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## **HYBRID ENGLISH-SERBIAN AND SERBIAN-ENGLISH LEXICAL BLENDS IN SERBIAN\*\***

The present paper analyzes 111 contact-induced hybrid lexical blends in contemporary Serbian, i.e. new words which combine two other words belonging to different languages, namely English and Serbian. It aims at determining: (a) the preferences (if any) for the arrangement of the blends' source words as to whether they are native or non-native, (b) (the frequencies of) the blending mechanisms, (c) the semantics of the blends, including their semantic transparency, as well as (d) some social aspects of the blends' use. Additionally, the results obtained herein are compared with those for the contact-induced hybrid Spanish-English blends (BALTEIRO 2017) to determine whether the tendencies observed for the Serbian data are also characteristic of the Spanish data. The results show that: (a) non-native or English words tend to be arranged first, as well as fully preserved, as opposed to native words which are normally clipped if appear in first position, (b) discontinuous overlapping blends and blends of two full source words which necessarily overlap constitute the majority of the data, (c) most of the hybrid blends are of the attributive endocentric type, being fairly semantically transparent, and that (d) the Serbian hybrid blends are generally used in those social contexts such as advertising, business and product naming, or entertainment where linguistic creativity is not only highly desirable, but may have an important social function in creatively expressing identities. Finally, the comparative analysis indicates that there are fairly similar formal and semantic tendencies in the creation of the Serbian and Spanish hybrid blends.

*Keywords:* contact linguistics, English, Serbian, (morpho)structural borrowing, lexical borrowing, blending, hybrid blends

### 1. Introduction

Every time people speaking different native languages communicate, there is a high probability that some language transfer will occur. As "language contact is [literally] everywhere" (THOMASON 2001: 10), especially nowadays, with all those technological innovations designed for connecting people worldwide, it is unsurprising that most, if not all, of the world's languages are actually affected by it, though, of course, not equally. The character of this language contact, i.e. the nature of its linguistic results, is determined by a variety of (non-)linguistic factors such as genetic, typological, or cultural (dis)similarities of the participating languages, their general (i.e. sociopsychological, socioeconomic,

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sociopolitical, etc.) status, the duration or intensity of contact between speakers, speakers' attitudes to these languages, etc. (WINFORD 2003: 2). The most frequent type of transfer or influence that occurs between languages is lexical borrowing or the borrowing of words (THOMASON 2001: 10). However, “[i]t is not just words that get borrowed: all aspects of language structure are subject to transfer from one language to another, given the right mix of social and linguistic circumstances” (THOMASON 2001: 11). For example, grammatical (i.e. (morpho)structural) and pragmatic borrowing occur as well, though they are much less frequent than lexical borrowing. (Morpho)structural borrowing is also more difficult to detect, as it occurs at the more abstract level of linguistic structure, which is one of the key reasons why the interaction between borrowing and word-formation has been a rather understudied area of (contact) linguistics (RENNER 2018: 2; TEN HACKEN AND PANOCOVÁ 2020: 3, 7–8). According to Renner (2018: 2), (morpho)structural borrowing refers to “the increase or decrease in frequency of use of an abstract word-formation schema caused by language contact and includes the new availability of a *virtually unknown* [emphasis mine] schema (i.e. a change from a null to a non-null frequency, or structural borrowing *sensu stricto*)” [emphasis in the original].

Though the subject of this paper is intentional hybrid lexical blends in contemporary Serbian, i.e. new words which combine two other words belonging to different languages, namely English and Serbian, thus presupposing the borrowing of individual words from English, it must be noted that it was (morpho)structural borrowing that made it possible for Serbian speakers to produce these linguistic hybrids in the first place, as the process of lexical blending (see Section 2) in Serbian is believed to have been triggered by blending in English (BUGARSKI 2001: 1–2; HALUPKA-REŠETAR AND LALIĆ-KRSTIN 2009: 119), which is the case with many other contemporary languages (see, e.g., BALTEIRO 2017: 3–4; CACCHIANI 2016: 308, 311; KONIECZNA 2012: 52; SICHERL 2018: 144–145; STAMENOV 2015: 175–176; cf. RENNER 2018: 8–9).<sup>3</sup> Namely, most researchers of Serbian blends (e.g., BUGARSKI 2001: 1; HALUPKA-REŠETAR AND LALIĆ-KRSTIN 2009: 115) agree that blending was virtually non-existent in this South Slavic language until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but that it has been actively producing a considerable number of new words during the past three decades, most probably “as a result of the growing influence of English”, where it is believed to have originated, as well as to be quite popular and productive (RENNER, MANIEZ et al. 2012: 1).

Even though Serbian blends are, for the most part, created by means of native words, there is also a growing tendency for producing hybrid blends. This particular tendency is evidenced by the increasing number of Serbian hybrid blends which have been recorded (without further analysis) by Bugarski (2001; 2003; 2013; 2019) over the last 30 years. The author's (BUGARSKI 2001) first contribution to Serbian lexical blends saw a very small number of hybrid blends (only 7 examples, including one syntagmatic hybrid blend), which comes as no surprise considering the fact that blending in Serbian was at its very beginning back then and was only starting to develop and gain in popularity. Whereas the number of attested examples of Serbian hybrid blends was rather insignificant at the turn of the century, Bugarski's study of 2003 brought some more examples of this type

<sup>3</sup> Note that some authors (e.g. LEHRER 2007: 129) use the term *hybrids* to refer to those blends whose source words are paradigmatically related, iconically denoting extra-linguistic mixtures such as hybrid animals, hybrid plants, hybrid languages and the like.

of linguistic hybridity (i.e. 16 hybrid blends). A much greater collection of 104 hybrid blends was presented by the same author a decade later as part of his new linguistic study (BUGARSKI 2013). Lastly, Bugarski's (2019) monograph on Serbian lexical blends contains about 200 examples of hybrid blends, though not all of them are one-word blends, i.e. blends proper, but include the products of blending at the syntagmatic and syntactic rather than lexical level.<sup>4</sup> In view of a growing number of hybrid lexical blends in Serbian (and in some other languages (see Section 3)), as well as the fact that we lack deeper knowledge about their structural, semantic, and social aspects, the present paper aims at filling this gap by qualitatively and quantitatively analyzing a collection of hybrid English-Serbian and Serbian-English blends and further comparing these findings with the results obtained from other languages, namely Spanish, which has also seen a growth in such contact-induced formations.

The organization of the paper is as follows: following Section 1, which introduced the theoretical framework of contact linguistics adopted for the purposes of this paper and its subject, Section 2 briefly discusses the blending phenomenon. Section 3 provides a brief review of the relevant literature. The specific aims of the paper, as well as research methodology are dealt with in Section 4. Section 5 provides a sociolinguistic analysis and discussion of the hybrid English-Serbian and Serbian-English blends, including a small-scale comparative analysis of the results obtained herein and those for the Spanish hybrid blends (BALTEIRO 2017). Finally, Section 6 offers the most important conclusions regarding the analyzed Serbian hybrid blends, as well as some implications for future (cross-linguistic) research of this dynamic area of study.

## 2. Lexical blending as extra-grammatical morphological operation (EMO)

The term *lexical blending*, as Mattiello (2013: 112) correctly observes, has variously been used, most commonly to denote a word-formation process which produces a new word by combining two (or, far less frequently, three or more) existing words, at least one of which is clipped, sometimes with a (non-)linear overlap of phonemes, graphemes, or both.<sup>5</sup> The meanings of source words, i.e. words such as compounds, derivatives, clippings, initialisms, acronyms, etc. which participate in the formation of lexical blends, are usually blended as well (BALTEIRO 2017: 3; BELIAEVA 2019: n.p.; BUGARSKI 2001: 1; 2019: 17; CACCHIANI 2016: 319; FANDRYCH 2008: 113; PLAG 2003: 122), though, as we will see below, not necessarily (cf. BAKARADZE 2010: 87; BAUER 2017: 159–160). Being rather different from products of regular or morphemic word-formation processes such as compounding or derivation (cf. HAMANS 2021: n.p.), lexical blends are probably best viewed as part of *Extra-grammatical Morphology* (as opposed to both *Grammatical Morphology* and *Marginal Morphology* (cf. DRESSLER 2000)) or “a set of heterogeneous formations (of an analogical or rule-like nature) [e.g. blends, acronyms, initialisms, clippings, etc.] which do not belong to morphological grammar, in that the processes through which they

4 For a discussion of syntagmatic blends in Serbian, see Tomić (2020).

5 For an overview of lexical blending, see, for instance, Bat-El (2006), Bauer (2012), Bauer, Lieber et al. (2013), Beliaeva (2019), Böhmerová (2010), Fradin (2015), or Renner, Maniez et al. (2012). While it is impossible within the scope of this paper to extensively discuss the blending phenomenon in all of its complexity, it is worth pointing out that, in comparison to formal aspects of blends, semantic, sociolinguistic, and especially psycholinguistic aspects of blends have been insufficiently researched.

are obtained are not clearly identifiable and their input does not allow a prediction of a regular output” (MATTIELLO 2013: 1). This does not, of course, imply that extra-grammatical phenomena are entirely unpredictable, irregular, or ungrammatical. Rather, extra-grammaticality of blends, for example, suggests that they include numerous violations of the generative morphological rules (MATTIELLO 2013: 32) such as the presence of non-morphemic parts of source words (i.e. *splinters*), symbols (cf. RENNER 2015: 128), (dis)continuous overlapping of phonemes, graphemes, or both, alternative outputs (given the same input words), etc.<sup>6</sup> As a matter of fact, there have been many attempts (regardless of the language concerned) which have fairly successfully demonstrated that intentional lexical blends are not unsystematic or arbitrary formations, but that they do exhibit certain formal and semantic regularities (see, e.g., ARNDT-LAPPE AND PLAG 2013; BELIAEVA 2019: n.p.; GRIES 2006; KELLY 1998; LALIĆ-KRSTIN 2010: 109–110; MATTIELLO 2013: 131–140; PLAG 2003: 121–126; RENNER AND LALIĆ-KRSTIN 2011) or tendencies. For instance, many of the recent (corpus-based) studies of lexical blends in English and Serbian (see, e.g., BUGARSKI 2019: 127; LALIĆ-KRSTIN 2010: 127; TOMIĆ 2019: 71) have shown that there is a distinct structural tendency for blending one whole source word and a splinter instead of the initial part of the first source word and the final part of the second source word, which has long been considered a prototypical blending pattern in most languages. Also, it has been shown by some of these studies that there is a semantic tendency for both English and Serbian lexical blends to be right-headed endocentric constructions (see, e.g., LALIĆ-KRSTIN 2010: 109; TOMIĆ 2019: 73).

### 3. Literature review

Whereas lexical blends combining native source words (regardless of a language) are extensively discussed in the literature, especially English lexical blends (RENNER, MANIEZ et al. 2012: 1), there are very few publications whose focus is hybrid blends. It is also interesting to note that studies discussing lexical blending in English report practically nothing as regards examples of hybrid blends created by native speakers of English.<sup>7</sup> A possible reason for this may be the fact that English borrows virtually no words today (DRESSLER 2005: 280).

By applying *Conceptual Blending Theory* (FAUCONNIER AND TURNER 1996, after RASULIĆ 2008: 271), Rasulić (2008) analyzes a collection of hybrid blends (as well as hybrid compounds) made up of Serbian and English elements, with the aim of identifying conceptual blending patterns used in their formation and meaning construction.<sup>8</sup>

In her account of Polish blends, Konieczna (2012: 51–56) briefly discusses the growth of hybrid blends as one more distinct tendency of blending in Polish, which became much more productive at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, probably as a result of the internationalization of Slavic languages. Owing to the global influence of English, it is mostly English words which are blended with Polish words, though examples of native words

6 *Splinter* is the most widely used term for that (irregular) clipped fragment of a source word that enters the blend (see, e.g., ADAMS 1973: 142; BAUER, LIEBER et al. 2013: 525–530; FANDRYCH 2008: 111–113; LÓPEZ RÚA 2006: 675–678; MATTIELLO 2018: passim).

7 Cf. Balteiro (2017: 5), who notes that these forms “are paradoxically rather uncommon in English”.

8 Her collection of hybrid blends includes a number of examples recorded by Bugarski (2002a; 2002b; 2003; 2005, after RASULIĆ 2008: 288), as well as some syntagmatic hybrid blends.

being blended with Italian or Russian words are attested as well (KONIECZNA 2012: 53).

Though her primary focus of attention is Italian blends combining native words only, Cacchiani (2016) also analyzes a few examples of Italian-English hybrid blends. According to her (CACCHIANI 2016: 321), Italian hybrid blends are strongly favored by advertising agencies for their evocative and memorability purposes.

Probably the major contribution to the phenomenon of hybrid blending is the paper by Balteiro (2017), which exhaustively discusses a number of contact-induced hybrid Spanish-English blends. Similarly to many other languages, blending in Spanish is considered a minor word-formation process, though it is currently becoming more productive, owing partly to the global influence of English and in part to a number of non-linguistic factors which are characteristic of contemporary societies (BALTEIRO 2017: 3–4, 6). Specifically, Balteiro (2017: 1) analyzes 51 hybrid Spanish-English blends collected from various sources in an urban area, with a view to determining their formal and semantic tendencies, i.e. “the ordering of the source words according to foreign or native origin; the presence of full forms and the distribution of full words and splinters, clipping and overlapping of the source words, as well as the semantic patterns and relations between the source words”.<sup>9</sup>

#### 4. Aims and methodology

The aims of this paper are manifold. Considering the lack of knowledge about the formation and use of a growing number of hybrid lexical blends in contemporary Serbian, as well as the preliminary results and conclusions of the few contributions reviewed above, the paper aims at determining: (a) the preferences (if any) for the arrangement of the blends’ source words as to whether they are native or non-native, as well as possible reasons for the identified arrangements, (b) (the frequencies of) the blending mechanisms, (c) the semantics of the blends, including their semantic transparency, as well as (d) some social aspects of the hybrid blends, i.e. why and in which social contexts they are usually used. In addition, the results obtained herein are compared with those for the Spanish hybrid blends (BALTEIRO 2017) with the purpose of ascertaining whether the tendencies observed for the hybrid blends in Serbian are also characteristic of those in Spanish. The results produced by Balteiro’s (2017) research are selected for comparison because it is, to the best of my knowledge, the only contribution whose main focus is contact-induced hybrid blends (as defined above) and, maybe more importantly, whose data is sizeable enough to allow for some valid conclusions to be drawn. Furthermore, such comparative analysis may produce some valuable results as regards formal and semantic tendencies in the word-formation process of blending across different languages, in which a growth of both monolingual and bilingual blends is said to have been triggered by their contact with English, as the most influential language of the contemporary world (THOMASON 2001: 158).

To these ends, I collected and analyzed 111 contact-induced hybrid English-Serbian and Serbian-English blends created by contemporary Serbian speakers.<sup>10</sup> The major-

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<sup>9</sup> The results of Balteiro’s (2017) research will be presented in greater detail in Section 5 of this paper, as part of the comparative analysis.

<sup>10</sup> The following section contains all the blends used in this research.

ity of the blends (91 examples) are taken from Bugarski (2019), 15 blends are taken from Tomić (2019) and Tomić & Danilović Jeremić (2020), while five blends represent newly attested examples. Following Mattiello's (2013: 112) definition of blends (see Section 2), a number of examples which are treated as hybrid blends by Bugarski (2019) were not included in the present collection for several reasons. Namely, examples such as *No smokv-ing*, *Ja(zz)buka razdora*, *Ispitni Rock* and the like were not included in the data because they represent the products of blending at the syntagmatic and syntactic levels, whereas lexical blends proper are single-word units (cf. BAT-EL 2006: 66; BENCZES 2019: 116; FRADIN 2015: 392). Hybrid blends combining Serbian words with those belonging to languages other than English (e.g. Italian (esp. *pizza*), Latin, Russian, etc.) were not included in the collection either. Few hybrid blends recorded by Bugarski (2019: 121–122) which are also listed in the Croatian dictionary of blends (MARKOVIĆ, KLINDIĆ et al. 2016, cf. also MUSTAPIĆ 2019: 137) such as *čoCROlada* or *CROmpiri* were not further considered, since they are created by Croatian companies as part of their advertising activities. In addition, blends whose one word is unequivocally foreign, i.e. English (e.g. *web* in *webrimatur*), while the other one (i.e. *imprimatur*) may be interpreted as being both native and foreign (at least based on writing) were not included. Finally, examples such as *Šejkspirijens* or *Fakbuk* were not considered for the purposes of this paper because they may easily be interpreted as combinations of two adapted English words, i.e. *Šejkspir* ('Shakespeare') and *ekspirijens* ('experience') and *fak* ('fuck') and *Fejsbuk* ('Facebook'), respectively.

The collected hybrid blends were both qualitatively and quantitatively analyzed in terms of some of their formal, semantic, and social aspects. The meanings of those blends for which there were no explanations provided by the corresponding sources were inferred from the available (extra-)linguistic context.<sup>11</sup> A comparison with the Spanish data is drawn within the relevant formal and semantic analysis of the Serbian hybrid blends.

## 5. Analysis and discussion of the results

In my data set, non-native or English words function as SW1 in as many as 68 hybrid blends (61,26%), and as SW2 in 43 hybrid blends (38,73%).<sup>12</sup> Accordingly, Serbian words function as SW1 in 43 examples, and as SW2 in as many as 68 examples. Of the 68 blends where a non-native word represents SW1, it appears as phonologically adapted in as few as 6 hybrid blends. The adapted words include: *čiken* ('chicken'), *fak* ('fuck') (apologies for obscene language here and throughout), *mani* ('money'), *hors* ('horse, meaning heroin'), and *klab* ('club'). The adapted English words which appear in second position of as few as 9 blends are: *atačment* ('attachment'), *lend* ('land'), *Diznilend* ('Disneyland'), and *basters* ('busters, as in myth-busters').

If the Serbian hybrid blends are further analyzed for the individual contributions of their source words, the following tendencies may be observed. Firstly, if SW1 is an English word, it is normally fully preserved (60 blends), as well as non-adapted (55 blends).

<sup>11</sup> For reasons of space, the sources containing the explanations are not cited.

<sup>12</sup> Abbreviations SW1 and SW2 will be used hereinafter to refer to the blend's first and the second source word, respectively. Source words and splinters which enter the blend are given in bold typeface. Underlined elements indicate phonological and/or graphological overlap. Single quotes in parentheses are used to provide the English translations of both the Serbian words and the adapted English words. Examples of hybrid blends are given in italics. The symbol ' ' represents the process of blending.

Furthermore, in most of these 60 blends, a non-native word tends to be both phonologically and graphically complete. However, few English words are partially complete, i.e. they are complete either phonologically or graphically. For example, the word *Google* is phonologically complete, but graphically incomplete in *googlotinja* and *googlodak*. Similarly, the word *reggae* /'reg.ei/ in *Reggaeneracija* is contained in full only graphically, but not phonologically, since the blend is pronounced the same way as the Serbian word *regeneracija*, i.e. without the diphthong /ei/.<sup>13</sup> If SW2 is an English word, it similarly tends to be fully preserved (36 blends). Secondly, if SW1 is a native word, it shows a tendency for being clipped (23 blends). Furthermore, in most of these 20 blends where a Serbian word functioning as SW1 is contained in full, it is only phonologically complete (e.g. *mamurlook*, *Oglasee*, *Podroom*). Conversely, if a native word functions as SW2, it shows a fairly clear tendency to be fully preserved (37 blends), either phonologically or graphically, or both.

The preference for clipping native (but not non-native) source words of the Serbian hybrid blends may be explained by the fact that Serbian words (like Spanish ones (BALTEIRO 2017: 8)) are generally longer than English words, owing primarily to the synthetic and inflectional character of the Serbian language (BUGARSKI 2001: 1). Consequently, as Balteiro (2017: 8) rightly observes, there must be more material of an English word preserved in the blend (cf. also GRIES 2004: 654–655). In other words, an English word tends to be retained in its full form for reasons of easier recoverability and understanding (being a non-native element). Besides, in view of a general tendency for positioning shorter words before longer ones in blends (cf. BELIAEVA 2019: n.p. and the references cited therein), I believe that the preference for placing English words before Serbian ones in the analyzed hybrid blends may, at least partly, be accounted for by the fact that they are generally shorter than Serbian words.<sup>14</sup>

Regarding (the frequencies of) the blending mechanisms by means of which the Serbian hybrid blends are formed, five mechanisms (as in Balteiro's (2017) research) are identified (see Figure 1 below):

(1) discontinuous or non-linear blending, where (part of) one word (normally the shorter, English word) is embedded in (part of) another word, while overlapping with some part of it (45,94%) (*angloCOOLtura* ← **anglo**kultura ('Anglo-American culture') × **cool**, *Artelje* ← **art** × **atelj**e ('art studio'), *BakLOVEica* ← **baklavica** ('little baklava') × **LOVE**, *bRAWmbice* ← **bombice** ('dessert bite-sized balls') × **raw**, *bRAWnžita* ← **bonžita** ('granola bar') × **raw**, *COOLPORTER* ← **cool** × **kolporter** ('newspaper vendor'), *čiketina* ← **čiken** × **piletina** ('chicken'), *Fairytastično* ← **Fairy** × **fantastično** ('fantastic'), *Flytastično* ← **fly** × **fantastično**, *FITastično* ← **fit** × **fantastično**, *FITspiracija* ← **fit** × **inspiracija** ('inspiration'), *F(re)elolog* ← **free** × **filolog** ('philologist'), *Fucketić* ← **fuck** × **Feketić** ('village in Serbia'), *FUNomenalna* ← **fun** × **fenomenalna** ('phenomenal'), *googlodak* ← **Google** × **pogodak** ('hit'), *googlotinja* ← **Google** × **golotinja** ('nudity'), *Hoolimans* ← **hooligans** × **Liman** ('urban neighborhood of Novi Sad'), *Hoptopod* ← **hops** × **oktopod** ('octopus'), *Horsovo* ← **hors** × **Kosovo** ('part of the southern province of the Republic of Serbia'), *InterCOOLturalnost*

13 The pronunciation is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=laVM6VCQExA>.

14 Of course, other factors such as "the tendency to maximise similarity between the blend and each of its source words" (BELIAEVA 2019: n.p.; cf. also MATTIELLO 2013: 139–140) may be relevant for the arrangement of the source words, too.

← **interkulturalnost** ('interculturality') \* **cool**, *isCOOLiraj* ← **iskuliraj** ('cool it') \* **cool**, *Jaz-zavac* ← **jazz** \* **jazavac** ('badger'), *Jazzbina* ← **jazz** \* **jazbina** ('den, lair'), *klabana* ← **klab** \* **kafana** ('pub'), *kRAWkeri* ← **krekeri** ('thin dry biscuits') \* **raw**, *Kvadart* ← **kvadrat** ('unit of area measurement equal to 1m<sup>2</sup>') \* **art**, *Labeerint* ← **lavirint** ('labyrinth') \* **beer**, *manižer-isanje* ← **mani** \* **menadžerisanje** ('business of acting as a manager'), *moonsečina* ← **moon** \* **mesečina** ('moonlight'), *nenadWEBivi* ← **nenadjebiv** ('unsur-fucking-passable') \* **web**, *neXTvarna* ← **neXT** \* **nestvarna** ('unreal'), *presstitutke* ← **press** \* **prostitutke** ('prostitutes'), *PLAYsači* ← **play** \* **plesaći** ('dancers'), *Prijaffi se* ← **prijavi se** ('enter a prize contest') \* **jaffa**, *Projeka(r)t* ← **projekat** ('project') \* **art**, *RAWlva* ← **raw** \* **alva** ('halwa'), *RazBeerBriga* ← **razbibriga** ('pastime') \* **beer**, *RUSStika* ← **Russia** \* **rustika** ('rustic style'), *seenpatija* ← **seen** \* **simpatija** ('person with whom someone is infatuated'), *shituacija* ← **shit** \* **situacija** ('situation'), *Sladolend* ← **sladoled** ('ice cream') \* **lend**, *štRAWdla* ← **štrudla** ('strudel') \* **RAW**, *TastARTure* ← **tastature** ('computer keyboards') \* **art**, *uPRESSovano* ← **upresovano** ('pressed') \* **press**, *Vukowar* ← **Vukovar** ('city in Croatia') \* **war**, *westhabija* ← **west** \* **vehabija** ('Wahabi'), *widowdan* ← **widow** \* **vidovdan** ('Serbian national and religious holiday'), *Woodstanak* ← **Woodstock** \* **ustanak** ('uprising'), *Zanart* ← **zanat** ('trade, craft') \* **art**, *zaOUSTavite* ← **zaustavite** ('stop') \* **oust**, *zdrawo* ← **zdravo** ('healthy') \* **raw**;<sup>15</sup>

(2) SW1 \* SW2, with linear overlap (28,82%) (*BajadeRAW* ← **bajadera** ('nougat') \* **RAW**, *BEERajte!* ← **beer** \* **birajte** ('choose'), *Beerokrate* ← **beer** \* **birokrate** ('bureaucrats'), *Beertija* ← **beer** \* **birtija** ('tavern'), *Bookvar* ← **book** \* **bukvar** ('elementary textbook used for teaching children to read'), *Bookvica* ← **book** \* **bukvica** ('long serious speech, especially one given as a scolding'), *Boombar* ← **boom** \* **bumbar** ('bumblebee'), *CANCELarija* ← **CANCEL** \* **kancelarija** ('office'), *čivilook* ← **čiviluk** ('coat stand') \* **look**, *Coolinarka* ← **cool** \* **kulinarka** ('female cook'), *Džabest* ← **džabe** ('for free') \* **best**, *Fishek* ← **fish** \* **fišek** ('cone bag'), *FOCUSiraj se* ← **focus** \* **fokusiraj se** ('focus'), *fuckultet* ← **fuck** \* **fakultet** ('faculty'), *fantastično* ← **fun** \* **fantastično**, *googled* ← **Google** \* **ugled** ('reputation'), *Jaffantastično* ← **jaffa** \* **fantastično**, *jaffantaziram* ← **jaffa** \* **fantaziram** ('indulge in fantasy'), *mamurlook* ← **mamurluk** ('hangover') \* **look**, *moneyfestacija* ← **money** \* **manifestacija** ('show, exhibition'), *Oglasee* ← **oglas** ('advert') \* **see**, *Podroom* ← **podrum** ('cellar') \* **room**, *prazilook* ← **praziluk** ('leek') \* **look**, *Pressek* ← **press** \* **presek** ('overview'), *Pressija* ← **press** \* **presija** ('pressure'), *Punkreas* ← **punk** \* **pankreas** ('pancreas'), *Reggaeneracija* ← **reggae** \* **regeneracija** ('regeneration'), *Rockovnik* ← **rock** \* **rokovnik** ('calendar'), *SerBIA* ← **Serbia** \* **BIA** ('acronym for Security Information Agency of Serbia'), *YUnikati* ← **YU** \* **unikati** ('unique items'), *YU-niverzum* ← **YU** \* **univerzum** ('universe'), *Yutopija* ← **YU** \* **utopija** ('utopia'));<sup>16</sup>

(3) SW1 \* final splinter of SW2, with(out) overlap (9%) (*Bestovizija* ← **best** \* **-o-** \* **televizija** ('television'), *Buzzazov* ← **buzz** \* **izazov** ('challenge'), *cooligani* ← **cool** \* **hu-**

15 Though a linear analysis of some of these hybrid blends is, of course, possible (e.g. *klabana* may be interpreted as the product of blending the word *klab* and the final splinter *-ana* of *kafana*), I decided to analyze them as instances of discontinuous blending because of the apparent similarity between their source words which extends to segments (phonemes and/or graphemes) other than those at the juncture (cf. GRIES 2004: 649, 653), thus resulting in overlap. According to Benczes (2019: 117), "[o]f all the various types of blends, these require the most creativity".

16 Regarding the blend *Boombar*, which refers to the name of a café bar, it is analyzed here as a blend of *boom* and *bumbar* (and not as a combination of *boom* and *bar*, which would be a compound), due to a logo featuring a bumblebee at the entrance to the bar.

**ligani** ('hooligans') (*huligani* is a fully nativized word (cf. RSJ 2011: 1444)), *faktilografkinja* ← **fak** × **daktilografkinja** ('woman typist'), *Horsarnik* ← **hors** × **Konjarnik** ('urban neighborhood of Belgrade'), *Petopedija* ← **pet** × **enciklopedija** ('encyclopedia'), *webačina* ← **web** × **jebačina** ('fuck'), *WEEDikovac* ← **weed** × **Vidikovac** ('urban neighborhood of Belgrade'), *weedovdan* ← **weed** × **Vidovdan**, *Yuropa* ← **YU** × **Evropa** ('Europe'));

(4) initial splinter of SW1 × final splinter of SW2, with(out) overlap (8,10%) (*Computik* ← **computer** × **butik** ('boutique'), *jaffolitanke* ← **jaffa** × **napolitanke** ('(chocolate) coated wafer sticks'), *knjigger* ← **knjiga** ('book') × **nigger**, *Krompiwood* ← **krompir** ('potato') × **Hollywood**, *Mobtto* ← **mobilni** ('mobile phone') × **lotto**, *prikačment* ← **prikačiti** ('attach') × **atačment**, *Serboplov* ← **Serbia** × **-o-** × **vremeplov** ('time machine'), *Singipedia* ← **Singidunum** ('name of a private university in Serbia') × **Wikipedia**, *Šiznilend* ← **šiznuti** ('wig out') × **Diznilend**);

(5) initial or (much less frequently) final splinter of SW1 × SW2, with(out) overlap (8,10%) (*Ćirbasters* ← **ćirilica** ('Cyrillic') × **basters**, *Čokolend* ← **čokolada** ('chocolate') × **lend**, *Đindilend* ← **Đinđić** ('the late Serbian politician') × **lend**, *Dodilend* ← **Dodik** ('Serbian politician') × **lend**, *jogood* ← **jogurt** ('yogurt') × **good**, *MoraTea* ← **Moravka** ('Serbian company') × **tea**, *Petrolend* ← (Bački) **Petrovac** ('town in Bačka') × **lend**, *Tranzilend* ← **tranzicija** ('transition') × **lend**, *VaradINN* ← **Petrovaradin** ('neighborhood of Novi Sad') × **inn**).

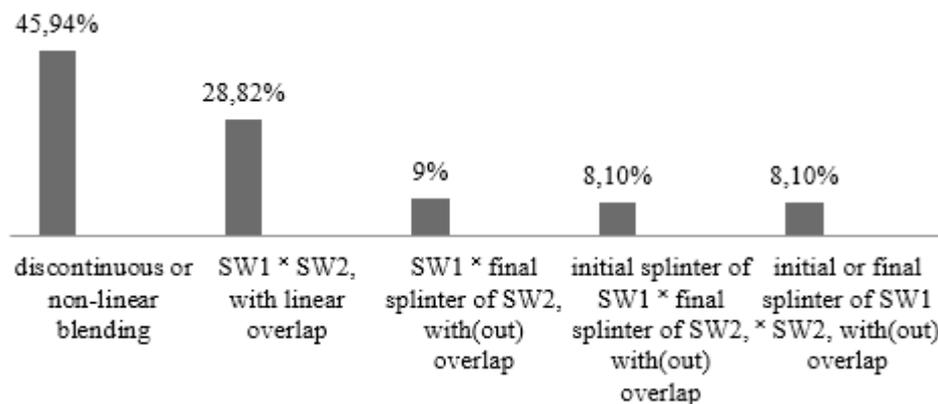


Figure 1. Percentage of different blending mechanisms in the collected data

As evidenced by these examples, there is a strong tendency for producing overlapping hybrid blends in Serbian. Of the 111 examples, as many as 98 hybrid blends (88,28%) are characterized by some type of overlap (i.e. phonological overlap (49 blends), graphological overlap (16 blends), or both phonological and graphological overlap (33 blends)). It is noteworthy that overlapping increases not only the morphosemantic transparency of blends (RONNEBERGER-SIBOLD 2006: 168, 176), but their playful character as well (see RENNER (2015) for a detailed discussion of formal complexity (including overlapping) as a factor which positively correlates with wordplayfulness). The playfulness of these overlapping hybrid blends is further reinforced by the fact that a significant number of the examples are actually *graphic blends* (see RENNER 2019). That is, these examples may only be recognized as products of blending in their written form because their pronunciation is identical or quite similar to the pronunciation of one of the source words, namely the

native word (e.g. *čivilook*, *Beerokrate*, *bookvica*, etc.).

Morphosyntactically, the substantial majority of the hybrid blends are nouns (84,68%), consisting of two other nouns or, far less frequently, of an adjective or a verb and a noun. Besides the nominal blends which dominate the data, there are also 11 adjectives and 6 verbs attested. The adjectival blends are usually created by blending a noun and an adjective, though combinations of two adjectives or a verb and an adjective are attested, too. The verbal blends are represented by combinations of a noun and a verb, two verbs, or a verb and an adjective. It may also be worth noting that the analyzed hybrid blends follow the general tendencies of Serbian blends as regards the commonest word classes they belong to (see BUGARSKI 2019: 133–134).

Interestingly enough, some English words appear to be strongly favored by Serbian speakers, as they are used in the creation of more than one hybrid blend (e.g. *cool* (A1), *look* (B1), *fuck*, *jazz* (A2), *web* (A2), *land* (A1) or its adapted form *lend*, *beer* (A1), *best* (A1), *Google* (a trademark), *press* (B1), *book* (A1), *art* (A1), *fun* (A2), or *raw* (B2)).<sup>17</sup> A likely reason for this is the fact that most of these words belong to the elementary or (pre-) intermediate level of the English vocabulary and are therefore well-known to speakers (of Serbian) who have had at least some contact with English. One other reason for choosing these specific English words may be the motivation between form and form.<sup>18</sup> Consider, for example, the blend *webačina* ('cybersex'). It may reasonably be assumed that the word *web*, and not, for example, *Internet* or *computer* (which both refer to the virtual reality and are familiar English words among contemporary Serbian speakers), was selected as the blend's SW1 because of its phonological similarity to the first three phonemes of the native word.

If the results of this formal analysis are now compared to the results of the formal analysis of the Spanish hybrid blends (BALTEIRO 2017: 7–8), it can be concluded that the two data sets share fairly similar tendencies in the formation of hybrid blends, with a few differences. Specifically, as opposed to the Serbian hybrid blends in which English words tend to be positioned first (61,26%), Balteiro (2017: 6) reports that there is no preference for English words to appear in either first or second position, as there is an equal number of the Spanish hybrid blends whose SW1 is English and of those whose SW2 is also English. Nonetheless, similarly to the Serbian hybrid blends, English words functioning as SW1 in the Spanish hybrid blends tend to be fully preserved, while Spanish words functioning as SW1 are also normally clipped. As regards the blending mechanisms, contra Serbian data where the two most frequent mechanisms (74,77%) are those of discontinuously blending (parts of) two words, which in addition overlap, and blending two full source words which necessarily overlap, the great majority of the Spanish data (76,47%) are created by linearly blending a full English word with a Spanish splinter or a Spanish splinter with a full English word (BALTEIRO 2017: 6–7).<sup>19</sup> The number of the Serbian hybrid blends created by combining SW1 and a splinter or a splinter and SW2 is much smaller (17,11%), however. The individual percentages of the Serbian and Spanish discontinuous hybrid blends are

17 The CEFR levels (A1–C2) provided in brackets were retrieved from <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/wordlists/oxford3000-5000>. There was no entry for the word *fuck* on the two lists.

18 Cf. Benczes (2019: 116, 119–121) for elaboration on phonological motivation in the formation of blends.

19 Note that some of Balteiro's (2017) hybrid blends belong to more than one pattern, as they lend themselves to multiple analyses.

somewhat more comparable, as they constitute 45,94% of the Serbian data and 33,33% of the Spanish data. Besides, both Serbian and Spanish discontinuous hybrid blends display a marked tendency towards using native elements as “the matrix word[s]” in which English elements are embedded as a kind of infix (BALTEIRO 2017: 8). Finally, similarly to the hybrid blends in Serbian, the overwhelming majority of the Spanish data are overlapping blends (88,23%). Lastly, despite the slight difference between the two data sets in the percentages of the hybrid blends consisting of two splinters (i.e. 15,68% of the Spanish data and 8,10% of the Serbian data), it is safe to assume that both Serbian and Spanish speakers tend to preserve as much material from their source words as possible in creating hybrid blends, thus facilitating their recognizability and interpretation.

The hybrid blends in Serbian were additionally analyzed with reference to their semantics. The semantic typology I used for classifying the data is the one proposed by Mattiello (2013: 123–125) for English blends. According to Mattiello (2013: 123), based on the semantic relations between their elements, blends may be either *attributive* or *coordinate*. Attributive blends “exhibit a relationship in which the second member functions as a semantic head and the first one as a modifier”, though left-headed attributive blends exist as well (MATTIELLO 2013: 123–124, 139). This semantic type is normally endocentric, i.e. its semantic head is inside the blend, though exocentric examples, whose semantic head is outside the blend, are also attested (MATTIELLO 2013: 123).<sup>20</sup> Further, attributive endocentric blends are “generally entirely transparent” (MATTIELLO 2013: 123). Coordinate blends, on the other hand, combine “two words having the same semantic status, which both serve as head” and are, similarly to attributive blends, usually endocentric, though examples of coordinate exocentric blends are attested as well (MATTIELLO 2013: 124).

Following this typology, the semantic analysis I performed for the purposes of this paper indicates that there is a distinct tendency for the source words of the 111 hybrid blends to be attributively related, as well as endocentric (see Figure 2 below).<sup>21</sup> Specifically, the source words of as many as 74 hybrid blends (66,66%) are related in such a way that one of them functions as the blend’s semantic head, and the other one as the modifier of the head or, as the name itself suggests, its attribute. Most commonly, it is the right-hand element which is the semantic head of a blend as a whole (58 blends or 78,37%).<sup>22</sup> This may be, at least partly, explained by “a universal preference for heads to be on the right side of non-heads, called the righthand head rule by Williams (1981: 248)”, possibly as a result of “the psycholinguistic recency effect which makes the end of a word more salient” (DRESSLER 2005: 275–276; cf. also BELIAEVA 2019: n.p.). Interestingly enough, in the Serbian hybrid blends, this same right-hand element is commonly represented by a native word (74,13%), possibly for reasons of the blends’ higher semantic transparency.<sup>23</sup> What is more, 81,25%

20 For a similar understanding of the terms endo- and exocentricity in relation to Serbian compounds, see Klajn (2002: 37–39). Klajn (2002: 91–92) treats lexical blends as a type of compound.

21 It is to be noted that both metaphoric and metonymic readings of the source words are understood here as more or less endocentric (cf. BAUER 2008: 65, 70, but see also HALUPKA-REŠETAR AND LALIĆ-KRS-TIN 2009: 121–122 for a slightly different interpretation). The translations of the meanings of most of the hybrid blends are not provided for reasons of space.

22 As a matter of fact, Serbian blends are typically right-headed (HALUPKA-REŠETAR AND LALIĆ-KRS-TIN 2009: 123).

23 I start from the assumption that it is naturally easier to decode or process the meaning of a native than a non-native word, no matter how basic or well-known it is.

of the left-headed attributive blends also have native words as their semantic heads. Examples (both right- and left-headed) of this semantic type include: *angloCOOLtura*, *Artelje*, *BajadeRAW*, *BEERajtel!*, *Beertija*, *Bestovizija*, *bRAWmbice*, *bRAWnžita*, *Buzzazov*, *CANCELarija*, *Čirbasters*, *čivilook*, *Čokolend*, *Computik*, *COOLPORTER*, *Đindilend*, *Dodilend*, *F(r)eelolog*, *Fairytastično*, *FITastično*, *FITspiracija*, *Flytastično*, *fuckultet*, *Fucketić*, *FUNominalna*, *googled*, *googlodak*, *googlotinja*, *Hoolimans*, *Horsarnik*, *Horsovo*<sup>24</sup>, *InterCOOLturalnost*, *isCOOLiraj*, *jaffantastično*, *jaffantaziram*, *jaffolitanke*, *Jazzbina*, *jogood*, *kRAWkeri*, *mamurlook*, *Mobtto*, *moneyfestacija*, *MoraTea*, *nenadWEBivi*, *neXTvarna*, *presstitutke*, *Oglasee*, *Petopedija*, *PLAYsači*, *Pressek*, *Pressija*, *Prijajfi se*, *prikačment*, *RAWlva*, *Rockovnik*, *seenpatija*, *SerBIA*, *shituacija*, *Singipedia*, *Sladolend*, *štRAWdla*, *Tranzilend*, *uPRESSovano*, *VaradINN*, *Vukowar*, *webaćina*, *weedovdan*, *westhabija*, *widowdan*, *Woodstanak*, *YUnikati*, *YU-niverzum*, *Yuropa*, *Yutopija*. Examples of attributive exocentric hybrid blends are attested as well. These are: *BakLOVEica*, *Beerokrate*, *cooligani*, *Coolinarka*, *faktilografkinja*, *fishek*, *Hoptopod*, *Jazzavac*, *knjigger*, *Krompiwood*<sup>25</sup>, *Labeerint*, *Petrolend*, *Punkreas*, *Raz-BerBriga*, *Šiznilend*, *WEEDikovac*.

21 hybrid blends exhibit a coordinate relationship between their elements. Rather surprisingly, more than half of these blends are exocentric (11 examples). For example, the blend *prazilook*, as reported by Bugarski (2019: 32), refers to ‘the accessory attached to a person’s rear’. Though it is related to one’s look (accessories are normally worn to complement one’s look), it represents neither a kind of look nor a kind of leek.<sup>26</sup> That is, its designatum or semantic head is outside the blend. Other examples of this semantic type are: *Bookvar*, *Bookvica*, *Boombar*, *Kvadart*, *Manidžerisanje*, *Projeka(r)t*, *Reggaeneracija*, *RUSStika*, *Serboplov*, *Zanart*. Examples of coordinate endocentric blends include: *čiketina*, *Džabest*, *FOCUSiraj se*, *funtastično*, *klabana*, *moonsečina*, *Podroom*, *TastARTure*, *zaOUSTavite zdravo*<sup>27</sup>

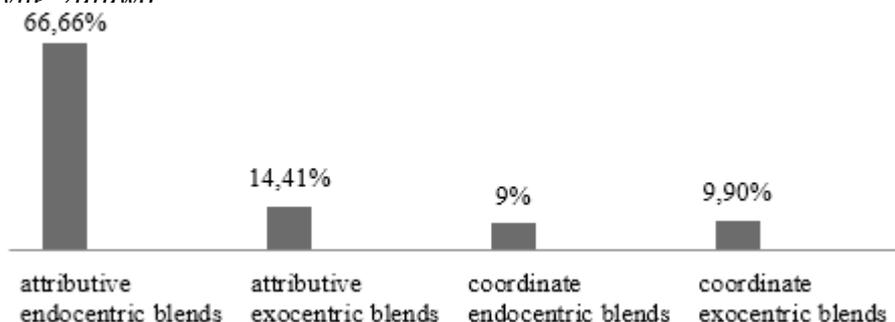


Figure 2. Percentage of different semantic types of hybrid blends in the collected data

Additionally, the semantic analysis of the data shows that most hybrid blends are fairly semantically transparent. Specifically, the attributive and coordinate endocen-

24 The blend *Horsovo* is used as ‘a disguised name for a highly addictive drug – heroin’ (cf. BUGARSKI 2019: 38).

25 The blend *Krompiwood* refers to a fast-food restaurant in Belgrade offering crispy fried potatoes, which are its main attraction, the same way film stars are the main attraction in Hollywood.

26 The reference may be to the Serbian idiom *praziluk mu viri iz guzice/dupeta* (slang, vulgar), meaning ‘a swede-basher’ (HLEBEC 2010: 922) or an unsophisticated country person who (unsuccessfully) tries to dress (or behave) according to the current (fashion) trends.

27 See sense 3 for the entry *moon* (n.) at <https://www.merriam-webster.com/>.

tric blends normally exhibit the transparency of both their source words, though in varying degrees, due to polysemy or their various metaphoric and metonymic meanings. For example, the attributive endocentric blend *čivilook* exhibits full transparency of both its source words, as one's physical appearance (*look*) is likened to that of a coat stand (*čiviluk*). Compared to the blend *čivilook*, *MoraTea*, though belonging to the same semantic type, is somewhat less transparent, since its first element (*Moravka*) is a polysemous word in Serbian (cf. RSJ 2011: 715–716) and is therefore probably more difficult to interpret. As previously indicated, the semantic transparency of (hybrid) blends may be reduced if metaphoric or metonymic meanings of one (or both) of their elements are used. This is well illustrated by the blend *Jazzbina* where the word *jazbina* is used figuratively (cf. RSJ 2011: 484), i.e. metaphorically to denote a secret or secluded place where jazz music is played. Of the coordinate endocentric hybrid blends probably the most transparent ones are those blends whose source words appear to be synonyms such as *čiketina*, *FOCUSiraj se*, or *moonsečina* (if the noun *moon* is understood as *moonlight*).<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, the attributive and coordinate exocentric blends are semantically more opaque than their endocentric counterparts, though their semantic transparency is a matter of degree, too. For example, the attributive exocentric blend *Coolinarka* ('name of a culinary website') appears more transparent than *Hoptopod* ('type of beer whose bottle features a picture of the octopus made of hops'). By far the lowest degree of semantic transparency seems to be exhibited by the coordinate exocentric blends such as *Bookvar*, which denotes neither a kind of book nor a primer, but refers to a school bookshop.

If these results are now compared with the results of the semantic analysis of the Spanish data (BALTEIRO 2017: 10–11), it can be concluded that the Serbian and Spanish hybrid blends follow fairly similar semantic tendencies, as the most important relationship between the elements of the Spanish hybrid blends is subordination or endocentricity (64,70%). The second most important relationship in the Spanish data is that of apposition (i.e. the relations of synonymy or antonymy), which is attested with 13 examples. Against the relatively high number of synonymic hybrid blends or "semantically recursive hybrid blends" in Balteiro's (2017: 11) data, my data set includes only three such examples, namely *čiketina*, *FOCUSiraj se*, and *moonsečina*. The least frequent type of semantic relationship in Balteiro's data is that of coordination, which is identified in as few as 5 blends.

As is well known, language users create blends for a variety of reasons (e.g. language economy, attention-seeking, memorability, ludicity, etc.). The results of the analysis of some of the social aspects of the Serbian hybrid blends seem to suggest that most, if not all, of them are created by speakers with "extragrammatical competence" (cf. RONNEBERGER-SIBOLD 2006: 177) with the purpose of satisfying some immediate or "instant" communicative needs, whether stylistic, expressive, esthetic, or ludic. Accordingly, most of these unconventional creations are not intended to become part of the general vocabulary of the language or have a widespread use, but are rather produced *ad hoc*, thus having a fairly limited range of use.

Namely, the majority of the 111 hybrid blends are products of commercial or social advertising (*BEERajte!*, *Buzzazov*, *Džabest*, *Fairyrtastično*, *FITastično*, *FITspiraci-*

28 Note that blends of two synonyms or antonyms are analyzed by Balteiro (2017: 10) as examples of appositional blends.

*ja*, FUNomenalna, flytastično, FOCUSiraj se, funtastično, isCOOLiraj, jaffantastično, jaffantaziram, nenadWEBivi, neXTvarna, Prijaffi se, Sladolend, zaOUSTavite), commercial business naming (*BakLOVEica*, Beerokrate, Beertija, Bookvar, Boombars, Čokolend, Computik, fishek, Jazzavac, Jazzbina, Krompiwood, Labeerint, Petrolend, Podroom, RazBeerBriga, RUSStika, VaradINN, Zanart), as well as product naming (*BajadeRAW*, bRAWmbice, bRAWnžita, COOLPORTER, Hoptopod, jaffolitanke, jogood, kRAWkeri, Kvadart, Mobtto, MoraTea, Projeka(r)t, RAWlva, štRAWdla, TastARTure, YUnikati). By creating these unusual, “double-blended” words – both morphologically and linguistically (BUGARSKI 2003: 138–140), marketing agencies or manufacturers principally aim at attracting consumers’ attention to the products or services being marketed, as well as making them more memorable or impactful. By means of hybrid lexical blending, they in addition try to satisfy all the more demanding requirements of today’s market, which forces manufacturers to continuously demonstrate innovation and creativity, including linguistic creativity.<sup>29</sup> For similar reasons, a number of the hybrid blends are created as highly imaginative names of TV and radio shows (*Bestovizija*, *Pressek*, *Pressija*, *Rockovnik*, *uPRESSovano*, *Yutopija*), musical ensembles and bands (*PLAYsači*, *Punkreas*, *Serboplov*), groups of (young) urban people supporting a common cause (*Bookvica*, *Čirbasters*, *Hoolimans*, *WEEDikovac*), websites, Internet portals, social networks (*Artelje*, *Coolinarka*, *Oglasee*, *Petopedija*, *Singipedia*), as well as various events (*InterCOOLTuralnost*, *moneyfestacija*, *Reggaeneracija*).

A few of the hybrid blends are produced by the makers of the online urban dictionary *Vukajlija* with a view to providing humorous, derisive, disparaging, and even vulgar terms for a variety of entities, whether actually existing or not. Examples are: *CANCELarija*, *čiketina*, *čivilook*, *cooligani*, *fuckultet*, *googlotinja*, *Horsovo*, *klabana*, *mamurlook*, *prazilook*, *prikačment*, *shituacija*, *webačina*, *weedovdan*, *westhabija*, *widowdan*. Several hybrid blends represent journalistic occasionalisms (*Fucketić*, *Đinđilend*, *Manidžerisanje*, *prestitutke*, *Šiznilend*, *Tranzilend*, *Vukowar*) which are intended as criticisms of current social, political, economic, etc. affairs.<sup>30</sup> Finally, there are Serbian hybrid blends produced by individuals who simply enjoy playing with or creatively manipulating various linguistic items, as evidenced by *angloCOOLTura*, *seenpatija*, or *YU-niverzum*.

Last but not least, many of these morphological-linguistic hybrids may actually perform a social function of creatively expressing identities (cf. CARTER 2016: 82, 199), i.e. they may help their creators identify themselves as members of a particular nonmainstream society or social group. For instance, artists “manipulate the rules of” word-formation with the intention of “turn[ing] the message into a sign of identity, that is, something that sets them apart from the rest, or something for which they can be recognised” (LÓPEZ RÚA 2010: 55). In other words, it may be argued that these idiosyncratic, deviant, and above all, highly creative products of hybrid lexical blending in contemporary Serbian are used as a means of performing “a more creative-critical function in which creative choices are made mainly for affectively divergent purposes” (CARTER 2016: 160) by those language users who seem to be perfectly aware of the importance, attractiveness, or prestige of English, both globally and locally.

29 As rightly claimed by Piller (2001: 189), “[i]n capitalist consumer society, it is not products that are sold but names”.

30 “Creativity can [also] be critical. That is, it can be used for non-consensual purposes of critiquing people, places, ideas” (CARTER 2016: 48).

## 6. Conclusions

In this paper, I have attempted to more closely investigate the character of a collection of intentional hybrid lexical blends combining Serbian and (non-)adapted English words, by qualitatively and quantitatively analyzing some of their formal, semantic, and social aspects, as well as to compare the tendencies in their formation with those of the hybrid blends created in other languages, namely Spanish. The results of this sociolinguistic analysis show that: (a) non-native or English words are preferred as SW1, (b) English words tend to be fully preserved, irrespective of whether they appear in first position or not, unlike Serbian words which tend to be complete only if they appear in second position, (c) there is a clear preference for products of two blending mechanisms, namely discontinuous overlapping hybrid blends and blends of two full words which necessarily overlap, (d) most of the Serbian hybrid blends belong to the overlapping type, which implies their higher morphosemantic transparency, as well as playful character, (e) the great majority of the data are attributive endocentric blends, which are fairly semantically transparent, and (f) the Serbian hybrid blends are generally used in those social contexts (e.g. commercial or social advertising, commercial business or product naming, entertainment, etc.) where (grammatical) rules or conventions are suspended, and creative license is more than welcome. Additionally, the comparative analysis indicates that there are fairly similar tendencies between the Serbian and Spanish hybrid blends as concerns their formal and semantic structure. Furthermore, considering the fact that both Serbian and Spanish hybrid blends are believed to be part of an ongoing contact-induced change, it could reasonably be concluded that they are a good indicator of not only the openness of both these languages and societies to foreign (language) influence, namely “Englishization” (KACHRU 1994), but also of an increasingly hybridizing world of today. Put differently, the steady growth of hybrid blends in contemporary Serbian, as well as in some other languages, may not only be a consequence of the global spread of English or openness of a language to foreign influence, but also a reflection of some other global non-linguistic trends such as the tendency towards *hybridization* of almost everything.

Lastly, the results and conclusions presented in this paper raise a few questions for future research into (Serbian) hybrid blends such as: (1) Do hybrid blends containing Serbian and foreign elements other than those from English follow the same formal and semantic tendencies as the data analyzed here? and (2) Do speakers of other languages follow similar tendencies in the creation of contact-induced hybrid blends containing English elements? Regarding the latter, it would be interesting to investigate whether, say, words of English tend to be fully preserved and/or positioned first if blended with words of another analytic language or not.

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## ХИБРИДНЕ ЕНГЛЕСКО-СРПСКЕ И СРПСКО-ЕНГЛЕСКЕ ЛЕКСИЧКЕ СЛИВЕНИЦЕ У СРПСКОМ ЈЕЗИКУ

У раду се разматра један од резултата интензивних енглеско-српских језичких контаката, тачније утицаја енглеског на српски језик – намерне хибридне енглеско-српске и српско-енглеске лексичке сливенице, тј. нове речи настале комбиновањем двеју других речи из српског и енглеског језика. Рад има за циљ да, пре свега, анализира и утврди: (а) дистрибуцију домаћих и страних речи у сливеницама, (б) механизме сливања и њихову заступљеност у прикупљеној грађи, (в) семантику и семантичку прозирност сливеница, као и (г) неке друштвене аспекте њихове употребе. У раду се додатно разматрају сличности и разлике у погледу тенденција у формалној и семантичкој структури српских и шпанских хибридних сливеница (BALTEIRO 2017), које једнако представљају резултат утицаја енглеског језика на шпански. Резултати анализе указују на то да: (а) је прва реч у српским хибридним сливеницама најчешће енглеска реч, као и да је она обично сачувана у целини, за разлику од домаће речи која је, уколико је прва, најчешће скраћена, (б) су међу производима пет утврђених механизма сливања најфреквентније нелинеарне преклапајуће сливенице и оне у којима се две целе речи нужно и линеарно преклапају, (в) да су најчешће атрибутивне еноцентричне сливенице, које су обично и семантички прозирне, као и да (г) су сливенице углавном настале у оним друштвеним контекстима у којима је језичка креативност не само посебно пожељна већ и у којима може добро да послужи као средство у креативном изражавању идентитета. Резултати упоредне анализе српских и шпанских хибридних сливеница указују на постојање сличних тенденција у њиховој структури и семантици.

*Кључне речи:* енглеско-српски језички контакти, (морфо)структурно позајмљивање, лексичко позајмљивање, сливање, хибридне сливенице