals of their models in the new telescoped formations”. Adams (1973: 142) considers splinters to be “irregular in form, that is, they are parts of morphs, though in some cases there is no formal irregularity, but a special relationship of meaning between the splinter and some ‘regular’ word in which it occurs”.⁹ Similarly to Adams, Lehrer (1996: 359–360, 362; 2007: 116, 121) views splinters as being parts of morphemes, or “parts of words in blends which are intended to be recognised as belonging to a target word, but which are not independent formatives”, whereas new combining forms, which have their origin in blends, are defined as “semantically independent morphemes that happen to be bound”. The crucial factor contributing to a transition from a splinter into a bound morpheme, according to Lehrer (2007: 115), is frequency. As stated in Prčić (2007: 49), one type of modern combining forms includes “extractions produced by front-clipping, often as a result of repeated superimpositional blending, which gradually develops into a pattern” (e.g. *-burger*, *cade*, *cast*, *gate*, *gram*, *holic*, *mobile*, *naut*, *nomics*, *pedia*, *rati*, *scape*, *speak*, *thon*, *ware*).

López Rúa (2004: 64–65) regards splinters as “those graphic and phonemic sequences which are neither inflectional nor derivational morphemes, nor combining forms (*electro-*, *-scope*), but whose length makes them recognisable as shortenings of previous words; splinters tend to be syllables or larger than syllables in their sources”. Fandrych (2008: 107, 111–113) similarly defines splinters as units smaller than the morpheme used in non-morphematic word-formation processes such as blending,

⁶ Olsen (2014: 47) remarks that its morphological and lexical status is more difficult to determine, since “It hinges on whether it has come to mean ‘addicted’ on its own and can enter new combinations freely. But as long as its full form needs to be recovered to reconstruct the meaning, it remains an analogical formation.”

⁷ The examples are retrieved from the *English Web Corpus 2015*.

⁸ Callies (2016: 495) notices that the presence of this new type of formative, i.e. a splinter, is recognised in languages other than English and that it generally occurs through language contact.

⁹ As Fandrych (2008: 112) aptly remarks, the term *splinter* perfectly reflects the irregular form of these segments.

or somewhat more precisely, as “random parts of existing lexemes” that “represent the words for which they stand: semantically, splinters contribute the entire meaning of their source words to the new lexeme mixtures, the blends”. Böhmerová (2010: 84–86) claims that blending can indirectly contribute to the separation of the segment of the second constituent lexeme and it being phonologically and graphically similar to an affix. The author also states that the frequency of particular blends containing such non-morphemic segments, i.e. splinters (the range of which is quite diverse, dynamic, and seems to be constantly growing, especially in informal register) may influence the analogical formation of other blends and, consequently, produce a new derivative affix, or even a new free form. Böhmerová (2010: 85–86) lists 13 “considerably productive splinters which can potentially be interpreted as affixes” such as *-aholic/oholic*, *-athon*, *-ati*, *-burger*, *-crat*, *-ercise*, *-furter*, *-licious*, *-omics/omix*, *-pedia*, *-tainment*, *-topia*, and *-zine*.

Bauer et al. (2013: 525) define splinters as “originally (mostly) non-morphemic portions of a word that have been split off and used in the formation of new words with a specific new meaning. The use, recognition, and interpretation of a splinter as found in a new word necessarily requires a paradigmatic relationship”, since it is only through this relationship that the splinter, i.e. the new morpheme, acquires its new meaning. Therefore, the emergence of splinters as well as the creation of new formatives containing them are paradigmatic processes themselves. Regarding the splinters’ productivity to produce new words, it seems that they are only relatively productive, which may be the reason why most of them never reach the status of a bound morpheme. However, if their productivity increases, splinters may even become free morphemes (e.g. *burger*). The authors (2013: 526–528) also provide the following list of 18 splinters in English: *-ati*, *-bot*, *-burger*, *-delic*, *-holic*, *-illion*, *-tarian*, *-licious*, *-matic*, *-o*, *-orama*, *-ific*, *-scape*, *-stan*, *-tainment*, *-tronic*, *-ware*, and *-zilla*.

Probably the most exhaustive list of 69 English final and 15 initial splinters is provided by Lalić-Krstin (2016: 86–90). The author views splinters (i.e. truncated bases) as part of a continuum of word-forming units somewhere between affixoids and free bases, but closer to the latter (Lalić-Krstin 2016: 64). The previous lists of splinters, together with some fresh examples such as *-stagram* (from *Instagram*) corroborates Böhmerová’s claim (2010: 85) that the number of splinters is an open and ever-increasing class.¹⁰ That splinters are not restricted to the separation of final segments, as believed by some authors (cf. Böhmerová 2010: 84), but can also in-

¹⁰ Some of the most common uses of *-stagram* retrieved from the *English Web Corpus 2015* are: *foodstagram*, *Dronestagram*, *Postagram*, *Webstagram*, *vapestagram*, *bookstagram*, *Berlinstagram*,

clude initial ones, is confirmed by many authors (cf. Soudek 1978, as cited in Miller 2014: 194; Saavedra 2014: 10, 12; Lalić-Krstin 2016: 86; Mattiello 2018: 12).

The aforementioned accounts of splinters, combining forms, and affixes clearly show that different authors sometimes use different terms to refer to one and the same word-forming element. In this respect, an important distinction among splinters, modern combining forms, and secreted affixes is drawn in Mattiello (2018). Namely, for Mattiello (2018: 5, 7), a splinter is synonymous with ‘blend’s part’, whereas combining forms (affixoids) and secreted affixes “respectively refer to the word-formation processes of composition and affixation”. Mattiello (2018: 15) also argues that the transition from a splinter to a combining form, and possibly to a secreted affix, is a diachronic process within which frequency, productivity, and semantic reinterpretation (i.e. generalisation or specialisation of meaning) are determining factors.¹¹ In this paper, the term *splinter* is used to mean a segment clipped from a word (whose meaning(s) it retains), which is neither an inflectional nor a derivational morpheme, nor an affixoid, but a bound element used in forming a series of blends, whereas the term *combining form* is used to mean a splinter which is not only frequent and productive, but also semantically independent.

Taking into consideration all the above, especially the fact that blends in Serbian are growing in number and that, to my knowledge, no list has been compiled for such submorphemic segments in Serbian, although certain blends’ parts appear to be more common than others, the paper aims at: (a) identifying the most frequent splinters in Serbian blends, (b) investigating which words or their parts (in terms of syntactic categories and semantics) they tend to combine with and how, (c) identifying the meanings of these splinters¹², and (d) exploring whether they show the potential to develop into new combining forms, based on a number of criteria suggested in the literature, namely semantic autonomy, productivity, and frequency. In the three sections that follow, I will first describe the corpus compilation and methodology (Section 2), and then provide a detailed analysis and a discussion of

feastagram, *catstagram*, *cakestagram*, *botstagram*, *brunchstagram*. The very last blend is particularly interesting since its first constituent *brunch* is a blend, too.

¹¹ For more about the significance of frequency in the transition from a splinter to a combining form or an affix, see Lehrer (2007), Böhmerová (2010), and Bauer et al. (2013). For more about quantifiable type frequency, see, for instance, Saavedra (2014: 3, 13) who concludes that the group of two blends is not enough to consider a splinter a possible morpheme, but the three-blend group might be. Saavedra (2014) has also devised a method which automatically identifies good morpheme candidates. Also, see Stojičić (2010: 43–46) for a thorough analysis of the processes in which new affixoids in English are created.

¹² If more than one meaning is identified, they are given from most to least frequent.

the splinters in the corpus (Section 3). Finally, I will offer some concluding remarks on the analysed new type of formative in Serbian (Section 4).

2. Corpus compilation and methodology. The corpus used for the purposes of the present research consists of 172 two-member Serbian blends containing the following most frequent splinters: *-(a)činka*, *-(i)čanstven*, *-(o)holičar(ka)*, *-(o)lada*, *-(o)mobil*, *-(o)pedija*, *-(o)rama*, *-(o)saurus*, *-(o)skop*, *-(o)tres*, *-(t)astičan*, *čoko-*, *-nada*, *-vizija*.¹³ 66 blends are from Bugarski (2013; 2014), one blend (*vesnotres*) from Lalić-Krstin and Halupka-Rešetar (2007), and 105, I collected from various sources (see footnote 13). To be included in the analysis, the splinter had to satisfy the following criteria: (a) it occurs in five blends at least, (b) it is segmented from a Serbian word (excluding proper names) recorded in the most recent complete dictionary of the Serbian language – *Rečnik srpskoga jezika* (RSJ 2011)¹⁴, (c) it must not be equivalent in form and meaning to the already existing standard abbreviation in Serbian¹⁵, and (d) it must not represent an affixoid in Serbian¹⁶. On the other hand, the words these splinters “attract” do not necessarily have to be native elements, which implies that cross-linguistic blends can constitute part of the corpus.¹⁷ However, the blends that contain one of the 14 frequent splinters, but are obviously imported from English and adapted to the morphophonological system of the Serbian language (e.g. *artoholičar* (< *artoholic*), *šopoholičar* (< *shopoholic*),

¹³ Blends formed from more than two words are not included because they are extremely rare in Serbian. The initial corpus from which 172 blends are excerpted counts 1,683 blends, of which 1,405 are recorded in Bugarski (2013; 2014), one in Lalić-Krstin and Halupka-Rešetar (2007), and 277 blends I retrieved from *the Serbian Web Corpus* as well as from various other Internet and print sources. Namely, almost all of these blends have been coined in the media and commercial domains with the intention of drawing the attention of the recipient to the product, the advertisement, or the news by way of original and catchy means. A number of blends have been created within the domain of politics (by which I mean both primary and secondary political discourse), but with a somewhat different intention of caricaturing and satirising politicians, their ideas, ways of thinking, activities, etc. There are also those blends used by individuals simply for their eye-and-ear catching effects.

¹⁴ For instance, the splinter *-oid* (from *tabloid*) in *blicoid* (*Blic* is the name of a Serbian daily tabloid newspaper), *crnoid* (*crn* ‘black’), *pornoid* (*pornografski* ‘pornographic’), *toaletoid* (*toalet* ‘toilet’), and *tračoid* (*trač* ‘gossip’) does not represent part of the analysis, although it participates in the formation of five blends, since the word *tabloid* is not attested in the RSJ (2011).

¹⁵ For instance, the frequent splinter *Srb-* (from *Serbia*) represents the international car registration for *Serbia*.

¹⁶ For instance, the frequent splinters: *J(j)ugo-* (from *Jugoslavija* ‘Yugoslavia’), *Beo-* (from *Beograd* ‘Belgrade’), *evro-* (from *Evropa* or *evropski* ‘Euro or European’), etc. are considered affixoids in Serbian (cf. Klajn 2002: 151–165). Note that some of the splinters (e.g. *-(o)skop*; *-nada*, *-vizija*) may happen to be homographs of the existing affixoids or free morphemes in Serbian, in which case it is essential that the researcher consult the linguistic context.

¹⁷ For more about the morphological analysis of words containing non-native components in Serbian, see Ćorić (2008: 40–43) and Dragičević (2018: 256–257).

Čokolator (< *chocolator* < *chocolate* + *calculator*)) are not included in the corpus.¹⁸ Also, the so-called syntactic blends such as *Malterego*¹⁹ < *malter* + *alter ego* ('mortar' + 'alter ego'), *Srbokalipsa*²⁰ (*Četiri jahača Srbokalipse*) < *Srbija* + *apokalipsa* ('Serbia' + 'apocalypse'), or *rokokalipse*²¹ (*Jahači rokokalipse*) < *rok* + *apokalipsa* ('rock' + 'apocalypse') are not analysed, either.²² Finally, the blends that represent calques or loan translations of primarily English lexemes are retained and included in the analysis.

3. Corpus analysis and discussion. Examples (1)–(14) given below in alphabetical order and italics represent the most frequent splinters segmented from Serbian words, which further participate in the formation of at least five lexical blends.²³ Each splinter is accompanied by its model word and meaning(s).²⁴ The translation of the model words and the blends' constituent words into English is provided in parentheses. Based on the information gathered for each splinter, a number of insightful qualitative and quantitative observations are made.

(1) *-(a)činka*: PALAČINKA ('a pancake'); 'pancake': *cipičinke*, *čokočinka*, *džemičinke*, *hronočinke*, *kokosčinke*, *mankičinka*, *njokačinke*, *Plazmačinke*, *siričinka*, *šecerčinka*, *šunkačinka*, *vašačinka*, *viršličinka*. The present splinter almost exclusively blends with the initial input words (both clipped and unclipped) which share its semantic features, namely nouns denoting food items.²⁵ The only two exceptions are *mankičinka* (*manki* ('a phonologically adapted English lexeme *monkey*')) and *vašačinka* (*vaš* ('your')).²⁶ The latter can also be considered "a double exception", since it is the only pronominal initial element. Semantics-wise, the splinter carries a meaning identical to its model word, and therefore cannot be considered a combining form. However, it is

¹⁸ That these and similar blends are loanwords proper has been checked by searching their English equivalents in the *English Web Corpus 2015* and *Google*. The decision not to include such examples in the analysis is supported by the conclusions reached in Dragičević (2018: 254–255, 279–281) concerning some problems of morphologically analysing lexical imports in Serbian.

¹⁹ *Malterego* is the name of the novel by the Serbian author Marčelo (Šelić 2016).

²⁰ The blend represents part of the book title, available at: <https://www.laguna.rs/laguna-bukmarker-promocija-knjiga-zovem-se-mama-i-cetiri-jahaca-srbokalips-unos-6134.html>

²¹ One of the candidate names for a radio show, available at: Ventilator 202. Accessed April 17, 2019. <https://www.modli.rs/radio/ventilator/ventilator.html>.

²² For more information about blending in Serbian and English at the syntactic level, see, for instance, Lalić-Krstin and Halupka-Rešetar (2007: 28) and Bauer et al. (2013: 459).

²³ All examples of blends are given in the Latin script, regardless of their original script.

²⁴ The citation form of each model word is given in small caps.

²⁵ The splinter and the initial element are sometimes blended by means of an interfix *-i-*. For more about the interfix *-i-* in Serbian, see Klajn (2002: 26, 42).

²⁶ *Mankičinka* is actually a banana pancake.

worth mentioning that there is one example of it being used freely. Namely, *Činka* was used as the name of a pancake shop in Belgrade.²⁷

(2) *-(i)čanstven*: VELIČANSTVEN ('magnificent'); 'very good, impressive': *blogočanstveno*, *bobičanstveno*, *Fenix-čanstveno*, *ljubičanstveno*, *lumpičanstvena*, *nolečanstveni*, *putinčanstven*, *ružičanstvena*, *užičanstven*. This de-adjectival splinter, with a meaning identical to that of its model word, "attracts" (un) clipped initial input words belonging to both nouns and adjectives. The common and proper nouns involve: *blog* ('blog'), *fenix* ('phoenix')²⁸, *Lumpi* ('a brand name'), *Nole* ('truncated from Novak (Đoković)'), (Vladimir) *Putin*, *Užice* ('the name of a city in Western Serbia'), whereas the adjectives involve: *bobičast* ('berrylike'), *ljubičast* ('purple'), *ružičast* ('pinkish'). The semantic features of the nominal initial elements are widely diverse, denoting food items, colours, names of places and famous people, etc. Similarly to the splinter in (1), *-(i)čanstven*, although fairly productive, demonstrates no change in meaning and accordingly no potential of developing into a modern combining form.

(3) *-(o)holičar(ka)*²⁹: ALKOHOLIČAR(КА) ('alcoholic'); 'person addicted to or obsessed with': *bankoholичar*, *beogradoholичarka*, *časopisoholичarka*, *dijetoholичar*, *grupoholичar*, *hekloholичar*, *kafoholичar*, *katastrofoholичar*, *kokteloholичarka*, *krofnoholичar*, *kupoholичar*, *magoholичarka*, *misloholичar*, *radoholичar*, *šopingholичarka*, *zdravoholичar*, *zumboholичarka*.³⁰ In 12 out of 17 blends, the initial input word is not retained in its entirety, but loses some of its phonological and orthographic material. The six exceptions are: *beogradoholичarka*, *časopisoholичarka*, *koktelholичarka*, *radoholичar*, and *šopingholичarka*. Regarding the syntactic category to which the initial input words belong, all of them are nouns. If these nouns are further analysed, it seems that they are not limited to common and mass ones, but include instances of proper nouns, too (e.g. *Beograd* ('Belgrade')). Semantically, the initial elements are not homogeneous either, as they denote or refer to various entities, such as food and drinks, a type of dance, mental or physical work, cities, etc. A semantically interesting example is the blend *katastrofoholичar* < *katastrofa* + *alkoholичar* ('catastrophe' + 'alcoholic'),

²⁷ Available at: <https://search.bisnode.rs/rs/1091530/milena-milenkovic-pr-cinka/>.

²⁸ *Fenix* represents a non-adapted Spanish word. <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/spanish-english/ф%С%A9nix>.

²⁹ In Serbian, *-ka* is the inflectional suffix indicating a feminine gender.

³⁰ There are only four examples in which the longer segment of the model word, i.e. *-kholičar(ka)* is retained, for there is an overlap (indicated by an underline) in the phoneme and letter *-k(o)-* between the two input words. Since such examples are in the significant minority, this segment is considered to be an infrequent variant form of the splinter *-(o)holičar(ka)*.

since its contextual usage yields the following meaning only: ‘person obsessed with uncovering catastrophic truth’. Considering the fact that *-(o)holičar(ka)* has acquired a meaning different from its model word, it is safe to say it has enormous potential to be considered a new addition to the Serbian repertoire of affixoids.³¹ The search for its independent use (including all the inflectional forms) produced no positive results.³²

(4) *-(o)lada*: ČOKOLADA (‘chocolate’); ‘chocolate’: *biljolada*, *Hugolada*, *Nutolada*,³³ *pivolada*, *rogačolada*, *sladolada*, *šljivolada*. As evidenced by the analysis of the 7 blends, the splinter *-(o)lada* carries the same meaning as its model word and combines with (un)clipped initial input words, of which the most frequent are common and mass nouns denoting food and drinks (*nut*, *beer*, *carob*, *ice cream*, *plum*). The splinter also blends with proper nouns such as *Hugo* (‘a character from a television show’) to produce the name of a confectionary item, namely milk chocolate. There is, however, one example of it being blended with an adjective such as *biljni* (‘vegetable’) in *biljolada*. Based on its relatively low frequency and productivity and the fact that its meaning is no different from the one of its model word, the splinter does not seem to be a good morpheme candidate.

(5) *-(o)mobil*: AUTOMOBIL (‘automobile’); ‘motor vehicle’: *bombomobil*, *điđomobil*, *domobil*, *dveromobil*, *frajlomobil*, *hajdukomobil*, *krntijomobil*, *patkomobil*, *putinomobil* (also *putinmobil*), *reanomobil*, *skoromobil*, *snegomobil*, *štrumpfmobil*, *transfuziomobil*, *viršlomobil*, *vukomobil*, *zvukomobil*. The splinter *-(o)mobil* combines with (un)clipped initial elements, of which most are common and mass nouns designating various concepts, such as *bomb*, *home*, *boneshaker*, *duck*, *resuscitation*, *snow*, *blood transfusion*, *frankfurter*, and *sound*. Blended with *-(o)mobil*, these nouns produce words which denote either a motor vehicle adapted to and used for a special purpose or, much less frequently, but more playfully and humorously, the vehicle’s poor condition (e.g. *krntijomobil*, *skoromobil*). There are also 7 proper nouns referring to popular Serbian and

³¹ Ćorić (2008: 157) seems to be the only author who mentions the segment *-obolik* (exemplified by the word *radobolik* (‘workaholic’)) as a suffixoid in Serbian (cf. Klajn 2002; Piper and Klajn 2014; Dragičević 2018).

³² However, there is one free form *-oličari* attested in Croatian: “[...] jer svi *-oličari* su slabi na svoju ovisnost [...]”. Available at: <https://mojekrpice.hr/tokycka-249825>. Another free form *Holičari*, attested also in Croatian, represents the name of one of the teams in the so-called competition *Pečenikijada*. Available at: <https://www.motori.hr/forum/index.php?topic=260287.25>.

³³ *Nut* is a non-adapted clipped English word *hazelnut* used in the name of a hazelnut- and cocoa-flavoured sweet milk chocolate spread.

foreign politicians or political parties ((Zoran) *Đinđić*, *Vuk* (Drašković), *Putin*; *Dveri*), the name of the Serbian pop band (*The Frajle*) and football team (*Hajduk*), as well as the names of characters from comic books (*the Smurfs*). An unusual example is the combination of the splinter and the adverb *skoro* ('almost') in *skoromobil* used jocularly to denote a vehicle that is *almost* an automobile. Since the meaning of this relatively productive splinter, as identified in 17 neoformations, is identical to the one of its model word, it seems to have no potential of becoming a combining form.

(6) *-(o)pedija*: ENCIKLOPEDIJA³⁴ ('encyclopedia'); 'encyclopedia': *ćevapedija*³⁵, *faktopedija*, *horoskopedija*, *kakopedija*, *Singipedia* (also *Singipedija*), *Srbopedija*, *Teslapedija*, *Vinopedija*. With regard to the initial input words the splinter "magnetises", the analysed set of blends indicates that they remain mostly unclipped and are part of the syntactic class of nouns, specifically common, mass and proper nouns such as: *ćevap* ('kebab'), *fakt* ('fact'), *horoskop* ('horoscope'), *Singidunum* ('the name of a private university in Serbia'), *Srbija* ('Serbia'), *Tesla*, *vino* ('wine'). The only exception is the adverb *kako* ('how'). Furthermore, although the semantic fields these initial nominal elements pertain to are quite different, they all act as modifiers, specifying the type of (encyclo)paedia involved. Since the splinter carries a meaning identical to the one of its model word, it cannot be considered a potential combining form. Similarly to the splinter in (1), *-pedija* can be used on its own: "*po raznim enciklopedijama, vikipedijama, i ostalim pedijama*."³⁶

(7) *-(o)rama*³⁷: PANORAMA ('panorama'); 'event or display of considerable size'³⁸: *Beorama*, *Glamurama*, *Hitorama*, *Lutkorama*, *vozorama*.³⁹ Unlike most splinters analysed thus far, this one has become semantically independent and thus can be said to show the potential to become a combining form, if attested in more examples in future. Concerning the initial elements the splinter blends with, there are both clipped and unclipped ones, among which (mostly common)

³⁴ Or possibly VIKIPEDIJA because some of these "pedias" are available online only. However, the presumed model word adopted in this paper is ENCIKLOPEDIJA, since 'Vikipedija' is a type of encyclopedia.

³⁵ The blend is recorded in the Cyrillic script *ћеванеџуа*.

³⁶ Available at: <https://www.sk.rs/forum/showthread.php?t=50394&clangid=1>.

³⁷ For the English splinter *-orama*, see Bauer et al. (2013: 527).

³⁸ The definition is taken from Bauer et al. (2013: 527).

³⁹ There is also a blend *Kvizorama* < *kviz* + *panorama* ('quiz' + 'panorama') in Croatian, referring to the name of a popular weekly crossword magazine.

nouns seem to dominate, with the exception of the adjective *beogradska* ('relating to Belgrade') in *Beorama*.

(8) *-(o)saurus*: DINOSAURUS ('dinosaur'); '1 person or thing that has become outdated due to failure to adapt to different circumstances, usu. *disapproving*⁴⁰; 2 person who is excessively fond of something⁴¹; 3 dinosaur toy': 3*desaurusi*, *brendosaurusi*, *dinarsaurus*, *Dinkisaurus*, *dolarsaurus*, *dssosaurusi*, *Festosaurus*, *knjigosaurus*, *lsvsosaurusi*, *markosaurus*, *NINosaurus*, *njivosaurus*, *Oblakosaurus*, *Pegosaurus*, *preletosaurusi*, *Pudingsaurusi*, *Pupssosaurusi*, *Repatisaurus*, *Sposaurusi*, *Spssaurusi*, *srssaurusi*, *štamposaurusi*, *Suncosaurus*, *urbanosaurusi*, *vinosaurus*, *Zubatisaurus*, *Zvezdasaurus*. Based on these 27 blends, the splinter under discussion seems to have a clear preference for blending with unclipped initial input words or, somewhat less frequently, their stems, as in *knjigosaurus*, *markosaurus*, *njivosaurus*, *Pegosaurus*, *preletosaurusi*, *štamposaurusi*, and *Suncosaurus*. The only exception to this observation is the segment *Dinki-* in *Dinkisaurus*, as it is neither a full form nor a stem.⁴² Regarding the syntactic category of the initial elements, most of them are nouns (common or proper), apart from the four adjectives: *3de* ('3D'), *repati* ('big-tailed'), *urbani* ('urban'), and *zubati* ('toothy'). When analysed from a semantic perspective, most of these nominal input words refer to the names of Serbian political parties and politicians, or have a certain political and/or economic connotation. There are also input words that include nouns from other semantic fields: *Fest* ('the name of a Serbian film festival'), *knjiga* ('book'), *njiva* ('arable land or field'), *oblak* ('cloud'), *pege* ('flecks'), *puding* ('pudding'), *sunce* ('the sun'), *vino* ('wine'), and *zvezda* ('star').

As far as the meaning of *-(o)saurus* is concerned, it exhibits a polysemous nature. In other words, the semantic analysis of the blends containing *-(o)saurus* indicates that it can be used in more than one sense. Namely, various distinguishing characteristics of dinosaurs (e.g. old age (cf. Fradin 2015: 388), voraciousness, etc.) have contributed to the development of the three distinct meanings of the splinter, its high productivity, and hence true potential to become a combining form. Since most of the blends are coined within political discourse with the aim of ridiculing certain political parties and politicians or

⁴⁰This is a slightly modified version of the definition taken from: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/dinosaur>.

⁴¹The definition is taken from: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/glutton>.

⁴²*Dinki-* is an arbitrary clipping of the last name of the former Serbian Minister of Finance Mladen Dinkić. Admittedly, it can be interpreted as the nickname for Mladen Dinkić and hence a full form.

their specific actions, it is not surprising that they have a derogatory connotation or that there is an ironic or even sarcastic tone to almost all of them. However, not all of the blends containing *-(o)saurus* are negatively coloured. There are cases which strike their recipients as being particularly imaginative, humorous, and endearing. Examples that best illustrate this are: *Festosaurus*, *knjigosaurus*, *vinosaurus*, *Pudingsaurusi*, *Oblakosaurus*, *Pegosaurus*, *Repatisaurus*, *Suncosaurus*, *Zubatisaurus*, *Zvezdasaurus*, of which the last six represent the names of the plush dinosaur toys, collectively known as *Pudingsaurusi*.⁴³ Additionally, *-saurus* is attested as a free form in: “*razni saurusi*”, “*vladajući saurusi*”.⁴⁴

(9) *-(o)skop*⁴⁵: HOROSKOP (‘horoscope’); ‘horoscope’: *cvetoskop*, *Čvoroskop*, *Ekoskop*, *Horoskop*, *Munchoskop*, *Muškoskop*, *Sportoskop*, *Šoljoskop*. The splinter combines with both clipped and unclipped initial elements, of which 6 are common and mass nouns (*cvet* (‘flower’), *čvor* (‘knot’), *horor* (‘horror’), *šolja* (‘teacup’)), and two are adjectives (*ekonomski* (‘economic’) and *muški* (‘male’)). The semantic analysis of the blends shows that the initial input words are quite diverse and that the splinter bears a meaning identical to the word it is modeled on, with no potential of becoming a well-established bound morpheme. Some of the blends also have a humorous connotation such as *Čvoroskop*, *Horoskop* and *Šoljoskop*.

(10) *-(o)tres*: ZEMLJOTRES (‘earthquake’); ‘craze, often used humorously’: *brenotres*, *cecotres*, *folkotres*, *vesnotres*, *Zvezdotres*. As evidenced by four out of five examples, the splinter has a pronounced tendency to fuse with clipped proper nouns such as *Brena*, *Ceca*, or *Vesna* (the names of Serbian folk singers) or *Zvezda* (the name of the Serbian professional basketball club), producing blends which denote some kind of obsession with the entity referred to by the initial word. The only unclipped initial element is *folke* (‘folk music’). Since the meaning of the splinter is different from the meanings of its model word (cf. RSJ 2011, 418), *-(o)tres* seems to have the potential to become a combining form if it continues to participate in the formation of more novel blends.

(11) *-(t)astičan*: FANTASTIČAN (‘fantastic’): ‘fantastic, used informally to describe something or someone regarded as an extremely good example of

⁴³ The toys can be won if a package of six different *Dr. Oetker* pudding mixes is bought.

⁴⁴ Available at: <https://www.021.rs/Novi%20Sad/komentari/130025>.

⁴⁵ Note that there is a suffixoid *-skop* in Serbian which appears in the names of optical instruments or TV shows (Klajn 2002: 162).

their particular type⁴⁶: *bingotastično*, *bombastično*, *brukastično*, *Darth-astičan*, *Fitastično*, *fordastična*, *gužvastičan*, *kulastično*, *Mamastično*, *mančastično*, *mišotastična*, *MOKAstičan*, *Munchtastično*, *Plazmastično*, *Poh!astična*, *SENSAstičan*, *srbastičan*, *štrumpfastičan*, *surlastično*. Although the splinter is modeled on an adjective, it chiefly blends with nouns to produce adjectival blends, except in *Fitastično* and *kulastično* where the initial elements are also adjectives *fit* ('fit') and *kul* ('cool'). The proper, common, and mass nouns it is blended with refer to or denote entities of various kinds including brand names (especially food and drink ones) or their individual products (*Ford*, *Munchmallow*, *Plazma*), the names of fictional characters (*Darth* (Vader), *štrumpf* (the Smurf)), the name of a magazine (*Sensa*), the name of a country (*Srbija* ('Serbia')), the name of a game of chance (*Bingo*), drink items (*moka* ('mocha')), as well as: *bombs*, *good quality*, *rush*, *mother*, *mouse*, *batter*, *trunk*. It is also noteworthy that the initial elements, except for very few cases, remain unclipped. This may be explained by their small number of syllables (one or two at most). Even though the splinter participates in the creation of a considerable number of blends, it retains the meaning of its model word and, as a result, cannot be considered a combining form.

(12) *čoko-*: ČOKOLADA ('chocolate'); 'chocolate': *čokočinka*, *čokoholičar*, *čokokrem*, *čokoljupci*, *čokomafin*, *čokomed*, *čokonana*, *čokonanica*, *Čokošljiva*. *Čoko-* is one of the very few initial splinters not only in Serbian, but also in English (cf. Saavedra 2014, 10, 12; Lalić-Krstin 2016, 86).⁴⁷ Based on these 9 blends, the splinter combines with nouns (both clipped and unclipped) only. Regarding the semantics of these nominal final elements, they are rather heterogeneous, denoting food items or drinks (*palačinka* ('pancake'), *krem* ('cream spread'), *mafin* ('muffin'), *med* ('honey'), *banana* ('banana'), *bananica* ('chocolate covered banana flavoured dessert'), *šljiva* ('plum'), people who love something deeply (*ljupci*), but also with other splinters (*-(o)holičar*). Although this splinter relatively easily blends with other words and is, therefore, relatively productive in Serbian, its semantic dependency on the model word speaks against its potential development into a combining form. However, it should be pointed out that the splinter shows a tendency towards free use. The following are examples of

⁴⁶This slightly modified definition is taken from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/explore/patterns-of-word-formation/>. Note also that based on the blends listed, *-astičan*, unlike the English splinter *-tastic*, does not seem to be used ironically. Available at: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/explore/patterns-of-word-formation/>.

⁴⁷As stated by Klajn (2002: 157), native prefixoids are extremely rare in Serbian.

the splinter being used without a hyphen, mostly in the names of (brand-name) food products, such as: *čoko moko*, *čoko njamb*, *čoko plazma*, *čoko smoki*, etc.

(13) *-nada*⁴⁸: LIMUNADA ('lemonade'); 'lemonade': *đumbirnada*, *jagonada*, *Lavandanada*, *limenada*, *lubenada*, *malinada*. The splinter *-nada* tends to fuse with semantically similar initial elements (both clipped and unclipped). To be more specific, since *-nada* means a drink made from lemon juice and water, it primarily takes initial input words denoting various kinds of drinks made from other fruit juices, namely *strawberry*, *lime*, *watermelon*, *raspberry*, or less frequently, with spices such as *ginger* and plants such as *lavender*. It is also interesting that all six formations are representative examples of coordinate blends, as both constituents equally contribute to the meaning of the output lexeme. Similarly to most splinters, *-nada* shows no potential of becoming a combining form, mainly due to its lack of semantic generalisation or specialisation.

(14) *-vizija*, with only one example of its longer variant form *-evizija*, due to an overlap: TELEVIZIJA ('television'); 'television': *Bajkovizija*, *Bedovizija*, *Beovizija*, *Bestovizija*, *Bregovizija*, *Cecovizija*, *Đindovizija*, *Džezovizija*, *Festovizija*, *kakavizija*, *lažovizija*, *Mirovizija*, *Montevizija*, *mučkovizija*, *Pinkovizija*, *Radiovizija*, *Slobovizija*, *svađovizija*, *Vikendvizija*, *Voždovizija*, *Vučelovizija*, *Vukovizija*. The splinter exhibits a clear tendency towards blending with (un)clipped proper, common, and mass nouns. There are also two examples of it being used with an adjective (*beogradski* ('relating to Belgrade') and a non-adapted English superlative form *best*). In almost all of the blends the initial elements and the splinter are bound by means of the interfix *-o-*. When analysed semantically, most of the blends (especially the ones in which the initial element is a proper noun referring to the name of a Serbian politician or other well-known person) carry a derogatory connotation. There are a few blends, however, whose meanings are neutral (*Bestovizija* (*best* + *televizija* 'television'), *Džezovizija* (*džez* 'jazz' + *televizija* 'television'), *Festovizija* (*Fest* 'a film festival in Serbia' + *televizija* 'television'), *Radiovizija* (*radio* 'radio' + *televizija* 'television'), *Vikendvizija* (*vikend* 'weekend' + *televizija* 'television')) or humorous (*kakavizija* (*kaka* ('pooh') + *televizija* ('television'))). Since *-vizija* has the same meaning as its model word, it cannot be conceived of as a potential combining form.

4. Concluding remarks. In this paper a number of new formatives, i.e. splinters, have been analysed in terms of their respective model words, blendability with

⁴⁸ The splinter is generally blended with (parts of) words that end in a vowel.

other words or their parts, meaning(s), as well as their potential morphological status. First and foremost, the analysis suggests that such formatives are appropriately termed splinters, since very few of them show the true potential to become modern combining forms. However, if some of the splinters, through regularity and productivity in use or meaning generalisation and specialisation (since most of them share the meaning of their model words), become firmly established bound or even free morphemes, it will also mean the reinterpretation of certain blends, namely as compounds and derivatives. With reference to the splinters' capacity to produce new blends, it is best conceived of as a continuum, with quite productive cases such as those in (8), (14), and (11), which participate in the formation of more than 20 blends, at one end; relatively productive cases such as those in (3), (5), and (1) in the middle; and cases of rather low productivity, such as those in (2), (12), (6), (9), (4), (13), (7), and (10) at the other end.

With regard to the splinter's position, both initial and final ones are identified, with the latter being expectedly predominant. This appears to be consistent with the findings related to splinters and similar phenomena in other languages, above all English (cf. Böhmerová 2010; Bauer et al. 2013; Lalić-Krstin 2016; Martiello 2018). Furthermore, some of the splinters or potential combining forms in Serbian such as *-(o)holičar(ka)*, *-(o)pedija*, *-(t)astičan*, *-(o)rama*, and *-(o)tres* have their semantic counterparts in English, namely *-holic*, *-pedia*, *-tastic*, *-orama*, *-quake*. However, their status in English varies, in that the same segment is sometimes considered a splinter in one research and a combining form or even an affix in the other (cf. Lehrer 2007; Böhmerová 2010; Bauer et al. 2013; Saavedra 2014; Martiello 2017).

The vast majority of the splinters (12) are clipped from nouns, and only two from adjectives, which seems to be the case in English as well (cf. Bauer et al. 2013: 530). Regarding the splinter's structure, the segmentation point for most of the splinters appears not to be arbitrary, but highly constrained by prosodic factors, since it usually occurs where the primary stress of the model word is. Furthermore, it also seems to be influenced by the ease of pronunciation of the neoformation. It is also noteworthy that the meanings of the few splinters that have become semantically autonomous, even polysemous, are often metaphorical. Finally, it remains to be seen whether some of the splinters (1)–(14) will eventually succeed in becoming well-established bound morphemes in the Serbian morpheme inventory.

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O JEDNOM NOVOM TIPU TVORBENOG FORMANTA U SRPSKOM JEZIKU

Rezime

U radu se kvalitativno i kvantitativno analizira jedna nova vrsta tvorbenog formanta u srpskom jeziku koja učestvuje u tvorbi leksičkih slivenica, a čiji je uobičajeni naziv u anglističkoj literaturi – splinter. Ciljevi istraživanja su: (a) da se utvrde najfrekventniji splinteri u slivenicama u srpskom jeziku, (b) da se ispita sa kojim se rečima ili delovima reči i kako splinteri kombinuju, (c) da se utvrde njihova značenja, i (d) da se ispita da li splinteri pokazuju potencijal da se razviju u moderne afiksoide. Istraživanje je zasnovano na korpusu od 172 leksičke slivenice koje sadrže 14 najfrekventnijih splintera i koje su prikupljene iz studija i članaka na temu slivenica u srpskom jeziku, elektronskog korpusa Serbian Web, te različitih drugih internet i pisanih izvora. Rezultati analize pokazuju da je najveći broj splintera izdvojen iz imenica čija značenja najčešće zadržavaju, kao i da se najčešće kombinuju sa imenicama. Takođe, pojedini splinteri pokazuju potencijal da se kroz tvorbu novih slivenica ili sticanje semantičke nezavisnosti razviju u afiksoide i tako obogate postojeći inventar vezanih morfema u srpskom jeziku.

Ključne reči: tvorba reči, slivenice, splinteri, moderni afiksoidi, srpski jezik.

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