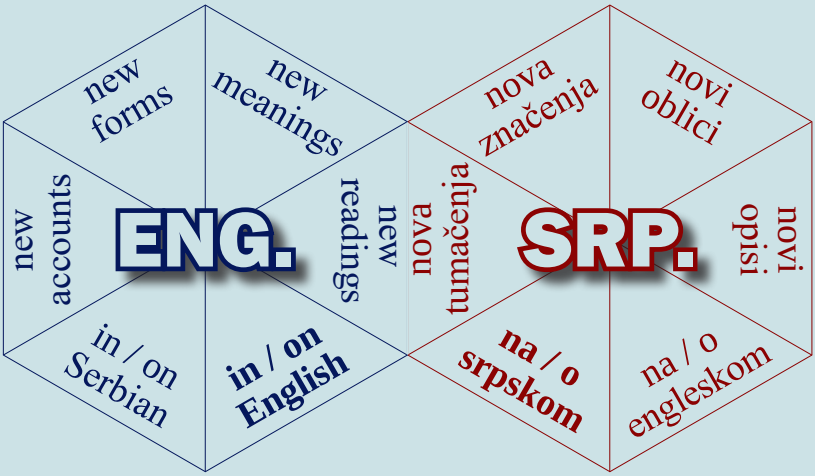
Tvrtko Prćić

# REČI U NOVOM SVETLU

# WORDS IN A NEW LIGHT




FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET
UNIVERZITET U NOVOM SADU
1954—2024

Prvo e-izdanje
First e-edition

***Reči u novom svetlu*, prvo, elektronsko, izdanje**
***Words in a New Light*, first, electronic, edition**

Tvrtko Prćić

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***Words in a New Light*, first, electronic, edition**

*Večna i najveća hvala*
*mojim najvećim učiteljima:*
*mojoj Majci i mom Ocu,*
*prof. Matiji Štefku,*
*prof. dr Draginji Pervaz,*
*prof. dr Veri Vasić i*
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# Predgovor

Ova knjiga donosi zainteresovanim čitaocima petnaest poglavlja, većim delom iz oblasti leksikologije engleskog i srpskog jezika – specifično, leksičke morfologije, semantike i pragmatike, a manjim delom iz oblasti leksikografije. Knjiga je dvojezična – s devet poglavlja na engleskom i šest na srpskom jeziku. Zbog toga je istovremeno i dvonaslovna, *Reči u novom svetlu / Words in a New Light*, pri čemu je glavni jezik srpski.

U ovih petnaest poglavlja obrađuju se reči engleskog i srpskog jezika, a zajedničko svim poglavljima jeste to da je obrada ili materija koja se obrađuje po nečemu nova i da se po nečemu reči prikazuju 'u novom svetlu' – bilo da se radi o njihovim novim oblicima, i/ili novim značenjima, i/ili novim opisima, i/ili novim tumačenjima, što se vidi na šestouglovima na prednjim koricama.

Deo prvi, na engleskom, pod naslovom *Words in a New Light – in / on English*, usredsređen je na teme iz engleskog jezika i bavi se principima savremene leksikografije i organizacijom idealnog rečnika (Poglavlje 1), istraživanjem engleskog vokabulara pomoću AI-četbotova shvaćenih i upotrebljenih kao da su multitalentovani superrečnici (Pogl. 2), razvijanjem tvorbene kompetencije kod studenata engleskog kao stranog jezika (Pogl. 3), distinktivnim stožernim i međuodnosnim svojstvima leksičkih afiksa u engleskom jeziku (Pogl. 4), kritičkom analizom leksikografske obrade odabranih leksičkih afiksa u odabranim engleskim studentskim rečnicima (Pogl. 5), teorijskim i praktičnim razgraničavanjem prefiksa i prefiksoida, te sufiksa i sufiksoida u engleskom jeziku (Pogl. 6-7), semantičkom i pragmatičkom interpretacijom monomorfemskih i polimorfemskih reči u engle-



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skom jeziku (Pogl. 8), i, na kraju, pragmatikom polimorfemskih reči u engleskom jeziku i njihovim eksplicitnim i neeksplicitnim značenjima (Pogl. 9).

Deo drugi, na srpskom, pod naslovom *Reči u novom svetlu – na / o srpskom*, usredsređen je na teme iz srpskog jezika i bavi se značajem izučavanja neologizama u srpskom jeziku iz leksikološkog i leksikografskog ugla (Pogl. 10), neologizacijom i neologizmima u srpskom jeziku i njihovim implikacijama, na primeru građe u knjizi *Srpske slivenice. Monografija sa rečnikom* (Bugarski 2019a) (Pogl. 11), mehanizmima razvijanja i preuzimanja novih značenja postojećih reči u srpskom jeziku (Pogl. 12), definisanjem, diferenciranjem, novim vrstama i upotrebom sinonima u srpskom jeziku (Pogl. 13), fraznim imenicama u srpskom jeziku, hibridnim leksičkim jedinicama koje su svojom formom sintagme, a funkcijom, sadržinom i upotrebom ponašaju se kao reči (Pogl. 14), i, na kraju, akronimima u srpskom jeziku, takođe hibridnim leksičkim jedinicama koje su malim svojim delom skraćenice, a znatno većim ponašaju se kao reči (Pogl. 15).

Tematska zbirka tekstova *Reči u novom svetlu / Words in a New Light* namenjena je prvenstveno studentima doktorskih i masterskih studija engleskog jezika i lingvistike, srpskog jezika i lingvistike, ali i drugih jezika i lingvistika, maternjih i stranih, koje se na našim fakultetima predaju i izučavaju. Zainteresovani čitaoci na stranicama ove knjige naći će studije, za koje autor želi da veruje da unose nešto novo, o engleskim i srpskim rečima sagledanim u novom svetlu, i to na delu, što će čitaocima možda otvoriti nove vidokruge u posmatranju i poimanju jezičkih i lingvističkih činjenica, naročito onih leksičkih, i što će ih možda nadahnuti ili podstaći na sopstvena originalna istraživanja, jednojezična ili dvojezična, kontaktno-kontrastivna – ta originalna istraživanja bila bi svakako najznačajniji doprinos ove knjige i ujedno ispunjenje njenog osnovnog cilja.

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Ovom prilikom autor najiskrenije zahvaljuje kvartetu uva-



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ženih recenzenata, mojih mlađih koleginica i kolega – prof. dr Violeti Stojičić, dr Ivani Lazić Konjik, naučnom savetniku, prof. dr Milanu Ajdžanoviću i prof. dr Dušanu Stamenkoviću, za koje se nadam da su od mene naučili bar delić onoga što sam ja naučio od njih. Hvala vam na pozitivnom mišljenju o ovom rukopisu, a još vam više hvala na dragocenim primedbama i predlozima koji su ga učinili boljim po formi i sadržini.

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U Subotici, u leto 2024.

T. P.



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*Words in a New Light*, first, electronic, edition

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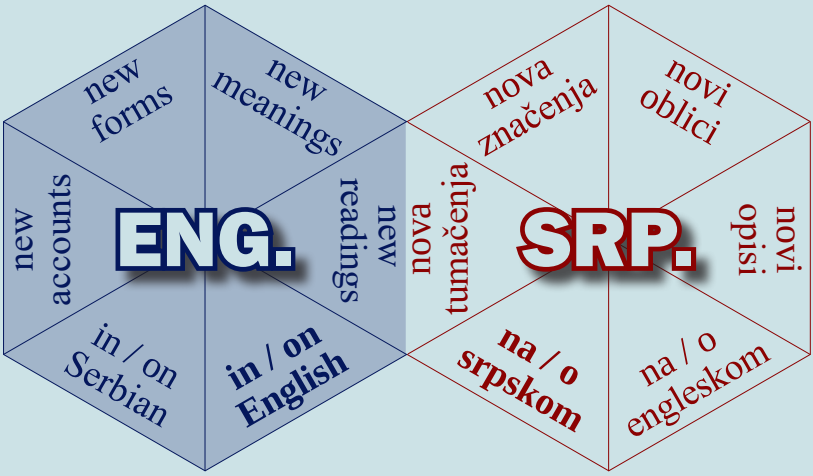
PART 1:

# WORDS IN A NEW LIGHT

## – IN / ON ENGLISH –



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# 1. Modern lexicography and the ideal dictionary

This opening chapter comprises three related studies into three important aspects of dictionary making and dictionary use at the turn of the century and the millennium or, more precisely, at the beginning of the 21st century, where lexicography appears to be torn between two rival methodological paradigms and approaches to understanding its identity, status, theory and practice. The point of difference lies in the attitude towards modernization of the dominant methodological paradigm. The one, that could be named the OLD PARADIGM, is largely traditional, printed, pre-computer-assisted lexicography and the other, that could be named the NEW PARADIGM, is modern(ized), electronic, computer-assisted lexicography, striving to earn the status of linguistic science by building its own theory, methodology and practice, all with the purpose of becoming elevated from the long and widely held belief, even though simplistic and misguided, that the stature of lexicography is merely in the realm of 'art and craft'.

In time of inevitable transition of paradigm, tangible results of lexicography, as can be observed in newly produced dictionaries and scholarly books and papers in many countries, and Serbia is no exception here, show a more or less balanced and harmonious mixture of elements of both paradigms, on a scale ranging from old-only to old-and-new to new-and-old to new-only. With the intention of contributing to the process of modernization in and of lexicography, especially locally, in this country, the aims of the ideas shortly to be outlined are threefold: firstly, to put forward a personal view on the modernization of lexicography concerning its practical and theoretical branches; secondly, to attempt to



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have the pendulum swing away from the old and towards the new paradigm; and thirdly, to set out a plan for the ideal general-purpose dictionary.

The discussion will deal with principles of modern lexicography and attributes defining and upholding lexicography as a science; with essentials of dictionary culture and ways of its institutional development; and with a blueprint of the ideal dictionary – specifically, a general-purpose dictionary.

## 1.1. Principles of modern lexicography

This section deals with the makings of modern lexicography, that has been taking shape during the last decades of the 20th century and has been seeing rapid, dynamic, innovative and many-sided advances in the first decades of the 21st century. It can be said to be guided by several (hitherto unwritten) principles, which are inferrable by careful observation of the dictionaries latterly and presently produced in electronic and/or print forms, in the United Kingdom – notably at *Oxford University Press*, *Cambridge University Press*, *Pearson Longman*, *Macmillan* (discontinued), *HarperCollins* and *Chambers*,[1] and in the United States – notably at *Merriam-Webster*, *Webster's New World*, *Random House Webster's*, *American Heritage*, *Dictionary.com*, *Wiktionary* and *English Corpora*,[2] as well as by thorough exploration of the topics dealt with in the books and handbooks on lexicography recently published (and listed in the References). What sets apart modern lexicography is, of course,

[1] Addresses of online editions: https://www.oed.com/, https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/ (Oxford); https://dictionary.cambridge.org/ (Cambridge); https://www.ldoceonline.com/ (Pearson Longman); https://www.collinsdictionary.com/ (Collins); https://chambers.co.uk/ (Chambers).

[2] Addresses of online editions: https://www.merriam-webster.com/ (Merriam-Webster); https://www.yourdictionary.com/ (Webster's New World); https://www.wordreference.com/definition/ (Random House Webster's); https://ahdictionary.com/ (American Heritage); https://www.dictionary.com/ (Dictionary.com); https://en.wiktionary.org/ (Wiktionary); https://www.english-corpora.org/, https://www.english-corpora.org/iweb/help/iweb_overview.pdf (English Corpora).



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MODERNIZATION of the traditional lexicographic process, which is being superseded by the computer-assisted approach to doing lexicography. Even though this modernization is just an evolution of the currently prevalent paradigm, it has brought about, and is increasingly bringing about, revolutionary results, undreamed-of until now. Thanks to global computerization and digitalization of almost all segments of life today, making and using dictionaries in digital form have become the two hallmarks of modern lexicography – alongside modernization, it is DIGITAL IMPLEMENTATION of the entire lexicographic process, as its logical and ultimate outcome.

There now follows the author's perception and formulation of the principles of modern lexicography that have been taking shape in recent decades (cf. Prćić 2018: Chap. 1, on which this account draws).

(1) Modern lexicography is founded on SCIENTIFIC PRINCIPLES AND METHODS, which means the application of the latest theoretical, methodological and practical achievements of present-day lexicography and lexicology, as well as corpus, cognitive, contrastive and contact linguistics. The unifying research basis to all these disciplines is PRAGMATICIZATION (alternatively, CONTEXTUALIZATION, or CONCRETIZATION) of meanings, consisting in the examination of language phenomena attested in real-life linguistic (sentential) and extralinguistic (situational) contexts, which makes it possible to carry out analyses of authentic, naturally occurring stretches of written and spoken language at all levels of use. As a result, linguistic researchers, including lexicographers, can obtain objective insights into actual lexical, grammatical and other usage phenomena, and can thus assure their full and reliable lexicographic treatment, freed from subjective and intuitive judgements of many traditional dictionary editors and compilers regarding acceptable and/or recommended usage.

With respect to the scientific identity and status of lexicography, which still continues to be challenged and disputed, and even sometimes denied (for a representative selection of the topics under debate, see Adamska-Sałaciak 2019; Atkins 2008; Bergenholtz 2012; Bergenholtz and Gouws 2012; Bogaards 2010; Hartmann



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2001; Magay 2000; Margalitadze 2018; Prćić 2020; Sinclair 1984; Tarp 2012, 2018; Wiegand 1984), there is a range of criteria upholding the claim that lexicography can be, and indeed should be, regarded as a science – specifically, an applied linguistic science – by virtue of exhibiting customary attributes of science and scientific / scholarly research, the most important of which are the following (cf. Prćić 2018: Chap. 1, 2020: 295):

- precisely delineated scope, topics and aims of research,
- theoretical and methodological apparatus, and technical terminology,
- empirical data and research methods with easily made generalizations,
- research results able to be made known at the practical level in the shape of ready dictionaries and at the theoretical, methodological and practical levels in the shape of scholarly papers, books, handbooks, conference presentations, etc.,
- applicability of research results in everyday practice, including popularization of scholarly achievements,
- applicability of theoretical and practical research results in university courses, at MA and PhD levels, including the writing of MA theses and PhD dissertations,
- contribution to the advancement of lexical, lexicological and lexicographic research, as well as of knowledge of language use and general knowledge, and
- existence of professional associations, scholarly journals, books, handbooks, conferences, books of proceedings and bibliographies of dictionaries and scholarly works.

(2) Modern lexicography aims at producing FUNCTION-DRIVEN DICTIONARIES, which means focus, firstly, on the PASSIVE (RECEPTIVE) FUNCTION, related to users' understanding of written and spoken texts in $L_1$; and/or, secondly, on the ACTIVE (PRODUCTIVE) FUNCTION, related to users' expressing themselves in speech and writing in $L_1$ or, when translating or learning a foreign or second language, in $L_2$; and/or, thirdly, on the MEDIATORY function, related to users' understanding of texts with the aid of translation and/or to us-



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ers' translating of texts from $L_1$ into $L_2$. Since the end of the 20th century, there has been a marked tendency, pioneered in the five leading British EFL learner's dictionaries from *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, *Longman*, *HarperCollins* and *Macmillan* (the latter discontinued), to conflate passive and active functions within one dictionary, and even all three functions within hybrid bilingualized dictionaries, in which the text of a monolingual, typically EFL learner's, dictionary contains additional translations of definitions, word senses and examples into another language, typically the learner's mother tongue (for pioneering reports on the compilation, exploitation and assessment of bilingualized EFL dictionaries, see Baker and Kaplan 1994; Hartmann 1994; Laufer and Hadar 1997; Laufer and Kimmel 1997; Laufer and Melamed 1994). And the fourth function, METALEXICAL (cf. Prćić 1996), related to providing users with insights into form- and content-based workings of vocabulary, is implicitly covered in all dictionaries and explicitly in specialized dictionaries, dealing with segments of vocabulary, like synonyms, collocations or affixes.

(3) Modern lexicography aims at producing USER-ORIENTED DICTIONARIES, which means fulfilling users' expected communicative needs in terms of completeness, accuracy and usability of the information offered, in accordance with the type, purpose and function of the dictionary. In addition to customary linguistic information about the forms, functions, meanings and uses of words, and their combinations and components, it is desirable also to include, where/when necessary and feasible, encyclopedic information on the cultural and even conceptual system of $L_1$ and, in bilingual dictionaries, of $L_1$ and $L_2$.

(4) Modern lexicography aims at producing USER-FRIENDLY DICTIONARIES, which means fulfilling users' expected reference needs in terms of accessibility of dictionaries and, particularly, quick and effortless findability of the information sought. This is achieved, firstly, with a detailed user's guide, explaining the methods of processing, editing and presenting the information offered; secondly, with an easily navigable multi-paragraph layout of a dictionary entry; thirdly, with effective typography, employing, in modera-



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tion, fonts of various faces, sizes and colours; and fourthly, with abstruse abbreviations and symbols reduced to an absolute minimum, if not eliminated altogether.

The latter two principles, user-orientation and user-friendliness, are two complementary facets of USER-CENTREDNESS, a unique quality of modern lexicography, directed towards meeting the needs of potential and actual dictionary users, who should represent the primary goal and motivating force of every modern dictionary planned and/or implemented today.

(5) Modern lexicography promotes DIGITAL IMPLEMENTATION of the lexicographic process, which means computer-assisted lexicography, carried out in digital, or electronic, form during all four stages of this process: firstly, in collecting and selecting written and spoken language material to be used as an electronic reference or monitor corpus; secondly, in processing, editing and presenting information in dictionaries; thirdly, in producing, realizing, publishing and distributing dictionaries; and fourthly, in utilizing dictionaries as final products. Digital implementation can be subsumed under the concept and term ELECTRONIC LEXICOGRAPHY, or E-LEXICOGRAPHY, for short (for groundbreaking contributions to theoretical, methodological and practical aspects of electronic lexicography, see Egbert, Larsson and Biber 2020; Fuertes-Olivera and Bergenholtz 2013; Gouws, Heid, Schweickard and Wiegand 2013; Granger and Paquot 2010, 2012; Kosem and Kosem 2011; Kosem, et al. 2013, 2015, 2017, 2019, 2021; Medved' 2023), which accentuates and determines the theoretical, methodological and practical identity, and intrinsic nature, of modern lexicography.

With the above five principles on a hopefully firm footing, the way could be seen to be paved for the recognition, in time, of a sixth, brand new, principle of modern lexicography, which says:

(6) Modern lexicography stimulates institutional development of DICTIONARY CULTURE, consisting in popularization of lexicography, firstly, by acquainting would-be users with different types and purposes of dictionaries and, secondly, by teaching and monitoring efficient dictionary use, especially within the educational system, starting from senior classes of the primary school



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onwards and culminating at the university – specifically in courses on language(s), linguistics and, above all, lexicography. In this manner, forming part of general language culture, groundwork could be laid for the establishment and subsequent institutional development of dictionary culture. Due to its importance, the idea of dictionary culture and ways of its institutional development need further elaboration – in what follows next.

## 1.2. Essentials of dictionary culture

This section deals with the makings od dictionary culture, a relatively less known phenomenon related to lexicography, sometimes perhaps taken for granted and therefore, in this sense, not much written or spoken about. Conceived as a component of general language culture, as described and delimited by Bugarski (1997a, 1997b), DICTIONARY CULTURE could be defined as **an acquired ability to use dictionaries efficiently, paired with the habit of resolving all usage-related problems (about vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation, spelling, etc.) and of filling gaps in linguistic knowledge by regularly consulting dictionaries and other language reference tools** (like orthography books and style guides) rather than pursuing the self-deceptive practice of relying only on one's own shaky personal intuition (for different construals of the concept of dictionary culture in theory, methodology and practice, see Baskın and Mumcu 2018; Gouws 2013; Hartmann 2000; Hartmann and James 1998; Klein 2007; Nkomo 2015). This applies particularly to SPECIAL LANGUAGE USERS, people who are professionally engaged in using language publicly and who, by the very nature of their profession, systematically influence, or are liable to influence, the usage practices of their, often linguistically receptive and impressionable, audiences and, ultimately, of the public at large. These professions include, above all, teachers of all subjects and at all levels of education – primary, secondary and tertiary, then journalists and editors, radio and television announcers, presenters and hosts, graphic and other designers, advertising, marketing and other slogan inventors, PR



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people and, last but certainly not least, translators and interpreters of all kinds of texts from and into all languages (for more details, see Prćić 2019a).

Judging by the overall quality of the language the public in this country are faced with in the media, in literary and technical texts, in translations of films, books and other materials, and almost everywhere else, it is obvious that, with few commendable exceptions in the form of dedicated language professionals, other language users, and particularly special language users, do not devote enough attention to the language they produce in writing and in speech, with the clear implication that dictionaries and other language (and non-language) reference tools are not high on their daily agenda. Rather than consult a reference tool, they prefer to be their own language authorities and to rely on their shaky intuitions and even shakier primary- and secondary-school knowledge of grammar, orthography and vocabulary. This unfortunate and quite unacceptable practice, going on for decades, results in stretches of language that are faulty in spelling, grammar, meaning, style, collocations, idioms, word formations, translations and, if stretches are spoken, in pronunciation. Consequently, attentive readers and listeners are left with a distinct impression of systematically careless use of language, both Serbian and others, a use that, because of its unstoppably steady and rapid spread, has assumed the character of a distinctive functional style, named, sarcastically and paradoxically enough, SLOPPY FUNCTIONAL STYLE (for a critical overview, see Prćić 2019a: Chap. 4).

All these reasons should suffice to warrant the proposal that institutional development of dictionary culture be introduced into the educational system, starting from senior classes of the primary school and culminating at the university, especially departments of language and linguistics. The primary aim of institutional development of dictionary culture would be to demonstrate to learners the futility of people's self-reliance on their intuitions in using language and to impress on them that successful, effective and serious communication builds around rules and principles of a language. The rules and principles must be acquired, known



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and observed by all (linguistically and otherwise) educated and responsible members of a linguistic community and it is dictionaries and other language reference tools that have been created to be consulted and obeyed on a regular basis in order to resolve all kinds of usage-related problems, encountered especially by special language users.

Even though specific topics at specific levels of education for the purpose of institutional development of dictionary culture are yet to be worked out, it would appear, on reflection, that dictionary culture would best be incorporated into the syllabus of Serbian and other native and foreign languages, as deemed appropriate. The coverage would provide learners with the knowledge of five interrelated areas, listed here from general to specific:

- dictionaries and other language reference tools viewed as a whole,
- specific types and subtypes of dictionaries and other language reference tools,
- the most authoritative and influential dictionaries and other language reference tools,
- ways of exploiting dictionaries and other language reference tools efficiently, especially, navigating their entries so as to quickly find the information sought, and
- most importantly, developing dictionary culture should acquaint learners with the advantages of using dictionaries and other language reference tools by making them recognize how exactly these can help users express themselves in a factually more accurate and linguistically more appropriate way.

In order that this project could be launched in this country and brought to full fruition, there are several preconditions to be satisfied, by way of advance logistical support:

- compiling and publishing modern online and print dictionaries – firstly, general-purpose monolingual dictionaries of Serbian and bilingual dictionaries of all native and foreign language pairs used, learned and researched in Serbia (along the lines to be proposed here shortly; cf. Prćić



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2018: Chap. 1); secondly, specialized monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, most pressingly of synonyms, collocations and culture-specific words; and thirdly, terminological dictionaries, most pressingly of all areas of sciences and humanities,

- making dictionaries widely and freely available on the internet to all interested users, who would be able to consult them via their computers, tablets and mobile phones, when and where they need them,
- preparing a user-friendly exercise and/or resource book, or an interactive online or offline software guide, which would take learners step-by-step through the topics of dictionary culture, with special focus on techniques for efficient use of dictionaries, navigating entries and finding necessary information in all kinds of language reference tools, and
- designing the syllabus for primary, secondary and tertiary education, that would define development of dictionary culture as part of the syllabus of Serbian and other native and foreign languages taught in this country.

Finally, this project would, and could, have a scholarly research value as well, because teachers engaged in institutionally developing dictionary culture would be able, firstly, to test empirically various theoretical, methodological and practical aspects of the actual process; secondly, to find out how learners respond to what they have been taught and to what extent their perception and appreciation of language reference tools has changed; thirdly, to determine the good and less good points of the look-up techniques used by learners before and after their training in essentials of dictionary culture; and fourthly, to identify where exactly in this process there is room for methodological improvement. In this way, a significant contribution could be made to dictionary use, one of the six spheres of dictionary research (as explained by Hartmann 2001). What is more, by introducing here dictionary culture and its institutional development, the scope of dictionary



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research would be enriched by an important theoretical and practical addition (cf. Prćić 2020).

## 1.3. Blueprint of the ideal dictionary

This section is devoted to the makings of the ideal general-purpose dictionary, that has, of course, not yet been produced anywhere, although existing features of some current electronic and print dictionaries do qualify for those of the ideal dictionary. However, there are still a number of design elements, sorely lacking but highly desirable, that are patiently waiting, as it were, for being recognized as necessary and/or helpful, and implemented in the ideal dictionary – of today and for the future. The discussion of the proposed ideal dictionary will deal with its working definition, prime objectives, typological identification, prototype specification and key structural features.

### 1.3.1. Working definition

Before being able to proceed, it is necessary to put forward a working definition of the ideal dictionary, where the modifier 'ideal' should *not* be interpreted as meaning, explicitly or implicitly, '(a dictionary that is) imaginary, illusory, idealistic or even quixotic, and therefore unrealistic, impracticable, utopian and, in fact, merely wishful thinking'. Rather than being chimerical, the ideal dictionary builds on down-to-earth realities, on the latest tendencies in practical and theoretical lexicography,[3] which are supplemented with the author's personal insights, observations and conceptions of what design elements a *really* usable and useful

[3] For extensive, detailed and useful discussions, see Al-Kasimi 1977; Atkins 1996; Atkins and Rundell 2008; Béjoint 2000, 2010; Benson, Benson and Ilson 1986; Cowie 1999; Čermák 2010; Durkin 2015; Fontenelle 2008; Fuertes-Olivera 2017; Hanks 2010; Hartmann 2001; Hausmann, Reichmann, Wiegand and Zgusta 1989; Jackson 2022; Klotz and Herbst 2016; Kövecses and Csábi 2014; Landau 2001; Roberts 1992; van Sterkenburg 2003; Svensén 2009; Wiegand and Hausmann 1989; Yong and Peng 2007; Zgusta 1971.



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modern dictionary should have in order to provide its potential and actual users with a wide array of options for exploiting, i.e. displaying, finding, selecting and, ultimately, benefiting from a considerably wider array of information made available to them.[4]

And it is the optimally balanced interplay between these two arrays, of information on offer and of options on offer, that crucially determines how well a dictionary complies with the image of the ideal dictionary, where 'ideal' should be construed in the sense intended here and deriving from these two fundamental design principles of the dictionary. In briefest and broadest terms, THE IDEAL DICTIONARY could be defined as **a dictionary that puts at users' disposal the maximum amount of information and the maximum number of options for exploiting that information**. As can be inferred, the prime, and sole, purpose of the ideal dictionary is the benefit of its potential and actual users, who are provided with a powerful explanatory and educational tool designed and created to meet as fully as possible all kinds of users' communicative and reference needs – in the ways chosen by themselves and thus achieving individualization of user experience and user exploitation of the abundant resources placed at their fingertips.

### 1.3.2. Prime objectives

In order to deal with the prime objectives of the ideal dictionary, the concept of its TARGET AUDIENCE OF USERS and their communicative and reference needs should first be defined, because together they determine the overall structure and organization of any dictionary. Here, the audience is projected to consist of a very wide spectrum of users, of various ages, vocations and interests, typically starting from those around the age of 15, at senior classes of primary school onwards, catering for native speakers and foreign learners of a language, or languages, alike. Users' COMMUNICATIVE NEEDS are seen to comprise all four dictionary functions men-

[4] Most of the observations were made earlier, unsystematically though, in papers and books of diverse topics, scopes and focuses, viz. Prćić 1996, 2004b, 2012, 2018, 2019a, Chaps. 5-7 in this book.



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tioned above – passive, active, mediatory and metalexical, and to provide equally for the practical, everyday needs of ordinary, i.e. non-specialist, users and for the theoretical, research needs of extra-ordinary, i.e. specialist, users, chiefly professional linguists. Users' REFERENCE NEEDS are tuned to ensure that the information put at their disposal is attractively presented, quickly accessible, readily understandable and easily applicable by potential and actual users.

With this projection of target users and their communicative and reference needs, it is now possible to set the objectives that the compilation of the ideal dictionary should accomplish (the inventory of objectives and their naming build around the model originally presented in Prćić 2012 and the formulations, in part, follow those in Prćić 2018: Chaps. 2-3).

(1) The dictionary's COMMUNICATIVE, AND PRINCIPAL, OBJECTIVE is to construct a complete picture of the vocabulary of one individual language, called here PRIMARY LANGUAGE, coupled, if so desired by the user, with at least one other language, or more languages, called here SECONDARY LANGUAGE(S). The vocabularies analysed and described would be treated as intralingually *and* interlingually connected lexical networks and, for this reason, the information offered would be composed of three interconnected dimensions:

- information about forms, functions, meanings and uses of words and idioms, as word combinations, in the primary language and, if so desired, in comparison with at least one secondary language,
- information about forms, functions and meanings of affixes and combining forms, as word components, in the primary language and, if so desired, in comparison with at least one other language, and
- information about paradigmatic, syntagmatic and word-formational interrelations of words, word combinations and components in the primary language and, if so desired, in comparison with at least one secondary language.

When the dictionary is set to display information about one language, it works in the MONOLINGUAL MODE and when two or more



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languages are selected, it is in the MULTILINGUAL MODE – typically and most frequently in the BILINGUAL MODE (henceforth only the adjective 'bilingual' will be used, with 'multilingual' understood by implication). The inclusion of these three dimensions of information – equally in monolingual and bilingual modes – would help users in three intended respects:

- to be able to appropriately comprehend written and spoken texts in one or more languages,
- to be able to appropriately create written and spoken texts in one or more languages, and
- to be able to appropriately translate written and spoken texts from one language into another, and vice versa.

(2) The dictionary's DESCRIPTIVE OBJECTIVE is to offer a comprehensive, detailed and reliable account of the authentic use of words, their combinations and components by codifying their typical behaviour in one or more languages, individually and/or contrastively, at the levels of graphology, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, stylistics and pragmatics, as well as on the planes of paradigmatics, syntagmatics and word formation.

(3) The dictionary's PRESCRIPTIVE OBJECTIVE is to indicate systematic departures from the standard usage of words and their combinations in one or more languages, individually and/or contrastively, and to recommend their standard uses when there are cases of variation or misuse in terms of graphology, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, stylistics and pragmatics.

(4) The dictionary's METALEXICAL OBJECTIVE is to afford a revealing insight into the functioning of the lexical system of one or more languages, individually and/or contrastively, especially in respect of the form- and/or content-based interrelations of words on the paradigmatic, syntagmatic and word-formational planes.

(5) The dictionary's LEXICOGRAPHIC OBJECTIVE is to present information about words, their combinations and components in an easily navigable, typographically effective and, above all, user-friendly manner, in conformity with the latest design trends of modern practical and theoretical lexicography.



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(6) The dictionary's EDUCATIONAL AND, PARTLY, SOCIOLINGUISTIC OBJECTIVE is to raise users' awareness about the importance of developing a regular habit of resolving lexical and other usage-related problems and of filling gaps in linguistic knowledge by consulting dictionaries and other reference books, thereby contributing to the building and fostering of dictionary culture – rather than relying only on their own subjective, and often shaky, linguistic intuitions and judgements.

### 1.3.3. Typological identification

Lexicographic properties of the ideal dictionary have been determined in accordance with the customary criteria and standards laid out for classifications of dictionaries (cf. Atkins and Rundell 2008; Hartmann 2001; Lipka 2002; van Sterkenburg 2003; Svensén 2009; Zgusta 1971). The typological profile of this particular dictionary, as it has been conceived, can be created with the following ten basic properties (the inventory itself builds around the model originally presented in Prćić 2012 and the formulations, in part, follow those in Prćić 2018: Chaps. 2-3).

(1) A DICTIONARY, with elements of a THESAURUS, in that it would include information about content-based interrelations of words, their combinations and components.

(2) A DIGITAL, OR ELECTRONIC, dictionary, in that it would be realized in electronic form and accessible either online or offline.

(3) A MONOLINGUAL dictionary, with an integrated BILINGUAL dictionary, in that it would contain information about the primary language and between two or more secondary languages contrastively.

(4) A GENERAL-PURPOSE dictionary, in that it would cover general, everyday, non-specialist vocabulary of each language.

(5) A SYNCHRONIC dictionary, in that it would cover current, turn-of-the-century, present-day lexical resources of each language.

(6) A MEDIUM-SIZED dictionary, in that it would comprise between 100,000 and 150,000 headwords per language, inclusive



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of words and word components, and exclusive of word combinations, being treated as subheadwords.

(7) An ALPHABETICAL dictionary, with elements of a CONCEPTUAL dictionary, in that thesaural information about content-based interrelations of words would be organized around sense-relatedness of clusters of words.

(8) A SEMASIOLOGICAL dictionary, with elements of an ONOMASIOLOGICAL dictionary, in that sense-relatedness of clusters of words would start from the shared meaning and go towards words expressing nuances of shared meaning, unlike the other method which starts from words and goes towards the meanings they express.

(9) A dictionary combining THREE METHODS of dealing with linguistic data, in that it would employ descriptive, prescriptive and metalexical approaches to account for actual language use, to point out systematic errors in use and recommend standard uses, and to picture the paradigmatic and syntagmatic organization of vocabulary, respectively.

(10) A dictionary combining FOUR FUNCTIONS, in that it would be designed so as to serve passive (receptive), active (productive), mediatory and metalexical dictionary functions and in this way to satisfy all communicative needs of all potential and actual users.

It will be noticed in the above typological identification that as many as six of the ten lexicographic properties have at least two correlatives merged within a single property. Typological properties like these contribute to the HYBRID NATURE of this dictionary (cf. Hartmann 2005), which is a more than welcome and desirable design principle of any modern dictionary, especially one endeavouring to become the ideal general-purpose dictionary.

### 1.3.4. Prototype specification

Having hitherto discussed the prime objectives and the typological identification of the ideal general-purpose dictionary, it now becomes possible to identify the design elements that would uniquely specify the prototype of the ideal general-purpose dic-



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tionary. Without aspiring to either exhaustiveness or definitiveness, but rather to a realistic and representative specification, a checklist of ten distinctive design elements that constitute the ideal general-purpose dictionary will now be put forward (cf. Prćić 2018: Chaps. 2-7).

(1) Digital (electronic) form of compilation, realization, distribution and exploitation, online and/or offline, of the dictionary. This involves paperless lexicography, characterized by the use of the latest computer technology in all four stages of the lexicographic process.

(2) Universal free accessibility of all the content made available to users. This involves open and unrestricted access over the internet to the full dictionary content without obliging users to pay, subscribe or register in any way in order to become entitled to consult it.

(3) Corpus-assisted methodology for collection, extraction, description and codification of lexical and other information made available to users. This involves exploitation of large electronic reference or monitor corpora, of no fewer than 500 million words per language, with each corpus containing written and spoken samples of authentic use.

(4) User-centredness in selection, preparation, organization, presentation and, above all, exploitation of the content made available to users. This involves tailoring the design of the dictionary so as to meet as best as possible users' communicative and reference needs, firstly, by offering as much as possible relevant information about words, their combinations and components; and secondly, by offering as many as possible options for fully customizing the quantity and quality of the information shown to users. With a focus slightly shifted, the totality of the information at users' disposal is intended for all potential users, whereas the totality of customization options is intended for single actual users and their individual(ized) preferences for receiving new information.

(5) User-controllable interactivity in selection of dictionary modules and features. This involves individualization of



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user exploitation and user experience of the dictionary, which is achieved by letting users set the primary and secondary language modules, most of the information types to be displayed and ways of their typographical presentation on-screen. With the inescapable exception of the default and lexicographically indispensable headwords, their parts of speech, definitions and, when bilingual modules are on, their translations into the secondary language(s), users are in full control of the appearance of all microstructural features regarding the lexicographic treatment of phonology, morphosyntax, semantics with pragmatics, stylistics, exemplification, etymology, cross-references and, within dedicated thematic boxes, of paradigmatic, syntagmatic and word-formational interrelations, and of moot usage points.

(6) Multimedia enrichment of textual content with illustrative audio, video and graphic content. This involves segments of recorded speech, sounds and music, of moving visual images and of still visual images, respectively, retrievable either internally, when incorporated into the dictionary itself, or externally, when accessed on a remote computer.

(7) Hyperlinked cross-referencing to specific portions of textual and/or multimedia content, retrievable internally or externally. This involves extensive interconnection of both headwords and information about them, presented in textual and/or multimedia form, largely for comparative and/or illustrative purposes, and activated either by clicking or by touching highlighted on-screen links.

(8) Easy searchability of headwords according to simple or complex preset criteria, including wildcard searches for word beginnings, middles and endings. This involves user-selectable isolation from words of specific prefixes, initial combining forms, infixes, suffixes and final combining forms, their combinations and/or other letter or sound patterns.

(9) User collaboration in contributing to dictionary editors documented candidates for new headwords and/or new meanings of existing ones. This involves crowdsourcing in obtaining potential additions, i.e. formal and/or semantic neologisms, and thus



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approaching to a moderately controlled open dictionary, where users' input is subject to editors' approval and corpus-assisted lexicographic treatment.

(10) Periodic editorial updatability of the content with new headwords, information about them or emendations of existing information. This involves regular, at least biannual, revision process which consists of adding fresh content and correcting inaccuracies, so as to ensure that the information made available is always up-to-date, precise and reliable, as much as this is attainable.

### 1.3.5. Key structural features

The ideal general-purpose dictionary has so far been portrayed from three complementary theoretical angles, viz. its prime objectives, its typological identification and its prototype specification. The portrayal will be completed with a set of structural features that should be incorporated into the ideal general-purpose dictionary. All features to be enumerated follow from the three descriptions provided earlier in this section and, in effect, they represent the practical implementation of the theoretical framework developed above. Among the features, there are those that convey key pieces of lexical information about the forms, functions, meanings and uses of headwords, information that is vitally important for a full and accurate account of their linguistic behaviour and that is put at the disposal, and for the benefit, of the dictionary's users. This set of vitally important information will be called key information and it is in the domains, firstly, of graphology, phonology, morphosyntax, semantics with pragmatics, stylistics and etymology; secondly, of paradigmatic, syntagmatic and word-formational planes; and thirdly, of usage and misusage of various aspects of language. And the structural features representing key information will be called key features, which are in the domains of the dictionary's microstructure and, with (9) and (10), its mediostructure (cf. Hartmann 2001; Hartmann and James 1998).

Here now is the author's proposed inventory of the key features, alongside the types of information that they carry and



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that are deemed useful, necessary and, hence, expected to be included in the ideal general-purpose dictionary. As it will be seen, some of the features are established and well-known, some are established but refocused and some are new and being introduced for the first time. Without going into theoretical details of lexicology (for which see Bauer and Huddleston 2002; Cruse 2010; Lipka 2002; Murphy 2003; Prćić 2016), the first segment of the inventory comprises information and features that are common to both monolingual and bilingual modes, and the second segment brings information and features specific only to the bilingual mode (for details on both monolingual and bilingual key features to be sketched out, see Prćić 2018: Chaps. 2 and 4.1, 2019a: Chap. 19, on which the present overview draws). To facilitate understanding, exemplification will be given with the explanations of new and refocused features.

Lexical information shared between the monolingual and bilingual modes would be conveyed by eleven key features.

(1) Spelling. – Provides information on the headword's standardized written form and its possible variants.

(2) Pronunciation. – Provides information on the headword's recommended spoken form and its possible variants, shown in IPA phonological symbols or some other set of dedicated symbols, additionally reinforceable with recordings of human pronunciation(s) of a given headword.

(3) Grammar. – Provides information on the headword's grammar, firstly, by indication of its part of speech and possible subcategorizations, and, secondly, by a sample of its typical paradigmatic word-forms, especially irregular ones, which depart from rule-governed, predictable, forms.

(4) Definition. – Provides information on the headword's descriptive meaning, whose wording should have the following qualities:

- It should be phrased as a hyperonym-dominated rhematic part of a full sentence, in line with the tripartite formula *X* | *is Y* | *that Z*, where *X* is the headword, hyponym and referent, constituting the theme of the definition (for example,



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*a cat*...), *Y* is the hyperonym, dominating the rheme of the definition (...*is a small domestic animal*...) and *Z* is the description containing a set of the referent's distinctive properties and constituting the focus of the rheme (...*that has four legs, a tail and fur, catches mice, miaows, purrs when contented and that is kept as a house pet*). The definition, and especially its *Z* portion, should offer a short, clear, complete, unbiased and comprehensible depiction of a given meaning, which is, if/when necessary, preceded by an indication of its collocational restriction to achieve explicit contextualization, or pragmaticization, of the meaning depicted.

- It should not be phrased with technical, highly specialized and semantically complex words, largely unfamiliar and therefore incomprehensible to the majority of ordinary, non-specialist, potential users, as in *feline quadruped* employed to define *cat*.
- It should not be phrased with a synonym only, because synonyms by themselves do not define anything apart from the fact that there holds a sense relation of synonymy between the words brought together and because, for this reason, synonyms can only supplement or strengthen a definition and never replace it; this ill-considered practice contributes to the circularity and obscurity of a definition, especially when the synonym offered is of a rare and/or semantically more complex and/or less known kind, as in *intelligent* provided to define *smart* and *bright*.
- When defining transparent words created by the processes of affixation, composition, conversion and, where applicable, lexical blending, it should not be phrased with the motivating base included, so as to show the morphosemantic relation between the given headword and its base(s), as in the derivationally unrelated *respond excessively* employed to define *overreact* rather than the derivationally related and natural *react excessively*.

(5) Signposts. – Provide information and guidance on the headword's polysemous senses, which are hierarchically grouped around



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their relatedness by metaphorization, metonymization, generalization and specialization, and indicated by sense-contextualizing signposts, that can be of three kinds (cf. Prćić 2018: Chap. 4, 2019a: Chap. 19):

- DENOTATIONAL SIGNPOST, which contains a set of typical key words from the definition or a more general synonym,
- COLLOCATIONAL SIGNPOST, which contains typical collocates with which a noun, verb, adjective or adverb headword habitually cooccurs, and
- THEMATIZATIONAL SIGNPOST, which contains a label of the typical thematic field in which the sense is normally found.

(6) SENSE RELATIONS. – Provide information on the paradigmatic comparability of the individual senses of at least two headwords, which involves synonymy, antonymy (scalar, complementary, converse, diametrical and reversive, as its subtypes) and hyponymy (cf. Cruse 1986, 2010; Lipka 2002; Murphy 2003; Prćić 2016). If the headword is an affix or a combining form, the sense relations holding between them are synonymy and antonymy.

(7) STYLISTIC LABELS. – Provide information on the headword's associative meaning, if a given headword has it, by indicating its markedness in terms of lect (i.e. dialect, sociolect and chronolect) and/or register (i.e. interpersonal, medium and thematic), thereby determining the situational appropriacy of that meaning (cf. Prćić 2016).

(8) EXAMPLES. – Provide information on the headword's typical behaviour in linguistic (sentential) context, within sentences or phrases (or, with affixes and combining forms, within words), focusing on interrelations with other words, especially lexical and/or grammatical collocations, structural complementations and idiomatized uses.

(9) CROSS-REFERENCES. – Provide information on the headword's links with other headwords with which it is comparable in terms of content and/or form, altogether in four areas:

- semantically, bringing together at least two headwords linked by the sense relations of hyponymy, synonymy and antonymy,



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- semantically, bringing together at least two headwords linked by membership in the same hierarchical or linear lexical field,
- word-formationally, bringing together prefixations linked to a given base headword (with suffixations already provided as run-on subheadwords), and
- word-formationally, bringing together at least two affixes and/or combining forms linked by the sense relations of synonymy and antonymy.

(10) Usage notes. – Provide information on the usage of specific forms and/or meanings of some headwords, altogether in four areas:

- discriminated synonyms, collected from those cross-referred in the description above, for which the information is placed at the basic (unmarked) member,
- lexical and/or grammatical collocations, for which the information is placed at the primary collocate,
- formally and/or semantically similar, and therefore confusable, headwords, for which the information is placed at the more salient one and cross-referred from the other, and
- non-standard (unacceptable) uses of certain forms and/or meanings, for which the information is placed at the standard (recommended) form and/or meaning.

(11) Etymology. – Provides information on the headword's origin, its cognates in other languages and its form- and/or content-based development. Being diachronic in nature, this particular information goes beyond the synchronic foundation of the dictionary and is, as such, dispensable. This largely metalexical information is provided here in order to further increase the thoroughness of the proposed description of headwords.

In addition to the shared lexical information, there is information pertinent only to the bilingual mode of the ideal general-purpose dictionary and it would be conveyed by four key features.

(12) Translations. – Provide information on the meanings in $L_2$ of the headword's senses, which either agree with them in form, function and content, when they are called correspondents, like



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*čekati* in Serbian for *wait* in English, or they agree only in function and content, when they are called equivalents, like *čekati / stajati u redu* in Serbian for *queue* in English (cf. Prćić 2019a, 2023); furthermore, the following regularities should be borne in mind:

- for each particular sense, one translation (or two at most) is normally furnished, considered to be best suited for the bulk of unmarked, non-specific contexts and thus representing the prototypical translation of a given sense,
- other translations are associated with marked, specific contexts by which they are determined,
- translations may be collocationally restricted, and
- translations may be stylistically restricted and therefore appropriate to a range of specific situations.

(13) Indication of false friends. – Provides information on the content- and/or form-based divergence between orthographically similar or identical words in $L_1$ and $L_2$, or in $L_2$ and $L_1$, like *old-timer* in English and *oldtajmer* in Serbian.

(14) Indication of culture-specific words. – Provides information on words that denote objects, phenomena, events, etc., specific for the culture of $L_1$, and which, for this reason, need not have ready-made correspondents in $L_2$, thereby causing a possible lexical gap to be filled either by an established or a newly-created equivalent in $L_2$, or by borrowing from $L_1$, like *electoral college* in English, denoting a phenomenon in the United States, and *apsolvent* in Serbia, denoting a phenomenon in Serbia.

(15) Indication of anglicisms. – Provides information on borrowings from English into $L_2$ and their standardized, or recommended, form- and/or content-based adaptations to the system of $L_2$, especially their orthographic and morphological forms, in case adequate translations are difficult or impossible to produce, like *mafin* and *mafina* in Serbian from *muffin* in English (cf. Prćić and Dražić 2023; Prćić, Dražić, Milić, et al. 2021).



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## 1.4. Looking ahead

The ideal general-purpose dictonary has been conceived in keeping with the principles of modern lexicography and with a view to encouraging institutional development of dictionary culture. However, there is no dictionary culture without the ideal general-purpose dictionary to support it and without modern lexicography to initiate it. There is no ideal general-purpose dictionary without modern lexicography to project it and without dictionary culture to exploit it. And, lastly, there is no modern lexicography without the ideal general-purpose dictionary, or, indeed, any modern dictionary, and without dictionary culture to put both into practice. Following naturally from this account of the makings of modern lexicography, dictionary culture and the ideal general-purpose dictionary would be the actual making of the ideal general-purpose dictionary, in both monolingual and bilingual modes.

For this to happen in this country, the pendulum must resolutely and irrevocably swing towards the new, modern(ized), electronic, both computer-, corpus- and, since recently, AI-assisted lexicography, which would start producing modern, electronic, computer-assisted dictionaries – if not instead of, then at least together with – print dictionaries. And for the ideal general-purpose dictionary of Serbian to be produced, there is a vital prerequisite for the creation of the monitor *Serbian National Electronic Corpus*, composed of at least 500 million words, drawn from a variety of online and print sources so as to represent a balanced cross section of all lectal and registral varieties of present-day Serbian (cf. Prćić 2018: Chap. 1, Chap. 11 in this book). This corpus would hopefully lead to the creation of bilingual parallel corpora of all native and foreign languages used, taught/learned and studied/researched in Serbia, which, in turn, would lead to the compilation of various kinds of bilingual dictionaries. Slowly but surely what now appears to be mere wishful thinking would, in all likelihood, start to materialize resolutely and irrevocably. If only that pendulum would swing just a morsel away from the age-old lexicographic paradigm.



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## 2. Exploring the English vocabulary with AI chatbots

Towards the end of the year 2022, a new, ingenious invention was introduced to the world, with unprecedented media attention and with reception ranging from euphoria to scepticism to distrust. The ingenious invention was called ChatGPT, was accessible through the internet, was able to communicate with its users in written and spoken form, was trained on a vast amount of online textual material and was made available to the general public for testing purposes. After logging in and signing up, users were invited in the ChatGPT's welcoming message on-screen to ask it anything they wanted, in ordinary English or any other of the many supported languages. Some time into February 2023, the author of this text ventured at last to log in and sign up, and to embark on the long journey of asking ChatGPT anything he wanted, but he immediately chose, not surprisingly, to ask it all manner of questions about vocabulary and linguistics, phrased in, and related to, English, Serbian, French, German, Hungarian and some other languages.

This report is the result of several months-long experimentation with ChatGPT and its incredibly powerful resources. It represents, in effect, a linguist's concise guide to exploiting ChatGPT resources for exploring the English vocabulary, including neologisms, where 'a linguist's' is to be understood both as 'written by a linguist' and as 'written for a (generic) linguist'. Without wishing to go into the technology behind ChatGPT and other similar AI chatbots, or the accompanying abstruse terminology, the purpose of this non-IT-minded user-oriented guide is, expressed through



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slightly different imagery, to try and explain how to drive a car reasonably well and not how component parts of a car's engine operate. For this very reason, the focus is here placed on exploring the English vocabulary, with special reference to neologisms.

The aims of the report are threefold: firstly, to present the areas and aspects of the English vocabulary, including neologisms, that can be beneficially explored with the aid of ChatGPT and other similar AI chatbots launched recently; secondly, to recount the author's own personal hands-on experience gained while purposefully conversing and interacting with ChatGPT on matters lexical and linguistic; and thirdly, to motivate readers, especially university students and fellow teachers and researchers, to befriend, without any fear, ChatGPT and other similar AI chatbots, and to reap the benefits from utilizing their vast resources in their own work (and leisure).

The discussion will deal with the whys, whats and hows of exploring English words using resources of AI chatbots, the theory and practice of exploring English neologisms using resources of AI chatbots, and the applied aspects of other important areas of the exploration of the English vocabulary, including neologisms, with the aid of resources of AI chatbots.

## 2.1. The whys: AI chatbots used as multitalented superdictionaries

AI chatbots are best conceived and construed as highly capable search engines, like Google, Bing, DuckDuckGo and others, but with at least three fundamental differences:

- firstly, instead of expecting textual input consisting of a few key words or a fragmentary or full sentence, AI chatbots can receive input in ordinary, everyday, real-life language, written or spoken, English or any other of the many supported ones, very much like the language used in any other form of modern electronic written and spoken communication, whose input can consist of just a few words to several sentences of various length, structure and complexity,



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- secondly, instead of returning clickable https addresses of, and hyperlinks to, websites admittedly containing answers to be ferreted out by the user, AI chatbots produce a textual or, in some cases, graphic, visual or vocal, reaction, again in ordinary, everyday, real-life language, typically quite helpful and polite, at times even humble and apologetic, in the user's language of choice, offering answers of various quantity and quality to the questions or problems put before them, and
- thirdly, instead of merely providing screenfuls of addresses and hyperlinks fulfilling criteria input by the user, AI chatbots are open to interactivity, by being able to engage in two-way conversations, or chats, with users, by being able to learn from users (for the duration of a given session), and by being able to self-correct when prompted appropriately.

AI chatbots have been trained on an exceptionally large amount of textual material available across and around the internet, and some of the chatbots additionally have access to the internet in real time. What AI chatbots actually do is analyse, organize, reorganize, summarize and display on-screen the recast data originally fed into them. It is important to stress that AI chatbots, as they themselves claim when asked, cannot reason, think, feel or have opinions in the way humans do, but they only act in the manner they have been programmed, even though some of their reactions may, on the surface, resemble those of humans. Worthy of note is the fact that, because lacking the ability to reason and think creatively, AI chatbots can in some cases, fortunately not very frequently, hallucinate, as the term goes, i.e. generate perfectly plausibly-looking but otherwise false or inaccurate information, which may be due to faulty programming and/or training, or to errors in texts fed into them, or to flawed prompting. Therefore, utmost caution should be exercised by users to detect, identify and reject responses that appear out of place and to demand immediate regeneration of a new, this time valid and accurate, response.[5]

[5] For details on AI hallucination, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hallucination_(artificial_intelligence) or ask an AI chatbot for an elaboration.



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All things considered, both the pros and cons, AI chatbots should be perceived and treated as extremely sophisticated and knowledgeable computer programs that serve as companions to human users and function as invaluable interactive sources of information or assistance of any kind. In consequence, viewed as such great information-packed agglomerates, AI chatbots should be exploited wisely and carefully in lexical explorations as well.

There are currently many AI chatbots out there, but three are arguably the most widely known and used, and they are listed here in order of their launching:

- ChatGPT, November 2022, accessible at https://chatgpt.com/ and as an application for Android and iOS,
- Microsoft Bing Chat (henceforth Bing), February 2023, superseded by Microsoft Copilot, accessible at https://copilot.microsoft.com/, as part of Microsoft Bing, Microsoft Edge and Microsoft 365, and as an application for Android and iOS, and
- Bard (henceforth Bard), March 2023, superseded by **Gemini**, accessible at https://gemini.google.com/ and as an application for Android and iOS.[6]

All descriptions and illustrations of experimentations and their results offered here are based on the work with the original versions of the three chatbots, as they were available in 2023.

In addition to the tremendous trio, one recent AI-powered chatbot / search engine deserves special mention. It is Perplexity AI, accessible at https://www.perplexity.ai/ and as an application for Android and iOS; has access to the internet; provides sources of responses. Its uncommon simplicity, speed and efficiency in providing results definitely present a smart replacement for customary search engines and a warmly recommended transition to the world of creative AI chatbot exploitation.

[6] For comparisons between the three AI chatbots, see https://www.zdnet.com/article/chatgpt-vs-microsoft-copilot-vs-gemini-which-is-the-best-ai-chatbot/, https://www.xda-developers.com/chatgpt-vs-bing-chat-vs-google-bard/, https://www.upcoretech.com/insights/chatgpt-vs-gemini-vs-copilot/.



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This discussion has no intention, explicit or implicit, to compare the four AI chatbots or to identify their strong and less strong points, because all are equally capable of carrying out the tasks assigned to them and because they differ only in details just mentioned. Since the proof of the pudding is in the eating, readers should try each product and decide for themselves which AI chatbot or chatbots they will use or, perhaps, not use. And those readers interested in the technicalities and terminologies behind the workings of these and other AI chatbots, as well as in comparative reviews, are invited to use their favourite search engines or, better still, to ask directly one of the AI chatbots for assistance. All will surely be more than happy to oblige.

From the point of view of lexical exploration, AI chatbots effectively incorporate and place at the user's disposal unified and combined resources with the functionality of general-purpose, specialized and terminological dictionaries, monolingual, bilingual and multilingual, as well as thesauruses, translators, style guides, gazetteers, corpora, encyclopedias, almanacs, atlases and other kinds of reference works. Having realized the massive scope of their joint lexical power, the author devised a descriptive designation capturing the functionality of AI chatbots in this particular area of knowledge – it is MULTITALENTED SUPERDICTIONARY, where 'multitalented' puts together their multiple talents and abilities to, among other things, analyse, interpret, define, exemplify, join, group, differentiate, translate, compare and contrast words in terms of their forms, functions, meanings and uses, and 'superdictionary' is an umbrella term for the unity of all the reference works just mentioned.

In one of our academic exchanges of ideas, ChatGPT was confronted with this distinctive name, 'superdictionary', alongside other prospective candidates that included 'hyperdictionary', 'hypersuperdictionary', 'superduperdictionary' and 'megadictionary', some obviously jocular. We finally agreed on 'superdictionary' as the most appropriate term for the purpose, even though ChatGPT, when asked, later came up with several of its own self-naming creations-cum-glosses, shown in the screenshot in Illustration 1.



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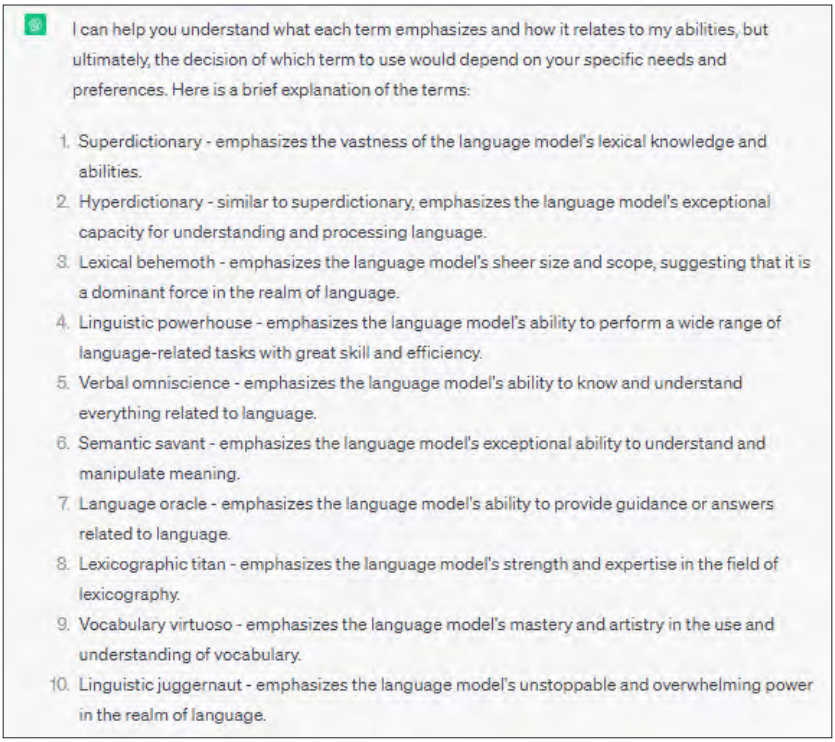

I can help you understand what each term emphasizes and how it relates to my abilities, but ultimately, the decision of which term to use would depend on your specific needs and preferences. Here is a brief explanation of the terms:

1. Superdictionary - emphasizes the vastness of the language model's lexical knowledge and abilities.
2. Hyperdictionary - similar to superdictionary, emphasizes the language model's exceptional capacity for understanding and processing language.
3. Lexical behemoth - emphasizes the language model's sheer size and scope, suggesting that it is a dominant force in the realm of language.
4. Linguistic powerhouse - emphasizes the language model's ability to perform a wide range of language-related tasks with great skill and efficiency.
5. Verbal omniscience - emphasizes the language model's ability to know and understand everything related to language.
6. Semantic savant - emphasizes the language model's exceptional ability to understand and manipulate meaning.
7. Language oracle - emphasizes the language model's ability to provide guidance or answers related to language.
8. Lexicographic titan - emphasizes the language model's strength and expertise in the field of lexicography.
9. Vocabulary virtuoso - emphasizes the language model's mastery and artistry in the use and understanding of vocabulary.
10. Linguistic juggernaut - emphasizes the language model's unstoppable and overwhelming power in the realm of language.

Illustration 1: glossed self-designations proposed by ChatGPT to capture its own vast lexical resources
(ChatGPT)

To conclude this introduction, let it be said that all descriptions, exemplifications and screenshots in the entire discussion, if not indicated otherwise, are based on, and result from, research done with the aid of ChatGPT.

## 2.2. The whats: information on words offered by AI chatbots

There is an unimaginably great wealth of information on words, including neologisms, that is offered by AI chatbots and



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waiting to be elicited and displayed via cleverly phrased prompts. This information is available for four types of lexical units:

- words, including general vocabulary, neologisms, culture-specific words and technical terms,
- affixes, including prefixes and suffixes (e.g. *un-, -ish*), and combining forms, including initial combining forms and final combining forms (*morpho-, -graphy*),
- idioms, including phrasal nouns (e.g. *head of state*), phrasal verbs (*put up with*), fixed binomials (*inch by inch*), similes (*as cool as a cucumber*), discourse formulas (*That's right!*), catchphrases (*Diamonds are a girl's best friend*) and traditional sayings (*Every cloud has a silver lining*), and
- proper names, including personal (e.g. *Crawford*), geographical (*Kirkcudbright*) and institutional (*London School of Economics*).

All these types of lexical units will henceforth be referred to, for convenience, by the cover term 'word', except when a particular type of unit will be meant.

The information thus available and open to searching, finding, eliciting and displaying will be roughly divided into two groups: the first group comprises information on a smaller scale and involves the level of individual words, i.e. diverse properties of words that contribute to the building of what will be called here 'micro-lexical summaries'. And the second group comprises information on a larger scale and involves the level of relations, i.e. diverse relations between individual words that contribute to the building of 'macro-lexical summaries'.

Each of the two lexical summaries will now be dealt with in some detail. The meaning of the terms and concepts that will appear below is presupposed and will be neither discussed, nor explained, nor exemplified separately (for their clarification, see Bauer 1983, 2004; Bauer and Huddleston 2002; Cruse 1986, 2006, 2010; Crystal 2008; Krzeszowski 1990; Lipka 2002; McArthur 1992; Mey 2009; Murphy 2003; Prćić 2016, 2019a, 2023; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985).



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### 2.2.1. Properties of individual words: micro-lexical summaries

Micro-lexical summaries are composed of information concerning form-related and content-related properties of individual words.

Within form-related properties, several notable features can be looked up and into. They belong to the fields of graphology with orthography, phonology with phonetics, morphosyntax and etymology. Each of these features, together with the points they comprise, will now be itemized.

(1) In the field of graphology with orthography, where the focus is on the spelling of words, it is the following points:

- providing the standard spelling of a given word,
- providing variants of standard spelling of a given word,
- providing unacceptable spellings of a given word,
- providing frequency of use of a given word (all frequency-related tasks have best been handled by Bard and Bing with GPT-4).

(2) In the field of phonology with phonetics, where the focus is on the pronunciation of words, it is the following points:

- providing the standard pronunciation of a given word in IPA and other notations, in Received Pronunciation (RP) and/or General American (GenAm) and/or other regional accents,
- providing variants of standard pronunciation of a given word,
- providing uncceptable pronunciations of a given word.

(3) In the field of morphosyntax, where the focus is on the grammar of words, it is the following points:

- providing word class, i.e. part of speech, of a given word,
- providing syntactic function of a given word in a given phrase or sentence,
- providing morphological forms of nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and others,
- providing variant morphological forms of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs,



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- providing unacceptable morphological forms of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs,
- in the opposite direction, i.e. onomasiologically, creating new words that match the definition provided.

(4) In the field of etymology, where the focus is on the origin and development of words, it is the following points:

- providing year or decade of the earliest recorded occurrence of a given word, affix or combining form,
- providing language of origin and, in cases of interlingual borrowing, mediating language of a given word, affix or combining form,
- providing morphological forms of a given word, affix or combining form attested during its development,
- providing cognates in other languages of a given word, affix or combining form.

Within content-related properties, several notable features can be looked up and into. They belong to lexical semantics with lexical pragmatics, lexical stylistics and general pragmatics. Each of these features, together with the points they comprise, will now be itemized.

(5) In the field of lexical semantics with lexical pragmatics, where the focus is on the descriptive meaning of words, it is the following points:

- providing definitions of all meanings of a given word, taking into account polysemy and homonymy, with the possibility of including distinctive signposts in front of each definition,
- providing definition of the meaning of a given word that occurs in a given linguistic (sentential) context,
- providing definitions tailored to various target group of users and/or to various purposes, in two general ways:
    - firstly, it is qualitative tailoring, by specifying the group, like 15-year-old pupils, or the general public, or professionals, or by specifying the wording itself, like using simplified language, or producing a full-blown ency-



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clopedic entry, or addressing directly the user with the pronoun *you*, and/or

- secondly, it is quantitative tailoring, by specifying the number of sentences and words in a definition, like within a single sentence, or with up to 35 words, or in no fewer than 15 words, or in between 10 and 35 words, as shown for the three wordings of the definition of the word *supercell storm*, in the screenshot in Illustration 2,

- in the opposite direction, i.e. onomasiologically, providing an existing word that matches the definition provided.

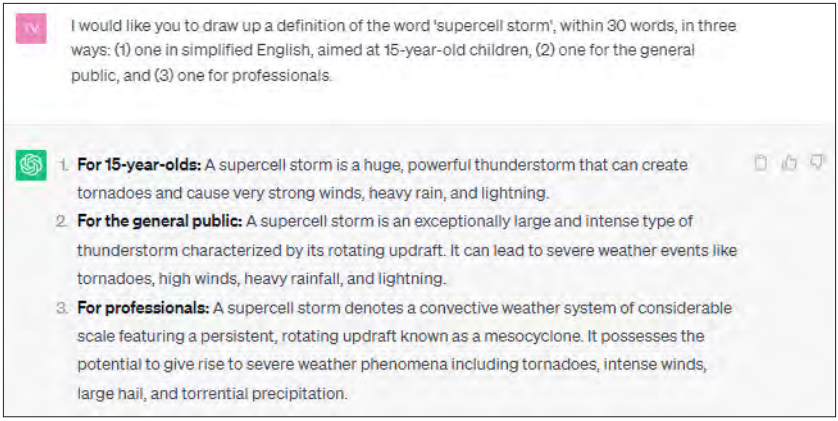


Illustration 2: three tailored wordings of the definition of the word *supercell storm*
(ChatGPT)

(6) In the field of lexical stylistics, where the focus is on the associative meaning of words, it is the following points:

- providing and/or indicating stylistically marked meanings of a given word, especially in terms of dialect, like British, American and others, and of chronolect, like obsolescent, obsolete and archaic,



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- providing and/or indicating registrally marked meanings of a given word, especially in terms of formality, like formal, neutral, informal and slang,
- providing and/or indicating attitudinally marked meanings of a given word, especially in terms of expressivity, like derogatory and offensive, on the one hand, and euphemistic, on the other,
- all these associative meanings can be provided within definitions of words, as at (5) above, or as separate usage notes.

(7) In the field of general pragmatics, where the focus is on the actual use of words and/or the content they express, it is the following points:

- providing textual illustration, with concrete exemplification of use of a given word in one or multiple phrases, clauses or sentences of various syntactic patterns,
- providing visual illustration, with pictorial exemplification of the content expressed by a given word (available with Bing and Bard),
- providing generated visual illustration, with induced pictorial exemplification of the content expressed by a given word, created in real time from the description input by the user (available with Bing), as shown for the images of a *puffin* and a *supercell storm* in Illustration 3, generated from the prompts 'I would like you to create an image of a puffin on a rock near the sea' and 'I would like you to create an image of a supercell storm in action in a town', respectively.



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Illustration 3: AI-generated images of a *puffin* (left) and a *supercell storm* (right) (Bing Image Creator, powered by DALL-E)

### 2.2.2. Relations between individual words: macro-lexical summaries

Macro-lexical summaries are composed of information concerning relations between individual words at paradigmatic, syntagmatic, word-formational and interlingual levels. Several notable relations can be looked into. They centre around comparability of form and/or content. Each of these relations, together with the ways in which they are realized, will now be itemized.

(8) At the paradigmatic level, it is sense relations between given senses of given words, realized in the following ways:

- synonymy: providing a list of synonyms for the given sense of a given word, with the possibility of including differential definitions and examples, as shown for the differentiated synonyms of the adjective *pretty*, in the screenshot in Illustration 4,
- in the opposite direction, i.e. onomasiologically: providing a list of synonyms available for expressing a given general sense, also with the possibility of including differential definitions and examples,



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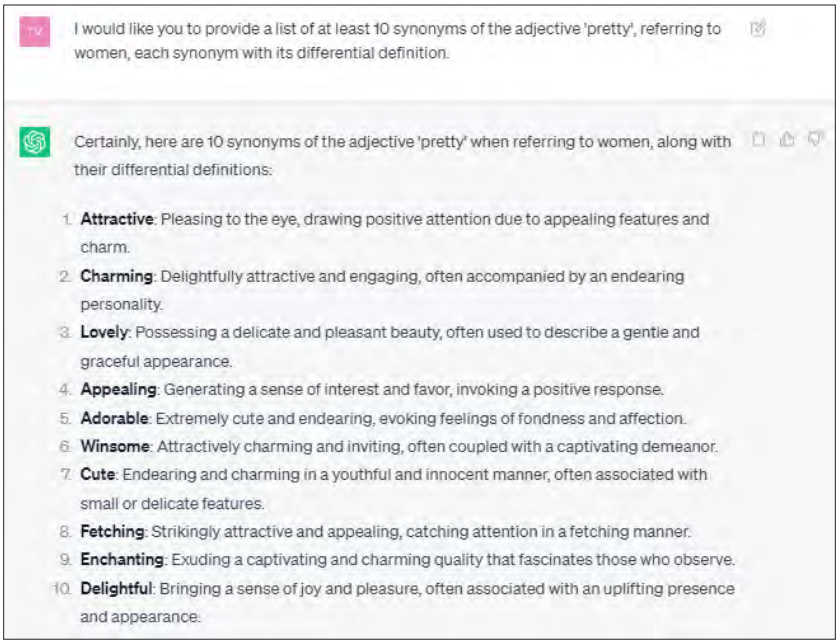


Illustration 4: differentiated synonyms of the adjective *pretty* (ChatGPT)

- antonymy: providing the complementing member of a pair of antonyms for the given sense of a given word, with the possibility of including definitions and examples,
- hyponymy: providing a list of hyponyms, or cohyponyms, or troponyms, for the given sense of a given superordinate, or, reversely, providing a superordinate for a given hyponym, or troponym, both with the possibility of including differential definitions and examples,
- meronymy: providing a list of meronyms for the given sense of a given holonym, or, reversely, providing a holonym for a given meronym, both with the possibility of including definitions and examples,
- all these sense relations can be provided within definitions of words, as at (5) above, or as independent lists.



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(9) Also at the paradigmatic level, it is relatedness of words in form and/or content, realized in the following ways:

- contrasting and commenting on the usability of variant spellings, including unacceptable spellings, of a given word,
- contrasting and commenting on the usability of variant pronunciations, including unacceptable pronunciations, of a given word,
- contrasting and commenting on the usability of variant morphological forms, including unacceptable forms, of a given word in a given function,
- contrasting and commenting on the usability of homonymous, homographous and homophonous sets of words,
- contrasting and commenting on the usability of various sets of synonyms of a given sense of a given basic word,
- contrasting and commenting on the usability of literal vs. transferred metaphorical or metonymical senses of a given word,
- providing frequency of occurrence of spelling variants, including unacceptable spellings, of a given word, as shown for the variants of *road map*, in the screenshot in Illustration 5, obtained from the prompt 'I would like you to provide the frequency of occurrence, in numbers and percentages, of the spelling variants *road map, road-map* and *roadmap*',
- providing frequency of occurrence of morphological variants, including unacceptables forms, of a given word,
- providing frequency of occurrence of variant prefixations and/or suffixations with the same base word.



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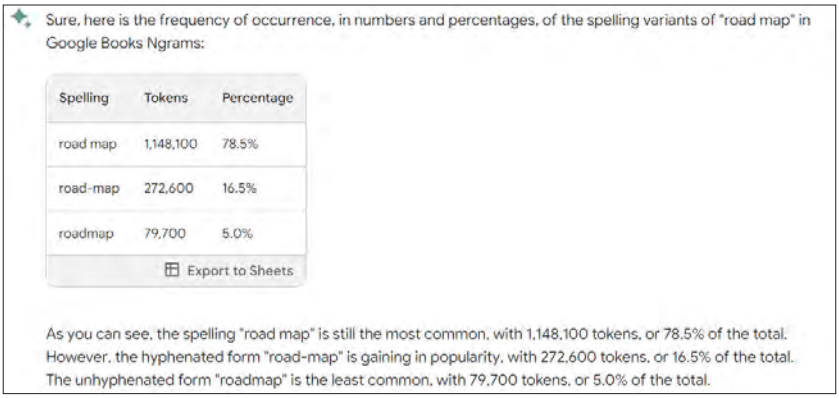

Sure, here is the frequency of occurrence, in numbers and percentages, of the spelling variants of "road map" in Google Books Ngrams:

| Spelling | Tokens | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| road map | 1,148,100 | 78.5% |
| road-map | 272,600 | 16.5% |
| roadmap | 79,700 | 5.0% |

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As you can see, the spelling "road map" is still the most common, with 1,148,100 tokens, or 78.5% of the total. However, the hyphenated form "road-map" is gaining in popularity, with 272,600 tokens, or 16.5% of the total. The unhyphenated form "roadmap" is the least common, with 79,700 tokens, or 5.0% of the total.

Illustration 5: frequency of occurrence of three spelling variants of the word *road map*
(Bard)

(10) At the syntagmatic level, it is habitual cooccurrences of words, realized in the following ways:

- providing primary or secondary collocates of collocations, occurring to the left or to the right, of a given word in a given sense, as shown for the adjective collocates of the noun *pain*, in the screenshot in Illustration 6,
- providing the function word, typically a preposition, of colligations, occurring to the right of a given lexical word in a given sense,
- providing frequency of occurrence of a given collocation or colligation,
- all these word cooccurrences can be provided within definitions of words, as at (5) above, or as independent lists.



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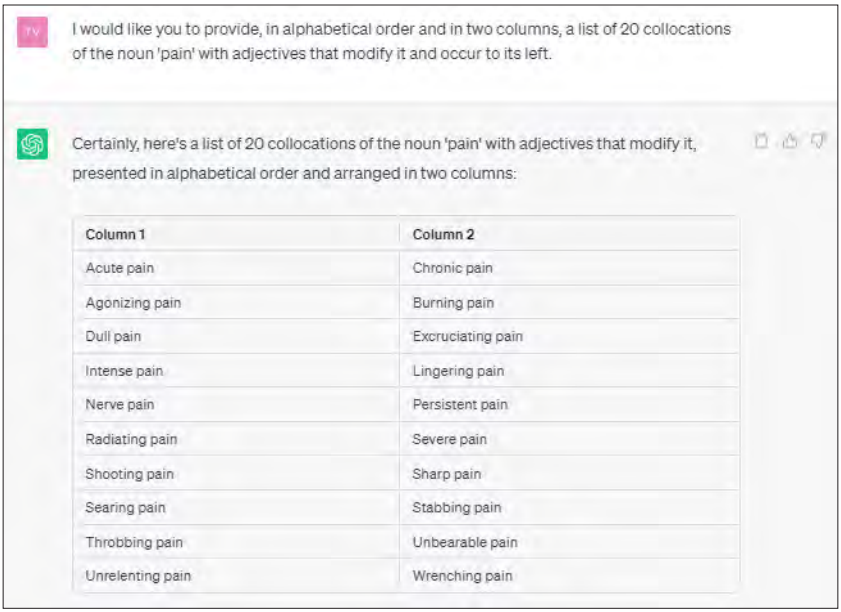

I would like you to provide, in alphabetical order and in two columns, a list of 20 collocations of the noun 'pain' with adjectives that modify it and occur to its left.

Certainly, here's a list of 20 collocations of the noun 'pain' with adjectives that modify it, presented in alphabetical order and arranged in two columns:

| Column 1 | Column 2 |
|---|---|
| Acute pain | Chronic pain |
| Agonizing pain | Burning pain |
| Dull pain | Excruciating pain |
| Intense pain | Lingering pain |
| Nerve pain | Persistent pain |
| Radiating pain | Severe pain |
| Shooting pain | Sharp pain |
| Searing pain | Stabbing pain |
| Throbbing pain | Unbearable pain |
| Unrelenting pain | Wrenching pain |

Illustration 6: adjective collocates of the noun *pain* (ChatGPT)

(11) At the word-formational level, it is relatedness of words by a shared base word, realized in the following ways:

- providing a list of word families, i.e. morphologically and semantically related words containing, or building around, a given base word,
- providing a list of words beginning with a given base, prefix or initial combining form,
- providing a list of words ending with a given base, suffix or final combining form,
- providing a list of words beginning with a given prefix or initial combining form and ending with a given suffix or final combining form,
- providing frequency of occurrence of words with competing prefixes or initial combining forms and/or competing suffixes or final combining forms,



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- providing component bases of blends,
- providing full forms of clippings,
- providing full forms of acronyms.

(12) At the interlingual level, it is translation of words, realized in the following ways:

- providing translation of contextualized words, including their different senses, sense relations, collocations and idioms, from English into another language or multiple languages simultaneously,
- providing translation of contextualized words, including their different senses, sense relations, collocations and idioms, into English and other languages from another language,
- providing guidance on false friends from English and into English.

Components of micro-lexical and macro-lexical summaries jointly make up an extensive lexical summary of any word in English, recording its individual properties as well as its relations with other comparable words. In accordance with the user's own needs and preferences, these distinctive components can be called forth either separately, or in smaller or larger clusters – or the two summaries can be put together, in part or in full, to produce a neatly arranged major dictionary-style entry to be called here 'mega-lexical summary', that affords a detailed insight into, and presents a comprehensive overview of, the behaviour of any given word looked up and into.

For the components reflecting aspects of this behaviour to become available, AI chatbots need to be questioned and/or instructed via efficiently phrased prompts. These prompts and ways of their wording, along with selected examples, will be dealt with next.

## 2.3. The hows: pointers for efficient phrasing of AI chatbot prompts

The quality and quantity of responses to user questions or instructions to any AI chatbot, whether they are simple, complex



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or complicated, and whether they are about the English vocabulary or not, depend crucially on the quality and quantity of the phrasing of prompts that contain user questions or instructions, and that are input in written, keyed-in, or spoken form to the AI chatbot to tackle. In what follows some practical pointers on the efficient phrasing of prompts for lexical exploration, stemming from the author's own first-hand experience, will be offered and subsequently illustrated with concrete representative samples.

### 2.3.1. Theoretical preliminaries

First of all, there are three general premises, already mentioned, that have to be borne in mind when working with AI chatbots: firstly, the user can address them textually, by using ordinary language and, in return, AI chatbots produce a textual, or, in some cases, graphic, visual or vocal, reaction; secondly, AI chatbots have been trained on a vast amount of textual material available across and around the internet, and some of the chatbots additionally have access to the internet in real time; and thirdly, AI chatbots in fact analyse, organize, reorganize, summarize and display the data originally fed into them.

It has been found out by the author that AI chatbots do exceptionally well in handling contextualized language as it is actually used and, especially, contextualized words. This primarily involves four strongly pragmatics-based linguistic phenomena:

- meaning of concrete words, including very latest creations, in concrete contexts,
- collocations of concrete words in concrete contexts,
- examples of use of concrete words in concrete contexts, and
- frequency of occurrence of concrete words and their forms in concrete contexts.

In order that prompts directed at AI chatbots could successfully elicit these and all other features and relations sketched out above, the following simple tried-and-tested do's and dont's could prove helpful in composing prompts:



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- Always provide at least minimal sentential context, since the more background is given the clearer and fuller understanding of your question and/or instruction will be achieved, as in *sexual harassment?* (no context available, the user's intention hardly manageable) vs *What does* sexual harassment *mean?* (some context, moderately manageable) vs *What does the noun* sexual harassment *mean in this sentence: She is the victim of her boss's* sexual harassment (optimal context, quite manageable).
- Always make your prompt as precise and as specific as possible, since too general and too vague phrasing is liable to return too general and too vague, and hence rather unsatisfactory, responses with only a (randomly?) selected amount of information.
- Always make your point clear and your intention unambiguous, and make sure that you and the AI chatbot understand one another well by sharing the same meaning of the terms you use.
- Structurally, your prompts can be in the form of a request, as in *Provide / List / Show all words that...*, or a question, as in *Can / Could / Will / Would you provide all words that...?*, or a statement, as in *I would like to know / have / see all words that...*, and all three forms may be enhanced with politeness markers, like *please*; arguably the least desirable form, because the vaguest, most indeterminate and most ambiguous, and thus the least constructive, is to supply only the bare key words sought, as in *all the words that....*
- If and when necessary, experiment with multiple versions of your prompt, by adding, removing or modifying the text in part or in full, until you are provided with the best and most satisfactory response.
- If not satisfied with the results obtained, ask the AI chatbot to regenerate its response or, when and where possible, choose one of the parellel drafts it has prepared.



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- Do not hesitate to consult the AI chatbot about how best to phrase your prompt so as to best achieve the desired or expected result.
- Do not hesitate to ask the AI chatbot to explain, justify or defend the concrete response it has provided.
- Do not hesitate to correct the errors made by the AI chatbot and to teach it new stuff, which will be gratefully acknowledged and kept in mind and in action for the duration of the ongoing session.
- When asking for various lists to be compiled, take special care to avoid, more often than not, ending up, for reasons not yet fathomed, with curtailed lists bringing only a fragment of the items expected, typically introduced by AI chatbots with phrases like 'here are some of' or 'these are some of' – for lists to be less of the 'some' type and more of the 'all' type, your prompt should include phrases like 'an exhaustive list', 'a comprehensive list', 'a full list', 'a list of all', 'a list with no fewer than', 'with no exceptions, 'with no omissions', and, as an extra safeguard, the expected members of a list should be broken down into smaller units, either restricted by ranges of letters, e.g. 'from A to D', 'from E to I', etc., or quantified by numbers, e.g. 'the first 30', 'the next 15', etc.

After these essential guidelines for efficient AI chatbot prompting, here now is a cross section of some of the tried-and-tested patterns of prompts composed for eliciting aspects of the twelve features and relations enumerated above.

### 2.3.2. Practical applications

The patterns to be offered are meant to motivate readers to exploit, modify, amend or expand prompts – or, if they so wish, to reject them altogether. The numbering of these paragraphs matches that of the paragraphs in the previous section and, by way of reminder, each of the paragraphs begins with a short descriptive heading:



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(1) To elicit aspects of spelling of words:
- Are the two spelling variants, *gray* and *grey*, equally acceptable in English?
- Provide the standard spelling form of the noun *acommodation*.
- Is it properly spelled as *Pearl Harbour* or as *Pearl Harbor*?

(2) To elicit aspects of pronunciation of words:
- Provide the three possible standard pronunciations in RP, shown in IPA symbols, of the word *issue*.
- Provide the pronunciation in RP and GenAm, shown in IPA symbols, of the first name of the actress *Saoirse Ronan*.
- Is the pronunciation with /sk/ for the word *schedule* acceptable in RP?

(3) To elicit aspects of grammar of words:
- Provide all parts of speech that the word *round* can appear in.
- Provide the functions of the word *stone* in the following two phrases: *a stone wall* vs *a wall made of stone*.
- Is the plural of the noun *mouse*, in the sense of computer pointing device, *mice*, or *mouses*, or both?

(4) To elicit aspects of etymology of words:
- Provide the language of origin and of transmission of the English adjective *legal*.
- Provide the year when the word *selfie* first appeared in English.
- Provide all the forms that today's English word *milk* has had during its historical development.

(5) To elicit aspects of descriptive meaning of words:
- Provide a list with all, repeat all, available meanings of the English verb *escape*, each with a short definition preceded by a key word from the definition and followed by an example sentence.
- Provide the definition of meaning of the word *reader* in this sentence: *He is* Reader *in Modern English History at Lancaster University*.



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- Provide the definition in simplified language, within 35 words and one sentence, of the word *supercell storm*.

(6) To elicit aspects of associative meaning of words:

- Provide the British counterparts of the American nouns *push-up, faucet, fall* and *cell phone*.
- Provide 15 English formal words alongside their neutral counterparts.
- Comment on the use and meaning of the word *wireless* in the following sentence: *My granny always listens to the news on the* wireless.

(7) To elicit aspects of exemplification of use of words:

- Provide 10 sentences of various syntactic structures where the idiom *with flying colours* appears.
- Provide no fewer than 25 examples each of the noun and the verb *love* in full sentences.
- Create an image showing a *submersible* under the sea.

(8) To elicit aspects of sense relations of words:

- Provide antonyms for the adjective *short*, with explanations and example sentences for all.
- Provide 15 adjectives that express the notion of female physical beauty, with differential definitions and example sentences for each.
- Provide at least 10 troponyms of the verb *walk*, with differential definitions each beginning with 'to walk'.

(9) To elicit aspects of relatedness of words:

- Explain the difference between the nouns *submarine* and *submersible*.
- Explain the difference in meaning between the following four words: *cohabiter, cohabitor, cohabitant* and *cohabitee*, and provide the frequency of occurrence for each.
- Provide the frequency of occurrence of the following three spelling variants: *road map, roadmap* and *road-map*.

(10) To elicit aspects of cooccurrence of words:

- Provide as many examples as you can of nouns that occur with the verb *clean* and then group those nouns according to similarity of meaning.



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- Provide a list with at least 10 verbs that occur to the left of the noun *complaint*.
- Provide a list of all prepositions that occur to the right of the adjective *angry*.

(11) To elicit aspects of formation of words:

- Provide the meanings of the suffix *-ish* in the following four words: *Finnish, childish, reddish* and *sevenish*, and add two further examples for each meaning.
- Provide as many examples as you can of the words that contain the base word *play* as a verb.
- Provide a list of at least 15 adjectives that begin with the prefix *un-* and end with the suffix *-ible*.

(12) To elicit aspects of translation of words:

- Provide all possible translations into Serbian of the English word *global warming*.
- Provide a translation or translations into English of the Serbian sentence *Srce moje pametno!*, said to a bright child by their mother.
- Provide the English counterpart of the Serbian word *old-timer*, referring to a motorcar.

## 2.4. Towards an interactive exercise: mega-lexical summaries

Having examined the whys, whats and hows of exploiting AI chatbots and building micro- and macro-lexical summaries for words, it now becomes possible to have AI chatbots produce MEGA-LEXICAL SUMMARIES of words that contain all or some components of micro- and macro-lexical summaries, in line with the user's own needs and preferences.

The proposal for this practical interactive exercise in efficient and effective AI chatbot prompting and building mega-lexical summaries has been thought of as the final and most creative stage of getting acquainted with the workings of AI chatbots, in which readers will have an opportunity to instruct them to draw up dictionary-style entries of micro, macro or mega quantity and quality. By way of a starting point, a model prompt, tried and tested, aim-



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ing at producing a mega-lexical summary of the English verb *play* is provided below. Readers can use this template in full, without any changes, or they can add new points, or remove existing points, or modify existing or new points, or alter some phrasings, or introduce new words. Possibilities for experimentation – and play – are virtually unlimited and bounded only by readers' imagination, invention and will. Here now is that kick-off template prompt:

> I need a dictionary-style entry of the English verb *play*, which will include the following information: (1) its spelling, (2) in the next line, its pronunciation in IPA symbols, (3) in the next line, its part of speech with subcategorization, (4) in the next line, all of its grammatical forms, each of them with its pronunciation in IPA symbols, (5) in the next line and each within a separate paragraph, numbered definitions, within 15 words, of each of its senses and each definition preceded in bold by a key word from the definition, (6) in the next line, three example sentences for each of its senses, (7) in the next line, at least ten collocations for each of its senses, (8) in the next line, at least five synonyms for each of its senses, and (9) at the bottom, in a separate table, at least 15 words derived from the verb *play*.

The results to be obtained readers may find satisfactory, fully or partly, or unsatisfactory, partly or fully. To gain complete satisfaction, they are free to manipulate the phrasings at their own pleasure, using the tips and tricks given above or they can try their own hands-on experience. What is more, this kick-off template prompt they can test with all four AI chatbots and compare the results they yield.

And, in closing the present section, it has to be stressed that this exercise in efficient AI chatbot prompt phrasing is, collaterally, also an excellent exercise in applied pragmatics, in efficient language use, in careful utterance production, in focused juggling with words and sentences, all in an attempt to attain the expression of one's communicative intentions in as straightforward, con-



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cise and to-the-point a manner as possible, and thus to induce and elicit as satisfactory, helpful and usable a response as feasible.

## 2.5. Exploring English neologisms with AI chatbots

This section is devoted to English neologisms and ways in which their explorers can benefit from resources offered by AI chatbots. The discussion will deal with defining English neologisms; with explorable domains of English neologisms; with finding English neologisms in dictionaries; and with building lexical summaries for English neologisms with AI chatbots.

### 2.5.1. Defining English neologisms

Neologisms are words like all other words in the English vocabulary but with a striking difference: they have appeared in the vocabulary relatively recently and 'relatively recently' can span a period from roughly a day or more to roughly several decades or more. As fresh additions to the vocabulary, neologisms are indicative of various important aspects in the development of the system and the use of the system of a language. These aspects, which will be taken up shortly, afford illuminating insights into lexical, linguistic and extralinguistic trends that reflect the present and partly the past and the future of English and, by extension, of any other language, and that is why they are extremely challenging and rewarding not only to explore, but also to describe lexicologically and lexicographically, and to teach in schools and at universities.

To make matters clearer, a working definition of neologism is first in order: by the term NEOLOGISM is meant here **(a) a new word that has appeared in a language within the period of the present moment and up to around 25 years into the past, (b) a lexical innovation at the level of form and/or content, (c) created by using domestic and/or foreign lexical resources, (d) to a greater or lesser degree established in the lexical system of that language, and (e) typically and most frequently first found in the media – print, electronic and social** (for other defi-



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nitions and treatments of neologisms, see Chaps. 10 and 11 in this book; Creese 2018; Kerremans 2015; Lehrer 1996, 2003; Mattiello 2017; Metcalf 2002; Renouf 2013; Rodríguez Guerra 2016; Stojičić 2006b; Štekauer 2002).

And to make matters more specific, for the purpose of the present discussion, the turn-of-the-century approach will be used to define the term English neologism as follows: **it is a lexical innovation at the level of form with its associated content that has appeared and established itself in English during the last decades of the 20th century and the first decades of the 21st century**. Neologisms, like *Brexit, cancel culture, deepfake, gigafire, malvertising, non-paper, sharenting, shrinkflation, VAR, Zoom*$_{v}$, and hundreds of others, typically arise in, and belong to, different areas of human interest and activity, where they serve most notably as culture-specific terms, technical terms, politically correct terms, slang terms, Covid-related terms, Brexit-related terms (cf. Lalić Krstin and Silaški 2018, 2019), and even, interestingly enough, Obama-related terms (cf. Wilson 2008).

### 2.5.2. Explorable domains of English neologisms

Returning to the above-mentioned aspects of the development of the system and the use of the system of English, a total of eight notable domains can be identified of the exploration, and explorability, of English neologisms by linguistic professionals, university students, lexicographers and other word lovers. There now follows a run-through of these eight domains, together with the main topics that they cover (for a more detailed discussion, see Chap. 10 in this book):

(1) Semasiological domain, which is concerned with forms that express content of neologisms, and focuses especially on the following topics:

- actual and potential neologisms,
- existing, developing and competing word-formation processes, affixes and combining forms,



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- newly developed, developing and competing word-formation processes, affixes, combining forms and their uses.

(2) Onomasiological domain, which is concerned with content that is expressed by forms of neologisms, and focuses especially on the following topics:

- types of meaning expressed word-formationally,
- newly developed and developing types of meaning.

(3) Pragmatic domain, which is concerned with interpreting the form and content of neologisms, and focuses especially on the following topics:

- recognizing neologisms,
- understanding the meaning of neologisms by hearers / readers,
- understanding the meaning of neologisms by speakers / writers,
- understanding the meaning of neologisms outside of context and within a given sentential context in conjunction with a given situational context.

(4) Stylistic domain, which is concerned with communicative effects achieved or meant to be achieved by neologisms, and focuses especially on the following topics:

- effects inferred by hearers / readers in a neologism,
- effects intended by speakers / writers in a neologism,
- attitudes towards neologisms by hearers / readers,
- attitudes towards neologisms by speakers / writers,
- effectiveness of neologisms,
- creativity, originality and play on words in making neologisms.

(5) Sociocultural domain, which is concerned with communicative needs of a community and culture that are met or can be met with neologisms, and focuses especially on the following topics:

- needs and practices of giving new names word-formationally,
- types of concrete or abstract entities in the extralinguistic world for which neologisms serve as new names,



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- types of parts of speech through which neologisms serve as new names,
- fields of human interest and activity in which neologisms serve as new names,
- general and terminological vocabulary in which neologisms occur as new names.

(6) Contact-contrastive domain, which is concerned with the influence of other languages and cultures on neologisms in the target language, and focuses especially on the following topics:

- adaptation of neologisms to the system of the target language at the levels of form, function, meaning and use,
- translation of neologisms into the target language,
- differences between translating established words and neologisms,
- creation of neologisms in the target language under the influence of the source language,
- creation of source-and-target- and/or target-and-source-language hybrid neologisms,
- sense relations between borrowed and hybrid neologisms, and existing words.

(7) Etymological domain, which is concerned with the historical development of neologisms, and focuses especially on the following topics:

- earliest recorded occurrence of a neologism in a language,
- diachronic form-related variants and variations of a neologism,
- diachronic content-related variations of a neologism.

(8) Lexicographic domain, which is concerned with the treatment of neologisms in dictionaries, and focuses especially on the following topics:

- monitoring, collecting and describing forms, functions, meanings and uses of neologisms in monolingual general-purpose dictionaries, which are today increasingly available online only,
- describing, adapting and translating into the target language neologisms in bilingual or bilingualized gener-



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al-purpose dictionaries or, preferably, in specialized bilingual or bilingualized dictionaries of new words.

### 2.5.3. Finding English neologisms in dictionaries

Established neologisms, when satisfying editorial criteria governed by a sufficient, and predetermined, number of occurrences in various kinds of texts,[7] become consolidated, or institutionalized, in the vocabulary and therefore merit inclusion in dictionaries. It is of great importance to make and subsequently to use dictionaries of, and with, neologisms, and for three compelling reasons:

- firstly, they record new words, both as new forms with new meanings and as new meanings of existing forms,
- secondly, they make it possible for interested users to appreciate new words, to understand appropriately new words at all levels of their spoken and written use, and to employ appropriately new words in their own speech and writing, and
- thirdly, they make it possible for interested researchers to explore new words, their forms, functions, meanings and uses, as will be sketched out shortly.

In the print-dominated lexicography, English neologisms were documented in specialized dictionaries of neologisms, which, at the beginning of the 21th century, appeared with a stock of new words from the turn of the century (cf. Barrett 2007; Knowles and Elliott 1998; McFedries 2004; Wajnryb 2005). As lexicography was transitioning to the internet and dictionaries were being usable and editable online, so neologisms began to be documented online, with one website, called *Word Spy*,[8] setting the standard for neological online dictionaries. "Devoted to 'lexpionage', the sleuthing of

[7] For editorial criteria of some major dictionaries of English, see https://www.oed.com/information/editorial-policy/how-words-enter-the-oed/ (Oxford English Dictionary), https://www.merriam-webster.com/grammar/how-does-a-word-get-into-the-dictionary (Merriam-Webster), https://www.dictionary.com/e/getting-words-into-dictionaries/ (Dictionary.com).

[8] Address: https://wordspy.com/.



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new words and phrases that have appeared in print and online", as it declared in its mission statement, this unique dictionary, sadly no longer updated, provides all relevant and well cross-referred information, except for pronunciation, about hundreds of neologisms, dating from January 1996 till June 2018, ordered alphabetically and thematically. This website and its spin-off companion book *Word Spy. The Word Lover's Guide to Modern Culture* (McFedries 2004), together with the other three dictionaries mentioned above, bear ample testimony to numerous new additions to the English vocabulary at the start of the new century.

As the 'onlinization' of lexicography and dictionaries has been taking root, supported by ever-so-smaller devices of mobile communication – laptops, tablets and, above all, mobile phones, neologisms are being treated no longer in specialized dictionaries but in mainstream general-purpose dictionaries, which are now being updated regularly with new material, that includes new words with new meanings and new meanings of existing words. Because the editorial process of updating dictionaries online has methodologically become quite easy, English neologisms are currently being monitored, collected and lexicographically described in 'ordinary' dictionaries, often crowdsourced by the public at large and later edited by professional lexicographers. Besides registering very latest neologisms in the word lists of their online general-purpose dictionaries, and exploitable as primary sources, many renowned publishers, British, American and other, run on their websites special features where recently emerged neologisms are listed and/or explained, and are exploitable as supplementary sources. Among the publishers offering these most useful sources of information on English neologisms, the following are the most prominent:

- *Merriam-Webster*, at:
  https://www.merriam-webster.com/
  https://www.merriam-webster.com/wordplay/new-words-in-the-dictionary,
- *Dictionary.com*, at:
  https://www.dictionary.com/



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https://www.dictionary.com/e/c/word-trends/new-words/,

- *Collins Dictionary*, at:
  https://www.collinsdictionary.com/
  https://blog.collinsdictionary.com/latest-language/,
- *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries*, at:
  https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/
  https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/wordlist/new_words,
- *Cambridge Dictionary*, at:
  https://dictionary.cambridge.org/
  https://dictionaryblog.cambridge.org/category/new-words/,
- *Wiktionary, the free dictionary*, at:
  https://en.wiktionary.org/,
- *Urban Dictionary*, at:
  https://www.urbandictionary.com/.

However, by far the best and most exhaustive coverage of English established neologisms is to be found in the continuously updated online *Oxford English Dictionary*, or, much more often, *OED*, for short, at https://www.oed.com/. It provides thorough lexicographic treatment of individual words, with neatly laid-out and displayed information on their forms, functions, meanings and uses, and interrelations, as well as on their frequency of occurrence and etymological timeline.[9] Moreover, from March 2000 to the present, the *OED* website has been carrying a regular quarterly updates section with annotated alphabetical lists of latest additions to the dictionary's overall word list.[10]

All these lexical resources, whether in the form of dictionary entries or of lists of new words, represent rich and valuable sources of knowledge that can be exploited widely and profitably, not only in appreciating and understanding neologisms and their use, but also in exploring various aspects of neologisms discussed

[9] For exemplification, see the treatment of the neologism headword *deepfake*: https://www.oed.com/search/dictionary/?scope=Entries&q=deepfake.

[10] Address: https://www.oed.com/information/updates/.



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above. Nevertheless, all these lexical resources, important and precious as they are, have recently received an unexpected and powerful reinforcement that can be construed either as a complement, or as a supplement, or as both – but not yet as a replacement – to their functionality. This reinforcement is, of course, AI chatbots, whose evolving role in exploring English neologisms will now be assessed.

### 2.5.4. Building lexical summaries for English neologisms

In spite of sharing certain fundamental features, regarding essentially similar, and in some cases even the same, structure, organization and exploitability of the lexical resources they offer, the above-mentioned dictionaries and AI chatbots differ sharply in several conspicuous features.

Lexical resources to be exploited in dictionaries are (1) basically static, even though periodically expanded and/or amended with new material, (2) which, in turn, makes dictionaries comparable to reference corpora, whose size and composition are invariant, (3) which, in turn, makes the information given about words fixed, polished and consistent in quality and in quantity, (4) which, in return, guarantees the information made available to users to be accurate and reliable, because verified, prepared and published by professional lexicographers. Therefore, dictionaries can be viewed and used as authoritative sources of information on a finite set, however large, of words, including established neologisms, and their forms, functions, meanings and uses.

In contrast, lexical resources to be exploited through AI chatbots are (1) basically dynamic, especially with those chatbots having access to the internet, (2) which, in turn, makes AI chatbots comparable to monitor corpora,[11] whose size and composition are variant, because increasing literally every day, (3) which, in turn, makes the information about words, in part, varying, raw and inconsistent in quality and in quantity, (4) which, in return, requires

[11] For the difference between reference and monitor corpora, see https://www.sketchengine.eu/corpora-and-languages/corpus-types/.



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the information made available to users to be taken with a pinch or two of salt and, whenever seeming odd, to be double-checked for accuracy, reliability and even authenticity, because all that information has not been verified by professional lexicographers, but rather data-mined and crawled across the internet, where text production is free to anyone willing to write, or it has been invented by hallucinating AI chatbots. All this has led earlier to the statement on AI chatbots construable either as a complement, or as a supplement, or as both – but not yet as a replacement – to the functionality of dictionaries. That is why AI chatbots, even though dubbed multitalented superdictionaries, can be viewed and used as rich, handy sources of information, sometimes not quite trustable, on a virtually infinite set words, including both established and 'establishescent' neologisms, and their forms, functions, meanings and uses. And a particularly strong point of all AI chatbots, as already mentioned, has proved to be the pragmatics-driven provision of insights into the actual use of words in actual sentential and situational contexts, including all kinds of very latest uses in very latest contexts, and the information stemming from them.

Having drawn this significant distinction between dictionaries and AI chatbots, it must further be said that, as far as neologisms are concerned, AI chatbots offer the same types of information that describe properties of individual words and relations between individual words, and that appear in micro-, macro- and mega-lexical summaries of established words. In view of their deep pragmatic embeddedness, resources of AI chatbots can afford special insights into the behaviour of neologisms, including very new ones, that are typically not yet to be found in dictionaries. Among those special insights, the following are deemed especially pertinent, especially for 'establishescent' neologisms:

- showing actual use of words: multiple examples, able to run into dozens if necessary, of actual uses of a neologism, in phrases, clauses, sentences or paragraphs, whose various parameters, like genre, field, topic, length and time of appearance, can be specified,



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- showing collocations: multiple examples of collocations of a neologism, with various types of collocates occurring to its immediate left or right, if necessary placed within example sentences, clauses or phrases,
- showing word-formationally related words: members of the word family of a neologism,
- showing meanings: definitions of meanings of a neologism, including not only very new forms but also very new meanings,
- showing tendencies in use: frequency of occurrence of a neologism, including uses on the increase and on the decrease,
- showing etymology: year or decade of the first appearance of a neologism and its derivation,
- showing etymologically related sets: lists of neologisms that have appeared in a particular year or decade, and
- showing thematically related sets: lists of neologisms that belong to a particular area of human activity or interest.

By way of demonstration, a reduced lexical summary of the neologism *deepfake*, used as a noun, has been built by ChatGPT, combining some elements of its micro-lexical summary (with information about spelling, pronunciation, part of speech, etymology and meanings) and its macro-lexical summary (with information about contextualized collocations). The prompt used to elicit this response has been phrased as follows: 'I would like you to provide a dictionary-style entry of the noun *deepfake* and to include the following information, each in a separate paragraph: (1) its pronunciation in IPA symbols, (2) its etymology with the year of its first appearance and its derivation, (3) definitions, each within 30 words, of each of its meanings as a noun, (4) five collocations, shown in alphabetical order, in bold and within a full sentence, of the noun *deepfake* with adjectives, and (5) five collocations, shown in alphabetical order, in bold and within a full sentence, of the noun *deepfake* with verbs'. The resulting lexical summary is shown in the screenshot in Illustration 7.



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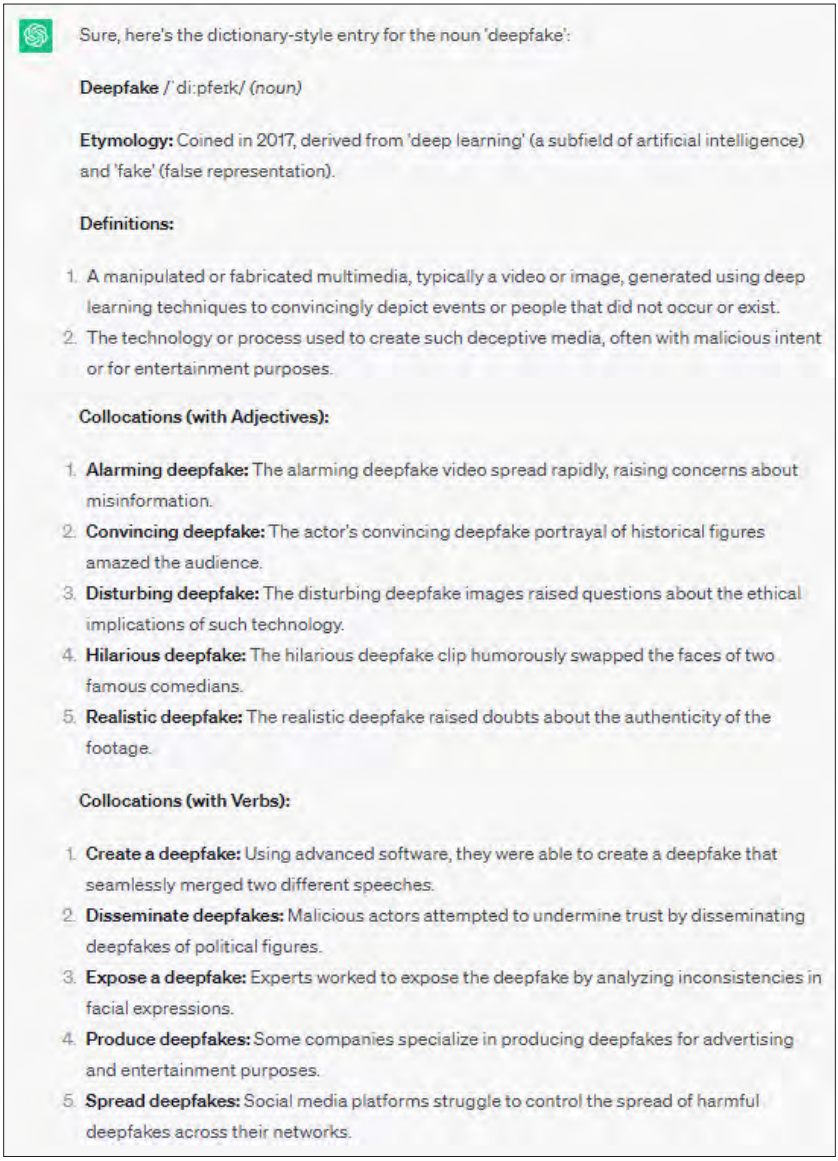

Sure, here's the dictionary-style entry for the noun 'deepfake':

**Deepfake** /ˈdiːpfeɪk/ *(noun)*

**Etymology:** Coined in 2017, derived from 'deep learning' (a subfield of artificial intelligence) and 'fake' (false representation).

**Definitions:**

1. A manipulated or fabricated multimedia, typically a video or image, generated using deep learning techniques to convincingly depict events or people that did not occur or exist.
2. The technology or process used to create such deceptive media, often with malicious intent or for entertainment purposes.

**Collocations (with Adjectives):**

1. **Alarming deepfake:** The alarming deepfake video spread rapidly, raising concerns about misinformation.
2. **Convincing deepfake:** The actor's convincing deepfake portrayal of historical figures amazed the audience.
3. **Disturbing deepfake:** The disturbing deepfake images raised questions about the ethical implications of such technology.
4. **Hilarious deepfake:** The hilarious deepfake clip humorously swapped the faces of two famous comedians.
5. **Realistic deepfake:** The realistic deepfake raised doubts about the authenticity of the footage.

**Collocations (with Verbs):**

1. **Create a deepfake:** Using advanced software, they were able to create a deepfake that seamlessly merged two different speeches.
2. **Disseminate deepfakes:** Malicious actors attempted to undermine trust by disseminating deepfakes of political figures.
3. **Expose a deepfake:** Experts worked to expose the deepfake by analyzing inconsistencies in facial expressions.
4. **Produce deepfakes:** Some companies specialize in producing deepfakes for advertising and entertainment purposes.
5. **Spread deepfakes:** Social media platforms struggle to control the spread of harmful deepfakes across their networks.

Illustration 7: reduced lexical summary of the noun *deepfake* (ChatGPT)



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Needless to say, the number of examples for collocations might have been greater or smaller, examples of use of *deepfake* might have been requested as well as its derivationally related words, definitions might have been differently worded, and so on. Possibilities are virtually endless, as has already been said, and open to readers to try and experiment with, according to their own needs and preferences. It is exactly this, virtually endless possibilities, that makes AI chatbots, viewed and used as multi-talented superdictionaries, a most welcome addition to modern lexicography, serving as a complement, or a supplement, or both, to resources of mainstream online dictionaries – but not yet as their replacement, and for reasons already mentioned. Because of their continuously being updated with new material and, in consequence, their open-ended nature, AI chatbots are especially useful for exploring neologisms, and especially very latest neologisms. What is more, it has to be stressed that however weakness-prone at times, AI chatbots appear to be the only tangible source of information for very recent vocabulary, that has not yet been formally documented in mainstream online and print dictionaries.

## 2.6. Looking ahead

The story about AI chatbots and exploring the English vocabulary does not end here – rather, it must go on, since further topics are looking forward to being looked into. These topics are largely about putting micro-, macro- and mega-lexical summaries into joint action and include the following most rewarding ones:

- (help in the) translation of contextualized words from and into English, or any other pair of languages supported,
- (help in the) creation of materials to teach, or unteach, students of a specified age specified aspects of form, function, meaning and use of English words,
- (help in the) creation of tests, according to specified criteria, to evaluate students' mastery of various aspects of form, function, meaning and use of English words, and



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- (help in the) compilation of entries for various dictionaries, or of various dictionaries themselves, general-purpose, specialized or terminological, whether monolingual, bilingual, bilingualized, multilingual or multilingualized, according to specified criteria (which has partly been done to explore and exemplify some of the ideas propounded in this discussion).

Each of these, and other similar, topics require an in-depth analysis from theoretical, methodological and practical, or applied, perspectives. And as for dictionaries, AI chatbots may well represent a significant, if not historic, milestone in user-oriented lexicography, in which the quality, quantity and display of information on-screen are designed so as to be adaptable to users and controllable by users. The future in, and for, AI-driven lexicography is taking shape and some initial constructive feedback is already available from *TshwaneDJe* and *Lexonomy*,[12] creators of the world's best two dictionary-making software packages (see especially de Schryver 2023).

Obviously, this story of AI-chatbot-assisted English vocabulary exploration and AI-chatbot-assisted custom-built dictionary making has just begun and is here to stay. In spite of occasional hallucinatory hiccups, which will hopefully be remedied in the not too distant future.

[12] Addresses: https://tshwanedje.com/, https://tshwanedje.com/articles/CODH-video-presentation-TLex-OpenAI-Integration/, https://dictionaryq.com/GPT-dictionary/ (TshwaneDJe); https://www.lexonomy.eu/, https://www.lexonomy.eu/#/chatgpt, https://www.lexonomy.eu/#/chatgpt35 (Lexonomy).



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## 3. Developing EFL students' word-formation competence

Arguably the most productive and, at the same time, the most imaginative and inventive part of a language system is word formation. And English is no exception in this respect – what is more, its network of surprisingly simple yet astonishingly powerful word-making mechanisms offer their users a highly exploitable resource for creating words – ordinary ones, predictable in form and meaning, like *carefully*, as well as extraordinary ones, less predictable, like *(to) wow*, or not predictable at all, like *firenado*, from *fire* + *(tor)nado*, which shot to international prominence during the summer of 2018, as a popular media word for 'fire whirl', ravaging parts of the United States and the United Kingdom, or *Barbenheimer*, from *Barb(ie)* + *(Opp)enheimer*, which gained traction during the summer of 2023, following the simultaneous release of two competing films – *Barbie* and *Oppenheimer*. It is in creating words, especially new words, and especially extraordinary words, that human potential for lexical innovation and originality comes to the fore, and whose impressive results can be readily verified by browsing any online or print English general-purpose or terminological dictionary, or, even more conspicuously, by visiting online lists or glossaries of neologisms, of which special mention should be made of *Word Spy. The Word Lover's Guide to New Words*,[13] in effect a meticulous and highly reliable dictionary-cum-thesaurus of new words in English, from 1996 to 2018.

Furthermore, word formation provides the main source of expanding the vocabulary of a language by using its own means.

[13] Address: https://www.wordspy.com/.



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The other sources are utilizing foreign means, by borrowing words from other languages, like *karaoke*, from Japanese into English, and, lastly, combining the two means, by borrowing words and then subjecting them to domestic word-formation processes, like *videoke*, 'karaoke containing a video', from the English base *video* and the Japanese base *(kara)oke*.

In spite of its important roles in the structuring of language and its not less important contributions to the functioning of language, word formation still remains undertaught to EFL university students. Even a quick search on the internet for publicly available curricula is enough to demonstrate that word formation as a self-contained course, or as part of a larger course in morphology, lexical morphology or some other course related to lexicology and/or terminology does not often feature in language and linguistics syllabuses. However, in cases when word formation *does* figure in the university curriculum and *is* taught to EFL students, its scope is restricted to typological and taxonomic matters, to word-formation units and processes, to chess pieces and their permitted moves on the board, to use well-known Saussurean explanatory imagery (cf. de Saussure 1916). No actual game of chess, underway, won or lost, is watched or analysed, let alone played or taught to be played.

This simplistic approach to teaching English word formation leaves much to be desired, because, by focusing on the passive knowledge of predominantly word parts within ready-made words and omitting much of the intricacies of word analysis and word synthesis (cf. Lipka 2002), a one-sided picture of an otherwise many-sided phenomenon is painted. More frustratingly, the highly dynamic nature of English word formation is represented, or rather misrepresented, by reducing it to static inventories of words and word parts. In consequence, the knowledge gained by students in such a way is bound to be limited, incomplete and of not much practical, theoretical, instructional or any other avail. Without being systematically taught about the functioning of word formation, both from passive and active perspectives, in concrete situational uses, students are effectively led not to take



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notice of word formations, established and new alike, and to consider all words, irrespective of their internal structure, as being on an equal footing, as English words found in English (and other) dictionaries.

Having sketched out the problem, this chapter will offer a few principled pointers towards a proposed solution. The immediate aim of the discussion, as its title suggests, is developing word-formation competence in EFL students, specifically those at university level, which is definitely not attainable without three preconditions being met beforehand, and these are the long-term aims of this text: firstly, sensitizing interested readers to the importance of word formation for language and linguistic studies; secondly, moving word formation away from its present teaching periphery closer towards the centre; and thirdly, rethinking the currently dominant approach to university teaching of word formation, with a view to making it more student-friendly, more pragmatic and more useful.

The discussion will deal with the whys of developing word-formation competence (henceforth, WFC) in EFL university students; the whats with a checklist of word-formation topics to be covered in the process of developing WFC; and the hows with an overview of teaching methods and materials suitable for the process as well as of a profile of a good teacher and developer of WFC.

## 3.1. The whys: reasons for developing WFC

Before proceeding further, three key terms and concepts, indispensable for delimiting the exact scope of the present discussion, need to be defined – word, word formation and word-formation competence.

Word, or lexeme, is **the basic unit of the vocabulary of a language, which is of any morphological structure – monomorphemic (simple, like *gold*) or polymorphemic (complex, compound or phrasal, like *golden, gold-digger, golden rule*, respectively), and which has its own phonological and orthographic form(s), morphosyntactic function(s), unique meaning(s) and indepen-**



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**dent use(s)** (Prćić 2016: 21), where the parenthesized plurals indicate possible form- and content-related variations, including those resulting from homonymy and polysemy (for alternative definitions, see Bauer 1983, 2003a, 2004; Brown and Miller 2013; Crystal 2008, 2010, 2018; Lyons 1977; Matthews 1991; McArthur 1992).

Word formation is "**that branch of the science of language which studies the patterns on which a language forms new lexical units, i.e. words**" (Marchand 1969: 2), where 'patterns' denote synchronically available and exploitable morphosyntactic patterns (for alternative definitions, see Adams 1973, 2001; Bauer 1983; Bauer and Huddleston 2002; Dixon 2014; Lipka 2002; Plag 2018; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985).

Word-formation competence, or WFC, for short, is **a type of linguistic knowledge, for the first time systematically described here, dealing with the interpretation and creation of words, both established and new ones, which are the product of synchronically available and exploitable morphosyntactic patterns, i.e. word-formation processes, of a language and have entered, or are entering, or could enter, the vocabulary of that language, viewed individually or contact-contrastively with one or more other languages** – in this account, the languages under scrutiny are English and Serbian, the former viewed first individually and then contact-contrastively with the latter (for theoretical, methodological and practical aspects of various kinds of linguistic competence, see Byram 1997; Canale and Swain 1980; Halupka Rešetar 2019; Murray 2012; Peterwagner 2005; Prćić 2014a; Savignon 1997).

Having made these prerequisite terminological clarifications at the very beginning of this section, answers will now be given to the question of why develop WFC, by offering an outline of the, largely practice-driven but mostly theory-oriented, reasons and, stemming from them, the attendant objectives of teaching word formation to EFL university students.

The principal reason is linguistic in nature. It concerns productivity of language, one of four major defining properties of its structural organization, alongside arbitrariness, duality and discreteness (cf. Lyons 1977). By productivity, according to Lyons (1977: 76) "is



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meant that property of the language-system which enables native speakers to construct and understand an indefinitely large number of utterances, including utterances that they have never previously encountered". And the language system consists of linguistic units from various linguistic levels, i.e. phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and rules for their appropriate combination (cf. Bugarski 1983; Prćić 2016; Radovanović 2003). Productivity manifests itself in two ways: when the output unit of a rule is a sentence, it belongs to the grammar of a language, it is the result of syntactic productivity and is realized in speech as an utterance. When, on the other hand, the output unit of a rule is a word, it belongs to the lexicon of a language, it is the result of morphological productivity and is realized within an utterance. These two subsystems, grammatical and lexical, are complementary and constitute two supralevels of linguistic analysis – grammar and lexicon (cf. Prćić 2016). However, in spite of both output units being the products of rules, syntactic and morphological, respectively, there is a fundamental difference between sentences and words: with the exception of clichés, quotations, sayings and other fixed structures, typical sentences are transient in nature, because they are created during a specific spoken or written communicative event and they rarely recur in the same form, whereas typical words are permanent in nature, because, after being created, they are subject to repeated use, to becoming a new component of the lexicon and to being selected and used in speech and writing, as the need arises (cf. Bauer 1983, 2001; Kastovsky 1982, 1986a; Plag 1999).

The second reason for developing WFC concerns THE FOCUS ON ENGLISH, which has firmly established itself as the foremost language of world communication and has, in consequence, recently developed two complementary, hand-in-hand, sociolinguistic roles: that of ELF, i.e. English as a lingua franca, which involves its status of a common language of communication between speakers whose native language is not English but some other language(s) (for various accounts of ELF, see Jenkins 2007; Jenkins, Baker and Dewey 2018; Mauranen and Ranta 2010; Seidlhofer 2002, 2011; Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl 2006).



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At the same time, there is the role of ENFL, i.e. English as *the* nativized foreign language, which involves its unique status of a foreign language with some additional properties that make it closer, and functionally similar, to a native language. There are three such properties and they are the following: firstly, READY AUDIO-VISUAL AVAILABILITY, since English is not only globally used in two-way spoken and written communication, but also in many, if not most, areas of human activity around the world, in one-way communication, especially with the aid of ever-improving technology; secondly, DUAL ACQUISITION, since at an early age English is picked up spontaneously, or non-institutionally, by children being exposed to it, both inside their homes and out, similar to their native language, and it is only years later that English is (re)learned institutionally, in schools, when institutional and non-institutional processes begin to concur, merge and complement each other; and thirdly, SUPPLEMENTARY LANGUAGE FUNCTION in the native language, since English is used to fill actual and supposed lexical and other gaps in the native language, thus helping to construct a more or less integrated communicative resource, made up of the native language enriched with (selected) elements from English (for various aspects of ENFL, see Prćić 2003, 2004a, 2011, 2014a, 2014b, 2019a, 2023).

These two key reasons lead to the third reason for developing WFC, which concerns THE EXPLORATION OF FUNCTIONING OF WORD FORMATION IN ENGLISH as the dominant world language both in terms of a vehicle of global communication (ELF) and a source of global influence on other languages that come into contact with it (ENFL). In the role of ELF, its amazingly versatile word-formation mechanisms are daily exploited by both native and non-native users to create new words for new concepts, invariably including the majority of new technical terms, in almost all areas of human activity, thereby expanding, both in quantity and quality, the already very rich lexicon of English and, at the same time, increasing its already high expressive potential by using the language's own synchronically productive resources. In the role of ENFL, the ubiquitous linguistic and non-linguistic influence of English on



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other languages results in alterations to their systems, the most conspicuously the lexical subsystem through lexical borrowing, and the use of those systems, the long-term outcome of which is twofold: on the one hand, the expansion of the lexicon of such languages and the consequent increase of their expressive potential, and, on the other hand, the English-induced hybridization of such languages (for surveys of the influence of ENFL on Serbian, see Milić 2013, 2023; Mišić Ilić 2017, 2019, 2021, 2022; Prćić 2003, 2004a, 2011, 2014a, 2014b, 2019a, 2023; Silaški 2012, and for further portrayals of the situation in this and other languages, see *List of Publications on Anglicisms in the World's Languages*[14]).

The target category for whom the WFC programme to be presented is designed are undergraduate and postgraduate students of English language and linguistics, shortened, when contextually clear enough, to a more general 'advanced students'. It is tailored to address the (expected) needs of non-native students reading, technically and traditionally, English as a foreign language (EFL). However, in line with the linguistic landscape of the world today, where English and its manifold functional facets occupy the pride of place (cf. Crystal 2003; Graddol 1997, 2006; Kachru, Kachru and Nelson 2006; Kirkpatrick 2010), the cover term EFL will be used here to refer to the twin-faceted functional unity of ELF and ENFL, as described above.

With all these reasons and explanations in mind, the way is now paved for putting forward the desired objectives of teaching word formation to EFL university students. The overall objective of the process is mastery of the system of English word formation, achieved by providing students with theoretical insights and practical skills that will enable them to understand the intricate workings of the system and to apply the system in concrete problem-solving activities. More specifically, what this objective entails is students' familiarization with the network of regularities and irregularities in both form and meaning, approached from both the passive perspective of interpretation of words and the active

[14] Address: https://www.nhh.no/en/research-centres/global-anglicism-database-network/publications/.



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perspective of creation of words – not only in English alone but also with a comparative view of the situation in students' native language. And students' native language here is Serbian.

### 3.2. The whats: topics for developing WFC

In this section, answers will be given to the question of what word-formation topics to cover, by offering a proposed checklist of particular elements of WFC to be imparted, acquired and mastered by EFL university students in the teaching process. Intending to equip students with as useful and usable a body of knowledge as possible, the material will be divided into two interrelated levels – Elementary Level, or E-Level, and Advanced Level, or A-Level, subdivided into three segments each and organized in a decreasing order of generality and, inversely, an increasing order of complexity, the topmost segment being the most general and the least complex. In what follows, the subject matter of both these levels, together with their associated segments will be discussed and exemplified.

#### 3.2.1. Elementary Level and its three segments

Being elementary in nature, designed to lay the foundation of WFC and therefore preferably taught in an undergraduate course on word formation or lexical morphology, E-Level caters for students' understanding of the functioning of word formation, by familiarizing them with its basics. This level is set to develop students' elementary WFC skills by exploiting and building on their analytical thinking through focused observation of (selected) actual words, established and new alike. E-Level comprises three segments, which are arranged thus:

(1) Terminology segment. – It aims to acquaint students with relevant concepts and phenomena in English word formation and the accompanying technical terms designating them, for which students have to know the meaning and translation into their native language. The main topics of this segment would be the



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following (selected reading list, for this and other segments, is attached in the respective footnotes – all books, handbooks, book chapters and scholarly papers, of varying degrees of depth and breadth, have been carefully chosen so as to provide students with accessible, modern, wide-ranging, useful and usable accounts of relevant theoretical and practical aspects of word formation):[15]

- general terms relating to the concepts of linguistic units and their realizations, and making up the first tier of terms: word, lexeme, word-form, phonological word, orthographic word, citation form (various facets of the word), morpheme, morph, allomorph (various facets of the morpheme), phoneme, phone, allophone (various facets of the phoneme),
- general terms relating to aspects of word formation, and making up the second tier of terms: actual word vs potential word vs possible word (systemic status of the word), monomorphemic, or simple, word vs polymorphemic word, including complex, compound and phrasal word (structure of the word), base vs affix vs combining form (CF) (building blocks of word formation), free base vs bound base, base vs root vs stem (varieties of the base), prefix vs infix vs interfix vs suffix (varieties of the affix), derivational affix vs inflectional affix, stress-neutral affix vs stress-imposing affix, class-maintaining affix vs class-changing affix (functions of affixes), initial CF vs final CF, classical CF vs modern CF (varieties of the CF), productivity vs frequency, competition vs blocking (phenomena largely in affixation), and
- specific terms designating concepts and phenomena in word formation, and making up the third tier of terms, to be dealt with successively in the segments below.

(2) Semasiological word formation segment. – By far the most extensive and diverse, it aims to acquaint students with synchron-

[15] Terminology segment, selected reading: Bauer 1983, 2003a, 2004; Brown and Miller 2013; Crystal 2008, 2010, 2018; Lyons 1977; Matthews 1991; McArthur 1992.



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ically available morphosyntactic mechanisms for creating words in English and associated concepts and phenomena, with the focus directed at the form-to-meaning, i.e. semasiological, orientation. The main topics of this segment would be the following:[16]

- theoretical and methodological approach: the identification and recognition of the word, morpheme and phoneme are in line with synchronic, sign-oriented principles, rooted in European structuralism as explained by de Saussure (1916) and Marchand (1969), whereby the status of word in today's English is accorded to a sequence of phonemes, with its own form(s), function(s), meaning(s) and use(s) (e.g. *happy*); if there is no independent use, then it is a morpheme (*-ness*); if there is no unique meaning, then it is a phoneme or a string of phonemes (*str(ange)*),
- nature of the semasiological orientation to word formation: it centres around word-formation processes, consisting of forms and ways they are used to express meanings, starting from the inventory of available morphosyntactic forms and going towards the inventory of their patternings and meanings they express in words, both established and new ones,
- workings of semasiological word formation: a system of creative processes, whose input units are bases, affixes and combining forms, situated on a cline of building blocks of word formation, which, between them, serve to produce words as output units; if a word is used as an input unit to a further word-formation process, it then becomes a base (e.g. *read* + *-er* > $reader_{word}$ vs $reader_{base}$ + *-ship* > *readership*),

[16] Semasiological word formation segment, selected reading: Adams 1973, 2001; Bauer 1983, 2001, 2003a; Bauer and Huddleston 2002; Bauer, Lieber and Plag 2014; Carstairs-McCarthy 2018; Crystal 2010, 2018; Dixon 2014; Kastovsky 1982, 1986a, 1986b; Lalić Krstin 2016, 2022; Lieber and Štekauer 2011, 2014; Lipka 2002; Marchand 1969; Martsa 2013; Mattiello 2013, 2017, 2023; Miller 2014; Munat 2007; Plag 1999, 2018; Prćić 2016, Chaps. 5-7 in this book; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985; Renner, Maniez and Arnaud 2013; Štekauer 1996; Štekauer and Lieber 2005.



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- overview of functions of word formation, including, firstly, nomination (providing names for new concepts, thus filling lexical and conceptual gaps, like *paperless (office)*); secondly, syntactic recategorization (repeating the same concepts in different forms, thus filling, anaphorically or cataphorically, noun, verb, adjective and adverb slots in sentences, like *People were dancing to slow music* vs *All dancers looked very much in love*); and, thirdly, attention-grabbing (word play, or rather, word-formation play, intended to achieve an impact and/or a communicative effect, often humorous, like *tweetheart*, from *tweet* +*[s]weetheart*, 'a tweeter with whom one is romantically involved'[17]),
- structural typology of word-formation processes, building around the major types of morphological modification obligatorily undergone by the input base; each such modification takes concrete shape in various word-formation processes: prefixation, suffixation, infixation, composition, neoclassical composition, reduplication, abbreviation (clipping), deaffixation (back formation), ellipsation, acronymization, conflation (blending) and conversion, and their varieties, and
- predictability typology of word-formation processes, building around the regularity of the output word; the input units to each process are precisely known beforehand in respect of their form, function and meaning, but the resultant pattern of the output unit need not be known in the same or similar manner; if the output word is predictable, to a greater or lesser degree, such a word is the product of a RULE-GOVERNED PROCESS, which makes the given output word regular, or ordinary (e.g. *disconnect* from *dis-* + *connect*); if the output word is not predictable, to a greater or lesser degree, such a word is the product of a SEMI-RULE-GOVERNED PROCESS, which makes the given output word not regular, or extraordinary (e.g. *entertoyment*

[17] The definition modelled on sense 3 in *Wiktionary*: https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/tweetheart.



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from *enter[tain]ment* + *toy*); the term 'semi-rule-governed process' is proposed here for the first time, to highlight the dichotomy of predictable vs unpredictable output in word-formation processes.

(3) Word interpretation segment. – It aims to acquaint students with synchronically available pragmatic mechanisms for inferring the meaning(s) of established and new words in English. The main topics of this segment would be the following:[18]

- nature of word interpretation: both reverse and complementary to word formation, both semasiological, above, and onomasiological, to be taken up below, it centres around understanding the meaning(s) expressed by restructured forms, starting from the patternings of words, both established and new ones, and going towards the meanings expressed by those patternings,
- workings of word interpretation: a system of active inferential processes, whose result is regulated by morphosemantic predictability of the word, on the one hand, and the semantics / pragmatics interplay, on the other hand,
- morphosemantic predictability is determined by the analysability of the word into its constituent morphemes and the associated semantic transparency of such a word; in each polymorphemic word semantic transparency is shown on a three-point scale, from transparent, when the form and meaning converge, making the word fully predictable (e.g. *sevenish*, 'around seven'), to partly transparent / opaque, when the form and meaning partly converge, making the word partly predictable in meaning (*escapee*, 'a person who has escaped from prison'), to opaque, when the form and meaning diverge, making the word fully unpredictable in meaning (*professor*, 'a university teacher of the highest rank'); in the process of inter-

[18] Word interpretation segment, selected reading: Blutner 1998; Carston 1997; Cruse 2010; Grundy 2020; Halupka Rešetar and Lalić Krstin 2012a; Huang 2014; Lehrer 2003; Panić Kavgić 2023; Prćić 2001, Chaps. 8-9 in this book; Štekauer 2005; Thomas 1995; Yule 1996.



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pretation, these three types of semantic transparency are handled by three strategies within pragmatic enrichment, based on perceived form-to-content correlation (cf. Chap. 8 in this book), and

- the semantics / pragmatics interplay is actuated by, and takes place in, the context or, more accurately, the unity of linguistic (sentential) and extralinguistic (situational) contexts; decontextualized semantic underspecification provides only general, limited and insufficient information on the meaning of the word, that has to be supplemented during contextualized pragmatic enrichment, when all specific, missing and necessary information is filled in and thus successful interpretation of the word ensured (e.g. *record breaker*, devoid of context, allows only the underspecified 'one that breaks, or something that one uses to break, records', with the sense of neither *break* nor *record* being evident, whereas the contextualized *This pioneering record breaker was designed by the famous Chief Engineer and Racing Team Manager...*,[19] within this sentence, spoken or written in a concrete situation, yields the fully enriched 'a record-breaking classic car').

### 3.2.2. Advanced Level and its three segments

Being advanced in nature, designed to enlarge on the elementary WFC and therefore preferably taught in a follow-up undergraduate or, better still, postgraduate course, A-Level caters for students' thorough understanding of, and experimenting with, the functioning of word formation, by familiarizing them with new theoretical and methodological perspectives. This level is set to develop students' advanced WFC skills by exploiting and building on their analytical and original thinking through focused observation of (selected) actual words and coinage of new words. A-Level comprises three segments, which are arranged thus:

[19] The sentence taken from *iWeb. The Intelligent Web-Based Corpus*: https://www.english-corpora.org/iweb/.



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(1) Onomasiological word formation segment. – It aims to acquaint students with synchronically available semantic meanings expressed word-formationally in English, with the focus directed to the meaning-to-form, i.e. onomasiological, orientation. The main topics of this segment would be the following:[20]

- nature of the onomasiological orientation to word formation: both converse and complementary to the semasiological orientation, it centres around the exploitation of meanings and ways used to express them in forms, starting from the inventory of available semantic meanings and going towards the morphosyntactic forms and their patternings used to express the meanings in words, both established and new ones,
- workings of onomasiological word formation: a system of semantic meanings, i.e. relations, which are normally mapped onto specific input units to be expressed by new patternings, and
- overview of all semantic meanings, i.e. relations, regularly, typically or preferably expressed word-formationally, grouped around general and specific concepts, in parallel with their attendant forms and patterns, i.e. word-formation processes.

(2) Neology segment. – It aims to acquaint students with the phenomenon of new words, i.e. neologisms, in English, which can be considered from several linguistic and non-linguistic points of view, from both the semasiological and onomasiological orientations. The main topics of this segment would be the following:[21]

- working definition of neologism: a newly created or imported word, or a newly created or imported sense of an existing word, none being older than 25 years and all hav-

[20] Onomasiological word formation segment, selected reading: Grzega 2011; Marchand 1969; Štekauer 1998; Štekauer and Lieber 2005.

[21] Neology segment, selected reading: Crystal 2018; Kerremans 2015; Lalić Krstin and Silaški 2018, 2019; Lalić Krstin, Silaški and Đurović 2023; Lehrer 2003; Mattiello 2013, 2017, 2023; Metcalf 2002; Štekauer 2002; Chaps. 2 and 10-12 in this book.



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ing gained some currency in the language, in spoken and written, online and print, sources,

- overview of major aspects of neology: semasiological, onomasiological, pragmatic, stylistic, sociocultural, contact-contrastive, etymological and lexicographic,
- semasiological dimension of neology: types of word-formation processes used the most to produce new words in today's English; main upward and downward trends of use of specific processes, and
- onomasiological dimension of neology: types of semantic meanings expressed the most in new words in today's English, reflecting culture-bound communicative needs of individual English-speaking communities; main upward and downward trends of use of specific meanings.

(3) Contact-contrastive word formation segment. – It aims to acquaint students with form- and content-related cross-linguistic similarities and differences between the systems of word formation and their use in English and students' native language, as well as influences of the former on the lexicon, and especially on word formation, of the latter. The main topics of this segment would be the following:[22]

- terms and concepts relevant to contact-contrastive study of word formation: source language vs target language, TC (i.e. *tertium comparationis*), correspondence vs equivalence, lexical gap vs conceptual gap, lexical borrowing, interlingual influences,
- nature of TC: form-based vs function-based vs content-based vs use-based,

[22] Contact-contrastive word formation segment, selected reading: Bugarski 2019a, 2021; Bukatarević 2024; Chesterman 1998; Đorđević 2004; Filipović 1986; Fischer and Pułaczewska 2008; Furiassi, Pulcini and Rodríguez González 2012; Kardoš Stojanović 2024; Krzeszowski 1990; Lefer 2011; Matras 2009; Milić 2013, 2023; Panić Kavgić 2023, 2024; Poplack and Sankoff 1984; Poplack, Sankoff and Miller 1988; Prćić 2003, 2004a, 2011, 2014a, 2014b, 2019a, 2023; Prćić and Dražić 2023; Rasulić 2008; Silaški 2012; Stanković 2024; Thomason 2001; Tomić 2022, 2023; Winford 2003.



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- overview of contact aspects: transshaping, borrowing of words, morphemes and word-formation processes from English into Serbian,
- overview of contrastive aspect: translating, English-Serbian similarities and differences between types of word-formation processes (semasiological dimension), types of semantic meanings expressed word-formationally (onomasiological dimension) and ways of making new words (neological dimension), and
- overview of contact-contrastive aspects: transferring, influences of English on Serbian lexicon and word formation, English-Serbian word formations, English-induced neologization of Serbian, anglicization and hybridization of Serbian.

## 3.3. The hows: ways of developing WFC

In this section, answers will be given to the question of how to develop WFC, by offering an overview of the recommended methods alongside instructional materials that could be used in efficient and effective teaching and developing of word-formation competence – to EFL university students, by motivated and motivating teachers, whose vital role will be assessed as well.

### 3.3.1. Practice-oriented WFC development

From the author's almost 30-year personal experience in both teaching and researching word formation, and developing WFC in EFL university students, the results of which make up the core of this study, there is no doubt that all methods adopted and employed in the process must strictly be practice-oriented and train students to deal with real-life, everyday problem-solving activities, which involve students' threefold ability: firstly, to recognize the internal structure of word formations, established and new alike; secondly, to infer the meanings of word formations from the available linguistic (sentential) and extralinguistic (situ-



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ational) contexts; and thirdly, to coin on their own new rule-governed and semi-rule-governed words, as the need for them arises. In brief, students should be, or become, proficient mainly in the practicalities of word formation, from the passive perspective of word analysis and the active perspective of word synthesis. In contrast, theory should be presented only to the degree that makes it possible for students to grasp the essence of relevant phenomena and see them illustrated by being put into concrete action.

Besides these basic communicative skills, typically expected from ordinary users of English, both native and non-native, university students of English language and linguistics are non-ordinary, special, non-native users, and in this particular capacity they should possess two additional skills: the one is metalinguistic in nature and involves being qualified to explain the above abilities, including relevant terminology; and the other is pedagogical in nature and involves being qualified to teach word formation to their own pupils or students and in so doing to develop, in turn, WFC in them.

Practice-oriented teaching methods, aimed at practice-minded students, should combine two aspects: active involvement of students in the teaching process where they gain or, rather, earn and discover knowledge, and then share it with their fellow students, normally by being immersed in actual situations (real or imagined, and most often classroom-simulated) and where they are confronted with actual words to be tackled deductively and/or inferentially, preferably in a heuristic, self-study procedure. To use a stereotypical, but highly illuminating, exemplary metaphor, the best way to learn, or be taught, how to drive a car is simply to sit behind the wheel and start the car – naturally, in the guiding (and protecting) presence of the instructor. It goes without saying that there will be no effective and efficient teaching, and learning, of car-driving with mere pictures of cars and their parts in various positions, and drivers and their parts in various positions being shown to learners while being described by instructors. Feeding into students' heads dry theory with scant exemplification, without the possibility of letting them see the theory put into practice



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or having themselves put theory into practice, is doomed to failure. No car will ever be driven successfully and no word formation will ever be interpreted or created successfully if approached in a non-dynamic, non-participating and unmotivating manner.

### 3.3.2. Motivated and motivating WFC teachers

A good teacher of word formation and developer of WFC, who is determined to have his/her students achieve E-Level and A-Level is surely not supposed to act as a soliloquist, lecturer or deliverer of definitions accompanied by lists of examples that students are expected to parrot back, more or less verbatim, with a fairly slim chance of profiting from such, only intramurally welcome, knowledge in face of real-life communicative challenges. Instead, a good teacher and developer should act rather like the guiding (and protecting) driving instructor, mentioned above – as an organizer, coordinator, facilitator, sensitizer, stimulator and elucidator, in this order, throughout the teaching and developing process, and always at the service of his/her students, who should be placed at the centre as principal discoverers of new facts. The responsibilities of the teacher in this student-centred process are manifold and comprise four crucial dimensions:

- to ensure that students' heightened lexical awareness – of words, in general, and of word formation, in particular, is continuously fostered, both of English and of their native language, which implies having students form a habit of watching, or watching for, and then discussing both between themselves and with their teacher, interesting samples of (new) words, their properties and their behaviour as spotted anywhere in the real spoken and written world around us, thereby gradually engaging in the life-long, absorbing and rewarding pursuit of word monitoring,
- to ensure that students' immersion in actual situations (like watching a movie, reading a scholarly paper, listening to a podcast, scanning headlines in tabloid press, attending a scientific conference, giving a formal talk to colleagues, ex-



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changing ideas on social media), and their consequent confrontation with actual words are used whenever possible, which implies having students gain experience of, and in, the real world, where use of language normally takes place and where their WFC will indeed be turned to and made use of,

- to ensure that the best teaching methods are selected and implemented, which implies carefully graded activities of high diversity, of increasing complexity and of ever-greater student involvement and originality, always in accordance with the level and segment of WFC currently in focus, with all activities based on the heuristic principle, where students, working either individually, or in pairs, or in groups, are led to discover things for themselves, and discussion of the things discovered, including cases of explanation and/or clarification, is conducted with the whole class, and
- to ensure that the most appropriate exercises are selected and/or prepared and offered, which implies, firstly, having students observe, explore and research established and new word formations and phenomena related to, and stemming from, them; secondly, having students perceive, appreciate and react to word formations not only as ordinary language users, who treat words as pure, ready-made communicative tools, but also as special language users, or even as word specialists, who delve beneath the surface of words and strive to get to the bottom of the functioning of word formation; and thirdly, having students exposed to well-chosen, novel and motivating examples, set in their natural EFL contexts and fully representative of the classes of phenomena under scrutiny.

The range of applicable exercises includes specifically the following:

- observation of word formations and their parts, like identifying the parts in *modernization*,
- exploration of forms and meanings of word formations and their parts, like establishing the extent of possible meanings of *record-breaker* and its parts,



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- segmentation of the forms of word formations, like isolating the parts in *uninterruptibility / uninterruptability*,
- inference of the meaning(s) of word formations, like the meaning of *beefeater* out of context and in the context *Don't miss one of the famous Beefeater guided tours as they bring the Tower to life with their individual style and humour*,[23]
- guided, i.e. semi-autonomous, creation of new words, when the target meaning and input units are provided, and the output unit is fairly predictable and often easily modelled on a previous analogy, like coining the name for the *landing* of a spacecraft on the surface of *Mars*, or *Saturn*, etc.: *Mars landing*, *Saturn landing*, etc., after *Moon landing*, and
- free-rein, i.e. autonomous, creation of new words, when the target meaning and input units are provided, and the output unit is not predictable, being dependent only on students' ingenuity to stretch the available word-formation resources of the language (in keeping with its systemically imposed constraints and permitted limits), like coining a blended name for a cultural phenomenon that preceded and followed the simultaneous release of two heavily competing and differing films, *Barbie* and *Oppenheimer*, in July 2023.

### 3.3.3. Instructional WFC materials

Efficient and effective teaching of word formation, the ultimate end of which resides in developing WFC, would be impossible to accomplish without suitable, carefully chosen and properly utilized instructional materials. This cover term subsumes all resources, print and electronic, the latter being either online or offline, that are used or usable by students and teachers in dealing with matters word-formational, especially those contributing to

[23] The sentence taken from *iWeb. The Intelligent Web-Based Corpus*: https://www.english-corpora.org/iweb/.



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the topics of E-Level and A-Level, as detailed above. Here now is a selection of tried-and-trusted instructional materials, designed for instantiation of established and new word formations that could serve as potential objects of word monitoring, arguably the most important, stimulating and useful dimension of developing WFC (the selected sources are available only online, because as such they are readily and, in many cases, freely accessible and fully searchable, and are regularly updated):

- for an insight into form- and content-related properties of established word formations and, preferably, their translations into students' native language, there are general-purpose native-speaker and learner's dictionaries, monolingual, bilingual and bilingualized, too numerous, well-known and widely used to be listed here,
- for an insight into form- and content-related properties of new word formations, there are dedicated websites, among which especially recommended is *Word Spy*, as well as crowdsourced projects, in which readers submit new words spotted or created by themselves, like *Urban Dictionary*,[24] and the open dictionaries formerly maintained at the *Macmillan* and the *Merriam-Webster* websites,
- for an insight into meanings and exemplifications of affixes and combining forms, there is a dedicated website, *Affixes. The Building Blocks of English* (Quinion 2008),[25] which adopts a mixed diachronic and synchronic approach to identification and description of affixes and combining forms, all treated under one umbrella term – affixes (other dictionaries of affixes and combining forms include: Quinion 2002; Sheehan 2021; Sinclair 1991; Stein 2007, and *A Dictionary of Prefixes, Suffixes, and Combining Forms* 2002),
- for an insight into established word formations, containing certain word beginnings and/or middles and/or endings, there are dictionaries offering the facility of mixed wildcard (*, ?) searches producing lists of prefixations, in-

[24] Address: https://www.urbandictionary.com/.
[25] Address: https://www.affixes.org/.



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fixations, suffixations, compositions or their combinations, among which highly recommended are *OneLook*, *YourDictionary* and the *WordWeb Pro* software package, and, especially, *TheSage. English Dictionary and Thesaurus*, a unique, multifaceted lexical reference system, freely available online to be used offline, and including a complex wildcard search option,[26]

- for an insight into acronyms and abbreviations, and their full forms, there are dedicated websites, among which highly recommended are the massive collections of *Acronym Finder* and *Abbreviations*,[27]
- for an insight into blendability of words, there is a dedicated website, *Word Combiner*, which produces possible output combinations of up to four input elements and, in *Wiktionary*, the Category English blends,[28] and
- for an insight into the behaviour of words and word parts in context, including frequency and collocability of established and new word formations, and frequency and combinability of affixes and combining forms, there are large searchable electronic corpora, among which by far the most innovative and powerful are the freely accessible *News on the Web (NOW)*, whose word count at the time of writing (summer 2024) is 19.5 billion, and *iWeb. The Intelligent Web-Based Corpus*, with 14 billion words,[29] both nonpareil comprehensive online reference and research tools, integrating a vast open-ended, fully searchable electronic corpus and an audiovisual multilingual hyperlinked dictionary and thesaurus providing a range of paradigmat-

[26] Addresses: https://www.onelook.com/, https://www.yourdictionary.com/, https://wordweb.info/, https://www.sequencepublishing.com/1/thesage/thesage.html.

[27] Addresses: https://www.acronymfinder.com/, https://www.abbreviations.com/.

[28] Addresses: https://www.wordunscrambler.net/word-combiner.aspx, https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/Category:English_blends.

[29] Address: https://www.english-corpora.org/.



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ic, syntagmatic and frequency-related information on its headwords.

To end with, regarding activity sheets, which offer exercises of practical and theoretical nature that would guide students through the ins and outs of English word formation and in this way gradually and steadily build their WFC, it must be observed that, as far as it was possible to ascertain, a compendium with this purpose, prepared at least roughly along the lines of whys, whats and hows delineated above, is sadly lacking. A partial exception are numerous English language course books, for all levels of proficiency, that contain exercises dealing with the rudiments of hands-on word formation, mainly affixation and composition, thus grossly underrepresenting other processes and drawing a simple sketch of a spectacular lexical landscape. In order to remedy this long-standing shortcoming, future editions of EFL course books, from elementary to intermediate to advanced levels should incorporate an overview of all word-formation processes in English, accompanied by exercises illustrating how they work in actual use.

It is, however, obvious that the 'ideal', or just an appropriate, comprehensive activity book is yet to be thought out, put together and cast in a print or, preferably, electronic form, which would facilitate periodic updated and amended editions. This usage-oriented practical guide, with the working title *English Word Formation at Work. An EFL University Student's Resource Book*, would be designed for EFL university students, in full accordance with what has been proposed for E-Level and A-Level. By its informed choice of target, and trigger, example word formations, as a rule from various sources, and its equally informed choice of activities, as a rule of graded complexity and high diversity, this pioneering resource book would consistently encourage students' heuristics, self-study and exploration, so as to arouse their interest in word formation, both its passive and active dimensions, both in English and their own native language, while at the same time gradually and steadily developing their WFC.

Potential, and expected, implications of adopting and implementing the ideas proposed here are threefold: firstly, students



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would be given a systematic, complete and balanced picture of English word formation, which nowadays is rarely the case; secondly, and most importantly, students would be able to handle confidently, both passively and actively, established word formations and new word formations, which nowadays is also not the case; and thirdly, word formation itself, as a major discipline of morphology, lexicology and linguistics, would at last begin to assume a more central position in the EFL university curricula and syllabi, a long overdue position it rightly and thoroughly deserves.

In the long run, this road map may prompt some extraordinarily talented and strongly motivated students to embark on their own original practical and theoretical research into the workings of word formation and, in due course, conceivably to specialize in word formation as professional linguists.



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# 4. Distinctive properties of lexical affixes in English

There exists a constant and overriding need to catalogue the entire set of distinctive properties of English lexical affixes, so as to provide an overall view of the properties that determine the unique identity of each individual lexical affix in English and, at the same time, their interrelations with other affixes. The determination of distinctive affixal properties takes into account all levels of linguistic analysis as well as the paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of relationships between linguistic units. In this way, an identity card, as it were, of every affix can be put together, allowing insights not only into single affixes but also into networks of several, mutually linked, affixes, when such networks exist.

The model to be proposed is intended to achieve three principal objectives: firstly, from a lexicological angle, to help build up a descriptively complete picture of all lexical affixes in English and, *mutatis mutandis*, other comparable languages; secondly, from a lexicographic angle, to help draw up a blueprint for the representation of affixes in dictionaries, general-purpose and, more importantly, specialized ones, devoted to affixes; and thirdly, from a pedagogical angle, to help teach lexical affixes to students, especially EFL university students.

The discussion will first deal with theoretical concepts regarding the nature and status of English lexical affixes, and then with two types of distinctive affixal properties, essential and relational. (For a more detailed treatment of this topic, see Prćić 2019b, which elaborates on the basics presented here.)



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## 4.1. Theoretical considerations

The theoretical groundwork espoused here is the Marchandean sign-oriented approach to word formation (cf. Marchand 1969, originally 1960), with its roots in the Saussurean structuralism (cf. de Saussure 1916), whereby the morpheme is conceived as a triad of form, content and function. Hence, THE STATUS OF AFFIX is accorded only to those phoneme sequences which are fully-fledged morphemes in present-day English, in that **a particular phonological form is systematically associated with at least one particular content and one particular function**, irrespective of the affix's origin (cf. Chaps. 5-7 in this book); for example, *re-* in *rewrite* is a prefix, but not in the synchronically monomorphemic *receive*, and *-ness* in *happiness* is a suffix, but not in the synchronically monomorphemic *harness*. The term 'affix' will be used as a superordinate for the terms 'prefix' and 'suffix', to refer to bound elements like *re-* and *-ness*, respectively. In its prototypical manifestation, an AFFIX has the following features (cf. Warren 1990): it is **a bound lexical closed-set morpheme, which attaches to the beginning of a free base – simple, complex or compound (when prefix) or to the end of a free base (when suffix), in order to formally and semantically modify that base and which in the process displays a greater or lesser degree of productivity**.

In addition and in contradistinction to the more or less closed set of affixes, the English lexicon also contains an open, and expanding, set of combining forms – initial, like *morpho-* and *jazzo-* (known as initial combining forms, or ICFs), and final, like *-logy* and *-phile* (known as final combining forms, or FCFs), which, between them, create words like *morpho-* + *-logy* > *morphology* and *jazzo-* + *-phile* > *jazzophile*. Even though ICFs and FCFs are bound morphs and hence resemble prefixes and suffixes, they, firstly, unlike affixes, have full lexical meaning and hence resemble bases; secondly, also unlike prefixes and suffixes, ICFs and FCFs can cooccur in words; and, thirdly, they display productivity in a significantly different way from affixes (cf. Chaps. 6-7 in this book). As can be inferred from this short comparison, combining forms



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and affixes, in spite of appearing at first sight similar (so much so that they are treated as one broad category, particularly in some authoritative and highly respected general-purpose and specialized dictionaries of English, the titles of which will purposely not be revealed), they are markedly dissimilar in certain key respects. This calls for establishing a different set of distinctive properties for combining forms, which will adequately reflect their individuality and bring out clearly the similarities and differences between themselves and affixes (for more detailed accounts of combining forms, their types and distinctive properties, in comparison with those of affixes, see Bauer 1983; Bauer and Huddleston 2002; Lalić Krstin 2016; Mattiello 2023; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985). Because constituting distinct categories, albeit both delimited by fuzzy borders, that at the edges touch and sometimes even overlap with each other, combining forms lie beyond the scope of the present discussion, whose focus remains on affixes as systematically distinguished from combining forms (cf. Chaps. 6-7 in this book).

To round off setting the theoretical scene, two observations concerning the nature of affixes need yet to be made (cf. Chap. 5 in this book). Firstly, affixes have a CONTRIBUTORY ROLE in word formation and hence affixal properties should be construed mainly in terms of what they contribute graphologically, phonologically, morphosyntactically, semantically and stylistically to the properties of the base, in deriving a (new) polymorphemic word – either a prefixation or a suffixation. Concrete contributions can be ascertained by answering the two complementary questions in this example: what does the suffix *-ship* specifically contribute to the base *friend* in the word *friendship* and, as a result, what specific modifications does the base *friend* undergo through the agency of the suffix *-ship* in the word *friendship*?

And secondly, affixal properties represent a systematic and predictable contribution in form, content and function to any eligible base. Concrete contributions are considered WORD-INDEPENDENT, because the same set of modifications are involved in all words derived from a class of bases – and this only on condition



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that such words are compositional formations, i.e. morphologically and semantically analysable, and, for this reason, predictable; for example, the prefix *re-*, in the sense 'again', in words like *re-adjust, reappear, re-elect, reread, revisit*. However, in words going through, or having gone through, the process of idiomatization, certain gradual changes in form and/or content may in time take place, or have already taken place, within words as wholes. All such in-word modifications, pertaining to alterations of original properties of both affixes and bases, are non-systematic and unpredictable, and therefore are considered WORD-DEPENDENT, because they have developed uniquely within individual words and do not exist outside them; for example, the prefix *re-*, 'again', in the idiomatization *rewrite*, which means 'write again in a better way' and not purely 'write again'. Due to the working of idiomatization, the morphological and semantic analysability of words affected in this way progressively decrease, their compositionality is blurring and their predictability is lessening (for more extensive accounts of idiomatization, or lexicalization, petrification, fossilization and semantic drift, as it is also known, see Bauer 1978, 1983, 2003a; Bauer and Huddleston 2002; Hohenhaus 2005; Leech 1981; Lieber and Štekauer 2014; Lipka 1977, 1992, 2002; Lipka, Handl and Falkner 2004; Lyons 1977; Prćić 2001, 2016, Chaps. 8-9 in this book; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985).

In accordance with the import of these two observations, a well-founded description of affixal properties should clearly reflect their contributory role and their systematic contribution to the base, and leave the effects of idiomatization to the description of individual words.

Distinctive properties of any lexical unit, affixes included, define that unit's identity, its place in the lexicon and its relationship with other comparable lexical units in that lexicon. In attempting to fully catalogue affixal distinctive properties, provision must first be made for characteristic form- and content-based behavioural traits of an affix – this set of properties will be called here 'essential properties'. A second, supplementary, set of properties, called here 'relational properties', takes into consideration paradigmatic



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and syntagmatic relations between individual affixes. The two sets of distinctive properties of English affixes will be discussed and exemplified in the coming two sections.

## 4.2. Essential properties of lexical affixes

Essential properties are inherent to all affixes, i.e. prefixes and suffixes, they comprise the identifying features of an affix in isolation, its contribution to a base, or a class of bases, and reflect the affix's individuality. Involved in determining the nature of these properties are all levels of linguistic analysis, viz. graphology, phonology, morphosyntax, semantics and stylistics, which yield six essential properties altogether (their account here draws in part on the argumentation in Chap. 5 in this book).

(1) Spelling. – In the domain of graphology / orthography, this property captures the realization of an affix in writing. What the affix contributes graphologically to bases consists in the letter-and-mark sequence that represents it in isolation, as in *-ship*, and within words, as in *friendship*. And also, where applicable, variants of the sequence, as in *-ize/-ise*; orthographic changes to the base, like dropping of a silent final *-e* before a suffix, as in *driv[e] + -er > driver*; or vacillation between dropping and non-dropping of a silent final *-e* before a suffix, as in *lov[e] + -able > lovable* vs *love + -able > loveable*; or indication of prefix/base hyphenation to distinguish an unanalysable homograph from an analysable one, as in *recover* vs *re-cover*.

(2) Pronunciation. – In the domain of phonology, this property captures the realization of an affix in speech. What the affix contributes phonologically to bases consists in the sound sequence that represents it in isolation, as in /ʃɪp/, and within words, as in /ˈfrendʃɪp/. And also, mostly concerning suffixes, the influence of the affix on the stress pattern of the word (cf. Jones 2011; Wells 2008), which may either remain unchanged, with stress-neutral suffixes, as in *-ship*: /(ˌ)frend > ˈfrendʃɪp/; or it may shift, with stress-imposing suffixes, either by falling on the suffix itself, as in *-ese*:



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/dʒəˈpæn > ˌdʒæpəˈniːz/, or on the penultimate syllable, as in *-ic*: /ˈætəm > əˈtɒmɪk/, or on the antepenultimate syllable, as in *-ity*: /kriˈeɪtɪv > ˌkriːeɪˈtɪvɪti/.

(3) Attachability. – In the domains of morphosyntax and semantics, this property captures the ability of an affix to attach to a base, or a class of bases, of a certain part of speech, and to derive words of a certain part of speech (cf. Bauer 1983; Bauer and Huddleston 2002; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985). What the affix contributes morphosyntactically to bases consists in the actual part of speech of the derived word, which may be either the same as that of the base, with class-maintaining affixes, as in *dis-* + $connect_{v}$ > $disconnect_{v}$, or different from that of the base, with class-changing affixes, as in $develop_{v}$ + *-ment* > $development_{n}$. And also, where necessary, subcategorizations of the base, mostly semantically and/or pragmatically conditioned, like transitivity of verbal bases to which the suffix *-able*, in the sense 'that can be', typically attaches, as in $wash_{v/tr}$ + *-able*.

(4) Descriptive meaning. – In the domain of semantics, this property captures the descriptive meaning of an affix (cf. Prćić 2016). What the affix contributes semantically to bases consists in a small set of diagnostic features, specified within a brief definition, well-balanced between generality and specificity, like *re-* means 'again, repetition', as in *reread*, or *-ish* means 'around, approximately', as in *sixish*. And also, where applicable, an indication of synonymy and antonymy of affixes (cf. Cruse 2010; Lipka 2002; Murphy 2003; Prćić 2016), in appropriately worded comparable definitions, like synonymy: *-er*, 'agent', as in *producer* vs *-or*, 'agent', as in *director*; or antonymy: *hyper-*, 'above normal', as in *hypertension* vs *hypo-*, 'below normal', as in *hypotension*.

(5) Associative meaning. – In the domain of stylistics, this property captures the associative meaning of an affix (cf. Prćić 2016). What the affix contributes stylistically to bases, where applicable, consists in restrictions on the word's range of application and includes, most notably, dialect, like *-ize*, as in *modernize*: world-wide English vs *-ise*, as in *modernise*: British English; or register, like *-ide*,



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as in *chloride*: chemistry; or formality, like *-er*, as in *adviser*: neutral vs *-or*, as in *advisor*: formal.

(6) Productivity. – In the domains of morphosyntax and semantics, this property captures the ability of an affix to be synchronically used in the derivation of new words (cf. Bauer 1983, 1995/1996, 1998, 2001, 2003a; Bauer, Lieber and Plag 2014; Kastovsky 1986a; Lieber and Štekauer 2014; Plag 1999; Prćić 1999a). What the affix contributes to bases in this respect consists in its relative position on a three-zone scale of productivity, spanning high ↔ restricted ↔ low degrees, with affixes in the high zone having greater likelihood of being chosen as input units for new words, like *-er* deriving agent and/or instrument nouns from dynamic verbs, as in $play_{v}$ + *-er* > $player_{n}$: high productivity, or *-th* deriving abstract nouns from adjectives, as in $warm_{adj}$ + *-th* > $warmth_{n}$: low productivity.

When the affix under scrutiny is polyfunctional, in that several distinct functions and related or unrelated meanings are associated with a single form, as is the case with the prefix *un-* in the words *unhappy, unrest, untie, unsaddle*, where it means 'not', 'lack of', 'to reverse' and 'to remove from', respectively, and with the suffix *-ish* in the words *childish, yellowish, fiftyish, Finnish*, where it means 'like', 'somewhat', 'around' and 'from', respectively, properties (3)-(6) need to be specified for each function separately.

## 4.3. Relational properties of lexical affixes

Unlike essential properties, which are evident in all affixes, relational properties manifest themselves only in some prefixes and suffixes, only when certain content- and/or form-based conditions are met, they comprise the interacting features of an affix with another or others, and reflect the affix's companionability. Involved in determining the nature of these properties are paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations established, or establishable, between affixes.

In paradigmatic relations, the focus is on interaffixal sense relations, which yield two relational properties.



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(7) Interaffixal synonymy. – In the domains of semantics and pragmatics, this property captures the fact that at least two affixes share the same descriptive meanings and morphosyntactic functions, and, as a result, are liable to derive synonymous words when attached to the same base, like the agentive suffixes *-er, -or, -ant, -ee*, as in *cohabiter, cohabitor, cohabitant, cohabitee* and hence to enter into rivalry, or competition, in the process of derivation of new words (cf. Bauer, Lieber and Plag 2014; Kastovsky 1982, 1986a; Prćić 1999a). The relationship of this kind develops either between prefixes, like *un-*, as in *undress*, *de-*, as in *destabilize*, and *dis-*, as in *disconnect*, all three of them in the sense 'to reverse'; or between suffixes, like *-ness*, as in *happiness*, *-ity*, as in *curiosity*, and *-th*, as in *width*, all three of them in the sense 'state of'; or between prefixes and suffixes, like the prefix *en-*, as in *enlarge*, and the suffixes *-ize*, as in *normalize*, *-ify*, as in *purify*, and *-en*, as in *widen*, all four of them in the sense 'to make, to cause'.

(8) Interaffixal antonymy. – In the domains of semantics and pragmatics, this property captures the fact that two affixes have opposite descriptive meanings but the same functions, and, as a result, are liable to derive antonymous words when attached to the same base. The relationship of this kind develops mostly between prefixes, like *over-* and *under-*, as in *overcook* and *undercook*, in the sense 'more than necessary' and 'less than necessary', respectively; and, less often, between suffixes, like *-er* and *-ee*, as in *interviewer* and *interviewee*, in the sense 'agent' and 'patient', respectively.

It may be as well to point out here that the relations of both interaffixal synonymy and antonymy, just as ordinary lexical sense relations, exist exclusively between individual meanings (and functions) of affixes and not across the whole spectrum of meanings; for example, the prefix *un-*, as in *undress*, is synonymous with *de-*, as in *destabilize*, and *dis-*, as in *disconnect*, only when it means 'to reverse', but when it means 'not', as in *unhappy*, it is synonymous with *in-*, as in *inexpensive*, *dis-*, as in *dissimilar*, *non-*, as in *non-addictive*, and *a-*, as in *atypical*.



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In contrast, in syntagmatic relations the focus is on interaffixal preferences, which also yield two relational properties.

(9) Cooccurrencing. – In the domains of morphosyntax and semantics, this property captures the fact that two affixes systematically cooccur in words, because an affix tends to attract another affix in derived words (cf. Bauer, Lieber and Plag 2014). The relationship of this kind develops in two ways: firstly, mostly between suffixes, as when deriving an action noun, the suffix *-ation* is typically attracted by the suffixes *-ize*, as in *industrialization*, *-ify*, as in *purification*, and *-ate*, as in *hyphenation* (in the latter case, *-ation* overlaps with *-ate*), with some suffixes attracting at least two synonymous suffixes, hence open to rivalry, like the nominal suffixes *-ness* and *-ity*, of varying degrees of frequency, both attracted by some adjectival bases in *-al*, as in *grammaticalness* and *grammaticality*.

And secondly, this relationship develops between suffixes and prefixes, as when deriving a negative adjective, the prefix *un-* is typically attracted by the suffix *-able*, as in *uneatable*, whereas the prefix *in-* is typically attracted by the suffix *-ible*, as in *inaccessible*, with some suffixes attracting at least two synonymous prefixes, hence also open to rivalry, like the negative adjectival prefixes *un-* and *a-*, of varying degrees of frequency, both attracted by some adjectival bases in *-al*, as in *untypical* and *atypical*. Moreover, this relationship is recursive in nature, especially with certain sets of cooccurring suffixes, among which intersuffixal chain attraction has developed, as in *developmentally*, with three suffixes, *-ment, -al, -ly*, and *organizationally*, with four suffixes, *-ize, -ation, -al, -ly*.

(10) Correlationing. – In the domain of morphosyntax and semantics, this property captures the fact that two affixes systematically correlate in words, because an affix tends to regularly replace another affix in derived words. The relationship of this kind develops between suffixes, as when deriving a human noun, the suffix *-ism*, in the sense of 'a system of theory, methodology or practice' is replaced with the suffix *-ist*, in the sense of 'an adherent of a system of theory, methodology or practice', as in *structural[ism] > structuralist*; in some cases, *-ism* or *-ist* is replaced with the



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suffix *-ize*, in the sense of 'to follow a system of theory, methodology or practice', to derive an action verb, as in *terror[ism] / terror[ist] > terrorize*.

Some suffixes can be replaced with two synonymous suffixes, hence open to rivalry, like the nominal suffixes *-ance* and *-ancy*, and *-ence* and *-ency*, of varying degrees of frequency, replacing the *-ant* and *-ent* in some adjectival bases, as in *elegant > elegance, elegancy* and *corpulent > corpulence, corpulency*, with some suffixes replaced by their bound allomorphs before a new derivation takes place, like the adjectival suffixes *-able* and *-ible* replaced by their bound allomorphs before the nominal suffix *-ity* attaches, as in *desirable: desirabil- + -ity > desirability* and *flexible: flexibil- + -ity > flexibility*.

Once again at this place, it will be reiterated that with polyfunctional affixes, where several distinct functions and related or unrelated meanings coincide in a single form, properties (7)-(10), where applicable, need to be specified for each function separately.

## 4.4. Fulfilling the stated objectives

By providing all the required elements for each affix's identity card and thus helping to build up a descriptively complete picture of all lexical affixes in English and, *mutatis mutandis*, other comparable languages, the first, lexicological, principal objective of the three stated in the introduction, has hopefully been fulfilled.

Closely connected with this one is the second, lexicographically relevant, objective – helping to draw up a blueprint for the representation of affixes in dictionaries, general-purpose and, more importantly, specialized ones, devoted to affixes. By and large, in the treatment of affixes in general-purpose dictionaries, there is ample room for improvement, both in terms of the quality and quantity of the information included. More specifically, as demonstrated in a critical assessment of the system of coverage of two prefixes, *dis-* and *pro-*, and two suffixes, *-ish* and *-or*, in the then current, 1995, editions of four English pedagogical dictionaries – *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, *Longman*



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*Dictionary of Contemporary English*, *Collins COBUILD English Dictionary*, and *Cambridge International Dictionary of English*, inconsistencies have been found in presenting information on affixes, as no firm system for dealing with either affixal forms or meanings is recognizable (cf. Chap. 5 in this book). The properties provided are almost invariably essential, whereas those relational are quite a rarity and only in the shape of paradigmatic relations. Twenty-five years after this analysis, a new look into the now current editions of the 'big four', joined, in the meantime, by the 'fabulous fifth', *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (sadly discontinued), surprisingly enough, shows hardly any emendations. The conclusion reached two and a half decades ago, that "the 'big four', on the whole, portray affixes as nothing more than poor relations of words and phrases", regrettably remains valid today as well (cf. Prćić 2019b) – and for no apparent reason.

Affixes are much less poor relations in specialized dictionaries devoted to English lexical affixes and their properties, notably the following: *Ologies and Isms. A Dictionary of Word Beginnings and Endings* (Quinion 2002), *Affixes. The Building Blocks of English* (Quinion 2008), *Word Parts Dictionary. Standard and Reverse Listings of Prefixes, Suffixes, Roots and Combining Forms* (Sheehan 2021), *Collins COBUILD English Guides 2: Word Formation* (Sinclair 1991), *A Dictionary of English Affixes. Their Function and Meaning* (Stein 2007) and *A Dictionary of Prefixes, Suffixes, and Combining forms*. From *Webster's Third New International Dictionary, Unabridged* (2002). With their strengths and weaknesses, each of these is a usable and reliable guide to affixal properties. Unfortunately, here again, in some of them there are inconsistencies in presentation and/or shortcomings in organization, especially in the choice of properties and the manner in which they are described. A much-needed comparative analysis of the theory, methodology and practice behind this set of dictionaries would warrant a separate critical review, incorporating a yes, a qualified yes and a no recommendation for EFL students' use.

And finally, the third of the principal objectives is pedagogically oriented in that it is about helping to teach lexical affixes



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to EFL university students. Tailored primarily for courses in lexical morphology and/or word formation, a new method for handling efficiently the systems of English lexical prefixes and suffixes needs to be worked out. It would have to build around three key components: firstly, the affixal identity card approach, presented above, as a target entity; secondly, the available dictionaries of affixes, mentioned above, as a (re)source entity; and thirdly, the supplementary materials and activities designed to narrow, if not to bridge, the delicate gap between the requirements of the target entity and the provisions of the (re)source entities. However, the topic of 'interim measures' and their implementation, despite its significance, is outside the scope of the present discussion and it definitely calls for, and merits, further exploration and elaboration in a separate research project.



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# 5. Lexical affixes in selected English dictionaries

The year 1995 saw the publication of four dictionaries designed mainly for advanced EFL learners: the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, 5th edition (Crowther 1995; *OALD5*), the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, 3rd edition (Summers 1995; *LDOCE3*), the *Collins COBUILD English Dictionary*, 2nd edition (Sinclair 1995; *COBUILD2*), and the 1st edition of the *Cambridge International Dictionary of English* (Procter 1995; *CIDE*). All four dictionaries, popularly known to the trade as the 'big four', represent the state of the art in monolingual pedagogical corpus-based lexicography, having achieved near-perfection in the treatment of English words and phrases, in terms of both clarity and user-friendliness (for a comparative review, see Herbst 1996; for a survey of history and recent developments in EFL lexicography, see Cowie 1999; Rundell 1998).

Besides offering a wealth of meticulously selected and presented information on the forms, functions, combinations, meanings and uses of words and phrases, these dictionaries also include entries on bound elements – affixes and combining forms, which are constituent parts of many actual and potential complex and compound words (i.e. lexemes, as defined by Bauer 1983, 2003a, 2004; Lyons 1968, 1977; Matthews 1991; for the distinction between virtual, potential and actual words, see Aronoff 1983; Rainer 2012). However, this aspect of EFL lexicography has, surprisingly, received unduly little attention in the literature (one notable exception being Hansen 1999), for reasons yet to be ascertained. In order to shed systematic light on the matter, this chapter will analyse the treatment of affixes in the 'big four' EFL dictionaries, focusing on quantitative and qualitative aspects of the information provided.



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The term 'affix' will be used as a superordinate for the terms 'prefix' and 'suffix', to refer to bound elements like *anti-*, *dis-*, *re-*, and *-ful*, *-ish*, *-ness*, respectively. In its prototypical manifestation, an AFFIX has the following features (after Warren 1990: 123-124): **a bound lexical closed-set morpheme, which attaches to the beginning of a free simple, complex or compound base (when prefix) or to the end of a free base (when suffix), in order to formally and semantically modify that base and which in the process displays a greater or lesser degree of productivity**. Rather different are affix-resembling elements like *bio-*, *electro-*, and *-graphy*, *-legged*, which are typically open-set bound lexical morphemes, attaching to the beginning or the end of a free base but also to one another, and which need not involve productivity at all. These elements, variously known as 'combining forms', 'semi-affixes' and 'affixoids', admittedly require a different descriptive approach from affixes, and that is why the issue will not be addressed here. Furthermore, the status of these 'affix-resemblers' still awaits definitive resolution – not only terminologically but, more importantly, in lexicological theory and lexicographic practice (for stimulating discussions, see Bauer 1983, 2003a; Tournier 1993; Warren 1990; Chaps. 6-7 in this book).

The discussion of the treatment of affixes will deal with a criterial set of affixal properties put forward; with information deemed relevant and necessary to be specified for an affix in an EFL dictionary; with an evaluation of the same selected entries in the four dictionaries against that information; and with implications of the comparative analysis of provision for the four affixes.

## 5.1. General considerations

The distinctive properties of any lexical unit – affix, combining form, word or phrase – define that unit's identity, its place in the theoretical lexicon and the practical dictionary, as well as its relationship with other comparable lexical units within the totality of the language system. In attempting to make a systematization of those properties, both form- and content-related aspects ought



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to be accounted for, adjusted to any given type of lexical unit, and supplemented, where or when necessary, by the properties specific to it.

The affix, being a bound lexical unit, differs in at least two significant respects from the others. Firstly, it has a CONTRIBUTORY ROLE in word formation and hence affixal properties should be regarded mainly in terms of what they contribute orthographically, phonologically, morphosyntactically, semantically and stylistically to the properties of the base, in producing a polymorphemic word. And secondly, those properties have a bearing only on COMPOSITIONAL FORMATIONS, i.e. morphologically and semantically analysable words, in view of the fact that some properties, within whole words and through holistic dominance of the whole over its parts, may in time undergo certain gradual changes in form and/or content, in the process of IDIOMATIZATION, also known as 'lexicalization', 'petrification', 'fossilization' and 'semantic drift' (for an elaboration, see Bauer 1978, 1983, 2003a; Bauer and Huddleston 2002; Hohenhaus 2005; Leech 1981; Lieber and Štekauer 2014; Lipka 1977, 1992, 2002; Lipka, Handl and Falkner 2004; Lyons 1977; Prćić 2001, 2016, Chaps. 8-9 in this book; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985).

Put differently, affixal properties are WORD-INDEPENDENT, since they represent a systematic, and thus predictable, contribution in form and content to the base; on the other hand, all non-systematic, and thus unpredictable, modifications of those properties are regarded as WORD-DEPENDENT, having developed solely within individual words. To take just one example, the disapproving association prototypically contributed by the suffix *-eer*, as seen in words like *black marketeer*, *pamphleteer*, *profiteer*, *racketeer* and many others, is neutralized and lost in idiomatizations such as *auctioneer*, *engineer* and *mountaineer*. Consequently, any well-founded description of affixes should clearly reflect both their contributory role and systematic contribution to the base, leaving all non-systematics to the description of the individual words in which they occur.



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## 5.2. What qualifies as an affix

Before proceeding to the discussion of properties of affixes, one major theoretical point, with far-reaching practical consequences, needs clarification – namely, the delimitation of what sequence of phonemes (and, by implication, graphemes) qualifies as an affix and what does not. This sensitive question, raised in reference to the whole of word formation by Marchand (1955), has not yet been answered conclusively. However, the argumentation offered by Kastovsky (1986a, 1988, 1992) provides some excellent pointers towards its solution. In addressing this problem, three interdependent factors have to be taken into account: (a) borrowing from other languages, in particular from French and Latin, (b) the diachronic perspective of word-stock extension, and (c) the productivity of individual word-formation processes.

The constant interplay of these three factors on the synchronic plane will, generally, discard as irrelevant all those word-formation processes (in the domain of encoding) and their results (in the domain of decoding) which, firstly, can *no longer* be considered predictable (because morphologically and semantically analysable), and which for this reason can *not* be used productively in the creation of similar new words in present-day English. However, it must be emphasized that even though these two phenomena are strongly correlated, predictability does not invariably entail productivity, as demonstrated by examples like *a-|moral*, *fore-|see*, *warm|-th*, *wood|-en*. The synchronic relevance, furthermore, is not a matter of all-or-none but rather of more-or-less, the cline ranging from fully predictable and productive patterns of the type *pleasant : unpleasant*, *drive : driver*, *thick : thickness*, on the one extreme, to the fully unpredictable morphological-semantic relations of the type *steal : thief*, *bite : tooth*, *big : size*, on the other (Kastovsky 1986a: 590-591, 1988: 196-197). The former grouping can be regarded as the prototype of present-day English word-formation processes and their results. The latter cluster, and all the other in-betweens with progressively diminishing predictability and productivity (exemplified, in a declining order, by *con-*



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*sume : consumption*, *science : scientist*, *wide : width*), move away from the prototype, while their synchronic relevance for word formation dwindles – a fact which, no doubt, calls for appropriately varied handling both in theory and in practice. Despite sound groundwork, much elaboration work remains to be done in this field, because, to quote Kastovsky (1986a: 590), "the functioning of these relations and their most adequate description still require a detailed investigation".

Following from the above principles, THE STATUS OF AFFIX will be accorded only to those phoneme sequences which are fully-fledged morphemes in present-day English, in that **a particular phonological form is systematically associated with at least one particular content and one particular function**, irrespective of the affix's origin; for example, *de-*|*activate*, *dis-*|*assemble*, *in-*|*convenient*, *re-*|*write* (prefixes), and *child*|*-ish*, *artificial*|*-ity*, *invent*|*-or*, *warm*|*-th* (suffixes). In view of the fact that this neatness of binary segmentation is not always entirely feasible (and segmentation here, it must be observed, is meant to be performed by a professional synchronic linguist, and not an ordinary native speaker), provision is made for the inevitable borderline cases, those that deviate from the prototypical ones. Belonging here are primarily affixes also found in conjunction with bound, and therefore morphologically idiomatized, bases, in words like *im-*|*-maculate*, *in-*|*-ert*, *un-*|*-couth*, *ed-*|*-ible*, *magn-*|*-ify*, *pens-*|*-ive*, *win-*|*-some*. In contrast, sharing with the above group of analysables the same initial or final grapheme (and sometimes also phoneme) sequences, but with no apparent synchronic contents and functions, are words such as *decrease*, *disband*, *indifferent*, *receive*, *finish*, *velocity*, *pallor*, *wealth*. Notwithstanding their obvious diachronic complexity, today they can only be regarded as simple (monomorphemic), unanalysable, words. This form-plus-content-plus-function conception of the morpheme has its roots in the sign-oriented approach to word formation of Marchand (1969) and ultimately in the Saussurean structuralism (cf. de Saussure 1916).

However, one alternative approach, espoused by (Neo-) Bloomfieldian structuralists and subsequently by their early and



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more recent generativist offshoots, viewing morphemes as 'recurring sames', defines the morpheme solely on formal and distributional criteria to the almost total exclusion of the content and function aspects. Their segmentation procedures, focusing mainly on establishing phonological and other form-related regularities, consider all the words above as analysable (for a comparative overview of the two orientations, set in a broader historical perspective, see Kastovsky 1986b, 1992, 1995).

One other approach, followed by compilers of many American and British native-speaker dictionaries, designed largely in the diachronic, i.e. etymologizing, tradition, reflect in their depiction of affixes not only the situation in present-day English but also in the English, French, Classical Greek and Latin of the more or less distant past. In the ninth edition of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (Thompson 1995), for example, in the entry for the prefix *re-*, alongside the analysable and productive function 'once more; afresh, anew' (*readjust*, *renumber*), the following can also be found: 'in return; mutually' (*react*, *resemble*), 'opposition' (*repel*, *resist*), 'behind or after' (*relic*, *remain*), 'retirement or secrecy' (*recluse*, *reticence*), 'off, away, down' (*recede*, *relegate*, *repress*) – almost all of them unanalysable in present-day English.

Both of these approaches, while working in effect with the same grapheme (and often phoneme) sequences, albeit from their own points of view, in addition to obliterating one or more of the distinctions set out above, fall short of recognizing and representing accurately the important phenomena of analysability and productivity in present-day English, suggesting that all patterns under scrutiny are equally productive, which they most certainly are not (cf. Kastovsky 1986b: 94). All things considered, in competition with the form-biased and the etymology-biased views, the form-plus-content-plus-function conception of the morpheme appears, arguably, as the only one enabling the successful integration, into one synchronically viable whole, of morphological and semantic analysability, and productivity, on the one hand, and compositionality and idiomatization, on the other.



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## 5.3. Establishing a set of criterial affixal properties

Within the framework just laid down, one typology of properties characterizing affixes will be put forward. It is based on an adapted version presented in Prćić 1995: Section 4.4, which, in turn, draws on Bauer 1983; Leech 1981; Lyons 1977. The typology, in addition to the five properties briefly mentioned earlier, and common to all lexical units, incorporates one uniquely affixal property, which is of vital importance in the description of all affixes – productivity. And to round the picture off, one property of primarily diachronic relevance, etymology, will be included as well. Now, the proposed seven distinctive properties of affixes – termed here Orthography, Phonology, Morphosyntax, Semantics, Stylistics, Productivity and Etymology – will be outlined, in accordance with their contributory roles.

(1) Orthography. – Provides information on the elements that realize the affix in the written medium. Typically, the specification should cover the relevant grapheme sequence, its possible variants (e.g. *-ize/-ise*), as well as orthographic changes to the base, where applicable (e.g. dropping of an unpronounced final *-e*), and indication of prefix/base hyphenation, when needed for distinguishing unanalysable from analysable homographs (e.g. *re-cover* vs *re-cover*).

(2) Phonology. – Provides information on the elements that realize the affix in the spoken medium, when the derived word is said in isolation. Typically, the specification should cover the relevant phoneme sequence, as well as its influence on the stress pattern of the derived word, in respect of the affix's stress-neutral or stress-imposing quality (cf. Jones 2011; Wells 2008); the latter manifests itself in several ways, as exemplified by the suffixes *-ese*, *-ic*, *-ity* in words like *Japanese*, *atomic*, *creativity*, in which stress falls on the suffix, the penult, and the antepenult, respectively.

(3) Morphosyntax. – Provides information on the grammatical properties of the base, as input unit, and of the derived word, as output unit. Typically, the specification should cover the part-of-speech indication for both units, supplemented, where neces-



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sary, by further subcategorizations of the base, mostly semantically and/or pragmatically conditioned (e.g. transitivity of verbal bases combining with the suffixes *-ee* 'patientive' and *-able* 'patientive ability').

(4) Semantics. – Provides information on the descriptive meaning of the affix which it contributes to the meaning of the base. Typically, the specification should cover a definition of that meaning, in as concise and informative a way as possible, and well-balanced between generality and specificity. In addition, comparable definitions help to establish the relationships of synonymy and antonymy between affixes, thereby facilitating their explicit comparison.

(5) Stylistics. – Provides information on the associative meaning of the affix, which restricts its range of application. Typically, the specification should cover restrictions in terms of dialect, i.e. national or regional varieties (British, American, etc.), of register (chemistry, medicine, etc.), of formality (formal, informal), of attitude (disapproving, humorous, etc.), of time-related currency (obsolete, obsolescent, etc.), where applicable.

(6) Productivity. – Provides information on the ability of the affix to be synchronically used in the creation of new words. In view of the fact that productivity is an essentially scalar phenomenon (cf. Bauer 1983, 2001, 2003a; Bauer, Lieber and Plag 2014; Kastovsky 1986a; Lieber and Štekauer 2014; Plag 1999), manifested on a three-zone high ↔ restricted ↔ low scale (cf. Prćić 1995, 1999a), the specification should typically cover indication of high or low productivity, with restricted productivity implied.

(7) Etymology. – In the domain of diachrony, provides information on the origin and historical development of the affix, typically covered in the specification.

Needless to say, in cases of polysemous and, at the same time, polyfunctional affixes, properties (3)–(6), and possibly also (2) and (7), must be provided for each individual sense and function.

It has to be reiterated, in conclusion, that all the said affixal properties, which comprise both form- and content-related aspects, pertain to the system of present-day English, and not to its use. The properties are seen as word-independent, because they represent a



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context-free, systematic, and thus predictable, contribution in form and content to the base, in producing (new) compositional, i.e. morphologically and semantically analysable, words. Conversely, all context-bound, non-systematic, and thus unpredictable, modifications of the base and/or affix are word-dependent, because they occur only within individual words, as a result of the idiomatization process, largely in the domain of pragmatics. These modifications, consequently, belong in the entries for individual words and not in the entries for the respective affixes.

## 5.4. Assessing selected affixal entries

Deciding which properties to include in an affixal entry and how to present them most effectively is closely connected with the intended user's expected needs. For EFL learners, there are three interrelated facets of their knowledge to be catered for: (a) DECODING ASPECT – all learners should be able to interpret and understand actual and potential compositional base/affix formations, (b) METALEXICAL ASPECT – interested learners should be given an insight into the organization of this segment of the lexicon and the productive tendencies therein, and (c) ENCODING ASPECT – advanced learners should be able to know which affix they could employ in (tentatively) coining a new word.

The most important of these is the decoding aspect and it should, naturally, be treated with the highest priority in all lexicographic descriptions. However, the metalexical and encoding aspects should not be neglected either, in view of the fact that they are indispensable for theoretical and practical work in university courses in lexicology and lexicography. Figuring prominently in those classes are questions like 'Of the four causative suffixes, *-ize*, *-ify, -ate* and *-en*, as in *moisturize*, *humidify*, *hyphenate, dampen*, which is the most productive and which the least – if at all?'. At present students can answer them only by 'guesstimation', having to resort to their shaky non-native intuitions, because systematic information of this kind is not yet available in EFL dictionaries.



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With these requirements in mind, a full description of affixes would be achieved by supplying information stemming from all the above properties – except Etymology, which is irrelevant in a synchronic learner's dictionary. Therefore, an affixal entry would, ideally, consist of the following components (not necessarily in the order given): (1) Spelling, (2) Pronunciation, (3) Input/Output units, (4) Sense distinctions, (5) Definitions, (6) Cross-references, (7) Usage labels, (8) Productivity, (9) Examples, and (10) Terminology. The first eight derived components can in effect be seen as practical realizations of the theoretical affixal properties, with Semantics spawning three meaning-related components, (4)–(6). Also deemed necessary for inclusion here are components (9) and (10), the one to illustrate the relevant formations, the other to help to classify units properly.

In comparison with entries for 'ordinary' words and phrases, entries for affixes, besides being appropriately focused on their contributory role in compositional formations, are different in at least three respects: (a) they should provide information on the input/output units, as opposed to the part-of-speech indication needed for words and phrases, (b) they should provide instantiations of affixes only within words in isolation, because the natural context for affixes is words and not phrases or sentences, and (c) they should provide information on productivity, which in words and phrases takes a different form.

Against the above ten components, the treatment of affixes in the 'big four' EFL dictionaries will be assessed through an analysis of the entries for two prefixes, *dis-* and *pro-*, and two suffixes, *-ish* and *-or*. Between them, these affixes have all the prerequisites that enable them to be regarded as representative of the practices followed by the four dictionaries – in particular, they lend themselves to the observation of the handling of polysemy (*dis-*, *-ish*), synonymy (*dis-*, *-or*), antonymy (*pro-*), stylistics (*-ish*, *-or*), and varying degrees of productivity. The analysis will take into account both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the information available, focusing on the expected minimum provision, on the one hand, and the actual provision, on the other. For greater ease



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of reference, the relevant entries from the four dictionaries are reproduced in Section 5.6. Furthermore, a suggested model entry, describing the suffix *-ish* in line with the requirements specified below, is provided in Section 5.7.

### 5.4.1. Spelling

Expected minimum: (a) for all affixes, the relevant grapheme sequence; (b) for *-ish*, additional indication of the dropping of a final *-e* in the base, and the doubling of a final consonant in the base, both when applicable; (c) for *-or*, additional indication of the dropping of a final *-e* in the base, when applicable.

Actual provision: (a) found in all four dictionaries; (b–c) nothing in any of the dictionaries.

### 5.4.2. Pronunciation

Expected minimum: for all affixes, the relevant phoneme sequence, with stress-neutral or stress-imposing indication, represented in conformity with the IPA conventions.

Actual provision: nothing in *OALD5*; *LDOCE3* and *CIDE* have only the phoneme sequences with no stress contribution indicated. In a rather unorthodox manner, *COBUILD2*, to show stress, has the vowel in the phoneme sequences for *dis-* and *pro-* underlined, but as this is left unexplained in the Introduction, it is not clear whether the indications refer to the prefixes in isolation (primary stress), or to the words in which they appear (secondary stress). Furthermore, as a British alternative for *-or*, *CIDE* also lists /-ɔːʳ/, which is only true for emphatic uses, both British and American; also, a typically stress-imposing /-ˈɔːʳ/ variety occurs in a few phonologically idiomatized legal terms: *grantor*, *guarantor*, *pledgor*, equally in British and American English (cf. Jones 2011; Wells 2008). None of this extra information, however, is systematic for *-or*, and hence it belongs in the entries for the relevant words.



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### 5.4.3. Input/Output units

Expected minimum: for all affixes, part-of-speech indication for possible input bases and output words.

Actual provision: found in all four dictionaries, as follows:

Consistently only in *OALD5*, with class-maintaining affixes implied in the wording (e.g. at *pro-*: (with *ns* and *adjs*)).

*LDOCE3* records only output (at *dis-*, in sense 3, and at *-ish*, all senses, its class is shown in square brackets, thus: [in nouns]). However, at *-or* there are parentheses and italics (the reason for the difference being unclear), while at *dis-*, in senses 1 and 2, and at *pro-*, there is nothing at all.

*COBUILD2*, in some cases, marks both input and output (at *dis-*, *pro-* and *-ish*), occasionally in vague and unhelpful terms like 'some words' or 'words' (e.g. at *dis-*: '…added to some words that describe … in order to form words describing…'), while in other cases only output is provided (at *-or*).

*CIDE* gives either input only (at *dis-*, with the unhelpful 'some words', and at *-ish*, in sense 3), or output only (at *-ish*, in senses 1 and 2), or nothing at all (at *pro-* and *-or*, the latter being cross-referred to *-er*, where both input and output are supplied).

Quite surprisingly, numerals as input bases for *-ish* 'approximately' are erroneously classified as adjectives in three dictionaries, which is salvaged in part by correct exemplification, in *OALD5* (*thirtyish*), *LDOCE3* (*eightish*, *fortyish*) and *CIDE* (*sevenish*).

### 5.4.4. Sense distinctions

Expected minimum: (a) for *dis-*, two senses: 1 'negative' (*discontinuous*) and 2 'reversative' (*disconnect*), with the two further senses, 'privative' (*dismast*) and 'ablative' (*displace*), considered too specialized to be included in a learner's dictionary; (b) for *-ish*, four senses: 1 'coming from' (*Turkish*), 2 'typical of' (*foolish*), 3 'somewhat' (*reddish*), and 4 'approximately' (*fortyish*); (c) for *-or*, one sense: 'agentive', which comprises both animates and inanimates (*director*, *generator*); (d) for *pro-*, one sense: 'in favour of' (*pro-American*).



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Actual provision: found in all four dictionaries, as follows:

(a) for *dis-*, 1 and 2 are conflated into one 'negative/opposite' sense in *OALD5*, *COBUILD2* and *CIDE*, although it is evident from the examples given that the nature of oppositeness involved in verbs like *disagree* vs *disconnect* is fully distinguishable – negated vs reversed action (cf. Cruse 1986, 2010; Lipka 2002; Lyons 1977; Murphy 2003; Prćić 2016). *LDOCE3* sets up three senses, of which the second, despite being infelicitously glossed as 'the stopping or removing of a condition', judging by the examples (*disconnect*, *disinfect*), clearly represents 'reversative', whereas the third, 'to remove something' (*dismast*), is 'privative' and therefore, as stated above, dispensable in an EFL dictionary.

(b) for *-ish*, 1: nothing in *COBUILD2*; *OALD5* and *CIDE* have it, and *LDOCE3*, for some reason, splits it up into two senses, one for nouns ('the people or language of a particular country or place'), the other for adjectives ('of a particular place'). 2: *OALD5*, *COBUILD2* and *CIDE* have it; *LDOCE3* splits it up into two senses again, glossing the second as '…that show disapproval' – this properly belongs with usage labels, because it expresses an attitude, which is obvious from the examples given for both senses, *foolish*, *childish*, *snobbish* vs *selfish*, *raffish*, all equally disapproving, but not recognized for the first set at all. 3: *LDOCE3* and *COBUILD2* have it; *OALD5* and *CIDE* conflate it with 'approximately', and in so doing produce conflicting readings, especially in *CIDE*, which has 'to some degree; partly; quite' associated, among others, with the misfitting *sevenish*. 4: *LDOCE3* and *COBUILD2* have it; *OALD5* and *CIDE* conflate it with 'somewhat', as said in 3.

(c) for *-or*, found in all four dictionaries, with details in *LDOCE3* and *CIDE* available only through cross-reference to *-er*, because *-or* is frequently seen as a mere spelling variant of *-er*, although it is most definitely a suffix in its own right (cf. Prćić 1995, 1999a). (Incidentally, it is mainly for this reason that *-or* has been selected for this assessment rather than the synonymous and far more frequent *-er*.)

(d) for *pro-*, found in all four dictionaries; in addition, *LDOCE3* has a second sense, a rare and technical 'doing a job instead of someone'.



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### 5.4.5. Definitions

Expected minimum: for all affixes, a formulation of the sense(s), which is concise, proper and well-balanced between over-generality and over-specificity.

Actual provision: found in all four dictionaries, with *COBUILD2* and *CIDE* incorporating information on input/output units into the definitions (e.g. at *pro-*, in *COBUILD2*, 'You can add *pro-* to adjectives and nouns in order to form adjectives that describe people who support or admire a particular person, system, or idea.'), which tends to make them cumbersome and, at times, difficult to follow. Although formulations are open to debate, and therefore not always easy to assess impartially, one point, at least, should not be debatable – adequacy of wording. In this respect, most definitions live up to the expectations, to a greater or lesser degree.

Nevertheless, there are a few instances of unhappy wording, as in *dis-* 'reversative' being defined as 'the stopping or removing of a condition' in *LDOCE3*; of omission, as in *pro-* being defined only as 'supporting something' in *LDOCE3* and *CIDE*, where in fact both 'someone' and 'something' would be needed; and of imprecision, notably in defining *-or*, in all four dictionaries, as a variation on 'a person or thing that does something'. The imprecision is caused by over-simplification, because inanimates, primarily instrumental in function, can hardly be seen as 'doing something' – as fully-fledged agentives – except, perhaps, in highly metaphorical interpretations. To reflect this important detail, the agentive and instrumental functions could best be dealt with by expanding the existing definitions, to read something like 'a person who does something, or a thing with which one does something', thereby bringing together the closely linked animate agentive and inanimate instrumental functions into one broad agentive sense/function (as has been done above, in Sense distinctions (c)). An exhaustive description of all aspects of meaning of agentive nouns, however, involves taking into consideration many varied factors,



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semantic and pragmatic, which are beyond the scope of the present discussion (for an elaboration, see Prćić 1995).

### 5.4.6. Cross-references

Expected minimum: (a) for *dis-* in the 'negative' sense, to the synonymous *un-*, *in-*, *a-*, *non-* (*unhappy*, *inaudible*, *amoral*, *non-flammable*); (b) for *dis-* in the 'reversative' sense, to the synonymous *un-*, *de-* (*unscrew*, *deactivate*); (c) for *-or*, to the synonymous *-er*, *-ant*, *-ent*, *-ist*, *-ee* (*teacher*, *assistant*, *resident*, *cyclist*, *escapee*); (d) for *pro-*, to the antonymous *anti-* (*anti-American*).

Actual provision: nothing in *COBUILD2*; *OALD5*, *LDOCE3* and *CIDE* have the following: (a–b, conflated) *LDOCE3* has nothing; *dis-* is cross-referred to *un-* in *OALD5*, and to *in-*, *non-*, *un-*, and further to Language Portrait on Opposites, in *CIDE*; (c) *-or* is cross-referred to *-ee* and *-er* in *OALD5*, and to *-er*, within the definitions, in *LDOCE3* and *CIDE*, in keeping with the practice mentioned above, under Sense distinctions (c); (d) *pro-* is cross-referred to *anti-* in *OALD5*, *LDOCE3* and *CIDE*.

### 5.4.7. Usage labels

Expected minimum: (a) for *-ish* in the 'typical of' sense, 'disapproving'; (b) for *-ish* in the 'approximately' sense, 'informal'; (c) for *-or*, 'somewhat formal'.

Actual provision: nothing in *COBUILD2*; *OALD*,5 *LDOCE3* and *CIDE* have the following: (a) *-ish* is marked as 'often derog[atory]' in *OALD5*, as 'esp. disapproving' in *CIDE*, whereas *LDOCE3* sets up a distinct sense '… that show disapproval', the justifiability of which has already been commented on above, under Sense distinctions (b) 2; (b) *-ish* is marked as 'spoken' only in *LDOCE3*; (c) nothing in any of the dictionaries.



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### 5.4.8. Productivity

Expected minimum: (a) for *pro-*, for *-ish* in the 'typical of', 'somewhat' and 'approximately' senses, and for *-or* with verbal bases ending in *-ate* (*translator*), indication of high productivity; (b) for *dis-*, for *-ish* in the 'coming from' sense, and for *-or* in all other cases, indication of low productivity.

Actual provision: nothing in any of the dictionaries.

### 5.4.9. Examples

Expected minimum: for all affixes, well-chosen, morphologically and semantically analysable formations, which, for that reason, require no paraphrasing.

Actual provision: found in all four dictionaries, with a few non-analysable examples, such as *selfish* and *raffish*, in *LDOCE3*, or *outlandish*, in *CIDE*, and occasional paraphrases in *LDOCE3* (at *dis-*, *-ish* and *-or*; e.g. *an actor* (= someone who acts)) and *CIDE* (at *-ish*; e.g. *Do you speak Swedish?* (= the language of Sweden)). However, in exemplifying *-ish* 'coming from', *CIDE* offers a hardly analysable *Flemish*, which is glossed mistakenly as 'from Belgium', instead of 'from Flanders'. Also, with *-ish* 'approximately', through the said misclassification of numerals as adjectives, good examples, paradoxically, illustrate a wrong point, in *OALD5* (*thirtyish*), *LDOCE3* (*eightish*, *fortyish*) and *CIDE* (*sevenish*).

### 5.4.10. Terminology

Expected minimum: (a) for *dis-* and *pro-*, prefix; (b) for *-ish* and *-or*, suffix.

Actual provision: found in all four dictionaries, as follows: (a–b) *OALD5*, *LDOCE3* and *COBUILD3* label these units 'prefixes' and 'suffixes', respectively, whereas *CIDE* uses the term 'combining forms' for both. In addition, only *OALD5* consistently distinguishes between 'affixes' and 'combining forms'. *CIDE* dispenses with 'prefixes' and 'suffixes', subsuming them under 'combining forms',



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while *LDOCE3* dispenses with 'combining forms', opting for 'prefixes' and 'suffixes' instead (cf. the use of the term 'combining forms' only in *LDOCE1*). *COBUILD3* uses 'combining forms' only for final elements like *-legged*, *-fold*, *-faced* (cf. the use of 'combining words' for these in *COBUILD1*).

Judging by this analysis of the four affixes – and another choice of affixes, or a deeper analysis of these, would presumably lead to similar results, differing just in detail – only part of the expected picture is painted. In fact, considering the overall quantity and quality of the information provided, more often than not the picture tends to be perceived by the attentive reader as a mere sketch, and a rather blurred one at times. Where and when this is the case, a number of general contributing causes, at work either individually or jointly, can be pinpointed: firstly, the information is lacking altogether, notably for productivity and stress indication; secondly, it is given inconsistently and/or incompletely, which is encountered the most frequently, especially with input/output units; thirdly, it is either under-refined or over-refined, predominantly in the handling of sense distinctions; and lastly, it may even be incorrect, as in the case of numerals classified as adjectives.

## 5.5. Conclusions from the analysis

All in all, the contest between the four EFL dictionaries ends in a tie. In stark contrast to 'a wealth of meticulously selected and presented information on the forms, functions, combinations, meanings and uses of words and phrases', as was stated at the beginning, the 'big four', on the whole, portray affixes as nothing more than poor relations of words and phrases.

The attentive, and interested, reader is hereby invited to take a look at the current (2024) editions of the 'big four' EFL dictionaries examined in this chapter (all from 1995), either in print or in online form, to reassess the lexicographic treatment of the four affixes almost 30 years on and to see for themselves to what extent affixes depressingly continue to be poor relations of words, with barely any noticeable change in their current treatment. Almost 30 years on.



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In order to resolve this unfortunate tie and to try to make the information offered on affixes in the future equally useful and usable, it is obvious that the description of affixes in EFL dictionaries, and in other types as well, urgently needs an overhaul – both theoretical and methodological. First of all, it is imperative to compile a definitive list of all prefixes and suffixes in present-day English, according to the form-plus-content-plus-function principle, thereby precisely marking off the area of the proposed description. With the inventory ready, there is ample room for improvement in the realization of most components of an affixal entry, particularly in terms of clarity, consistency and completeness of information. However, the following require special attention – focused exclusively on contributions to and in compositional formations:

- Pronunciation – with obligatory stress indication, preferably in the manner of either the *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary*, 3rd edition (Wells 2008), or the *Cambridge English Pronouncing Dictionary*, 18th edition (Jones 2011),
- Sense distinctions – with precise differentiation of senses/functions, appropriately defined and cross-referred to all comparable affixes,
- Productivity – with indication of high and low productivity, gauged by extensive corpus-based research, and
- Terminology – with affixes systematically distinguished from combining forms and properly tagged.

Of the implementations found in the 'big four' EFL dictionaries 1995 editions, there are a number of good ideas and solutions that may serve as guiding principles, to be followed or further developed:

- in *OALD5*: Input/Output units, Definitions, Examples, and Terminology,
- in *LDOCE3*: Sense distinctions (in general), Usage labels, and the hyponymy-based sense-distinguishing 'Signposts',
- in *COBUILD2*: Definitions (in part), and 'Frequency bands', applicable for displaying productivity as well, and
- in *CIDE*: Cross-references, and 'Guide words', also hyponymy-based sense distinguishers.



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Finally, one handy reference book deserving near-honourable mention in this respect is the *Collins COBUILD English Guides 2: Word Formation* (Sinclair 1991). Covering both affixes and combining forms, it excels in Spelling, Input/Output units, Sense distinctions, Definitions, Examples, and Productivity (in part), and for that reason represents probably the fullest treatment of affixes aimed at EFL learners to date. Many aspects of this fine piece of lexicography, which is nonetheless not entirely beyond reproach, should certainly be followed and further developed in the days to come.

## 5.6. Four entries for the four affixes

(reproduced with minor typographical simplifications)

(1) The prefix *dis-*

*OALD5*: *pref* (with *adjs, advs, ns* and *vs*) the negative or opposite of: *dishonest* ○ *disagreeably* ○ *disagreement* ○ *disengage.* ⇒ note at UN-.

*LDOCE3*: /dɪs/ *prefix* **1** shows an opposite or negative: *I disapprove* (= do not approve) | *his dishonesty* (= lack of honesty) | *a discontented look.* **2** shows the stopping or removing of a condition: *Disconnect the machine from the electricity supply* (= so that it is no longer connected) | *Disinfect the wound first.* **3** [in verbs] to remove something: *a dismasted ship.*

*COBUILD2*: *prefix* /dɪs-/. **Dis-** is added to some words that describe processes, qualities, or states, in order to form words describing the opposite processes, qualities, or states. For example, if you do not agree with someone, you disagree with them; if one thing is not similar to something else, it is dissimilar to it.

*CIDE*: /dis-/ *combining form* added to the front of some words to form their opposites: *to disagree* • *to disconnect* • *an expression of disbelief* • *a dishonest person.* Compare IN-; NON-; UN-. LP > **Opposites**.

(2) The prefix *pro-*

*OALD5*: *pref* (with *ns* and *adjs*) in favour of; supporting: ˌ*pro-aˈbortion* ○ ˌ*pro-ˈlife* ○ ˌ*pro-government ˈforces.* Compare ANTI- 1.



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*LDOCE3*: /prəu || prou/ *prefix* **1** in favour of or supporting someone: *pro--American* | *the pro-abortion lobby.* — compare ANTI-. **2** *technical* doing a job instead of someone: *the pro-vice-chancellor.*

*COBUILD2*: *prefix* /prou-/ You can add **pro-** to adjectives and nouns in order to form adjectives that describe people who support or admire a particular person, system, or idea. *...pro-Yeltsin forces in the Russian Congress... He was at the forefront of the pro-democracy campaign in the country... Younger voters are strongly pro-European.*

*CIDE*: SUPPORT /£prəu-, $prou-/ *combining form* supporting or approving of something: *The population of Gibraltar is very pro-British • Pro-democracy demonstrations took place in the capital this weekend.* Compare ANTI-.

(3) The suffix *-ish*

*OALD5*: *suff* **1** (with *ns* forming *adjs* and *ns*) of or from the specified country: *Turkish* ○ *Irish.* **2** (with *ns* forming *adjs*) (*often derog*) of the nature of; resembling: *childish* ○ *freakish.* **3** (with *adjs*) rather; approximately: *reddish* ○ *thirtyish.*

*LDOCE3*: /iʃ/ *suffix* **1** [in nouns] the people or language of a particular country or place: *Are the British unfriendly?* | *learning to speak Turkish* | *She's Swedish.* **2** [in adjectives] of a particular place: *Spanish food* (= from Spain). **3** [in adjectives] typical of or like a particular type of person: *foolish behaviour* (= typical of a fool) | *Don't be so childish!* (= Don't behave like a child) | *snobbish.* **4** [in adjectives] the ending of some adjectives that show disapproval: *selfish* | *raffish.* **5** [in adjectives] rather; quite: *youngish* (= not very young, but not old either) | *tallish* | *reddish hair.* **6** [in adjectives] *spoken* about; approximately: *We'll expect you eightish* (= at about 8 o'clock) | *He's fortyish* (= about 40 years old).

*COBUILD2*: *suffix* /-iʃ/ **1 -ish** is added to adjectives to form adjectives which indicate that someone or something has a quality to a small extent. For example, if you say that something is largish, you mean it is fairly large. *She is tallish, brown-haired, and clear-skinned... With her was a youngish man in a dinner jacket. ...a tank of greenish water.* **2 -ish** is added to nouns and names to form adjectives which indicate that someone or something is like a particular kind of person or



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thing. For example, 'childish' means like a child, or typical of a child. *She had entirely lost her girlish chubbiness. ...a man of monkish appearance ...his affecting, Tom Petty-ish voice.* **3 -ish** is added to words referring to times, dates, or ages to form words which indicate that the time or age mentioned is approximate. *I'll call you guys tomorrow. Noon-ish... The nurse was fiftyish.*

*CIDE*: **1** PLACE /-iʃ/ *combining form* used to form adjectives and nouns which say what country or area a person, thing or language comes from: *Spanish dancing* (= from Spain) • *Flemish lace* (= from Belgium) • *Are you English?* (= from England) • *I've always liked the Irish* (= people from Ireland) • *Do you speak Swedish?* (= the language of Sweden). LP > **Combining forms**. **2** LIKE /-iʃ/ *combining form esp. disapproving* used to form adjectives which say what a person, thing or action is like: *foolish* • *mannish* • *outlandish*. **3** QUITE /-iʃ/ *combining form* added to adjectives to give the meaning to some degree; partly; quite: *He had a sort of reddish beard* • *She was oldish – about 60, I'd say* • *"Is he young?" "(Young)-ish, 40 maybe."* • *We'll start at sevenish* (= about 7 o'clock). LP > **Approximate numbers**.

(4) The suffix *-or*

*OALD5*: *suff* (with *vs* forming *ns*) a person or thing that does: *actor* ○ *governor* ○ *resistor*. Compare -EE, -ER.

*LDOCE3*: /ə || ər/ *suffix* (*in nouns*) the form used for -ER in certain words: *an actor* (= someone who acts) | *an inventor.*

*COBUILD2*: *suffix* /-ər/ **-or** is used at the end of nouns that refer to people or things which perform a particular action: *...a major investor. ...the translator. ...an electric generator.*

*CIDE*: PERFORMER /£-ər, £:-ɔ:r, $-ər/ *combining form* See at -ER PERFORMER. LP > **Combining forms**.



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## 5.7. Suffix *-ish*: a suggested model entry

(based on the presupposition that the relevant terms, abbreviations, symbols and typographical conventions have been adequately explained and understood beforehand)

**-ish** /iʃ/ stress-neutral *suffix*

**1 FROM** (added to *ns* to form *adjs* and *ns*) (of a person, language, etc.) of, being or coming from: *Finnish* • *Swedish* • *Turkish*; PRODUCTIVITY: ☹

**2 LIKE** (added to *ns* to form *adjs*) *disapproving* typical of, resembling, like: *childish* • *foolish* • *snobbish*; PRODUCTIVITY: ☺

**3 SOMEWHAT** (added to *adjs* to form *adjs*) to some degree, slightly, somewhat: *bluish* • *fattish* • *youngish*; PRODUCTIVITY: ☺

**4 ABOUT** (added to *nums* to form *nums*) *informal* (of age or time) approximately, around, about: *fortyish* • *six-thirtyish* • *eightish*; PRODUCTIVITY: ☺

**NOTES**: **1** When *-ish* is added to bases which end in an unpronounced *-e*, this letter is dropped: *blue* + *-ish* → *bluish*. **2** When *-ish* is added to bases of one syllable which end in a single consonant (such as *-b*, *-p*, *-d*, *-t*, *-g*, *-m*, *-n*), preceded by a short vowel, the consonant is doubled: *snob* + *-ish* → *snobbish*.



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# 6. Prefixes vs initial combining forms in English

Since the launch of the term 'combining form' in *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1884) and the subsequent division of these elements into the categories of initial combining form (ICF) and final combining form (FCF) (Bauer 1983), modern morphological theory has still not worked out a principled and consistent way of distinguishing between affixes and combining forms in general, and between prefixes and initial combining forms in particular. (For different observations and insights into the matter, see Adams 1973, 2001; Bauer 1983, 1998, 2003a, 2003b; Bauer and Huddleston 2002; Lehrer 1995, 1998; Marchand 1969; Mattiello 2023; McArthur 1992; Plag 2018; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985; Renouf and Baayen 1998; Stein 1977; Tournier 1993; Warren 1990.) This unsettled state of affairs has had adverse implications not only for the overall theory of word formation in English, but also for lexicographic methodology and practice as well as for language teaching.

Firstly, and most importantly, the labelling of all bound lexical elements in dictionaries, both pedagogical and native-speaker ones, is inconsistent and confusing, sometimes even contradictory and mutually exclusive. The solutions range in the following way:

- from prefix – suffix classes, as in the learner's *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (Woodford and Jackson 2003; *CALD*), *Collins COBUILD English Dictionary for Advanced Learners*, 3rd edition (Sinclair 2001; *COBUILD3*), *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, 3rd edition (Summers 1995; *LDOCE3*), *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced*



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*Learners* (Rundell 2002; *MEDAL*), in the learner's specialized *Collins COBUILD English Guides 2: Word Formation* (Sinclair 1991; *COBUILDWF*), and in the native speaker's *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 3rd edition (Soukhanov 1992; *AHD3*), *Encarta World English Dictionary* (Rooney 1999; *EWED*),

- to prefix – suffix – combining form classes, as in the learner's *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 6th edition (Wehmeier 2000; *OALD6*), *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary*, 3rd edition (Wells 2008; *LPD3*), in many native-speaker dictionaries like *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition (Simpson and Weiner 1989; *OED2*), *The New Oxford Dictionary of English* (Pearsall 1998; *NODE*), *Chambers 21st Century Dictionary*, 2nd edition (Robinson 1999; *C21CD2*), *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 11th edition (*MWCD11*; 2003), *Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*, 3rd edition (*RHWUD3*; 1999),
- to combining form only classes, as in the learner's *Cambridge International Dictionary of English* (Procter 1995; *CIDE*),
- to explicitly undifferentiated and even unlabelled word beginnings and endings, comprising prefixes, suffixes, combining forms and infixes (sic!), all being seen as types of affix, as in the specialized *Ologies and Isms* (Quinion 2002; *Os&Is*).

However, the reasons for setting up exactly those classes and for including individual elements into those very classes remain, frustratingly enough, unclear, unexplained and often unfathomable – not only in the editions mentioned here, but also in their recent, current online and print editions.

And secondly, but equally importantly, the teaching of affixes and combining forms to advanced EFL learners, within the wider area of word formation, if undertaken at all, is most likely to be all but impressionistic.

As an attempt at filling the present descriptive and methodological gaps, the aims of the discussion in this chapter are two-



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fold: (1) to offer one method of drawing a systematic dividing line between prefixes and ICFs, by putting forward an ordered set of shared and distinguishing criteria, based on formal, functional, semantic and pragmatic properties of prefixes and ICFs; and (2) to define the categories of prototypical prefix and prototypical ICF, which would, consequently, help to assign – and re-assign – each bound initial lexical element to one of the two categories in a synchronically more justified and appropriate way, and thereby hopefully facilitate the tasks of lexicographers, EFL teachers and learners alike.

The discussion will deal with shared criterial properties of prefixes and ICFs; with eight distinguishing prefix/ICF criterial properties; with the prototypical synchronic prefix and ICF; with implications for current classifications of bound initial lexical elements stemming from the defined prototypes, together with elements eligible for re-assignment; and with a bare-bones dictionary of synchronic prefixes of English, compiled in line with the criteria proposed earlier.

## 6.1. Shared criterial properties of prefixes and ICFs

By and large, prefixes and ICFs share certain general properties, which can be formulated as follows: firstly, building around the sign-oriented conception of word formation adopted here (cf. Marchand 1969), both PREFIXES AND ICFs are defined as **synchronically separable, bound left-hand input elements, with an identifiable form, content and function**. The term 'separable' (after Guierre, in Tournier 1993: 51) emphasizes here the fact that the bound element has a status of its own, because "a particular phonological form is systematically associated with at least one particular content and one particular function" (cf. Chap. 5 in this book), which enables it to be separated, or detached, from the other element(s) in a word without that bound element's form, content and function being blurred, obscured or otherwise rendered unrecognizable. For example, *re-*, *de-* and *under-* are prefixes in *re-.play*, *de-.code* and *under-.cook* (henceforward a hyphen



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will indicate the boundness of an element, and a dot within a word the boundary between the two immediate input elements), but not in *retain*, *decide* and *understand*, whereas *geo-*, *hydro-* and *alti-* are ICFs in *geo-.-graphy*, *hydro-.-logy* and *alti-.-meter*, but not in *geodesy*, *hydrogen* and *altitude*.

Secondly, as bound input elements, both prefixes and ICFs are non-viable by themselves and hence they require companion right-hand input elements. These companion elements can be either free-standing bases or final combining forms (FCFs). It is bases that prefixes and ICFs can occur with, as in *re-.play* where the prefix *re-* requires the companion base *play*, and in *geo-.chemistry* where the ICF *geo-* requires the companion base *chemistry*. On the other hand, it is FCFs that ICFs only can occur with, as in *geo-.-graphy* where the ICF *geo-* requires the companion FCF *-graphy*.

And thirdly, together with their companion right-hand input elements, both prefixes and ICFs produce output formations of a binary structure – prefixations and compositions (or compounds), respectively, the prototypical instances of which are both morphologically and semantically analysable, and in which right-hand and left-hand input elements prototypically enter into endocentric head–modifier relations. The right-hand element acts as the head (theme) of the formation and the left-hand element as the modifier (rheme) of the head (theme). For example, in *re-.play*, *play* is the head and *re-* its modifier, and in *geo-.-graphy*, *-graphy* is the head and *geo-* its modifier.

## 6.2. Distinguishing criterial properties of prefixes and ICFs

In addition to the shared general properties, which show their similarity, prefixes and ICFs display a number of properties which make them stand in contrast to one another. The set to be proposed consists of eight distinguishing criterial properties identified as relevant for establishing distinct, even though not hard and fast, boundaries between prefixes and ICFs. The eight distinguishing criterial properties are the following: (1) Category membership, (2) Distinctive form, (3) Cooccurrence restrictions, (4) Syn-



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tactic function, (5) Head–modifier relation, (6) Semantic meaning, (7) Morphosemantic patterning, and (8) Productivity. Each property will now be treated within its own section.

### 6.2.1. Category membership

This property focuses on the two broad categories of lexico-grammatical units to which the left-hand input element can belong.

Prefixes belong to a (relatively) closed set of lexico-grammatical units, into which new members are rarely admitted.

In contrast, ICFs belong to a (relatively) open set of lexico-grammatical units, into which new members are fairly readily admitted, especially those made by exploiting the lexical resources of classical languages – Greek and Latin.

The parenthesized qualifier 'relatively' is used here to signal the soft and fuzzy nature of the boundary between closed and open sets, despite clearly and firmly delineated central parts of both sets.

### 6.2.2. Distinctive form

This property focuses on a distinctive phonological/orthographic and morphological form of the left-hand input element, specifically its ending.

Prefixes have no distinctive form.

In contrast, ICFs end in a vowel, prototypically in /ə(u)/, spelt *-o-*, as in *anthropo-* (from Classical Greek), and much less frequently in /ɪ/, spelt *-i-*, as in *agri-* (from Latin); in some cases, like *agri-.culture* and *agro-.industry*, one and the same bare ICF can end in more than one vowel, and such ICFs may even be interchangeable: *agri-.tourism* and *agro-.tourism*. Other vowels may be encountered as well, as in *tachy-*, *acu-*, *genea-*, *vibra-*, but they are extremely rare and idiosyncratic. All these ICF endings function as linking vowels, sometimes termed 'interfixes' (cf. Bauer 2003a), between the bare left-hand input element and its right-hand companion element,



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and provide a smooth and euphonic transition from the first element to the other (McArthur 1992: 233; Tournier 1993: 57); for example, *anthropo-.-logy*, *agri-.culture*, *tachy-.-meter*, *acu-.puncture*, *genea-.-logy*, *vibra-.-phone*. Furthermore, free-standing bases can be made into ICFs through the addition of a linking vowel, prototypically *-o-* and very occasionally *-i-* (both of which mirror the classical patterns), as seen in *speedo-.-meter* and *insecti-.-cide*.

As a result, two kinds of ICFs can be differentiated (cf. McArthur 1992: 234, where a five-stage continuum is discussed):

Firstly, there are CLASSICAL ICFs, which are typically allomorphic variants of classical (Greek or Latin) words or elements and, at the same time, allosemic variants of modern English words or elements, in their appropriate senses. For example, *xylo-(-phone)* is an allomorph of the Classical Greek *xýlon* and an alloseme of the English *wood*, *calli-(-graphy)* is an allomorph of the Classical Greek *kállos* and an alloseme of the English *beautiful*, whereas *alti-(-meter)* is an allomorph of the Latin *altus* and an alloseme of the English *high*.

Secondly, there are MODERN ICFs, which are typically allomorphic variants of modern English words or elements, in their appropriate senses. For example, *jazzo-(-phile)* is an allomorph of the English *jazz*, *speedo-(-meter)* is an allomorph of the English *speed*, whereas *heli-(port)* is an allomorph of the English *helicopter*.

How all these allomorphs have been created – whether by orthographic, phonological or morphological modifications of the model classical or modern word or element (e.g. *xylo-* from *xýlon*, *dactylo-* from *dáktylos*, *speedo-* from *speed*), or by its abbreviation (e.g. *eco-* from *ecology*, *heli-* from *helicopter*, *Euro-* from *Europe*) – is irrelevant here. (For useful accounts, see Bauer 1983, 1998; Bauer and Huddleston 2002; Lehrer 1998; Stein 1977; Warren 1990.)

Since they are unpredictable both semantically and formally, classical ICFs are entered in dictionaries as potential input elements of existing and new formations. The lists are never definitive, though, as they contain mostly well-established elements. In contrast, modern ICFs need not be entered in dictionaries, because their meaning, being related to the base word, is self-ex-



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planatory, and their *-o-* ending is largely predictable too. However, if either their form and/or meaning is unpredictable, as in *heli-*, such modern ICFs have to be listed in the dictionary.

Closely connected with ICFs, both classical and modern ones, is the lexicologically and lexicographically unresolved erratic status of the linking vowel – specifically, the question of whether it belongs to the ICF, to the FCF, to both, or to neither. The theoretically available possibilities and likely solutions are examined by Bauer (1998: 406), in an important passage which will be quoted here in full:

> "The problem remains in current English as how best to analyze the linking *-o-* in words like *photograph*. There are four possibilities: (a) it is viewed as a linking element between *phot* and *graph*, which is awkward given how rarely *phot* appears in the form in English (*photic*, *photopsy*); (b) it is viewed as part of the first element, on the grounds that when the first element is attached to words, it takes the *-o-* with it (*photoluminescence*); (c) it is viewed as part of the second element, on the grounds that when the second element is attached to words, it takes the *-o-* with it (*Addressograph®*, *phraseograph*); (d) it belongs to both the initial and final elements (as in [b] and [c]), and the sequence of *-oo-* is morphophonemically simplified to a single *-o-*. Of these (c) is perhaps the least likely, but while (a) is the point of view usually taken by lexicographers, (b) appears to commend itself to native intuitions, in the sense that clippings invariably keep the *-o*, for instance (*photo*). I shall not attempt to solve this problem here, but I draw attention to it as a descriptive problem with neoclassical compounds that has not been fully worked out".

Even though he stops short of giving a definitive and conclusive answer, Bauer seems to favour the solution that the linking vowel belongs to the ICF. And indeed this solution has much to speak on its behalf. First and foremost, etymological evidence shows that in both Classical Greek and Latin the linking vowel goes with the left-hand element. Secondly, novel ICFs, classical and



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modern alike, almost invariably end in a linking vowel. And last but not least, most modern dictionaries, both pedagogical and native-speaker ones, as well as most authoritative textbooks on word formation and grammar (listed in the References) take this theoretical and methodological standpoint. However, in some instances, not numerous notwithstanding, this neat and well-founded interpretation falls victim to folk-etymological re-analyses and re-interpretations.

The case in point is the word *ology*, extracted from formations like *biology*, *geology* and *psychology*, and serving as an informal or facetious designation for any science or branch of knowledge (*RHWUD3*). The initial *o* in *ology* appears to be retained mostly for euphonic reasons, in order to provide a proper phonological nucleus of the new word, similar to that of the word *ism*. At the same time, *ology* has recently received the status of an FCF (or a suffix), in the form of *-ology*. As a rather frequent FCF, which is added not only to classical ICFs but also to modern bases functioning as ICFs (e.g. *Kremlinology*, *hamburgerology*, *lifeology*; these examples are from Bauer and Huddleston 2002: 1663, Bauer 1998: 407 and a British TV commercial, respectively), *-ology* has successfully begun to displace, at least in popular perception and usage, the original form *-logy*. Sometimes, *-ology* is regarded as an allomorph of the FCF (or the suffix) *-logy*, and sometimes quite the opposite is the case, without indication of whether the two are in free variation or complementary distribution.

Of the dictionaries consulted for the present research, only a small minority recognize this duality and they deal with it thus: *OED2* has two entries, *-logy* and *-ology*, cross-referred to each other, with the latter being more extensively exemplified. *LDOCE3* lists both *-ology* and *-logy* separately, but in both entries the latter has merely a secondary, 'another form of the suffix *-ology*' treatment. Likewise, *OALD6* lists *-ology* as a principal headword, but follows it with *-logy*, which is, according to the editors, its alternative British English form; *-logy* itself is simply cross-referred to *-ology*. Conversely, *NODE* lists *-logy* as a principal headword, but adds in parentheses (for sense 1 only) 'usu. as *-ology*', while *-olo-*



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*gy* is labelled as a 'common form of *-logy*'. *Os&ls* offers *-logy* as a principal headword, together with its alternative *-ology*, and *-ology* is just cross-referred to *-logy*. *C21CD2* provides *-logy* and *-ology* one after the other, but no separate entry for *-ology*. And finally, *CIDE*, *CALD*, *COBUILD3* and *COBUILDWF* list only *-ology*, with no reference to *-logy*. Seeing all the variety of arbitrary treatments of one single little lexical item, a careful reader and/or analyst cannot help asking oneself and others: Whither theory and consistent methodology?!

What is more, extending the ology analogy, some of the more frequent FCFs, which can combine with modern free-standing bases alongside classical ICFs – notably, *-graphy*, *-cracy*, *-cide* – are slowly but surely developing, or indeed have already developed, their vowel-initial double(t)s, viz. *-ography*, *-ocracy*, *-icide*. Few of these re-analysed forms have found their way to the dictionaries at the moment: *-ocracy* and *-ography* are entered in *OED2*, *-ocracy* and *-icide* in *LDOCE3*, *-ography* and *-icide* in *C21CD2*, *-ocracy* in *COBUILDWF*, whereas *-ocracy* and *-ography* and a number of others are there in *Os&ls*. It may well be the case that some complementary distribution between the o-less and the o-ful forms is emerging (for an argumentation, see Bauer and Huddleston 2002: 1663-1664, esp. footnote 31), whereby the o-less forms would cooccur with classical ICFs, normally ending in a linking vowel (e.g. *geo-*.*-logy*, *bio-*.*-graphy*), and the o-ful forms would cooccur with free-standing bases (e.g. *climat(e)*.*-ology*, *ocean*.*-ography*).

The question to be answered now is whether this duality is theoretically justified and whether this interpretation is methodologically tenable. All things considered, there is little to speak in their favour. First of all, the fact that a given string of phonemes/graphemes (i.e. *ology*) has 'gained independence' from a word (i.e. *biology*, etc.) and become a free-standing word, and subsequently a novel FCF (i.e. *-ology*), partly homonymous and fully synonymous with an existing FCF (i.e. *-logy*), is not a sufficient reason for the newcomer to (be let to) oust the healthy and unenfeebled incumbent. There is still less ground in putting the two on an equal lexicographic footing, or in giving precedence to *-ology* over *-logy*.



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Moreover, folk-etymological re-analyses of this kind run counter to etymological and factual evidence, and thereby create unnecessary exceptions to established rules and tendencies. In other words, why accept only *-ology*, *-ography*, *-ocracy*, *-icide*, and not others as well, like *-olatry*, *-ologue*, *-omancy*, *-ometer*, *-ometry*, *-onomy*, *-ophone*, *-oscope*? Because they do not double as free-standing words? Or because they are not used frequently enough? Or because they do not readily cooccur with free-standing words? And finally, the institutionalization of this kind of complementary distribution, which appears to hold over a restricted range of examples only, would be to introduce complication into an otherwise uncomplicated matter and, at the same time, to spoil a good, straightforward and useful generalization that ICFs in English end in a linking vowel.

In an attempt to resolve this perplexing situation, hopefully in an easy, consistent and theoretically and methodologically better founded manner, a proposal regarding the status of the linking vowel of separable combining forms will be offered here. It is fully compatible with the definitions of classical and modern ICFs given earlier in this section. The proposal consists of two parts: **(1) In English, synchronically separable ICFs, classical and modern alike, always end in a linking vowel (*-o-*, *-i-*, or some other), which belongs to the respective ICF. (2) In those rare cases when an FCF properly, that is etymologically, contains a vowel, like *-onym*, *-osis*, *-opia*, there is an overlap of the *-o-* in the ICF and the *-o-* in the FCF, with a resultant coalescence of the two, as in *anthrop(o)-.-onym*, *oste(o)-.-osis*, *phot(o)-.-opia***.

### 6.2.3. Cooccurrence restrictions

This property focuses on the type of right-hand input element with which the left-hand input element may, or may not, occur.

Prefixes can occur with free input elements only, that is bases – simple, complex, compound, including neoclassical, and phrasal, as in *dis-.connect*, *non-.judgemental*, *anti-.aircraft*, *para-.psychol-*



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*ogy*, *un-.heard-of*, respectively. No prefix + suffix combinations, like **re-.-ism* and **hyper-.-ize*, and no prefix + FCF combinations, like **co-.-phobia* and **mis-.-phagous*, are allowed by rules.

In contrast, ICFs can occur with bound input elements, that is FCFs, as in *morpho-.-logy*, and with free input elements, that is bases – simple, complex and compound, including neoclassical, as in *agri-.culture*, *geo-.political*, *bio-.feedback*, *zoo-.geography*, respectively. No ICF + suffix combinations, like **lexico-.-hood* and **kisso-.-esque*, are allowed by rules.

Depending on the types of companion right-hand input elements with which ICFs can occur, three kinds of compositions can be distinguished. If both input elements are classical in origin, they form NEOCLASSICAL COMPOSITIONS – 'neoclassical' rather than 'classical' (as in McArthur 1992: 217), because they have been, and still are, created in modern times (cf. Bauer 1983: 216). Of these there are three patterns: (1) classical ICF + classical FCF, as in *geo-.-graphy*, *morpho-.-logy*, *tachy-.-cardia*, *dactylo-.-scopy*, *anthrop(o)-.-onym*, *fungi-.-vorous*, (2) classical ICF + neoclassical base (formed from a classical ICF and a classical FCF), as in *zoo-.geography*, *auto-.biography*, *paleo-.anthropology*, and (3) classical ICF + classical base, as in *psycho-.analysis*, *partheno-.genesis*, *photo-.synthesis*. Neoclassical compositions typically belong to English and international learned and/or terminological vocabulary, designated as 'International Scientific Vocabulary' in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language* (Gove 1961), where it is defined as "a part of the vocabulary of the sciences and other specialized studies that consists of words or other linguistic forms current in two or more languages and differing from New Latin in being adapted to the structure of the individual languages in which they appear".

If, on the other hand, one input element is classical and the other one is modern, they form what will be termed here SEMI-NEOCLASSICAL COMPOSITIONS. Of these there are two patterns: (1) modern ICF + classical FCF, as in *jazzo-.-phile*, *speedo-.-meter*, *kisso-.-gram*, *filmo-.-graphy*, *insecti-.-cide*, and (2) classical ICF + modern base (simple, complex or compound), as in *aero-.plane*, *morpho-.syntax*, *bio-.feedback*, *labio-.dental*, *Afro-.American*, *Anglo-.French*. Some-



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times trying to emulate the learned nature of their neoclassical models, semi-neoclassical compositions can belong to ordinary and to terminological English vocabulary.

However, there is also a pattern of the type modern ICF + modern base (simple, complex or compound), as in *semantico-.pragmatic*, *lexico-.grammatical*, *palato-.alveolar*, *convexo-.concave*, *Euro-.American*, *Czecho-.Slovak*, *Serbo-.Croatian*. In these formations, modelled on neoclassical compositions, both input elements are modern. The ICFs contain the linking vowel not only to facilitate the pronunciation of the word, but also to enable the seamless juxtaposition of the two input elements and to underline their semantic and pragmatic equality. And it is this linking vowel that sets such formations apart from ordinary compositions. In fact, such compositions are neoclassical in appearance only, and that is why they will be called here QUASI-NEOCLASSICAL COMPOSITIONS.

As a result of the proposed subcategorization, a continuum of compositions with the following four focal points suggests itself:

- ordinary compositions, as in *book.lover* →
- quasi-neoclassical compositions, as in *semantico-.pragmatic* →
- semi-neoclassical compositions, as in *jazzo-.-phile* →
- neoclassical compositions, as in *geo-.-graphy*.

### 6.2.4. Syntactic function

This property focuses on the ability of the left-hand input element to determine the syntactic function of the output formation by changing the morphosyntactic class of the right-hand input element.

Prefixes can perform both class-maintaining function, as with $possible_{adj}$ > $im\text{-}.possible_{adj}$, and, to a much lesser extent, class-changing function, as with $friend_{n}$ > $be\text{-}.friend_{v}$.

In contrast, ICFs perform neither class-maintaining nor class-changing functions, because they function as nominal and



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adjectival bases, to which no such syntactic function pertains. This property of ICFs is comparable to that of free-standing bases in compositions.

### 6.2.5. Head–modifier relation

This property focuses on the type of endocentric relation between the right-hand input element as the head of the output formation and the left-hand input element as the head's modifier.

Prefixes enter into SUBORDINATIVE ENDOCENTRIC RELATIONS with their heads, because in the output prefixation the modifier (prefix) carries less structural and semantic weight than the head (base), as in *re-.write*. The exceptions to this are *en-*, *be-*, *a-* and other class-changing prefixes, which are heads rather than modifiers (cf. Kastovsky 1986b).

In contrast, ICFs enter into COORDINATIVE ENDOCENTRIC RELATIONS with their heads, because in the output composition the head (FCF or base) and its modifier (ICF) carry roughly equal structural and semantic weight, as in *morpho-.-logy*. This property of ICFs is comparable to that of free-standing bases in compositions. The exceptions to this are non-endocentric formations, like *labio-.dental* and *Anglo-.French*, within semi-neoclassical compositions, and quasi-neoclassical compositions, like *semantico-.pragmatic* and *palato-.alveolar*. All these belong to copulative (dvandva) compositions, in which there are no obvious heads and modifiers, because the elements name separate entities which combine to form a unified entity denoted by the composition (cf. Bauer 1983: 31).

### 6.2.6. Semantic meaning

This property focuses on the descriptive (denotative), systemic, context-independent meaning of the left-hand input element, which it regularly contributes to the meaning of the right-hand input element. Semantic meaning stands here in contradistinction to stylistic meaning, which focuses on the associative (connota-



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tive) meaning of the left-hand input element and as such is not relevant to the present discussion.

Prefixes have FUNCTIONAL/LEXICAL MEANING, which is equivalent to the meaning of prepositions, as in *trans-(atlantic)*, 'across'; of adverbs, as in *mis-(spell)*, 'wrongly'; of numerals, as in *uni-(cellular)*, 'one'; of adjectives, as in *mini-(bus)*, 'small'; and of verbs, as in *un-(seat)*, 'remove from'. The meaning of prefixes varies in richness, as it ranges from a lower to a higher semantic density, or specificity, that is from more general to more specific; for example, *trans-*, *mis-*, *vice-* are of low semantic density, whereas *pseudo-*, *micro-*, *cyber-* are of high semantic density. This meaning has a MODIFICATORY ROLE, because it adjusts, or modifies, the meaning of the head; for example, *write* > *re-.write*, 'again', *computer* > *micro-.computer*, 'very small'.

In contrast, ICFs have LEXICAL MEANING, which is equivalent to the meaning of nouns, as in *hydro-(-logy)*, 'water', and of adjectives, as in *tachy-(-cardia)*, 'rapid'. The meaning of ICFs has a high semantic density and thereby forms a continuum with semantically dense prefixes. This meaning has a COMPLEMENTARY ROLE, because it adds to, or complements, the meaning of the head; for example, *bio-.-graphy*, *speedo-.-meter*. This property of ICFs is comparable to that of free-standing bases in compositions.

Classical ICFs and the neoclassical and semi-neoclassical compositions in which they occur are often paraphrasable or explainable with their 'ordinary' English counterparts, their less learned or formal – ideational or conceptual, if not fully semantic – synonyms; for example, *hydro-.-logy* can be glossed as 'scientific study of water' and *tachy-.-cardia* as 'rapid heartbeat'. Sometimes, the more and the less learned words are both established and are used synonymously, like *geo-.science* vs *earth.science*, *aero-.plane* vs *air.plane*. Interpretation of neoclassical and semi-neoclassical compositions, it has to be stressed, relies heavily on the knowledge of the constituent Classical Greek and Latin input elements, particularly if they are rare and/or highly specialized. Should a speaker/hearer not be conversant with them, misfires and miscommunications are inevitable, at times with quite humorous ef-



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fects, as the one made by a BBC disc jockey (quoted in McArthur 1992: 218): "Tonight we have someone interesting to talk to you, folks. He's an orni-, an ornitho-, a birdman". Having not managed to pronounce the word *ornithologist*, the DJ quickly extricated himself by switching to its less learned – but more easily pronounceable and understandable – synonym *birdman*.

### 6.2.7. Morphosemantic patterning

This property, essentially onomasiological in nature, focuses on the regularity of meaning-to-form mapping, moulded within a ready-made morphosemantic pattern which features the left-hand input element.

Prefixes, either as single units or as sets of semantically related units, are the only choice when a specific meaning is to be expressed word-formationally. There is a RECURRENT, READY-MADE morphosemantic pattern onto which the given meaning is regularly mapped and the use of that pattern is automatic. For example, repetition is expressed with the prefix *re-*, and negation with a set of five competing prefixes *un-*, *in-*, *non-*, *dis-*, *a-*. Non-lexical alternatives to expressing specific meanings would be phrasal and sentential constructions; for example, *write again* vs *re-.write*, *not happy* vs *un-.happy*, *remove from a saddle* vs *un-.saddle*.

In contrast, ICFs, either as single units or as sets of semantically related units, are not the only choice when a specific meaning is to be expressed word-formationally. There is NO RECURRENT, READY--MADE morphosemantic pattern onto which the given meaning is regularly mapped and which is used automatically. For example, in scholarly and scientific contexts, *anthropo-* and *hydro-* are often used to express '(relating to) human being' and 'water', respectively, as in *anthropo-.-logy* and *hydro-.-phobia*, but they are not subject to recurrent, ready-made, regular and automatic patterning, especially not in everyday language. This manifests itself even more clearly in cases of creation of novel ICFs. If one wanted to express, say, the notion 'abnormal fear of lifts' one could invent the neoclassical composition *?ascenso-.-phobia* or, more informally



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and transparently, the semi-neoclassical composition *?lifto-.-phobia*. Neither of them would, of course, constitute a morphosemantic pattern, in the same way as *man*, *water* and *lift* do not represent a pattern in the ordinary compositions *man.power*, *water.bed* and *lift.bridge*, respectively. Lexical alternatives to expressing specific meanings would be ordinary compositions, like *book.lover* vs *biblio-.-phile*, *eye.doctor* vs *ophthalmo-.-logist*, *soil.science* vs *pedo-.-logy*, or phrasal nouns, like *personal name* vs *anthrop(o)-.-onym*. And non-lexical alternatives would be phrasal and sentential constructions, like *pluto-.-cracy* vs *rule of the wealthy*. This property of ICFs is comparable to that of free-standing bases in compositions.

Nevertheless, with some ICFs, mostly those marked by an increased and/or increasing frequency of use, like *bio-* and *eco-*, as evidenced by searching recent online dictionaries that incorporate neologisms, as well as by searching online corpora and the internet as a whole, this property may – and indeed is quite likely to – begin to change gradually and such ICFs will begin to display some degree of morphosemantic patterning, which in time may become established. As a result of this process, the more the incipient pattern strengthens, the closer these ICFs will come to prefixes.

### 6.2.8. Productivity

This property focuses on the synchronic readiness of the left-hand input element to be regularly and systematically used in the production of new formations.

Prefixes display systematic productivity, because they are used regularly and systematically, with varying degrees of frequency, in ready-made morphosemantic patterns. In correlation with its frequency, each prefix (in its appropriate sense) is positioned along a scale of high, restricted or low productivity (Prćić 1999a; cf. Bauer 1983, 1995/1996, 1998, 2001, 2003a; Bauer, Lieber and Plag 2014; Kastovsky 1986a; Lieber and Štekauer 2014; Plag 1999).

In contrast, ICFs display non-systematic productivity, because they are not used regularly and systematically in ready-made morphosemantic patterns. Instead, they are simply there to be used if/



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when the need for them arises. This property of ICFs is comparable to that of free-standing bases in compositions.

Even though many writers speak of productivity relating both to CFs and to neoclassical composition, their conceptions of productivity differ greatly in scope, which are more often than not merely presupposed (and left to be inferred) rather than explicitly defined. By way of illustration, here are a few selected quotations: "Very many classical elements, such as *micro-*, *-scope*, *tele-*, *-graph*, occur frequently in new words: although they may look 'foreign' … they are nonetheless productive" (Adams 1973: 31); "Neo-classical compounds are extremely productive in English" (Bauer 1983: 216); "English has adapted to her own purposes a large number of Latin and Greek word elements, and these, being productive in the 'common core' of the language, we must take into account" (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985: 1523); "Prefixes, like all affixes, have, or have had, productive force. Initial combining forms, like all combining forms, need not have productive force" (Warren 1990: 123); "Words like *holograph* and *hydrology*, for example, are made up of classical components but are modern coinages. Combining forms are thus used productively in English word-formation" (Bauer and Huddleston 2002: 1661). This selection of different views, all correct in their particular contexts and intended meanings, calls, however, for some distinctions to be made explicit in order that the concept of productivity is put into a clearer perspective. First of all, a distinction need be maintained between the productivity of a general word-formation process (e.g. prefixation, suffixation, composition, neoclassical composition, etc.) and the productivity of a bound input element (prefix, suffix, ICF, FCF). Productivity, as it is understood here, builds around the distinction between the fundamental concepts of (POTENTIALLY) USABLE and (ACTUALLY) USED.

If a word-formation process is said to be productive in present-day English, it is because such a process is available to be freely used in the production of new formations. This phenomenon, the provision of its users with a systematic creative potential and resources for expanding its vocabulary, pertains to the



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abstract language system. From this point of view, productivity is language-internal, it stems from within, because it is an internal property of the language system – and indeed one of the four defining properties of language, alongside arbitrariness, duality and discreteness (cf. Lyons 1977). According to this definition, both prefixation and neoclassical composition (and its semi-neoclassical and quasi-neoclassical varieties), as general word-formation processes, can be described as having SYSTEMIC PRODUCTIVITY.

If, on the other hand, a bound input element is said to be productive in present-day English, it is because it not only *can* be used, but it actually *is* used, in the production of new formations. This phenomenon, the actual exploitation of the available creative potential of the abstract language system, pertains to concrete language use. From this point of view, productivity is language-external, it stems from without, because it is governed by external factors – specifically, by the frequency of use of any given bound input element. The exploitation of this creative potential is normally accomplished in two different ways: one is systematic, the other is non-systematic.

Firstly, if a bound input element is used regularly and systematically – with varying degrees of frequency (including nil), within a particular ready-made morphosemantic pattern, which realizes a general word-formation process, that element displays SYSTEMATIC PRODUCTIVITY. Due to its dependence on, and correlativity with, specific morphosemantic patterns, this can also be termed PATTERN-CONFORMING PRODUCTIVITY (cf. the notion of rule-governed productivity; Bauer 1983, 1995/1996, 1998). The degree of productivity of any such input element is commensurate with the degree of its frequency, and this, largely use-determined, productivity serves as one of the defining property of each individual bound input element (cf. Prćić 1999a). Satisfying this definition are synchronically separable prefixes (and suffixes), most, if not all, of which are, theoretically at least, usable in new formations – starting from once-only nonce uses and ending with extremely frequent uses. Needless to say, not all prefixes are used thus in practice, and of those which are, certainly not all are used with



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equal frequency. For example, as one of the many morphosemantic patterns realizing the process of prefixation, there is negation, where five negative prefixes, *un-*, *in-*, *non-*, *dis-*, *a-*, regularly and systematically combine with adjectival and nominal bases in order to produce their opposites, like *un-.happy*, *in-.active*, *non-.alcoholic*, *dis-.honest*, *a-.moral*. However, in (new) prefixations the five competing negative prefixes do not all occur equally frequently: some are more frequent (*un-*, *non-*), some are less so (*in-*) and some are hardly used at all nowadays (*dis-*, *a-*). Frequency of use of prefixes (and suffixes) can be ascertained and quantified by examining relevant and representative samples of their occurrence (cf. Baayen 1991; Baayen and Lieber 1991; Baayen and Renouf 1996; Plag 1999, 2018; Plag, Dalton-Puffer and Baayen 1999).

And secondly, if a bound input element is used with varying degrees of frequency (including nil), but in a manner that involves no regularity and no systematicity and no ready-made morphosemantic patterns, that element displays NON-SYSTEMATIC PRODUCTIVITY. Due to its non-dependence on, and non-correlativity with, specific morphosemantic patterns, this can also be termed NON-PATTERN-CONFORMING PRODUCTIVITY. Satisfying this definition are synchronically separable ICFs (and FCFs), which are simply there in the language (whether it be English, or some other modern language, or Classical Greek and Latin), as if being on standby and waiting to be picked out and used – and in certain cases even created first – if/when the communicative need arises. For example, *anthropo-*, *hydro-*, *xylo-*, *Afro-*, *heli-*, *speedo-*, and countless others, are there to be used, and some of them are indeed used, with varying degrees of frequency but without regular and systematic patterning, in new neo-classical compositions (and their varieties) when they are needed. This happens in the same way as with free-standing bases, which are there to be picked out and used in new ordinary compositions. Nevertheless, repeated use of an ICF may evolve into a morphosemantic pattern. When an ICF begins to show signs of regular and systematic use within a specific morphosemantic pattern, like *bio-*, *eco-* and others, such an



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ICF begins to show signs of prefixization and, as a result, to display systematic, or pattern-conforming, productivity.

In sum, with prefixes and ICFs "there is no principled difference in how productivity 'works'", to quote one anonymous reviewer's apposite remark, who goes on to say that "for whatever extra-linguistic reasons, some forms of the language start forming large series, and this may happen both in the 'normal' stratum of the language, but also in the 'learned' stratum where the ICFs live". However, when these large series (or medium or small, for that matter) become systematic enough and linked with a ready-made morphosemantic pattern, the productivity of the bound input elements involved – in this case, prefixes (and suffixes) – is perceived as manifesting itself regularly and automatically; on the other hand, when there is no systematicity and ready-made patterning, the productivity involved – in this case, of ICFs (and FCFs) – does not manifest itself in either a regular or an automatic way.

## 6.3. Defining the prototypes of prefixes and ICFs

Making use of the eight distinguishing criterial properties outlined above, it is now possible to define and exemplify the prototypes of a synchronic prefix and a synchronic ICF. It has to be emphasized that the two prototypes represent the end points – or rather, focal areas – of these two categories, prefixes and ICFs, which essentially constitute a continuous scale. The boundaries of the two categories are fuzzy and at their edges liable to merging with one another, in accordance with how the eight criterial properties are realized in each individual left-hand input element.

A PROTOTYPICAL SYNCHRONIC PREFIX IS **a bound left-hand input element which (a) belongs to a (relatively) closed set of lexico-grammatical units, (b) has no distinctive form, (c) occurs with free-standing bases only, (d) performs class-maintaining and class-changing functions, (e) enters into a subordinative endocentric relation with the head, (f) has functional/lexical meaning of varying semantic density and equivalent to that of prepositions, adverbs, numerals, adjectives and verbs, (g)**



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**conforms to recurrent, ready-made and automatic morphosemantic patterning, and (h) displays systematic (pattern-conforming) productivity in varying degrees**.

Examples of prototypical synchronic prefixes would be the following: *anti*-(aging), *co*-(produce), *de*-(stabilize), *dis*-(connect), *e*-(cash), *en*-(large), *ex*-(president), *hyper*-(active), *in*-(audible), *inter*-(national), *mis*-(spell), *multi*-(national), *non*-(academic), *out*-(play), *over*-(cook), *post*-(Elizabethan), *pro*-(British), *re*-(write), *self*-(esteem), *sub*-(conscious), *super*-(fine), *trans*-(atlantic), *ultra*-(modern), *un*-(just), *under*-(estimate).

A PROTOTYPICAL SYNCHRONIC ICF is **a bound left-hand input element which (a) belongs to a (relatively) open set of lexico-grammatical units, (b) ends in a linking vowel, notably *-o-* and *-i-*, (c) occurs with FCFs and free-standing bases, (d) performs neither class-maintaining or class-changing functions, (e) enters into a coordinative endocentric relation with the head, (f) has lexical meaning of a high semantic density and equivalent to that of nouns and adjectives, (g) conforms to no recurrent, ready-made and automatic morphosemantic patterning, and (h) displays non-systematic (non-pattern-conforming) productivity**.

Examples of prototypical synchronic ICFs would be the following: *aero*-(dynamics), *Anglo*-(-phile), *audio*-(-metry), *biblio*-(-graphy), *chrono*-(-meter), *dactylo*-(-scopy), *geo*-(chemistry), *hydro*-(-pathy), *morpho*-(-logy), *neuro*-(anatomy), *ophthalmo*-(-logy), *phono*-(tactic), *physio*-(theraphy), *tacho*-(-gram), *xeno*-(-phobia) – for classical ICFs in *-o-*; *agri*-(culture), *alti*-(-meter), *calli*-(-graphy), *denti*-(-form), *fungi*-(-vorous) – for classical ICFs in *-i-*; *filmo*-(-graphy), *jazzo*-(-phile), *kisso*-(-gram), *heli*-(port), *insecti*-(-cide) – for modern ICFs.

## 6.4. Implications for current classifications

From what has been said so far, it is clear that there has to be a twofold division of bound input elements into two broad categories: (1) affixes, which are subdivided into prefixes and suffix-



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es, and (2) combining forms, which are subdivided into ICFs and FCFs. There is no justification for labelling and treating all bound input elements either as affixes only, or as combining forms only. As has been demonstrated in this discussion, prefixes and ICFs share more differences between them than they do similarities. In addition, in some respects ICFs behave more like bases than affixes, because they realize a number of their properties in a way very similar to bases. In consequence, ICFs are positioned halfway between bases, which are fully autonomous input elements, and prefixes, which are fully non-autonomous input elements, and are therefore best regarded as semi-autonomous input elements (cf. Tournier 1993: 58-59).

However, where a distinction between prefixes and ICFs *is* recognized, in dictionaries like *OALD6*, *OED2*, *NODE*, *C21CD2*, *MWCD10*, *RHWUD3*, *LPD3*, and theoretical works like *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002) and *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985), explicit criteria are neither provided nor referred to. Judging by concrete labellings, the rationale behind the distinctions made appears to be largely etymological in nature, in view of the fact that bound left-hand input elements derived from free classical bases, mainly non-nominal ones, are more or less regularly and uncritically assigned to the category of ICFs, like *auto-*, *giga-*, *mega-*, *micro-*, *mono-*, *multi-*, *pan-*, *pseudo-*, *quasi-*, *uni-*. Yet some of those ICFs display important properties of prefixes and thus qualify to be re-assigned to the category of synchronic prefixes, even though not necessarily prototypical ones.

Generally speaking, a bound left-hand input element with the status of etymological, or even assumed, ICF is considered eligible to be accorded the status of synchronic prefix if it behaves in a prefix-like way with respect to four central distinguishing prefix/ICF properties: head–modifier relation, semantic meaning, morphosemantic patterning and productivity. Specifically, an ICF can be said to have begun, or to have completed, the process of prefixization when



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- the base and the bound element are in a subordinative endocentric relation,
- because the semantic meaning of the base is regularly modified by the semantic meaning of the bound element,
- within a discernible morphosemantic pattern, and
- in which the bound element displays systematic productivity of varying degrees.

Fulfilling this set of conditions for re-assignment to the category of synchronic prefixes are those currently assigned ICFs which contribute adjectival, adverbial, prepositional and numeral meanings to their companion bases. The prefixes belong to the following four groups (within which individual items will be ordered according to the relatedness of their senses):

- QUALIFYING PREFIXES: *micro*-(computer), *mini*-(skirt), *macro*-(fossil), *maxi*-(skirt), *mega*-(star), *pseudo*-(scientific), *quasi*-(academic), *hetero*-(sexual), *homo*-(sexual), *hyper*-(sensitive), *hypo*-(sensitive), *proto*-(language), *neo*-(classical), *tele*-(commuter), *auto*-(focus), *vice*-(chancellor), *cyber*-(fashion),
- QUANTIFYING PREFIXES: *multi*-(racial), *poly*-(syllabic), *omni*-(present), *pan*-(African), *semi*-(detached), *demi*-(god), *hemi*-(spheroid), *equi*-(distance),
- METRICAL PREFIXES:
  - *deci*-(bel), *centi*-(litre), *milli*-(gram), *micro*-(ampere), *nano*-(second), *pico*-(farad), etc., all of which express various degrees of division,
  - *deka-/deca*-(gram), *hecto*-(litre), *kilo*-(gram), *mega*-(bit), *giga*-(hertz), *tera*-(byte), etc., all of which express various degrees of multiplication, and
- NUMERICAL PREFIXES: *uni*-(directional), *mono*-(drama), *bi*-(lingual), *di*-(syllabic), *tri*-(annual), *quadri*-(lateral), *penta*-(syllabic), etc.

Some of the above prefixes, it must be pointed out, also occur with FCFs, which are essentially base-like in nature, as in *omni*-(-vorous), *tele*-(-vision), *mono*-(-gamy). This fact requires the no prefix + FCF cooccurrence restriction, mentioned above, to be



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relaxed or abandoned altogether. In the case of relaxation, such prefixes would be treated as prefixes with ICF combinatorial properties and would thus represent deviations from the prototype.

## 6.5. Bare-bones dictionary of English lexical prefixes

This bare-bones inferential dictionary of English synchronic lexical prefixes has been devised to remedy the shortcomings in their lexicographic treatment (as shown in Chap. 5 in this book) and to make it possible for interested readers to acquaint themselves with prefixes and their properties. As will be seen, the dictionary consists mostly of exemplary prefixations in various numbered meanings and it is those words that are to be looked up in proper, full-blown dictionaries, either pedagogical or native-speaker ones, either online or print ones. By looking up not the prefixes, but the words illustrating them as prototypical exemplifications of the prefixes and their meanings, readers will be able to infer, discover, find out on their own the main properties of the prefixes included. This is what makes this self-study bare-bones dictionary inferential in nature.

Aiming primarily to accommodate communicative and metalexical needs of advanced EFL learners, the dictionary does not include the following: (1) rare and/or highly specialized prefixes, like *ambi-* (in *ambilateral*), *epi-* (in *epicentre*), *ur-* (in *urtext*), (2) etymological prefixes, like *ab-* (in *abdicate*), *com-* (in *combine*), *dia-* (in *dialogue*), *for-* (in *forget*), *syn-* (in *synthesis*), none of which are synchronically separable, because they do not have an identifiable form-content-function unity in present-day English, and (3) prepositions and adverbs occurring word-initially with their regular meanings, like *after-* (in *afterthought*), *mid-* (in *mid-air*), *out-* (in *outside*), *over-* (in *overcoat*), *under-* (in *undergrowth*), all of which are free-standing bases within compositions.

Included in the present list are not only well-known and established prefixes, but also recent ones (*cyber-*, *e-*, *uber-*) as well as those re-assigned from the category of etymological ICFs, along the lines proposed in the discussion earlier. The total number of



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prefixes in this bare-bones dictionary is 100 and its structure is modelled on the revised original version, as presented in Prćić 2019b.

Here is a rundown of the explicitly and implicitly provided information in the dictionary, where 'explicitly provided' means the information is readily seen and 'implicitly provided' means the information should be looked up elsewhere, at the exemplary word:

- Spelling – explicitly: 1 each prefix is shown in bold with a hyphen following, 2 two hyphens following indicate that in actual words that prefix can, and often does, attach to its base with a hyphen; implicitly: /
- Pronunciation – explicitly: each prefix is stress-neutral, as no part of the exemplary word is underlined; implicitly: each prefix's pronunciation should be checked
- Input base/output word – explicitly: 1 the boundary between each prefix and its base is indicated with a dot, 2 few prefixes are class-changing, indicated with a subscript abbreviation of the part of speech at the end of the exemplary word, 3 most prefixes are class-maintaining, indicated with no subscript abbreviation; implicitly: both the base and the word should be checked
- Meaning(s) – explicitly: multiple meanings are numbered and shown one after the other in order of their frequency; implicitly: actual meanings should be checked
- Formal variants – explicitly: formal variants of prefixes are indicated with the verb 'see', that cross-refers to the basic prefix; implicitly: /

The prefixionary:

(1) **a-**: 1 a.typical | 2 a.shore$_{ADV}$ | 3 a.loud$_{ADV}$
(2) **ante-**: 1 ante.date | 2 ante.chamber
(3) **anti--**: 1 anti.democratic | 2 anti.bacterial, anti.pyretic | 3 anti.climax, anti.clockwise
(4) **arch-**: 1 arch.duke | 2 arch.enemy | 3 arch.conservative
(5) **auto--**: 1 auto.focus | 2 auto.suggestion



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(6) **be-**: 1 be.friend$_v$, be.little$_v$ | 2 be.spectacled
(7) **bi--**: 1 bi.lingual | 2 bi.annual
(8) **by--/bye--**: 1 by.product, by.road | 2 by(e).election
(9) **centi-**: 1 centi.metre / centi.meter
(10) **circum-**: 1 circum.navigate
(11) **cis-**: 1 cis.alpine
(12) **co--**: 1 co.author, co.produce | 2 co.pilot
(13) **contra-**: 1 contra.indication | 2 contra.bassoon
(14) **counter--**: 1 counter.attack | 2 counter.clockwise | 3 counter.part
(15) **cyber-**: 1 cyber.talk
(16) **de--**: 1 de.stabilize | 2 de.ice$_v$ | 3 de.verbal
(17) **deca-/deka-**: 1 deca.gram / deka.gram
(18) **deci-**: 1 deci.bel
(19) **demi-**: 1 demi.god | 2 demi.semiquaver
(20) **di-**: 1 di.syllabic
(21) **dis-**: 1 dis.connect | 2 dis.similar, dis.agree | 3 dis.bud$_v$
(22) **dys-**: 1 dys.functional
(23) **e--**: 1 e.banking | 2 e.car
(24) *em-* see *en-*
(25) **en-**: 1 en.large$_v$ | 2 en.throne$_v$; **em-**: 1 em.power$_v$ | 2 em.body$_v$
(26) **endo-**: 1 endo.centric
(27) **equi-**: 1 equi.distant
(28) **ex--**: 1 ex.president
(29) **exo-**: 1 exo.centric
(30) **extra--**: 1 extra.marital | 2 extra.large
(31) **fore-**: 1 fore.see | 2 fore.arm
(32) **giga-**: 1 giga.hertz | 2 giga.byte
(33) **half--**: 1 half.cooked | 2 half.Irish | 3 half.sister
(34) **hecto-**: 1 hecto.litre / hecto.liter
(35) **hemi-**: 1 hemi.sphere
(36) **hetero-**: 1 hetero.sexual
(37) **hexa-**: 1 hexa.decimal
(38) **homo-**: 1 homo.sexual
(39) **hyper--**: 1 hyper.sensitive | 2 hyper.market
(40) **hypo-**: 1 hypo.allergenic
(41) *il-* see *in-*
(42) **ill--**: 1 ill.chosen, ill.fitting



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(43) *im-* see *in-*
(44) **in-**: 1 in.expensive | 2 in.activity; **il-**: 1 il.legal; **im-**: 1 im.patient; **ir-**: 1 ir.regular
(45) **infra-**: 1 infra.red
(46) **inter--**: 1 inter.national | 2 inter.relate
(47) **intra--**: 1 intra.galactic
(48) *ir-* see *in-*
(49) **kilo-**: 1 kilo.gram | 2 kilo.byte
(50) **macro--**: 1 macro.organism | 2 macro.climate | 3 macro.biotic
(51) **mal-**: 1 mal.nutrition, mal.treat
(52) **maxi--**: 1 maxi.skirt
(53) **Mc-**: 1 Mc.Book
(54) **mega--**: 1 mega.store, mega.hit | 2 mega.ohm | 3 mega.byte
(55) **meta-**: 1 meta.linguistics
(56) **micro--**: 1 micro.organism, micro.chip | 2 micro.electronics | 3 micro.climate | 4 micro.ampere
(57) **milli-**: 1 milli.second
(58) **mini--**: 1 mini.bus
(59) **mis-**: 1 mis.spell, mis.use | 2 mis.trust
(60) **mono-**: 1 mono.chromatic
(61) **multi--**: 1 multi.racial
(62) **nano-**: 1 nano.second
(63) **neo--**: 1 neo.classical, neo.Darwinism
(64) **non--**: 1 non.alcoholic, non.English, non.aggression | 2 non.smoker, non.fiction | 3 non.skid$_{ADJ}$ | 4 non.entity
(65) **omni-**: 1 omni.present
(66) **out-**: 1 out.swim
(67) **over-**: 1 over.cook, over.ambitious | 2 over.rule
(68) **pan--**: 1 pan.African
(69) **para-**: 1 para.normal | 2 para.medical | 3 para.gliding
(70) **penta-**: 1 penta.syllabic
(71) **pico-**: 1 pico.farad
(72) **poly-**: 1 poly.syllabic
(73) **post--**: 1 post.graduate | 2 post.alveolar
(74) **pre--**: 1 pre.marital | 2 pre.shrunk | 3 pre.molar
(75) **preter-**: 1 preter.natural
(76) **pro--**: 1 pro.European | 2 pro.active | 3 pro.consul



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(77) **proto-**: 1 proto.language
(78) **pseudo--**: 1 pseudo.science | 2 pseudo.intellectual
(79) **quadri-**: 1 quadri.lateral
(80) **quasi--**: 1 quasi.scientific | 2 quasi.official
(81) **re--**: 1 re.write | 2 re.call
(82) **retro-**: 1 retro.active
(83) **self--**: 1 self.respect, self.taught | 2 self.propelling
(84) **semi--**: 1 semi.circle, semi.quaver | 2 semi.automatic, semi.skilled | 3 semi.annual
(85) **step-**: 1 step.son
(86) **sub--**: 1 sub.standard | 2 sub.section, sub.lease | 3 sub.editor | 4 sub.human | 5 sub.aquatic
(87) **super--**: 1 super.intelligent | 2 super.market | 3 super.star, super.power | 4 super.sonic, super.natural | 5 super.impose
(88) **supra-**: 1 supra.segmental
(89) **sur-**: 1 sur.charge
(90) **tele-**: 1 tele.kinesis | 2 tele.conferencing
(91) **tera-**: 1 tera.watt | 2 tera.byte
(92) **tetra-**: 1 tetra.meter
(93) **trans-**: 1 trans.continental | 2 trans.national | 3 trans.alpine | 4 trans.form
(94) **tri-**: 1 tri.partite
(95) **uber-**: 1 uber.cool
(96) **ultra--**: 1 ultra.modern | 2 ultra.violet
(97) **un-**: 1 un.happy, un.English, un.beaten, un.caring | 2 un.rest | 3 un.tie | 4 un.saddle$_{v}$
(98) **under--**: 1 under.cook | 2 under.secretary
(99) **uni-**: 1 uni.directional
(100) **vice--**: 1 vice.president



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# 7. Suffixes vs final combining forms in English

Constituting the sequel to the previous chapter, "Prefixes vs initial combining forms in English", these two pieces are reports on the results of a unified project which was based on the same theoretical assumptions, the same methodological approach and the same literature. In consequence, their general structure is the same and many wordings, especially of opening lines to sections and of definitions, are similar, so as to achieve greater consistency and comparability of presentation of comparable properties of comparable lexical elements. And for greater ease of reference, the two chapters are to be read one after the other, because this one builds on its predecessor and some of the discussion is not repeated and/or taken up again here, but is treated as presupposed information.

As has been stated in the previous chapter, since the launch of the term 'combining form' in *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1884) and the subsequent division of these elements into the categories of initial combining form (ICF) and final combining form (FCF) (Bauer 1983), modern morphological theory has still not worked out a principled and consistent way of distinguishing between affixes and combining forms in general, and between suffixes and final combining forms in particular. (For different observations and insights into the matter, see Adams 1973, 2001; Baayen and Renouf 1996; Bauer 1983, 1990, 1998; Bauer and Huddleston 2002; Dalton-Puffer and Plag 2000; Kastovsky 1986a, 1986b; Lalić Krstin 2016; Lalić Krstin and Silaški 2018, 2019; Lalić Krstin, Silaški and Đurović 2023; Lehrer 1998; Ljung 2003; Marchand 1969; Mattiello 2023; McArthur 1992; Panić Kavgić and Kavgić 2009; Plag 2018;



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Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985; Renouf and Baayen 1998; Stein 1977; Tournier 1993; Warren 1990; Williams 1981.) This unsettled state of affairs has had adverse implications not only for the overall theory of word formation in English, but also for lexicographic methodology and practice as well as for language teaching.

These implications concern, firstly, and most importantly, the labelling of bound lexical elements in dictionaries, both pedagogical and native-speaker ones, which is inconsistent and confusing, sometimes even contradictory and mutually exclusive. The current solutions range from prefix – suffix classes, to prefix – suffix – combining form classes, to combining form only classes, to explicitly undifferentiated and even unlabelled word beginnings and endings, comprising prefixes, suffixes, combining forms and (erroneously and surprisingly) infixes, all being seen as types of affix. The reasons for setting up exactly those classes and for including individual elements into those very classes remain, frustratingly enough, unclear, unexplained and often unfathomable. The second, but equally important, implication is the teaching of affixes and combining forms to advanced EFL learners, particularly undergraduate and postgraduate university students, within the wider area of word formation, which, if undertaken at all, is most likely to be all but impressionistic.

As an attempt at filling the present descriptive and methodological gaps, the aims of this chapter are twofold: (1) to offer one method of drawing a systematic dividing line between suffixes and FCFs, by using the ordered set of shared and distinguishing criteria put forward earlier, which is based on formal, functional, semantic and pragmatic properties of suffixes and FCFs; and (2) to define the categories of prototypical suffix and prototypical FCF, which would, consequently, help to assign each bound final lexical element to one of the two categories in a synchronically more justified and appropriate way, and thereby hopefully facilitate the tasks of interested lexicographers, EFL teachers and learners alike.

The discussion, closely modelled on the account of prefixes and ICFs in Chap. 6 in this book, will deal with shared criterial



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properties of suffixes and FCFs; with eight distinguishing suffix/FCF criterial properties; with the prototypical synchronic suffix and FCF; with implications for current classifications of bound final lexical elements stemming from the defined prototypes; and with a bare-bones dictionary of synchronic prefixes of English, compiled in line with the criteria proposed earlier.

## 7.1. Shared criterial properties of suffixes and FCFs

By and large, suffixes and FCFs share certain general properties, which can be formulated as follows: firstly, building around the sign-oriented conception of word formation adopted in this project (cf. Marchand 1969), both SUFFIXES AND FCFs are defined as **synchronically separable, bound right-hand input elements, with an identifiable form, content and function**. The term 'separable' (after Guierre, in Tournier 1993: 51) emphasizes here the fact that the bound element has a status of its own, because "a particular phonological form is systematically associated with at least one particular content and one particular function" (cf. Chaps. 5-6 in this book), which enables it to be separated, or detached, from the other element(s) in a word without that bound element's form, content and function being blurred, obscured or otherwise rendered unrecognizable. For example, *-er*, *-ment* and *-ish* are suffixes in *teach.-er*, *amuse.-ment* and *green.-ish* (in this discussion as well, a hyphen will indicate the boundness of an element, and a dot within a word the boundary between the two immediate input elements), but not in *barter*, *comment* and *finish*, whereas *-logy*, *-metry* and *-holic* are FCFs in *morpho-.-logy*, *opto-.-metry* and *fooda-.-holic*, but not in *apology*, *symmetry* and *alcoholic*.

Secondly, as bound input elements, both suffixes and FCFs are non-viable by themselves and hence they require companion left-hand input elements. These companion elements can be either free-standing bases, ICFs or prefixes. It is only bases that suffixes can occur with, as in *teach.-er* where the suffix *-er* requires the companion base *teach*. On the other hand, it is ICFs, prefixes and



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bases that FCFs can occur with, as in *morpho-.-logy* where the FCF *-logy* requires the companion ICF *morpho-*.

And thirdly, together with their companion left-hand input elements, both suffixes and FCFs produce output formations of a binary structure – suffixations and compositions (or compounds), respectively, the prototypical instances of which are both morphologically and semantically analysable, and in which right-hand and left-hand input elements prototypically enter into endocentric head–modifier relations – specifically, conceptual endocentric relations (to be taken up later). The right-hand element acts as the head (theme) of the formation and the left-hand element as the modifier (rheme) of the head (theme). For example, in *teach.-er*, *-er* is the head and *teach* its modifier, and in *morpho-.-logy*, *-logy* is the head and *morpho-* its modifier. Even though the principle of right-hand headedness of suffixations and FCF compositions is theoretically not without weaknesses, this view is fully compatible with the sign-oriented conception of word formation espoused here, which is why this approach to headedness has been chosen for this research. (For various aspects of the phenomenon, see Bauer 1983, 1990; Halupka Rešetar and Lalić Krstin 2009, 2012b; Kastovsky 1986b; Marchand 1969; Prćić 2007; Williams 1981.)

## 7.2. Distinguishing criterial properties of suffixes and FCFs

In addition to the shared general properties, which show their similarity, suffixes and FCFs, much like prefixes and ICFs, display a number of properties which make them stand in contrast to one another. The proposed set consists of eight distinguishing criterial properties identified as relevant for establishing distinct, even though not hard and fast, boundaries between suffixes and FCFs. The eight distinguishing criterial properties are the following: (1) Category membership, (2) Distinctive form / structure, (3) Cooccurrence restrictions, (4) Syntactic function, (5) Head–modifier relation, (6) Semantic meaning, (7) Morphosemantic patterning, and (8) Productivity. Each property will now be treated within its own section.



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### 7.2.1. Category membership

This property focuses on the two broad categories of lexico-grammatical units to which the right-hand input element can belong.

Suffixes belong to a (relatively) closed set of lexico-grammatical units, into which new members are rarely admitted.

In contrast, FCFs belong to a (relatively) open set of lexico-grammatical units, into which new members are occasionally admitted, by exploiting the lexical resources of classical languages – Greek and Latin, as well as those of modern English.

The parenthesized qualifier 'relatively' is used here to signal the soft and fuzzy nature of the boundary between closed and open sets, despite clearly and firmly delineated central parts of both sets.

### 7.2.2. Distinctive form / structure

This property focuses on a distinctive phonological/orthographic and morphological form as well as structure of the right-hand input element.

Suffixes have no distinctive form. Regarding their structure, it has to be stressed that there are no composite suffixes, because sequences like *-ability*, *-fulness*, *-ically*, etc. are merely suffix combinations with compositional meanings (*-able* + *-ity*, *-ful* + *-ness*, *-ic* + *-al* + *-ly*, respectively), whereas the suffixes *-manship*, *-ician* and *-ical*, as in *games.-manship*, *diet.-ician* and *nonsens[e].-ical* (the letters within square brackets indicate that those letters are dropped), represent fusions with unique, non-compositional meaning, which are added to bases that do *not* end in *-man*, *-ic* and *-ic*, respectively (for more details, see Prćić 2007). Suffixes regularly end the words in which they appear and, similar to prefixes, they are recursive in nature: *modern.-iz[e].-ation*, *transform.-ation.-al.-ly*.

FCFs also have no distinctive form. Regarding their structure, FCFs are subject to suffixal expansion, typically into adjectives, with



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the suffixes *-ic*, *-al* and *-ous*, as in: *(osteo-.)-path[y].-ic*, *(fungi-.)-cid[e].-al*, *(carni-.)-vor[e].-ous*, but also into adverbs, nouns and verbs, as in: *(tele-.)-scopical.-ly*, *(photo-.)-graph[y].-er*, *(mytho-.)-log[y].-ize* (in some cases, like *-cephalic* and *-cephalous*, no synchronically related input nominal FCF is available). In this way, a COMPOSITE FCF is produced, whose structure is compositional and not unitary, and with a recursive capacity of the process: *(morpho-.)-logy* vs *-logic*, *-logical*, *-logically*, *-logist*, *(carni-.)-vore* vs *-vorous*, *-vorously*, *-vorousness*. Due to their possible suffixal expansion, FCFs do not necessarily end the words in which they appear and, unlike ICFs, they are not recursive in nature.

According to their origin (etymology and derivation combined), two categories of FCFs can be distinguished (cf. Prćić 2007): the first involves CLASSICAL FCFs, which are typically allomorphic variants of classical (Greek and Latin) words or elements and, at the same time, allosemic variants of modern English words or elements, in their appropriate senses. For example, *(morpho-)-logy* is an allomorph of the Latin *-logia* and the Classical Greek *-logiā*, and an alloseme of the English *science*, *study*; *(demo-)-cracy* is an allomorph of the Latin *-cratia* and the Classical Greek *-kratiā*, and an alloseme of the English *rule*, *government*; *and (biblio-)-phile* is an allomorph of the Latin *-philus* and the Classical Greek *-philos*, and an alloseme of the English *lover (of)*.

The second category comprises MODERN FCFs, which are typically allomorphic variants of modern English words or elements, in their appropriate senses, and borrowings from other modern languages. There are three types of modern FCFs:

(1) EXTRACTIONS produced by front-clipping, often as a result of repeated superimpositional blending, which gradually develops into a pattern. For example, the modern FCF *-holic* has been extracted from the source word *alcoholic* by the superimposition of elements like *work(+a)*, *shop(+a)*, *choco[late]* and others onto the initial part of the source word (*alco*), thus isolating its latter part (*holic*), with the meaning 'person addicted to (doing / eating / drinking) something', which is wider than that of the source word (*alcoholic*) (for various approaches to blending in English, see Kemmer 2003;



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Lalić Krstin 2016, 2022; Lalić Krstin and Silaški 2018, 2019; Lalić Krstin, Silaški and Đurović 2023; Mattiello 2023; Renner, Maniez and Arnaud 2013; Silaški and Lalić Krstin 2024; Tomić 2023). There follows now an alphabetical list of the currently most frequent extractions – some already fully established, some only partly so – each with its source word and an illustrative example: *-burger*, from *hamburger*: *cheese.-burger*; *-cade*, from *cavalcade*: *auto.-cade*; *-cast*, from *broadcast*: *web.-cast*; *-gate*, from *Watergate*: *Monica.-gate*; *-gram*, from *telegram*: *kisso-.-gram*; *-holic* (also occurring as *-aholic* and *-oholic*), from *alcoholic*: *golfa-.-holic*; *-mobile*, from *automobile*: *snow.-mobile*; *-naut*, from *astronaut*: *info.-naut*; *-nomics*, from *economics*: *Thatcher.-nomics*; *-pedia*, from *encyclopedia*: *webo-.-pedia*; *-rati* (also occurring as *-erati*), from *literati*: *glitte[r].-rati*; *-scape*, from *landscape*: *river.-scape*; *-speak*, from *newspeak*: *net.-speak*; *-thon* (also occurring as *-athon*), from *marathon*: *swima-.-thon*; *-ware*, from *software*: *free.-ware* (for a detailed account of these forms, also termed SPLINTERS, see Adams 1973; Lalić Krstin 2016, 2022; Panić Kavgić and Kavgić 2009).

It will be noted that some source words from which these modern FCFs were extracted (*telegram*, *automobile*, *astronaut*, *economics*, *encyclopedia*, *marathon*) are of classical origin, but the creations themselves and their meanings are modern – in fact, they have originated in English quite recently. As for the random variations of the three extractions, *-holic* / *-aholic* / *-oholic*, *-rati* / *-erati*, *-thon* / *-athon*, it appears that there is a greater number of instantiations of the longer forms in words (*golf.?-aholic*), where the initial vowel provides a smooth and euphonic transition between the two input elements. However, with the existence of words like *pepsi.-holic*, *coffee.-holic*, *sugar.-holic*, *techno-.-rati*, *digi-.-rati*, *cultu[re]-.-rati*, *tele-.-thon*, *radio.-thon*, *boobie.-thon*, whose left-hand input elements already contain a final transition-providing vowel, it seems reasonable and more justified, until a firm(er) system of allomorphic division of labour between the forms of these modern FCFs emerges, to opt for the shorter varieties as their citation forms and to assign to the initial vowels, when they appear in the structure, the role of a linking vowel, which properly belongs to the left-hand input element (and which will be dealt with presently). (For a discussion of *-holic* and *-thon*, see Lehrer 1998.)



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(2) Derivations in *-er* and *-ed*, as in *six.-footer*, *fifth.-grader*, *three.-pounder* and *big.-eared*, *blue.-eyed*, *long.-haired*. Even though the status of these forms is debatable from the theoretical (syntactic and etymological) point of view, their function in words is rather straightforward. Namely, all of them originate from underlying phrases like *fifth grade* + *-er* and *long hair* + *-ed*, but they have nevertheless come to be perceived and used differently today: the thematic parts (*-grader*, *-haired*) of the resultant compositions have, with time, become idiomatized unities, both formally and semantically, because of multiple patterned repetitions with varying rhematic parts (cf. *long-haired*, *short-haired*, *curly-haired*, *dark-haired*, *fair-haired*, *red-haired*, *grey-haired*, *white-haired*, to name but a few). These units, which were formed by fusion, have started to behave partly as the extractions in (1) above, which were formed by front-clipping. That is why all such denominal derivations require a modifying left-hand input element to enable them to appear in well-formed words. Since in this particular sense they are invariably bound units, which precludes them from being accorded the status of base, it is obvious that derivations in *-er* and *-ed* lexically function as FCFs – more specifically, as modern FCFs.

(3) Other bound forms, like *-monger* in *scandal.-monger*, including borrowings from other modern languages (where they are free-standing words), like *-fest*, *-meister*, both from German, and *-ville*, from French, as in: *gab.-fest*, *horror.-meister*, *dulls-.-ville*.

Since classical FCFs are unpredictable both semantically and formally, they are entered in dictionaries as potential input elements of existing and new formations. The same holds for modern FCFs, which, in spite of being formally and/or semantically related to existing words and elements of English (except the various bound forms just mentioned in (3) above), *should* be entered in dictionaries, in view of the fact that both their forms and meanings are to a greater or lesser degree unpredictable. The lists, however, are never definitive, because they contain mostly well-established elements.



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### 7.2.3. Cooccurrence restrictions

This property focuses on the type of left-hand input element with which the right-hand input element may, or may not, occur.

Suffixes can occur with free input elements only, that is bases – simple, complex, compound, including neoclassical, and phrasal, as in *lion.-ess*, *moderniz[e].-ation*, *waterproof.-ness*, *lexicolog[y].-ist*, *standoff.-ish*, respectively. No prefix + suffix combinations, like **dis-.-ity* and **super-.-ify*, and no ICF + suffix combinations, like **morpho-.-ful*, **speedo-.-ment*, are allowed by rules.

In contrast, FCFs can occur with bound input elements, that is ICFs (classical and modern) and prefixes (including those re-categorized from classical ICFs in Chap. 6 in this book), as well as with free input elements, that is bases – simple, complex and compound, including neoclassical. Depending on the type of companion left-hand input elements with which FCFs can occur, four kinds of morphologically complex structures can be distinguished, viz. with classical ICFs, modern ICFs, prefixes and bases. Here is a summary of all the combinability patterns of FCFs, with an indication of the kind of structure involved:

- classical ICF + classical FCF, as in: *Anglo-.-mania*, *anthrop[o]-.-onym*, *geo-.-centric* – neoclassical compositions, in which both input elements are of classical origin,
- classical ICF + modern FCF, as in: *biblio-.-holic*, *carto-.-pedia*, *anglo-.-holism* (the author's facetious creation) – semi-neoclassical compositions, in which one input element is of classical origin and the other of modern origin,
- modern ICF + classical FCF, as in: *futuro-.-logy*, *mobo-.-cracy*, *speedo-.-meter* – semi-neoclassical compositions,
- modern ICF + modern FCF, as in: *webo-.-pedia*, *milka-.-holic*, *digi-.-rati* – quasi-compositions, in which both input elements are of modern origin but both are bound (or, in some cases, only one element is bound; see 'base + modern FCF' below), and thereby they produce 'sort of', or 'just about', ordinary compositions, that is quasi-compositions,
- prefix + classical FCF, as in: *cyber-.-phobia*, *micro-.-scope*, *poly-.-centric* – prefixations,



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- prefix + modern FCF, as in: *multi-.-cast*, *tele-.-thon* – prefixations,
- base + classical FCF, as in: *Beatle.-mania*, *space.-phobia*, *web.-centric* – semi-neoclassical compositions, and
- base + modern FCF, as in: *zipper.-gate*, *web.-cast*, *blue.-eyed*, *horror.-meister* – quasi-compositions.

As can be seen, some FCFs, especially the classical FCFs *-phile*, *-phobe*, *-phobia*, *-mania*, *-logy*, *-cracy*, *-meter*, *-centric*, but also a few modern FCFs, like *-holic* and *-pedia*, can occur with several types of left-hand input elements – classical ICFs, modern ICFs, prefixes and bases. This 'interbreeding' has been made possible by the fact that those classical FCFs have in recent decades moved from their original scientific register to the general, non-specialized, vocabulary and also because of a dwindling interest in, and teaching of, the classical languages in many of today's educational systems, which have, to a great degree, pushed classical lexical elements as potential sources of modern words deep into the background.

In consequence of the rich cooccurrence potential of FCFs presented above, the four-point continuum of compositions, consisting of ordinary compositions, quasi-neoclassical compositions, semi-neoclassical compositions and neoclassical compositions, proposed and explained in Chap. 6 in this book, has to be expanded to include a new member – QUASI-COMPOSITIONS. Starting from the prototypical ORDINARY COMPOSITION, which contains two free-standing bases, and ending with the prototypical NEOCLASSICAL COMPOSITION, which contains two classical combining forms (ICF and FCF), the ordering of the five focal points on the continuum of compositions is now as follows:

- ordinary compositions, as in *book.lover* →
- quasi-compositions, as in *snow.-mobile* →
- quasi-neoclassical compositions, as in *semantico-.pragmatic* →
- semi-neoclassical compositions, as in *jazzo-.-phile* →
- neoclassical compositions, as in *geo-.-graphy*.

To conclude this section, mention should be made of a novelty regarding the linking vowel in some of the examples above



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(cf. Prćić 2007). Namely, alongside, and occasionally instead of, the prototypical linking vowel *-o-*, there is an increasing use of the homophonous *-a-*, mainly in quite recent neologisms, like *milka-.-holic*, *shopa-.-holic*, *worda-.-holic*, *strippa-.-gram* vs *strippo-.-gram*, *weba-.-holic* vs *webo-.-holic*, *choco-.-holic* vs *choca-.-holic*. Sometimes both linking vowels are ambihyphenated in words: *Define-a-Thon*™ (the name of a new word-guessing game, devised by the editors of the *American Heritage* dictionaries), *shop-a-holic*, *choc-a-holic* and *spend-o-holic*, *film-o-holic*, or even capitalized within them: *PlaceOPedia*. Neither of these spelling practices appears to be standard English (yet), and which of these usages will prevail, to what extent and in what registers, as well as how the distribution between the two linking vowels will evolve, remains to be ascertained by careful corpus-based analysis of real texts. In the meantime, the emergence of a new (allographic variant of) linking vowel demands a name for the element: if, in terms of origin, *-o-* and *-i-* are CLASSICAL LINKING VOWELS (for their theoretical and methodological status and position in words, see Chap. 6 in this book; Bauer 1998), then the new *-a-* obviously warrants the designation MODERN LINKING VOWEL.

However, not belonging to this category are vowels occurring finally in left-hand input elements of words like *sugar.-holic*, *digi-.-rati*, *tele-.-thon*, *stripper.-gram*, *Thatcher.-nomics*. All these vowels provide a smooth and euphonic transition between the left-hand and the right-hand input elements in a word, but, besides mere phonological form, they have no morphemic status. As a result, unlike the classical linking vowels *-o-* and *-i-*, and the modern linking vowel *-a-*, which all have both morphological and phonological realizations, all other vowels can at best be qualified as DUMMY LINKING VOWELS, because they function as 'a sort of' linking vowel – phonologically only but not morphologically; cf. *bureaucracy*, which contains a dummy linking vowel, coinciding phonologically with the classical *-o-*.



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### 7.2.4. Syntactic function

This property focuses on the ability of the right-hand input element to determine the syntactic function of the output formation by changing the morphosyntactic class of the left-hand input element.

Suffixes can perform both a class-changing function, as with *broad*$_{adj}$ > *broad.-en*$_{v}$, and a class-maintaining function, as with *leader*$_{n}$ > *leader.-ship*$_{n}$.

In contrast, FCFs perform neither class-changing nor class--maintaining functions, because they function as (a kind of) nominal, adjectival and verbal bases, to which no such syntactic function pertains. This property of FCFs is comparable to that of free-standing bases in compositions.

### 7.2.5. Head–modifier relation

This property focuses on the type of endocentric relation between the right-hand input element as the head of the output formation and the left-hand input element as the head's modifier.

Suffixes enter into SUBORDINATIVE CONCEPTUAL ENDOCENTRIC RELATIONS with their modifiers, because in the output suffixation the head (suffix) carries less structural and semantic weight (i.e. the amount and importance of contribution to the output formation in terms of form and content) than the modifier (base), as in *legal.-ize*.

CONCEPTUAL ENDOCENTRICITY is conceived here as a counterpart to form-based approaches to explaining the relationship between the elements of endocentric compositions (*school.teacher* is a kind of *teacher*) and endocentric prefixations (*micro-.computer* is a kind of *computer*), which is not at all neatly and easily applicable to formations containing suffixes and FCFs (for useful discussions, see Bauer 1990; Kastovsky 1986b; Williams 1981). According to this, content-based, approach to endocentricity, any suffix or FCF, functioning as the head of the output formation, acts as a conceptual superordinate of the hyponymous word. For example, in the word *king.-dom*, the suffix *-dom* is its head, which expresses 'territory',



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in the word *legal.-ize*, the suffix *-ize* is its head, which expresses 'causative activity', and in the word *morpho-.-logy*, the FCF *-logy* is its head, which expresses 'science', 'study'. In the analysis, as can be inferred, the formal head of the word, non-viable by itself, due to its bound nature, is construed through its content, the general concept which it expresses. So, instead of the usual form-based formula **king.-dom* is a kind of *-dom*, there is the content-based formula *king.-dom* is a kind of (*-dom*, which expresses) 'territory', or, with the parentheses removed: *king.-dom* is a kind of 'territory'. In sum, the form-based approach to endocentricity is appropriate for explaining formations with prefixes and ICFs, whereas the content-based approach is better suited to formations with suffixes and FCFs (for a more detailed account, see Prćić 2007).

In contrast, FCFs enter into COORDINATIVE CONCEPTUAL ENDOCENTRIC RELATIONS with their modifiers, because in the output formation the head (FCF) and its modifier (ICF, base) carry roughly equal structural and semantic weight, as in *morpho-.-logy*, *swima-.-thon*. This property of FCFs is comparable to that of free-standing bases in compositions. The exceptions to this are prefixations, like *cyber-.-phobia* and *poly-.-centric*, in which the prefix, as the modifier of the formation, carries less structural and semantic weight than the FCF, as the head, and for this reason the two elements are in a subordinative endocentric relation.

### 7.2.6. Semantic meaning

This property focuses on the descriptive (denotative), systemic, context-independent meaning of the right-hand input element, which it regularly contributes to the meaning of the left-hand input element. Semantic meaning stands here in contradistinction to stylistic meaning, which focuses on the associative (connotative) meaning and as such is not relevant to the present discussion. Semantic and stylistic meanings together make up the systemic, context-independent lexical meaning of an affix or combining form; when used within a particular word, any such input



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unit assumes pragmatic meaning, which also forms part of the lexical meaning, this time of the textual, context-dependent kind.

Suffixes have FUNCTIONAL/LEXICAL MEANING of nominal, adjectival, verbal and adverbial nature, in accordance with their syntactic function, as in *(happy)-ness*, *(care)-ful*, *(modern)-ize*, *(warm)-ly*, respectively. The meaning of suffixes is typically of low semantic density, or specificity, that is from more general, which is brought about by a fewer number of descriptive features; but, in rare cases, their meaning can be of high semantic density, i.e. more specific, because of a larger number of descriptive features, as in *(Mozart)-iana* and *(games)-manship*, thus forming a continuum with semantically dense FCFs. Suffixal meaning constitutes the semantic pivot of the word; however, it is incomplete on its own (*-ness*) and thus in need of being completed by the meaning of the modifier (*happy*) – at the same time, the suffix contributes its meaning to the meaning of the modifier, which shows that this process is a two-way interaction between the head and the modifier.

In contrast, FCFs have LEXICAL MEANING of nominal, adjectival and verbal nature, as in *(morpho-)-logy*, *(helio-)-centric*, *(colour)-cast*, respectively. The meaning of FCFs is of high semantic density and it constitutes the semantic pivot of the word; however, it is incomplete on its own (*-logy*) and thus in need of being completed by the meaning of the modifier (*morpho-*) – at the same time, the FCF also contributes its meaning to the meaning of the modifier, which shows that this process too is a two-way interaction between the head and the modifier. This property of FCFs is comparable to that of free-standing bases in compositions.

### 7.2.7. Morphosemantic patterning

This property, essentially onomasiological in nature, focuses on the regularity of meaning-to-form mapping, moulded within a ready-made morphosemantic pattern which features the right-hand input element.

Suffixes, either as single units or as sets of semantically related units, are the only choice when a specific meaning is to be



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expressed word-formationally. There is a RECURRENT, READY-MADE morphosemantic pattern onto which the given meaning is regularly mapped and the use of that pattern is automatic. For example, approximateness is expressed with the suffix *-ish*, and agentivity with a set of six competing suffixes *-er*, *-or*, *-ant*, *-ent*, *-ist*, *-ee*. Non-lexical alternatives to expressing specific meanings would be phrasal and sentential constructions; for example, *about* or *around fifty* vs *fifty.-ish*, *people who are playing* vs *play.-ers*, *person from Brooklyn* vs *Brooklyn.-ite*.

In contrast, FCFs, either as single units or as sets of semantically related units, are not the only choice when a specific meaning is to be expressed word-formationally. There is NO RECURRENT, READY-MADE morphosemantic pattern onto which the given meaning is regularly mapped and which is used automatically. For example, in scholarly and scientific contexts, *-onym* and *-metry* are often used to express 'name' and 'measuring', respectively, as in *anthrop[o]-.-onym* and *opto-.-metry*, but they are not subject to recurrent, ready-made, regular and automatic patterning, especially not in everyday language, although this situation might change in time. Lexical alternatives to expressing specific meanings would be ordinary compositions, like *book.lover* vs *biblio-.-phile*, *eye.doctor* vs *ophthalmo-.-logist*, *soil.science* vs *pedo-.-logy*, or phrasal nouns, like *personal name* vs *anthrop[o]-.-onym*. And non-lexical alternatives would be phrasal and sentential constructions, like *pluto-.-cracy* vs *rule of the wealthy*. This property of FCFs is comparable to that of free-standing bases in compositions.

Nevertheless, with some FCFs, mostly those marked by an increased and/or increasing frequency of use, like *-logy*, *-mania*, *-phobia*, *-phobe*, *-phile*, *-centric* (classical FCFs) and and *-gate*, *-holic*, *-scape* (modern FCFs), as evidenced by searching recent online dictionaries that incorporate neologisms, as well as by searching online corpora and the internet as a whole, this property may – and indeed is quite likely to – begin to change gradually and such FCFs will begin to display some degree of morphosemantic patterning, which in time may become established. As a result of



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this process, the more the incipient pattern strengthens, the closer these FCFs will come to suffixes.

### 7.2.8. Productivity

This property focuses on the synchronic readiness of the right-hand input element to be regularly and systematically used in the production of new formations.

Suffixes display SYSTEMATIC PRODUCTIVITY, because they are used regularly and systematically, with varying degrees of frequency (including nil), in ready-made morphosemantic patterns; as this type of productivity depends on specific morphosemantic patterns, it can also be termed PATTERN-CONFORMING PRODUCTIVITY. In correlation with its frequency of use, each suffix (in its appropriate sense) is positioned along a scale of high, restricted or low productivity. For example, in the morphosemantic pattern of agentivity, there are six agentive suffixes, *-er*, *-or*, *-ant*, *-ent*, *-ist*, *-ee*, which regularly and systematically combine with verbal bases in order to produce agentive nouns, like *teach.-er*, *direct.-or*, *assist.-ant*, *resid[e].-ent*, *cycl[e].-ist*, *stand.-ee*. However, in (new) suffixations the six competing agentive suffixes do not all occur equally frequently: one is more frequent – in fact, the most frequent (*-er*), some are less so (*-or*, *-ant*, *-ee*, *-ist*) and one is hardly used at all nowadays (*-ent*) (for an analysis of the six suffixes and their properties, see Prćić 1999a).

In contrast, FCFs display NON-SYSTEMATIC PRODUCTIVITY, because they are not used regularly and systematically in ready-made morphosemantic patterns, even though they *are* used with varying degrees of frequency (including nil); as this type of productivity does not depend on specific morphosemantic patterns, it can also be termed NON-PATTERN-CONFORMING PRODUCTIVITY. Instead, FCFs are simply there in the language, as if being on standby and waiting to be picked out and used, if/when the need for them arises. For example, *-cracy*, *-graphy*, *-scape*, *-thon*, *-haired*, *-meister*, and many others, are there to be used, and some of them are indeed used, with varying degrees of frequency but without regular and



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systematic patterning, in new formations. This property of FCFs is comparable to that of free-standing bases in compositions.

Nevertheless, repeated use of an FCF may evolve into a morphosemantic pattern. When an FCF, like *-logy*, *-phobia*, *-gate*, *-holic* and others, begins to show signs of regular and systematic use within a specific morphosemantic pattern, such an FCF begins to show signs of suffixization and, as a result, to display systematic, or pattern-conforming, productivity. It has to be stressed here that systematic and non-systematic productivity pertain to bound input units, i.e. affixes and combining forms, whereas word-formation processes are treated in terms of systemic productivity; for a more detailed discussion of this view of productivity, see Chap. 6 in this book.

## 7.3. Defining the prototypes of suffixes and FCFs

Making use of the eight distinguishing criterial properties outlined above, it is now possible to define and exemplify the prototypes of a synchronic suffix and a synchronic FCF. It has to be emphasized that the two prototypes represent the end points – or rather, focal areas – of these two categories, suffixes and FCFs, which essentially constitute a continuous scale. The boundaries of the two categories are fuzzy and at their edges liable to merging with one another, in accordance with how the eight criterial properties are realized in each individual right-hand input element.

A PROTOTYPICAL SYNCHRONIC SUFFIX IS **a bound right-hand input element which (a) belongs to a (relatively) closed set of lexico-grammatical units, (b) has no distinctive form / structure, (c) occurs with free-standing bases only, (d) performs class-changing and class-maintaining functions, (e) enters into a subordinative conceptual endocentric relation with the modifier, (f) has functional/lexical meaning of low semantic density, of nominal, adjectival, verbal and adverbial nature, (g) conforms to recurrent, ready-made and automatic morphosemantic patterning, and (h) displays systematic (pattern-conforming) productivity in varying degrees**.



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Examples of prototypical synchronic suffixes would be the following: (wash)-*able*, (magic)-*al*, (contest)-*ant*, (bankrupt)-*cy*, (star)-*dom*, (employ)-*ee*, (mountain)-*eer*, (wid[e])-*en*, (teach)-*er*, (care)-*ful*, (child)-*hood*, (atom)-*ic*, (solid)-*ify*, (connect)-*ion*, (yellow)-*ish*, (violin)-*ist*, (attract)-*ive*, (slow)-*ly*, (enjoy)-*ment*, (kind)-*ness*, (invent)-*or*, (poison)-*ous*, (friend)-*ship*, (east)-*ward*, (milk)-*y*.

A PROTOTYPICAL SYNCHRONIC FCF IS **a bound right-hand input element which (a) belongs to a (relatively) open set of lexico-grammatical units, (b) has no distinctive form / structure, (c) occurs with ICFs, prefixes and free-standing bases, (d) performs neither class-changing nor class-maintaining functions, (e) enters into a coordinative conceptual endocentric relation with the modifier, (f) has lexical meaning of high semantic density, of nominal, adjectival and verbal nature, (g) conforms to no recurrent, ready-made and automatic morphosemantic patterning, and (h) displays non-systematic (non-pattern-conforming) productivity**.

Examples of prototypical synchronic FCFs would be the following: (tachy-)-*cardia*, (mono-)-*chromatic*, (fungi-)-*cide*, (demo-)-*cracy*, (poly-)-*gamy*, (photo-)-*graphy*, (Anglo-)-*mania*, (baro-)-*metric*, (gastro-)-*nomy*, (taut[o]-)-*onym*, (osteo-)-*pathy*, (ichthyo-)-*phagy*, (xeno-)-*phobia*, (logo-)-*rrhea*, (stereo-)-*scopy* – for classical FCFs; (Monica)-*gate*, (kisso-)-*gram*, (milka-)-*holic*, (webo-)-*pedia*, (city)-*scape*, (swima-)-*thon*, (six)-*pounder*, (dark)-*haired*, (horror)-*meister*, (dulls-)-*ville* – for modern FCFs.

## 7.4. Implications for current classifications

From what has been said so far, it is clear, as was already stated in the case of prefixes and ICFs (in Chap. 6 in this book), that there has to be a twofold division of bound input elements into two broad categories: (1) affixes, which are subdivided into prefixes and suffixes, and (2) combining forms, which are subdivided into ICFs and FCFs. There is no justification for labelling and treating all bound input elements either as affixes only (practised in *LDOCE3*, *COBUILD3*, *COBUILDWF*, *MEDAL*, *CALD*, *AHD3*, *EWED* and their new



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editions, when available), or as combining forms only (practised in *CIDE*), or as explicitly undifferentiated and unlabelled word beginnings and endings, comprising prefixes, suffixes, combining forms and infixes, all being seen as types of affix (practised in *Os&Is*). As has been demonstrated in this discussion, suffixes and FCFs, much like prefixes and ICFs, share more differences between them than they do similarities. In addition, in some respects FCFs behave more like bases than affixes, because they realize a number of their properties in a way very similar to bases. In consequence, FCFs are positioned halfway between bases, which are fully autonomous input elements, and suffixes, which are fully non-autonomous input elements, and are therefore best regarded as semi-autonomous input elements (cf. Tournier 1993: 58-59). What is more, some FCFs, both classical and modern – notably *-phobia*, *-ology* (with the linking vowel retained here), *-burger*, *-pedia*, *-scape*, *-meister* – are becoming, or indeed have already become, unbound lexical elements, because of their high semantic density, which has enabled their independent use, their subsequent base-like behaviour and, ultimately, their full free-standing base status.

However, where a distinction between suffixes and FCFs *is* recognized, in dictionaries like *OALD6*, *OED2*, *NODE*, *C21CD2*, *MWCD10*, *RHWUD3*, *LPD3* and their new editions, and theoretical works like *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002) and *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985), explicit criteria are neither provided nor referred to. Judging by concrete labellings, the rationale behind the distinctions made appears to be largely etymological in nature, due to the fact that classical FCFs have been derived from free or bound classical elements; but sometimes the assignment is purely arbitrary, vacillating between suffixes and combining forms.

Drawing the demarcation line between suffixes and FCFs, it should be pointed out, is far simpler to accomplish than between prefixes and ICFs, because the properties of suffixes and FCFs are for the most part neatly realized and thus easily discernible and distinguishable – with the possible exception of morphoseman-



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tic patterning and productivity, which together signal an incipient process of suffixization of some FCFs (as has been discussed above). Therefore, the real problem is the identification of FCFs, especially modern FCFs, and their systematic inclusion in dictionaries. It may be of interest to note here that, with the partial exception of a mere handful, like *-holic*, *-gate*, *-scape* and *-speak*, most extractions listed above have not yet found their way into many of the dictionaries consulted for the present research (cf. Lalić Krstin 2016; Mattiello 2023).

All things considered, a bound right-hand input element can, generally speaking, belong to one of two (or, possibly, three) categories, as follows:

- belonging to the category of synchronic FCFs are classical FCFs, traceable to Classical Greek and Latin, and modern FCFs, relatable to modern English and other languages,
- some classical and modern FCFs, which behave in a suffix-like way with respect to morphosemantic patterning and productivity, the two central distinguishing suffix/FCF properties, represent deviations from prototypical FCFs and can be said to belong to the buffer-zone category of suffixized FCFs, and
- the remaining bound right-hand input elements belong to the category of synchronic suffixes.

Surprisingly enough, contrary to labellings in a considerable number of dictionaries, pedagogical and native-speaker ones alike, definitely *not* belonging to the categories of either synchronic suffixes or synchronic FCFs are adjectives like *-free*, *-rich*, *-wide* (simple), *-friendly*, *-ridden*, *-worthy* (derived), which occur in adjectival compositions like *sugar-free*, *feature-rich*, *nation-wide*, *user-friendly*, *debt-ridden*, *seaworthy*. The same applies to a semantically and grammatically interrelated foursome of nouns: *-man*, *-woman*, *-person*, *-people*, found in nominal compositions like *salesman*,[30] *saleswoman*, *salesperson*, *salespeople*.

[30] In most cases, the vowel in *-man* is pronounced weakened, as a schwa, which makes this element phonologically idiomatized, i.e. lexicalized, similar



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The members of the groups mentioned here are not bound input elements at all, but free-standing bases with specific, restricted meanings, not much different from nominal bases in nominal compositions like *(arm)chair*, *(tea)cup*, *(boat)house*. In consequence, there is no reason whatever for the citation forms of these elements to contain a hyphen. Secondly, and more importantly, there is no reason for according these elements separate entries in dictionaries, because they do not constitute separate elements; instead, these elements should be included in the entries of their source words, where they morphologically and semantically indubitably belong.

## 7.5. Bare-bones dictionary of English lexical suffixes

This bare-bones inferential dictionary of English synchronic lexical suffixes has been devised to remedy the shortcomings in their lexicographic treatment (as shown in Chap. 5 in this book) and to make it possible for interested readers to acquaint themselves with suffixes and their properties. As will be seen, the dictionary consists mostly of exemplary suffixations in various numbered meanings and it is those words that are to be looked up in proper, full-blown dictionaries, either pedagogical or native-speaker ones, either online or print ones. By looking up not the suffixes, but the words illustrating them as prototypical exemplifications of the suffixes and their meanings, readers will be able to infer, discover, find out on their own the main properties of the suffixes included. This is what makes this self-study bare-bones dictionary inferential in nature.

Aiming primarily to accommodate communicative and metalexical needs of advanced EFL learners, the dictionary does not include the following: (1) rare and/or highly specialized suffixes, like *-ase* (in *polymerase*, enzyme), *-ene* (in *benzene*, unsaturated hydrocarbon), *-mo* (in *sixteenmo*, the number of leaves made by folding a single sheet of paper), (2) etymological suffixes, like *-es-*

to the weakened vowels in the realizations of *breakfast* and *cupboard*, and in some realizations of *Sunday* and *forehead* (for more details, see Bauer 1983).



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*cence* (in *luminescence*), *-ific* (in *sudorific*), *-tude* (in *certitude*), *-uble* (in *soluble*), none of which are synchronically separable, because they do not have an identifiable form-content-function unity in present-day English, and (3) prepositions and adverbs occurring word-finally with their regular meanings, like *-away* (in *take-away*), *-in* (in *teach-in*), *-through* (in *see-through*), all of which are free-standing bases within compositions (and thus their citation forms should not have a hyphen attached).

Included in the present list are not only well-known and established suffixes, but also recent ones (*-eroo*, *-ers*, *-ista*). The total number of suffixes in this bare-bones dictionary is 113 and its structure is modelled on the revised original version, as presented in Prćić 2019b.

Here is a rundown of the explicitly and implicitly provided information in the dictionary, where 'explicitly provided' means the information is readily seen and 'implicitly provided' means the information should be looked up elsewhere, at the exemplary word:

- Spelling – explicitly: 1 each suffix is shown in bold with a hyphen preceding, 2 letters in square brackets indicate that those letters are dropped; implicitly: /
- Pronunciation – explicitly: 1 stress-imposing suffixes are shown by underlining the stressed syllable in the exemplary word, 2 stress-neutral suffixes are showing by no underlined syllables; implicitly: each suffix's pronunciation should be checked
- Input base/output word – explicitly: 1 the boundary between each suffix and its base is indicated with a dot, 2 class-changing suffixes are indicated with a subscript abbreviation of the part of speech at the end of the exemplary word, 3 class-maintaining suffixes are indicated with no subscript abbreviation; implicitly: both the base and the word should be checked
- Meaning(s) – explicitly: multiple meanings are numbered and shown one after the other in order of their frequency; implicitly: actual meanings should be checked



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- Formal variants – explicitly: formal variants of suffixes are indicated with the verb 'see', that cross-refers to the basic suffix; implicitly: /
- Semantic and formal variants – explicitly: semantic and formal variants of suffixes, typically synonyms, are indicated with the phrase 'see also', that cross-refers to the basic suffix and back-refers to its synonym; implicitly: /

The suffixionary:

(1) **-able**: 1 wash.able$_{ADJ}$, pay.able$_{ADJ}$ | 2 change.able$_{ADJ}$ | 3 fashion.able$_{ADJ}$; see also *-ible*
(2) **-aceous**: 1 curv[e].aceous$_{ADJ}$; see also *-ous*
(3) **-ade**: 1 block.ade$_{N}$ | 2 lemon.ade$_{N}$
(4) **-age**: 1 cover.age$_{N}$ | 2 mile.age$_{N}$ | 3 post.age$_{N}$ | 4 orphan.age$_{N}$ | 5 patron.age$_{N}$ | 6 peer.age$_{N}$, sewer.age$_{N}$
(5) **-aire**: 1 million.aire$_{N}$
(6) **-al**: 1 emotion.al$_{ADJ}$, magic.al$_{ADJ}$, parent.al$_{ADJ}$, origin.al$_{ADJ}$ | 2 renew.al$_{N}$; **-ial**: 1 manager.ial$_{ADJ}$, professor.ial$_{ADJ}$; **-ual**: 1 fact.ual$_{ADJ}$, aspect.ual$_{ADJ}$; see also *-ical*
(7) **-alia**: 1 kitchen.alia$_{N(PL)}$
(8) **-an**: 1 Tibet.an$_{ADJ/N}$, Americ[a].an$_{ADJ/N}$ | 2 Chomsky.an$_{ADJ}$ | 3 republic.an$_{ADJ/N}$; **-ean**: 1 Europ[e].ean$_{ADJ/N}$, Carib+b.ean$_{ADJ/N}$ / Carib+b.ean$_{ADJ/N}$ | 2 Keynes.ean$_{ADJ}$, Shakespear[e].ean$_{ADJ}$; **-ian**: 1 Brazil.ian$_{ADJ/N}$, Austr[ia].ian$_{ADJ/N}$, Hungar[y].ian$_{ADJ/N}$ | 2 Dickens.ian$_{ADJ}$, Shakespear[e].ian$_{ADJ}$ | 3 mathematic.ian$_{N}$; see also *-ician*
(9) **-ana**: 1 Americ[a].ana$_{N}$; **-iana**: 1 Mozart.iana$_{N}$
(10) **-ance**: 1 import[ant].ance$_{N}$, brilli[ant].ance$_{N}$ | 2 assist.ance$_{N}$; **-ancy**: 1 pregn[ant].ancy$_{N}$, brilli[ant].ancy$_{N}$; see also *-cy*; see also *-ence*
(11) *-ancy* see *-ance*
(12) **-ant**: 1 contest.ant$_{N}$, particip[ate].ant$_{N}$ | 2 expect.ant$_{ADJ}$; see also *-ent*
(13) **-ar**: 1 pol[e].ar$_{ADJ}$ | 2 see *-er*
(14) **-ard**: 1 drunk.ard$_{N}$
(15) **-arian**: 1 parliament.arian$_{N}$, humanit[y].arian$_{ADJ/N}$
(16) **-arium**: 1 planet.arium$_{N}$
(17) **-ary**: 1 moment.ary$_{ADJ}$ | 2 revolution.ary$_{ADJ/N}$ | 3 dispens[e].ary$_{N}$



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(18) **-aster**: 1 critic.aster$_{N}$
(19) **-ate**: 1 hyphen.ate$_{V}$ | 2 passion.ate$_{ADJ}$ | 3 doctor.ate$_{N}$ | 4 elector.ate$_{N}$ | 5 emir.ate$_{N}$
(20) **-ation**: 1 expect.ation$_{N}$, uni[fy]fic.ation$_{N}$, demonstr[ate].ation$_{N}$; see also *-ion*
(21) **-ative**: 1 talk.ative$_{ADJ}$, connot[e].ative$_{ADJ}$ / connot[e].ative$_{ADJ}$; see also *-ive*
(22) **-atory**: 1 commend.atory$_{ADJ}$ | 2 observ[e].atory$_{N}$; see also *-ory*
(23) **-cy**: 1 bankrupt.cy$_{N}$, accura[te].cy$_{N}$ | 2 baronet.cy$_{N}$ | 3 infan[t].cy$_{N}$, pira[te].cy$_{N}$; see also *-ancy*; see also *-ency*
(24) **-dom**: 1 star.dom$_{N}$, free.dom$_{N}$ | 2 earl.dom$_{N}$ | 3 king.dom$_{N}$ | 4 official.dom$_{N}$
(25) *-ean* see *-an*
(26) **-ed**: 1 excit[e].ed$_{ADJ}$ | 2 talent.ed$_{ADJ}$, kind-heart.ed$_{ADJ}$
(27) **-ee**: 1 employ.ee$_{N}$, pay.ee$_{N}$ | 2 escap[e].ee$_{N}$ | 3 absent.ee$_{N}$
(28) **-eer**: 1 profit.eer$_{N}$ | 2 mountain.eer$_{N}$
(29) **-eme**: 1 morph.eme$_{N}$
(30) **-en**: 1 wid[e].en$_{V}$ | 2 gold.en$_{ADJ}$
(31) **-ence**: 1 differ[ent].ence$_{N}$, consist[ent].ence$_{N}$ | 2 interfer[e].ence$_{N}$; **-ency**: 1 effici[ent].ency$_{N}$, consist[ent].ency$_{N}$; see also *-cy*; see also *-ance*
(32) *-ency* see *-ence*
(33) **-ent**: 1 resid[e].ent$_{N/ADJ}$ | 2 depend.ent$_{ADJ/N}$; see also *-ant*
(34) *-eous* see *-ous*
(35) **-er**: 1 teach.er$_{N}$, comput[e].er$_{N}$ | 2 hat+t.er$_{N}$ | 3 London.er$_{N}$ | 4 double-deck.er$_{N}$ | 5 rug[by]+g.er$_{N}$ | 6 disclaim.er$_{N}$ | 7 din[e].er$_{N}$; **-ar**: 1 li[e].ar$_{N}$; **-ier**: 1 cash.ier$_{N}$, cloth.ier$_{N}$; **-yer**: 1 law.yer$_{N}$; see also *-or*
(36) **-erel**: 1 cock.erel$_{N}$
(37) **-ern**: 1 north.ern$_{ADJ}$
(38) **-eroo**: 1 switch.eroo$_{N}$
(39) **-ers**: 1 preg[nant]+g.ers$_{ADJ}$, Rod[ney]+d.ers$_{N}$
(40) **-ery**: 1 rob+b.ery$_{N}$ | 2 cook.ery$_{N}$ | 3 brew.ery$_{N}$ | 4 slav[e].ery$_{N}$ | 5 brav[e].ery$_{N}$, tomfool.ery$_{N}$ | 6 machin[e].ery$_{N}$; **-ry**: 1 dentist.ry$_{N}$ | 2 rival.ry$_{N}$ | 3 savage.ry$_{N}$ | 4 gadget.ry$_{N}$
(41) **-ese**: 1 Japan.ese$_{ADJ/N}$ | 2 journal.ese$_{N}$
(42) **-esque**: 1 Byron.esque$_{ADJ}$, pictur[e].esque$_{ADJ}$
(43) **-ess**: 1 count.ess$_{N}$ / count.ess$_{N}$, lion.ess$_{N}$ / lion.ess$_{N}$



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(44) *-et* see *-ette*
(45) **-ette**: 1 disk.ette$_{N}$ | 2 leather.ette$_{N}$ | 3 usher.ette$_{N}$, Paul.ette$_{N}$; **-et**: 1 baron.et$_{N}$ / baron.et$_{N}$, falcon.et$_{N}$
(46) *-ey* see *-y*
(47) **-fold**: 1 three.fold$_{ADJ/ADV}$ | 2 three.fold$_{ADV}$
(48) **-ful**: 1 care.ful$_{ADJ}$ | 2 forget.ful$_{ADJ}$ | 3 spoon.ful$_{N}$
(49) **-hood**: 1 child.hood$_{N}$ | 2 brother.hood$_{N}$ | 3 false.hood$_{N}$
(50) **-i**: 1 Bengal.i$_{ADJ/N}$
(51) *-ial* see *-al*
(52) *-ian* see *-an*
(53) *-iana* see *-ana*
(54) **-ible**: 1 digest.ible$_{ADJ}$; see also *-able*
(55) **-ic**: 1 atom.ic$_{ADJ}$, optimist.ic$_{ADJ}$, histor[y].ic$_{ADJ}$ | 2 Milton.ic$_{ADJ}$ | 3 Celt.ic$_{ADJ/N}$
(56) **-ical**: 1 nonsens[e].ical$_{ADJ}$, histor[y].ical$_{ADJ}$; see also *-al*
(57) **-ician**: 1 diet.ician$_{N}$, beaut[y].ician$_{N}$; see also *-ian 3*
(58) **-ics**: 1 linguist[ic].ics$_{N}$ | 2 athlet[ic].ics$_{N}$
(59) *-ie* see *-y*
(60) *-ier* see *-er*
(61) **-ify**: 1 solid.ify$_{V}$, simpl[e].ify$_{V}$, beaut[y].ify$_{V}$ | 2 speech.ify$_{V}$
(62) **-ile**: 1 protract.ile$_{ADJ}$ | 2 infant.ile$_{ADJ}$
(63) **-ine**: 1 hero.ine$_{N}$, Bernard.ine$_{N}$
(64) **-ing**: 1 charm.ing$_{ADJ}$, prevail.ing$_{ADJ}$ | 2 read.ing$_{N}$, gather.ing$_{N}$ | 3 bank.ing$_{N}$ | 4 curtain.ing$_{N}$
(65) **-ion**: 1 rebel+l.ion$_{N}$, connect.ion$_{N}$; **-ition**: 1 add.ition$_{N}$, compet[e].ition$_{N}$; **-sion**: 1 deci[de].sion$_{N}$; **-xion**: 1 conne[ct].xion$_{N}$; see also *-ation*
(66) *-ious* see *-ous*
(67) *-ise* see *-ize*
(68) **-ish**: 1 child.ish$_{ADJ}$ | 2 yellow.ish$_{ADJ}$ | 3 fifty.ish$_{NUM}$ | 4 Finn.ish$_{ADJ/N}$
(69) **-ism**: 1 cognitiv[e].ism$_{N}$, ideal.ism$_{N}$, Darwin.ism$_{N}$ | 2 sex.ism$_{N}$ | 3 hero.ism$_{N}$ | 4 critic.ism$_{N}$ | 5 colloqual.ism$_{N}$ | 6 alcohol.ism$_{N}$
(70) **-ist**: 1 cognitiv[e].ist$_{N/ADJ}$, ideal.ist$_{N/ADJ}$, Darwin.ist$_{N/ADJ}$ | 2 sex.ist$_{N/ADJ}$ | 3 novel.ist$_{N}$ | 4 semantic.ist$_{N}$, zoolog[y].ist$_{N}$ | 5 violin.ist$_{N}$ | 6 cycl[e].ist$_{N}$, plagiar[ize].ist$_{N}$
(71) **-ista**: 1 fashion.ista$_{N}$, Blair.ista$_{N}$
(72) **-ite**: 1 Thatcher.ite$_{N/ADJ}$ | 2 Brooklyn.ite$_{N}$



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(73) *-ition* see *-ion*
(74) **-itis**: 1 tonsil+l.itis$_{N}$ | 2 television.itis$_{N}$
(75) **-ity**: 1 stupid.ity$_{N}$, accept[able]abil.ity$_{N}$, vis[ible]ibil.ity$_{N}$
(76) **-ive**: 1 attract.ive$_{ADJ}$, creat[e].ive$_{ADJ}$; see also *-ative*
(77) **-ize**: 1 modern.ize$_{V}$ | 2 critic.ize$_{V}$; **-ise**: 1 modern.ise$_{V}$ | 2 critic.ise$_{V}$
(78) **-kin**: 1 lamb.kin$_{N}$
(79) **-less**: 1 taste.less$_{ADJ}$ | 2 count.less$_{ADJ}$
(80) **-let**: 1 book.let$_{N}$, pig.let$_{N}$ | 2 neck.let$_{N}$
(81) **-ling**: 1 duck.ling$_{N}$ | 2 prince.ling$_{N}$, weak.ling$_{N}$
(82) **-ly**: 1 slow.ly$_{ADV}$, gent[le].ly$_{ADV}$ | 2 mother.ly$_{ADJ}$ | 3 hour.ly$_{ADJ/ADV}$ | 4 poor.ly$_{ADJ}$
(83) **-manship**: 1 brink(s).manship$_{N}$, games.manship$_{N}$; see also *-ship*
(84) **-ment**: 1 develop.ment$_{N}$
(85) **-ness**: 1 kind.ness$_{N}$, happ[y]i.ness$_{N}$
(86) **-nik**: 1 peace.nik$_{N}$
(87) **-o**: 1 comb[ination].o$_{N}$ | 2 cheap.o$_{N}$
(88) **-ock**: 1 hill.ock$_{N}$
(89) **-oid**: 1 human.oid$_{ADJ/N}$
(90) **-or**: 1 invent.or$_{N}$, generat[e].or$_{N}$; see also *-er*
(91) **-ory**: 1 advis[e].ory$_{ADJ}$, migrat[e].ory$_{ADJ}$ | 2 deposit.ory$_{N}$; see also *-atory*
(92) **-ous**: 1 poison.ous$_{ADJ}$; **-eous**: 1 gas.eous$_{ADJ}$; **-ious**: 1 uproar.ious$_{ADJ}$; **-uous**: 1 contempt.uous$_{ADJ}$; see also *-aceous*
(93) *-ry* see *-ery*
(94) **-s**: 1 banana.s$_{ADJ}$, Deb[orah].s$_{N}$
(95) **-ship**: 1 professor.ship$_{N}$ | 2 Lord.ship$_{N}$ | 3 musician.ship$_{N}$, statesman.ship$_{N}$; see also *-manship* | 4 friend.ship$_{N}$ | 5 reader.ship$_{N}$ | 6 hard.ship$_{N}$
(96) *-sion* see *-ion*
(97) **-some**: 1 quarrel.some$_{ADJ}$ | 2 three.some$_{N}$
(98) **-ster**: 1 young.ster$_{N}$ | 2 trick.ster$_{N}$
(99) **-sy**: 1 cute.sy$_{ADJ}$ | 2 Pat.sy$_{N}$
(100) **-th**: 1 warm.th$_{N}$ | 2 grow.th$_{N}$
(101) **-ton**: 1 simple.ton$_{N}$
(102) **-trix**: 1 avia[tor].trix$_{N}$
(103) **-ty**: 1 certain.ty$_{N}$
(104) *-ual* see *-al*



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(105) *-uous* see *-ous*
(106) **-ure**: 1 fail.ure$_{N}$ | 2 prefect.ure$_{N}$
(107) **-ward**: 1 east.ward$_{ADV/ADJ}$, wind.ward$_{ADV/ADJ}$; **-wards**: 1 east.wards$_{ADV}$
(108) *-wards* see *-ward*
(109) *-ways* see *-wise*
(110) **-wise**: 1 clock.wise$_{ADV/ADJ}$ | 2 length.wise$_{ADV/ADJ}$ | 3 weather-wise$_{ADV}$; **-ways**: 1 length.ways$_{ADV/ADJ}$
(111) *-xion* see *-ion*
(112) **-y**: 1 milk.y$_{ADJ}$ | 2 green.y$_{ADJ}$ | 3 stick.y$_{ADJ}$ | 4 dog+g.y$_{N}$, night[dress].y$_{N}$, Tom+m.y$_{N}$ | 5 tough.y$_{N}$, town.y$_{N}$ | 6 modest.y$_{N}$ | 7 expir[e].y$_{N}$; **-ey**: 1 clay.ey$_{ADJ}$, dic[e].ey$_{ADJ}$ | 2 Charl[es].ey$_{N}$; **-ie**: 1 dog+g.ie$_{N}$, night[dress].ie$_{N}$, dear.ie$_{N}$, Sus[an].ie$_{N}$, Charl[es].ie$_{N}$ | 2 tough.ie$_{N}$, town.ie$_{N}$
(113) *-yer* see *-er*



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# 8. Interpreting the meaning of words in English

Lexical semantics and lexical pragmatics have important roles in understanding, inferring and interpreting the meaning of words. With this fundamental dichotomy in mind, a novel way to interpreting descriptive meaning of both monomorphemic and polymorphemic words in English and, indirectly, to handling lexical ambiguity, will be described in this chapter. This two-tier approach has good explanatory power as its reflects the actual communication process and hence it can be used in teaching English vocabulary, especially at university level to advanced EFL students. Moreover, it is adaptable to interpreting words in other languages as well.

Echoing Lyons 1977, the tentative dividing line between semantics and pragmatics, the two linguistic disciplines crucially involved in the interpretation of utterances, is marked by the absence or presence of context – both linguistic (sentential) and extralinguistic (situational).[31] Semantics and pragmatics are seen here as complementary disciplines, with semantics constituting (part of) the abstract and decontextualized language system, and pragmatics representing a concrete and contextualized application of that system.

Likewise, lexical meaning has essentially a dual nature, semantic and pragmatic, because in its determination two complementary disciplines are crucially involved: on the one hand, it is lexical semantics, which represents a module of general semantics

[31] When used without qualification, the term 'context' and its derivatives imply the simultaneous interplay of linguistic and extralinguistic contexts; for a detailed description of linguistic and extraliguistic contexts, see Radovanović 2003; Verschueren 1999.



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and is hence seen as part of the abstract language system; on the other hand, it is lexical pragmatics, which represents a module of general pragmatics and is hence seen as the concrete use of that system and, for this reason, is considered to be an extension of lexical semantics (cf. Prćić 2001, 2016). For other approaches to the semantics/pragmatics interface, see contributions in Turner 1999; and for various descriptions of the interactions between words and context, see Aronoff 1980; Bach 1994; Blutner 1998; Carston 1997; Clark and Clark 1979; Poesio 1996; Sperber and Wilson 1995; Taylor 2003; Thomas 1995, and, especially, Cruse 1986, 2010, to both of which this account owes some of its ideas and examples.

The discussion will deal with semantic underspecification and pragmatic enrichment; with basic and follow-up completion; with semantic underspecification in polymorphemic words; and with pragmatic enrichment in polymorphemic words.

## 8.1. Semantic underspecification and pragmatic enrichment

Lexical semantics deals with words in isolation, i.e. those maximally devoid of context. Words occurring out of context are said to display semantic underspecification (the term follows Poesio 1996),[32] because they lack much of the information needed for their appropriate interpretation. The meaning of the word is insufficiently specified, relative to at least the following: the intended referent (animate vs inanimate, masculine vs feminine, etc.) and the intended diagnostic sense components (cf. Prćić 2001). The missing information, which is not – and normally cannot be – provided in full at the level of the language system, must be supplied at the level of the use of the system. Decontextualized words are typically multiply ambiguous, because they hold all the senses available for them. Lexical semantics thus answers the question: What does/can word X mean in general?

[32] Alternative terms are 'underdetermination', 'incompleteness', 'generality' and 'vagueness'; for various treatments of the phenomenon, see Bach 1994; Blutner 1998; Cruse 1986; Poesio 1996; Ruhl 1989; Sperber and Wilson 1995.



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In contrast, LEXICAL PRAGMATICS deals with words in context, i.e. the simultaneous interplay of linguistic (sentential) and extralinguistic (situational) contexts in which communication takes place. Words occurring in context are interpreted according to the principle of PRAGMATIC PLAUSIBILITY (the term follows Taylor 2003), whereby the meaning of a word represents the reading, from among all the available meanings, with the highest degree of probability in the given universe of discourse, which is collaboratively created and assumed by speaker/writer(s) and hearer/reader(s) in a given context (cf. Hurford, Heasley and Smith 2007; Taylor 2003). In order to achieve pragmatic plausibility, which is a prerequisite for successful communication overall, semantically underspecified meanings must regularly and obligatorily undergo PRAGMATIC ENRICHMENT (the term follows Sperber and Wilson 1995),[33] a context-bound process of interpretation, during which all the missing information is filled in. Contextualized words are typically free from ambiguity, because only one of the available senses is retained (except when/where ambiguity is intended, as in plays on words). Lexical pragmatics thus answers the question: What does word X mean in this particular context?

Pragmatic enrichment, in the way it is understood here, consists of two successive stages:

- REFERENCE ASSIGNMENT (the term follows Thomas 1995), which is the process of identification of the intended referent of a given word within an utterance, and
- LOCAL COMPLETION (the term follows Bach 1994), which is the process of inference of the intended sense components of the words contained in the utterance.

There can be distinguished two types of local completion: the first level of inferencing comprises 'basic local completion', with reconstruction and construction as its two subtypes. The second level, which works after basic completions, is 'follow-up local completion', with modulation and modification as its two subtypes.

[33] Alternative terms are 'specialization', 'strengthening', '(local) completion' and 'precisification'; for various treatments of the phenomenon, see Bach 1994; Blutner 1998; Poesio 1996; Ruhl 1989; Sperber and Wilson 1995.



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The two types of local completion and their subtypes will now be described and exemplified.

## 8.2. Basic local completion

Depending on how firmly a given sense is established, BASIC LOCAL COMPLETION is realized in two ways – reconstruction and construction.

(1) RECONSTRUCTION applies to established senses of words. It is an active inferential process during which the hearer/reader reconstructs the intended sense by filtering out semantically available but pragmatically ill-fitting senses, and selecting only the contextually appropriate one. In addition to literal senses, reconstruction, naturally, takes care of multiple senses of words, irrespective of whether they are related or unrelated to the literal.

RELATED (MOTIVATED) SENSES of words are subsumed under polysemy, of which there are two varieties:

- If the motivation is based on the distinction between a more general and a more specific sense, the variety involved is LINEAR POLYSEMY (cf. Cruse 2010), which comprises narrowing and widening. For example,
  - in *You should drink plenty of liquid in the summer.* and *You mustn't drink while you drive.* (= drink alcohol), the latter *drink* displays NARROWING, or SPECIALIZATION, as it carries a narrower and more specific sense, whereas
  - in *This family consists of a goose, a gander and three goslings.* and *We watched a flock of geese fly overhead.* (= the species), the latter *goose* displays WIDENING, or GENERALIZATION, as it carries a wider and more general sense.
- If the motivation is based on the transfer of literal sense, the variety involved is BRANCHING POLYSEMY, which comprises metaphor and metonymy (cf. Cruse 2010; Kövecses 2010; Taylor 2003). For example,
  - *She's an angel.* (= a very good and kind person) and *I found a virus in my computer.* (= a harmful piece of



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software) both contain METAPHOR, where the transfer builds around similarity, whereas

- *He was so hungry that he ate the whole box*. (= what was in the box, e.g. sandwiches) and *Where's Shakespeare? – On the top shelf.* (= the book by Shakespeare) both contain METONYMY, where the transfer builds around contiguity.

UNRELATED (UNMOTIVATED) SENSES of words are subsumed under homonymy, of which there are also two varieties:

- At least two words are FULL HOMONYMS if different but unrelated senses are expressed through both phonologically and graphologically identical forms, such as *ear* (= the organ of hearing, = the seed-bearing part of a cereal plant).
- At least two words are PARTIAL HOMONYMS if different but unrelated senses are expressed through either phonologically or graphologically identical forms, as in *right, write*, *rite* and *Wright*, all of which share the same phonology, /rait/, and are therefore HOMOPHONES; conversely, *lead* has two pronunciations, /li:d/ (= to go before to show the way) and /led/ (= a heavy, malleable metal; Pb), and are therefore HOMOGRAPHS.

Since all the senses of words like these discussed above – literal, related and unrelated – are established and systemic, they can normally be found listed in dictionaries.

(2) CONSTRUCTION applies to novel and unestablished senses of words. It is a creative, and not just active, inferential process during which the hearer/reader constructs the intended sense by filtering out semantically available but pragmatically ill-fitting senses, and building a new one from the available semantic and pragmatic clues, supported by analogical reasoning. For example, a guest told by a hotel receptionist that they forgot to take their *key*, referring to a device similar in shape to a credit card, will in no time grasp the (fairly) novel metaphor. Likewise, in response to a question like *What's a flash card?*, referring to the one used in digital cameras, the extempore explanation 'It's, in fact, *electronic film*.' would be quite helpful and easy to understand.



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Since the senses of words like these are novel and as yet unestablished, they cannot be found recorded in dictionaries – unless and until they become established and systemic, when such senses enter the domain of reconstruction, rather than construction.

## 8.3. Follow-up local completion

Coming after the process of basic local completion and supplementing some of the senses inferred during reconstruction and construction, FOLLOW-UP LOCAL COMPLETION is realized in two ways – modulation and modification.

(1) By MODULATION a salient component of a given sense undergoes contextual emphasis. This can assume the following two forms:

- HIGHLIGHTING, which consists in beaming light on a salient facet of the referent, while leaving other facets in the dark. For example, *The book is very long.* highlights its form and *The book is very interesting.* its content; *I like this school.* may highlight its exterior, its interior, its curriculum, its teachers, its pupils, or any other of its facets; and *John bought the Times.* may highlight either a copy of the newspaper or the entire publishing company.
- SPOTLIGHTING, which consists in bringing a salient part of the referent into focus, while leaving other parts out of focus. For example, in *to fit a window* the frame with the pane and the hinges is spotlighted, in *to wash a window* it is the frame or the pane or the frame with the pane, in *to paint a window* it is only the frame, in *to break a window* it is only the pane, and in *to oil a window* the spotlight is on its hinges; similarly, different parts of a *car* are spotlighted in collocations with the following verbs: *buy, paint, wash, hoover, service, fuel, dent, crash*; and in the question *Where's the phone?* the spotlight is on the apparatus and in the request *Please, pick up the phone!* only on the receiver.

These sense modulations are initially a use-related (pragmatic) phenomenon and therefore they are not found in dictionaries



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– unless they begin to develop distinct metonymic senses (cf. Taylor 2003), which in time may become systemic and thus warrant registering in dictionaries.

(2) By MODIFICATION a given sense undergoes minor contextual changes and/or adaptations. These can assume the following three forms:

- STRENGTHENING, which consists in adding specifying or precisifying sense components to the original sense. For example, in *What's on TV? – Nothing*. (= nothing of interest to you/us); and in *Here comes the lady with the body*. (= the strikingly beautiful body, beyond which there is little else).
- WEAKENING, which consists in relaxing central sense components and so loosening the original sense. For example, in *I've told you a hundred / thousand / million times not to tease their dog!* each of the numbers means (progressively) *very many*; and in *The children drew a circle in the sand*. the circle is only a rough approximation of the proper, compass-drawn circle.
- REVERSING, which consists in changing central sense components to their opposites and thereby producing an ironic effect. For example, in *Very funny!*, said in response to an unpleasant remark and with an appropriate intonation, what is described is quite the opposite of funny; and in *The lunch was delicious!* the lunch just eaten is very far from being delicious.

These sense modifications are also a use-related (pragmatic) phenomenon and therefore they are not found in dictionaries – unless they become established and systemic, as is the case with *hundred, thousand* and *million* above.

To end this part, here is a typology of words which are eligible for the basic and follow-up local completions discussed so far. Qualifying for reconstruction are the following:

- monomorphemic words, including conversions, and
- words produced by a word-formation process, but which have either obscured or lost morphological and/or semantic connection with their base words and have in effect be-



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come synchronically monomorphemic, and unanalysable, words, as can be seen in many abbreviations, like *fax, fridge*; ellipsations, like *(earth)quake, (remote) control*; conflations, like *smog, modem*; reduplications, like *teeny-weeny, pooh-pooh*; and acronymizations, like *BBC, radar*.

And qualifying for construction are the following:

- novel transfers of sense, like *key*, above, including nonce uses, like *electronic film*, above, and
- novel conversions (cf. Clark and Clark 1979), including nonce uses, like *I have been Microsoft-Wording the present paper all this week*. (= using Microsoft Word to write it).

However, in polymorphemic words, i.e. prefixations, suffixations and compositions, pragmatic enrichment is realized in a slightly different way, which will be accounted for in the coming two sections. For exemplification purposes agentive nouns in English, formed from verbal bases by the addition of one of the six competing agentive suffixes, *-er, -or, -ant, -ent, -ist, -ee*, as in *speaker, director, assistant, resident, typist, escapee*, respectively, will be used. Agentive nouns display a remarkable capability to refer – in appropriate contexts – to persons (e.g. *bus-driver*), animals (*retriever*), plants (*creeper*), things (*computer*) and abstractions (*eye-opener*) (for similarities and differences between the six suffixes, see Prćić 1995, 1999a).

## 8.4. Semantic underspecification in polymorphemic words

When deriving from the abstract language system, especially its morphological and semantic subsystems, reflected by linguistic knowledge, interpretation is based on the principle of MORPHOSEMANTIC COMPOSITIONALITY, according to which the sense of a polymorphemic word represents the sum total of the senses of its constituent bases, affixes and combining forms. Essentially determined syntagmatically, morphosemantic compositionality involves rule-governed incorporation of the sense of lower lexical units, i.e. bases, affixes and combining forms, into the sense of a higher lexical unit, i.e. word (cf. Cruse 1986; Lyons 1977; Prćić 1995,



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2016). For successful interpretation, knowledge of all lower units and the way they are combined in the higher unit is presupposed as a necessary condition.

Compositionality-based interpretation of a word out of context centres around the word being viewed in isolation, while making every effort to exclude the influence of any of its established senses, however salient, typical or frequent it may be. This kind of interpretation, in its prototypical manifestation, consists of BINARY PROCESSING, a top-down morphosemantic analysis of the word into HEAD ($_H$, for short), the typically right-hand element in English, conveying given information and thus thematic in nature, and MODIFIER ($_M$, for short), the typically left-hand element in English, conveying new information and thus rhematic in nature. The process of analysis is recursive and may go several levels deep, depending on the morphological complexity of the word,[34] which apparently makes processing time progressively longer. (This claim, however, has yet to be experimentally verified.) Levels of increasing complexity (1, 2, …) can be seen in the following examples:

- Level 1: *speaker* > 1 (*speak*$_M$ + *-er*$_H$),
- Level 2: *record-breaker* > 1 (*record*$_M$ + *breaker*$_H$) > 2 (*break*$_M$ + *-er*$_H$),
- Level 3: *aircraft carrier* > 1 (*aircraft*$_M$ + *carrier*$_H$) > 2 (*air*$_M$ + *craft*$_H$) + 3 (*carry*$_M$ + *-er*$_H$).

An out-of-context, semantics-only, analysis yields a sense that can be glossed as 'one that *verb*s, is *verb*ing, or has *verb*ed (…)', where the parenthesized three dots provide for the sense of the modifier in compositions. Alternatively, and more metalinguistically, the gloss could be put more briefly as 'one that *mod verb* (…)', where *mod* stands for the modality component which also takes care of the necessary adjustments of the *verb* form. The principal property of this sense of polymorphemic words, captured by either formulation, is SEMANTIC UNDERSPECIFICATION, which manifests itself in the lack of information

[34] For theoretical and methodological problems besetting morphosemantic analysis, see Kastovsky 1986a, 1986b; Lipka 2002; Prćić 1999a; Warren 1978.



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needed for adequate interpretation, because the sense of the word is left insufficiently specified, in terms of the following:

- the referent, which subsumes person, animal, plant, thing and abstraction (shown in the definitions by the unmarked forms 'one that'),
- modality, which subsumes habitual, i.e. timeless present, and non-habitual, i.e. progressive and perfective co-occurring with the present,
- the sense of the constituent bases, affixes and combining forms, which subsumes all their theoretically possible combinations and thus makes them multiply ambiguous (Bauer 1979, 1983), and
- the relationship between head and modifier, which displays only 'a connection between' the elements (Bauer 1979: 46).

To overcome all limitations imposed by semantics-only interpretation (which, admittedly, has theoretical relevance only), the missing information has to be filled in on the level of use by the hearer/reader, thereby making the general sense appropriately specific. To this end, pragmatics-enriched interpretation, the only realistic and viable procedure found in actual communication, which consistently draws on the interplay between linguistic and extralinguistic factors, needs to be employed.

## 8.5. Pragmatic enrichment in polymorphemic words

When deriving from the use of the abstract language system in a concrete communication situation, against a background of world knowledge, which complements linguistic knowledge, the interpretation is based on the principle of PRAGMATIC PLAUSIBILITY, according to which the sense of a polymorphemic word represents the reading, selected from among the available senses, with the highest degree of probability in the universe of discourse, i.e. "the particular world, real or imaginary (or part real, part imaginary)" (cf. Hurford, Heasley and Smith 2007), collaboratively created and assumed by speaker/writer(s) and hearer/reader(s) in a giv-



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en context (cf. Taylor 2003). Essentially determined referentially, pragmatic plausibility involves hypothesis-governed active reconstruction of sense by inferring the appropriate set of sense features from the context and assigning it to the word. The process may be repeated cyclically until a fitting set of sense features is activated (cf. Grice 1989; Leech 1983; Thomas 1995).

All sense features contained in a polymorphemic word that must – and not only can – be inferred during the process of interpretation will be called here INFERABLES. They can be divided into two groups – intrinsic and extrinsic (cf. Prćić 1995).

Relating to morphosemantic compositionality, INTRINSIC FEATURES (IFs, for short) comprise the following:

- features inherited from the constituent bases, affixes and combining forms,
- general referent-defining features, like 'human', 'animate', 'inanimate', 'concrete', 'abstract', 'dual', 'masculine', 'feminine', and
- general action/state-defining features 'habitual', expressing timeless present, and 'non-habitual', expressing progressive and perfective aspects.

On the other hand, EXTRINSIC FEATURES (EFs, for short), and indicated by '+', make an addition to the compositional sense and typically function as object and/or adverbial complements. They can be subdivided into the following:

- SYSTEM-PREDICTABLE FEATURES, which systematically occur in specific categories of meaning expressed by affixation/composition (Hansen, Hansen and Neubert 1982; Lipka 1992, 2002); in agentives, two such features may typically be found:
  - '+ for a living', as in *baker, bus-driver*; to elicit the feature and contrast it with the feature 'habitual', a diagnostic test of the form *He/She works as a(n)* ____ can be used,[35] and

[35] Mention should be made of a distinction between *professional dancer / player / singer / photographer*, containing EF '+ for a living', and *amateur dancer / player / singer / photographer*, containing only IF 'habitual'.



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- '+ purpose', as in *mincer, windscreen-wiper*; to elicit the feature, a diagnostic test of the form *A(n)* _____ *is used for* verb*ing* can be used.

- ELLIPTED FEATURES, which are the result of ellipsation of either the modifier or, less frequently, the head of a composition, with subsequent incorporation of the sense of the ellipted element into the sense of the remaining element (Lipka 1977):
  - front (modifier) ellipsation of *shock-absorber* produces *absorber* '+ shock', typically in British English, and
  - back (head) ellipsation of *shock-absorber* produces *shock* '+ absorber', typically in American English.
- UNPREDICTABLE FEATURES, which comprise all other, very numerous and heterogeneous, EFs: *viewer* '+ television', *retriever* '+ shot game', *escapee* '+ from prison', *worrier* '+ a lot'.

Any morphosemantically analysable word whose sense is predictable to a greater or lesser degree is said to display a greater or lesser degree of TRANSPARENCY. At the same time, any word whose sense is not predictable, despite its analysability, is said to be idiomatized to a greater or lesser degree and to display a greater or lesser degree of OPACITY. The process of gradual shift from the principle of morphosemantic compositionality, whereby a polymorphemic word progressively loses its transparency and gains in opacity because its sense no longer represents the pure sum total of the senses of its constituent bases and affixes is known as IDIOMATIZATION.[36] The boundary separating compositionality from idiomatization is fuzzy and gradient, and is largely determined by the course of time and the frequency of use of any particular word. Idiomatization is manifested in two ways – incrementation and decrementation (cf. Prćić 1995, 2001, 2016). Addition of features, as a rule EFs, to the compositional sense belongs to the domain of

[36] Alternative terms are 'lexicalization', 'petrification', 'fossilization' and 'semantic drift'; for various treatments of the phenomenon, see Bauer 1978, 1983, 2003a; Bauer and Huddleston 2002; Hohenhaus 2005; Leech 1981; Lieber and Štekauer 2014; Lipka 1977, 1992, 2002; Lipka, Handl and Falkner 2004; Lyons 1977; Prćić 2001, 2016, Chaps. 8-9 in this book; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985.



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INCREMENTATION (illustrated above), whereas DECREMENTATION covers subtraction of features from the compositional sense, mostly through loss/demotion of IFs of individual bases and, in turn, addition of new EFs, as in: *professor* 'a teacher of the highest rank in a university department', *reader* 'a teacher in a British university who has the rank just below professor', *Beefeater* 'a ceremonial guard at the Tower of London'.

Compositionality, incrementation and decrementation form a cline of transparency of polymorphemic words, which is diagrammed in Illustration 8 (originally in Prćić 1995, 2001, 2016). One end of the scale is occupied by fully transparent, prototypically compositional, words, which need to be defined for each individual affixation and composition type – for agentives, it is words denoting persons and containing no EFs, i.e. 'a person who *verb*s (…)', 'a person who is *verb*ing (…)', 'a person who has *verb*ed (…)'. The other end has fully opaque decrementations, which approach, and sometimes even equal, monomorphemic, i.e. simple, words. Spanning the space in-between the two extremes are incrementations with gradually diminishing transparency.

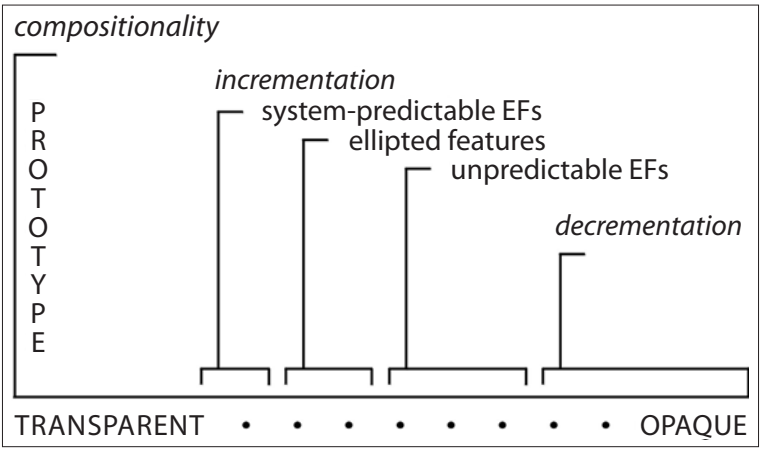


Illustration 8: scale of transparency of polymorphemic words



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It has to be pointed out that one word can have one or more compositional readings, as well as one or more idiomatized readings, incremental and/or decremental. This is shown, for example, in the word *speaker*, which has a compositional sense 'a person who is speaking', two incrementations 'a person who is speaking to an audience', 'a person who speaks a particular language', a front ellipsation of the decremental composition *loudspeaker* 'a device used for turning electrical signals into audible sound', and a decrementation 'the person who controls discussions in a parliament'. These senses apparently need different processing times, which increase with the decrease of transparency of the individual senses. (This claim would also have to be experimentally verified.)

As stated above, pragmatics-enriched interpretation of polymorphemic words aims at filling in the information missing from words when considered in isolation and thus making their general sense appropriately specific in a given context. The plausibility-based process, which will be termed here PRAGMATIC ENRICHMENT, consists of three successive stages, as follows:

- REFERENCE ASSIGNMENT, which identifies the appropriate referent – person, animal, plant, thing or abstraction,
- MORPHOSEMANTIC ANALYSIS, which determines head and modifier constituents, and their appropriate relationship, in correlation with the word's degree of transparency, where
  - BINARY PROCESSING is used for compositionals,
  - EXPANDED BINARY PROCESSING is used for incrementations, to deal with additional EFs, and
  - DEBINARIZED/UNITARY PROCESSING is used for decrementations, in accordance with how close they come to simple (monomorphemic) words (cf. Prćić 2001), and
- LOCAL COMPLETION, which selects the appropriate inferables, both intrinsic and extrinsic.

To illustrate briefly the working of pragmatic enrichment, the word *record-breaker* will now be taken. The sentence '...winning the European 5,000 metres and stretching his span of achievement from world *record breaker* at half-mile to national cross-country



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champion over nine miles...', obviously part of a sports news report, establishes a 'sporting competition' universe of discourse, which – together with the necessary segments of linguistic and world knowledge – triggers unmistakably in the hearer/reader the intended pragmatic enrichment of this word, viz. 'a person who breaks a previously held record in a sport'. This reading represents the prototypical, or default, sense of the word *record-breaker*.

By a different act of reference, in a different 'sporting competition' universe of discourse, an animal (e.g. a horse) could be meant to be identified. And in a still other, this time 'non-sporting competition' universe of discourse, a person, an animal, a plant, a thing, or even an abstraction could be intended. 'Competition' universes of discourse produce actual, and more or less established, readings of this word. However, a totally different universe of discourse, created in a hypothetical film entitled *The Record-Breakers*, depicting an eccentric and aggressive group of LP-hating CD and DVD freaks with a self-imposed mission to destroy all LPs in the world, would elicit the word's potential (but not yet used) readings: members of that group would, of course, be known as *record-breakers* and their shredder-type machines with which they execute their 'job' would be called, not surprisingly, *record-breakers*. The flexibility of the process of pragmatic enrichment would provide the senses intended by the speaker/writer in this case as well.

All things considered, in interpretation achieved in the process of pragmatic enrichment, most (if not all) limitations of semantic underspecification, imposed by semantics-only interpretation, are eliminated. In stark contrast to the lack of adequate information characterizing readings of polymorphemic words in isolation, their pragmatic enrichments contain all the information necessary for successful interpretation, especially in terms of the following:

- referents:
  - person: *drinker* 'a person who *verb*s (…)', including their gender: *teacher* 'dual', *womanizer* 'masculine', *street-walker* 'feminine',
  - animal: *retriever* 'an animal which *verb*s (…)',
  - plant: *creeper* 'a plant which *verb*s (…)',



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- thing: *bottle-opener* 'a thing used for *verb*ing (…)',
- abstraction: *eye-opener* 'something which *verb*s (…)', and

- modality: *drinker* 'habitual', 'a person who *verb*s (…)', *speaker* 'progressive', 'a person who is *verb*ing (…)', *escapee* 'perfective', 'a person who has *verb*ed (…)'.

Furthermore, the process of pragmatic enrichment offers a mechanism to aptly and easily handle the following linguistic phenomena:

- EFs: *viewer* '+ television', *worrier* '+ a lot',
- literal vs metaphorical uses: *proof-reader* vs *mind-reader*,
- literal vs metonymic uses: *printer* (person) vs *printer* (thing),
- structural ambiguity: *weight-lifter* vs *shop-lifter*,
- actual vs potential uses in morphological and/or semantic innovations and nonce-formations: *record-breaker*, above.

## 8.6. Summing up

Lexical semantics and lexical pragmatics, as subsets of general semantics and pragmatics, follow the same division of labour, firstly, by concentrating on words – polymorphemic and monomorphemic alike; secondly, by building around the central role of linguistic (sentential) and extralinguistic (situational) contexts; and thirdly, and mostly importantly, by reflecting the constantly interacting, and complementary, dichotomies of the abstract language system, embodied in semantics, and the concrete use of that system, embodied in pragmatics as an extension of semantics, which provides a contextual setting and support for communication.

And to end on a metaphorical note, the semantics/pragmatics interface can be effectively explained by way of a 'camera metaphor': an out-of-focus image in the viewfinder, with only 'a connection' between objects discernible, which is in the realm of semantics and semantic underspecification, calls for an (automatic) adjustment of the lens in order to produce an in-focus picture, with all objects showing clearly and sharply, which is in the realm of pragmatics and pragmatic enrichment.



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# 9. Pragmatics of polymorphemic words in English

The relationship between the meaning expressed and the meaning actually communicated in polymorphemic words, or morphologically complex words, in English, i.e. those consisting of at least two morphemes, can be examined by a top-down binary morphological analysis of the structure of such words into at least two synchronically identifiable constituent elements – bases, affixes or combining forms. According to word-formation processes, eligible words for this kind of analysis include the following (for various treatments and typologies of these processes, see Bauer 1983; Bauer and Huddleston 2002; Hansen, Hansen and Neubert 1982; Lalić Krstin 2022; Ljung 2003; Plag 2018; Prćić 1998; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985; Stojičić 2006b; Tournier 1993):

- prefixations, which consist of a free-standing base preceded by a prefix, as in *re.write, mis.represent* and *under.cook*,
- suffixations, which consist of a free-standing base followed by a suffix, as in *view.er, speech.ify* and *green.ish*,
- compositions, which consist of two free-standing bases, as in *cradle.snatcher, ice.cream* and *scare.crow*,
- neoclassical compositions, which consist of two classical combining forms (CFs), the first being initial (ICF) and the second final (FCF), as in *paedo.phile* and *lexico.logy*,
- semi-neoclassical compositions (cf. Chaps. 6 and 7 in this book), which consist of a modern ICF and a classical FCF, as in *jazzo.phile* and *speedo.meter*, or of a classical ICF and a modern free-standing base, as in *morpho.syntax* and *aero.plane*,



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- conflations with distinguishable bases, which can appear in three main patterns (for an extensive treatment of blends in present-day English, see Lalić Krstin 2022; Tomić 2023):
  - overlapping of two full bases, as in *netiquette* (from *net+etiquette*) and *predictionary* (from *predict+dictionary*),
  - overlapping of a full and a partial base, when either a full base overlaps a partial base, as in *rockumentary* (from *rock+(doc)umentary*) and *funtastic* (from *fun+(fan)tastic*), or a partial base overlaps a full base, as in *glocal* (from *glo(bal)+local*) and *celesbian* (from *cele(brity)+lesbian*), and
  - superimposition of a full base over a part of the other full base, as in *intaxication* (from *in[tox>tax]ication*) and *entertoyment* (from *enter[tain>toy]ment*), and
- phrasal words, which constitute hybrid lexical units in that they are phrases by their orthographic, phonological and morphosyntactic form, and words by their function, content and use, as in *sexual harassment* (adjective + noun), *head of state* (noun + preposition + noun), *attorney general* (noun + adjective) (cf. Prćić 2016: Chap. 8).

The meaning carried by all polymorphemic words can be explicit or non-explicit and it depends on the descriptive sense features incorporated in them. In what follows one novel methodological approach to how that meaning can be determined and systematically accounted for will be offered.

The discussion will deal with the distinction between the meaning expressed and the meaning actually communicated; with the distinction between explicit and non-explicit meaning; with the distinction between implicit and implied meaning; and with the concept of lexical implicature.

## 9.1. What is expressed and what is actually communicated

The present approach builds around the dichotomy between saying and implying, which was first introduced by H. P. Grice



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(1975) to explain the principles behind the interpretation of everyday utterances, in exchanges like A: *I am out of petrol.* – B: *There is a garage round the corner.* (Grice 1975: 51). SAYING basically has to do with semantics, with the conventional meaning of the words in the sentence uttered – in this example, B is saying that there is a garage round the corner. On the other hand, IMPLYING, or, IMPLICATING, to use Grice's term, basically has to do with pragmatics, with the special meaning that the speaker wants to convey indirectly beyond the meaning which is said – in this example, B is implying that the garage is open and has petrol to sell.

Echoing the essence of this distinction, a similar dichotomy can be observed in the meaning of polymorphemic words. It will be formulated here as the distinction between what is expressed, i.e. the meaning which is expressed by the word in isolation, and what is actually communicated, i.e. the meaning which is actually communicated when the word is concretely used. The label WHAT IS EXPRESSED captures the meaning of a word on its own, outside linguistic (sentential) and extralinguistic (situational) context. This meaning is determined syntagmatically, it is semantic in nature and represents the sum total of the senses, composed of at least one set of descriptive sense features of the word's constituent elements – bases, affixes or combining forms, and for this reason this meaning is open to ambiguity. In contrast, the label WHAT IS ACTUALLY COMMUNICATED captures the meaning of a word used in a concrete linguistic and extralinguistic context. This meaning is determined referentially, it is pragmatic in nature and represents the inferred sense, composed of a set of descriptive sense features, which is appropriate in and for the given context.

To put this distinction more pictorially, what is expressed involves reading the meaning *off* the surface of the word, whereas what is actually communicated involves reading the meaning *from beneath* the surface of the word; for example, the verb *rewrite* on its surface, in isolation, means, or expresses, or rather appears to express, the sense 'write again' and beneath the surface, when used as an instruction by a teacher to a student in the utterance *Along these lines, please rewrite your paper!*, it actually communi-



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cates the sense 'write again but in a better way', which contains and thus conveys more information in comparison with what is expressed on the word's surface.

This dichotomy – specifically, the quality of the relationship between what is expressed (and hence read off the surface) and what is actually communicated (and hence read from beneath the surface) – will serve to establish, define and distinguish explicit and non-explicit meaning in polymorphemic words. The quality of the relationship just mentioned can be of two general kinds: firstly, what is expressed is the same as what is actually communicated. And secondly, what is expressed is not the same as what is actually communicated. In the coming sections, these relationships, each under its own heading, will be discussed in some detail, drawing on the definitions, observations and ideas originally presented in Prćić 2001, 2016: Chap. 5, Chap. 8 in this book, now with new insights, improved definitions and clearer interpretations.

## 9.2. Explicit meaning

If what is expressed by a polymorphemic word corresponds to what is actually communicated, the word has EXPLICIT MEANING. Words with explicit meaning are characterized by morphosemantic compositionality, i.e. analysability of form correlating with transparency of content, and they contain intrinsic sense features, which are predictable because they have been inherited from the constituent bases, affixes or combining forms employed. By its nature, explicit meaning is compositional, due to the fact that it represents the sum total of the senses of the word's constituent elements, it is therefore predictable by the word-formation rule and words carrying it can be called COMPOSITIONALS; for example, *speaker* in the sense 'a person who is speaking', *misspell* 'to spell incorrectly', *lexicology* 'scientific study of the lexicon', *jazzophile* 'a person who loves jazz' and *netiquette* 'etiquette used on the net'.

As for the interpretation of polymorphemic words, the process consists of three successive stages (cf. Prćić 2001, Chap. 8 in this book): the first is reference assignment, when the referent of



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the word, i.e. a specific extralinguistic entity or a closely connected group of entities being talked about, is identified; the second stage is morphosemantic analysis, when the word's constituent elements and their relationships, which are conditioned by its analysability and transparency, are identified; and the third stage is local completion, when the fitting set of descriptive features is selected. It has to be stressed that all three stages of this process are crucially dependent on contextually available linguistic and extralinguistic evidence, and are all in line with the principle of pragmatic plausibility, according to which the sense of a polymorphemic word represents the reading, selected from among the available senses, with the highest degree of probability in the universe of discourse collaboratively created and assumed by speaker/writer(s) and hearer/reader(s) in a given linguistic and extralinguistic context (cf. Hurford, Heasley and Smith 2007; Taylor 2003). Of the three stages, relevant for the present discussion of explicit and non-explicit meaning is the second – morphosemantic analysis.

In compositionals, the morphosemantic analysis stage is realized as BINARY PROCESSING (cf. Prćić 2001, Chap. 8 in this book), which involves simple top-down division of the word into its constituent elements and concurrent inference of their senses. For example, in the utterance *Could you tell me the name of the speaker, please?*, said at a conference, the morphosemantic analysis of the word *speaker* calls for its division into the base *speak* and the suffix *-er*, which in the end triggers the intended meaning 'the person who is speaking'. If a word is composed of more than two constituent elements, as in *misspelling* and *lexicological*, the top-down division is recursive; for example, the word *misspelling* is first divided into the base *misspell* and the suffix *-ing*, and the former is then divided into the base *spell* and the prefix *mis-*.

## 9.3. Non-explicit meaning

If what is expressed by a polymorphemic word does not correspond to what is actually communicated, the word has NON-EXPLICIT MEANING. Words with non-explicit meaning are characterized



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by semantic IDIOMATIZATION, i.e. opacity of content despite analysability of form (for various treatments of this phenomenon, also known as 'lexicalization', 'petrification', 'fossilization' and 'semantic drift', see Bauer 1978, 1983, 2003a; Bauer and Huddleston 2002; Hohenhaus 2005; Leech 1981; Lieber and Štekauer 2014; Lipka 1977, 1992, 2002; Lipka, Handl and Falkner 2004; Lyons 1977; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985). Semantic idiomatization can manifest itself in two ways – as incrementation and as decrementation (cf. Prćić 2001, 2016, Chap. 8 in this book), both of which will be looked into next.

### 9.3.1. Implicit meaning

INCREMENTATION is at work when new sense features have been added to the compositional sense. Unlike intrinsic sense features, which make up the compositional sense, these additional features are extrinsic, they are mostly unpredictable, very numerous and heterogeneous in nature, and they typically function as objects, adverbials and modifiers. Words with this kind of semantic idiomatization can be called INCREMENTATIONS; for example, *composer* has the extrinsic feature '+music', *worshipper* '+God' and *repellent* '+insects' (all of these being objects), *rewrite* '+in a better way', *misrepresent* '+deliberately', *worrier* '+a lot', *escapee* '+from prison' and *sexual harassment* '+in a workplace' (all of these being adverbials), and *speechify* '+boring' and '+pompous' (both of these being modifiers).

Some of the extrinsic sense features result from ELLIPSATION, a subtractive word-formation process in which one of the constituent bases in a composition or a phrasal word is removed with concomitant transference of its sense features to the sense of the remaining base (cf. Lipka 1977). Such a word, it may be noted in passing, often functions as a less formal synonym of the source form. In INITIAL ELLIPSATION, removed is the word's left-hand base, i.e. modifier, whose sense becomes part of the sense of the remaining head; for example, *earthquake* > *quake*, with the incorporated extrinsic feature '+earth', carried over from the ellipted modifier, *loudspeaker* > *speaker*, with '+loud', *aircraft carrier* > *carrier*,



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with '+aircraft', *fire extinguisher* > *extinguisher*, with '+fire', *shock absorber* > *absorber*, with '+shock' and *hairstylist* > *stylist*, with '+hair'. Conversely, in FINAL ELLIPSATION, removed is the word's right-hand base, i.e. head, whose sense becomes part of the sense of the remaining modifier; for example, *remote control* or *remote controller* > $remote_n$, converted first from an adjective into a noun, with the incorporated extrinsic feature '+control / controller', carried over from the ellipted head, *shock absorber* > *shock*, with '+absorber' (this, incidentally, is an interesting example, as it illustrates both kinds of ellipsation applying to one and the same source form), *carrier bag* > *carrier*, with '+bag', *aftershave lotion* > *aftershave*, with '+lotion' and *caesarean section* > $caesarean_n$, also converted first from an adjective into a noun, with '+section'.

And lastly, a small number of extrinsic sense features are system-predictable, because they systematically occur in specific categories of meaning (cf. Hansen, Hansen and Neubert 1982; Lipka 2002); for example, the system-predictable extrinsic feature '+for a living' is contained in agentive nouns like *baker*, *chimney sweep* and *bus driver*, and the feature '+purpose' is found in instrumental nouns like *windscreen wiper*, *washing machine* and *corkscrew*. From all the examples above, the following properties of incrementations can be deduced:

- non-explicitness of meaning in incrementations is brought about by the fact that more information is actually communicated than is expressed,
- what is expressed in incrementations does not correspond to what is actually communicated because of the ADDITIONAL MEANING contributed to the explicit (compositional) meaning by the extrinsic sense features,
- the additional meaning can be said to be implicit in incrementations, it constitutes their IMPLICIT MEANING and makes a unified whole with the explicit meaning,
- the actually communicated meaning in incrementations consists of the totality of explicit meaning, conveyed by the intrinsic features, and implicit meaning, conveyed by the extrinsic features,



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- the actually communicated meaning in incrementations is basically compositional, because it follows from morphosemantic compositionality, but has been made more precise and restricted in scope by the extrinsic features; for example, an *escapee* basically *is* 'a person who has escaped', but its sense is really more precise, more specific than that – it is 'a person who has escaped from prison', and
- the actually communicated meaning in incrementations is only partly predictable by the word-formation rule, because it is opacified by the extrinsic features employed.

The morphosemantic analysis stage in the interpretation of incrementations is realized as EXPANDED BINARY PROCESSING (cf. Prćić 2001, Chap. 8 in this book), which involves simple top-down division of the word into its constituent elements and concurrent inference of their senses, supplemented – or rather, expanded – with the contextual inference of the additional extrinsic sense features. For example, in the utterance *The agency was criticized for misrepresenting the views of the government*, said in a radio news bulletin, the morphosemantic analysis of the word *misrepresent* calls for its division into the base *represent* and the prefix *mis-*, and the subsequent contextual inference of the extrinsic feature '+deliberately', which in the end triggers the intended meaning 'to deliberately represent something wrongly'.

### 9.3.2. Implied meaning

DECREMENTATION is at work when the entire set of intrinsic features of the compositional sense has been replaced with a completely new set of extrinsic features. Words with this kind of semantic idiomatization are called DECREMENTATIONS; for example, *bookmaker* in the sense 'a person who takes bets and pays out money to winners', *professor* 'a teacher of the highest rank in a university department' and *paedophile* 'an adult who is sexually attracted to children'. Very often, such meanings are motivated by metaphorical transfer, as in *skyscraper* 'a very tall building', *break-*



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*fast* 'the first meal of the day, eaten in the morning' and *playboy* 'a rich, pleasure-seeking and irresponsible man', or by metonymic transfer, as in *beefeater* in the sense 'a ceremonial guard at the Tower of London', *cradle snatcher* 'a man who dates or marries a much younger woman' and *scarecrow* 'a figure made to resemble a person and set up to scare away birds' (for an extensive treatment of metaphor and metonymy in compositions, see Benczes 2006). From the examples above, the following properties of decrementations can be deduced:

- non-explicitness of meaning in decrementations is brought about by the fact that different – or, more precisely, discrepant – information is actually communicated than is expressed,
- what is expressed in decrementations does not correspond to what is actually communicated because of the DISCREPANT MEANING produced by the completely new set of extrinsic sense features,
- the discrepant meaning can be said to be implied in decrementations and it constitutes their IMPLIED MEANING,
- the actually communicated meaning in decrementations consists entirely of implied meaning, conveyed by the extrinsic features,
- the actually communicated meaning in decrementations is not compositional, because it does not follow from morphosemantic compositionality, but is markedly different from, and, synchronically at least, unrelated to, what is suggested by morphosemantic compositionality; for example, a *gatecrasher* is not 'a person who crashes through a gate', but rather 'a person who goes to a party uninvited', and
- the actually communicated meaning in decrementations is not predictable by the word-formation rule, because the discrepancy between the form and its content makes it opaque, and that is why incrementations, with regard to their content, come close to morphologically simple (monomorphemic) words.



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The morphosemantic analysis stage in the interpretation of decrementations is realized as DEBINARIZED / UNITARY PROCESSING (cf. Prćić 2001, Chap. 8 in this book), which involves full contextual inference of the entire set of extrinsic sense features and is similar to the processing of simple words, whose interpretation invariably consists in full contextual inference of the relevant set of sense features; hence the modifiers 'debinarized / unitary' in the above designation, aimed at emphasizing the gradual transition from polymorphism to monomorphism in content even though not yet in form. For example, in the utterance *The bookmaker refuses to pay out the jackpot to the winners*, said at a horse race, instead of the morphosemantic analysis of the word *bookmaker*, except perhaps for the trailing suffix *-er*, there is only contextual inference of the set of sense features employed, which in the end triggers the intended meaning 'a person who takes bets and pays out money to winners'.

## 9.4. Three correlative dimensions of meaning

Mention must be made of two important matters not explicitly considered so far. The first is the well-known fact that one word as a form can have more than one sense associated with it. The individual senses appear as the sememes of a given word (cf. Lipka 2002; Prćić 2016, Chap. 8 in this book) and these can be either related, when they are in the domain of polysemy, or unrelated, when they are in the domain of homonymy. In polymorphemic words, sememes can be compositional, incrementational and decrementational, and all of them, theoretically at least, can occur in one and the same form. How this works in practice is nicely exemplified by the variety of sememes of the words *speaker*, *reader* and *player*, which can be found listed in monolingual dictionaries of English. Needless to say, the phenomena that have been under discussion in the previous sections pertain exclusively to individual senses of polymorphemic words and not to the whole range of their meanings, which, in turn, implies that both the senses and the phenomena related to them are firmly rooted in lexical and general pragmatics.



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And secondly, it must be stressed that the morphological and semantico-pragmatic phenomena considered here are by no means rigidly and clearly delimited, but, rather, the boundaries between them are fuzzy and gradient, and can best be understood and conceptualized in terms of three parallel interrelating and intersecting segments of a scale, along the following three dimensions:

- 1: the COMPOSITIONALITY SEGMENT, where compositionality and idiomatization are positioned on its two ends, with the idiomatization area spanned by incrementation shading off into decrementation,
- 2: the EXPLICITNESS SEGMENT, where explicit and non-explicit meaning are positioned on its two ends, with the non-explicit meaning area spanned by implicit meaning shading off into implied meaning, and
- 3: the TRANSPARENCY SEGMENT, where transparency and opacity are positioned on its two ends, with opacification spanning the area in-between.

The arrangement of the three dimensions is shown on Illustration 9, where the three segments of the scale reflect the interrelations and intersections just outlined.

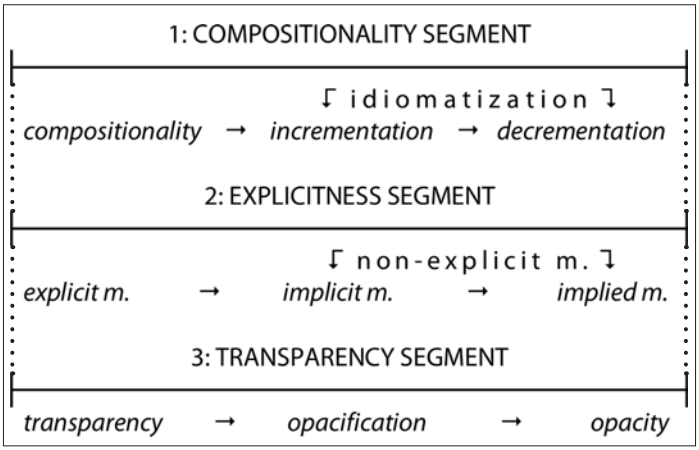


Illustration 9: tripartite scale of meaning of polymorphemic words



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As it may be gathered from the arrangement diagrammed here, there is a strong and largely predictable correlation between coextensively positioned elements on the three scales: firstly, between compositionality, explicit meaning and transparency; secondly, between incrementation, implicit meaning and opacification; and thirdly, between decrementation, implied meaning and opacity. Using this trichotomy, each polymorphemic word can have its exact place determined at the intersection of the three scales; for example, the word *correspondent*, in the sense 'a person who regularly reports news for print or electronic media', is idiomatized through decrementation (according to the compositionality criterion), because it contains implied meaning through the sense features 'report news', 'print or electronic media', 'for a living' and 'on a regular basis' (according to the explicitness criterion) and is therefore opaque (according to the transparency criterion).

## 9.5. Lexical implicatures

The current exploration of the manifestations and properties of non-explicit meaning in polymorphemic words has drawn attention to the possibility that, owing to certain perceived similarities in the nature of the non-explicit meaning actually communicated and, arguably, in the comparable inferencing processes in their interpretation, both incrementation and decrementation could be construed and explained, *mutatis mutandis*, as lexical analogues of Gricean conversational implicatures, which are found in utterances (for the seminal text on implicature, see Grice 1975 and for various construals, clarifications and elaborations, see Grundy 2020; Huang 2014; Levinson 1983; Thomas 1995; Yule 1996 as well as Archer and Grundy 2011; Cummings 2009; Horn and Ward 2005; Huang 2017; Mey 2009; Verschueren and Östman 2009, and the references therein). First introduced in Prćić 2001, the original idea has since been significantly rethought and will now be presented in an amended and amplified form.

By way of a brief reminder, a CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATURE is special meaning that is conveyed indirectly beyond the meaning



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explicitly stated. It is the speaker/writer who creates an implicature and it is the hearer/reader who has to recognize and infer it in a given context. In any given spoken or written communication event, participants act on the assumption that all of them genuinely attempt to behave cooperatively. This mutual assumption, proposed and termed by Grice (1975) THE COOPERATIVE PRINCIPLE, builds around the (tacit) observance of the four maxims, i.e. subprinciples, of conversation: of quantity, quality, relation and manner, which are about the informativeness, truthfulness, relevance and clarity, respectively (cf. Prćić 2016), of the speaker/writer's communicative contribution. Purposeful non-observance of (at least) one of the four maxims generates a conversational implicature.

Among the several ways the speaker/writer can (choose to) fail to observe a maxim, which include flouting, violating, infringing, opting out of and suspending it (for details, see especially Grice 1975; Levinson 1983; Thomas 1995), the most frequently encountered one is flouting, when "a speaker *blatantly* fails to observe a maxim, not with any intention of deceiving or misleading, but because the speaker wishes to prompt the hearer to look for a meaning which is different from, or in addition to, the expressed meaning" (Thomas 1995: 65). To return to an earlier example above, A: *I am out of petrol.* – B: *There is a garage round the corner*, B generates the conversational implicature 'the garage is open and has petrol to sell', by flouting the maxim of relation (or, relevance, as it has become more accurately known), in not providing a straightforward and expected answer but by providing a different and roundabout answer, which, strictly, does not stick to the topic and which A has to recognize and infer, bearing in mind the assumption that B's response is in line with the cooperative principle.

When this essential apparatus is applied to incrementation and decrementation in polymorphemic words, the following parallels can be made. With incrementation the implicature is based on the non-observance of the MAXIM OF QUANTITY, which says: "Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange). / Do not make your contribution



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more informative than is required." (Grice 1975: 45). In words of this kind, non-observance of the maxim of quantity becomes obvious by the fact that more information is actually communicated than is expressed; for example, what is actually communicated by *escapee*, when it is used in the utterance *All three escapees were captured and put back to prison late last night*, consists of what is expressed – 'a person who has escaped' plus the additional meaning – 'from prison'. This additional meaning is IMPLICIT in this particular word.

In contrast, with decrementation the implicature is based on the non-observance of the MAXIM OF QUALITY, which says: "Do not say what you believe to be false. / Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence." (Grice 1975: 46). In words of this kind, non-observance of the maxim of quality becomes obvious by the fact that, in sharp contrast to the information expressed, untrue information is actually communicated; for example, what is actually communicated by *beefeater*, when it is used in the utterance *I especially liked the beefeaters' colourful uniforms*, is not what is expressed – 'a person who eats beef', but a discrepant meaning – 'a ceremonial guard at the Tower of London'. This discrepant meaning is IMPLIED in this particular word.

Since the implicatures above function in lexical units – specifically, in polymorphemic words, they will be called here LEXICAL IMPLICATURES. Both types of lexical implicature are comparable to particularized, rather than generalized, conversational implicatures, as they arise in, and crucially depend on, specific linguistic (sentential) and extralinguistic (situational) contexts. Even though both particularized conversational implicatures and lexical implicatures are utterance-bound, the nature of their manifestation is not the same: PARTICULARIZED CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATURES are not constant, in the sense that a certain string of words, like *There is a garage round the corner*, may, on different occasions, be used to convey various intended meanings – for this reason, a particularized conversational implicature must always be generated anew, from occasion to occasion, which necessitates, and at the same time opens up space for, a higher degree of linguistic creativity



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both on the part of the speaker/writer who generates the implicature and of the hearer/reader who recognizes and infers, i.e. calculates, it. On the other hand, LEXICAL IMPLICATURES are constant, in the sense that a certain word, like *escapee*, in its given sememe 'a person who has escaped from prison', may, on different occasions, be used to convey only that one fixed meaning – for this reason, a lexical implicature need not be generated anew on every occasion, because it is already contained, prepackaged as it were, in the given word, which the speaker/writer just needs to select on a particular occasion while the hearer/reader needs to calculate its intended meaning, with both of these activities requiring a considerably lower degree of linguistic creativity than particularized conversational implicatures do.

### 9.5.1. Conventionalized lexical implicatures

Starting from this chief point of difference between particularized conversational and lexical implicatures, two terminological questions should be addressed. The first is whether lexical implicatures can be described as particularized in the Gricean sense. If 'particularized' is taken to mean heavily context-dependent, not constant, but variable and therefore newly generable, which holds for conversational implicatures, the same cannot be said of lexical implicatures, because they are heavily context-dependent, constant and invariable, and therefore not newly generable. Indeed, lexical implicatures cannot be characterized as particularized in this term's usual technical sense. These implicatures may, it is true, begin as particularized, when implicit or implied meaning initially becomes associated with a certain polymorphemic word but, through the course of time and the word's repeated use, this special meaning – additional, in the case of incrementation, and discrepant, in the case of decrementation – gradually becomes constant, i.e. established and conventionalized, during the process of semantic idiomatization, the third phase in the diachronic development of a polymorphemic word (cf. Bauer 1983; Prćić 2016: Chap. 5). Phrased more generally, as the meaning of all new



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words becomes established by convention, within a specific language community, in the similar way the meaning of lexical implicatures becomes conventionally established, maintained and perceived. And to capture this important distinction and to duly contrast it with 'particularized conversational implicature', the designation CONVENTIONALIZED LEXICAL IMPLICATURE is proposed here as arguably the best suited for the purpose.

And the other terminological question concerns naming the manner in which non-observance of the maxims of quantity and quality in the creation of lexical implicatures is realized. Of the full array of the available terms pertaining to conversational implicatures, viz. the verbs *flout, violate, infringe, opt out* and *suspend*, only the first two, *flout* and *violate*, would appear to be at least partly semantically adequate. However, as flouting, according to Grice (1975: 49), denotes blatant failure to observe a maxim whereas violating denotes quiet and unostentatious failure, with a liability to mislead in some cases, neither of these terms can appropriately characterize the conditions relative to lexical implicatures. Rather than being blatant, the non-observance involved tends to be quiet and unostentatious but with no liability to mislead – in other words, the central sense features of *flout* and *violate* are neutralized and toned-down, and then fused together. This in fact means that the non-observance of the two maxims in lexical implicatures is deliberate but unobtrusive and, as such, not aimed at achieving any communicative effect, except, initially at least, packaging as many bits of information, i.e. meaning, as possible in as small a container, i.e. polymorphemic word, as possible, in full keeping with the principle of language economy. And to name this neutral and unmarked property, *flout* and *violate*, both highly specific and marked labels, prove not to be suitable. A better candidate would be the verb *exploit*, which carries no specific overtones either way, and is mentioned by Grice himself (1975: 49), apparently intended as an unmarked cover term. Probably the most fitting name for the phenomenon under consideration would be the verb *be based on* (in the passive), already used in the definitions above, because it reflects well the essence of this particular non-obser-



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vance of the two maxims – deliberateness and unobtrusiveness, and at the same time emphasizes the causal connection between the maxims and the lexical implicatures resulting from their exploitation. In addition, the passive indicates agentlessness, which in the present case implies that the specific speaker/writer is, in most instances, not actively involved in the creation of the lexical implicature but only selects and uses the word already containing it. Therefore, as the most apposite terminological choice seems the formulation that conventionalized lexical implicatures ARE BASED ON the maxims of quantity and quality – or, in full, ARE BASED ON THE EXPLOITATION of the maxims of quantity and quality.

### 9.5.2. Properties of lexical implicatures

To round off this account of conventionalized lexical implicature, which has included highlighting similarities and differences with particularized conversational implicature throughout, it remains to take a look at how the principal properties of conversational implicatures apply, and are applicable, to lexical implicatures. Following discussions and exemplifications in the literature (especially Grice 1975; Levinson 1983; Mey 2009; Thomas 1995; Yule 1996), a conversational implicature is said to be calculable, variable, non-detachable, cancellable and reinforceable, and these five properties will now briefly be assessed comparatively.

(1) CALCULABILITY denotes the ability of the conversational implicature to be recognized and inferred by the hearer/reader, who acts on the assumption that the cooperative principle is adhered to by the speaker/writer as well – similarly, lexical implicatures, as has been mentioned earlier, are also calculable.

(2) VARIABILITY denotes the ability of the conversational implicature to change from context to context, from occasion to occasion, in spite of the same string of words making up the same sentence and utterance; for example, *I've got a bad headache*, used in response to an invitation or offer, may convey a wide variety of implicatures, including refusal, evasion, disregard and indifference. In contrast, lexical implicatures are not variable, but constant, or



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invariable, because, as has been explained above, they convey one fixed meaning in each sememe, which does not change with context and occasion, as shown in the sememe 'a person who drives a bus for a living' of the word *bus driver*.

(3) Non-detachability denotes the ability of the conversational implicature to remain the same after a synonymous reformulation of the original sentence, which may involve replacement of a word with its synonym; for example, *She is very beautiful* and *She is a real beauty* (Mey 2009: 367) equally give rise to an ironical implicature that she is actually not very beautiful. In contrast, lexical implicatures are non-detachable only non-lexically, insofar as they can be reformulated by paraphrase or definition, which contains the relevant sense features, as in the word *rewrite* versus the synonymous phrase *write again but in a better way*; however, this is non-detachability at the phrasal or sentential, i.e. syntactic, level and not at the lexical level, as would be expected.

(4) Cancellability, or defeasibility, denotes the ability of the conversational implicature to be denied or withdrawn by providing additional content to that effect; for example, *You've won five dollars, in fact, you've won ten* (Yule 1996: 44) contains a denial of the original implicature, introduced with the phrase *in fact*. In contrast, lexical implicatures cannot be cancelled, because individual sense features creating the implicature, like '+for a living' in the word *bus driver* or '+boring' and '+pompous' in the word *speechify*, simply cannot be denied or withdrawn within the word itself; if that were possible, a new and different sememe would be produced.

(5) Reinforceability denotes the ability of the conversational implicature to be repeated for emphasis by appending additional content, in the form of a synonymous or periphrastic expression, to the utterance involved; for example, *Some of the girls were reading books but not all* (Mey 2009: 366) contains an added synonymous reinforcement *but not all*. In contrast, lexical implicatures cannot be reinforced, roughly for the same reason stated in the previous paragraph – the impossibility of the individual sense features creating the implicature to be repeated within the word itself, because a new and different sememe would thus be produced.



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## 9.6. Summing up and looking ahead

Conventionalized lexical implicatures are based on the exploitation of the maxims of quantity, when implicit meaning arises, or quality, when implied meaning arises. Lexical implicatures are calculable, invariable, syntactically non-detachable, non-cancellable and non-reinforceable. The fact that the manifestation of the last four properties differs sharply from that of particularized conversational implicatures is in all likelihood attributable to the conventionalized nature of lexical implicatures, but also of lexical meaning in general, which is constant and therefore not easily susceptible to change or alteration. Furthermore, the last three properties of conversational implicatures involve mainly manipulation of words within phrases or sentences, whereas in lexical implicatures it is the sense features that would have to be removed and/or added, which at word level is all but impracticable.

The method of dealing with explicit and non-explicit meaning in polymorphemic words in English is theoretically set in the now classical pragmatic framework developed by H. P. Grice (1975). Hopefully its main contribution is the proposal of the concept of conventionalized lexical implicature, construed here as the lexical analogue of particularized conversational implicature. Seen not only as a fresh methodological approach to handling non-explicitness in polymorphemic words, the concept of lexical implicature could also serve as a potentially useful and usable explanatory tool in teaching lexical morphology, semantics and pragmatics to advanced university students.

A final little remark: it would be most interesting and challenging indeed to find out how non-explicit meaning in polymorphemic words could be accounted for in the mould of other theoretical frameworks in pragmatics – notably, the tri-heuristic approach by Levinson (2000), the dual-principle approach by Horn (1984) and the relevance-theoretic approach by Sperber and Wilson (1995).



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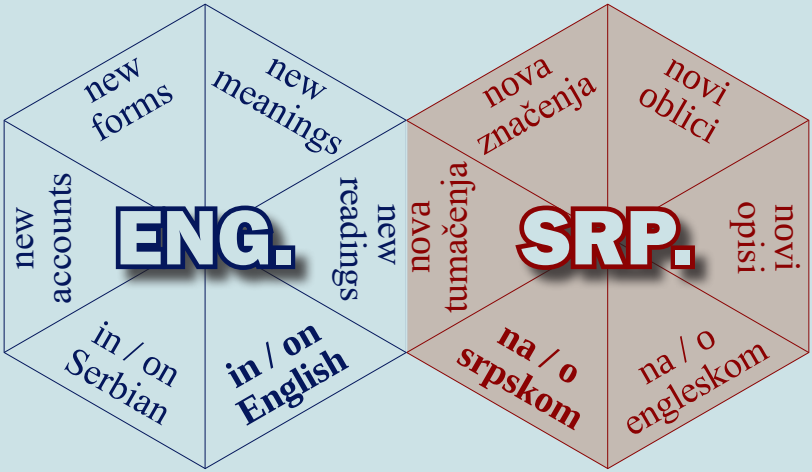
DEO 2:

# REČI U NOVOM SVETLU

## – NA / O SRPSKOM –



*Reči u novom svetlu*, prvo, elektronsko, izdanje
*Words in a New Light*, first, electronic, edition

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# 10. Značaj izučavanja neologizama u srpskom jeziku

Neologizmi, tj. nove reči ili nova značenja postojećih reči, koje su se pojavile u nedavnoj prošlosti, nastaju, ali i nestaju, svakodnevno u svim živim jezicima, pa tako i u srpskom. U govorenoj i pisanoj komunikaciji korisnici jezika, naročito oni jezički osetljiviji, obično eksplicitno pokazuju da su svesni postojanja određenog neologizma, pa ga čak i najavljuju. Pri tome, oni koji su ispisali neologizam, prethodno ga možda i sami stvorivši ili uvevši, takvu reč često stavljaju pod navodnike i/ili ispred nje ubacuju ogradu 'takozvani', ili 'tzv.', ili neku drugu. Oni, pak, koji su neologizam izgovorili, prethodno ga takođe možda i stvorivši ili uvevši, takvu reč često izgovaraju glasnije, istaknutije i/ili u vazduhu prave prstima navodnike. Neki od komunikatora koji ovo čine, i u pisanju i u govoru, to, kako izgleda, rade da bi se odbranili od nečega ili nekoga, da bi predupredili mogući prekor, ako ne i prezir, nekih slušalaca ili čitalaca, zbog hrabrosti ili drskosti što su upotrebili nešto čega nema u leksikonu i rečnicima idealizovanog književnog jezika. Drugi, opet, ovo rade upravo zato da bi razglasili i dali na znanje slušaocima ili čitaocima da će ubrzo naići na novu reč, zapravo novo obogaćenje leksikona srpskog jezika. Ima, međutim, i onih trećih, možda i najbrojnijih, koji se nalaze između prvih, 'uplašenih neologista', i potonjih, 'neustrašivih neologista', a to su 'ravnodušni neologisti', koji su ravnodušni prema neologizmima, uopšte ih ne registruju, a samim tim i ne reaguju na njih.



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## 10.1. Neologizmi između 'običnih' i 'ne-običnih' ljudi

Nasuprot enkoderima i porukâ, i novih reči, dekoderi reaguju na neologizme na tri sebi primerena i očekivana načina: prvi ilustruje jedna scena iz televizijske serije *Nepobedivo srce* (2011-12; snimljene po motivima istoimenog romana Milice Jakovljević, Mir-Jam), u kojoj prilično nepredvidljivi Stanislav, jedan od mlađih protagonista (igra ga Ljubomir Bulajić), svom prilično uzdržanom novouseljenom privatnom nastavniku Miroslavu (Ivan Bosiljčić) sledećim rečima opisuje svoju prilično razmaženu sestru Milenu (Sloboda Mićalović): „Verujte mi, ona se možda brzo naljuti, ali je *odljutljiva*", na šta nastavnik odvrati: „Od-ljutlji-va!? Nikad nisam čuo tu reč", da bi učenik zaključio: „To je zato što ne postoji. Samo je ona odljutljiva".[37] Ovaj tip reakcije, s ukazivanjem na novu reč, javlja se prvenstveno kod nove forme i njene nove, raspoznatljive i odgonetljive sadržine.

Desetak godina kasnije, u proleće 2021, drugi način ilustruju svi štampani i elektronski mediji u našoj zemlji, u kojima hit predstavlja diplomatski termin *nonpejper*, od engleskog *non-paper,* u srpskom trenutno češće pisan kao *non-pejper* i *non pejper,* pa i izvorno *non-paper* (dakle, ukupno u šest varijanti), ali čije tačno značenje, stiče se 'odoljiv' utisak, malo ko zna i još manje ko želi da sazna. Približna kreativna tumačenja kreću se od 'nezvanični dokument', što *nonpejper* u diplomatiji i jeste, preko 'ne-dokument' i 'ne-papir', pa do 'nepostojeći dokument' i 'nepostojeći papir'. Ovaj tip reakcije, s više proizvoljnih tumačenja, javlja se prvenstveno kod nove forme i njene nove, nepoznate sadržine.

Između ovih, opet uz značajan doprinos naših medija (i njihovu ljubav, čak strast, prema izmišljanju sinonima, da bi se po svaku cenu izbeglo tzv. 'dosadno ponavljanje' istih formi u istoj ili susednoj rečenici; up. Pogl. 13 u ovoj knjizi), treći način ilustruje jedan par glagola, *navesti* i *poručiti*, neopazice obogaćenih novim, dodatnim, značenjem, koje ih je učinilo sinonimnim s glagolima *izjaviti*, *reći*, *kazati* i *saopštiti*, svi u leksičkom polju

[37] Scena dostupna na adresi: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1W37m8t7_8k.



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glagola verbalne komunikacije, što pokazuju i ova dva primera: prvi – *Turisti navode da Novi Sad ima raznovrsne i kvalitetne festivale* (pritom turisti ništa ne nabrajaju i nikog ne citiraju), i drugi primer – *Đak prvak poručio je novinarki da stavi masku na nos* (pritom đak joj je govorio bez posrednika ili prenosioca i gledao ju je u oči). Ovaj tip reakcije, s njenim izostankom, javlja se prvenstveno kod postojeće forme i njene nove, prepoznatljive i odgonetljive sadržine.

U ovakve i slične reakcije 'običnih' ljudi spadaju i reakcije lingvista, koji uglavnom više vole da nastupaju kao 'obični' ljudi. Međutim, iz nekog razloga, nije najjasnije kojeg ili kojih, u našoj sredini, u celini uzev, izostaju očekivane reakcije lingvista kao 'ne-običnih' ljudi, kao jezičkih, lingvističkih i primenjenolingvističkih stručnjaka, kod kojih bi, bar nekih, trebalo, zbog prirode njihove struke, da bude razvijeno, bar malo, profesionalno interesovanje prema inovacijama u srpskom jeziku, a onda i prema neologizmima i izučavanju njih, kroz sistematsko i sistemsko praćenje i opisivanje njihovih formi, funkcija, sadržina i upotreba, ali i svega drugog nejezičkog i nelingvističkog u vezi s neologizmima, uključujući i stavove i reakcije korisnika jezika, tj. slušalaca/čitalaca i govornika/pisaca.

Na sreću, izuzetaka u izučavanju neologizama ipak ima, i to u vidu važnih i vrednih priloga za višedimenzionalnu sliku o neologizmima u srpskom jeziku.[38]

[38] Posebno relevantni za ovu tematiku jesu rezultati sledećih leksikoloških i leksikografskih istraživanja: Ajdžanović 2007, 2022; Bacić 2020; Bugarski 2019a, 2021; Bukatarević 2024; Ćirilov 1982, 1991; Ćorić 1982; Dragićević 2010, 2012, 2018a, 2018b, 2020; Dražić 2014, 2022; Filipović Kovačević 2013; Gortan Premk 2004; Halas Popović 2017; Halupka Rešetar i Lalić Krstin 2009, 2012a, 2012b; Ileš 2015; Injac 2003; J. Jovanović 2018; V. Jovanović 2010; Kavgić 2013; Kardoš 2014; Kardoš Stojanović 2024; Klajn 1992, 2006; Krimer Gaborović 2019; Lazić Konjik 2018; Lazić Konjik i Milenković 2020; Matijašević 2019; Milić 2013, 2023; Mišić Ilić 2017, 2019, 2021, 2022; Obradović 2016; Otašević 2008a; Panić Kavgić 2019, 2023, 2024; Piper 2016; Prćić 2018, 2019a, 2023, Pogl. 11 i 12 u ovoj knjizi; Prodanović Stankić 2008; Radović Tešić 2008; Rasulić 2008; Ristić 2012; Savić 1984; Savić i Stevanović 2019; Savić, Čanak, Mitro i Štasni 2009; Stojičić 2006a, 2006b; Štasni 1997/98, 2013; Štasni i Štrbac 2015; Štrbac i Štasni 2014; Tomić 2019a, 2019b,



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Kao značajan izvor neologizama i njihovog izučavanja treba svakako pomenuti i elektronski naučno-popularni časopis *Novorečje*.[39]

Uprkos ograničenom interesovanju lingvista i nedovoljno obuhvatnoj, celovitoj i aktuelnoj naučnoj pokrivenosti ove oblasti, istraživanje neologizama u srpskom jeziku, kao i u svima drugima, samostalno ili kontaktno-kontrastivno, veoma je bitno i sigurno jedno od najizazovnijih i najzahvalnijih polja izučavanja leksike jednog jezika, zbog toga što pruža dragocene kvantitativne i kvalitativne podatke o različitim jezičkim i vanjezičkim vidovima nastanka, postojanja i, eventualno, nestanka neologizama, a najviše o sledećima:

- uvid u funkcionisanje tvorbenog, tj. morfosintaktičkog i semantičkog, podsistema današnjeg srpskog jezika,

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2020, 2022, 2023; Tomić i Danilović Jeremić 2020; Vasić 2013; Vuletić i Milosavljević 2016.

Univerzalnija teorijska i praktična pitanja vezana za pojedine aspekte neologizacije razmatraju: Bauer 2001; Benczes 2006; Fischer i Pułaczewska 2008; Furiassi, Pulcini i Rodríguez González 2012; Jones 2016; Kerremans 2015; Lefer 2011; Lehrer 2003; Lieber i Štekauer 2011, 2014; Mattiello 2013, 2017, 2023; Metcalf 2002; Munat 2007; Renner, Maniez i Arnaud 2013; Štekauer 1998, 2002, 2005; Štekauer i Lieber 2005.

[39] Dostupan na adresama: http://www.alma.co.rs/Novorecje/index.html i https://www.reci.org.rs/casopis-novorecje-po-brojevima/. Koristan empirijski materijal nude i sledeći rečnici: nastajući onlajn rečnik novih reči, dostupan na adresi: https://www.reci.org.rs/category/nove-reci/; onlajn rečnik slenga *Vukajlija*, dostupan na adresi: https://vukajlija.com/; *Rečnik novih i nezabeleženih reči* (Otašević 2008b); *Rečnik novih reči u srpskom jeziku 1-2* (Otašević, Nikolić i Đorđević 2022, 2023); *Rečnik pojmova iz perioda epidemije kovida* (Nikolić i Slijepčević 202?); *Dvosmerni rečnik srpskog žargona i žargonu srodnih reči i izraza* (Andrić 2005); *Rečnik srpskog žargona (i žargonu srodnih reči i izraza)* (Gerzić 2012); *Rečnik savremenog beogradskog žargona* (Gerzić i Gerzić 2002); *Beogradski frajerski rečnik* (Imami 2007); *Mali rečnik feminističkih termina* (Jovanović i Otašević 2015); *Du yu speak anglosrpski? Rečnik novijih anglicizama* (Vasić, Prćić i Nejgebauer 2018); *Srpski rečnik novijih anglicizama* (Prćić, Dražić, Milić, i dr. 2021); *Novi englesko-srpski rečnik sportskih termina* (Milić, Panić Kavgić i Kardoš 2021).



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- uvid u opšte i posebne postupke proširivanja leksikona srpskog jezika,
- uvid u nominacione potrebe srpskog društva i kulture, i načine njihovog leksičkog zadovoljavanja,
- uvid u jezički i kulturno uslovljene međuleksičke kontakte srpskog jezika s drugim jezicima, i
- uvid u leksičku kreativnost korisnika srpskog jezika.

Sa svim iznetim preliminarnim opaskama na umu, glavni ciljevi ovog poglavlja dvojaki su: prvo, da se podrži i podstakne intenzivnije, obuhvatnije i celovitije izučavanje neologizama u srpskom jeziku; i drugo, da se, predočavanjem konkretnih oblasti i tema, ukaže na moguće pravce teorijskih istraživanja neologizama u srpskom jeziku i primene njihovih rezultata u praksi. Biće govora o pojmovno-terminološkim određenjem neologizama; o leksikološkim i leksikografskim aspektima izučavanja neologizama; i o značaju neologizama u leksičkom fondu jednog jezika.

## 10.2. Pojmovno-terminološko određenje neologizama

Da bi se moglo pristupiti obradi ove teme, neophodno je za pojam i termin ‘neologizam’ ponuditi određenje preciznije od onog provizornog u uvodu, koje se, uzgred, u više ili manje sličnom, ili čak istom, obliku javlja u većini rečnika i konsultovanih domaćih i stranih studija (navedenih u Literaturi) – neologizam je ‘nova ili novoskovana reč’, a u boljim i mnogo ređim slučajevima ‘i reč upotrebljena u novom značenju’, koja se u datom jeziku pojavila u nedavnoj prošlosti. Kao opšta i radna definicija, ovakva formulacija je sasvim dovoljna, ali za potpunije pojmovno-terminološko određenje u leksikološke i leksikografske svrhe nedostaje dopuna o nekolikim značajnim karakteristikama neologizama.

Pre svega, neophodno je omeđiti okvirno trajanje pomenute nedavne prošlosti. Reč je o vremenskom rasponu koji neologizam zahvata na dijahronijskoj osi i koji se može kretati od sadašnjeg trenutka, preko nekoliko godina unatrag, pa do nekoliko decenija unatrag. Za potrebe opipljivijeg određenja statusa neologizma, optimalno i realistično gledano, i po jezičkim i po vanjezičkim



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kriterijumima, neka reč može se smatrati novom sve dok se nalazi u rasponu od sadašnjeg trenutka do najviše 25 godina u prošlost.

Uz ovo, nužno je objasniti i tri ključna svojstva vezana za ispoljavanje pojave 'novo' u neologizmima: prvo, kako se to leksički novo tačno ispoljava u strukturi konkretnih reči; drugo, kako se to leksički novo tačno ispoljava u sistemu konkretnog jezika; i treće, kako se to leksički novo tačno ispoljava u upotrebi sistema konkretnog jezika. Načini ispoljavanja ovih pojava čine tri definiciona neološka svojstva, koja će biti sagledana u nastavku.

### 10.2.1. Struktura reči

Ispoljavanje leksički novoga kroz strukturu konkretne reči ovde podrazumeva formalne i/ili sadržinske tvorbene mehanizme koji se koriste u stvaranju neologizama, što se realizuje u okviru tri tipa (slova 'TM' u tipologiji označavaju 'tvorbeni mehanizam'):

- TM1, MORFOLOŠKO-SEMANTIČKI MEHANIZAM: u datoj reči nova je i forma i sadržina, što predstavlja FORMALNO-SADRŽINSKI, ili MORFOLOŠKO-SEMANTIČKI, NEOLOGIZAM, izveden nekim od sistemskih postupaka tvorbe reči – primarnih, pravilima regulisanih (prefiksacija, sufiksacija, kompozicija, polukompozicija, konverzija, elipsacija), ili sekundarnih, pravilima poluregulisanih (konflacija, akronimizacija, abrevijacija), ili, retko, nekim asistemskim, nemotivisanim postupkom, uz pridruženo novo značenje celini (up. Bugarski 2019a, 2021; Dragićević 2010, 2012, 2018b, 2020; Klajn 2002, 2003; Klajn, Piper i Dragićević 2022; Prćić 2019a, 2023; Štasni 2013); npr. nova prefiksacija *otpriznati*, u novom smislu 'povući priznanje (Kosova i Metohije)', ili nova sufiksacija *odljutljiv*, u novom smislu 'koji se lako odljuti ili da odljutiti'.
- TM2, SEMANTIČKI MEHANIZAM: u datoj reči nova je samo sadržina, dok je forma poznata odranije, što predstavlja SADRŽINSKI, ili SEMANTIČKI, NEOLOGIZAM, izveden nekim od sistemskih postupaka tvorbe smisla – metaforizacijom ili metonimizacijom izvornog značenja, ili njegovom genera-



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lizacijom (širenjem) ili specijalizacijom (sužavanjem), ili, retko, nekim asistemskim, nemotivisanim postupkom pridodavanja potpuno novog značenja (up. Dragićević 2010; Filipović Kovačević 2021; Klikovac 2004; Kövecses 2010; Lakoff i Johnson 1980; Prćić 2008, 2019a, 2023, Pogl. 12 u ovoj knjizi); npr. stari glagoli *navesti* i *poručiti*, u novom, generalizovanom smislu 'izjaviti, reći, kazati, saopštiti', ili stari predlog *do*, u novom, nemotivisanom smislu 'od', tj. 'u tačnom trajanju, koji tačno traje toliko i toliko', u primerima poput *pritvor do trideset dana*.

- TM3, MORFOLOŠKI MEHANIZAM: u datoj reči nova je samo forma, dok je sadržina poznata odranije, što predstavlja FORMALNI, ili MORFOLOŠKI, NEOLOGIZAM, izveden nekim od postupaka tvorbe reči i/ili uveden iz nekog stranog jezika (up. Prćić 2019a, 2023, Pogl. 13 u ovoj knjizi); npr. nova žargonska abrevijacija *ljubac*, u starom smislu 'poljubac', ili novi anglicizam *CV / si-vi*, u starom smislu 'radna biografija'.

### 10.2.2. Jezički sistem

Ispoljavanje leksički novoga kroz sistem konkretnog jezika ovde podrazumeva domaća i/ili strana leksička sredstva koja se koriste u nastajanju, tj. stvaranju i/ili uvođenju, neologizama, što se realizuje u okviru tri tipa (slova 'LS' u tipologiji označavaju 'leksička sredstva'):

- LS1, DOMAĆA SREDSTVA: primena domaćih postupaka tvorbe reči i/ili tvorbe smisla radi stvaranja novih formi i/ili sadržina u sistemu srpskog jezika, čime nastaju UNUTRAŠNJI, ili UNUTARSISTEMSKI, ili DOMAĆI, NEOLOGIZMI; npr. prefiksacija *predizbori*, u smislu 'preliminarni izbori na kojima se utvrđuje popis kandidata za glavne izbore', ili frazna imenica *mali maturant*, u smislu 'učenik koji treba da polaže, ili je položio, malu maturu', mada je nominacionoj nameni i komunikativnoj nameri ove reči primerenija i tačnija kompozicija *malomaturant* (prema *Novosađanin, velikobritanski, sremskomitrovički* i sl.; uz-



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gred, ne *mitrovački* jer je to pridev koji odgovara imenici *Mitrovac*, a ne *Mitrovica*), budući da se ovom rečju ne žele imenovati maturanti koji su mali rastom ili uzrastom nego oni koji su uključeni u malu maturu (up. *Novi Sad, Velika Britanija, Sremska Mitrovica* i sl.).

- LS2, STRANA SREDSTVA: primena gotovih stranih formi i/ili sadržina, danas naročito iz engleskog jezika, radi njihovog uvođenja u sistem srpskog jezika, čime nastaju SPOLJNI, ili VANSISTEMSKI, ili UVEZENI, NEOLOGIZMI; npr. anglicizam *šopingmol*, u smislu 'veliki trgovinski centar', ili luzito-hispanizam *futsal*, u smislu 'fudbal s dva tima od po pet igrača na manjem terenu, obično u zatvorenom prostoru'.
- LS3, MEŠOVITA SREDSTVA: kombinovana primena domaćih i stranih sredstava radi stvaranja novih formi i/ili sadržina u sistemu srpskog jezika, čime nastaju MEŠOVITI, ili HIBRIDNI, NEOLOGIZMI, po jednom od četiri raspoloživa obrasca:
  - OBRAZAC 1: strana forma i njoj pridružena sadržina preslikane u novoprekomponovanoj domaćoj formi i njoj pridruženoj stranoj sadržini; npr. kalk *studija o izvodljivosti*, od eng. *feasibility study*, u smislu 'stručna procena izvodljivosti nekog plana ili projekta', ili delimični kalk *prebukiran*, od srp. *pre-* i eng. *(over)-booked*, u smislu 'prezauzet, preopterećen, pretrpan poslom' (up. Vidačić 2000),
  - OBRAZAC 2: domaća forma dopunjena stranom formom i njoj pridruženom domaćom sadržinom; npr. konflacija, ili slivenica (autorova šaljiva tvorba), *obwebiti*, od srp. *objaviti* i eng. *web* natpostavljenog preko srp. *-jav-*, u smislu 'objaviti na vebu', ili polukompozicija, ili polusloženica *SMS-poruka*, od srp. *poruka* i srp. premodifikacije *SMS* (od eng. *SMS*), u smislu 'tekstualna poruka poslata ili primljena preko mobilnog telefona',
  - OBRAZAC 3: strana forma dopunjena domaćom formom i njoj pridruženom domaćom sadržinom; npr. sekundarna morfološka adaptacija anglicizma *bodi-*



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*bilderka*, od srp. *bodibilder* (od eng. *bodybuilder*) i srp. *-ka*, u smislu 'ženski bodibilder', ili *proguglati*, od srp. *pro-* i srp. *guglati* (od eng. *google*), u smislu 'pokušati pronaći neku informaciju na internetu, naročito preko pretraživačkog servisa Google', i

- OBRAZAC 4: domaća forma dopunjena stranom sadržinom; npr. *ohrabriti*, u smislu 'podstaći, podržati, potpomoći (strana ulaganja i sl.)' prema eng. *encourage*, ili *locirati*, u smislu 'otkriti ili utvrditi tačno mesto ili lokaciju nekoga ili nečega' prema eng. *locate*.

### 10.2.3. Upotreba jezičkog sistema

Ispoljavanje leksički novoga kroz upotrebu sistema konkretnog jezika ovde podrazumeva odnos – ili, tačnije, odnošenje – prema neologizmima članova određenog društva i kulture, odn. jezičke zajednice, što se realizuje u okviru pet odelitih i međuuslovljenih etapa, na sledeći način:

- ETAPA 1, početna tačka: NOMINACIONA POTREBA za datim neologizmom, odn. 'pojačana sociolingvistička motivacija' (Bugarski 1983: 165) za leksičkim imenovanjem ili novonastalog segmenta vanjezičke stvarnosti, poput pojave i pojma 'muška sponzoruša', što je, za sada, *sponzorušan, sponzorko, sponzoraš* i *sponzorac*, ili novouvedenog segmenta vanjezičke stvarnosti, prilikom prevođenja sa stranog jezika, poput anglicizma *nonpejper*, što su *nezvanični dokument* ili *neformalni dokument*; nominaciona potreba smatra se osnovnim pokretačem, ili polazištem, nastanka neologizama i, ukoliko je dovoljno izražena i 'pojačana', porađa nominaciono potrebni neologizam, na koji se može nastaviti
- ETAPA 2: veća ili manja FREKVENTNOST datog neologizma u svakodnevnoj govorenoj i pisanoj komunikaciji, na koju se može nastaviti



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- Etapa 3: veća ili manja prisutnost datog neologizma u svesti i znanju članova jezičke zajednice, na koju se može nastaviti
- Etapa 4: veća ili manja prihvaćenost datog neologizma u društvu i kulturi, na koju se može nastaviti
- Etapa 5, krajnja tačka: veća ili manja leksička ustaljenost datog neologizma u jezičkom, odn. leksičkom, sistemu i, samim tim, u mentalnom leksikonu članova jezičke zajednice, a kao njen prirodni nastavak može da usledi leksikografska obrada datog neologizma u specijalizovanim rečnicima neologizama i, kasnije, u opštim rečnicima.

Budući da leksička ustaljenost kao krajnja tačka objedinjuje rezultate delovanja svih ranijih etapa, ona će se ovde smatrati glavnim nosiocem čitavog procesa odnošenja prema neologizmu u društvu i kulturi. Ovo ključno svojstvo upotrebe sistema konkretnog jezika realizuje se u okviru tri gradijentna, stepenovana tipa (slova 'LU' u tipologiji označavaju 'leksička ustaljenost'):

- LU1, slaba ustaljenost: neologizam se vrlo retko ili retko javlja u govorenoj i pisanoj komunikaciji (što se može utvrditi kvantitativnom korpusnom analizom opštih tekstova, kao i onih tematski, stilski i registarski specifičnih; up. Kavgić 2020), a članovima jezičke zajednice nije uopšte ili dovoljno poznata ni njegova forma ni njegova sadržina (što se može utvrditi kvalitativnim i kvantitativnim pragmatičkim anketama; up. Halupka Rešetar i Lalić Krstin 2012a; Lehrer 2003; Panić Kavgić 2023).
- LU2, umerena ustaljenost: neologizam se povremeno javlja u govorenoj i pisanoj komunikaciji, a članovima jezičke zajednice je delimično poznata i njegova forma i njegova sadržina.
- LU3, snažna ustaljenost: neologizam se često ili redovno javlja u govorenoj i pisanoj komunikaciji, a članovima jezičke zajednice je poznata i njegova forma i njegova sadržina.

Ukrštanjem opšte definicije s opisanim svojstvima i njihovim ispoljavanjem, moguće je izvesti i ponuditi potpunije i preciznije određenje pojma i termina 'neologizam', na sledeći način:



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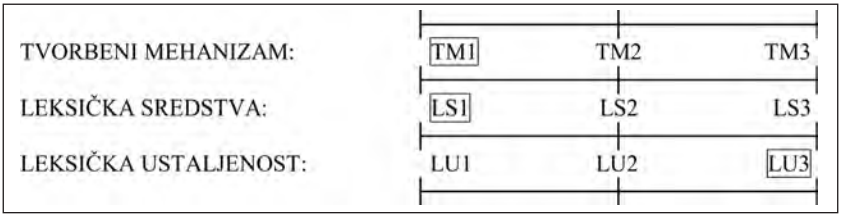
NEOLOGIZAM je **nova reč koja se u nekom jeziku pojavila u periodu od sadašnjosti do najviše 25 godina u prošlost, predstavlja leksičku inovaciju na planu forme i/ili sadržine, nastala je primenom domaćih i/ili stranih leksičkih sredstava i dostigla veću ili manju ustaljenost u leksičkom sistemu tog jezika**.

Pomenuta tri parametra, vezana za strukturu reči, jezički sistem i upotrebu jezičkog sistema, u korelaciji su s tri definiciona svojstva neologizama – tvorbenim mehanizmom (TM), leksičkim sredstvima (LS) i leksičkom ustaljenošću (LU), a načinom njihovog konkretnog ispoljavanja moguće je tačno utvrditi identitet svakog neologizma. Na primeru neologizma *zapratiti*, u smislu 'početi pratiti nečije objave na društvenim mrežama ili emisije na televiziji ili internetu', za kojim se ukazala izrazita nominaciona potreba i koji je tokom 2010-ih godina i kasnije postao vrlo frekventan, prisutan, prihvaćen i ustaljen, a onda i kandidat za odrednicu u specijalizovanom i opštem rečniku srpskog jezika, ta njegova identifikacija izgledala bi ovako: parametar TM realizuje se kao morfološko-semantički (Tip 1), LS kao domaći (Tip 1), a LU kao snažan (Tip 3). Na Ilustraciji 10 ovo stanje je i grafički predstavljeno, u obliku pozicija koje načine ispoljavanja ova tri definiciona svojstva odslikavaju na tri paralelne horizontalne, i međusobno povezane, ose (simboli za sve vrednosti objašnjeni su u Podsetniku ispod, a vrednost konkretnog svojstva je uokvirena).




PODSETNIK:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| TM1 = morfološko-semantički | LS1 = domaća | LU1 = slaba |
| TM2 = semantički | LS2 = strana | LU2 = umerena |
| TM3 = morfološki | LS3 = mešovita | LU3 = snažna |

Ilustracija 10: tri definiciona svojstva i identifikacija neologizma *zapratiti*



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Nakon predloga višeslojnog pojmovno-terminološkog određenja, moguće je preći na razmatranje izučavanja neologizama i ukazati na najvažnije leksikološke i leksikografske oblasti i teme koje zavređuju da u budućnosti budu iscrpnije ispitane.

## 10.3. Leksikološki aspekti izučavanja neologizama

Pod leksikološkim aspektima ovde se podrazumevaju teorijska izučavanja neologizama koja se neposredno i posredno tiču njihove forme, funkcije, sadržine i upotrebe, u okviru najšireg mogućeg poimanja leksikona jednog jezika. S obzirom na to da je posredi najsloženiji i najrazuđeniji vid izučavanja neologizama, osvrt na ove oblasti biće razdeljen u sedam celina prema posebnim užestručnim domenima:

(1) Semaziološki domen (morfologija ka semantici). – Forme kojima se izražavaju sadržine u neologizmima, čime bi bile obuhvaćene sledeće važnije teme:

- postojeći (ostvareni), potencijalni (ostvarivi) i nepostojeći (neostvareni, ali i neostvarivi) neologizmi,
- zastupljeni i frekventni primarni (pravilima regulisani) i sekundarni (pravilima poluregulisani) tvorbeni postupci,
- zastupljeni, frekventni i konkurentni afiksi i afiksoidi,
- novonastali i novonastajući tvorbeni postupci,
- novonastali i novonastajući afiksi i afiksoidi,
- novonastale i novonastajuće upotrebe postojećih afiksa i afiksoida,
- nove sistemske i asistemske pojave i tendencije u tvorbi reči,
- faktor analogije u nastanku novih tipova formi, i
- jednokratne, okazionalne i asistematske forme, ili tipovi formi, u tvorbi reči.

(2) Onomaziološki domen (semantika ka morfologiji). – Sadržine koje se izražavaju formama u neologizmima, čime bi bile obuhvaćene sledeće važnije teme:

- zastupljeni i frekventni tipovi tvorbeno izraženih osnovnih značenja,



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- zastupljeni i frekventni tipovi tvorbeno izraženih prenesenih značenja,
- novonastali i novonastajući tipovi osnovnih značenja,
- novonastali i novonastajući tipovi prenesenih značenja,
- nove sistemske i asistemske pojave i tendencije u tvorbi smisla,
- faktor analogije u nastanku novih tipova sadržina, i
- jednokratne, okazionalne i asistematske sadržine, ili tipovi sadržine, u tvorbi smisla.

(3) Pragmatički domen. – Tumačenje forme i sadržine neologizama, čime bi bile obuhvaćene sledeće važnije teme:

- prepoznavanje neologizama na nivou nove forme, nove sadržine i nove forme s novom sadržinom,
- razumevanje značenja neologizama od strane slušalaca i čitalaca,
- razumevanje značenja neologizama od strane govornika i pisaca,
- razumevanje značenja izdvojenih neologizama, van bilo kakvog konteksta,
- razumevanje značenja neologizama u jezičkom kontekstu,
- razumevanje značenja neologizama u sprezi jezičkog (rečeničnog) i vanjezičkog (situacionog) konteksta,
- faktor analogije u razumevanju značenja neologizama,
- faktor narodne etimologije u razumevanju značenja neologizama,
- razumevanje značenja jednokratnih, okazionalnih i asistematskih neologizama,
- komunikativna namera govornika i pisaca pri stvaranju, uvođenju i korišćenju neologizama,
- jezičko i nejezičko ponašanje govornika i pisaca pri korišćenju neologizama, i
- jezičko i nejezičko ponašanje slušalaca i čitalaca pri susretu s neologizmima.

(4) Stilistički domen. – Komunikativni efekti koji se neologizmima postižu, ili žele postići, čime bi bile obuhvaćene sledeće važnije teme:



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- komunikativni efekti koje su slušaoci i čitaoci prepoznali u neologizmima,
- komunikativni efekti koje su govornici i pisci nameravali u neologizmima,
- stavovi slušalaca i čitalaca prema neologizmima,
- stavovi govornika i pisaca prema neologizmima,
- faktori efektnosti i pamtljivosti neologizama,
- faktori kreativnosti i originalnosti neologizama,
- faktori kreativnosti i originalnosti tvoraca neologizama,
- sistemska i asistemska kreativnost,
- sistemska i asistemska kreativnost radi kreativnosti, i
- tvorbene igre rečima.

(5) Sociokulturni domen. – Nominacione potrebe društva i kulture koje se neologizmima zadovoljavaju, ili mogu zadovoljiti, čime bi bile obuhvaćene sledeće važnije teme:

- zastupljeni i frekventni tipovi realija za koje se neologizmima stvaraju imena,
- zastupljene i frekventne vrste reči preko kojih neologizmi služe kao imena,
- zastupljene i frekventne tematske, stilske i registarske oblasti u kojima neologizmi služe kao imena,
- opšta i terminološka leksika u kojima se neologizmi javljaju, i
- opšte i terminološke oblasti u kojima neologizmi služe kao imena.

(6) Kontaktno-kontrastivni domen. – Uticaj drugih jezika i kultura na nastanak neologizama u ciljnom jeziku, čime bi bile obuhvaćene sledeće važnije teme:

- prilagođavanje spoljnih neologizama, tj. onih stranog porekla, sistemu ciljnog jezika preoblikovanjem,
- prilagođavanje spoljnih neologizama sistemu ciljnog jezika prevođenjem,
- specifičnosti prevođenja neologizama prema prevedenim ustaljenim rečima,
- zastupljeni i frekventni obrasci stvaranja mešovitih neologizama,



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- izvorni jezici iz kojih su nastali spoljni i mešoviti neologizmi,
- izvorni jezici posredstvom kojih su nastali spoljni i mešoviti neologizmi,
- smisaoni odnosi između neologizama i ustaljenih reči,
- smisaoni odnosi između spoljnih neologizama i ustaljenih domaćih reči, i
- nove sistemske i asistemske pojave i tendencije u leksičkom sistemu, upotrebi i kulturi ciljnog jezika nastale pod uticajem drugih jezika i kultura.

(7) Etimološki domen. – Dijahrona perspektiva razvoja neologizama, čime bi bile obuhvaćene sledeće važnije teme:

- prvo pojavljivanje neologizama u govorenoj i pisanoj upotrebi jezika,
- faze leksičkog ustaljivanja neologizama u govorenoj i pisanoj upotrebi jezika,
- formalne varijante i varijacije neologizama kroz vremensku dimenziju, i
- sadržinske varijacije neologizama kroz vremensku dimenziju.

## 10.4. Leksikografski aspekti izučavanja neologizama

Pod leksikografskim aspektima ovde se podrazumevaju praktična izučavanja neologizama u cilju njihove obrade i predstavljanja u rečnicima. Osvrt na ovu oblast biće razdeljen u četiri celine prema vrstama rečnika u koje bi neologizmi mogli biti uključeni.

Prve dve celine čine specijalizovani jednojezični i dvojezični rečnici, čija je makrostruktura ograničena na neologizme i koje danas vredi realizovati samo kao onlajn izdanja – najviše zbog faktora vremena i savremenog tempa života, a to u ovom slučaju znači radi jednostavnijeg, lakšeg i bržeg periodičnog dopunjavanja novim odrednicama gotovo svakodnevno nastajućih sve novijih i novijih neologizama, različitih stepena leksičke ustaljenosti. Pri tome, samo oni sasvim novi i otuda još nedovoljno ustaljeni ne bi bili uključeni u rečnike neologizama – dok im se ustaljenost ne pojača.



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(1) Specijalizovani rečnik neologizama srpskog jezika. – Neologizmi bi u ovom rečniku bili podvrgnuti punoj leksikografskoj obradi, s pruženim svim relevantnim podacima o odrednicama (up. Prćić 2018, i tamo navedena literatura): pravopisnim oblicima, grafički i glasovno predstavljenim izgovornim oblicima, oznakama vrste reči i njihovim gramatičkim oblicima, definicijama, stilskim oznakama, primerima i, ukoliko ih ima, sinonimima i antonimima, u sklopu smisaonih odnosa, te izvedenim rečima, u sklopu tvorbenih odnosa. Prikupljanje samih reči, njihovih značenja i izvora bilo bi dodatno potpomognuto radom onlajn saradnika, 'kraudsorsovano' (eng. *crowdsourced*) (up. Lazić Konjik 2018; Lazić Konjik i Milenković 2020), kako se to danas voli reći, dobrotom ljudi koji bi putem interneta autorima i urednicima slali potencijalne nove odrednice koje su zapazili u svakodnevnoj komunikaciji. Njihova obrada bila bi profesionalno uređena, odn. 'urednikovana', sledeći principe moderne leksikografije. Kao odličan uzor za ovaj projekat mogao bi da posluži onlajn rečnik neologizama *Word Spy: the Word Lover's Guide to New Words*.[40]

(2) Specijalizovani dvojezični rečnici neologizama na srpski i sa srpskog jezika. – Neologizmi bi u ovim rečnicima, poput englesko-srpskog i srpsko-engleskog, te svim drugim parovima maternjih i stranih jezika koji se kod nas izučavaju, bili podvrgnuti punoj leksikografskoj obradi, s pruženim istim onim podacima kao za opisani jednojezični rečnik, ali uz dve bitne dopune: prva su kratke informativne definicije i na ciljnom jeziku, pored onih na izvornom, da bi se novo značenje svestranije objasnilo korisnicima; a druga, i verovatno ključna, dopuna jesu novopredloženi kontekstualizovani prevodi na ciljni jezik pojedinačnih značenja neologizama (up. Stojičić 2006a).

Značaj ovakvih specijalizovanih rečnika bio bi u tome što bi neologizmi, dosad potpuno institucionalno zanemareni i skrajnuti, bili redovno registrovani, a njihova upotreba pouzdano dokumentovana, dok bi u dvojezičnim rečnicima za sva značenja neologizama bili ponuđeni i kvalitetni prevodi, čime bi se predupredila prevodilačka lutanja i neprecizni prevodi u više varijana-

[40] Na adresi: https://wordspy.com/.



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ta, toliko tipičnih u ovakvim slučajevima. Na ovaj način dobili bismo preko potrebne leksikografske resurse, savremene zapise o najnovijim leksičkim tvorbama, namenjene kako 'običnim' korisnicima i njihovom celovitom informisanju o novim rečima, tako i 'ne-običnim' korisnicima i njihovom daljem iscrpnom izučavanju novih reči iz raznih teorijskih i praktičnih uglova.

Druge dve celine tiču se savremenih opštih jednojezičnih i dvojezičnih rečnika u kojima su neologizmi sastavni deo makrostrukture naporedo s ostalim rečima i koji se mogu realizovati i kao onlajn, i kao štampana izdanja, pošto je kod njih faktor vremena znatno slabije zastupljen, zbog strogih kriterijuma selekcije odrednica, s naglaskom na snažnoj leksičkoj ustaljenosti, te vremenom i upotrebom overenim odrednicama.

(3) Opšti rečnik srpskog jezika. – Neologizmi bi u ovom rečniku bili podvrgnuti punoj leksikografskoj obradi, s pruženim svim uobičajenim podacima vezanim za formu, funkciju, sadržinu i upotrebu odrednica, kao i za njihove međuleksičke odnose (up. Prćić 2018). Za razliku od specijalizovanog rečnika neologizama srpskog jezika, u opštem rečniku nalazili bi se samo leksički ustaljeni neologizmi, s dostignutim statusom trajnog i punopravnog člana leksikona srpskog jezika prema unapred postavljenim kvantitativnim i kvalitativnim kriterijumima, od kojih dva najvažnija čine izražena nominaciona potreba društva i kulture, i dovoljno frekventno javljanje neologizma u elektronskom korpusu.[41]

(4) Opšti dvojezični rečnici na srpski i sa srpskog jezika. – Neologizmi bi u ovim rečnicima, opet englesko-srpskog i srpsko-engleskog, te svim drugim parovima maternjih i stranih jezika koji se kod nas izučavaju, takođe bili podvrgnuti punoj leksikografskoj obradi, s pruženim istim onim podacima kao za opisani jednojezični rečnik, ali uz jednu bitnu dopunu (up. Prćić

[41] Opis postupka unošenja neologizama u opšte rečnike, uključujući i kriterijume za njihov odabir, nudi nekoliko renomiranih britanskih i američkih izdavača: https://www.oed.com/information/editorial-policy/how-words-enter-the-oed/ (Oxford English Dictionary), https://www.merriam-webster.com/grammar/how-does-a-word-get-into-the-dictionary (Merriam-Webster), https://www.dictionary.com/e/getting-words-into-dictionaries/ (Dictionary.com).



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2018): novopredloženi kontekstualizovani prevodi na ciljni jezik pojedinih značenja neologizama, ali ovog puta bez kratke informativne definicije na ciljnom jeziku, što nije, ili nije još, svojstveno tipičnim opštim dvojezičnim rečnicima kod nas, a ni drugde.

Značaj ovakvih opštih rečnika u koje su uključeni i aktuelni neologizmi bio bi u tome što bi se neologizmima, bar onim ustaljenim, napokon priznao status sastavnog dela leksikona i rečničke odrednice, i to dok su oni još relativno novi i sveži, a ne posle više decenija, kada ta relativna vitalnost uveliko bude izbledela, a same reči se utope među ostale, odavno ustaljene i davnašnje reči. Na ovaj način dobili bismo preko potrebne i predugo iščekivane leksikografske resurse, savremene zapise koji su prigrlili i nove leksičke tvorbe, namenjene i ovog puta podjednako i 'običnim', i 'ne-običnim' korisnicima, čime bi umnogome bila popravljena slika o celini leksikona naslikana u ranijim rečnicima.

## 10.5. Neologizmi nisu sramota nego ponos jezika

Na ovom mestu treba skrenuti pažnju na neophodnost institucionalne obrade neologizama u nastavi srpskog jezika, počev od osnovne škole, preko srednje škole, pa do fakulteta, čime bi se učenicima i studentima približila tematika, ili problematika, neologizama, dosad potpuno zaobiđena u nastavnom procesu, iako su neologizmi redovno zastupljeni u svakodnevnoj govorenoj, pisanoj i mobilnoj (pisanoj-kao-govorenoj) komunikaciji i učenika, i studenata, i njihovih nastavnika. Može se samo nagađati o razlozima ovakve višedecenijske podvojenosti – koja, uzgred, nije jedina, jer podjednako skrajnut, ako ne i vrednosno gori, tretman u nastavi srpskog jezika doživljavaju i žargonizmi i žargon uopšte (up. Pogl. 11 u ovoj knjizi).

Bilo kako bilo, institucionalna obrada neologizama (a i žargonizama) iziskivala bi, pre svega, dopunu nastavnog plana i programa, odn. kurikuluma i silabusa, kako ih odskora vole nazivati, za predmet Srpski jezik i kultura izražavanja, tako da se pokriju glavne leksikološke teme, približno onako kako su navedene ranije. Pristup bi nužno morao biti gradiran, s progresivno širim



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i dubljim obuhvatom materije: u skladu s nivoom obrazovanja, teme bi se kretale od opštijih ka specifičnijim i od jednostavnijih ka složenijim, njihova obrada od informativne do istraživačke, dok bi uključenost učenika i studenata u nastavni proces rasla od umereno aktivne u osnovnoj školi, preko aktivne u srednjoj, do izrazito aktivne i kreativne na fakultetu. Na kraju upoznavanja s neologizmima osnovci bi ovladali osnovnim znanjem, uporedivim sa skicom, srednjoškolci širim znanjem, uporedivim s crtežom, a studenti najobimnijim znanjem, uporedivim sa slikama u ulju – slikama, a ne slikom, jer bi neke od njih sami naslikali tokom svojih samostalnih i originalnih neoloških i neografskih istraživanja.

Konkretne teorijske, metodološke i praktične detalje kratke i efektne institucionalne nastave neologizama (a i žargonizama) tek treba postaviti i razraditi. No, ono što se već sada čini jasnim i uputnim jeste to da bi se predavali u sklopu postojeće nastave srpskog jezika, na nekoliko tematskih časova, ili jednog bloka časova, osim na fakultetu gde bi im valjalo dodeliti poseban predmet odn. kurs. Pored toga, trebalo bi blagovremeno ili sastaviti posebne priručnike, ili postojeće proširiti novim sadržajima: priručnici namenjeni nastavnicima nudili bi teorijsko-metodološka i praktična uputstva o predavanju neologizama, dok bi oni namenjeni učenicima, preko autentične građe, odabranih primera, osmišljenih pitanja i vežbanja, služili kao pouzdan vodič kroz šarolikost leksičkih formi i sadržina s kojima se gotovo svakodnevno susrećemo što pasivno, što aktivno, a neke od njih i sami prave.

Od najveće je važnosti da se shvati da buduća izučavanja neologizama, strogo zasnovana na principima teorijske i primenjene lingvistike 20. i 21. veka, a naročito njihova institucionalna obrada u nastavi, kao jedan od svojih temeljnih, dalekosežnih i dugoročnih ciljeva postavi nastojanje da se među našim učenicima i studentima, ali i svim drugim korisnicima srpskog jezika, promeni iskrivljena i neutemeljena slika o neologizmima i svim drugim vanknjiževnim, odn. vanknjiževnosnim, jezičkim inovacijama. Naime, nužno je svima zainteresovanima, ali i svima drugima, pokazati i dokazati lako pokazivu i dokazivu činjenicu da



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neologizmi, u bilo kom obliku svog javljanja i ispoljavanja, nisu nešto loše, nešto opasno i nešto nepoželjno u srpskom jeziku, niti oni na bilo koji način kvare, žele da kvare ili mogu da kvare srpski jezik. Upravo suprotno! Neologizmi su jednostavno tu među nama, postoje, kao i nove cipele, i nov parfem, i nova jela, i nova kola, i novorođeni kućni ljubimci i, konačno, zašto da ne, i kao novorođena deca. Ponos i dika svih onih koji ih imaju! Kome ona to smetaju?! I šta ona to kvare ili mogu da kvare?! Imaginarni i nestvarni ideal pravilnog i ispravnog, ali nepromenljivog i u razvoju zaustavljenog, pisanog jezika dobrih pisaca, kao što se dogodilo s latinskim ili starogrčkim?

Novorođene reči se, *mutatis mutandis*, najbolje daju uporediti s novorođenom decom: ukoliko im se pristupa promišljeno, odmereno i primereno, mogu da povećaju izražajni potencijal srpskog jezika, mogu da potvrde živost njegovih tvorbenih mehanizama i, ono što se počesto i prečesto previđa, mogu da posvedoče o zavidnoj kreativnosti ljudi, korisnika tog jezika i njegovih produktivnih tvorbenih mehanizama – o svemu ovome trebalo bi predavati učenicima i studentima tokom njihovog školovanja. Odražavajući stalne, neminovne i nezaustavljive promene u sistemu srpskog jezika i upotrebi tog sistema, što se uostalom bez izuzetka dešava sa sistemima i upotrebama sistema svih živih jezika, koje su prirodna i uobičajena posledica brojnih, naglih i snažnih promena u savremenom društvu u kojem živimo, neologizmi, kao jedna od tih prirodnih i uobičajenih društvenih posledica, koliko god da deluju majušni, nebitni i beznačajni, nikako i nikad nisu nešto inferiorno i nešto čega se treba stideti ni u jeziku, ni u kulturi. Upravo suprotno, i to dijametralno suprotno! Neologizmi, ali i ljudi koji ih smišljaju, van svake sumnje jesu nešto superiorno i nešto čime se svakako treba dičiti i u jeziku, i u kulturi. Oni su dar, bogatstvo i blagoslov, baš kao i novorođena deca, koji doprinose kako kvantitativnom povećavanju broja reči u leksikonu srpskog jezika, tako i, što je možda bitnije, kvalitativnom povećavanju njegovog izražajnog potencijala. Neologizme stoga treba negovati kada nastanu i podsticati dok ne nastanu, a potom ih sistematski i sistemski izučavati, opisivati, podučavati i popu-



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larisati – upravo među tom novorođenom decom, kad, naravno, poodrastu, a dotle među onom starijom.

Bežeći od stvarnosti i savremenosti, i zatvarajući oči pred nastalim i nastajućim inovacijama u jezičkom sistemu i upotrebi tog sistema, uključujući i nemali broj neologizama, za njih se ponekad i ponegde želi verovati, sada preko jedne druge metafore, da su zalutali, slučajno doleteli nakratko u jezik i kulturu, pa će, ako je sreće, tako isto i odleteti iz tog jezika i kulture. Međutim, takvim stavovima ti jezici i kulture, hotimično ili ne, podrezuju krila svojim novodoletelim pticama, koje, uprkos gruboj negostoljubivosti, ipak neće odleteti. Štaviše, izleći će se brojni novi ptići, koji će svojim isprva slabašnim cvrkutom, a onda sve jačom i jačom pesmom, sve više i više obogaćivati leksikon srpskog jezika i sve više i više proširivati njegov iovako pozamašan izražajni potencijal, a sve u saglasju sa stvarnošću i savremenošću 21. veka – na ponos, a ne na sramotu, i ove kulture, i ovog jezika, i svih njegovih korisnika, kako onih ‘običnih’, tako i onih ‘ne-običnih’, ponešto neološki i neografski još nerazbuđenih.



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# 11. Neologizacija i neologizmi u srpskom jeziku

Godine 2001, u časopisu *Jezik danas* br. 13 pojavio se članak Ranka Bugarskog, pod enigmatskim i enigmatičnim naslovom „Dve reči u jednoj: leksičke skrivalice" (Bugarski 2001). Znajući za ozbiljne i očigledne naslove dotadašnjih saopštenja, članaka i knjiga ovog autora, u prvom momentu bio sam zatečen jer nisam razumeo kakva se to enigmatika krije u leksičkim skrivalicama, još manje sam razumeo kakve su to enigmatične dve reči u jednoj, a najmanje sam razumeo otkud jedan svetski afirmisani profesor i naučnik u svemu tome. Moja zatečenost kratko je trajala i u sledećem trenutku prešla je u oduševljenje, kada sam iz prvih rečenica shvatio o čemu se radi: prvo, posredi je tvorba reči u srpskom jeziku; drugo, posredi je opis novog tvorbenog postupka u kojem se najmanje dve osnove, na razne načine, kombinuju u jednu reč, kao u primeru *klinceza*, izvedenom kombinovanjem dva preklapajuća segmenta *klin-*, od *klin(ac),* i *-inceza*, od *(pr)inceza*, pri čemu zagrade označavaju uklanjanje datog niza; i treće, posredi je tvorbeni postupak čije je uzorke u svakodnevnom govorenom i pisanom jeziku Bugarski prvi kod nas primetio, dokumentovao i imenovao (LEKSIČKE) SLIVENICE, a sam postupak – (LEKSIČKO) SLIVANJE.

## 11.1. Nekolike napomene o knjizi i njenom autoru

Ovaj tvorbeni postupak vodi poreklo iz engleskog jezika, njegov prvi kreativni eksploatator i glavni propagator bio je Lewis Carroll, književnik koji je 1871. godine, u svoj drugi roman o Alisi, *Through the Looking-Glass, and What Alice Found There* (kod nas prevedenom, koliko se moglo utvrditi, na čak šest načina), uključio



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i tekst svoje nesmislene pesme (eng. *nonsense poem*), pod takođe nesmislenim naslovom *Jabberwocky*. U toj pesmi svetu su na jednom mestu bili predstavljeni brojni novi uzorci slivenica, čime je ljudima u ruke data nova jezička igračka, (sa) kojom se igraju i dan-danas. Prirodu slivenica Alisi je objasnio jajoliki lik Humpty Dumpty, rekavši joj: „Vidiš, to ti je kao dvodelni kofer – postoje dva značenja upakovana u jednu reč" (eng. "You see it's like a portmanteau – there are two meanings packed up into one word"), čime je pogodio samu suštinu ovog tvorbenog postupka.[42] Naziv PORTMANTEAU (WORD) i danas je u upotrebi u engleskom jeziku, naporedo s češćim, konkurentnim i preciznijim terminom (LEXICAL) BLEND, odn. (LEXICAL) BLENDING, za sam postupak. Od tada, leksičko slivanje u engleskom jeziku postajalo je sve zastupljeniji i raznovrsniji tvorbeni postupak, koji je do sada, a naročito s kraja 20. i s početka 21. veka, polako ali sigurno, izrastao u kreativan, izražajan, ekonomičan i, zbog svega toga, frekventan i pomodan tvorbeni postupak, koji, pod uticajem engleskog jezika, mode u engleskom jeziku i mode engleskog jezika, poslednjih decenija preuzimaju, u vidu specijalnog tipa anglicizama, mnogi jezici u svetu, pa tako i srpski (up. Bauer 1983; Bauer i Huddleston 2002; Lalić Krstin 2016, 2022; Lipka 2002; Mattiello 2013; Renner, Maniez i Arnaud 2013; Tomić 2019a, 2019b, 2020, 2022, 2023). Mora se naglasiti da je tvorbeni mehanizam leksičkog slivanja, kao uostalom i u samom engleskom pre Carrolla, latentno postojao u brojnim drugim, možda čak svim, jezicima, pa tako i u srpskom, za koji, sredinom 20. veka, Vaso Tomanović u dva članka opisuje i navodi nekoliko stotina primera 'mešanja reči', kako ih naziva (up. Lazić Konjik 2021). No, puno aktiviranje mehanizma pokrenuli su tek uzorci upotrebe sistema engleskog kao odomaćenog stranog jezika na prelazu dvaju vekova (up. Prćić 2019a, 2023).

Za to vreme, inauguralni članak R. Bugarskog dobio je svoj nastavak, „Otkrivamo nove skrivalice" (Bugarski 2002), s novim materijalom i tumačenjima, da bi se, nakon nekoliko novih na-

[42] Detaljnije o romanu, pesmi i postupku videti na adresama: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Through_the_Looking-Glass, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jabberwocky, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blend_word.



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stavaka, u okviru njegovih knjiga objavljivanih u međuvremenu, pojavila knjiga potpuno neočekivanog gastronomskog naslova – *Sarmagedon u Mesopotamaniji*, i prilično očekivanog podnaslova – *Leksičke skrivalice* (Bugarski 2013). Aludirajući na decembarsko-januarski period svečarenja, koje podrazumeva *armagedon*, tj. tamanjenje, *sarme*, i na jedan novosadski restoran, u kojem se *meso potamani*, i to u leksičkoj odori *Mesopotamije*, ova knjiga predstavljala je zadivljujuću leksikološko-leksikografsku studiju, u isto vreme naučnu, analitičku, sintetičku, poučnu i zabavnu, o morfosintaktičkim, semantičko-pragmatičkim, stilističkim i sociolingvističkim aspektima leksičkih slivenica u srpskom jeziku. Iz nje su zainteresovani čitaoci mogli saznati pouzdane podatke o nastanku slivenica, o tipologiji njihovih strukturnih obrazaca, o značenjima koja one izražavaju i o domenima njihove upotrebe. Ubedljivo najimpresivniji bio je njen rečnički deo, u obliku anotiranog popisa od preko 1000 slivenica, s unakrsnim upućivanjima na relevantne teorijske opise prema formalnim i/ili sadržinskim kategorijama. Teško je (bilo u to vreme, ali i danas) sakriti ushićenost bogatstvom materijala u ovoj knjizi, čija me je tematika još od izvornog članka snažno zaintrigirala i zaokupila, a u tome svakako nisam sam, do mere da sam postao ne samo naoštreni vrebalac novih slivenica u srpskom i engleskom jeziku, nego i izoštreni stvaralac novih slivenica, smišljenih i slučajnih, u srpskom, engleskom i mešovito. Autor pomenute knjige s pravom je sebi obezbedio status našeg najistaknutijeg blendologa i blendografa, dok bi autoru ovog teksta najbolje pristajao samonadenuti kvalifikator 'blendoman', zaslužen upravo zahvaljujući dalekosežnom 'zaraznom' delovanju pomenute knjige i njenog autora.

I kao najnoviji nastavak, sredinom 2019. godine objavljeno je drugo, prošireno i prenaslovljeno, izdanje ove knjige – *Srpske slivenice. Monografija sa rečnikom* (Bugarski 2019a). Zadržavši oprobanu naučnoistraživačku aparaturu i metodologiju iz prethodnog izdanja, nova knjiga obogaćena je novim ulovom slivenica, sada s ukupno oko 2200 jedinica i s posledično dopunjenim teorijskim objašnjenjima, komentarima i unakrsnim upućivanjima. Blizu dve decenije nakon njihovog otkrića, Bugarski nam je podario jedin-



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stvenu knjigu, rezultat dugotrajnog, mukotrpnog i brižljivog procesa prikupljanja, istraživanja, objašnjavanja, klasifikovanja i kodifikovanja slivenica, koje su, opet, rezultat jednog kod nas doskora uglavnom nepoznatog i atipičnog tvorbenog postupka, a odskora sve raširenijeg, možda baš njemu zahvaljujući. Ova knjiga mogla bi se smatrati dodatkom, ili dopunom, znamenite dvotomne *Tvorbe reči u savremenom srpskom jeziku* (Klajn 2002, 2003) i podjednako znamenite *Normativne gramatike srpskog jezika* (Piper, Klajn i Dragićević 2022), koje se bave mahom četirima predvidljivim, pravilima regulisanim, postupcima tvorbe reči – prefiksacija, sufiksacija, kompozicija i konverzija, dok slivanje, ili konflacija, kako je kod nas prevedeno, videće se niže, spada u nepredvidljive, pravilima poluregulisane, tvorbene postupke, čije su ulazne jedinice poznate, ali konačan oblik njihove izlazne jedinice nije.

Kasnije tokom ovog izlaganja saznaće se da se žongliranje leksičkim osnovama radi izvođenja novih slivenica nalazi u domenu eksperimentisanja jezikom – ili preciznije, igre jezikom. A R. Bugarski, tu skoro se saznalo (up. Bugarski 2011, 2014, 2020), ceo svoj profesionalni život diskretno se bavi, naučno i zabavno, različitim vidovima i aspektima igre jezikom. To dugogodišnje bavljenje ludičkom stranom jezika porodilo je, naravno, *Srpske slivenice,* ali i njoj sestrinsku, i isto tako važnu, knjigu *Žargon. Lingvistička studija* (Bugarski 2003, 2006), te u najnovijem izdanju pod naslovom *Gramatika srpskog žargona* (Bugarski 2021), s tematikom igre leksičkim formama i/ili sadržinama u okrilju žargona, posebno onog omladinskog. Prva ovakve vrste u našoj sredini, ova, i u svetskim razmerama retka, teorijska studija žargona, nudi čitaocima dokumentovani uvid, leksikološki i leksikografski, u nove reči, nove afikse i nova značenja, koja je iznedrio ovaj začuđujuće vitalan, dinamičan, originalan i nedovoljno istražen sociolekt srpskog jezika.

*Slivenice* i *Žargon* unekoliko su komplementarna štiva, jer čine tematsku celinu u pogledu varijeteta koji ispituju, a to je govoreni i pisani živi, svakodnevni, opušteni, neusiljeni jezik. Naime, i slivenice i žargonizmi spadaju u delokrug stvaranja novih reči i novih značenja, odn. u neologizaciju srpskog jezika. Slivenice obično počinju kao žargonizmi, a žargonizmi ponekad uklju-



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čuju i slivenice, a i jedni i drugi predstavljaju formalne i/ili sadržinske novine, najčešće pokrenute sociolingvističkim motivima. Obe ove knjige, svaka iz svog vidokruga, detaljno pokrivaju sve relevantne teorijske i praktične aspekte ovih dveju pojava, koje se, međutim, ne nalaze u polju naučnog i stručnog interesovanja dominantne domaće lingvistike. Uprkos tome, obema svojim knjigama R. Bugarski dao je nemerljiv doprinos leksikologiji i leksikografiji savremenog, današnjeg srpskog jezika – pre svega, na opštem planu izučavanja neologizama, a zatim i na specifičnom planu tvorbe reči i tvorbe smisla. Lingvistima mlađe i srednje generacije, prvenstveno srbistima, ali i kontaktno-kontrastivnim istraživačima engleskog jezika, pa i drugih, prema srpskom, pa i drugima, koji žele da ispituju i opisuju jezik(e) i van dominantnih tokova, uglavnom zasnovanim na materijalu umetničke književnosti, Bugarski je ponudio jedan drukčiji, svežiji, energičniji, realističniji i inspirativniji teorijsko-metodološki model.

Pored neposrednog doprinosa sticanju celovitije i modernije slike o današnjem srpskom jeziku, *Slivenice* i *Žargon* imaju i svoj posredan, i pozamašan, doprinos, do kojeg se dolazi tek svojskim uranjanjem u tekst i otkrivanjem onoga što se može naći ispod njegove površine, u dubinama obaju tekstova, sakriveno između njihovih ogromnim lingvističkim znanjem i iskustvom nabijenih redova – radi se o nekolikim zaključcima i nekolikim promenama. S naglaskom na knjizi *Srpske slivenice. Monografija sa rečnikom*, u nastavku će biti više govora o impliciranim zaključcima koji se mogu izvesti i o poželjnim promenama koje bi mogle proizaći iz ove višestruko značajne knjige R. Bugarskog.

## 11.2. Zaključci koji se mogu izvesti iz knjige

Dubinskim čitanjem ove knjige moguće je izvesti nekoliko značajnih zaključaka, koji se odnose na funkcionisanje i istraživanje funkcionisanja tvorbenog i, uopšte, leksičkog sistema srpskog jezika, ali koji se ne nalaze u domenu ‘šta je pisac hteo da kaže’, pošto autor, po svim pokazateljima, nije nameravao da se bavi ovom tematikom, nego samo svojom glavnom temom – iscrpnim



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i višeslojnim prikazivanjem slivenica. Iako nisu eksplicitno izrečeni, ti zaključci jesu implicitno saopšteni, ili bar naznačeni, i to očigledno potpuno mimo volje svog autora: oni, naime, provejavaju iz čitavog teksta, proističu iz iscrpnog i višeslojnog prikaza slivenica, kao neke skrivene poruke koje (kao da) čekaju da budu iščitane i prepoznate. Za one koji žele da ih iščitaju i prepoznaju, tih impliciranih zaključaka, u interpretaciji autora ovog teksta, ima pet i o njima će biti više reči u nastavku.

### 11.2.1. Jezik u sveukupnosti svojih realizacija

Bugarski je ovim dvema knjigama u središte istraživanja doveo onaj sloj jezika i pripadajuće mu leksike, koje dominantna domaća lingvistika, u najboljem slučaju, smatra PERIFERIJOM JEZIKA, budući da se slivenice ubedljivo najčešće javljaju u razgovornoj, neformalnoj, žargonskoj, ne-književnoj i neknjiževnoj realizaciji jezika, u nečemu što je na marginama književnog, tj. književnosnog, jezika, što je van CENTRA JEZIKA, što je upravo suprotstavljeno književnom jeziku i, kao takvo, nepoželjno i nedostojno naučne pažnje i ozbiljne obrade. Kao potkrepa ove konstatacije dovoljno je u onlajn bibliografskoj bazi *COBISS*[43] potražiti i utvrditi bar približan broj naučnih radova koji u svom naslovu sadrže reči ‘slivenic*’, ‘žargon*’ i ‘sleng*’, kombinovane sa spojem ‘u srpskom (jeziku)’, pri čemu zvezdice označavaju potencijalne završetke morfoloških oblika navedenih reči.

Poklonivši ovom sloju leksike naučnu pažnju i podvrgavši ga ozbiljnoj obradi, Bugarski je metodologiju istraživanja srpskog jezika dopunio pristupom da i tzv. periferija zaslužuje da bude uzeta u obzir – ako ne baš sasvim ravnopravno s tzv. centrom, onda bar uz njega. Drugim rečima, jezik se mora sagledavati, kao sistem i kao upotreba sistema, u svojoj komunikativnoj sveukupnosti, u svim svojim varijetetskim realizacijama – po svim nivoima jezičke analize (fonološkom, grafološkom, morfološkom, sintaktičkom, semantičkom, stilističkom i pragmatičkom) i po svim lektalnim i

[43] Adresa *COBISS*-a (Kooperativni onlajn bibliografski sistem i servisi): https://sr.cobiss.net/.



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registarskim varijetetima, tj. po geografski, društveno i vremenski određenim dijalektima, sociolektima i hronolektima, te po predmetno, interpersonalno i medijumski uslovljenim registrima (up. Bugarski 2019b; Prćić 2016; Radovanović 2003). Dokumentovano pokazavši da periferija može da bude značajna koliko i centar, a ponekad i značajnija, Bugarski je odškrinuo, ako ne i otvorio, vrata ka celovitijem, potpunijem, uravnoteženijem i objektivnijem istraživanju leksike, i ne samo leksike, srpskog jezika, zaobišavši, ako ne i obrisavši, veštačku, neopravdanu i neutemeljenu dvojnost, neku vrstu nametnute diglosije čak, između 'patricijskog *hoch*' centra oko književnog jezika i 'plebejske *un-hoch*' periferije oko ne-književnog jezika. Ovakav, integrativni, pristup omogućava da se dobije jasnija, preciznija i detaljnija predstava o ustrojstvu i funkcionisanju leksikona srpskog jezika, čije su bogatstvo i izražajni potencijal dosad prikazivani jednostrano, polovično i stoga nužno iskrivljeno, gubeći iz vida okolnost da su i divni labud i ružno pače tek dva pojavna oblika istog ptičjeg stvora.

### 11.2.2. Produktivnost tvorbenih mehanizama

Povezan s prethodnim, ovaj zaključak tiče se morfosintaktičkog i semantičkog nivoa jezičke analize i odnosi se na sposobnost leksičkog sistema da njegovi resursi sinhrono budu upotrebljeni u tvorbi novih reči – postupci tvorbe reči, i/ili u tvorbi novih značenja postojećih reči – postupci tvorbe smisla, oličeni u metaforizaciji, metonimizaciji, generalizaciji i specijalizaciji značenja (up. Bauer 1983; Dragićević 2010; Filipović Kovačević 2021; Kastovsky 1986a, 1986b; Klikovac 2004; Kövecses 2010; Lakoff i Johnson 1980; Lipka 2002; Prćić 2023, Pogl. 10, 12 i 13 u ovoj knjizi). Mada su neki domaći autori, priznati autoriteti iz oblasti morfologije (čija imena ne slučajno ovde neće biti pominjana) tvrdili, a tvrde i dalje, da je tvorbeni potencijal savremenog srpskog jezika vrlo slab ili čak nepostojeći, ne navodeći za to bilo kakve empirijske potvrde, Bugarski je u ilustrativnom materijalu svojih dveju knjiga dokazao da tvorbeni potencijal srpskog jezika ne samo da postoji, nego je i te kako delatan – doduše, ne toliko u



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centru, u jeziku 'dobrih pisaca' prošlog i ranijih vekova, nego na periferiji, u živom i dinamičnom svakodnevnom jeziku nesputane, dosetljive, razbarušene, razigrane i razigra*net*ovane omladine i ostalih koji se, na početku mnogojezičnog i mnogokulturnog 21. veka, jezički ponašaju poput mladih. Na morfosintaktičkom planu o tome svedoči ulov od bezmalo 2200 registrovanih tvorbi u *Srpskim slivenicama*, čiji se broj iz dana u dan povećava, a na morfosintaktičkom i/ili semantičkom planu to potvrđuju brojne nove tvorbe i nova značenja u *Žargonu*, čiji broj takođe svakodnevno raste. Periferija, dakle, ispoljava viši stepen produktivnosti tvorbenih mehanizama od centra.

Pored toga, traganje za novim rečima i značenjima ciljanim praćenjem štampanih i elektronskih medija, svih vrsta komunikacije putem interneta, ali i savremene književnosti raznih žanrova, te stručne literature iz svih prirodnih i društveno-humanističkih nauka, koji *objedinjeno* odslikavaju i predstavljaju govorenu i pisanu upotrebu aktuelnog srpskog jezika, uključujući i danas neizbežan anglosrpski (up. Prćić 2019a, 2023), pružiće dokaze o tome da se njegovi tvorbeni resursi redovno eksploatišu i da tako nastaju nove reči i nova značenja – i na tzv. periferiji, i u tzv. centru, mada ne nužno u podjednakom obimu.

Prikupljeni i obrađeni primeri pokazali bi da se u aktivnoj upotrebi nalaze, prvo, PRAVILIMA REGULISANI TVORBENI POSTUPCI, čije su ulazne leksičke jedinice, tj. morfeme, ustaljene i poznate, a rezultat njihovog kombinovanja jeste sistemski predvidljiva leksička jedinica, tj. reč, s unapred poznatom izlaznom strukturom (up. Pogl. 3 u ovoj knjizi), što pokazuje primer reči *e-uprava*, izvedene od osnove *uprava* i prefiksa *e-*. U pravilima regulisane tvorbene postupke spadaju sledeći:

- PREFIKSACIJE, kao u *otpriznati*, od *od-* + *priznati*, 'povući priznanje (Kosova i Metohije)',
- SUFIKSACIJE, kao u *posvuduša*, od *posvud(a)* + *-uša*, 'žena koja se pojavljuje posvuda, naročito na za nju važnim društvenim događanjima',
- KOMPOZICIJE, kao u *malomaturant*, od *mal(i)* + *-o-* + *maturant*, 'učenik koji polaže, ili treba da polaže, malu maturu',



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- POLUKOMPOZICIJE, kao u *korona-bolnica*, od *korona* + *bolnica*, 'bolnica za obolele od virusa korona',
- KONVERZIJE, kao u *poludeti nekoga*, od *poludeti*$_{\text{NEPREL}}$ > *poludeti*$_{\text{PREL}}$, 'učiniti da neko izgubi živce ili razum', i
- ELIPSACIJE, kao u *daljinski*$_{\text{IM}}$, od *daljinski*$_{\text{PRID}}$ *upravljač*, '(neformalno) daljinski upravljač'.

I kao drugo, to su PRAVILIMA POLUREGULISANI TVORBENI POSTUPCI, čije su ulazne morfeme takođe ustaljene i poznate, ali rezultat delovanja nije sistemski predvidljiva reč, jer njihova izlazna struktura nije unapred poznata (up. Pogl. 3 i 13 u ovoj knjizi), što pokazuje primer reči *RTS*, izvedene od osnove *Radio-televizija Srbije*, koja je mogla dati i *RTSrbije*, i *RTSrb*, i *RaTeS*, i *RaTeSrb*, i još neke, ali se tvorac reči opredelio za najkraću i najjednostavniju strukturu (up. Pogl. 15 u ovoj knjizi). U pravilima poluregulisane tvorbene postupke spadaju sledeći:

- KONFLACIJE, kao u *ćirilatinica*, od '*ćiril(ica)* + *latinica*, '(neformalno) mešavina ćirilice i latinice u pisanju rukom',
- AKRONIMIZACIJE, kao u *glodur*, od *gl(avni i) od(govorni) ur(ednik)*, '(neformalno i šaljivo) glavni i odgovorni urednik',
- ABREVIJACIJE, kao u *Pozz!*, od *poz(drav)*, '(neformalno) odjavni pozdrav u pisanim mobilnim komunikacijama, pri čemu broj slova 'z' odražava intenzitet srdačnosti',
- DESUFIKSACIJE, kao u *zbun*, od *zbun(iti)*, '(neformalno / žargonski) stanje zbunjenosti',
- REDUPLIKACIJE, kao u *ček-ček*, od *ček(aj)* / *ček(ajte)*, '(neformalno) sačekaj / sačekajte malo', i
- TRANSPOZICIJE, kao u *tebra*, od *bra*↔*te*, '(žargonski) brate'.

Svi ovi tvorbeni postupci, i sistemski predvidljivi, i sistemski nepredvidljivi, zavređuju da budu podrobno ispitani, opisani i klasifikovani – što je za slivenice Bugarski već obavio u *Srpskim slivenicama*, i da se za sve postupke i obrasce unutar njih ustanovi pojedinačna brojčana frekventnost u novim rečima, iz čega će proisteći i stepen njihove produktivnosti. Nadalje, trebalo bi da



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se za sve njih utvrde morfosintaktičke i semantičke pravilnosti u novim rečima i da se među tim pravilnostima odrede istosti, sličnosti i razlike u odnosu prema pravilnostima uočenim u postojećim rečima (up. Klajn 2002, 2003; Piper, Klajn i Dragićević 2022). U nedostatku celovitih i pouzdanih empirijskih podataka, ali ciljanim praćenjem novih reči, može se ustvrditi, uz izvesnu dozu opreza, da su, suprotno očekivanjima, sistemski predvidljivi tvorbeni postupci znatno manje zastupljeni od onih sistemski nepredvidljivih, pri čemu, po broju novih tvorbi, ubedljiv primat drže konflacije (slivenice), a potom akronimizacije i abrevijacije.

### 11.2.3. Leksička kreativnost korisnika jezika

Povezan s prethodna dva, ovaj zaključak tiče se pragmatičkog nivoa jezičke analize i odnosi se na kombinatorne aspekte upotrebe leksičkog sistema srpskog jezika – specifično, na načine na koje njegovi korisnici kombinuju gorepomenute ulazne morfeme da bi dobili novu reč. Pod KREATIVNOŠĆU se ovde podrazumeva **sposobnost korisnikâ jezika za stvaranje novih reči od raspoloživih leksičkih resursa, posebno onih koje su po svojoj formi i/ili sadržini originalne, inovativne i vanserijske, ali su u isto vreme i prozirne, i lako razumljive, i lako zapamtljive** (up. Bauer 1983; Jones 2016; Lalić 2018; Lalić Krstin, Silaški i Renner 2025; Munat 2007; Panić Kavgić 2024; Rasulić 2008; Silaški i Lalić Krstin 2024; Tomić 2022; Tomić i Danilović Jeremić 2020). Stepen uspešnosti, odn. kreativnosti, takvih tvorbi presudno je uslovljen umećem korisnikâ jezika, koje združeno čine njihova veština, inventivnost i dosetljivost, ali pre svega njihovo znanje, voljnost i smelost da se poduhvate kreativnog i originalnog manipulisanja morfemama.

Sistemski predvidljivi postupci, tj. prefiksacija, sufiksacija, kompozicija, polukompozicija, konverzija i elipsacija, nisu naročito podesni za kreativno žongliranje, budući da je rezultat nove tvorbe regulisan pravilima, zbog čega se kreativnost svodi na više ili manje ukalupljeno, vrlo često analoški motivisano, dodavanje, zadržavanje ili oduzimanje postojećih morfema, poput *strank(a) + -ica > strančica*. Ali ako se isti ovaj deminutivni sufiks rekur-



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zivno primeni još jedanput, kao što je u *strančica* + *-(č)ica* > *strančičica* (zabeleženo u televizijskoj emisiji *24 minuta sa Zoranom Kesićem*), onda je posredi kreativnost, kada rezultat nije regulisan, i sputan, pravilima, nije ukalupljen i nije analoški motivisan, nego predstavlja formalno i/ili sadržinski novu tvorbu, ranije neviđenu i bez prethodnih uzora – ukratko, nešto unikatno. Ovakvo kreativno žongliranje i poigravanje morfemama srpskog, mada ne nužno samo srpskog, jezika svojstveno je, u većoj ili manjoj meri, sistemski nepredvidljivim postupcima, tj. konflaciji, akronimizaciji i abrevijaciji, kao u akronimu *CeSID*, izvedenom od *Centar za slobodne izbore i demokratiju*, ili u polušaljivoj slivenici (autora ovog teksta) *obwebiti, obwebljen*, 'objaviti knjigu ili neki drugi dokument na internetu', nastaloj od srpske osnove *objaviti* i na njen centralni segment *-jav-* natpostavljene engleske osnove *web*. No, u svakoj naizgled nasumičnoj kreativnoj ludosti ipak ima nekog sistema, jer se leksička kreativnost suštinski i dubinski rukovodi unutrašnjim pravilnostima strukturne organizacije srpskog jezika, u čijem se temelju nalaze fonotaktičke i morfotaktičke zakonitosti stvarnog i površinskog međukombinovanja nižih jezičkih jedinica, tj. fonema i morfema, u više jezičke jedinice, tj. reči (up. Bugarski 1983, 2019b; Radovanović 2003). Bilo kako bilo, i u slučaju leksičke kreativnosti korisnikâ jezika, periferija je ispoljava u znatno većem obimu nego centar, a, kako se može zaključiti iz morfosintaktičke analize slivenica R. Bugarskog (2019a), njihova kreativnost ili, možda preciznije, njihovih tvoraca, kreće se od srednje do visoke, budući da su gotovo sve one originalne, neanaloške i unikatne tvorbe.

U tom smislu, leksička kreativnost, kao skalarna, stepenovana pojava, mogla bi se zamisliti i prikazati na trostepenoj skali, ovde prvi put predloženoj, sa sledećim vrednostima:

- STEPEN 1: UMERENA KREATIVNOST, koju bi imale sistemski predvidljive tvorbe, čiji je rezultat regulisan pravilima, često analoški motivisan ustaljenim obrascem i stoga ne proizvodi primetan komunikativni efekat, poput sufiksacije *radnica* prema *radnik*, kao i sve tvorbe ženskih oblika sufiksom *-ica* od muških oblika na sufiks *-nik*,



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- STEPEN 2: SREDNJA KREATIVNOST, koju bi imale sistemski nepredvidljive unikatne tvorbe, čiji rezultat nije regulisan pravilima, može biti analoški motivisan ustaljenim obrascem i stoga proizvodi, ako proizvodi, umeren komunikativni efekat novine, poput abrevijacije *Boda* prema *(Slo)boda(n),* i
- STEPEN 3: VISOKA KREATIVNOST, koju bi imale sistemski nepredvidljive unikatne tvorbe, čiji rezultat nije regulisan pravilima, nije analoški motivisan ustaljenim obrascem, nego svojom dosetljivošću narušava uobičajene tvorbene obrasce i time izaziva snažan komunikativni efekat upadljivosti, poput konflacije *mnoGOODobar*, od srp. *mnogo* + eng. *good* + srp. *dobar*, 'veoma mnogo dobar', što se pojačava na dva nivoa – primarno, grafički, natpostavljenom engleskom osnovom GOOD, i, sekundarno, fonološki, produženim izgovorom srpskog samoglasnika 'o' u sredini reči.

### 11.2.4. Postignuti komunikativni efekti

Povezan s prethodna tri, a posebno s određenjima leksičke kreativnosti, ovaj zaključak tiče se pragmatičkog i stilističkog nivoa jezičke analize i odnosi se na komunikativne aspekte upotrebe leksičkog sistema srpskog jezika – specifično, na vrste komunikativnih namera koje njegovi korisnici postižu stvaranjem novih reči. Osnovna namera, i podsticaj, pri svakom stvaranju nove reči jeste zadovoljavanje potrebe – ili, kako to naziva Bugarski (1983: 165), 'pojačane sociolingvističke motivacije' – da se imenuje neki nov ili, ređe, postojeći pojam, tj. segment vanjezičke stvarnosti, i da se na taj način napravi novo ime za ljude, predmete, mesta, osobine, procese ili aktivnosti (up. Bauer 1983; Kastovsky 1982; Klajn 2002, 2003; Lipka 2002; Prćić 2016). Za realizaciju imenovanja, ili nominacije, kao osnovne komunikativne namere, koja se nalazi domenu pragmatike, na raspolaganju stoje svi tvorbeni postupci, kako oni sistemski predvidljivi, u primeru prefiksacije *beskontaktni* '(o platnoj kartici) koji uspostavlja vezu s čitačem



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bežičnim putem, a ne provlačenjem kroz njegov žleb', tako i oni sistemski nepredvidljivi, u primeru akronimizacije *PLJiŽ* 'naziv televizijske emisije, sastavljen od početnih slova prezimena njena tri autora, tj. *(Dragoljub Draža) Petrović, (Dragoljub Mićko) Ljubičić i (Vojislav Voja) Žanetić)*.

Nasuprot, ili komplementarno, osnovnoj nameri stoje dodatne komunikativne namere, u domenu stilistike, koje su podstaknute željom i potrebom korisnikâ jezika da, u svojstvu govornika ili pisca, postignu određene komunikativne efekte kod slušalaca i/ili čitalaca. Svim tim namerama zajedničko je privlačenje pažnje na imenovani pojam ili, ponekad, na samu reč, koju po pravilu karakteriše upadljivost (u oči i/ili uši i/ili um): na tvorbenom planu to se ostvaruje neobičnim, neočekivanim, netipičnim, iskalupljenim, upečatljivim, domišljatim – sve u svemu, inovativnim manipulisanjem ulaznim morfemama. Čin uspešnog dekodiranja takve tvorbe, koja poseduje potencijal za izazivanje nekog komunikativnog efekta (to je enkoderov planirani efekat), trebalo bi, prema očekivanjima, da kod slušalaca i/ili čitalaca proizvede komunikativni šok i nagli skok interesovanja za datu reč, naročito za njenu unikatnu formu, a onda i za sadržinu koju izražava (to je dekoderov ostvareni efekat, koji se ne mora podudariti s planiranim). LEKSIČKA UPADLJIVOST, kako bi se ova pojava mogla nazvati, ima sposobnost da dovede do različitih komunikativnih efekata, iza kojih se, iz tvorbene perspektive, kriju tri najčešće, i ujedno najbitnije, komunikativne namere – u zavisnosti od konkretne situacije, one deluju ili samostalno, ili u paru, ili čak sve tri zajedno:

- ZAPAMĆIVANJE od strane dekodera jedinstvene forme i njoj pridružene sadržine, obično efektnih naziva, naslova ili reklamnih slogana (kojih se kasnije, u svojstvu konzumenta, valja prisetiti i odabrati ih), poput *lubenada*, od *luben(ica + limu)nada*, 'limunada s dodatim sokom od lubenice',
- ZASMEJAVANJE dekodera jedinstvenom formom i njoj pridruženom sadržinom, obično efektno povezujući dva nespojiva ili naizgled nespojiva pojma, najčešće uz komično



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sazvučje takvog spoja, poput *picurek*, od *pic(a + b)urek*, '(neformalno i posprdno) pica burek', i

- ZADIVLJIVANJE dekodera, ponekad i ponešto samoreklamerski, jedinstvenom formom i njoj pridruženom sadržinom, obično efektnim poigravanjem leksičkim resursima srpskog, a često i drugih jezika – danas, naravno, engleskog, poput *cooltura*, od eng. *cool* + srp. *(kul)tura*, 'kultura koju smatraju da je kul, tj. *cool*'.

Verovatno ne treba dalje posebno objašnjavati da se sve tri vrste komunikativne namere mogu valjano sprovesti samo eksploatacijom sistemski nepredvidljivih tvorbenih postupaka, koji nude mogućnost inovativnog manipulisanja ulaznim morfemama, radi postizanja leksičke upadljivosti. Pri tome, ova pojava nesumnjivo je najviše zastupljena kod konflacije, koja je nadasve podatna za poigravanje leksičkim resursima, što pokazuju brojni primeri i opšti obrasci kombinovanja morfema prikazani u *Srpskim slivenicama*. Poigravanje leksičkim resursima deo je šire i univerzalnije pojave jezičke igre ili, preciznije, igre jezikom, kojom se, uz ostala jezička i vanjezička sredstva, ostvaruje verbalni humor (up. Andrić 2006; Crystal 2001; Lalić Krstin i Silaški 2018, 2019; Prodanović Stankić 2016, 2023; Rasulić 2008; Silaški i Lalić Krstin 2024; Tomić 2022; Vukojević 2018; Zirker i Winter Froemel 2015).

Treba ponoviti i to da R. Bugarski od svojih naučnoistraživačkih početaka, ranih 1960-ih godina, pa sve do danas ne prestaje da bude aktivno zainteresovan za leksičko eksperimentisanje, za igru jezikom, za njeno kreativno upražnjavanje, ali i za njeno ozbiljno proučavanje, ne samo vrsta, vidova i ispoljavanja igara jezikom, nego i njihovih primena u nastavi maternjih i stranih jezika, o čemu nadahnuto voli da govori i piše (up. Bugarski 2011, 2014, 2020). Vrhunac te zainteresovanosti predstavlja upravo njegovo otkriće, na prelazu vekova, višegodišnje praćenje i opisivanje, ali i stvaranje, slivenica u srpskom jeziku, kao lingvistički i intelektualno najizazovnijeg, najzahvalnijeg i najdelotvornijeg vida igre jezikom, otelotvorenog u knjigama *Sarmagedon u Mesopotamaniji* (Bugarski 2013) i sada *Srpske slivenice* (Bugarski 2019a), a ranije, ne treba zaboraviti i isto tako na igri jezikom



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zasnovane vrcave morfosintaktičke, semantičke i stilističke inovacije u omladinskom slengu, obrađene u knjigama *Žargon* (Bugarski 2003, 2006) i sada *Gramatika srpskog žargona* (Bugarski 2021). I u slučaju komunikativnih efekata, periferija se potvrđuje kao utiskovitija i plodonosnija od centra.

Prema Jakobsonovoj šestodelnoj podeli funkcija jezika (up. Radovanović 2003), slivenice primarno igraju umetničku (estetsku, poetsku, retoričku, kako je još zovu) ulogu. Pored ove, imaju i običniju, svakidašnjiju i prizemniju ulogu – denotativnu (kognitivnu, reprezentativnu, informativnu), budući da nastupaju kao ime nekog novog pojma koji je sačinjen, ili se percipira kao sačinjen, od, tipično, dva povezana potpojma, segmenta u vanjezičkoj stvarnosti, što pokazuje primer *hamburegdžinica*, od *hambur(gerija) + buregdžinica*, ili, retko, od tri povezana potpojma, što pokazuje *breskajšljiva*, od tri pojma *bresk(va) + kaj(sija) + šljiva*. Na taj način, slivenice, kao specijalna, (o)smišljeno skraćena, podvrsta složenica, pružaju sažeto i kompaktno ime novog pojma, ekonomičnije od imena koja pružaju složenice, polusloženice i frazne imenice (up. Klajn 2002; Pogl. 14 u ovoj knjizi), poput *školicajac*, od *škol(ski + pol)icajac*, nasuprot *školski policajac*. Ovakvi slučajevi jezičke – ili, tačnije, leksičke – ekonomije mogu se uočiti u sve četiri glavne vrste reči, mada daleko najviše u imenicama, pa zatim u pridevima, poput *bosoglav*, od *bos + (gol)oglav*, i prilozima, poput *fenomentastično*, od *fenomen(alno + fan)tastično*, i, na kraju, najmanje u glagolima, poput *usposta-noviti*, od *usposta(viti + u)stanoviti*.

Pa ipak, uprkos leksičke ekonomičnosti slivenica, vrlo mali broj njih dostigne dovoljnu frekventnost upotrebe da bi postao ustaljen u leksikonu i potom bio uključen u jednojezične i dvojezične opšte rečnike – osim, naravno, u specijalizovane rečnike slivenica, poput onog koji čini sastavni deo *Srpskih slivenica*. U celini posmatrano, slivenice su, u najvećem broju, efektne jednokratne tvorevine, okazionalizmi, koji dolaze do naročitog izražaja u domenu privlačenja pažnje putem leksičke upadljivosti i postizanja komunikativnih efekata. Otuda se slivenice često, i sve češće, javljaju kao svakovrsni nazivi, posebno proizvoda, mani-



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festacija, događaja, firmi, vebsajtova, i sl., poput *bookvar.rs*, od eng. *book* + srp. *(buk)var*, portal za promociju čitanja; drugo, kao svakovrsni naslovi književnih, filmskih, pozorišnih, muzičkih, likovnih, televizijskih, radijskih i drugih ostvarenja, poput *Cacijev uspomenar*, od *uspomen(e)* + *spomenar* (predstava u beogradskom Ateljeu 212, u izvođenju Milana Cacija Mihailovića); i treće, kao efektni reklamni slogani ili njihovi delovi, poput *Frikombinujte!*, od *Frikom* + *kombinujte* (bodove osvojene kupovinom naših proizvoda).

U svetlu svega što je dosad rečeno, moguće je izvesti sledeće sumarno određenje: u današnjem srpskom jeziku, i drugim evropskim jezicima, SLIVENICE, ili LEKSIČKE SLIVENICE, predstavljaju **unikatan rezultat zasigurno najproduktivnijeg i najkreativnijeg tvorbenog postupka, koji mnogostrukim formalnim varijacijama – ograničenim jedino opštim ustrojstvom jezika, s jedne strane, i maštovitošću korisnikâ, s druge – pruža efikasno i efektno sredstvo za izvođenje većih ili manjih tvorbenih bravura, u cilju postizanja različitih komunikativnih efekata, skretanjem pažnje na pojmove izražene upadljivim formama, a ponekad i skretanjem pažnje na same one koji takve bravure ostvaruju**. Kao retko koji deo jezičkog sistema i, specifično, njegove leksičke komponente, slivenice svedoče kako o strukturnoj vitalnosti srpskog jezika, tako i o intelektualnoj vitalnosti njegovih korisnika, što je R. Bugarski u ovoj svojoj knjizi više nego ubedljivo pokazao i dokazao.

### 11.2.5. Praćenje neologizacije srpskog jezika

Povezan sa svim prethodnim, ovaj, poslednji, zaključak tiče se čitave leksičke komponente srpskog jezika i odnosi se na proučavanje njegove neologizacije. Postoji vrlo malo sistematskih i sistemskih istraživanja posvećenih novim rečima u srpskom jeziku (up. Dragićević 2018b, 2020; Matijašević 2019; Otašević 2008a; Ristić 2012; Štasni 2013, što su pažnje vredni izuzeci). Razlog za takvo stanje verovatno seže do dihotomije centar – periferija, pri čemu u centru, kojim dominira statičan pisani jezik književnosti,



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neologizama gotovo da i nema, i neće ih ni biti, u velikom broju, dok na periferiji, koju sačinjavaju dinamične i fluidne govorene i pisane realizacije različitih lekata i registara, uključujući i omladinski žargon, kao i stručne žargone, najviše medijski i reklamni, neologizama i te kako ima, jer se javljaju bezmalo svakodnevno i to sasvim slobodno, spontano i neusiljeno, i kao da čekaju da ih neko primeti, zabeleži, a zatim leksikološki i leksikografski obradi. Zahvaljujući oštrom oku i umu R. Bugarskog, slivenice, kao i žargon, to su već dočekali.

Neologizacija se, kao što je poznato, može izučavati iz perspektive novih formi, nastalih postupcima tvorbe reči, i novih sadržina, nastalih postupcima tvorbe smisla (up. Pogl. 10, 12 i 13 u ovoj knjizi; Štekauer 2002). Nadalje, moguće je razlikovati tri pojavna oblika ovog procesa (up. Pogl. 10 i 12 u ovoj knjizi):

- kada se primenjuju sopstvena leksička, tj. morfosintaktička i semantička, sredstva, posredi je UNUTRAŠNJA, ili INTERNA, NEOLOGIZACIJA,
- kada se primenjuju sredstva uvezena iz drugih jezika, najčešće su to gotove reči, radi se o SPOLJNOJ, ili EKSTERNOJ, NEOLOGIZACIJI, koja se danas u najvećoj meri odvija pozajmljivanjem iz engleskog jezika (up. Prćić 2019a, 2023), i
- kada se kombinovano primenjuju sopstvena i uvezena sredstva, bilo reči, bilo obrasci, govori se o MEŠOVITOJ, HIBRIDNOJ, ili EKSTERNO-INTERNOJ, NEOLOGIZACIJI, koja deluje ili na srpsko-engleskom materijalu (domaće reči kombinovane s engleskim elementima, kao u već pominjanom primeru *obwɛbljen*), ili na englesko-srpskom materijalu (anglicizmi podvrgnuti sekundarnoj morfološkoj adaptaciji, radi stvaranja novih reči, kao u *influenser* + *-ka*) (up. Bugarski 2019a, 2021; Kardoš 2014; Prćić 2023; Prćić i Dražić 2023; Prćić, Dražić, Milić, i dr. 2021; Rasulić 2008; Tomić 2022). Potonje dve vrste neologizacije srpskog jezika opisane su i kontaktno-kontrastivno, i leksikološki, i leksikografski, u brojnim radovima unesenim



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u onlajn bibliografiju na sajtu *Globalne anglicističke mreže* (eng. *Global Anglicism Database Network; GLAD*).[44]

Izučavanje neologizama, i onih s periferije, i onih iz centra, iz morfosintaktičke, semantičke, stilističke, pragmatičke i drugih perspektiva, može biti višestruko korisno, jer može pružiti dokumentovani uvid u sledeće, trenutno nepravedno i neopravdano, zanemarene pojave:

- najčešći postupci tvorbe reči i tvorbe smisla, i njihove podvrste,
- produktivnost pojedinih postupaka tvorbe reči i tvorbe smisla,
- najčešće grupe opštih i specifičnih značenja koja se izražavaju tvorbom reči i tvorbom smisla,
- zastupljenost i međupovezanost unutrašnje, spoljne i mešovite neologizacije,
- komunikativni efekti koji se postižu pojedinim postupcima tvorbe reči i tvorbe smisla,
- razumevanje unutrašnjih, spoljnih i mešovitih neologizama,
- prevođenje neologizama na druge jezike, i
- leksikografska obrada neologizama u opštim i specijalizovanim jednojezičnim i dvojezičnim rečnicima.

Posmatrano u celosti, periferija je ponekad vitalnija od centra, a svaki jezik – i kao sistem, i kao upotreba sistema, i kao njihovo istraživanje, postoji samo kao jedinstvo centra i periferije, između kojih stvarnih granica nema.

## 11.3. Promene koje bi mogle proizaći iz knjige

Neposredno ili posredno nadovezane na goreopisane implicirane zaključke, opet za one koji žele da ih prepoznaju, ova knjiga mogla bi, u idealnim okolnostima, da podstakne nekoliko značajnih i sveobuhvatnih promena u različitim domenima tretmana savremenog srpskog jezika. I opet u interpretaciji autora

[44] Adresa: https://www.nhh.no/en/research-centres/global-anglicism-database-network/publications/.



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ovog teksta, tih poželjnih promena ima četiri i o njima će biti više reči u nastavku.

### 11.3.1. Domen korpusne analize srpskog jezika

Obuhvata formiranje monitorskog *Srpskog nacionalnog elektronskog korpusa* (*SNEK*), koji bi se sastojao od najmanje 500 miliona reči, pažljivo i uravnoteženo biranih iz svih njegovih 'centralnih' i 'perifernih', lektalnih i registarskih, pisanih i govorenih, varijeteta, te onlajn i oflajn izvora (up. Prćić 2018), i koji bi bio opremljen modulom za prepoznavanje i izdvajanje neologizama, poput modula *Trendencije* (eng. *Trends*), u sastavu najkvalitetnijeg i najsavršenijeg softverskog paketa za obradu korpusnog materijala *Sketch Engine*.[45] Na taj način, u sistemsku analizu srpskog jezika bile bi uključene i nove reči, što je više nego dobrodošla novina, kojom bi, nakon decenijske poluizopštenosti, neologizmi napokon dobili više nego zasluženo mesto u vokabularu srpskog jezika. Pored svih blagodati koje bi korpusno istraživanje srpskog jezika donelo, i to na svim njegovim nivoima, empirijski bi se moglo dokazati da je srpski tvorbeni potencijal, u sveukupnosti gledano, i te kako životan i delatan, pri čemu bi se jasno moglo pokazati da su pojave neologizacije, uključujući i slivenice, zastupljene doslovno svugde, u skoro svim oblastima ljudske delatnosti i da se neologizmima više ili manje služe pripadnici svih generacija, s izuzetkom onih koji žive u mikrouniverzumu diskursa stare, dobre prošlosti i odbijaju da zakorače u stvaran, prirodan i 'onlajnizovan' makrouniverzum diskursa 21. veka.

### 11.3.2. Domen leksikologije srpskog jezika

Obuhvata prihvatanje, istraživanje i opisivanje novih pojava u oblastima tvorbe reči i tvorbe smisla, bez obzira na to u kom

[45] Detaljnije o modulu *Trends* videti na adresi: https://www.sketchengine.eu/guide/trends/, a o samom softverskom paketu *Sketch Engine* na: https://www.sketchengine.eu/.



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njegovom varijetetu nastaju. Jedini lingvistički i sociolingvistički ispravan teorijsko-metodološki pristup za istraživanje jezika, svakog jezika, pa tako i srpskog, jeste da se jezik, jezički sistem, upotreba tog sistema i istraživanja sistema i upotrebe odnose na sveukupnost njegovih varijetetskih realizacija. Jezik je višedimenzionalno raslojen – i funkcionalno, i društveno, i individualno, i teritorijalno (up. Radovanović 2003), pa se stoga u toj raslojenosti mora i posmatrati, i istraživati – integralno ili fragmentarno, ne diskriminišući pritom nijedan varijetet. To se posebno odnosi na uvažavanje i istraživanje, pre svega, žargona, omladinskog i stručnih, i, u okviru toga, na žargonizme i (van neposredne teme ove rasprave) na vulgarizme, kao njihov manje učtiv ali zato izražajno udarniji podskup. I drugo, to je neologizacija, uključujući i slivenice, koje jednu svoju ruku pružaju ka neologizmima, a drugu ka žargonizmima i predstavljaju najkreativniji i najupadljiviji proizvod neologizacije danas. Uz poštovanja i pažnje vredne retke izuzetke, ovih pojava u našoj stručnoj literaturi gotovo da nema, iako ih, paradoksalno, u svakodnevnoj komunikaciji ima, čak i više nego što se misli. Leksičkom bogatstvu srpskog jezika doprinose, možda ne nužno u podjednakoj meri, ali sasvim sigurno združeno, s jedne strane, književno stvaralaštvo, a, s druge strane, ne-književno i anti-književno stvaralaštvo, pretežno u govorenoj, spontanoj i žargonizovanoj realizaciji jezika.

### 11.3.3. Domen leksikografije srpskog jezika

Obuhvata prihvatanje, unošenje i obrađivanje u opštim i specijalizovanim rečnicima svih leksičkih jedinica koje je iznedrila upotreba sveukupnog srpskog jezika, u svim njegovim današnjim varijetetskim realizacijama, uključujući, naravno, i tzv. periferiju, sa žargonizmima i neologizmima (sa slivenicama), ukoliko su prethodno zadovoljili kriterijum bar minimalne ustaljenosti, odn. dovoljnog broja javljanja u korpusu. Iz ko zna kojih i kakvih pobuda, ali profesionalnih svakako ne, sve ovakve jedinice uporno se i upadljivo zaobilaze i izostavljaju iz opštih rečnika srpskog jezika, kao da predstavljaju neku javnu sramotu, a ne važnu je-



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zičku i leksičku građu. Na sreću, važnost te leksičke građe blagovremeno su uvideli sastavljači specijalizovanih rečnika, pa tako imamo rečnike žargonizama (Andrić 2005; Gerzić 2012; Gerzić i Gerzić 2002; Imami 2007; Knežević 2010), vulgarizama (Milojević 2017; Savić 1998; Šipka 2011), neologizama (Ćirilov 1982, 1991; Klajn 1992; Nikolić i Slijepčević 202?; Otašević 2008b; Otašević, Nikolić i Đorđević 2022, 2023), te anglicizama (Vasić, Prćić i Nejgebauer 2018; Prćić, Dražić, Milić, i dr. 2021), kao i elektronski časopis *Novorečje*, posvećen novim rečima u srpskom jeziku i, u okrilju njega, nastajući onlajn rečnik novih reči.[46] Najnovija produkcija u sve tri izmešane oblasti dostupna je u otvorenom internetskom rečniku *Vukajlija*,[47] projektu 'iz naroda' poteklog i kraudsorsovanog (eng. *crowdsourced*) – ili, kako je prevedeno (od strane autora ovog teksta), 'potpomognutog onlajn saradnicima' (up. Lazić Konjik 2018; Lazić Konjik i Milenković 2020). Žargonizme i slivenice, kao dva isprepletena leksička podskupa, treba li još podsećati, leksikografski je obradio R. Bugarski (2003, 2006, 2021, te 2013, 2019a).

Uredničko i/ili sastavljačko opredeljenje da žargonizmi (s vulgarizmima) i neologizmi budu isključeni iz opštih rečnika zatvara oči pred nekoliko suštinski značajnih činjenica:

- jezički priručnici, a rečnici posebno, treba uravnoteženo da odražavaju realno i celovito stanje u jeziku koji opisuju,
- zaobilaženje i izostavljanje navedenog trija izama ne znači da oni u jeziku ne postoje ili da ih više neće biti, nego, nažalost, nešto drugo – da je takav opis jezika nepouzdan, jer je polovičan i manjkav,
- zaobilaženje i izostavljanje navedenog trija izama čini veliku nepravdu srpskom jeziku, čije se zavidno leksičko bogatstvo i nemala tvorbena produktivnost veštački i bez uverljivog razloga umanjuju, ali se čini i nepravda kori-

[46] Adrese: http://alma.rs/Novorecje/index.html, https://reci.org.rs/casopis-novorecje/casopis-po-brojevima.html, https://reci.org.rs/reci/nove-reci.html.

[47] Adresa: https://vukajlija.com/.



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snicima srpskog jezika, čija se leksička kreativnost i originalnost ignorišu, i

- zaobilaženje i izostavljanje navedenog trija izama čini medvređu uslugu korisnicima takvih rečnika, izvornih govornika srpskog jezika i, još više, onih koji srpski usvajaju kao strani jezik, budući da ne mogu da saznaju šta dati izmi tačno znače i koja im je tačna komunikativna vrednost, iako na njih, opet paradoksalno, nailaze gotovo na svakom koraku, a i samima im se često omaknu.

Ne treba naročito objašnjavati da bi, uz valjanu leksikografsku opremu takvih reči, u vidu stilskih i/ili upotrebnih oznaka ispred definicije, svi pomenuti izmi ostvarili svoje uveliko zasluženo pravo da budu uneseni i obrađeni u opštim rečnicima, pri čemu bi njihova obrada podrazumevala vidljivo označen podatak o komunikativnoj vrednosti, odn. o mestu svakog izma u ukupnom vokabularu srpskog jezika.

### 11.3.4. Domen nastave srpskog jezika

Obuhvata uvođenje žargona i neologizacije u nastavni plan i program, počev od osnovne škole pa sve do doktorskih studija. Svaka obrazovna etapa imala bi sadržaje čija bi se širina i dubina progresivno povećavala – u osnovnoj školi, s temama praktičnog i informativnog karaktera; u srednjoj školi, s dodacima sociolingvističke teorije; a na fakultetu, s iscrpnim teorijskim i praktičnim istraživanjima. Zajednički cilj svima bilo bi negovanje ispravnog, lingvistički i sociolingvistički zasnovanog, odnosa prema žargonu i njegovim plodovima. U današnjoj nastavi, kao što je poznato, žargon je ili prognan s časova, ili je prokažen kao inferioran, neuk, nevaspitan, remetilački, šatrovački, uličarski i ko-zna-kakav-još-sve-ne jezik, koji po svaku cenu valja izbegavati – mada bez ikakvih ponuđenih dokaza kojima bi se učenicima i studentima objasnilo zašto žargon zapravo treba izbegavati, šta tačno treba izbegavati i gde ga to tačno treba izbegavati. Ovakvom nastavnom praksom, decenijama dugom, razvijana je i razvijena, vrlo teško razumljiva, shizoidna situacija u kojoj škola



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žigoše, omalovažava, obeshrabruje i sankcioniše jezik kojim se van te iste škole redovno služe iste te mlade, i ne samo mlade, generacije, kao i dobar deo njihovih nastavnika svih predmeta, pa i maternjeg jezika.

Umesto toga, neophodno je da se otpočne s predavanjem raslojenosti srpskog jezika (up. Radovanović 2003), njegovih lekata i registara, uključujući i žargon, uključujući i pojavu diglosije, uključujući i negovanje učeničke i studentske svesti o ovim sociolingvističkim pojavama, uključujući i usmeravanje njihove pragmatičke kompetencije ka situacionoj primerenosti pojedinih varijeteta srpskog jezika, s jedne strane, a, s druge, ka ovladavanju najvažnijim varijetetima – ne samo na pasivnom planu njihovog prepoznavanja, nego i na aktivnom planu njihovog proizvođenja u govoru i pisanju.

## 11.4. Ka proširenju obuhvata standardnog srpskog jezika

Jezička građa opisana u knjizi *Srpske slivenice. Monografija sa rečnikom* (Bugarski 2019a), metodologija istraživanja u njoj primenjena, prikazivanje dobijenih rezultata, te autorovi znalački komentari tih rezultata, pažljivim i motivisanim čitaocima mogu da otvore potpuno nove, izazovne i za istraživanje vrlo zahvalne perspektive. Te perspektive u ovoj raspravi poprimile su oblik pet impliciranih zaključaka, koji su vezani za sagledavanje jezika u sveukupnosti njegovih realizacija, produktivnost tvorbenih mehanizama, leksičku kreativnost korisnika jezika, postignute komunikativne efekte i sagledavanje neologizacije srpskog jezika. Po idealnom scenariju, pomenuti zaključci mogli bi vremenom, u bližoj ili daljoj budućnosti, da dovedu do četiri poželjne i (dugo) očekivane promene u tretmanu srpskog jezika, koje se tiču domena njegovih korpusnih istraživanja, leksikologije, leksikografije i nastave srpskog jezika.

Kao vrhunac tog idealnog scenarija bila bi situacija u kojoj bi došlo do modifikacije obuhvata standardnog srpskog jezika. Trenutno važeća određenja u središte stavljaju prestižni dijalekt/sociolekt, koji je istorijski, politički i kulturno uslovljen, i koji



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počiva na književnim temeljima (up. Ammon 2004; Bugarski 2019b; Ivić i Crystal 2020; Radovanović 2003, 2004). Međutim, imajući na umu uočene dominantne tendencije u našoj svakodnevnoj jezičkoj praksi, teorijsko-metodološke doprinose *Srpskih slivenica* i, nadasve, najsavremenije sociolingvističke principe (up. Bugarski 1997a, 1997b; Llamas, Mullany i Stockwell 2007; Mesthrie 2011; Radovanović 1997, 2003), možda bi vredelo razmisliti o tome da se osavremeni poimanje standardnog jezika, da se proširi njegov obuhvat i da se kao nov kriterijum dopusti komunikativno, tj. sociolingvistički, stilistički i pragmatički, relevantan faktor formalnosti izraza, jedan od bitnih aspekata raslojavanja jezika, koji se ispoljava u pet međuuslovljenih pojavnih oblika, prikazanih na petostepenoj skali sa sledećim vrednostima, od najviše (levo) do najniže (desno):

krajnje zvaničan ↔ zvaničan ↔ neutralan ↔ opušten ↔ krajnje opušten
(eng. *frozen* ↔ *formal* ↔ *consultative* ↔ *casual* ↔ *intimate*;
up. Joos 1962).

Na ovaj način, težište u projektovanju obuhvata standardnog srpskog jezika ostalo bi na dvojnom normativnom kontrastu ‘u skladu sa’ prema ‘nije u skladu sa’ pravilima sistema i principima upotrebe, ali bi bilo obogaćeno obeležjem formalnosti, u trojnom stilističko-pragmatičkom kontrastu ‘primereno’ prema ‘manje primereno’ prema ‘neprimereno’ datoj komunikacionoj situaciji. Predloženom dopunom u standardni jezik bio bi pripušten onaj sloj srpskog jezika koji se sada nalazi na njegovoj ‘periferiji’ – ili, tačnije, na manje formalnoj polovini njegovog upotrebnog spektra i koji stoga uključuje žargonizme i neologizme. Malo ko bi mogao ubedljivo da ospori činjenicu da su pomenute grupe jedinica skovane u skladu s pravilima sistema srpskog jezika i da se koriste u skladu s principima upotrebe srpskog jezika, izuzimajući neizbežne i sporadične slučajeve smišljenih pravopisnih i/ili strukturnih odstupanja, poput onog u *Pozzz!*. Takva zanemarljiva odstupanja svakako nisu ni razlog, ni opravdanje da žargon i njegovi izmi budu izopšteni iz dominantne domaće lingvistike,



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uprkos tome što su u svakodnevnoj komunikaciji zastupljeni u velikoj meri, a uz to su krajnje životni, veoma izražajni i izvanredno efektni. Njima nikako nije mesto na marginama – što jezika, što lingvistike, što obrazovanja, što kulture. Njima je mesto u neformalnom segmentu standardnog jezika, jer je snižena formalnost ono glavno obeležje koje ih odlikuje i presudno razlikuje od prihvaćenog poimanja standardnog jezika. Ostalih sistemskih i objektivnih prepreka objedinjavanju 'centra' i 'periferije' nema, pa tako nema ni potrebe za daljom neprirodnom i neodrživom njihovom polarizacijom i segregacijom potonje.

A što se tiče neologizacije objedinjenog srpskog jezika, korpusna analiza izgovorenih i napisanih tekstova, a za početak i samo ciljano praćenje i beleženje neologizama u tim tekstovima, jasno će pokazati i dokumentovano dokazati da se taj proces neprestano i nesmetano odvija – štaviše, da je u punom cvatu. Za domene slivenica i žargonizama dve knjige Ranka Bugarskog to su već jasno pokazale i dokumentovano dokazale.



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# 12. Nova značenja postojećih reči u srpskom jeziku

Kao što je poznato, u svakom jeziku na raspolaganju su tri glavna tipa neologizacije njegovog leksičkog fonda (up. Lipka 2002; Stojičić 2006b; Tournier 1993): prvo, to je MORFOSINTAKTIČKA NEOLOGIZACIJA, koja se sastoji u tvorbi novih reči, tj. neologizama u užem, i najčešćem, smislu, i koja je najiscrpnije leksikološki istražena i leksikografski obrađena u standardnom i žargonskom sloju srpskog jezika (up. Ajdžanović 2022; Bugarski 2019a, 2021; Dragićević 2012, 2018b, 2020; Janić i Stamenković 2022; Halupka Rešetar i Lalić Krstin 2009, 2012a, 2012b; Klajn 2002, 2003, 2006; Knežević 2010; Otašević 2008a; Piper, Klajn i Dragićević 2022, te u rečnicima Andrić 2005; Ćirilov 1982, 1991; Gerzić 2012; Gerzić i Gerzić 2012; Klajn 1992; Nikolić i Slijepčević 202?; Otašević 2008b; Otašević, Nikolić i Đorđević 2022, 2023, i u onlajn rečniku *Vukajlija*[48]).

Drugo, to je SEMANTIČKA I/ILI STILISTIČKA NEOLOGIZACIJA, koja se sastoji u razvijanju novih deskriptivnih i/ili asocijativnih značenja postojećih reči, kada se postojećoj formi pridodaje nova sadržina, u vidu novih deskriptivnih i/ili asocijativnih obeležja (up. Dragićević 2010; Prćić 2016; Waldron 1979), i koja je, koliko je bilo moguće utvrditi, slabo istražena i još slabije obrađena (up. Otašević 2008a, što je ovde redak izuzetak, zajedno s pomenutim studijama i rečnicima koji se tiču žargona).

I treće, to je EKSTERNA NEOLOGIZACIJA, koja se sastoji u pozajmljivanju novih reči i/ili značenja iz drugih jezika, danas većinom iz engleskog (up. Filipović 1986; Klajn i Šipka 2012;

[48] Adresa: https://vukajlija.com/.



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Prćić 2019a, 2023; Prćić, Dražić, Milić, i dr. 2021; Vasić, Prćić i Nejgebauer 2018). Ova tri tipa neologizacije povećavaju izražajni potencijal srpskog jezika, pri čemu prvi i treći takođe proširuju njegov leksikon i po broju jedinica (kvantitativno), i po sadržini (kvalitativno), a drugi tip samo po sadržini, doprinoseći tako leksičkoj ekonomiji. Uz to, prvi tip neologizacije eksploatiše sopstvena sredstva srpskog jezika, tj. jedinice i pravila, te upotrebe tih jedinica i pravila, treći tip eksploatiše sredstva iz stranih jezika, dok drugi tip eksploatiše i sopstvena i strana sredstva, pa mu je otuda priroda mešovita.

Tema ove rasprave jeste semantička i/ili stilistička neologizacija postojećih reči u srpskom jeziku, a neposredan cilj postavljanje tipologije mehanizama njene realizacije.

## 12.1. Semantička i/ili stilistička neologizacija

Materijal na osnovu kojeg se izvode pravilnosti i daju njihove potkrepe primerima činiće autorski sastavljen korpus od blizu 300 postojećih reči srpskog jezika i njima pridruženih novih značenja. Pod 'postojećim rečima' podrazumevaju se domaće i odomaćene 'strane' reči, bez obzira na jezik njihovog porekla, a pod 'novim značenjima' ona značenja koja su ove reči poprimile u periodu od početka 21. veka do danas). Postojeća značenja reči, prema potrebi, proveravana su u tri rečnika srpskog jezika (Klajn i Šipka 2012; Nikolić 2018; Prćić, Dražić, Milić, i dr. 2021) i u nekoliko onlajn rečnika engleskog jezika, koji su bili pominjani u prvom delu ove knjige.

Korpus je prikupljan pažljivim praćenjem onlajn izdanja dnevne, periodične i elektronske štampe, popularne i ozbiljne, izvorne, prevedene i nadriprevedene (*Blic, Novosti, Danas, Nova, Politika, Vreme, NIN*), kao i televizijskih emisija različitih žanrova, izvornih, prevedenih i nadriprevedenih, uključujući vesti, serije, filmove i reklame (*RTS, RTV, N1, Nova S, Pink, b92, Prva*). Ovakva struktura korpusa odabrana je zato što medijski registar, u svojoj sveobuhvatnosti, najvernije i najpouzdanije odslikava promene u svakom jeziku, pa tako i srpskom, na svim



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nivoima, uključujući semantički i stilistički. S visokim stepenom verovatnoće može se ustvrditi da bi analiza registarski drukčijeg i tematski raznovrsnijeg materijala, i većeg broja reči pokazala iste, ili približno iste, sistemske pravilnosti i tendencije, a primeri bi ukazali na konkretne upotrebe bogatije tek u semantičkim i/ili stilističkim detaljima. Ovde treba naglasiti da opisi koji slede težište stavljaju na nove sememe pojedinačnih reči, tj. na nova pragmatička značenja pojedinačnih reči upotrebljenih u konkretnom jezičkom (rečeničnom) i vanjezičkom (situacionom) kontekstu (up. Prćić 2008, 2016).

Semantička i/ili stilistička neologizacija realizuje se kroz dva mehanizma: ukoliko se radi o razvijanju novih značenja domaćim produktivnim semantičkim i/ili stilističkim postupcima, na delu je UNUTARSISTEMSKI MEHANIZAM, a ukoliko se radi o preuzimanju novih značenja iz, ili posredstvom, drugih jezika, na delu je VANSISTEMSKI MEHANIZAM, o kojima će biti detaljnije govora u narednim odeljcima.

## 12.2. Razvijanje novih značenja

Mehanizam realizacije novih značenja ovde nazvan unutarsistemskim deluje unutar sistema srpskog jezika i iskorišćava njegova sredstva za razvijanje novih značenja, ili tvorbu smisla (eng. *sense development*; up. Waldron 1979). Ta značenja mogu biti DESKRIPTIVNA, kada su u domenu semantičkih postupaka, i ASOCIJATIVNA, kada su u domenu stilističkih postupaka, pri čemu ima mogućnosti da se kod jedne iste reči razviju oba značenja, istovremeno ili jedno za drugim.

Postoji ukupno pet semantičkih postupaka razvijanja novih deskriptivnih značenja: generalizacija, specijalizacija, metaforizacija, metonimizacija i kreacija novog deskriptivnog značenja, od kojih prva četiri izvode motivisana značenja, semantički povezana s jednim od postojećih, dok peti postupak dovodi do nemotivisanih i nezavisnih značenja, bez očigledne i neposredne semantičke povezanosti s postojećima. Ovi postupci biće prikazani i ilustrovani karakterističnim, reprezentativnim primerima doma-



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ćih i odomaćenih 'stranih' reči, uključujući i ranije, već ustaljene anglicizme, ali i one novije i najnovije, još nedovoljno ustaljene, čija su značenja uglavnom još nepostojana u srpskom jeziku (što, uzgred, nije retkost i kod drugih domaćih i odomaćenih 'stranih' reči), pa su stoga posebno podložna interesantnim, manjim ili većim, promenama u odnosu na prvobitno englesko značenje. Na kraju prikaza, kao šesti postupak po redu, biće zbirno razmotreni i primerima potkrepljeni stilistički postupci razvijanja novih asocijativnih značenja.

### 12.2.1. Generalizacija postojećih značenja

Odnosi se na slabljenje ili uklanjanje nekih od deskriptivnih obeležja iz prvobitnog značenja, čime novo značenje postaje šire, opštije i manje precizno, a pripadajuća reč dobija širi obuhvat (up. Lipka 2002; Prćić 2008), kao u primerima:

- *Na sastanku su parlamentarci svojim domaćinima poručili da...*, gde je iz glagola *poručiti* uklonjeno obeležje 'preko posrednika', tako da novo značenje glasi 'preneti poruku direktno; saopštiti, obavestiti, izjaviti, reći, kazati',
- *Moramo odraditi ovaj posao što pre*, gde je iz glagola *odraditi* uklonjeno obeležje 'što se mora, bez volje, (kao) od bede', tako da novo značenje glasi 'uraditi, obaviti',
- *Utakmica je završena remijem, 2 : 2*, gde je u imenici *remi* oslabljeno obeležje 'u šahu', tako da novo značenje glasi 'nerešen rezultat u nekom timskom sportu',
- *Imaju dva sina tinejdžera*, gde je u imenici *tinejdžer* oslabljeno izvorno englesko obeležje 'između 13 i 19 godina', tako da novo značenje glasi 'mladić uzrasta do, ili malo preko, 20 godina; mladić, momak, omladinac', i
- *Mnoge čitaoce zanimaju priče o domaćem džetsetu*, gde je iz imenice *džetset* uklonjeno izvorno englesko obeležje 'često putovati avionom radi provoda', tako da novo značenje glasi 'sloj imućnih i pomodnih ljudi koji živi lagodnim životom'.



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### 12.2.2. Specijalizacija postojećih značenja

Odnosi se na dodavanje novih deskriptivnih obeležja na prvobitno značenje, čime novo značenje postaje uže, specifičnije i preciznije, a pripadajuća reč dobija uži obuhvat (up. Lipka 2002; Prćić 2008), kao u primerima:

- *Tokom odsustva direktora će menjati njegov pomoćnik*, gde su glagolu *menjati* dodata obeležja 'privremeno' i 'vršiti nečiji posao ili dužnost', tako da novo značenje glasi 'zamenjivati',
- *Večeras na Paliluli suzbijanje komaraca*, gde su imenici *suzbijanje* dodata obeležja 'zaprašivanjem iz vazduha' i 'radi sprečavanja daljeg razmnožavanja', tako da novo značenje glasi 'zaprašivanje',
- *I na kraju ovih vesti – prognoza*, gde je imenici *prognoza* dodato obeležje 'vremenski' ili 'vremena', u zavisnosti od toga da li je njen puni oblik *vremenska prognoza* ili *prognoza vremena*, tako da novo značenje, kao i kod svih reči nastalih elipsacijom, glasi neeliptirano 'vremenska prognoza' ili 'prognoza vremena' (up. Prćić 2016, Pogl. 13 u ovoj knjizi),
- *Većina više voli folk*, gde je imenici *folk* dodato obeležje 'novokomponovan', tako da novo značenje glasi 'novokomponovana narodna muzika', nasuprot engleskom '(tradicionalna) narodna muzika', i
- *Ja ću moliti jedan đus*, gde su imenici *đus* dodata obeležja 'gust' i 'od pomorandže', tako da novo značenje glasi 'gusti sok od pomorandže', nasuprot engleskom 'voćni sok'.

### 12.2.3. Metaforizacija postojećih značenja

Odnosi se na preslikavanje reinterpretiranih ključnih deskriptivnih obeležja prvobitnog značenja na novo značenje, što je omogućeno uočenom sličnošću između dva različita i nepovezana entiteta, u pogledu oblika, pozicije, funkcije, namene, osobine, ponašanja, delovanja, sposobnosti, itd. (up. Dragićević 2010; Fi-



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lipović Kovačević 2021; Klikovac 2004; Kövecses 2010; Lakoff i Johnson 1980; Prćić 2008, 2016), kao u primerima:

- *Cimnuću te večeras, pa da odemo na piće*, gde glagol *cimnuti*, koji izvorno znači 'kratko i snažno trgnuti ili drmnuti nekoga', ovde upućuje na radnju pomoću mobilnog telefona, tako da novo značenje glasi 'kratko pozvati nekog mobilnim telefonom, kao podsećanje na neki dogovor, ne očekujući da se pozvani javi',
- *Godinama je sponzorisao poznatu pevačicu*, gde glagol *sponzorisati*, koji izvorno znači 'finansijski potpomagati kulturne, sportske, dobrotvorne, i sl. događaje', ovde upućuje na žensku osobu, tako da novo značenje glasi 'finansirati raskošan život mlađe ženske osobe, od koje se zauzvrat očekuju seksualne usluge',
- *Uhapšeno je pet članova drumske mafije*, gde imenica *mafija*, koja izvorno znači 'tajna kriminalna organizacija poreklom sa Sicilije, s razgranatom mrežom ilegalnih aktivnosti po svetu, naročito u Sjedinjenim Državama', ovde upućuje na domaće grupe, tako da novo značenje glasi 'organizovana grupa ljudi koji raznim ilegalnim načinima stiču laku i veliku zaradu',
- *Na licu mesta zatekli su pravi horor*, gde imenica *horor*, koja izvorno znači 'film koji prikazuje užasne događaje; film strave i užasa', ovde upućuje na stvarnost, tako da novo značenje glasi 'užasan ili neprijatan stvarni događaj', i
- *Nemojte dolaziti danas, cele nedelje sam prebukirana*, gde pridev *prebukiran*, koji izvorno znači 'veći broj izdatih ili prodatih rezervacija za prevoz ili smeštaj od stvarnog broja raspoloživih mesta', ovde upućuje na osobu, tako da novo značenje glasi 'prezauzet, preopterećen, pretrpan (poslom ili obavezama)'.



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### 12.2.4. Metonimizacija postojećih značenja

Odnosi se na preslikavanje reinterpretiranih ključnih deskriptivnih obeležja prvobitnog značenja na novo značenje, što je omogućeno ispoljenom bliskošću dvaju različitih ali međusobno prostorno, vremenski ili drukčije povezanih entiteta (up. Dragićević 2010; Kövecses 2010; Prćić 2008, 2016), kao u primerima:

- *Na Vladi će danas biti donete odluke o smenama*, gde imenica *vlada*, koja izvorno znači 'najviši organ izvršne vlasti u jednoj zemlji', ovde upućuje na sednicu, tako da novo značenje glasi 'sednica Vlade',
- *Okrenuću mamu da pitam kako je*, gde glagol *okrenuti*, koji izvorno znači 'kružnim kretanjem promeniti nekome ili nečemu položaj', ovde upućuje na telefonski pozvanu osobu, tako da novo značenje glasi 'pozvati nekog telefonom', što je dvostruka metonimija – okretanje (nekadašnjeg) brojčanika na telefonu i osoba koja se tim okretanjem poziva,
- *Doneću ti tekst na USB-u*, gde imenica *USB*, koja izvorno znači 'vrsta priključka na kompjuteru za prenošenje ili skladištenje podataka', ovde upućuje na uređaj, tako da novo značenje glasi 'uređaj s USB-priključkom, naročito memorijska kartica',
- *Kupila sam ove haljine u sekondhendu*, gde imenica *sekondhend* (ili, po engleskom, *second hand*), koja izvorno znači 'polovan, korišćen, uključujući odeću', ovde upućuje na mesto, tako da novo značenje glasi 'prodavnica polovne odeće', i
- *Odmah mi pošalji svoj mejl*, gde imenica *mejl* (ili *imejl*, ili, po engleskom, *mail, email*), koja izvorno znači 'pisana poruka poslata ili primljena putem sistema elektronske pošte', ovde upućuje na adresu, tako da novo značenje glasi 'imejl-adresa'.



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### 12.2.5. Kreacija novih deskriptivnih značenja

Odnosi se razvijanje značenja čija deskriptivna obeležja nemaju neposredne semantičke veze s bilo kojim od postojećih značenja date reči, nego su nastala nezavisno od njih, bez čvrste i jasne motivacije, kao u primerima:

- *Osumnjičenom je određen pritvor do 30 dana*, gde je predlog *do* upotrebljen u uobičajenom vremenskom značenju predloga *od* – 'raspon trajanja neke radnje ili procesa', što implicira da pritvor traje tačno 30 dana, dok je uobičajeno vremensko značenje predloga *do* – 'raspon najdužeg trajanja neke radnje ili procesa', što implicira da pritvor može trajati i manje od 30 dana; kako je, i zašto, došlo do ove zbunjujuće promene – ili bolje, zamene – značenja i gubljenja jedne važne distinkcije nije poznato, ali treba naglasiti da se ovo novo značenje predloga *do* u registru medija primilo munjevito, u samo nekoliko godina, a to je za jezičke promene, koliko god male i naizgled beznačajne one možda bile, nestvarno kratak period realizacije,
- *Promocija njene najnovije knjige biće održana iduće nedelje*, gde imenica *promocija* nosi novo značenje 'svečano ili zvanično predstavljanje javnosti nove knjige, filma, albuma, DVD-a, i sl.', kod kojeg nema uočljivih semantičkih veza s postojećim značenjima, osim naznaka metonimijskog dodirivanja sa značenjem 'osmišljena kampanja radi popularisanja nekog proizvoda, dela, organizacije, i sl.', i
- *U nastavku, sledi naš marketing blok*, gde imenica *marketing* nosi novo značenje 'reklamiranje, naročito na radiju, televiziji, i sl.; reklame, ekonomsko-propagandni program, EPP', kod kojeg takođe nema uočljivih semantičkih veza s postojećim značenjima, osim metonimijskog dodirivanja sa značenjem 'delatnost ili profesija popularisanja i prodavanja proizvoda ili usluga koja uključuje istraživanje tržišta, reklamiranje, i sl.'.



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Uprkos metonimijskim korenima ova dva nova značenja, ipak se ne može kategorički tvrditi da su ona sistemski izvedena postupkom metonimijskog prenosa.

### 12.2.6. Kreacija novih asocijativnih značenja

Komplementarno opisanim semantičkim postupcima razvijanja novih deskriptivnih značenja, obavlja se stilističkim postupcima, čije je ustrojstvo suštinski drukčije. Naime, za razliku od semantičkih postupaka, koji su, s delimičnim izuzetkom onog poslednjeg, utemeljeni u jezičkom sistemu, stilistički postupci utemeljeni su u upotrebi jezičkog sistema u konkretnom jezičkom (rečeničnom) i, naročito, vanjezičkom (situacionom) kontekstu, budući da određeno asocijativno značenje nameću učesnici u komunikaciji – s jedne strane, to su govornici / pisci, a s druge, to su, još više, slušaoci / čitaoci, i njihovi subjektivni (nameravani, odn. protumačeni) odnosi i stavovi prema referentu, tj. predmetu komunikacije, koji ponavljanjem i protokom vremena bivaju pretočeni u specifična asocijativna obeležja. Čitav dijapazon raspoloživih asocijativnih obeležja, u domenu stilskih, ekspresivnih i konotativnih podvrsta asocijativnog značenja, potencijalno je prilično velik (up. Prćić 2016, Pogl. 13 u ovoj knjizi), pa će zato za ovu priliku biti odabrano samo tri najčešća i najvažnija, kao u primerima:

- *Okrenuću mamu da pitam kako je,* ili *Cimnuću te večeras, pa da odemo na piće,* ili *Fanovi su na kraju probili zaštitnu ogradu i skočili na binu*, gde su glagoli *okrenuti* i *cimnuti*, te imenica *fan* stilski obojeni asocijativim obeležjem ‘neformalno’, koje u pojedinim kontekstima i/ili interpretacijama može prerasti u obeležje ‘žargonski’, što je krajnji, najviši stepen neformalnosti,
- *Na festivalu su se okupili najbolji svetski di-džejevi,* ili *Zašto je Varufakis najkul bivši ministar*, ili *Danas je in biti u vezi s mlađim muškarcem*, gde su imenica *di-džej*, pridev *najkul* i prilog *in* stilski obojeni asocijativnim obeležjem ‘žargonski’, koje u pojedinim kontekstima i/ili interpretacijama može, opet, prerasti u obeležje ‘neformalno’, i



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- *Bosovi se sastaju u sredu da odluče o ponudi*, ili *Ispred svakog kluba šetka neki diler*, ili *Sklopili su dil koji je štetan za sve strane*, gde su imenice *bos, diler* i *dil* obojene pre svega stilski, asocijativnim obeležjima 'neformalno' ili 'žargonski', a onda i ekspresivno, asocijativnim obeležjem 'pogrdno, pejorativno'.

Svi ovde navedeni, i slični, primeri pokazuju, s jedne strane, subjektivnu, nestalnu i promenljivu prirodu asocijativnog značenja, a, s druge, mogućnost udruživanja nekoliko različitih asocijativnih obeležja u jedno celovito asocijativno značenje (up. Prćić 2016).

### 12.2.7. Kratka pričica o glagolu *pričati*

Ovaj odeljak biće završen kratkom pričicom o glagolu *pričati*, koji je svoju čudnovatu semantičku i stilističku transformaciju počeo i (zasad) okončao u rekordnom periodu od nekih dvadeset godina. Njegova dva ustaljena glavna značenja tiču se saopštavanja sadržaja: u kolokacijama *pričati priču, vic*, i sl. značenje je 'pripovedati, kazivati', a u kolokacijama *pričati o nečemu ili nekome* značenje je 'govoriti o, razgovarati o'. Pored ova dva značenja, glagol *pričati* polako je poprimao, u kolokvijalnom, neformalnom i nemarnom registru, nova značenja koja su se brzo širila i na pisane i navodno ozbiljnije registre, da bi se sada na njih nailazilo u gotovo sva tri tipa registra – predmetnom, interpersonalnom i medijumskom (up. Prćić 2016, Pogl. 13 u ovoj knjizi), kao u primerima:

- *Dva premijera pričala su o pomoći migrantima*, ili *O čemu će se pričati na idućem sastanku s delegacijom MMF-a*, ili *U Skupštini se danas priča o amandmanima na predloge najnovijih zakona*, iz kojih je jasno da se radi o značenju 'razgovarati o', pa i 'raspravljati o', ali je ovakva upotreba u datim kontekstima neprimerena zbog asocijativnog obeležja 'neformalno',
- *Sedele smo celo popodne i pričale uz kafu*, ili *Ne pričam više s njim*, ili *Marija, treba hitno da pričamo*, koji ilustruju novo značenje 'razgovarati', i



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- *Ne pričajte mnogo mobilnim telefonom*, ili *Revolucionarno otkriće: Gorile uče da pričaju*, ili *Moj sin perfektno priča engleski i španski*, koji ilustruju novo značenje 'govoriti'.

Iz ovih, i brojnih drugih, primera može se zaključiti da se rezultati 'čudnovate semantičke i stilističke transformacije' glagola *pričati* trenutno sastoje od nekoliko slojeva:

- prvo, pored saopštavanja sadržaja (*priče, vica*, itd.), njegov obuhvat proširio se i na proizvođenje forme, tj. izgovaranje glasova (up. *govoriti*), istovremenom generalizacijom i, manjim delom, specijalizacijom značenja,
- drugo, pored monološke, njegov obuhvat proširio se i na dijalošku komunikaciju (up. *razgovarati*), takođe istovremenom generalizacijom i, manjim delom, specijalizacijom značenja,
- treće, ova dva nova značenja karakteriše asocijativno obeležje 'neformalno', koje u svakodnevnom govorenom i pisanom saobraćanju jedva da ko prepoznaje, poznaje i poštuje,
- četvrto, opisanom transformacijom glagol *pričati* sada raspolaže, bar u popularnoj upotrebi, ali nikako ne samo u njoj, svojim dosadašnjim značenjima i dvama novostečenim – 'govoriti' i 'razgovarati', koje u konkretnim slučajevima ponekad i nije lako razlučiti, i
- peto, za to vreme, u leksikonu srpskog jezika počeo je proces nestajanja nekoliko važnih sinonima, čije sve razvodnjenije nijanse sve uspešnije i agresivnije preuzima jedan sve bezbojniji i bezizražajniji džokerski glagol (up. Pogl. 13 u ovoj knjizi).

Sličnu semantičku i stilističku transformaciju, ali u užem obimu, doživljava i imenica *priča*, čija pričica, međutim, ovde neće biti ispričana, nego će, promene radi, biti prepušteno da to urade zainteresovani čitaoci, nakon što analiziraju podatke o upotrebi ove reči i izvedu pravilnosti o njenim postojećim i novim značenjima.

Štaviše, još dva glagola verbalne komunikacije krenula su odskora stopama glagola *pričati* – to su glagoli *poručiti* i *navesti*,



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oba u smislu ‘reći, kazati, izjaviti, saopštiti’. Njihove semantičke i stilističke transformacije tek treba istražiti i opisati.

## 12.3. Preuzimanje novih značenja

Mehanizam realizacije novih značenja ovde nazvan vansistemskim deluje, kao što mu ime kaže, van sistema srpskog jezika, iskorišćava već iskorišćena sredstva za tvorbu reči i razvijanje značenja drugih jezika, čiji se gotovi proizvodi preuzimaju u sistem srpskog jezika (up. Filipović 1986; Prćić 2019a, 2023). Ta značenja skoro su uvek deskriptivna, a tek u zanemarljivo malo slučajeva istovremeno i deskriptivna, i asocijativna, zbog čega o potonjima nadalje neće biti govora.

Postoji samo jedan postupak preuzimanja novih deskriptivnih značenja iz drugih jezika: presađivanje, koje se nalazi u domenu leksičkog pozajmljivanja, usredsređeno je na značenje i ispoljava se na dva unekoliko različita, iako po svojim efektima u suštini ista, načina, zavisno od toga da li se kao objekat postupka javljaju odomaćene ‘strane’ reči ili domaće reči. U nastavku, ova dva načina ispoljavanja presađivanja biće prikazana i ilustrovana karakterističnim, reprezentativnim primerima postojećih reči srpskog jezika.

### 12.3.1. Presađivanje na odomaćene ‘strane’ reči

Podrazumeva ponovno pozajmljivanje novog značenja (bar) jednom već pozajmljene reči i njoj pridruženog značenja. Pri tome, reč ranije pozajmljena iz nekog drugog jezika, uključujući i engleski, i ustaljena u sistemu srpskog jezika, preuzima se ponovo, danas najčešće iz engleskog ili, retko, nekog drugog jezika, ovom prilikom s težištem na njenom značenju, koje se prenosi, ili presađuje, na postojeću odomaćenu ‘stranu’ reč i time obogaćuje jednim deskriptivnim značenjem, a sama ta reč semantički se ponaša prema običajima engleskog, ili nekog drugog, jezika (up. Prćić 2019a, 2023), kao u primerima:



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- *Trening naših marketing saradnika vrši se svakog vikenda*, gde novo značenje imenice *trening*, starog anglicizma, glasi 'osposobljavanje, obučavanje', prema engleskom *train(ing)*,
- *Ovaj fakultet čini 10 društveno-humanističkih departmana*, gde novo značenje imenice *departman*, starog romanizma, glasi 'katedra, odsek', prema engleskom *department*,
- *Povećajte volumen vaše kose / vaših obrva / vaše kože za 20 posto!*, gde nova značenja imenice *volumen*, starog latinizma, glase 'bujnost / gustina / debljina', po redosledu navođenja, prema engleskom *volume*,
- *Celokupan asortiman obuće sada je na akciji*, gde novo značenje imenice *akcija*, starog latinizma, glasi 'popust, sniženje, rasprodaja', prema nemačkom *Aktion*, preko mađarskog *akció* (što pokazuje i put dolaska ovog značenja u srpski jezik, a ujedno predstavlja i raritetni primer novog značenja neengleskog porekla),
- *Provalnici su locirani, uhvaćeni i predati pravdi za svega tri sata*, gde novo značenje glagola *locirati*, starog latinizma, glasi 'otkriti ili utvrditi mesto boravka ili skrivanja; pronaći', prema engleskom *locate*, i
- *Ovo je definitivno njegovo najbolje ostvarenje*, gde novo značenje priloga *definitivno* glasi 'zasigurno, zacelo, izvesno', prema (pogrešno protumačenom) engleskom *definitely*.

### 12.3.2. Presađivanje na domaće reči

Podrazumeva pozajmljivanje novog značenja, ali bez njemu pripadajuće reči. Pri tome, to značenje danas se najčešće preuzima takođe iz engleskog ili, retko, nekog drugog jezika, prenosi, ili presađuje, na postojeću domaću reč i time obogaćuje jednim deskriptivnim značenjem, a sama ta reč semantički se takođe ponaša prema običajima engleskog, ili nekog drugog, jezika (up. Prćić 2019a, 2023), kao u primerima:



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- *Sa letovanja u Tajlandu nosimo predivna iskustva*, gde novo značenje imenice *iskustvo* glasi 'doživljaj', prema engleskom *(an) experience* (što se razlikuje od *experience*, bez neodređenog člana i mogućnosti za množinu, kada znači 'iskustvo'),
- *Za iduću sredu zakazan je pretres u slučaju LexxImpexx*, gde novo značenje imenice *slučaj* glasi 'parnica, postupak, proces', prema engleskom *case*,
- *Nismo baš srećni s ponuđenim uslovima ugovora*, gde novo značenje prideva *srećan s(a)* glasi 'zadovoljan', prema engleskom *happy with*,
- *Ambasada će i nadalje ohrabrivati sva ulaganja u našu zemlju*, gde novo značenje glagola *ohrabrivati* glasi 'podsticati, podržavati, potpomagati', prema engleskom *encourage*,
- *A sada, pogledajte film „Prohujalo sa vihorom". Uživajte!*, gde novo značenje glagola *uživati* glasi 'Prijatnu zabavu!', prema engleskom *Enjoy!*, i
- *Odaberite naš najbrži internet paket ikada!*, gde novo značenje priloga *ikada* glasi 'ikad ponuđen, viđen, napravljen, itd.; svih vremena', prema engleskom *ever*.

## 12.4. Leksikološke i leksikografske implikacije

Leksikološke i leksikografske implikacije opisane semantičke i/ili stilističke neologizacije, kao i neologizacije uopšte, važne su i dalekosežne, a ovde će biti pomenute tek one najvažnije, koje se ujedno mogu smatrati temama za dalja istraživanja u ovoj oblasti.

Iz leksikološke perspektive, sva nova značenja domaćih i odomaćenih 'stranih' reči trebalo bi, pre svega, celovito i sveobuhvatno ispitati uz pomoć (budućeg) elektronskog *Srpskog nacionalnog elektronskog korpusa* (*SNEK*), a zatim ih dovesti u vezu s postojećim značenjima i uspostaviti polisemijske i homonimijske mreže između novih i postojećih značenja (up. Dragićević 2010; Gortan Premk 2004; Halas Popović 2017; Lipka 2002; Prćić



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2008, 2016, 2018, Pogl. 1 u ovoj knjizi). Drugo, nova značenja trebalo bi integrisati u leksički sistem srpskog jezika – specifično, u njegov semantičko-pragmatički podsistem i ispitati novonastale smisaone odnose između novih i postojećih značenja, naročito u domenu sinonimije (up. Dragićević 2010; Milić 2013, 2023; Prćić 2016, Pogl. 13 u ovoj knjizi; Prćić i Dražić 2023). I treće, nova značenja trebalo bi ispitati u kontrastu prema izvornim i/ili prvobitnim značenjima postojećih reči i utvrditi postojanje lažnih parova između srpskog i drugih jezika, a naročito engleskog (up. Prćić 2023).

Iz leksikografske perspektive, sva nova značenja domaćih i odomaćenih 'stranih' reči trebalo bi popisati i obraditi u (budućem) opštem rečniku srpskog jezika, u okviru polisemnih ili homonimnih odrednica (up. Halas Popović 2017; Prćić 2018), ali i u specijalizovanim rečnicima, uključujući i rečnike razlučenih sinonima i kolokacija (up. Dražić 2014, 2022; Prćić 2018, Pogl. 13 u ovoj knjizi), te u dvojezičnim opštim i specijalizovanim rečnicima, u kojima srpski nastupa kao izvorni i kao ciljni jezik, uključujući i rečnike lažnih parova (up. Hlebec 2009; Kovačević 2011). Da naša leksikografija raspolaže elektronskim onlajn opštim rečnikom srpskog jezika, sledeći uobičajenu praksu većine drugih jezika širom sveta, poput onih navedenih niže,[49] dodavanje kako novih značenja postojećih reči, tako i novih reči, ne bi predstavljalo ozbiljniji problem, čije sistematsko rešavanje i rešenje zainteresovani čitaoci, potencijalni korisnici, iščekuju više od pola veka.

Nakon uspešno okončanih navedenih, i mnogih drugih, leksikoloških i leksikografskih projekata iz ove oblasti, moglo bi se preći na njihovu praktičnu primenu, koja bi obuhvatila, prvo, davanje normativističkih stavova i preporuka o novim značenjima i upotrebama (poput onih glagolâ *pričati, poručiti, navesti*, te gla-

[49] Adrese: https://www.oed.com/, https://www.dictionary.com/, https://www.merriam-webster.com/, https://ahdictionary.com/ (engleski); https://www.duden.de/, https://www.dwds.de/ (nemački); https://dictionnaire.lerobert.com/, https://www.larousse.fr/ (francuski); https://dic.academic.ru/ (ruski).



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gola *odraditi* i predloga *do*); drugo, uključivanje odabranih tema iz neologizacije srpskog jezika u buduće planove i programe za nastavu srpskog jezika na osnovnoškolskom, srednjoškolskom i, naročito, univerzitetskom nivou; i treće, slično uključivanje odabranih tema iz neologizacije srpskog jezika u buduće priručnike namenjene negovanju srpske jezičke kulture.



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# 13. Sinonimi u srpskom jeziku

Pretpostavimo da neko želi da, u jednoj rečenici, opiše sledeću situaciju: u neposrednoj okolini govornika živi jedna ženska osoba plave kose i prijatne spoljašnjosti, koja inače profesionalno leči decu, i prema čijem kućnom ljubimcu, čovekovom najvernijem prijatelju, svi, uključujući i govornika, gaje prijateljska osećanja. Opis bi mogao da izgleda ovako:

*U mom komšiluku živi jedna lepa plavuša, inače dečji lekar, čijeg psa svi mi volimo.*

Ovo predstavlja verovatno najprirodniji i najuobičajeniji način da se željeni sadržaj uobliči i izrazi u srpskom jeziku, mada nikako nije i jedini. Ne ulazeći ovom prilikom u varijacije rečenične strukture, nego se usredsređujući samo na leksički aspekt, na mestu podvučenih reči u pomenutom iskazu mogle bi se javiti bar još i ove – sinonimne – reči:

- komšiluk – susedstvo, kraj,
- živi – stanuje, boravi, obitava, prebiva,
- lepa – zgodna, privlačna, ljupka, atraktivna, glamurozna,
- plavuša – plavojka, blondina, blondinka,
- dečji lekar – pedijatar,
- pas – pseto, pašče, ker, kera, kuca, kucov, kuče, džukela, džukac,
- volimo – ljubimo, obožavamo.

Međutim, okolnost da su navedene reči međuzamenljive nipošto ne bi trebalo da navede na pomisao da je ta međuzamenljivost mehanička, automatska ili, čak, apsolutna. Sinonimija,



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fascinantna jezička pojava da se jedan isti sadržaj može izraziti pomoću više različitih reči, pokreće čitav niz teorijskih i primenjenolingvističkih pitanja. U ovoj raspravi biće sagledana ona pitanja koja se čine najbitnijima i najmanje obrađivanima, s ciljem da se na ta pitanja pokušaju ponuditi konkretni odgovori, a ona su sledeća: kako se definišu sinonimi, kako se diferenciraju sinonimi, kako se razvrstavaju sinonimi, kako nastaju novi sinonimi i kako se sinonimi upotrebljavaju u svakodnevnoj praksi.

Izlaganje, u kojem su upotrebljeni pojedini dopunjeni i osavremenjeni delovi teksta „Sinonimi u teoriji i praksi: isto ali ipak različito" (Prćić 1999b), temelji se na teorijskim postavkama u Prćić 2016: Pogl. 7.2, s upućivanjem na dodatnu literaturu. Sinonimima i sinonimijom bave se još Bugarski 2019b; Cruse 1986, 2010; Dragićević 2010; Dražić 2022; Gortan Premk 1983, 2021; Gotštajn 1986; Janić i Stamenković 2022; Lipka 2002; Lyons 1968, 1977; Matijašević 2019; Milić 2013, 2023; Murphy 2003; Prćić 2019a, 2023; Prćić i Dražić 2023; Rasulić 2016, kao i specijalno izdanje časopisa *International Journal of Lexicography*, pod naslovom *Synonymy and Sameness of Meaning* (Dolezal 2013). Značenja reči proveravana su u *Rečniku srpskoga jezika* (Nikolić 2018), u *Srpskom rečniku novijih anglicizama* (Prćić, Dražić, Milić, i dr. 2021) i na vebsajtu *perplexity.ai*,[50] koji je izgrađen oko platforme veštačke inteligencije *ChatGPT* u sadejstvu s pretraživačkom platformom *Google*.

## 13.1. Definisanje sinonima: isto... (ali ipak različito)

U ovom odeljku biće govora o dva kompleksa pitanja: u prvom delu, o komponentama koje određuju značenje reči, a to su deskriptivno i asocijativno značenje, a u drugom delu, o tri kriterijuma koji određuju identitet sinonima u srpskom jeziku, uključujući i njihovu sveobuhvatnu definiciju.

[50] Adresa: https://www.perplexity.ai/.



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### 13.1.1. Komponente koje određuju značenje reči

Ukupno značenje jedne reči sačinjavaju dve komplementarne komponente – deskriptivno i asocijativno značenje (up. Prćić 2016: Pogl. 4).

(1) DESKRIPTIVNO ZNAČENJE, u suštini osnovno, u domenu je leksičke semantike i pragmatike, i čini centralnu, obaveznu i objektivnu komponentu, sastavljenu od deskriptivnih obeležja, koja su zastupljena u znanju većine predstavnika određene jezičke zajednice. Na primer, deskriptivno značenje reči *plavuša* činila bi, u najkraćem, obeležja 'ženska osoba plave kose', a reči *pas* obeležja 'domaća životinja karakteristična po sposobnosti da laje'.

(2) ASOCIJATIVNO ZNAČENJE, u suštini pridruženo deskriptivnom značenju, u domenu je leksičke stilistike i čini perifernu, fakultativnu i subjektivnu komponentu, sastavljenu od asocijativnih obeležja, koja nisu bez ostatka zastupljena u znanju većine predstavnika određene jezičke zajednice. Ta obeležja obuhvataju čitav splet dodatnih informacija u vezi s primenljivošću pojedinih reči u konkretnim situacijama od strane konkretnih govornika i pisaca. Moguće ih je podeliti u tri grupe – stilska, ekspresivna i konotativna obeležja (up. Prćić 2016: Pogl. 4.4):

- STILSKA OBELEŽJA odražavaju varijacije koje proističu iz funkcijsko-situacione raslojenosti jezika (up. Bugarski 2019b; Radovanović 2003) i tiču se, s jedne strane, govornika, a, s druge strane, komunikacionih situacija, na sledeći način:
  - vezane za govornike jesu LEKTALNE VARIJACIJE, koje se realizuju trojako: kroz dijalekatska obeležja (po geografskoj dimenziji), sociolekatska obeležja (po društvenoj dimenziji) i hronolekatska obeležja (po vremenskoj dimenziji), a
  - vezane za komunikacione situacije jesu REGISTARSKE VARIJACIJE, koje se takođe realizuju trojako: kroz predmetna obeležja (prema tematici komunikacije), interpersonalna obeležja (prema odnosu između go-



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vornika) i medijumska obeležja (prema medijumu komunikacije),

- EKSPRESIVNA OBELEŽJA odražavaju stavove i raspoloženja govornika prema ostalim govornicima ili prema predmetu komunikacije i mogu biti u rasponu od vrlo pozitivnih do vrlo negativnih (up. Ristić 2004), i
- KONOTATIVNA OBELEŽJA odražavaju subjektivna reagovanja govornika na objektivnu stvarnost, uključujući i reagovanja na same reči, odn. njihovo istorijsko poreklo, dužinu, milozvučnost, i sl., i uslovljena su najčešće iskustvom govornika s konkretnim segmentom objektivne stvarnosti, zbog čega su ona najbrojnija i najraznorodnija, i najteže ih je sistematizovati (up. Leech 1981).

### 13.1.2. Kriterijumi koji određuju sinonime

U svetlu ovog značenjskog dvojstva postaje moguće da se definišu termin i pojam sinonima. Ako se razmotre reči u sinonimskom nizu *pas, pseto, pašče, ker, kera, kuca, kucov, kuče, džukela, džukac* (kao i reči u ostalim sinonimskim nizovima u primeru s početka), lako se može izvesti zaključak da sve navedene reči dele istovetno deskriptivno značenje, a to je, uprošćeno, ‘domaća životinja karakteristična po sposobnosti da laje’, koje je, dakle, svim navedenim sinonimima zajedničko. Polazeći od ove premise, postoje tri kriterijuma koja opredeljuju definisanje, i definiciju, sinonima, a oni su sledeći:

(1) Kriterijum ISTOVETNOST DESKRIPTIVNOG ZNAČENJA, koji svakako predstavlja ključni uslov za uspostavljanje odnosa sinonimije među rečima, podrazumeva sledeće: sinonimima se nazivaju one reči koje dele istovetna deskriptivna obeležja i koje su po tome sadržinski uporedive i međuzamenljive u pojedinim jezičkim (rečeničnim) i vanjezičkim (situacionim) kontekstima. Ovde treba ukazati i na to da deskriptivno značenje služi za utvrđivanje ne samo sličnosti među značenjima reči, nego i razlika među njima, pa se tako značenje reči *pas* razlikuje od značenja reči *mačka* po kontrastu ‘domaća životinja karakteristična po spo-



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sobnosti da laje' nasuprot 'domaća životinja karakteristična po sposobnosti da mijauče'.

(2) Kriterijum POJEDINAČNA ZNAČENJA POJEDINAČNIH REČI podrazumeva da se sinonimi nikako ne posmatraju kao odnos između pojedinačnih formi, nego između pojedinačnih sadržina pojedinačnih formi – specifično, posredi je odnos između pojedinačnih semema, posebno pojedinačnih semema polisemnih reči, u određenom jezičkom i vanjezičkom kontekstu, pri čemu pojedine njihove sememe mogu imati doslovna ili prenesena značenja, nastala metaforizacijom, metonimizacijom, generalizacijom ili specijalizacijom doslovnog značenja. Tako je, na primer, imenica *zemlja* sinonimna s rečima *tlo* i *zemljište* u jednom svom značenju, s rečju *država* u drugom, a s rečima *pod* i *patos* u trećem, dok je pridev *suv* sinoniman s rečju *kiseo* samo u jednom značenju, onom vezanom za ukus vina.

(3) Kriterijum PRIPADNOST ISTOJ MORFOSINTAKTIČKOJ KLASI podrazumeva da svi sinonimi u datom sinonimskom nizu pripadaju istoj morfosintaktičkoj klasi, odn. da su svi oni imenice, kao u nizu *pevač, pojac, vokal, vokalni solista*, ili glagoli, kao u nizu *bojati se, plašiti se, groziti se, užasavati se*, ili pridevi, kao u nizu *go, nag, obnažen, golišav*, ili prilozi, kao u nizu *veoma, vrlo, jako, izuzetno, izvanredno, ekstremno, strašno, stravično, užasno, grozno, jezivo, baš, baš-baš*, ili kao u nizu *pre, ranije* s njihovim antonimima *posle, kasnije*.

U sažetom obliku, objedinjujući bit gornja tri kriterijuma, sveobuhvatna definicija SINONIMA glasila bi ovako: **reči koje pripadaju istoj morfosintaktičkoj klasi, koje u jednom od svojih značenja dele istovetna deskriptivna obeležja, koje su zbog toga sadržinski uporedive i međuzamenljive u pojedinim jezičkim (rečeničnim) i vanjezičkim (situacionim) kontekstima – i koje kao takve podležu semantičkom i/ili stilističkom diferenciranju**.

Kao dijagnostički test za utvrđivanje sinonimije između deskriptivnog značenja najmanje dve reči može poslužiti formula dvosmerne implikacije (up. Lipka 2002; Lyons 1968, 1977; Prćić 2016), gde tri tačke ukazuju na moguće dalje sinonime, a dvo-



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smerna strelica, ↔, označava dvosmernu implikaciju udesno/unapred i ulevo/unatrag:

$$K: S_1 = S_2 \ldots \leftrightarrow \ldots S_2 = S_1$$

Formulu treba čitati, razumeti i primenjivati na sledeći način: ako je u datom jezičkom i vanjezičkom kontekstu K dato deskriptivno značenje reči $S_1$ istovetno s datim deskriptivnim značenjem reči $S_2$, i ostalima, onda to implicira da je i dato deskriptivno značenje reči $S_2$ istovetno s datim deskriptivnim značenjem reči $S_1$, i ostalima. U konkretnom primeru to bi bilo ovako: ako je u datom kontekstu K *On je [pridev]* dato deskriptivno značenje reči *bogat* ($S_1$) istovetno s datim deskriptivnim značenjem reči *imućan* ($S_2$), to implicira da je i dato deskriptivno značenje reči *imućan* ($S_2$) istovetno s datim deskriptivnim značenjem reči *bogat* ($S_1$). Ovim testom pokazuju se, dokazuju i ilustruju tri temeljna svojstva sinonima i sinonimije u primeni:

- prvo, sinonimi se nalaze u simetričnom odnosu istovetnosti deskriptivnog značenja,
- drugo, ovako sinonimne reči međuzamenljive su u datom jezičkom (rečeničnom) i vanjezičkom (situacionom) kontekstu i u rasponu sličnih konteksta, i
- treće, rečenice s ovako sinonimnim rečima, koje čine dati jezički kontekst, smatraju se deskriptivno ekvivalentnima.

Ovde još valja dodati da u domen sinonimije spadaju reči iz celokupnog leksičkog fonda jednog jezika, pa tako i srpskog, bez obzira na to:

- da li su u doslovnom ili prenesenom značenju,
- da li su domaćeg porekla ili ne,
- da li spadaju u standardni jezik ili ne,
- da li spadaju u savremeni jezik ili ne, i
- da li su morfološki proste, izvedene, složene ili frazne (za potonje, frazne imenice, videti Pogl. 14 u ovoj knjizi).

Međutim, u domen sinonimije ne spadaju reči koje, pored istog deskriptivnog značenja, imaju slične, pa čak i predvidljive, oblike, pri čemu se te razlike mogu ispoljavati dvojako – ili na



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fonološkom/ortografskom planu, kao u tripletu *kafa* prema *kava* prema *kahva*, ili na morfološkom planu, kao u prefiksalnom dubletu *saradnik* prema *suradnik*, ili u sufiksalnom dubletu *profesorka* prema *profesorica*, gde su posredi suštinski iste reči, ali s konkurentnim i karakterističnim varijacijama u fonološkoj/ortografskoj odn. morfološkoj formi, koje se nalaze u geografski, ili drukčije, uslovljenoj komplementarnoj distribuciji.

## 13.2. Diferenciranje sinonima: (isto) ...ali ipak različito

U ovom odeljku biće govora o tri načina diferenciranja sinonima u srpskom jeziku – po asocijaciji, po kolokaciji i po dodatnoj implikaciji.

U gornjoj definiciji konstatovano je da su sinonimi, zbog istovetnosti deskriptivnog značenja, reči koje su uporedive i međuzamenljive u pojedinim kontekstima. Uporedivost podrazumeva ne samo utvrđivanje sličnosti nego i utvrđivanje razlika među rečima, što je i istaknuto u završnom delu definicije, a upravo su razlike te koje određuju da li će, i u kojim kontekstima, sinonimi biti međuzamenljivi. Ovo zbog toga što prema zakonitostima jezičke ekonomije, koja čini jedan od temeljnih principa funkcionisanja svakog jezičkog sistema, u jeziku nije potrebno, a stoga ni opravdano, postojanje više jedinica, tj. fonema, grafema, morfema, leksema, sintagmi i rečenica, s potpuno istom funkcijom – ukoliko do tako nečega dođe, jedna od takvih jedinica, kao što je poznato, vremenom ili nestaje iz upotrebe, poput danas arhaične imenice *popečitelj* prema modernoj imenici *ministar,* ili poprima unekoliko izmenjenu funkciju, poput imenica *gubitnik* prema *gubitaš* ili *čitalac* prema *čitač*, koje su razvile drukčija, specijalizovana, značenja.

Kao što se moglo primetiti, ‘unekoliko izmenjena funkcija’ kod sinonima se postiže manjim ili većim modifikacijama značenja u odnosu na ono deskriptivno, koje uslovljavaju primenljivost tih reči u pojedinim situacijama. U svakom sinonimskom nizu obično se može prepoznati i izdvojiti jedna NEOBELEŽENA, ili NEMARKIRANA, reč, koja ima samo deskriptivno značenje, pa



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je stoga opšta, neutralna, uobičajena i time očekivana za izražavanje željenog sadržaja – takve su sve podvučene reči u primeru s početka teksta. Nasuprot njima, ostale reči u sinonimskom nizu smatraju se OBELEŽENIMA, ili MARKIRANIMA, budući da im određene značenjske pojedinosti, deskriptivne i/ili asocijativne, obezbeđuju specifičnost, a samim tim i povećanu izražajnost i/ili efektnost.

Globalno gledano, razlike među sinonimima uspostavljaju se na tri načina – samostalno ili kombinovano: po asocijaciji, po kolokaciji i po dodatnoj implikaciji. Pored ovih, razlike se mogu ustanoviti na još dva načina: prvo, po gramatičkim konstrukcijama u kojima se sinonimi tipično javljaju, poput predloga *ispred* i *pred*, i padežima imenica ili zamenica koje ih slede; i, drugo, po frekvenciji javljanja pojedinih sinonima, poput predloga *osim* i *sem*, što se ispituje i utvrđuje analizom elektronskih korpusa. O ova dva načina razlikovanja sinonima ovom prilikom se neće govoriti.

U nastavku, tri pomenuta postupka diferenciranja sinonima biće bliže objašnjena i ilustrovana, naglašavajući još jednom da opisi i primeri važe samo za konkretna značenja datih reči, tj. za njihove pojedinačne sememe, a ne za čitav dijapazon njihovih ostvarenih i ostvarivih, a još neostvarenih, značenja.

### 13.2.1. Diferenciranje po asocijaciji

Ovakvo diferenciranje stvara stilistički obeležene reči, čijim se odabirom doprinosi, u prvom redu, živopisnijem i/ili preciznijem izražavanju. Kako je rečeno ranije, asocijacije se realizuju trojako, samostalno ili u kombinaciji – kroz stilska, ekspresivna i konotativna obeležja (up. Prćić 2016: Pogl. 4.4), koja se ispoljavaju skalarno i otuda mogu biti premodifikovana prilozima poput ‘ponešto’, ‘blago’, ‘uglavnom’, ‘vrlo’, ‘izuzetno’, i sl. Ova obeležja u nastavku će biti ilustrovana na konkretno obeleženim sinonimima. Prvo se navodi neobeležena reč, prema kojoj se one obeležene upoređuju, razlikuju i definišu, pri čemu su jedne od drugih razdvojene tildom, ~, koju treba čitati kao ‘u odnosu prema’.



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(1) Stilski obeleženi sinonimi odslikavaju, s jedne strane, lektalne varijacije, kroz dijalekatska, sociolekatska i hronolekatska obeležja, a, s druge strane, registarske varijacije, kroz predmetna, interpersonalna i medijumska obeležja.

Lektalne varijacije mogu dovesti do tri vrste obeleženosti sinonima, a to su:

- dijalekatska obeleženost, koja ukazuje na to da je izvesna reč i/ili njeno značenje svojstveno ili primereno nekom širem ili užem geografskom prostoru, kao što su Vojvodina, južna Srbija, Šumadija, Beograd, itd., čime se dodaje lokalni kolorit bilo opisu bilo opisivaču, u primerima poput *seljak, poljoprivrednik* ~ *paor* i *knedla* ~ *gomboca* (iz Vojvodine); *staviti, metnuti* ~ *turiti* i *ubiti* ~ *utepati* (iz južne Srbije); *šibica* ~ *klečka* i *skakati* ~ *ripati* (iz istočne Srbije),
- sociolekatska obeleženost, koja ukazuje na to da je izvesna reč i/ili njeno značenje svojstveno ili primereno nekoj više ili manje homogenoj društvenoj grupaciji, kao što su studenti, lekari, inženjeri, fudbaleri, automehaničari, narkomani, itd., u primerima poput *visok krvni pritisak, visok pritisak* ~ *hipertenzija*, *upala krajnika* ~ *tonzilitis*, *bedrena kost* ~ *femur* (među lekarima); *reč* ~ *leksema*, *prednjonepčani* ~ *palatalni*, *vršilac radnje* ~ *agens* (među lingvistima), i
- hronolekatska obeleženost, koja ukazuje na to da je izvesna reč i/ili njeno značenje svojstveno ili primereno nekoj manjoj ili većoj vremenskoj udaljenosti od sadašnjeg trenutka, u rasponu od retko, preko zastareva i zastarelo, do arhaično, u primerima poput *plavuša* ~ *plavojka* (retko); *ulje* ~ *zejtin* (zastareva); *voleti* ~ *ljubiti* (zastarelo); *poljubiti* ~ *celivati* (zastarelo); *ministar* ~ *popečitelj* (arhaično); *osećati* ~ *čuvstvovati* (arhaično).

Registarske varijacije mogu takođe dovesti do tri vrste obeleženosti sinonima, a to su:

- predmetna obeleženost, koja ukazuje na to da je izvesna reč i/ili njeno značenje svojstveno ili primereno



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konkretnoj tematskoj ili žanrovskoj oblasti, uključujući i pripadajuću stručnu terminologiju, kao što su pesnička, religijska, medicinska, pravna, ekonomska, sportska, itd., u primerima poput *voleti ~ ljubiti* (pesnički); *rođenje ~ rođestvo* (religijski); *dečji lekar ~ pedijatar* (medicinski); *počinilac, izvršilac (krivičnog dela) ~ učinilac* (pravno); *plata ~ zarada* (finansijski), *lični dohodak* (birokratski); *samoglasnik ~ vokal* (lingvistički),

- INTERPERSONALNA OBELEŽENOST, koja ukazuje na to da je izvesna reč i/ili njeno značenje svojstveno ili primereno konkretnom stepenu bliskosti između sagovornika, određenoj njihovim ulogama i statusom, kao pojedinaca ili kao većih ili manjih grupa, u rasponu od krajnje formalnog (zvaničnog), formalnog, preko neutralnog, do neformalnog i krajnje neformalnog (opuštenog), gde potonje zapravo predstavlja žargon, odn. sleng (up. Bugarski 2021), u primerima poput *muž ~ suprug* (formalno); *komšiluk ~ susedstvo* (ponešto formalno); *živeti ~ stanovati* (ponešto formalno); *pas ~ ker* (ponešto neformalno); *novac ~ sredstva* (formalno), *pare* (neformalno), *lova* (žargonski); *uzbuđivati ~ paliti* (žargonski), i
- MEDIJUMSKA OBELEŽENOST, koja ukazuje na to da je izvesna reč i/ili njeno značenje svojstveno ili primereno jednom od dva medijuma – govoru ili pisanju, ili obama, ili nekoj od njihovih kombinacija, kao što su 'izgovoreno u spontanom razgovoru', ili 'napisano da bi bilo pročitano, ili 'napisano da bi bilo izgovoreno kao da nije napisano' (up. Hatim i Mason 1990), u primerima koji su u korelaciji s interpersonalnom i, delom, predmetnom obeleženošću, pri čemu su formalnije reči obično češće u pisanju, poput *lični dohodak, hipertenzija, putničko vozilo* / *automobil*, a one neformalnije u govoru, poput *plata, visok pritisak, auto* / *kola*, u zavisnosti od tematike komunikacije.

(2) EKSPRESIVNO OBELEŽENI SINONIMI odslikavaju stavove i raspoloženja govornika prema sagovornicima ili prema predmetu komunikacije, na skali od vrlo pozitivnih i odobravajućih, koji



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sadrže obeležja tipa pohvalno, odmila, eufemistično, i sl., pa do vrlo negativnih i neodobravajućih, koji sadrže obeležja tipa pogrdno, ponižavajuće, podsmešljivo, uvredljivo, vulgarno, i sl., u primerima poput *star* ~ *mator* (blago pogrdno); *žena* ~ *ženska* (ponižavajuće i blago uvredljivo); *pas* ~ *džukela* (pogrdno), *kuca* (odmila); *leptir* ~ *leptirić* (odmila); *crnac* ~ *crnja* (pogrdno i uvredljivo), *crnčuga* (vrlo pogrdno i vrlo uvredljivo), *afroamerikanac* (politički korektno); *laž* ~ *neistina* (eufemistično), *poluistina* (dvostruko eufemistično, jer ublažava značenje 'neistina'; inače, 'poluistina' je semantički krajnje upitno, jer istina, kao binarna kategorija 'da/ne', ne može biti dopola ili polovično realizovana, nego samo u celosti da ili u celosti ne).

Psovke spadaju u više ili manje vulgarno obeležene sinonime svojih nevulgarnih, i društveno prihvatljivijih, neobeleženih sinonima (ako ih ima), koje predvodi paradoksalno vulgarno trorečje, dve imenice i jedan glagol – *k**, *p**, *j**, paradoksalno zato što se radi o tri daleko najeksponiranije i najfrekventnije žargonske reči u svakodnevnom govoru svih generacija znatne većine govornika srpskog jezika, kao i o daleko najproduktivnijim i kreativnosti najpodatnijim rečima, počev od nivoa fonologije, grafologije, morfosintakse i tvorbe reči, preko semantike, polisemije, stilistike i pragmatike, pa do kolokacija i frazeologije, a da je, uprkos svemu tome, to trorečje uredno, i ujedno potpuno neshvatljivo, zaobiđeno iz sistematskih leksikoloških ispitivanja i leksikografske obrade, kao da uopšte nisu deo leksičkog fonda srpskog jezika. Zašto – na to tek treba da se ubedljivo odgovori.

(3) Konotativno obeleženi sinonimi odslikavaju subjektivna reagovanja govornika na objektivnu, vanjezičku, stvarnost, ali i reagovanja na reči, kao deo unutarjezičke stvarnosti, i stoga su ovi sinonimi izuzetno zavisni od konkretnog pojedinca, pa će tako kod jednoga reč *pas* isijavati konotativna obeležja 'besan, opasan, reži, ujeda', kod drugoga obeležja 'veran, prijateljski, razigran, umiljat', dok će kod trećeg to biti neki treći, drukčiji i individualno uslovljen, skup obeležja.

Što se tiče reagovanja na same reči, za neke govornike, koji su toga svesni, reči poput drugonavedenih članova u parovima



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*zanimljiv ~ interesantan, sto ~ astal, sumnjati ~ podozrevati* i *korist ~ benefit* biće sve obeležene kao 'stranog porekla' ili, popularno, 'strane', a kod lingvističkih stručnjaka, koji su s tim bliže upoznati, te reči biće obeležene kao francuskog, mađarskog, ruskog i engleskog porekla, po redosledu navođenja.

### 13.2.2. Diferenciranje po kolokaciji

Ovakvo diferenciranje, koje podrazumeva uobičajeno javljanje nekog sinonima s drugom reči ili grupama značenjski srodnih reči unutar neke sintagme ili rečenice (up. Dražić 2014, 2022; Gotštajn 1986; Pervaz 1988, 2014; Prćić 2016, 2019a), unekoliko je specifičan postupak. Naime, ovde paralela 'neobeleženi / obeleženi član' nije relevantna, s obzirom na to da su sve reči u sinonimskom nizu podjednako obeležene, a neobeleženi njihov član ima zapravo funkciju hiperonima, tj. nadređenog, opšteg, krovnog termina, koji i nije njihov pravi sinonim. Ovo pokazuju sinonimi za hiperonim 'grupa životinja', koje uključuju *stado* (ovaca, koza), *krdo* (goveda, konja, slonova), *čopor* (vukova, lisica, pasa), *jato* (ptica, riba), *roj* (pčela, komaraca, skakavaca) i *kolonija* (mrava), ili za 'neupotrebljiva hrana' sa sinonimima *bajat* (hleb, pecivo), *pokvaren* (jaje, meso, riba), *truo* ili *gnjio* (voće, povrće), *užegao* (mast, ulje, puter, slanina) i *uskisnut* ili *prokisnut* (mleko, jogurt), ili za 'svečano staviti u redovnu eksploataciju' sa sinonimima *porinuti* (brod, podmornicu, čamac) i *lansirati* (svemirski brod, raketu, dron), ili za 'zauzeti uspravnu pozu ili poziciju', sa sinonimima *stajati* (na nogama ili rukama) i *dubiti* (na glavi), ili za 'padati obilno', sa sinonimima *pljuštati* (kiša) i *vejati* (sneg).

Pored toga, zbog stalne vezanosti s drugim rečima, međuzamenljivost sinonimnih kolokata u kolokacijama krajnje je ograničena, ako je uopšte i izvodljiva, pa je stoga neprihvatljivo reći *jato vukova*, ili *užegla lubenica*, ili *lansirati brod*, ili *pljušti sneg*, kao što u fraznoj imenici *ružno pače*, pridev *ružno* nije prihvatljivo zameniti sinonimnim pridevom *gadno*, bez postizanja određenih efekata – najčešće humorističkog ili ironičnog, a ponekad



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možda i pokazivanja nedovoljno dobrog poznavanja srpskog jezika. Sve u svemu, pomenuti, i slični, spojevi neočekivani su, neki bi ustvrdili i pogrešni, jer njihovi članovi prosto ne idu zajedno, ne privlače se međusobno. Oni, pak, koji idu zajedno ustalili su se u praksi, postali očekivani i 'pravilni', i stekli status semantički i pragmatički uslovljene idiomatizovanosti.

### 13.2.3. Diferenciranje po dodatnoj implikaciji

Ovakvo diferenciranje, kao daleko najzastupljeniji postupak, podrazumeva dodavanje novih deskriptivnih obeležja na postojeće značenje sinonima, čime se stvara dodatna implikacija u ukupnom njegovom značenju, a odabirom takvih sinonima postiže se preciznije, suptilnije ili nijansiranije izražavanje. Na primer, *poznat ~ čuven* ('među mnogo ljudi'), *slavan* ('po zaslugama'), *proslavljen* ('uvažavan' i 'po zaslugama'), *znamenit* ('značajan' i 'po zaslugama'), *popularan* ('među masama' i 'prolazno'), ili *rešiti ~ odlučiti* ('čvrsto'), ili *razumeti ~ shvatiti* ('suštinu'), ili *nestati ~ iščeznuti* ('naglo' i 'tajanstveno'), ili *izazivati ~ provocirati* ('proračunato'), ili *objaviti ~ obelodaniti* ('nešto što je držano u tajnosti'), *obnarodovati* ('velikom broju ljudi'), *obznaniti* ('velikom broju ljudi' i 'zvaničnim putem'), ili *pobeda ~ trijumf* ('sjajan'), ili *rođenje ~ roždestvo* ('Isusa Hrista').

Ponekad se dodatna implikacija svodi na gradaciju, pojačavanje, intenzifikaciju zastupljenosti osnovnog svojstva, pa tako u nizovima poput *voleti ~ obožavati*, ili *bojazan ~ strah, strava*, ili *ružan ~ gadan*, ili *loš ~ zao, opak*, ili *velik ~ golem, ogroman, džinovski* svaka reč koja sledi prvonavedenu, neobeleženu, sadrži dodatnu implikaciju 'više, pojačano, u većoj meri' u odnosu na prethodnu.

Na kraju ovog sažetog pregleda načina diferenciranja sinonima, u koji je mogao stati tek maleni deo izvanredno složenih odnosa među takvim rečima, neće biti na odmet ponoviti da je u jednom sinonimskom nizu moguća, a relativno i česta, kombinacija ovde opisanih postupaka diferenciranja po asocijaciji, po kolokaciji i po dodatnoj implikaciji, što su pokazali i ranije navedeni



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primeri *rođenje* ~ *roždestvo* (religijski i 'Isusa Hrista'), ili *voleti* ~ *ljubiti* (pesnički i blago zastarelo), ili *nestati* ~ *iščeznuti* ('naglo' i 'tajanstveno'), *ispariti* (neformalno).

## 13.3. Hiposinonimi

Pored konvencionalnih – ili klasičnih, tradicionalnih, prototipskih, tipičnih – sinonima, koji su bili razmatrani do sada, a biće i nadalje, u protekle dve decenije uočene su, prepoznate i imenovane dve nove vrste, koje će ovde biti predstavljene i ilustrovane. Prva od njih su hiposinonimi.

Pod terminom HIPOSINONIMI podrazumeva se **rezultat hibridnog, ukrštenog, smisaonog odnosa, koji objedinjuje sinonimiju i hiponimiju**, prvi put predstavljenog 2005. godine u prvom izdanju knjige *Engleski u srpskom* (sada Prćić 2019a: Pogl. 11). Članovi takvog sinonimskog niza, posmatrani iz jednog ugla, po horizontalnoj osi, ponašaju se kao sinonimi, a posmatrani iz drugog ugla, po vertikalnoj osi, ponašaju se kao hiponimi ili, češće, kohiponimi, tj. semantički specifičnije podređene reči, što važi samo za obeležene članove niza, dok neobeleženi član nastupa kao hiperonim, tj. semantički opštija nadređena reč, u primerima poput neobeleženog, opšeg i nadređenog *smejati se* prema obeleženim, specifičnim i podređenim *kikotati se, smejuckati se, grohotati se, ceriti se, cerekati se, kliberiti se*, ili *strah* prema *bojazan, strava, jeza, groza, užas*, ili *ljut* prema *besan, srdit, gnevan, razgnevljen, jarostan razjaren*, ili, s novijim odomaćenim 'stranim' rečima, danas najviše anglicizmima, u funkciji obeleženih sinonima i specifičnih (ko)hiponima, u primerima poput *kompjuter* prema *laptop*, u smislu 'mali prenosivi kompjuter', *tablet*, u smislu 'mali prenosivi kompjuter s ekranom osetljivim na dodir', ili *slanina* prema *bekon*, u smislu 'mesnata slanina', ili *voćni sok* prema *đus*, u smislu 'gusti voćni sok od pomorandže'.

Iz navedenih primera može zaključiti da se članovi ovih, i brojnih sličnih, nizova istovremeno nalaze u dvojnom smisaonom odnosu – **s jedne strane, to je sinonimija, zbog istovetnog deskriptivnog značenja i mogućnosti njegovog diferen-**



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**ciranja, uglavnom preko dodatnih implikacija u obeleženim sinonimima; s druge strane, to je hiponimija, upravo zbog tih dodatnih implikacija i pripadajućih dodatnih obeležja u podređenim rečima, koje izražavaju vrstu onoga što označava hiperonim (u slučaju imenica, prideva i priloga) ili način ispoljavanja onoga što označava hiperonim (u slučaju glagola)**. Ovako definisanim odnosom hiposinonimije izvesni opšti pojam ne izražava se samo živopisnije i/ili preciznije, pomoću obeleženih hiposinonima, nego se istovremeno izražava i vrsta pojave ili način ispoljavanja pojave vezane za taj opšti pojam.

S ovim činjenicama na umu, ovaj hibridni, i ukršteni, smisaoni odnos, koji istovremeno zahvata i horizontalnu i vertikalnu osu, iziskuje, prirodno, i hibridni, i ukršteni, naziv, a to je HIPOSINONIMIJA, izveden tvorbenim postupkom konflacije, tj. leksičkog slivanja (up. Bugarski 2019a), dveju osnova, *hipo(nimija) + sinonimija*, od kojih je prva krnja, a druga cela. Samo se po sebi razume da se reči koje stupaju u smisaoni odnos hiposinonimije zovu HIPOSINONIMI. U tom smislu, nazivi za članove ovakvog dvofunkcijskog niza u smisaonom odnosu hiposinonimije jesu HIPERSINONIMI, HIPOSINONIMI i, ukoliko potonjih ima više, KOHIPOSINONIMI.

Kao dijagnostički test za utvrđivanje hiposinonimije između deskriptivnog značenja najmanje dve reči mogu združeno poslužiti formula dvosmerne implikacije za sinonimiju (objašnjena u odeljku gore) i jednosmerne implikacije za hiponimiju (up. Cruse 1986; Lyons 1977; Prćić 2016), gde tri tačke ukazuju na moguće dalje kohiposinonime, dvosmerna strelica, ↔, označava dvosmernu implikaciju udesno/unapred i ulevo/unatrag, a jednosmerna strelica, →, jednosmernu implikaciju udesno/unapred:

$$K: S_1 = S_2 \ldots \leftrightarrow \ldots S_2 = S_1 + H_{ipo1} \ldots \rightarrow H_{iper}$$

Formulu treba čitati, razumeti i primenjivati na sledeći način: hibridni smisaoni odnos hiposinonimije nastupa ako je u datom jezičkom i vanjezičkom kontekstu K, kao prvo, dato deskriptivno značenje reči $S_1$ istovetno s datim deskriptivnim značenjem reči $S_2$, i ostalih, što implicira da je i dato deskriptivno značenje reči



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$S_2$ istovetno s datim deskriptivnim značenjem reči $S_1$, i ostalih; i, kao drugo, u isto vreme, dato deskriptivno značenje reči $H_{ipo1}$, i ostalih, predstavlja vrstu pojave ili način ispoljavanja pojave izražene deskriptivnim značenjem reči $H_{iper}$, što, međutim, ne implicira isto stanje i u obrnutom smeru. U konkretnom primeru to bi bilo ovako: ako je u datom kontekstu K *Ona jako voli [imenica]* dato deskriptivno značenje reči *pljeskavica* ($S_1$) istovetno s datim deskriptivnim značenjem reči *hamburger* ($S_2$), to implicira da je i dato deskriptivno značenje reči *hamburger* ($S_2$) istovetno s datim deskriptivnim značenjem reči *pljeskavica* ($S_1$), a ujedno dato deskriptivno značenje reči *hamburger* ($H_{ipo1}$) predstavlja vrstu onoga izraženog datim deskriptivnim značenjem reči *pljeskavica* ($H_{iper}$), posredi je smisaoni odnos hiposinonimije.

Pored proširenja leksičkosemantičke teorije u domenu smisaonih odnosa, hiposinonimija, kao novoprepoznati smisaoni odnos, može imati i značajnu praktičnu primenu, naročito u organizovanju mikro- i makrostrukture jednojezičnih i dvojezičnih rečnika sinonima, odn. hiposinonima. Jedan takav predlog za dvojezični rečnik, pod naslovom *Englesko-srpski kontrastivni rečnik sinonima*, razrađen je u Prćić 2018: Pogl. 5, dok će za jednojezični rečnik sinonima srpskog jezika moguća primena pojma hiposinonimije biti ukratko izložena u završnom odeljku.

## 13.4. Kolateralni sinonimi

Druga vrsta novouočenih, novoprepoznatih i novoimenovanih sinonima jesu kolateralni sinonimi.

Pod terminom KOLATERALNI SINONIMI, koji se ovde prvi put uvodi, objašnjava i ilustruje, podrazumevaju se **sinonimi koji su nastali kao kolateralni, sekundarni, posredni ili uzgredni rezultat, ako ne i nusproizvod, nekog drugog, primarnog ili glavnog, postupka, koji se može ispoljavati trojako**: prvo, semantički, kao postupak tvorbe smisla, u primeru glagola *poručiti*, kolateralnog sinonima glagola *reći, kazati, izjaviti*, itd., gubljenjem obeležja ‘preko posrednika’ iz izvornog smisla glagola *poručiti*; drugo, kontaktno-kontrastivno, kao postupak pozajmljivanja, u primeru



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imenice *benefit*, kolateralnog sinonima imenica *korist, dobit, dobrobit, vajda, ćar*, preuzimanjem nove 'strane' reči s postojećim značenjem; i treće, morfosintaktički, kao postupak tvorbe reči, u primeru imenice *pljeska*, kolateralnog sinonima izvorne imenice *pljeskavica*, čijim je skraćivanjem izvedena. Ovako nastale sinonimne reči, i kao sadržina, i kao forma, nastupaju kao obeleženi članovi neobeleženog člana u datom sinonimskom nizu, budući da međusobno dele ista deskriptivna obeležja, pa je tako glagol *poručiti* obeleženi kolateralni sinonim neobeleženog glagola *reći*, imenica *benefit* obeleženi kolateralni sinonim neobeležene imenice *korist*, a imenica *pljeska* obeleženi kolateralni sinonim neobeležene imenice *pljeskavica*. Kolateralni sinonimi karakteristični su za proces neologizacije leksičkog fonda jednog jezika – semantičkim, kontaktno-kontrastivnim ili morfosintaktičkim mehanizmima.

U tri pododeljka koja slede biće zasebno prikazani mehanizmi kojim nastaju kolateralni sinonimi, i to primenom semantičkih, i ujedno unutarjezičkih, mehanizama, kontaktno-kontrastivnih, i ujedno međujezičkih, mehanizama, te morfosintaktičkih, i ujedno unutarjezičkih a ponekad i međujezičkih, mehanizama.

### 13.4.1. Semantički mehanizmi nastanka

Kada nastaju kao nusproizvod semantičkih mehanizama, kolateralni sinonimi spadaju uglavnom u domen polisemije, a ponekad i homonimije, i rezultat su postupka tvorbe smisla (up. Waldron 1979). Ovde se nalazi pet produktivnih unutarjezičkih mehanizama, kojima podležu domaće i odomaćene 'strane' reči srpskog jezika, od čega su četiri motivisana mehanizma tvorbe smisla – generalizacija, specijalizacija, metaforizacija i metonimizacija postojećeg značenja, a jedan je nemotivisani mehanizam – kreacija novog značenja (up. Dragićević 2010; Dražić 2022; Filipović Kovačević 2021; Klikovac 2004; Kövecses 2010; Lakoff i Johnson 1980; Lipka 2002; Prćić 2016, 2019a, 2023, Pogl. 12 u ovoj knjizi; Waldron 1979). Tih pet mehanizama biće opisano i ilustrovano u nastavku.



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(1) Generalizacija postojećeg značenja podrazumeva gubljenje nekih od ključnih deskriptivnih obeležja iz izvornog značenja, čime novo značenje postaje šire, opštije i manje precizno, a pripadajuća reč poprima širu denotaciju, kao u primerima:

- glagol *osloviti*, u kontekstu *Oslovljavaju ga kao rodonačelnika novog smera modnog dizajna*, gubljenjem obeležja 'u direktnoj komunikaciji', s novim značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju glagola *uputiti (na)* i *pomenuti*,
- glagol *odraditi*, u kontekstu *Moramo što bolje odraditi ovaj posao*, gubljenjem obeležja 'bez volje, (kao) od bede', s novim značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju glagola *uraditi, obaviti* i *izvršiti*, i
- prilog *gde*, u kontekstu *Gde si to krenuo?*, gubljenjem obeležja 'odsustvo kretanja, statično', s novim značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju priloga *kuda*.

(2) Specijalizacija postojećeg značenja podrazumeva dodavanje novih deskriptivnih obeležja na izvorno značenje, čime novo značenje postaje uže, specifičnije i preciznije, a pripadajuća reč poprima užu denotaciju, kao u primerima:

- glagol *stradati*, u kontekstu *Tri osobe stradale su u jutrošnjem lančanom sudaru*, dodavanjem obeležja 'smrtno', s novim značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju glagola *poginuti*,
- imenica *prognoza*, u kontekstu *Na kraju vesti, prognoza za sutra...*, dodavanjem eliptiranih obeležja 'vremenska' ili 'vremena', s novim značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju fraznih imenica *vremenska prognoza* i *prognoza vremena* (up. Prćić 2016, ovo poglavlje, niže), i
- imenica *folk*, u kontekstu *U njihovoj kući sluša se samo folk*, dodavanjem obeležja 'novokomponovan', s novim značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju fraznih imenica *narodna muzika* i *novokomponovana narodna muzika*.



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(3) Metaforizacija postojećeg značenja podrazumeva preslikavanje reinterpretiranih ključnih deskriptivnih obeležja s izvornog značenja na novo značenje, što je omogućeno uočenom sličnošću između dva različita i nepovezana entiteta, u pogledu oblika, pozicije, funkcije, namene, osobine, ponašanja, delovanja, sposobnosti, itd., kao u primerima:

- glagol *cimnuti*, u kontekstu *Cimni ga da ne bi zaboravio na sastanak*, preslikavanjem obeležja 'kratko' i 'snažno' s fizičkog nadražaja na zvučni, ili zvukovni, nadražaj, s novim značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju glagola *nazvati* i *pozvati (telefonom)*,
- glagol *restartovati se*, u kontekstu *Tokom ovih nedelju dana na Zlatiboru potpuno sam se restartovala*, preslikavanjem obeležja 'ponovo pokrenuti' i 'nakon otklanjanja sistemske greške' s kompjutera na čoveka, s novim značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju glagola *odmoriti se*, *okrepiti se* i *preporoditi se*, i
- pridev *prebukiran*, u kontekstu *Svi lekari prebukirani su ove nedelje*, preslikavanjem obeležja 'preterano, premnogo' s broja mesta na broj sati, s novim značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju prideva *prezauzet*, *preopterećen* i *pretrpan*.

(4) Metonimizacija postojećeg značenja podrazumeva preslikavanje reinterpretiranih ključnih deskriptivnih obeležja s izvornog značenja na novo značenje, što je omogućeno ispoljenom bliskošću dvaju različitih ali međusobno prostorno, vremenski ili drukčije povezanih entiteta, kao u primerima:

- glagol *okrenuti*, u kontekstu *Moram okrenuti sestru da je pitam šta joj treba*, preslikavanjem obeležja s osobe pozvane telefonom (s nekadašnjim brojčanikom), a prethodno i s poziva telefonom na radnju pozivanja telefonom, s novim značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju glagola *nazvati* i *pozvati (telefonom)*,
- imenica *USB*, u kontekstu *Donesite mi seminarski rad na USB-u*, preslikavanjem obeležja s vrste kompjuterskog priključka na memorijski uređaj s takvim priključkom, s



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novim značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju frazne imenice *memorijski uređaj*, i

- imenica *fastfud*, u kontekstu *Moji učenici rado jedu u ovom fastfudu*, preslikavanjem obeležja s hrane na mesto pripreme i prodaje te hrane, s novim značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju imenica *restoran* i *lokal*.

(5) Kreacija novog značenja podrazumeva stvaranje novog značenja čija deskriptivna obeležja nemaju neposredne semantičke veze s bilo kojim od postojećih značenja date reči, nego su nastala nezavisno od njih, bez čvrste i jasne motivacije, kao u primerima:

- predlog *do*, u kontekstu *Grupi je određeno zadržavanje do 72 sata*, pridodavanjem obeležja 'raspon najdužeg trajanja neke radnje ili procesa', s novim značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem, i ujedno enantiosemnom (ili kontronimnom, ili autoantonimnom), značenju predloga *od*,
- imenica *protestant*, u kontekstu *Stotine protestanata izašle su na ulice glavnog grada*, pridodavanjem obeležja 'učesnik u uličnom protestu', s novim značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju imenice *demonstrant*, i
- imenica *pozicija*, u kontekstu *U razgovorima ne popušta ni pozicija, ni opozicija*, pridodavanjem obeležja 'predstavnici onih koji vrše javnu vlast u nekoj zemlji', usled narodnoetimološkog tumačenja da element *o-* u potonjoj reči gradi antonim prve reči, s novim značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju imenice *vlast*.

### 13.4.2. Kontaktno-kontrastivni mehanizmi nastanka

Kada nastaju kao nusproizvod kontaktno-kontrastivnih mehanizama, kolateralni sinonimi spadaju u domen kontaktno-kontrastivne lingvistike i rezultat su postupka pozajmljivanja, kao



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uticaja stranih jezika na srpski, danas najčešće engleskog kao odomaćenog stranog jezika (up. Prćić 2019a, 2023). Ovde se nalaze tri uobičajena međujezička mehanizma, kojima podležu novije 'strane' reči nasuprot odomaćenim 'stranim' i domaćim rečima srpskog jezika, i kojima se u njegov sistem uvode nove forme i/ili nove sadržine – preuzimanje, prevođenje i presađivanje (up. Filipović 1986; Prćić 2019a, 2023). Ta tri mehanizma biće opisana i ilustrovana u nastavku.

(1) Preuzimanje nove 'strane' reči s postojećim značenjem, za koje već postoji domaća ili odomaćena 'strana' reč, podrazumeva uvođenje novopozajmljene forme za postojeći sadržaj, kao u primerima:

- glagol *implementirati*, od eng. *implement*, u kontekstu *Treba razraditi načine na koji će se implementirati postignuti sporazum*, u tom značenju postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju glagola *sprovesti, sprovesti u delo* i *realizovati*,
- imenica *ofis*, od eng. *office*, u kontekstu *U firmi sam dobila i svoj ofis*, u tom značenju postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju imenica *kancelarija*, *kabinet* i *biro*, i
- imenica *folover*, od eng. *follower*, u kontekstu *Od juče imam preko 500 folovera na Instagramu*, u tom značenju postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju imenice *pratilac*.

(2) Prevođenje novog stranog značenja, izraženog novom ili odomaćenom 'stranom' rečju, podrazumeva uvođenje novoprekomponovane domaće forme za postojeći sadržaj, kao u primerima:

- frazne imenice *nezvanični dokument* i *neformalni dokument*, u kontekstu *Iz Brisela je najavljen novi nezvanični dokument o Zapadnom Balkanu*, u tom značenju postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju imenice *nonpejper*, od eng. *non-paper*,
- frazne imenice *kultura otkazivanja* (besmisleno prevedena), te (precizniji ali slabo rasprostranjeni prevodi) *kultu-*



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*ra izopštavanja*, *kultura isključivanja* i *kultura uskraćivanja podrške*, u kontekstu *Kultura izopštavanja možda će naterati brze na jeziku da malo uspore*, u tom značenju postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju imenice *kensel-kultura*, od eng. *cancel culture*, i

- frazne imenice *zaštitnik građana*, te (precizniji ali još neostvareni prevodi) *zaštitnik prava građana* i *građanski pravobranilac*, u kontekstu *Štrajkači su najavili mogućnost žalbe zaštitniku građana*, u tom značenju postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju imenice *ombudsman*, od šved. *ombudsman*, preko eng. *ombudsman*.

(3) Presađivanje novog značenja na postojeću domaću reč ili odomaćenu 'stranu' reč, ranije pozajmljenu ali s drugim značenjem, podrazumeva uvođenje novog sadržaja na postojeću formu, kao u primerima:

- imenica *ekonomija*, prema eng. *economy*, u kontekstu *Po najnovijim podacima, ekonomija počinje da pokazuje znake oporavka*, u tom novom značenju postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju imenice *privreda*,
- glagol *ohrabrivati*, prema eng. *encourage*, u kontekstu *Njihova vlada i dalje će ohrabrivati ulaganja u našu zemlju*, u tom novom značenju postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju glagola *podsticati*, *podržavati* i *potpomagati*, i
- imenica *akcija*, prema nem. *Aktion*, preko mađ. *akció*, u kontekstu *Svi kompleti za sezonu proleće / leto nalaze se na akciji*, u tom novom značenju postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju imenica *popust*, *sniženje* i *rasprodaja*.

### 13.4.3. Morfosintaktički mehanizmi nastanka

Kada nastaju kao nusproizvod morfosintaktičkih mehanizama, kolateralni sinonimi spadaju u domen tvorbe reči i rezultat su postupka tvorbe reči. U teoriji, kolateralne sinonime mogu izvesti svi raspoloživi tvorbeni mehanizmi, kako oni detaljno is-



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traženi – prefiksacija, sufiksacija, kompozicija, polukompozicija, konverzija i konflacija (up. Ajdžanović 2022; Bugarski 2019a, 2021; Klajn 2002, 2003; Piper, Klajn i Dragićević 2022; Ristić 2012), tako i oni slabije istraženi. Ovde će težište biti stavljeno na pet najfrekventnijih, najslabije istraženih i najkreativnijih unutarjezičkih, i delom međujezičkih, mehanizama, kojima podležu domaće i odomaćene 'strane' reči srpskog jezika – abrevijacija, elipsacija, akronimizacija, transpozicija i refrazeologizacija.

Kao ulazne osnove ovih mehanizama javljaju se, prvo, opšte (apelativne) reči, najčešće u morfosintaktičkoj klasi imenica, prideva i glagola; i drugo, vlastita imena, prirodno, u klasi imenica, koja obuhvataju antroponime, toponime, institucionime, nazive i naslove. Sinonimi nastali od vlastitih imena razlikuju se od onih vezanih za opšte reči, utoliko što njihova sinonimija nije semantičke naravi, jer oni nemaju deskriptivno značenje, bar ono sinhrono, kakvo imaju opšte reči, nego su zasnovani i uslovljeni pragmatički, budući da se njihova komunikativna funkcija u jeziku ogleda u tome da upućuju ili, tačnije, da se njima upućuje, na jedan konkretan, specifičan i jedinstven referent, animatan ili inanimatan, u vanjezičkoj stvarnosti, poput *Jovan,* ili *Desanka Maksimović*, ili *Zemun* (up. Allerton 1987; Anderson 2007; Marmaridou 1989). Zbog toga je kod vlastitih imena posredi ne semantička, odn. deskriptivna, nego pragmatička, odn. referencijalna, sinonimija, uz delimičan izuzetak hibridnih slučajeva, poput *Narodno pozorište,* ili *Politikin zabavnik,* ili *Radio-televizija Srbije*, u kojima opšte reči nastupaju kao vlastita imena ili komponenta vlastitih imena, najčešće fraznih, pa je tada posredi mešovita, pragmatičko-semantička, sinonimija, pošto takva imena istovremeno i upućuju, a imaju i desktiptivno značenje. Ova trojna distinkcija – između semantičke, pragmatičke i pragmatičko-semantičke sinonimije – nadalje će se podrazumevati bez posebnog isticanja.

Pomenutih pet tvorbenih mehanizama biće opisano i ilustrovano u nastavku; većina se ovde prvi put celovitije obrađuje, a njihovi nazivi slede imenovanja ranije predložena u Prćić 2023: Pogl. 6 i u Pogl. 11 i 15 u ovoj knjizi.



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(1) Abrevijacija podrazumeva stvaranje novih reči uklanjanjem segmenta u obliku niza fonema i, po implikaciji, grafema, ne nužno morfemskog statusa, iz prostih, izvedenih, složenih, polusloženih i fraznih osnova dužine najmanje dva sloga. Tako nastale reči morfološki su skraćene i asocijativno obeležene kao neformalne. Ovaj mehanizam ispoljava se u četiri glavna obrasca, i to:

- prednji deo osnove uklonjen, kao u primerima imenice *đava*, u kontekstu *Idemo da obiđemo đavu tokom prepodneva*, ili imenice *lone*, u kontekstu, *Videla sam super lone u našem butiku*, ili formule *bro jutro*, u kontekstu *Bro jutro, komšija!*, ili toponima *Pešta*, u kontekstu *Uplatio sam petodnevni aranžman za Peštu*, koji s novim oblikom i značenjem postaju kolateralni sinonimi odgovarajućem značenju motivne imenice *(tvr)đava*, imenice *(panta)lone*, sintagme *(Do)bro jutro!* i imenice *(Budim)pešta,* po redosledu navođenja,
- zadnji deo osnove uklonjen, kao u primerima imenice *giba*, u kontekstu *Napraviće ti mama gibu za večeru*, ili imenice *komp*, u kontekstu, *Komp mi je nešto zabagovao*, ili sintagme *za dž*, u kontekstu, *Ovu knjigu sam dobio za dž*, ili antroponima *Ršum*, u kontekstu *Ršum je najkreativniji dečji pesnik kod nas*, koji s novim oblikom i značenjem postaju kolateralni sinonimi odgovarajućem značenju motivne imenice *giba(nica)*, imenice *komp(juter)*, sintagme *za dž(abe)* i imenice *Ršum(ović)*, po redosledu navođenja,
- zadnji deo osnove uklonjen, a ostatak proširen flektivnim nastavkom za rod, broj i padež, kao u primerima imenice *cigara*, u kontekstu *Imaš jednu cigaru?*, ili imenice *kila*, u kontekstu *Dve kile krompira, molim vas*, ili antroponima *Jova / Jovo*, u kontekstu *Jova / Jovo ti je najbolji stručnjak za ovu oblast*, ili toponima *Juga*, u kontekstu *U Jugi je fića dugo bio najpopularniji auto*, koji s novim oblikom i značenjem postaju kolateralni sinonimi odgovarajućem značenju motivne imenice *cigar(eta)* + *-a*, imenice *kil(o-*



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*gram)* + *-a* , imenice *Jov(an)* + *-a / -o* i imenice *Jug(oslavija)* + *-a*, po redosledu navođenja,

- zadnji deo osnove uklonjen, a ostatak proširen derivacionim sufiksom, sistemskim, odn. ustaljenim, ili nesistemskim, odn. neustaljenim ili čak jednokratnim, kao u primerima imenice *fotka*, u kontekstu *Pokaži nam fotke sa izleta*, ili imenice *crtać*, u kontekstu *Moji sinovi obožavaju stare crtaće*, ili imenice *penzos*, u kontekstu *Evo penzosa kako igraju šah na klupi*, ili toponima *Kališ*, u kontekstu *Na Kališu uvek možeš sresti nekog poznatog*, koji s novim oblikom i značenjem postaju kolateralni sinonimi odgovarajućem značenju motivne imenice *fot(ografija)* + *-ka*, frazne imenice *crt(ani film)* + *-ać*, imenice *penz(ioner)* + *-os* i imenice *Kal(emegdan)* + *-iš*, po redosledu navođenja,
- prednji i zadnji deo osnove uklonjeni, kao u primerima antroponima *Dis*, u kontekstu *Veliki sam poštovalac Disove poezije*, ili antroponima *Boda*, u kontekstu *Boda Ninković je u seriji ostvario svoju najbolju ulogu*, koji s novim oblikom i značenjem postaju kolateralni sinonimi odgovarajućem značenju motivne imenice *(Vla)dis(lav Petković)* i imenice *(Slo)boda(n)*, po redosledu navođenja,
- prednji i zadnji deo osnove uklonjeni, a ostatak proširen flektivnim nastavkom za rod, broj i padež, kao u primeru antroponima *Mita*, u kontekstu *Kada očekujete da Mita pošalje rukopis?*, koji s novim oblikom i značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju motivne imenice *(Di)mit(rije)* + *-a*, i
- srednji deo osnove uklonjen, kao u primeru imenice *gospon*, u kontekstu *Hoće li naš gospon skoro doći?*, koji s novim oblikom i značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju motivne imenice *gospo(di)n*, dodatno asocijativno obeležen kao blago zastareo.

(2) Elipsacija podrazumeva stvaranje novih reči uklanjanjem čitave jedne osnove iz fraznih, složenih i polusloženih osnova, i prenošenjem njenog značenja na onu preostalu. Tako nastale reči morfološki su uprošćene, ali semantički informativnije i



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asocijativno obeležene kao ponešto neformalne. Ovaj mehanizam ispoljava se u dva glavna obrasca (up. Prćić 2016), i to:

- prednja osnova uklonjena, a njeno značenje inkorporirano u značenje preostale zadnje osnove, kao u primerima imenice *beležnik*, u kontekstu *Ugovor morate sutra overiti kod beležnika*, ili imenice *dozvola*, u kontekstu *Ne znam gde sam zaturio dozvolu*, ili imenice *pire*, u kontekstu *S bečkom šniclom najviše volim pire*, ili naslova *Zabavnik*, u kontekstu *Svaki novi broj Zabavnika s nestrpljenjem očekujemo*, koji s novim oblikom i značenjem postaju kolateralni sinonimi odgovarajućem značenju motivne frazne imenice *(javni) beležnik*, frazne imenice *(vozačka) dozvola*, polusložene imenice *(krompir-)pire* i frazne imenice *Politikin zabavnik*, po redosledu navođenja, i
- zadnja osnova uklonjena, a njeno značenje inkorporirano u značenje preostale prednje osnove, pri čemu su pridevi u toj osnovi konverzijom pretvoreni u imenice, kao u primerima imenice *roditeljski*, u kontekstu *Iduće nedelje moramo ići na roditeljski u školu*, ili imenice *kupaći*, u kontekstu *Odlično izgledaš u novom kupaćem*, ili imenice *vozačka*, u kontekstu *Ne znam gde sam zaturio vozačku*, ili antroponima *Desanka*, u kontekstu *Desanka je ispisala neke od najtananijih stihova u srpskoj poeziji*, koji s novim oblikom i značenjem postaju kolateralni sinonimi odgovarajućem značenju motivne frazne imenice *roditeljski (sastanak)*, frazne imenice *kupaći (kostim)*, frazne imenice *vozačka (dozvola)* i antroponimskog niza *Desanka (Maksimović)*, po redosledu navođenja.

(3) Akronimizacija podrazumeva stvaranje novih reči izdvajanjem početnih fonema i, po implikaciji, grafema iz fraznih, složenih i polusloženih osnova. Tako nastale reči morfološki su znatno skraćene i uprošćene, i asocijativno obeležene kao neutralne do ponešto neformalne. Ovaj mehanizam ispoljava se u dva glavna obrasca (up. Pogl. 15 u ovoj knjizi), i to:

- izdvojene foneme izgovorene kao jedna reč s jednim akcentom, kao u primerima imenice *ČOS*, u kontekstu *Da-*



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*nas nećemo držati ČOS*, ili imenice *glodur*, u kontekstu *Jedno vreme radio je kao glodur u lokalnim novinama*, ili naziva *BITEF*, u kontekstu *Ove godine ona će biti glavni selektor BITEF-a*, ili naslova *PLJiŽ*, u kontekstu *Šteta što se PLJiŽ više ne emituje*, koji s novim oblikom i značenjem postaju kolateralni sinonimi odgovarajućem značenju motivnih fraznih imenica *č(as) o(deljenskog) s(tarešine), gl(avni i) od(govorni) ur(ednik), B(eogradski) i(nternacionalni) te(atarski) f(estival)* i *P(etrović), Lj(ubičić) i Ž(anetić)*, po redosledu navođenja, i

- izdvojene foneme izgovorene kao skup slogova, slovo po slovo, ili sa pratećim vokalima ili bez pratećih vokala, kao u primerima imenice *PDV*, u kontekstu *Najavili su smanjenje PDV-a za iduću godinu*, ili institucionima *RTS*, u kontekstu *RTS je ponovo reprizirao seriju 'Vruć vetar'* (oba izgovorena s pratećim vokalima), ili imenice *JMBG*, u kontekstu *Moraš zapamtiti svoj JMBG u celosti*, ili institucionima *GSP*, u kontekstu *Iz GSP-a saopštavaju da je naručeno 20 novih garnitura tramvaja* (oba izgovorena bez pratećih vokala), koji s novim oblikom i značenjem postaju kolateralni sinonimi odgovarajućem značenju motivnih fraznih imenica *p(orez na) d(odatnu) v(rednost), R(adio-)t(elevizija) S(rbije), j(edinstveni) m(atični) b(roj) g(rađana)* i *G(radsko) s(aobraćajno) p(reduzeće)*, po redosledu navođenja.

(4) Transpozicija podrazumeva stvaranje novih reči zamenjivanjem mesta slogova u dvosložnim osnovama. Tako nastale reči karakteristične su za žargonsku upotrebu, odn. za sleng, i asocijativno obeležene kao vrlo neformalne i često dodatno kao šaljive. Ovaj mehanizam ispoljava se u jednom glavnom obrascu (up. Bugarski 2021), i to:

- premetanje slogova, kao u primerima imenice *ljakse*, u kontekstu *Njegov trener je običan ljakse*, ili imenice *tebra*, u kontekstu *Tebra, ovo ti uopšte nije trebalo*, ili glagola *đasvi*, u kontekstu *Ovo mi se baš đasvi*, ili toponima *Munze*, u kontekstu *Idemo večeras u Munze*, koji s novim



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oblikom i značenjem postaju kolateralni sinonimi odgovarajućem značenju imenice *se↔ljak*, imenice *bra↔te*, glagola *svi↔đati se* i toponima *Ze↔mun*, po redosledu navođenja.

(5) REFRAZEOLOGIZACIJA podrazumeva stvaranje novih reči, najčešće fraznih imenica i drugih vrsta frazeologizama, tj. idioma, koji se javljaju u rasponu od jednokratnih tvorevina do ustaljenih i klišeiziranih izraza, radi izražavanja istog deskriptivnog značenja drukčijim oblicima i time izbegavanja prokaženog 'dosadnog ponavljanja'. Tako nastale reči, pod nazivom REFRAZEOLOGIZACIJE, karakteristične su za žurnalistički registar i rezultat združenog delovanja svojstava procesa parafraze (zadržavanje istog značenja) i procesa perifraze (korišćenje većeg broja reči od nužnog i zaobilazno iskazivanje željene sadržine; up. Crystal 2008). Ovaj mehanizam, koji se ovde prvi put imenuje i opisuje, ispoljava se u četiri glavna, i ujedno najčešća, obrasca (up. Pogl. 14 u ovoj knjizi), i to:

- frazne imenice strukture 'pridev + imenica', koja se, po potrebi, može višestruko ponoviti u jednoj reči, kao u primerima frazne imenice *crveno zlato*, u kontekstu *Ovogodišnji rod crvenog zlata premašio je sva očekivanja*, ili frazne imenice *najviši državni akt*, u kontekstu *Najviši državni akt u ovoj oblasti je vrlo jasan*, ili toponima *stari kontinent*, u kontekstu *Najavljene su nezabeležene žege na većem delu starog kontinenta*, ili institucionima *nacionalni teatar*, u kontekstu *Tri premijere spremaju u nacionalnom teatru za sledeću sezonu*, ili institucionima *centralna banka*, u kontekstu *Centralna banka objavila je odluku o smanjenju kamatnih stopa*, koji s novim oblikom i značenjem postaju kolateralni sinonimi odgovarajućem značenju motivnih imenica *malina*, *ustav* i *Evropa*, te motivnih fraznih imenica *Narodno pozorište* i *Narodna banka*, po redosledu navođenja,
- frazna imenica strukture 'imenica + pridev', kao u primeru frazne imenice *ministar vojni*, u kontekstu *Ministar vojni prisustvovao je vežbi elitne antiterorističke jedinice*, koji s novim oblikom i značenjem postaje kolateralni si-



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nonim odgovarajućem značenju motivne frazne imenice *ministar odbrane*,

- frazna imenica strukture 'imenica + imenica u zavisnom padežu', kao u primerima frazne imenice *pisac scenarija*, u kontekstu *Glavnu nagradu dobio je pisac scenarija za ovaj film*, ili frazne imenice *šef diplomatije*, u kontekstu *Šefovi diplomatija triju zemalja susrešće se danas u Skoplju*, ili frazne imenice *delilac pravde*, u kontekstu *Posle ovog napada na protivničkog igrača delilac pravde bio je neumoljiv,* ili toponima *Zemlja izlazećeg Sunca*, u kontekstu *Svi se raduju putu u Zemlju izlazećeg Sunca*, ili naziva *sajam poljoprivrede*, u kontekstu *Sajam poljoprivrede u Novom Sadu trajaće do nedelje*, koji s novim oblikom i značenjem postaju kolateralni sinonimi odgovarajućem značenju motivne imenice *scenarist(a)*, fraznih imenica *ministar spoljnih poslova* i *ministar inostranih poslova*, imenica *sudija* (u sportu) i *Japan*, te frazne imenice *Poljoprivredni sajam*, po redosledu navođenja,
- frazna imenica strukture 'imenica + predlog + imenica', kao u primeru frazne imenice *saradnik u pisanju scenarija*, u kontekstu *Saradnik u pisanju scenarija: Ljiljana Pavić*, koji s novim oblikom i značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju motivne imenice *koscenarist(a)*, i
- glagolski frazeologizmi, kao u primerima idioma *upisati se u listu strelaca*, u kontekstu *Drugi put se danas upisao u listu strelaca* i idioma *zatresti mrežu*, u kontekstu *Nisu uspeli da zatresu mrežu protivničkog tima*, koji s novim oblikom i značenjem postaje kolateralni sinonim odgovarajućem značenju motivnih kolokacija *postići gol* i *postići pogodak*.

## 13.5. Popularna upotreba sinonima u srpskom jeziku

Verovatno najbitnije svojstvo sinonimije, kao jezičke pojave da se jedan isti sadržaj može izraziti pomoću više različitih, zna-



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čenjski iznijansiranih, reči, jeste pružanje mogućnosti odabiranja reči koje će živopisnije, preciznije ili suptilnije preneti i odslikati nameravani sadržaj u određenoj situaciji. Sinonimija se, inače, vrlo lepo može zamisliti i objasniti kao kućna garderoba: postoji manja ili veća zaliha odevnih predmeta, od kojih se vrši odabir primeren konkretnoj situaciji – za odlazak nekome na venčanje svečano odelo, za muškarce, ili kostim, za žene, za pijacu farmerke, a za plažu kratke pantalone. Bilo bi neuobičajeno, mada ne i sasvim nezamislivo, pojaviti se, recimo, na plaži u svečanom odelu ili kostimu.

Vraćajući se još jednom na primer s početka teksta, *U mom komšiluku živi jedna lepa plavuša, inače dečji lekar, čijeg psa svi mi volimo*, bilo koja zamena podvučenih reči nekim od njenih sinonima dovela bi do promene, ma koliko male i naizgled beznačajne, u detaljima te u mogućim komunikativnim efektima, što je pokazano u gornjim ilustracijama. Međutim, od izuzetne je važnosti da se ne zaboravi kako mogućnost odabira nikako ne bi smela biti izjednačena s mehaničkim zamenjivanjem, nasumičnim i nepromišljenim, jednog sinonima drugim, jer se time obesmišljava suština, svrha i snaga sinonimije.

U osmišljenoj upotrebi jezika pitanje koje se uvek mora postaviti – sebi ili drugima – jeste: **kojim bi se sve rečima željeni sadržaj mogao izraziti?** Ili, još tačnije, **koje nam sve reči stoje na raspolaganju za izražavanje željenog sadržaja – i kako se one međusobno značenjski razlikuju?** Ne treba smetnuti s uma da, shodno već pominjanim zakonitostima jezičke ekonomije, u jeziku postoji izuzetno mali broj reči, ako uopšte, koje su identične po svim svojim svojstvima – i deskriptivnom značenju, i asocijativnom značenju, i kolokaciji, i dodatnoj implikaciji, i gramatičkim konstrukcijama, i frekvenciji upotrebe. Takvi su APSOLUTNI SINONIMI, u stvarnosti gotovo nepostojeći, i, delimično, POTPUNI SINONIMI, s istovetnim i deskriptivnim i asocijativnim značenjem, u stvarnosti veoma retki (up. Cruse 1986, 2010; Lyons 1968, 1977; Prćić 2016). Ubedljivo najveći broj sinonima, u stvarnosti svakako najčešći i najprirodniji, bar se po nečemu razlikuje – otuda i lajtmotiv, ove rasprave: ‘isto ali ipak različito’, i to su upravo ovi opisivani do



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sada, koji se zbog toga nazivaju NEPOTPUNIM, ili DESKRIPTIVNIM, SINONIMIMA (up. Cruse 1986, 2010; Lyons 1968, 1977; Prćić 2016).

Naša svakodnevna jezička praksa, nažalost, u poređenju s teorijom, sasvim je drukčija. Rukovođena laičkim poimanjem sinonima, naročito u žurnalističko-publicističkom segmentu, često se sprovodi upravo mehanička međuzamenljivost sinonima, a da se ne vodi nikakvog računa o eventualnim posledicama koje tako nedomišljena zamena sobom nosi. Koreni ovakve prakse sežu sve do osnovnoškolske i kasnije nastave srpskog jezika, gde se učenicima redovno savetuje, čak se od njih zahteva, da u svojim pismenim sastavima izbegavaju tzv. 'dosadno ponavljanje' (šta god to značilo) i da zato treba da se služe sinonimima, odn. 'rečima istog ili sličnog značenja', koje se posmatraju i koriste kao 'stilska zaliha', a da im pritom niko nije objasnio, a nekmoli precizirao, šta je to isto, a šta slično značenje reči, a šta stilska zaliha i dosadno ponavljanje. S tim 'rečima istog ili sličnog značenja', tokom čitavog svog školovanja, učenici i studenti se susreću tek od prilike do prilike, mahom kod tumačenja 'manje poznatih i stranih reči' u književnim delima i udžbenicima, kada se jedna reč – u maniru rešavanja ukrštenih reči – jednostavno objasni ili protumači svojim sinonimom, poput *deskripcija* je *opis*, *bedem* je *zid*, *kambek* je *povratak*, *benefit* je *korist*, *larma* je *buka*, *farba* je *boja*, *trijumfovati* je *pobediti*, *komplikovan* je *složen*, i tome slično. Pitanje koje se ovde prirodno nameće jeste kakav je smisao i efekat takvog sterilnog objašnjavanja i tumačenja, i šta se na takav polovičan način uistinu objašnjava i tumači.

Sistematskog rada na sinonimima, koji bi, uz ostalo, ozbiljnije i kreativnije negovao izražajni potencijal srpskog jezika, ali i onih koji se svakodnevno njime služe u govoru i pisanju, uz vrlo malobrojne izuzetke, u obrazovnom procesu nema. Štaviše, ni raspoloživi rečnici, uključujući i one specijalno posvećene sinonimima (up. Jovanović i Atanacković 1980; Lalević 1974), ne pružaju uvek nedvosmislen uvid u odnose među značenjski bliskim rečima, pa je radi potpunije informacije potrebno podosta istraživati, bez garancije da će se stići do zadovoljavajućeg odgovora.



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Čini se da je valjana i osmišljena eksploatacija sinonima privilegija najviše književnika, pesnika, jezičkih i lingvističkih stručnjaka, i ostalih zaljubljenika u dobar srpski jezik. S druge strane, popularni tretman sinonima – naročito u štampi, na radiju, televiziji i internetu – iz dana u dan pruža obilje materijala kojim (kao da) se potvrđuje postojanje pojave čiji bi naziv mogao biti POPULARNA, ili LAIČKA, UPOTREBA SINONIMA i u kojoj se razabiru nekoliki načini njihove upotrebe, mada je to češće, i tačnije rečeno, zloupotreba.

### 13.5.1. Tri pojavna oblika popularne upotrebe sinonima

Sledi niz primera koji će potkrepiti načine funkcionisanja i učinke popularne upotrebe sinonima, koja se ispoljava u tri glavna pojavna oblika – izjednačavanje, zamagljivanje i potiranje sinonima.

(1) IZJEDNAČAVANJE SINONIMA podrazumeva upotrebu sinonima bez ikakvog uočljivog nijansiranja, kao 'stilske zalihe', samo zato da bi se izbeglo toliko prokaženo 'dosadno ponavljanje', poput *privreda, ekonomija; pozorište, teatar; tržište, pijaca; kirija, stanarina; pobeda, trijumf; sprovođenje, realizacija, implementacija; potpis, paraf; lek, medikament; proizvod, produkt; vlada, kabinet; izgnanstvo, egzil; šansa, prilika; sudija, arbitar, delilac pravde; napredak, progres; književnost, literatura; činjenica, fakat; odsto, posto, nasto, procenat; gledati, posmatrati; granica, međa; smanjiti, redukovati*. Kao što se lako može primetiti, najzastupljeniji su parovi sinonima, i to vrlo često domaćih i odomaćenih 'stranih', pri čemu se gubi iz vida, na primer, da nije svaka *pobeda* ujedno i *trijumf* (ali jeste obrnuto); da nije svako *gledanje* ujedno i *posmatranje* (ali jeste obrnuto); da nisu svaka *beseda* i *obraćanje* ujedno i *govor* (ali jeste obrnuto); da *paraf* znači *potpis* u vidu inicijala imena i prezimena; da *kabinet* obuhvata samo najvažnije resore u *vladi*; da *saobraćajna nezgoda* ne može biti ona u kojoj je nekoliko vozila uništeno, nego samo *nesreća* ili *udes*; da *izumeti, pronaći* i *otkriti* nisu isti, pa ni slični, postupci s istim, pa ni sličnim, rezultatima, iako jesu uporedivi; da *polomiti, slomiti*



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i *razbiti* takođe nisu iste radnje, iako jesu slične; da *skupština* i *parlament* nisu isto, nego prva predstavlja vrstu drugog, pa je stoga njegov hiponim, a ne sinonim; da *Banka Poštanska štedionica* znači zapravo 'banka banka', jer je potonja hiposinonim prve, pa je stoga posredi tautološki naziv; da *zahvaljujući, usled, zbog* i *radi* nisu ni blizu isto; da *sin* i *naslednik* odn. *ćerka* i *naslednica* (obično neke medijski eksponirane ličnosti) nisu isto. Uprkos pretežnom duetskom nastupanju, ponekad ima i izuzetaka, neretko izvanredne originalnosti i 'originalnosti', poput *student, akademac, visokoškolac, akademski građanin, indeksovac; fri-šop, djuti-fri-šop, bescarinska prodavnica, slobodna carinska prodavnica* (od kojih potonja, pokušaj prevoda eng. *duty-free shop*, nema ni smisla, jer se ne radi ni o kakvoj slobodi ili 'slobodnosti' nego o neprimenjivanju ili nepostojanju carinskih dažbina).

(2) Zamagljivanje sinonima podrazumeva upotrebu dva sinonima naporedo, u spojevima s veznikom *i*, poput *predlozi i sugestije; stid i sram; bruka i sramota; sumnja i skepsa; šansa i prilika; stranka i partija; zanimljiv i interesantan; važan i bitan; fer i pošten; oblačan i tmuran; osigurati i obezbediti; prosto i jednostavno; prijatno i ugodno; odlučno i rezolutno; kako i na koji način*. Ovi tautološki spojevi, svojevrsni fiksni binomi, bezmalo uvek u većem ili manjem obimu klišeizirani (up. Prćić 2016), ponekad se javljaju i u obrnutom redosledu od ovde navedenog, a ponekad i bez veznika *i*, s onim drugim sinonimom dodatim onom prvom kao neka naknadna, dopunska misao. Komunikativna funkcija ovih spojeva nije posve jasna, iako je najverovatnije da se radi o pokušaju govornika da pojačaju snagu i ubedljivost svog izraza. Ovako upotrebljenim spojevima reči svojstvo njihove sinonimnosti se, u većoj ili manjoj meri, zamagljuje i one služe kao udvojena forma s navodno udvojenim efektom, iako samo udvajaju istu osnovnu sadržinu i ništa dalje od toga.

(3) Potiranje sinonima podrazumeva upotrebu sinonima tako da jedan od njih počinje da širi značenje i pokriva obuhvat i nekih svojih sinonima, koji bivaju potisnuti i vremenom trajnije istisnuti kao nepotrebni, opet shodno pominjanim zakonitostima jezičke ekonomije. Trenutno najupadljiviji i najnapadniji primer-



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ci za ovu pojavu jesu tri glagola govorenja – *pričati, poručiti* i *navesti*: glagol *pričati*, koji se u svakodnevnom jeziku koristi, pored izvornog značenja 'pripovedati', 'saopštavati priču, vic ili drugu vrstu sadržaja', i s novim značenjem i izgubljenim ovim obeležjem, u funkciji je glagola *govoriti*, 'proizvoditi artikulisane glasove', i *razgovarati*, 'razmenjivati s nekim rečenice', kao u kontekstima *Ne pričam više s njim* (= 'govorim'), *Ona dobro priča španski* (= 'govori'), *Sve vreme smo pričale* (= 'razgovarale'). Glagol *poručiti*, u svom novom, zasad samo žurnalističkom, značenju, izgubio je obeležje 'preko posrednika' i postao sinonim za glagole *reći, kazati, izjaviti, saopštiti, preneti*, kao u primeru *Ministar je svom kolegi na sastanku poručio...* (pri čemu su obojica sedela jedan preko puta drugog i gledala se u oči), dok je glagol *navesti*, takođe u novom, zasad samo žurnalističkom, značenju, izgubio obeležja 'izneti podatke', 'citirati reči ili tekst', 'nabrojati' i postao takođe sinonim za upravo pomenuti niz glagola, kao u primeru *Ona je navela da su sva tri begunca sinoć uhapšena* (up. Pogl. 12 u ovoj knjizi).

Potiranje sinonima, u vidu potiskivanja, vidi se i u nekoliko slučajeva postepene prevage odomaćene 'strane' reči nad domaćom ili ranije odomaćenom 'stranom': *egzil, izgnanstvo; reptil, gmizavac; implementacija, sprovođenje, realizacija; edukacija, obrazovanje; keš, gotovina; informacija, obaveštenje; demantovati, opovrgnuti; oficijelan / oficijalan, zvaničan, služben; kratka priča* (od eng. *short story*)*, pripovetka; ohrabrivati* (od eng. *encourage*)*, podsticati, podržavati, potpomagati*.

Ako je suditi po tendencijama na koje ukazuju upravo izloženi tipovi popularne upotrebe sinonima, po trima uočenim etapama izjednačavanje – zamagljivanje – potiranje, ta i takva upotreba ima dobre izglede da u perspektivi obesmisli suštinu i svrsishodnost sinonimije, kao veoma moćnog komunikativnog sredstva svakog jezika, pa tako i srpskog, te da našu svakodnevnu komunikaciju, uz nesebičnu pomoć nemalog dela medija, svede na puko baratanje neobeleženim, neutralnim, običnim, skučenim, bledim, sanjivim, dremljivim, beživotnim, bezizraznim, konfekcijskim rečima, koje spadaju u opšti vokabular osnovne



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i srednje škole, i koje čine minimalni rečnik najčešćih reči (up. Dražić 2008), pri čemu bi ostale, njima sinonimne, reči polako ali sigurno tonule u zaborav, buduće nepotrebne i nepoznate, jer niti su popisane, niti su rečnički obrađene, niti se njima posvećuje dužna pažnja u školi. Dobar primer za ovu konstataciju je frazna imenica *seksualno uznemiravanje*, prevod engleske frazne imenice *sexual harassment*, za koju su se proteklih godina nasumično javljala čak tri konkurentna sinonima – *seksualno uznemiravanje / zlostavljanje / napastvovanje*. U praksi je, kako izgleda, prevagnuo prvi konkurent, *uznemiravanje*, mada on najslabije i najbezazlenije izražava potrebno izvorno značenje; drugi konkurent, *zlostavljanje*, izražava ga prejako i presirovo, dok ga treći konkurent, *napastovanje* (dakle, bez dva *v*), izražava najadekvatnije, ali on nije 'ušao u uži izbor', jer se ne nalazi među poznatnijim i korišćenijim rečima kod većine prosečnih govornika srpskog jezika, koji, uzgred, ovakve prevode u svakodnevnoj praksi obično prvi stvaraju i lansiraju.

Opisana troetapna tendencija nestajanja sinonima mogla bi umnogome biti usporena, ako ne i potpuno zaustavljena, uvođenjem sistematske, interaktivne i praktične obrade osnova sinonimije u školama, osnovnim i srednjim, a posebno na fakultetima, posebno na grupama za srpski jezik, lingvistiku i književnost, te za sve ostale maternje i strane jezike i književnosti koji se u Srbiji izučavaju. Uz to, popularizacija jezika, kao i podizanje jezičke kulture uopšte, govorene i pisane, ostaje naša goruća potreba.

## 13.6. Primenjenolingvističke implikacije

Pri kraju ovog izlaganja, ostalo je da se osvrne na moguće primenjenolingvističke implikacije onoga što je dosad rečeno o sinonimima, s težištem stavljenim na leksikografiju i nastavu srpskog jezika. Implikacije su u znaku lajtmotiva ovog izlaganja – 'isto ali ipak različito' i imaju suštinski isti zajednički motiv i cilj, a to je da se počne graditi i razvijati osmišljena upotreba sinonima u srpskom jeziku. O njima ovom prilikom biće govora u kratkim crtama.



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### 13.6.1. Implikacije u leksikografiji

U ovom domenu potrebno bi bilo sastaviti rečnik diferenciranih sinonima srpskog jezika, u kojem bi bila sagledana pojedinačna komunikativna i upotrebna vrednost svih značenjski sličnih reči u njegovom leksičkom fondu i u kojem bi se, uz ostalo, moglo tačno saznati šta sve podrazumeva kada se neka devojka opiše kao *lepa, zgodna, privlačna, ljupka, atraktivna* ili *glamurozna*, ili koja je razlika između prideva *nezakonit, protivzakonit, nelegalan* i *ilegalan*, ili između imenica *nadležnost, ingerencija, kompetencija* i *jurisdikcija*, ili između glagola *vikati, vrištati, cičati, urlati, urlikati* i *derati se*.

Rečnički članak bio bi organizovan grozdasto, na principu hiposinonimije (up. Prćić 2018), pri čemu bi glavnu odrednicu činio neobeleženi, i opšti, hipersinonim, poput glagola *promeniti*, a njene pododrednice bili bi obeleženi, i specifični, kohiposinonimi, poput *izmeniti, preinačiti, prepraviti, preobratiti, preobraziti, modifikovati, transformisati*. U sklopu mikrostrukture, za svaku glavnu odrednicu bila bi data oznaka njene morfosintaktičke klase (vrste reči) i kratka definicija konkretnog značenja, dok bi se za pododrednice, prvo, davale diferencijalne definicije sročene tako da svaka počinje glavnom odrednicom a nastavlja se svojstvima po kojima se semantički i/ili stilistički razlikuje od tog značenja; i, drugo, davali bi se autentični ilustrativni primeri u punoj rečenici, odabrani iz elektronskog korpusa.

Kako bi realizacija ovako zamišljene mikrostrukture izgledala u praksi biće pokazano na Ilustraciji 11, na šablonu rečničkog članka primenjenog na oglednu hipersinonimsku odrednicu *promeniti* i njene kohiposinonimne pododrednice (u četvrtastim zagradama prikazani su podaci koji će u samom rečniku biti konkretizovani).



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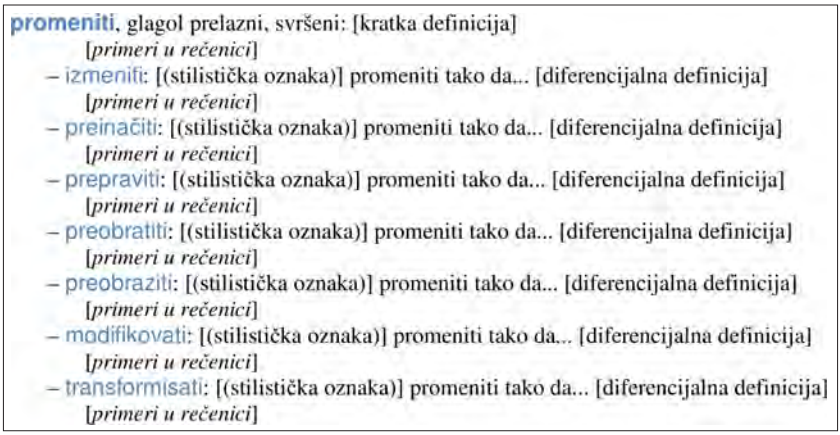


Ilustracija 11: šablon rečničkog članka za odrednicu *promeniti*

Da bi se obezbedila što veća objektivnost i verodostojnost diferenciranja, a izbegao subjektivni, intuitivni i impresionistički pristup (na koji ni ova rasprava ponegde nije bila sasvim imuna), kao korpus za istraživanje i opisivanje ponašanja sinonima u konkretnim kontekstima mogao bi da posluži *Korpus savremenog srpskog jezika*,[51] kao i srpska komponenta, s 12 raspoloživih segmenata, korpusa aktuelnog srpskog jezika, besplatno dostupnog u okviru evropskog projekta *CLARIN* (tj. *Common Language Resources and Technology Infrastructure*).[52] Najobimniji njegov segment, *Serbian Web*, u trenutku pisanja ovog teksta, leto 2024, ima preko 2,3 milijarde jedinica. Svim segmentima srpskog korpusa može se pristupiti preko besplatne verzije pretraživača *No Sketch Engine*, dok se kompleksnija ispitivanja mogu obavljati pomoću njegove moćnije, ali pretplati podložne, verzije *Sketch Engine*, koja, uz brojne nove i napredne mogućnosti, nudi i modul *Thesaurus*, namenjen upravo analizi ponašanja sinonima i drugih značenjski srodnih reči.[53]

[51] Adresa: http://www.korpus.matf.bg.ac.rs/prezentacija/korpus.html.

[52] Adrese: https://www.clarin.eu/content/clarin-nutshell, https://www.clarin.si/ske/, https://www.clarin.si/info/k-centre/faq4serbian/.

[53] Adrese: https://nlp.fi.muni.cz/trac/noske, https://www.sketchengine.eu/, https://www.sketchengine.eu/guide/thesaurus-synonyms-antonyms-similar-words/.



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No, pre svega toga, treba sastaviti iscrpan popis hiposinonimskih nizova, ili grozdova, koji bi predstavljali makrostrukturu budućeg rečnika diferenciranih sinonima. Kao odlično polazište za taj posao može poslužiti *Srpski rečnik sinonima* (Ćosić 2018), koji, u maniru klasičnog tezaurusa, donosi značenjski grupisane i azbučno uređene grupe sinonima, ali bez njihovog definisanja i diferenciranja.

### 13.6.2. Implikacije u nastavi srpskog jezika

U ovom domenu potrebno bi bilo da učenici, od viših razreda osnovne škole i tokom čitave srednje škole, a naročito na fakultetu, pre svega onima gde se izučavaju srpski jezik, lingvistika i književnost, saznaju da sinonimi *nisu* skup različitih formi 'istog ili sličnog značenja' koji se mehanički zamenjuju i smenjuju kao 'stilska zaliha' radi izbegavanja 'dosadnog ponavljanja' istih reči, nego su sinonimi *upravo suprotno*: skup različitih formi istog osnovnog značenja ali istovremeno i različitih pridruženih značenja, kojima se proširuje izražajni potencijal svakog jezika, pa tako i srpskog, ali i ljudi koji se tim jezikom, i jezicima, služe u govoru i pisanju – i to zato da ono što žele da saopšte to mogu učiniti živopisnije i/ili preciznije, a ne samo pukom mehaničkom zamenom i smenom drukčijih formi.

Kod ovakve obrade sinonima naglasak bi se morao nalaziti na tome kako se sinonimi međusobno razlikuju, ili mogu razlikovati, i kakve tačno nijanse u značenju svaki pojedini sinonim u konkretnom značenju sa sobom donosi. Da bi se ovo moglo postići u nastavnoj praksi, neophodno je uvesti sistematske vežbe iz oblasti bogaćenja rečnika učenika i studenata, počev od srednje škole, gde se maternji jezik, paradoksalno, neshvatljivo i nedopustivo, obrađuje uglavnom na nivou književnosti. Dug, složen i mukotrpan proces bogaćenja rečnika učenika i studenata, i negovanja njihove izražajnosti u govoru i pisanju, koji bi uključivao i smisaone odnose, ponajpre sinonime, ali i sve druge, a to su antonimi i hiponimi, pretpostavljao bi izradu odgovarajućih priručnika za nastavnike i radnih svezaka za učenike i studente,



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s ciljem da se, kroz raznovrsne, brižljivo osmišljene i razrađene tipove vežbanja, upoznaju s njima doskora gotovo sasvim nepoznatim, a neslućenim, izražajnim potencijalom srpskog jezika, a vremenom i da tim potencijalom ovladaju, kako pasivno tako i aktivno.

I tada bi se u jednom kratkom trenu nadahnuća, ako ne i prosvetljenja, možda dogodilo da uvide svu dubinu – semantičko-pragmatičku, stilističku i suštastvenu – popularne izreke *Ko razume, shvatiće*, gde se dva sinonima javljaju jedan pored drugog, baš kako treba – valjano diferencirani na formu, 'razumeti', i sadržinu, 'shvatiti', zorno potvrđujući da sinonimi svakako jesu ISTO ALI IPAK RAZLIČITO, i u teoriji, i u praksi. I da u jeziku, srpskom i svakom drugom, postoje zato da bi ih ljudi i razumeli, i shvatili. A i ukapirali. I valjano koristili u praksi.



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# 14. Frazne imenice u srpskom jeziku

Postoji u srpskom jeziku jedna kategorija leksičkih jedinica, čiji leksički status do sada nije eksplicitno i sistemski bio prepoznat i priznat u leksikološkoj teoriji i leksikografskoj praksi. Radi se o jedinicama tipa *roditeljski sastanak, vršilac dužnosti, prašak za pecivo* i *đak prvak*, koje su po svojoj strukturi sintagme, ali se po većini ostalih svojstava približavaju rečima. Stoga one predstavljaju hibridne jedinice, u isto vreme i sintagme i reči, čiju suštinu najadekvatnije odslikava termin FRAZNA LEKSEMA ili FRAZNA REČ (i same u toj leksičkoj kategoriji). Termin je stvoren po uzoru na englesko *phrasal lexeme* (Jackson 2002; Lipka 2002; Lyons 1977), a distinkcija u srpskom između osnovnih termina 'fraza' i 'sintagma' odražava suštinsku razliku, jer se sintagma, prema ovom viđenju, odnosi na gramatičku jedinicu i otuda je paralelna s reči kao oblikom, dok se fraza tiče leksičke jedinice i otuda je paralelna s reči kao leksemom (up. Prćić 2016).

U tom smislu, FRAZNA LEKSEMA, ili FRAZNA REČ, može se definisati kao **hibridna leksička jedinica, koja je formalno (tj. grafološki, fonološki i morfosintaktički) realizovana kao sintagma, ali se u pogledu funkcije, sadržine i upotrebe ponaša kao reč** (Prćić 2016: 162). Međutim, s obzirom na činjenicu da frazne lekseme iz grupe koja se posmatra ovde, gotovo bez izuzetka, vrše funkciju imenice, njih bi prikladnije kvalifikovao termin 'frazna imenica', pošto je termin 'frazna leksema' opštiji i obuhvatniji, i natkrovljuje sve vrste idiomatizovanih leksičkih jedinica, glagolskih i bezglagolskih, koje se mogu svrstati u frazeologizme, odn. idiome (up. Prćić 2016: Pogl. 8). Zato će nadalje ovakve leksičke jedinice biti nazivane preciznijim terminom FRAZNE IMENICE.



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U nastavku, frazne imenice biće podrobnije opisane i ilustrovane s aspekta njihove forme, funkcije, sadržine i upotrebe, a zatim će biti ukazano na neke leksikološke i leksikografske implikacije koje ova leksička kategorija sa sobom donosi. Teorijsko-metodološki okvir za opis leksema, fraznih leksema i fraznih imenica oslanja se na definicije i tumačenja u *Semantici i pragmatici reči* (Prćić 2016: Pogl. 4 i 8), dok su oblici i značenja pojedinačnih reči proveravana u *Rečniku srpskoga jezika* (Nikolić 2018). Korpus za ovo istraživanje, u nedostatku celovitog ili bar delimičnog popisa fraznih imenica u srpskom jeziku, sastavljen je na temelju primera iz autorovog sistematskog i nesistematskog beleženja primera u opštim, novinskim i stručnim tekstovima u štampanim i elektronskim izvorima. Uprkos nepotpunosti, selektivnosti i subjektivnosti ovako formiranog korpusa, smatra se da je bezmalo 1000 prikupljenih jedinica dovoljno za izvođenje osnovnih pravilnosti i tendencija, dok bi sveobuhvatnija i iscrpnija analiza svakako zahtevala obimniji i reprezentativniji korpus.

Rasprava će se baviti opštim svojstvima fraznih imenica, strukturnim obrascima fraznih imenica, specifičnim svojstvima fraznih imenica, te leksikološkim i leksikografskim implikacijama opisanih pojava.

## 14.1. Opšta svojstva fraznih imenica

Sintagme koje realizuju frazne imenice, kako se i iz početna četiri primera može videti, tipično čine spoj dveju punoznačnih, ili semantičkih, reči, najčešće u klasi imenica i prideva. Pitanja na koja sada treba odgovoriti jesu šta frazne imenice čini nalik sintagmama, a šta ih čini nalik rečima.

Bliskim sintagmama frazne imenice čine tri opšta formalna svojstva:

- prvo, to je GRAFOLOGIJA/ORTOGRAFIJA, tj. njihov pisani oblik, budući da se sve reči koje ulaze u sastav fraznih imenica pišu odvojeno jedna od druge, onako kako je svojstveno sintagmama,



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- drugo, to je FONOLOGIJA, tj. njihov izgovorni oblik, budući da su sve punoznačne reči koje ulaze u sastav fraznih imenica akcentovane posebno, onako kako je svojstveno sintagmama, pri čemu jedna od reči u tom spoju biva izgovorena s istaknutijim akcentom – u običnom, neutralnom i nekontrastnom kontekstu, to je poslednja reč u nizu, kao u primerima *roditeljski sastanak, vršilac dužnosti, prašak za pecivo* i *đak prvak*, u kojima su istaknutije reči *sastanak, dužnosti, pecivo* i *prvak*, i
- treće, to je MORFOLOGIJA, tj. njihova struktura, budući da sve reči koje ulaze u sastav fraznih imenica čine jedinstvenu sintagmu, koja je i formalno i sadržinski uveliko prerasla u kolokaciju, tj. u „uobičajen, a ponekad i redovan, dvočlani spoj jedne lekseme s nekom drugom, po pravilu unutar određene sintaktičke jedinice" (Prćić 2016: 149).

S druge strane, frazne imenice bliskim rečima čine sledeća tri opšta svojstva:

- prvo, to je GRAMATIKA, tj. njihova morfosintaktička funkcija, budući da frazne imenice, kao celina, gotovo bez izuzetka, u rečenici nastupaju kao imenice, na poziciji subjekta (npr. *Šef Katedre je odsutan.*), objekta (npr. *Jedem samo crni hleb.*) ili odredbe (npr. *Čekaću te ispred muzičke škole.*), onako kako je svojstveno rečima u klasi imenica,
- drugo, to je SEMANTIKA, tj. njihovo jedinstveno deskriptivno značenje, budući da frazne imenice, kao celina, imenuju i/ili upućuju na jedinstven denotat, tj. klasu vanjezičkih entiteta – ljudi, predmeta, mesta, osobina, procesa i aktivnosti izvan jezičkog sistema, onako kako je svojstveno rečima, polimorfemskim i monomorfemskim, što ujedno podrazumeva postojanje celovitog i jedinstvenog značenja fraznih imenica, koje je određeno dijagnostičkim obeležjima smisla i formulisano u okviru jedinstvene rečničke definicije, poput 'osoba koja privremeno obavlja neku odgovornu funkciju' za fraznu imenicu *vršilac dužnosti*, i
- treće, to je PRAGMATIKA, tj. njihova samostalna upotreba, budući da frazne imenice, kao celina, mogu biti upotre-



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bljene samostalno, onako kako je svojstveno rečima, bilo da čine deo šireg iskaza (npr. *Upoznao sam Princezu od Velsa*.), bilo da one same čine zaokružen iskaz (npr. *Ko je ovo? – Princeza od Velsa*.).

## 14.2. Strukturni obrasci fraznih imenica

Kako je već konstatovano, sintagme koje realizuju frazne imenice prerasle su u kolokacije, koje čine formalnu i sadržinsku celinu dvaju međuuslovljenih kolokata, punoznačnih reči u njihovom sastavu. Ti kolokati nalaze se u hijerarhijskom odnosu, pri čemu jedan, koji se naziva PRIMARNIM KOLOKATOM, čini težište kolokacije i glavni je nosilac značenja, dok ga onaj drugi, koji se naziva SEKUNDARNIM KOLOKATOM, pobliže određuje ili opisuje (up. Prćić 2016: Pogl. 8); na primer, u fraznoj imenici *crni hleb* primarni kolokat je imenica *hleb*, a sekundarni je pridev *crni* i on bliže određuje i precizira vrstu hleba. Oba kolokata ispoljavaju uzajamnu privlačnost, koja je snažnija iz smera primarnog kolokata, *hleb*, pošto nameravano značenje celine, u smislu date vrste hleba, bez sekundarnog kolokata, *crni*, nije ni ostvarivo, ni moguće. Zbog čvrste formalne i sadržinske međupovezanosti primarnog i sekundarnog kolokata u ovakvim konstrukcijama, kao i zbog njihove funkcije imenovanja i/ili upućivanja na jedinstvenu klasu vanjezičkih entiteta, može se ustvrditi da sintagme koje realizuju frazne imenice nisu obične kolokacije, poput *lepa žena, nesnosna vrućina* ili *žučna rasprava*, nego LEKSIKALIZOVANE KOLOKACIJE, čija su ih bitna svojstva približila rečima i time im obezbedila izvestan LEKSIČKI, ili, tačnije, LEKSEMSKI, STATUS.

Funkcijski i sadržinski posmatrano, frazne imenice su BINARNE ENDOCENTRIČNE KONSTRUKCIJE i po tome su najbliže, ako ne i analogne, jednoj kategoriji 'pravih' reči – polusloženičkim imenicama (up. Hlebec 1996; Klajn 2003; Pešikan, Jerković i Pižurica 2010; Petrovački i Štasni 2009), tipa *paradajz-čorba, taksi-stanica* i *pres-konferencija*. Potonje leksičke jedinice, kako i primeri pokazuju, sastavljene su od dve koordinirane osnove, koje su u pisanju povezane crticom. Endocentričnost polusloženica ogleda



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se u tome što druga, odn. desna, osnova tipično, ili prototipski, predstavlja morfosintaktički i semantički CENTAR, ili NUKLEUS, čitave konstrukcije, smešten unutar nje same (otuda i naziv 'endocentričnost'), a prva, odn. leva, osnova nastupa kao njegov MODIFIKATOR. Pri tome, centar je deklinabilan, dok se modifikator, čak i ako je teorijski deklinabilan, uvek javlja u istom, nepromenjenom obliku, u nominativu jednine; u primeru *paradajz-čorba*, centar je osnova *čorba*, a njen modifikator osnova *paradajz*. U ovakvim rečima centar obavlja najmanje tri funkcije (o različitim aspektima leksičke endocentričnosti videti Bauer 1983; Halupka Rešetar i Lalić Krstin 2009; Plag 2018; Prćić 2007; Rakić 2001; Williams 1981):

- prvo, centar određuje morfosintaktička svojstva čitave reči, tj. morfosintaktičku klasu reči kojoj ona pripada i, ako se radi o imenici, njen rod, broj i padež, pa tako u reči *paradajz-čorba*, centar *čorba* ukazuje na to da se reč nalazi u klasi imenica, da je ženskog roda, da je u jednini i da je u nominativu,
- drugo, u cilju promene po padežima, flektivni nastavci u polusloženicama dodaju se samo na centar, ali se odnose na čitavu reč (*paradajz-čorbe, paradajz-čorbi*, itd.), a u cilju izvođenja novih reči, leksički sufiksi takođe se dodaju samo na centar (*pres-konferencijski* prema *pres-konferencija*), i
- treće, centar uspostavlja odnos hiponimije između sebe i čitave reči (centar *čorba* je hiperonim, a *paradajz-čorba* njegov hiponim), i na taj način endocentrična reč javlja se kao ime vrste, ili podvrste, onoga što je izraženo centrom (*paradajz-čorba* je vrsta *čorbe*).

Kada je reč o endocentričnosti fraznih imenica, očigledne su paralele s polusloženičkim imenicama, te uočljiva korelacija između, s jedne strane, primarnog kolokata, koji je uvek imenica i koji nastupa kao centar konstrukcije, i, s druge strane, sekundarnog kolokata, koji nastupa kao modifikator centra, što pokazuju i četiri ranije pominjana primera *roditeljski sastanak, vršilac dužnosti, prašak za pecivo* i *đak prvak*, mada ovde centar ne mora



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nužno biti druga osnova, kao što je kod polusloženica. Uprkos tome, centar i kod fraznih imenica određuje morfosintaktička svojstva čitave konstrukcije; u primeru *prašak za pecivo*, centar *prašak* pokazuje da konstrukcija pripada klasi imenica, da je muškog roda, da je u jednini i da je u nominativu. Drugo, deklinacija čitave konstrukcije i dodavanje flektivnih nastavaka i leksičkih sufiksa ne moraju nužno biti vezani samo za centar, o čemu će biti govora uskoro. I treće, i kod fraznih imenica centar uspostavlja odnos hiponimije između sebe i čitave konstrukcije (*prašak za pecivo* je vrsta *praška, roditeljski sastanak* je vrsta *sastanka*, itd.), pa tako frazna imenica služi kao ime jedinstvene klase vanjezičkih entiteta.

U fraznim imenicama modifikacija može biti realizovana na jedan od četiri raspoloživa načina. Pozicija centra i tip njegove modifikacije zajedno uobličavaju strukturne obrasce fraznih imenica, koji će u nastavku biti predstavljeni, uz opis njihovih glavnih karakteristika i izbor strukturno i sadržinski reprezentativnih ilustrativnih primera.

### 14.2.1. Obrazac 1: tip *roditeljski sastanak*

Sa strukturom 'PRIDEV + IMENICA', funkciju centra vrši imenica, a funkciju njenog modifikatora pridev, koji po svom morfološkom sastavu može biti prost (Podtip 1.1), izveden sufiksima *-n/-ni, -ski* i *-čki* (1.2), popridevljeni glagolski prilog sadašnji i pridev izveden od glagolske osnove na *-ći* (1.3), glagolski pridev trpni na *-n/-ni* (1.4), prisvojni pridev na *-ov, -ev* i *-in* (1.5) i složeni pridev (1.6). Svi ovi pridevi nastupaju u svom određenom vidu. Oblička distinkcija s neodređenim vidom prepoznaje se, doduše, samo u muškom rodu, i to kod većine prostih prideva, tipa *brz* prema *brzi*, te u izvedenim pridevima, tipa *redovan* prema *redovni* i *nepisan* prema *nepisani*. Deklinaciji združeno podležu i centar i modifikator (*roditeljskog sastanka, roditeljskom sastanku*, itd.). U ovom obrascu modifikacija je ostvarena determinativnom funkcijom prideva, koji je ovde premodifikator, kao u primerima:



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Podtip 1.1 – morfološki prosti pridevi:

· aleva paprika
· Badnji dan
· Bela kuća
· brzi voz
· Crveni krst
· kiseli kupus
· kognitivna lingvistika
· kratki spoj
· mala matura
· mladi krompir
· sigurna kuća
· slepi miš
· strani jezik
· veliki prasak
· viši lektor

Podtip 1.2 – izvedeni pridevi na *-n/-ni*, *-ski* i *-čki*:

· glavni grad
· glavni i odgovorni urednik
· godišnji odmor
· jetrena pašteta
· Južna Afrika
· mlazni avion
· neradni dan
· pravna država
· redovni profesor
· saborna crkva
· svetlosna godina
· atomska bomba
· bezgajtanski telefon
· daljinski upravljač
· filozofski fakultet
· gradska kuća
· hemijska olovka
· morski pas
· nebesko telo
· stilski nameštaj
· svemirski brod
· vremenska prognoza
· đačka knjižica
· optičko tražilo
· pešački prelaz

Podtip 1.3 – glagolski prilozi sadašnji i izvedeni pridevi na *-ći*:

· kupaći kostim
· samofinansirajući student
· šivaća mašina
· tekući račun
· žvakaća guma

Podtip 1.4 – glagolski pridevi trpni na *-n/-ni*:

· crtani film
· diplomirani filolog
· nepisani zakon
· preporučeno pismo
· zaštićeni svedok

Podtip 1.5 – prisvojni pridevi na *-ov*, *-ev* i *-in*:

· Dušanov zakonik
· jabukovo sirće
· Molotovljev koktel
· Nobelova nagrada
· Pitagorina teorema

Podtip 1.6 – složeni pridevi:

· brakorazvodna parnica
· dugometražni film
· slatkovodna riba
· nastavno-naučno veće
· prirodno-matematički fakultet



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Od sva četiri raspoloživa obrasca, ovaj je daleko najproduktivniji i najfrekventniji, s približno dve trećine zastupljenosti uzoraka u korpusu, zbog čega je i broj njegovih primera ovde dvaput veći nego za ostale obrasce. U vezi s ovim obrascem potrebno je istaknuti i nekolike posebnosti:

- prvo, iako se pridevi, kao modifikatori, javljaju u određenom vidu, zabeležen je mali broj primera u neodređenom vidu – *gotov novac*, *sitan novac* i *visok pritisak*, koji predstavljaju izuzetke (ostale upotrebe neodređenog vida, poput *kiseo kupus, kratak spoj, mlad krompir, neradan dan, redovan profesor, Velik petak*, na koje se često nailazi u nepažljivom svakodnevnom govoru, ne mogu se smatrati standardnima),
- drugo, zabeleženi su vrlo retki slučajevi kada pridev imenici koju modifikuje ne prethodi, nego je sledi, kao u primerima: *prilog sadašnji, prilog prošli* i *Matica srpska*, koji takođe predstavljaju izuzetke i u kojima je pridev postmodifikator,
- treće, iako su modifikatori najčešće jednočlani, ponekad mogu biti i dvočlani, jer se sastoje od dva prideva, spojena veznikom *i*, čija su značenja prvenstveno vanjezički povezana, kao u primeru *glavni i odgovorni urednik*; dvočlani, pa i tročlani, modifikatori javljaju se i u naredna dva obrasca, što će se videti u primerima niže,
- četvrto, postoji mogućnost izvođenja složenih prideva od ovog tipa fraznih imenica, koji po pravilu sadrže spojni vokal *-o-*, kao u: *hladnoratovski, južnoafrički, kognitivnolingvistički, kosovskomitrovički* (uzgred, rasprostranjeni oblik *(-)mitrovački* izveden je od osnove *Mitrovac*, a ne *Mitrovica*), *niskobudžetni, novogodišnji, novosadski, prvomajski, srednjovekovni, visokoškolski*; neki od tih prideva mogu se pojaviti kao modifikatori u novim fraznim imenicama, kako pokazuju i pojedini primeri Podtipa 1.6 gore, i
- peto, i poslednje, treba pomenuti i jednu zanimljivu pojavu, motivisanu jezičkom ekonomijom, a to je mogućnost skraćivanja ovog tipa fraznih imenica tvorbenim postupkom elipsacije, koja se sastoji u tome da se iz strukture frazne imenice (npr. *hemijska olovka*) briše,



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tj. eliptira, imenički centar (*olovka*), dok zadržani pridevski modifikator (*hemijska*) postupkom konverzije prelazi u imenicu, koja zatim, postupkom inkorporacije dijagnostičkih obeležja smisla eliptiranog centra, poprima novo i obogaćeno značenje (up. Prćić 2016, Pogl. 13 u ovoj knjizi).

Kao rezultat ovog morfosemantičkog postupka, imenica *hemijska* postaje više ili manje neformalan sinonim frazne imenice *hemijska olovka* (up. *Gde mi je hemijska olovka?* prema *Gde mi je hemijska?*). Primera ovakve sinonimije prilično je mnogo, a ustaljenima se, u neobaveznim kontekstima, mogu smatrati sledeći najčešći: *autobuska (stanica), crtani (film), daljinski (upravljač), domaći (zadatak), fiksni (telefon), generalni (direktor), godišnji (odmor), kisela (voda), kupaći (kostim), mobilni (telefon), polubeli (hleb), poslovni (voz), povratna (karta), prijemni (ispit), roditeljski (sastanak), seminarski (rad), tekući (račun), turska (kafa), vozačka (dozvola), žvakaća (guma)*; u ostala tri obrasca elipsacija se javlja krajnje ograničeno, u minimalnom broju primera i, za sada, nema sistemski karakter.

### 14.2.2. Obrazac 2: tip *vršilac dužnosti*

Sa strukturom ‘IMENICA$_1$ + IMENICA$_2$ U ZAVISNOM PADEŽU’, funkciju centra vrši prva/leva imenica, a funkciju njenog modifikatora druga/desna imenica, koja može biti u genitivu jednine (Podtip 2.1), ili u genitivu množine (2.2), a retko u instrumentalu jednine (2.3), ili u instrumentalu množine (2.4). Deklinaciji podleže samo centar, dok modifikator kroz celu paradigmu zadržava svoj nepromenjeni početni oblik (*vršioca dužnosti, vršiocu dužnosti*, itd.). U ovom obrascu modifikacija je ostvarena determinativnom funkcijom imenice u zavisnom padežu, koja je ovde postmodifikator, kao u primerima:



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Podtip 2.1 – druga imenica u genitivu jednine:

· davalac krvi
· film strave i užasa
· griža savesti
· izlazak Sunca
· kapetan fregate
· lupanje srca
· ministar prosvete
· načelnik generalštaba
· paljenje badnjaka
· pomoćnik direktora
· potres mozga
· predsednik vlade
· prognoza vremena
· razvod braka
· red vožnje
· skupština opštine
· šef države
· tok svesti
· vladavina prava
· vozač autobusa

Podtip 2.2 – druga imenica u genitivu množine:

· akademija umetnosti
· Dan žena
· doktor nauka
· igra reči
· nosač aviona
· otpravnik poslova
· sajam knjiga
· upala mišića

Podtip 2.3 – druga imenica u instrumentalu jednine:

· štrajk glađu
· štrajk sedenjem

Podtip 2.4 – druga imenica u instrumentalu množine:

· igra rečima

### 14.2.3. Obrazac 3: tip *prašak za pecivo*

Sa strukturom 'IMENICA$_1$ + PREDLOG + IMENICA$_2$', funkciju centra vrši prva/leva imenica, a funkciju njenog modifikatora druga/desna imenica, koja je s prvom ulančana pomoću veznog predloga, često namenskog *za* (Podtip 3.1), ili nekim drugim veznim predlogom (3.2). Deklinaciji podleže samo centar, dok modifikator kroz celu paradigmu zadržava svoj nepromenjeni početni oblik (*praška za pecivo, prašku za pecivo*, itd.). U ovom obrascu modifikacija je ostvarena determinativnom funkcijom imenice u predloškoj sintagmi, koja je ovde postmodifikator, kao u primerima:



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Podtip 3.1 – vezni predlog *za*:

· aparat za brijanje
· četkica za zube
· čokolada za jelo i kuvanje
· konferencija za štampu
· lak za kosu
· naočare za sunce
· odsek za anglistiku
· pribor za jelo
· prodekan za nastavu
· specijalista za uho, nos i grlo

Podtip 3.2 – ostali vezni predlozi:

· brat od tetke
· burek sa sirom
· čaj od kamilice
· film u boji
· kafa s mlekom
· losion posle brijanja
· lovac na jelene
· mleko u prahu
· odnosi s javnošću
· peć na naftu
· Petrovac na Mlavi
· prijatelj preko pisma
· princeza od Velsa
· put oko sveta
· rad na crno
· saradnik u nastavi
· sveska na kocke
· ubistvo s predumišljajem
· ugovor o delu
· vlada u ostavci

### 14.2.4. Obrazac 4: tip *đak prvak*

Sa strukturom 'IMENICA$_1$ + IMENICA$_2$', funkciju centra vrši prva/leva imenica, a funkciju njenog modifikatora druga/desna imenica. Deklinaciji združeno podležu i centar i modifikator (*đaka prvaka, đaku prvaku*, itd.). U ovom obrascu modifikacija je ostvarena determinativnom funkcijom druge imenice, koja je ovde postmodifikator, kao u primerima:

· asistent pripravnik
· automobil bomba
· Bogorodica trojeručica
· bombaš samoubica
· brat blizanac
· čovek žaba
· jezik davalac
· kamen temeljac
· koka nosilja
· kraljica majka
· krava muzara
· kukuruz šećerac
· kule bliznakinje
· luk srebrnjak
· pas lutalica
· pasulj prebranac
· pčela radilica
· pita zeljanica
· ptica pevačica
· putnik namernik
· reka ponornica
· ruža puzavica
· sin jedinac
· sudija krivičar
· suze radosnice
· svedok saradnik
· svetac zaštitnik
· šljiva ranka
· zmija otrovnica
· zvezda petokraka



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### 14.2.5. Kombinovani obrasci

Pored opisana četiri osnovna obrasca, pomoću kojih se stvaraju frazne imenice proste binarne strukture, postoje i frazne imenice složene binarne strukture, nastale uzastopnom primenom najmanje dvaju osnovnih obrazaca, istih ili različitih. Njihovo delovanje hijerarhijski je ustrojeno, tako da u višu i otuda složeniju, strukturu biva ugnežđena niža i otuda prostija, struktura, u svojstvu modifikatora. Primeri koji slede imaju dvostruku binarnu strukturu (u četvrtastim zagradama nalaze se ugnežđene strukture, proizvodi Obrazaca 1, 2 i 3):

primenjen Obrazac 1:

· bicikl s [pomoćnim motorom]
· čista [runska vuna]
· Drugi [svetski rat]
· epska [narodna poezija]
· glagolski [prilog sadašnji]
· najmanji [zajednički imenilac]
· nastavnik [razredne nastave]
· neidentifikovani [leteći objekat]
· obeleženi [pešački prelaz]
· porez na [dodatnu vrednost]
· slobodna [carinska zona]
· srednja [muzička škola]
· sveska na [francuske kocke]
· teška [telesna povreda]
· viši [naučni saradnik]

primenjen Obrazac 2:

· aparat za [gašenje požara]
· dobrovoljni [davalac krvi]
· doktor [lingvističkih nauka]
· ministarstvo [spoljnih poslova]

primenjen Obrazac 3:

· produženi [espreso s mlekom]

Kurioziteta radi, treba pomenuti i to da primenom kombinovanih obrazaca mogu nastati i znatno kompleksnije frazne imenice, s višestrukom binarnom strukturom, koje su ilustrovane sledećim primerima, ali oni ovom prilikom neće biti morfološki analizirani:



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Univerzitetski centar za interdisciplinarne i multidisciplinarne studije i istraživanja
Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo Velike Britanije i Severne Irske

## 14.3. Specifična svojstva fraznih imenica

Pošto su prikazani svi raspoloživi strukturni obrasci fraznih imenica, ostaje još da se razmotre i njihova ranije najavljena specifična svojstva, i to ona strukturna i sadržinska. Na početku prethodnog odeljka istaknuto je da sintagme koje realizuju frazne imenice nisu samo obične kolokacije, nego leksikalizovane kolokacije i da imaju izvestan leksemski status, koji su im obezbedila svojstva tipična za reči – morfosintaktička funkcija (u ovom slučaju imenička), jedinstveno značenje i samostalna upotreba. Isto tako je rečeno da frazne imenice spadaju u kategoriju fraznih reči, idiomatizovanih leksičkih jedinica koje se nalaze u kategoriji idioma. Iz potonje okolnosti sledi zaključak da frazne imenice nisu samo leksikalizovane, nego i IDIOMATIZOVANE KOLOKACIJE, pri čemu prirodu i stepen njihove idiomatizovanosti združeno uslovljavaju tri činioca – zamenljivost, postojanost i prozirnost (up. Prćić 2016: Pogl. 8). Upravo ova tri činioca predstavljaju pominjana specifična strukturna i sadržinska svojstva fraznih imenica, koja će sada detaljnije biti objašnjena.

(1) Činilac ZAMENLJIVOSTI odnosi se na mogućnost zamene pojedinih reči unutar datog spoja drugim rečima srodnog ili istog značenja. Kod najvećeg broja fraznih imenica ovakve zamene su nemoguće, bez promene nameravanog sadržaja, a slučajeve zamenljivosti dveju – ili, krajnje retko, triju – reči, u primerima poput *bežični telefon* prema *bezgajtanski telefon*, *mineralna voda* prema *kisela voda*, *nuklearna centrala* prema *nuklearna elektrana*, *doktorska disertacija* prema *doktorska teza*, *ministar spoljnih poslova* prema *ministar inostranih poslova*, *kanta za đubre* prema *kanta za smeće* prema *kanta za otpatke*, ili tvorbenih oblika iste



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osnove, u primerima poput *konjske trke* prema *konjičke trke*, ili gramatičkih oblika iste osnove, u primerima poput *igra rečima* prema *igra reči*, sve njih treba smatrati izuzecima, koji, uz to, stupaju u smisaoni odnos sinonimije.

(2) Činilac POSTOJANOSTI odnosi se na mogućnost podvrgavanja datog spoja transformacijama i/ili modifikacijama forme. Kod fraznih imenica uopšte uočava se visok stepen postojanosti, koji se ispoljava jedino u teorijskoj mogućnosti inverzije centra i modifikatora, poput *crni luk* prema *luk crni*, *zalazak Sunca* prema *Sunca zalazak, čaj od kamilice* prema *od kamilice čaj* i *ptica pevačica* prema *pevačica ptica*. U praksi, međutim, ovakve inverzije, kojima se postiže tematska reorganizacija spoja, ako se i dogode, imaju prvenstveno stilske efekte – najčešće poetske ili humorističke i, nešto ređe, birokratske. Potonji se vezuju za azbučne ili abecedne spiskove robe u prodavnicama, u kojima pridev u spoju s imenicom (Obrazac 1), iz nekog razloga, obično sledi tu imenicu: *hleb beli, hleb polubeli, hleb crni*, itd.

Druge modifikacije, kao što je unošenje dodatnih reči u strukturu fraznih imenica, poput *crni i ljuti luk, zalazak rumenog Sunca, vrući čaj od fine kamilice*, te *ptica pevačica i plesačica*, nisu moguće, jer bi se na taj način izvršila deleksikalizacija i dezidiomatizacija fraznih imenica, čime bi se one svele na obične kolokacije koje predstavljaju opis, svojstven sintagmama, a ne ime, svojstveno rečima. Izuzetak čine ulančavanja dveju ili više fraznih imenica, koje se nalaze u istom leksičkom polju, koje imaju isti centar i koji je u takvim slučajevima moguće izostaviti, kao u primerima: *Treba da se podsetite glagolskih prideva radnih i trpnih., Imam i debitnu i kreditnu karticu., Možete jesti crni, polubeli ili beli hleb., Želiš li čaj od kamilice ili od lipe?, Glasaju redovni, ali ne i vanredni profesori.* U nešto ređim slučajevima, frazne imenice dele isti modifikator, koji se prilikom ulančavanja može izostaviti, kao u primerima: *Uživali smo u izlascima i zalascima Sunca., Došli su i advokati i sudije krivičari.* Mogućnost inverzije i unošenja dodatnih reči delom su uporedivi s kriterijumima unutrašnje kohezije i neprekidljivosti,



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koji (zajedno s trećim kriterijumom, pozicionom pokretljivošću) služe za utvrđivanje statusa reči (up. Bauer 1983, 2003a; Lyons 1968), što potvrđuje leksikalizovanost fraznih imenica i učvršćuje njihov hibridni status.

(3) Činilac PROZIRNOSTI odnosi se na stepen predvidljivosti značenja datog spoja, na osnovu zbira značenja elemenata u njegovom sastavu, a ovde su to primarni i sekundarni kolokat, odn. centar i modifikator. Značenje znatnog broja fraznih imenica sasvim je ili uglavnom prozirno, pa se relativno lako može odgonetnuti i protumačiti uz pomoć odgovarajućeg jezičkog (rečeničnog) i vanjezičkog (situacionog) konteksta. No, u nekim fraznim imenicama, naročito u spojevima prideva i imenice (Obrazac 1), prozirnost slabi, u većoj ili manjoj meri, ukoliko se jedan od elemenata javlja u prenesenom smislu, metaforičkom ili metonimijskom, i/ili se, u sklopu INKREMENTACIJE, dodaju dijagnostička obeležja na predvidljivi smisao, kao u primerima: *belo vino, crni luk, crno vino, dragi kamen, kisela voda, narodni hleb, produženi espreso, slepi putnik, velika matura, vlada u senci*. Ukoliko se oba elementa javljaju u prenesenom smislu, neretko u sklopu DEKREMENTACIJE, tj. zamene jednog skupa dijagnostičkih obeležja smisla drugim skupom, čitav spoj postaje potpuno neproziran, kao u primerima: *Bela kuća, bela vrana, bračni trougao, crna ovca, druga violina, duga cev, javna kuća, leteći tanjir, ležeći policajac, Molotovljev koktel, narodna kuhinja, okrugli sto, švedski sto, topovsko meso, Trojanski konj* (o različitim aspektima značenja polimorfemskih reči, uključujući i njihovu prozirnost, videti Prćić 2016: Pogl. 5, Pogl. 8-9 u ovoj knjizi).

Iz ovog kratkog pregleda proističe da su frazne imenice, globalno, idiomatizovane pre svega po svojoj formi, a tek onda po svojoj sadržini. Ne treba posebno ni isticati da svaka frazna imenica ponaosob ispoljava sopstveni stepen formalne idiomatizacije, koju određuju zamenljivost i postojanost, i sadržinske idiomatizacije, koju određuje prozirnost.



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## 14.4. Leksikološke i leksikografske implikacije

Frazne imenice u srpskom jeziku, kao leksikalizovane i idiomatizovane kolokacije, nisu, naravno, nova pojava, ali prepoznavanje i priznavanje izvesnog njihovog leksičkog statusa, s nužnim leksikološkim i leksikografskim implikacijama jesu – ili bi bar trebalo da budu, tim pre što se ove jedinice, koje su dosad obično bile pominjane samo kao sintagme, što je, kako se sada vidi, za njih neprecizno i nepotpuno pojmovno-terminološko određenje, izuzetno često javljaju u jeziku, i to ne samo u opštoj i stručnoj upotrebi kao apelativne imenice, nego i kao nazivi funkcija i/ili titula (npr. *vanredni profesor, kapetan fregate, zamenik pomoćnika državnog sekretara*), kao institucionimi (npr. *Prirodno-matematički fakultet, Nezavisno društvo novinara Vojvodine, Institut za srpski jezik Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti*) i kao toponimi (npr. *Novi Sad, Sjedinjene Američke Države, Petrovac na moru*).

Što se tiče leksikoloških implikacija novopredložene leksičke kategorije, verovatno najznačajnija bila bi nova morfosintaktička klasifikacija leksičkih jedinica u srpskom jeziku. U glavnim crtama, ovde se predlaže klasifikacija u vidu skale leksičkih jedinica, na čijem se jednom kraju nalaze reči / lekseme, a na drugom idiomi. Reči, koje imaju pun leksički status, po svojoj strukturi mogu biti monomorfemske, tj. proste (npr. *brz*), i polimorfemske, tj. izvedene prefiksacijom (npr. *nerad*) ili sufiksacijom (npr. *pevač*), složene (npr. *suncokret*) i polusložene (npr. *paradajz-čorba*). Na reči se nastavljaju idiomi, koji imaju hibridni leksički status, pri čemu se na polusloženice naslanjaju frazne imenice, *roditeljski sastanak, vršilac dužnosti, prašak za pecivo* i *đak prvak*, a onda slede ostale frazne reči (npr. *kupiti mačku u džaku*), pa diskursne formule (npr. *Šta me briga!*), pa izreke (npr. *Ko rano rani dve sreće grabi.*) (up. Prćić 2016: Pogl. 8).

Najznačajnija leksikografska implikacija novopredložene kategorije fraznih imenica bila bi nesumnjivo njihova obrada u rečnicima. S obzirom na sve što je do sada rečeno, pitanje njihovog unošenja u opšte i specijalizovane rečnike, jednojezične i dvojezične, ne bi trebalo ni postavljati, jer bi dalje svođenje fra-



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znih imenica na sintagme, odn. na domen gramatike, kojoj nije mesto u rečniku i njihovo sledstveno leksikološko zaobilaženje i leksikografsko izostavljanje umnogome osiromašilo buduće rečnike i neopravdano umanjilo leksički fond srpskog jezika – ne samo kvantitativno, nego i kvalitativno. Ukratko, frazne imenice trebalo bi u rečnik unositi kao samostalne odrednice i davati im punu leksikografsku obradu, koja bi, naročito u pogledu formalnih svojstava, bila prilagođena njihovom hibridnom statusu. Druga mogućnost, ali samo druga i samo mogućnost, bila bi da se frazne imenice unose u rečnik kao pododrednice, u sklopu odrednice za primarni kolokat, uz skraćenu leksikografsku obradu i s unakrsnim upućivanjem od odrednice za sekundarni kolokat, radi postizanja boljeg uvida u celinu spoja. U oba slučaja frazne imenice imale bi dvostruko unakrsno upućivanje, sa primarnog i sa sekundarnog kolokata, prema odrednici u čijem je rečničkom članku data frazna imenica obrađena.

Međutim, pre svega toga, biće potrebno sačiniti celovit popis fraznih imenica i znatno ih sveobuhvatnije istražiti, na značajno većem elektronskom korpusu, po mogućstvu preko budućeg *Srpskog nacionalnog elektronskog korpusa* (*SNEK*) (up. Prćić 2018), ili nekog još obimnijeg, poput projekta *CLARIN*, opisanog u Pogl. 13 u ovoj knjizi, na osnovu čega bi se stekla preciznija slika o čitavom rasponu varijacija vezanih za njihovu formu, funkciju, sadržinu i upotrebu. Time bi se omogućila mnogo uspešnija i pouzdanija realizacija ovde tek naznačenih leksikoloških i leksikografskih implikacija novoprepoznate kategorije fraznih imenica.



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# 15. Akronimi u srpskom jeziku

U svakodnevnoj praksi srpskog jezika, oblici tipa *CeSID, RTS, GSP*, i sl., susrećemo se, i u pisanju, i u govoru, bezmalo u svakom tekstu u štampanim i elektronskim medijima, u velikoj većini stručnih tekstova, posebno u prirodnim naukama, u objavama na društvenim mrežama i u svakovrsnim mobilnim komunikacijama. Sveprisutnost ovakvih oblika očekivana je, neizbežna, ako ne i dobrodošla, u današnjem 'onlajnizovanom' svetu, u kojem se sve, kako izgleda, mora odvijati brzo i kratko, a najbolje što brže i što kraće, uključujući i sporazumevanje među ljudima. Pomenuti oblici, i stotine njima sličnih, umnogome olakšavaju i potpomažu to što brže i što kraće sporazumevanje – u svim jezicima, pa tako i u srpskom.

Ovi oblici u domaćoj teoriji i praksi tradicionalno se nazivaju i smatraju skraćenicama, kako u laičkoj, nelingvističkoj, upotrebi, tako i u onoj stručnoj, lingvističkoj, što pokazuje i nekoliko vrlo značajnih i korisnih deskriptivnih i preskriptivnih dužih i kraćih studija, koje se bave aspektima nastanka ovih oblika, njihovog pisanja i izgovora, njihove deklinacije i tvorbe novih reči, kao i njihovih značenja (up. Fekete 1990, 1994, 1995-1996; Marjanović 1995, 1999a, 1999b; Otašević 2011; Pervaz 1996; Simić 1979, 1990; Šipka 1990; Trajić 2016; Vujović 2020; Zbiljić 1997). Pored studija, ovim oblicima bave se, više ili manje iscrpno, i vodeći normativni priručnici (up. Ćupić, Fekete i Terzić 1996, 2002; Fekete 2008a, 2008b; Fekete, Terzić i Ćupić 2005; Ivić, Klajn, Pešikan i Brborić 2011; Klajn 2016; Pešikan, Jerković i Pižurica 2020), kao i specijalizovani rečnici (up. Otašević i Otašević 2010, 2011, 2012). I u studijama, i u priručnicima, i u rečnicima na ove



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oblike upućuje se gotovo redovno terminom 'skraćenice', uz nekoliko retkih izuzetaka upotrebe (i) termina 'verzalne skraćenice' (up. Jerković 1997; Pešikan, Jerković i Pižurica 2020; Zeljić 1997, 2020) i 'akronimi' (up. Prćić 2002, 2019a, 2023; Stojković 2008), uprkos tome što iz glavnine samih tekstova provejava, više ili manje direktno, da se te skraćenice ponašaju drukčije od skraćenica poput *ul., str., doc. dr, msr, km* i da stoga 'odoljivo' podsećaju na reči, koje, doduše, ponegde ponešto čudno izgledaju, pa se utoliko razlikuju od reči.

## 15.1. O čemu se zapravo radi?

U svakodnevnoj našoj jezičkoj praksi, pisanoj i govorenoj, na ove oblike nailazi se u svim zamislivim realizacijama – i u pisanju, i u izgovoru, i u gramatici, i u tvorbi novih reči. A ova kvalifikacija 'svim zamislivim' nije ni hiperbola, ni ironija, ni sarkazam, nego surov i sirov opis činjeničnog stanja stvari, u koje se svako može uveriti ciljanim i pažljivim praćenjem ovih oblika u domaćim medijima u rasponu od samo nedelju dana. Neće biti preterano reći da je upotreba ovih oblika van svake sumnje najnesređeniji i najhaotičniji segment svakodnevne jezičke prakse srpskog jezika, nesređeniji i haotičniji čak i od baratanja rečima i imenima iz stranih jezika, danas naročito iz engleskog (up. Prćić 2019a, 2023). Sveukupna upotreba ovih oblika, koja zaslužuje zasebno korpusno zasnovano višeslojno obimno istraživanje, nalazi se u znaku nasumičnog ukrštanja, čak i unutar jednog istog teksta jednog istog autora, poimanja ovih oblika kao skraćenica i poimanja ovih oblika kao reči, što dovodi do toga da se neki od ovih oblika menjaju po padežima, a neki ne; da se neki od njih izgovaraju u punom obliku, a neki u skraćenom; da se neki od potonjih izgovaraju s pratećim vokalima, neki bez pratećih vokala, neki po engleskim vrednostima slova, neki na dva načina, a neki na sva tri; da se dopune oblika sa skraćenim izgovorom u rečenici ponekad javljaju u broju i rodu u skladu sa samim tim oblikom, a ponekad u broju i rodu glavne imenice punog oblika; da se između osnove i flektivnih nastavaka i/ili tvorbenih sufiksa ponekad



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javlja crtica, a ponekad ne. Svi navedeni glavni, i još neki, tipovi upotrebe ovih oblika biće potkrepljeni konkretnim primerima u kasnijem izlaganju.

S delimičnim izuzetkom pisanja ovih oblika, najčešće verzalno, koje predstavlja kakvu-takvu invarijantnost, sve ostalo u realizaciji ovih oblika je varijantno i varijabilno, i koristi se nedosledno, onako kako ljudi – u datom trenutku – misle da treba, ili znaju da treba, ili misle da znaju da treba; a najčešće, nažalost, niti misle, niti znaju, zato što ih upotrebi ovih oblika niko nije ni učio, ni naučio. A onda, po starom, i lošem, običaju, kormilo preuzima stihijski 'nemarni funkcionalni stil' (up. Prćić 2019a), koji, u slučaju neshvatljivo proizvoljne upotrebe ovih oblika neshvaćenog identiteta i statusa, blista u punom sjaju.

Da bi se pomoglo u razrešavanju ove 'neshvatljivost prema neshvaćenost' dihotomije, bar davanjem početnog zamaha samom postupku, oblici poput *CeSID, RTS, GSP*, i mnogi drugi, u ovoj raspravi biće lingvistički sagledani, opisani i definisani, i to iz pragmatičko-funkcionalne perspektive, s ciljem da se utvrde njihova relevantna formalna i sadržinska svojstva, te da se ona uporede sa svojstvima i skraćenica i reči, čime bi se omogućilo pojmovno i terminološko razgraničenje, prvo, između ovih oblika i skraćenica, i, drugo, između ovih oblika i reči. Autor prati i registruje tretman ovih oblika u našoj svakodnevnoj pisanoj i govorenoj praksi preko dvadeset godina, isprva samo oblika iz engleskog jezika, a zatim i onih domaćih, sakupivši reprezentativan korpus od preko 500 kontekstualizovanih jedinica, koji će poslužiti kao empirijski temelj za sva teorijsko-metodološka tumačenja, objašnjenja i obrazloženja u nastavku.

Rasprava će se baviti pitanjima i odgovorima vezanim za ove oblike: skupovima formalnih i sadržinskih svojstava ovih oblika, sveobuhvatnom lingvističkom karakterizacijom akronima, četvoročlanom pragmatičko-funkcionalnom tipologijom akronima i mogućim teorijsko-metodološkim i praktičnim implikacijama ovih pojava.



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## 15.2. Dvanaest pitanja s odgovorima

Na početku, biće ponuđeno dvanaest pitanja vezanih za ponašanje posmatranih oblika u kontekstu, u našoj svakodnevnoj, autentičnoj pisanoj i govorenoj jezičkoj praksi, iz čega se mogu izvesti zaključci o njihovom lingvističkom statusu. Uzorci upotrebe posmatranih oblika lako se i brzo mogu pronaći u bezmalo svim tekstovima na srpskom jeziku, i napisanim, i izgovorenim, polazeći od elektronskih i štampanih medija, gde posmatranih oblika ima ubedljivo najviše, preko internetskih i mobilnih komunikacija, pa sve do različitih vrsta stručnih tematskih registara. Cilj ovih pitanja jeste, prvo, da se ukaže na konkretne tipove ponašanja posmatranih oblika u stvarnoj praksi; i, drugo, da se ukaže na njihova konkretna jezička svojstva koja iz tih tipova ponašanja proističu. Težište u svim pitanjima nalaziće se na suštinskom, a ne nazivnom ili terminološkom, kontrastu između skraćenica i reči. Da bi se taj suštinski kontrast što efikasnije i efektnije istaknuo, obrada se sastoji iz četiri međusobno povezane i nadopunjujuće celine:

- uvodni deo pitanja, s izdvojenim lingvističkim disciplinama kojih se dati tip ponašanja tiče,
- razradni deo pitanja, s datim tipom ponašanja osvetljenim iz kontrastne perspektive ‘skraćenica prema reč’,
- odgovor, s nazivom datog leksičkog svojstva i objašnjenjem njemu pridruženog tipa ponašanja, i
- primeri, s karakterističnim ilustracijama datog tipa ponašanja i, po potrebi, dodatnim komentarom.

Sledi sada dvanaest najavljenih pitanja i njihovih odgovora, raspoređenih od aspekata upotrebe, preko aspekata forme i sadržine, pa do preplitanja pojedinih aspekata forme i sadržine:

(1) Pitanje 1 – u domenu pragmatike: kako skraćenica može i u pisanju i u govoru da se koristi samostalno kao da je reč?

Odgovor se tiče leksičkog svojstva samostalna upotreba, ili, preciznije, samostalna upotrebljivost, i podrazumeva da reč ima sopstvenu formu, funkciju, sadržinu i upotrebu, koje joj omogućavaju da u rečenici odn. iskazu bude upotrebljena kao za-



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sebna, samostalna jezička jedinica i da ujedno sama može činiti samosvojnu, zaokruženu rečenicu odn. iskaz, kako u komunikativnom korišćenju jezika, tako i u metakomunikativnom spominjanju jezika (up. Lyons 1977; Radovanović 2003).

Primeri, koji pokazuju da se radi o oblicima uporedivim s rečima: *Na RTS-u će večeras biti prenos otvaranja.* (samostalna upotreba u iskazu), *Ko je tako odlučio? – Glodur! Ko bi drugi.* (zaokružen iskaz kao korišćenje jezika), *Jesi l' rekao FTN ili FTM? – FTN. Tamo ja studiram.* (zaokružen iskaz kao spominjanje jezika).

(2) Pitanje 2 – u domenu grafologije s ortografijom: kako skraćenica može da se piše kao da je reč?

Odgovor se tiče leksičkog svojstva pisana forma i podrazumeva da se reč sastoji od jedne neprekinute grafološke, odn. slovne, celine, ili bez crtice, ili s najmanje jednom crticom (up. Pešikan, Jerković i Pižurica 2020; Prćić 2019a).

Primeri, koji pokazuju da se radi o oblicima uporedivim s rečima: *BITEF, NIN, CeSID, KoSSev, glodur, RTS, GSP*. Od pisane forme punokrvnih reči pisana forma većine posmatranih oblika razlikuje se po tome što se tipično pišu verzalno (*BITEF, RTS, GSP*), jedan mali broj njih piše se deverzalno, naročito oni koji imaju jednoakcenatski izgovor (*glodur*), jedan vrlo mali broj njih piše se i verzalno i deverzalno, s početnim velikim slovom kod naziva ili naslova (*TANJUG, Tanjug*), a minimalan broj njih javlja se s deverzalnim slovima unutar verzalnih (*CeSID*) ili verzalnim slovima unutar deverzalnih (*KoSSev*). Pouzdanih pravila nema, samo više ili manje jasnih tendencija u praksi, koja je ponekad dodatno obogaćena nepredvidljivom morfosintaktičkom i/ili semantičkom i/ili stilističkom kreativnošću tvorca konkretnog oblika, kao u primerima *SRNA*, od *Srpski rečnik novijih anglicizama* (čiji je dvostruki kum R. Bugarski, predloživši i njegov naslov, i njegov skraćeni oblik), ili *VOICE*, od *Vojvođanski istraživačko-analitički centar*.

(3) Pitanje 3 – u domenu fonetike s fonologijom: kako skraćenica može da se izgovara kao da je reč?



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Odgovor se tiče leksičkog svojstva IZGOVORNA FORMA i podrazumeva da se reč sastoji od jedne fonološke, odn. glasovne, celine, s najmanje jednim akcentom (up. Petrović i Gudurić 2010; Subotić, Sredojević i Bjelaković 2012).

Primeri, koji pokazuju da se radi o oblicima uporedivim s rečima: /cèsid/, za *CeSID*, /er-tē-ès/, za *RTS*, /g-s-p/, za *GSP*. Od izgovorne forme punokrvnih reči izgovorna forma nekih posmatranih oblika razlikuje se po tome što, zbog fonotaktičkih zapreka, ne mogu imati neprekinuti jednoakcenatski izgovor, nego slogovni izgovor, slovo po slovo, s pratećim vokalima, kao u /er-tē-ès/, /pē-dē-vê/, /dē-en-kâ/, za *RTS, PDV, DNK*, ili bez pratećih vokala, kao u /g-s-p/, /s-k-c/, /f-t-n/, za *GSP, SKC, FTN*.

(4) PITANJE 4 – u domenu morfosintakse: kako skraćenica može da vrši funkcije imenice u sintagmi ili rečenici kao da je reč?

Odgovor se tiče leksičkog svojstva MORFOSINTAKTIČKA FUNKCIJA i podrazumeva da reč zauzima različite pozicije u sintagmi, klauzi i rečenici, saglasno morfosintaktičkoj klasi, tj. vrsti reči, kojoj pripada (up. Piper, Klajn i Dragićević 2022).

Primeri, koji pokazuju da se radi o oblicima uporedivim s rečima: *CeSID je objavio*, gde je posredi subjekat, *istaknut je CeSID*, gde je direktni objekat, *nagrada je pripala CeSID-u*, gde je indirektni objekat, *iz CeSID-a je saopšteno*, gde je u sklopu odredbe za mesto.

(5) PITANJE 5 – u domenu morfosintakse: kako skraćenica može da se deklinira kao da je reč?

Odgovor se tiče leksičkog svojstva DEKLINABILNOST imenica i promenljivih prideva, i podrazumeva da reč, ukoliko je morfološki promenljiva, ima svoje gramatičke oblike, koji čine njenu flektivnu paradigmu, saglasno morfosintaktičkoj klasi kojoj pripada (up. Piper, Klajn i Dragićević 2022).

Primeri, koji pokazuju da se radi o oblicima uporedivim s rečima: *glodur, glodura, gloduru, glodura, ..., Fifa, Fife, Fifi, Fifu, ..., RTS, RTS-a, RTS-u, RTS, ..., GSP, GSP-a, GSP-u, GSP, ...*, gde svi obrazuju flektivnu paradigmu imenica, kojima posmatrani oblici gotovo bez ostatka pripadaju.



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(6) Pitanje 6 – u domenu semantike: kako skraćenica može da ima deskriptivno značenje kao da je reč?

Odgovor se tiče leksičkog svojstva jedinstveno deskriptivno značenje i podrazumeva da reč poseduje skup deskriptivnih, odn. dijagnostičkih i nedijagnostičkih, obeležja, koja opisuju i određuju klasu vanjezičkih entiteta (up. Dragićević 2010; Prćić 2016). Deskriptivno značenje posmatranih oblika tipično se preuzima, ili nasleđuje, od njihovih punih oblika, uz čiju se pomoć oni u prvo vreme razumeju i/ili tumače i/ili definišu. S protokom vremena, kod znatnog broja posmatranih oblika prvobitna motivacija, odn. formalna i sadržinska veza s punim oblikom, sve više bledi i polako nestaje, da bi na kraju etimologija posmatranih oblika ostala poznata samo onima koji su angažovani u relevantnoj oblasti i, 'po službenoj dužnosti', zainteresovanim leksikolozima, leksikografima i ostalim zaljubljenicima u leksiku i leksikon.

Vrlo je malo 'običnih', ali i 'ne-običnih', korisnika jezika kojima je poznata etimologija oblika *REM, TANJUG, KONUS, KoBSON, COBISS, UCIMSI, KRIK, SOKOJ, BSK, JMBG, PIN, PDF, ISBN, NBA, ERIH, UNICEF, FIFA, BMW, TGV, LGBT* i njegovih dogradnji, mada ih u svakodnevnoj komunikaciji svi susreću više ili manje često, ponekad i redovno. Iskreno, te etimologije i ne treba znati, kao što se ne znaju ni etimologije reči *kuća, pas, cvet, ponedeljak, vucibatina*, i hiljada drugih, manje ili više frekventnih reči, jer su se i ove reči, kao i gore navedeni, i brojni nenavedeni, posmatrani oblici razvili, ili se razvijaju, u posebne, samostalne i samosvojne reči, koje laici obično doživljavaju kao proste, odn. morfološki neraščlanjive i semantički neprozirne, ponekad s neuobičajenim oblikom u pisanju i/ili izgovoru i/ili gramatici.

Etimologija navedenih oblika, kao ni etimologija drugih reči, za nesmetanu komunikaciju nije ni bitna, ni potrebna, jer ne čini komunikativno relevantan deo forme, funkcije, sadržine i upotrebe, koje su važne pri uobličavanju, prenošenju i odgonetanju nameravane poruke govornikâ i/ili pisaca. Pored dijahronijski orijentisanih lingvističkih stručnjaka, kojima je to osnovni predmet proučavanja, etimologija reči bitna je i potrebna, možda,



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jezičkim entuzijastima, takmičarima u kvizovima, rešavačima ukrštenih reči i, ponajviše, studentima na ispitima iz predmeta vezanih za leksiku, ako se ova materija tamo uopšte obrađuje. U suštini, komunikativno gledano, između oblika *cvet* i *JMBG* formalnih i sadržinskih razlika nema, ali u detaljima i nijansama ima, a one se tiču, ili bi bar trebalo da se tiču, upravo jezičkih i lingvističkih stručnjaka.

Primeri, koji pokazuju da se radi o oblicima uporedivim s rečima: *glodur*, u smislu 'glavni i odgovorni urednik', *PDV*, u smislu 'porez na dodatnu vrednost', *RTS*, u smislu 'Radio-televizija Srbije'. Opšte imenice mogu se primeniti, odn. mogu upućivati, na velik, teorijski neograničen, broj vanjezičkih entiteta, pa tako mogu imati specifičnu, generalnu i generičku referenciju, kao u *Ovo je moj CD, CD-ovi su jako poskupeli, CD je nekad bio važan medijum*, po redosledu navođenja. Nasuprot njima, vlastita imena, ovde uključujući svakovrsne nazive i naslove, mogu se primeniti, odn. upućuju, samo na jedan jedinstven vanjezički entitet, pa zbog toga imaju jedinstvenu referenciju, kao u *Večeras nastupamo na RTS-u* (up. Prćić 2016: Pogl. 4), i javljaju se samo u jednini, budući da im je množinski deo paradigme pragmatički, mada ne i sistemski, zaprečen, kao u **RTS-ovi, *RTS-ova, *RTS-ovima, *RTS-ove*, itd.

(7) Pitanje 7 – u domenu stilistike: kako skraćenica može da ima asocijativno značenje kao da je reč?

Odgovor se tiče leksičkog svojstva jedinstveno asocijativno značenje i podrazumeva da reč poseduje skup asocijativnih, odn. stilskih, ekspresivnih i konotativnih, obeležja, koja određuju stilističku vrednost i kontekstualnu primenljivost date reči (up. Dragićević 2010; Marjanović 1995; Prćić 2016).

Primeri, koji pokazuju da se radi o oblicima uporedivim s rečima: *TV*, s asocijacijom 'neformalno', *glodur*, s asocijacijom 'žargonsko' i 'u novinarstvu', *ČOS*, s asocijacijom 'neformalno' i 'u / o školi', *PDV*, s asocijacijom 'neutralno'. Posmatrani oblici obično su ili neutralni u odnosu na svoje pune oblike, koji su tada formalni(ji), kao u *ČOS* prema *čas odeljenskog starešine*, ili su neformalni(ji) u odnosu na svoje pune oblike, koji su tada neutralni, kao u *TV* prema *televizija* ili *televizor* ili *televizijski*.



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(8) Pitanje 8 – u domenu tvorbene morfologije ili, tačnije, morfosintakse: kako skraćenica može da bude osnova za stvaranje novih reči kao da je reč?

Odgovor se tiče leksičkog svojstva morfosintaktička derivabilnost i podrazumeva da reč, najčešće semantički puna reč, podleže, kao motivna osnova, tvorbenim postupcima stvaranja novih rečih, kako pravilima regulisanim postupcima (prefiksacija, sufiksacija, kompozicija, polukompozicija, konverzija i elipsacija), tako i pravilima poluregulisanim postupcima (konflacija, abrevijacija, desufiksacija, reduplikacija i transpozicija) (up. Ajdžanović 2022; Bugarski 2019a, 2021; Klajn 2002, 2003; Piper, Klajn i Dragićević 2022; Prćić 1998, 2023, Pogl. 11 i 13 u ovoj knjizi; Ristić 2012), o čemu će više reči biti niže.

Primeri, koji pokazuju da se radi o oblicima uporedivim s rečima: *glodurov*, od *glodur, IT-jevac*, od *IT, ninovski*, od *NIN, SMS-ovati*, od *SMS* (sufiksacije), *besPLJiŽna (vremena), priPLJiŽilo (se leto)*, oba od *PLJiŽ, rasKRIKavanje*, od *KRIK, unutardosovski*, od *DOS* (sufiksacije s prefiksacijom), *PIO-fond, NBA-liga, DNK-analiza, KiM-radio* (polusloženice, pisane s crticom između dveju imeničkih osnova, ili bi bar tako trebalo; ponekad ovakvi endocentrični spojevi mogu biti pleonastični, ukoliko značenje glavne, desne, osnove već sadrži jedno obeležje značenja iz modifikujuće, leve, osnove, kao u *HIV-virus*, gde *V* već označava virus, od eng. *virus*, ili *CD-disk* i *CD-ploča*, gde *D* već označava disk ili ploču, od eng. *disk*), i *LCD televizor, VIP posluženje, LGBT zajednica, GMO povrće* (konverzije, koje od imenica izvode prideve u determinativnoj funkciji).

(9) Pitanje 9 – u domenu semantike: kako skraćenica može da razvije novo značenje kao da je reč?

Odgovor se tiče leksičkog svojstva semantička derivabilnost i podrazumeva da reč podleže semantičkim tvorbenim postupcima kojima se izvode nova, najčešće motivisana, deskriptivna značenja (up. Pogl. 12 i 13 u ovoj knjizi).

Primeri, koji pokazuju da se radi o oblicima uporedivim s rečima: *PR*, u smislu ‘osoba koja se profesionalno bavi negovanjem povoljne slike u javnosti o nekoj firmi, organizaciji ili poznatoj



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ličnosti', metonimijski izvedeno od naziva same delatnosti, *USB*, u smislu 'mali memorijski uređaj za skladištenje elektronskih podataka i njihovo prebacivanje sa jednog uređaja na drugi putem USB-priključka', metonimijski izvedeno od naziva same tehnologije (obe definicije prema Prćić, Dražić, Milić, i dr. 2021: 436, 614).

(10) Pitanje 10 – u domenu stilistike: kako skraćenica može da razvije novo asocijativno značenje kao da je reč?

Odgovor se tiče leksičkog svojstva stilistička derivabilnost i podrazumeva da reč podleže stilističkim tvorbenim postupcima kojima se izvode nova asocijativna značenja (up. Pogl. 12 i 13 u ovoj knjizi).

Primeri, koji pokazuju da se radi o oblicima uporedivim s rečima: *SVIFT* ili *svift / SWIFT*, u smislu 'međunarodna bankarska komunikaciona mreža za bezbednu uplatu i isplatu novca' (up. Prćić, Dražić, Milić, i dr. 2021: 563), isprva karakterističan za finansijski i ekonomski registar, polako se proširuje i prelazi u opšti jezik, *PDV*, u smislu 'porez na dodatnu vrednost', doskora neformalan sinonim svog punog oblika *porez na dodatnu vrednost*, vremenom je postao neutralan, dok je njegov puni oblik postao formalan.

(11) Pitanje 11 – u domenu semantike: kako skraćenica može da bude sinonimna sa svojim punim oblikom i s drugom skraćenicom kao da su obe skraćenice reči?

Odgovor se tiče leksičkog svojstva sinonimnost, ili, nešto glomaznije ali tačnije, sinonimabilnost, i podrazumeva da reč podleže smisaonom odnosu sinonimije s drugim rečima, s kojima deli ista centralna deskriptivna obeležja (up. Dragićević 2010; Prćić 2016, Pogl. 13 u ovoj knjizi).

Primeri, koji pokazuju da se radi o oblicima uporedivim s rečima: *NVO* prema *nevladina organizacija*, *NLO* prema *neidentifikovani leteći objekat*, *TV* prema *televizija* i *televizor* i *televizijski* (sinonimnost s punim oblikom), *NVO*, domaći, prema *NGO*, anglicizam, oba u smislu 'nevladina organizacija', *NLO*, domaći, prema *UFO*, anglicizam, oba u smislu 'neidentifikovani leteći objekat', *ejds / AIDS*, anglicizmi, prema *sida*, galicizam, sva tri u



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smislu ‘sindrom stečene imunodeficijencije’ (sinonimnost s drugom skraćenicom).

(12) Pitanje 12 – u domenu grafologije, fonologije i semantike: kako skraćenica može da bude homonimna s drugom rečju ili drugom skraćenicom kao da su obe skraćenice reči?

Odgovor se tiče leksičkog svojstva homonimnost, ili, nešto glomaznije ali tačnije, homonimabilnost, i podrazumeva da reč podleže leksičkom odnosu homonimije s drugim rečima, s kojima deli isti pisani i izgovorni oblik, ali se razlikuju po deskriptivnom značenju (up. Crystal 2008; Kristal 1999).

Primeri, koji pokazuju da se radi o oblicima uporedivim s rečima: *CRTA*, u smislu ‘Center for Research, Transparency and Accountability’, odn. ‘Centar za istraživanje, transparentnost i odgovornost’, prema *crta*, u smislu ‘linija’, *SRNA*, u smislu ‘Srpski rečnik novijih anglicizama’, prema *srna*, u smislu ‘ženka srndaća’ (homonimnost s drugom rečju), *UNS*, u smislu ‘Udruženje novinara Srbije’, prema ‘Univerzitet u Novom Sadu’, *BDP*, u smislu ‘bruto domaći proizvod’, prema ‘Beogradsko dramsko pozorište’ (homonimnost s drugom skraćenicom).

I na kraju, završno natkrovno pitanje ili, kraće, natpitanje, u domenu svih pomenutih jezičkih nivoa i lingvističkih disciplina, koje suštinski objedinjuje konstantno i varijabilno u ponašanju posmatranih oblika: s obzirom na sve ovde sagledane manifestacije ponašanja i leksička svojstva posmatranih oblika, **da li su skraćenice možda nova, posebna, samosvojna, a dosad još neprepoznata i eksplicitno nepriznata, jedanaesta vrsta reči?** Naporedo s imenicama, zamenicama, brojevima, glagolima, pridevima, prilozima, predlozima, veznicima, rečcama i uzvicima (up. Piper, Klajn i Dragićević 2022). Ili se možda ipak radi o nečem drugom – **da posmatrani oblici, koji se uobičajeno, tipično i tradicionalno nazivaju skraćenicama, predstavljaju podskup neke od postojećih vrsta reči, od kojih se ponekad razlikuju po ponešto neuobičajenim, netipičnim i netradicionalnim pisanim, izgovornim i gramatičkim likovima?**

Odgovor se tiče svih dosad pomenutih leksičkih svojstava i podrazumeva sledeće: vrlo je mala, skoro nepostojeća, verovatno-



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ća da u ovom slučaju ima uslova, opravdanja i potrebe za uspostavljanjem nove vrste reči. Međutim, po manifestacijama njihovog ponašanja u stvarnoj upotrebi srpskog jezika, vrlo je velika verovatnoća da je ovde posredi podvrsta neke odavno prepoznate i eksplicitno priznate vrste reči – ta vrsta reči su, naravno, imenice, a ova podvrsta odlikuje se po tome što ponekad poprima 'sliku' i/ili 'ton' koji nenaviknutim očima i ušima (i umovima) deluju čudno. Drukčije, i nešto stručnije, izraženo, **posmatrani oblici zapravo su hibridne leksičke tvorevine, koje nisu ni čiste skraćenice, ni čiste reči, nego nešto između – delom skraćenice a delom reči, ili istovremeno i skraćenice, i reči – ili, možda najtačnije, to su reči nastale skraćivanjem**. Ovakav njihov dvojni jezičko-lingvistički status određen je njihovim osobenim formalnim, funkcijskim i sadržinskim svojstvima, i osobenim ponašanjem u kontekstu, predočenim u gornjih dvanaest pitanja i odgovora.

U nastavku, biće učinjen pokušaj da se upravo iznesena tvrdnja ili, zasad bolje, hipoteza teorijsko-metodološki dokaže obrazlaganjem zaključaka izvedenih iz odgovora na dvanaest postavljenih pitanja. Pri tome, na posmatrane oblike i nadalje će se upućivati neodređenim i provizornim kvazi-terminom 'posmatrani oblici'.

## 15.3. Proistekovine iz dvanaest odgovora

Sve što u svojoj ukupnosti proističe iz objašnjenja i njihovih oprimerenja ponuđenih u okviru odgovora na dvanaest pitanja vezanih za ponašanje posmatranih oblika u konkretnoj praksi predstavlja temelj jednog puta – vrlo krivudavog u praksi, a teorijsko-metodološki prilično ravnog i pravog – koji vodi ka razjašnjenju i, nadajmo se, razrešenju, ili bar ka obrisima razjašnjenja i razrešenja, ovog izazovnog, a ponekad i neprijatno zahtevnog, problema. Razmatranje uočenih proistekovina, s težištem stavljenim na proistekle jezičko-lingvističke činjenice i na tekovine domaćeg deskriptivnog i preskriptivnog teorijsko-metodološkog postupka, biće usredsređeno na utvrđivanje suštinskih sličnosti i razlika između posmatranih oblika i skraćenica, s jedne strane, i posmatranih oblika i reči, s druge, da bi zatim moglo biti



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predloženo lingvistički ili, tačnije, pragmatičko-funkcionalno, zasnovano pojmovno razgraničenje među njima, terminološko razgraničenje među njima, i, konačno, sveobuhvatna lingvistička karakterizacija posmatranih oblika.

### 15.3.1. Predlog pojmovnog razgraničenja

Glavni preduslov za valjano sagledavanje sličnosti i razlika između posmatranih oblika nasuprot skraćenica i reči, i ujedno za njihovo pojmovno razgraničenje, jeste da se postavi radna definicija skraćenica i reči, čime će biti omogućeno da se ustanove eventualna zajednička svojstva između posmatranih oblika, skraćenica i reči, i priroda tih zajedničkih svojstava.

(1) Šta posmatrane oblike čini skraćenicama. – Za potrebe ove rasprave sročena je sledeća definicija skraćenica, koja glasi: skraćenica je **grafološki uprošćena i otuda ekonomičnija verzija neke reči ili sintagme, koja tu reč ili sintagmu predstavlja, ili zastupa, u pisanju i koja se u govoru mora realizovati u punom obliku te reči ili sintagme**; na primer, *msr*, koje se uvek izgovara kao 'master', i *itd.*, koje se uvek izgovara kao 'i tako dalje'. Iz ove definicije proizlaze opšta (primarna, kriterijalna i obavezna) svojstva prototipski ispoljenih skraćenica.

U svom prototipskom ispoljavanju, skraćenice imaju sledeća dva opšta svojstva:

- Pisana forma, što podrazumeva da skraćenica u izmenjenom, skraćenom i uprošćenom vidu konvencionalno predstavlja, ili zastupa, puni oblik neke reči ili sintagme, radi postizanja jezičke ekonomije, u vidu uštede u prostoru i vremenu pri njihovom pisanju. Uglavnom, ali ne isključivo, koriste se mala slova, sa tačkom ili bez tačke, poput *dr*, za *doktor*, i *prof.*, za *profesor* (za širi pregled obrazaca u kojima se skraćenice najčešće javljaju, videti Pešikan, Jerković i Pižurica 2020, i ostale priloge navedene u Literaturi).
- Izgovorna forma, što podrazumeva da se skraćenica izgovara isključivo u punom obliku, i to u njegovom



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odgovarajućem, kontekstualno uslovljenom, gramatičkom obliku, poput *br.* obavezno kao 'broj', a ne 'br', *1 km* obavezno kao 'jedan kilometar', a ne 'jedan km', a *10 km* obavezno kao 'deset kilometara', a ne 'deset km'. Doduše, u pojedinim šaljivim ili posprdnim kontekstima neke skraćenice izgovaraju se u svom skraćenom obliku, kao 'prof dr', od *prof. dr*, ili 'i-t-d', od *i tako dalje*, ali se takvi izuzeci, mahom stilski obojeni, mogu smatrati samo odstupanjima od standardne upotrebe radi postizanja humorističkog, ironičnog ili nekog drugog efekta, a nikako ozbiljnom upotrebom jezika.

Od dva navedena opšta svojstva, posmatrani oblici, tj. reči nastale skraćivanjem, dele sa skraćenicama samo jedno – pisanu formu, pošto i skraćenice i reči u skraćenom i uprošćenom vidu konvencionalno predstavljaju, ili zastupaju, puni oblik neke reči ili sintagme.

U tom smislu, posmatrane oblike skraćenicama čini samo pisana forma, koja je donekle uporediva s pisanom formom posmatranih oblika, utoliko što i jedna i druga predstavljaju skraćene verzije svojih punih, i po pravilu dužih, oblika.

Zbog svoje predstavničke, ili zastupničke, uloge u jeziku, skraćenice nemaju leksemski status, što znači da nisu samostalno upotrebljive leksičke jedinice u pisanju i govoru, budući da su zavisne od punih, i po pravilu dužih, oblika koje samo predstavljaju, ili zastupaju, u pisanju.

(2) Šta posmatrane oblike čini rečima. – Za potrebe ove rasprave biće iskorišćena definicija reči koja je dovoljno obuhvatna i precizna po svojoj sadržini, i dovoljno kratka i sažeta po svojoj formi, a koja glasi: reč je **osnovna jedinica vokabulara, s utvrđenom fonološkom i grafološkom formom, morfosintaktičkom funkcijom, jedinstvenom sadržinom i samostalnom upotrebom** (up. Prćić 2016: 21). Iz ove definicije proizlaze opšta (primarna, kriterijalna i obavezna) svojstva prototipski ispoljenih reči, a iz ovih opštih posredno se mogu izvesti specifična (sekundarna, dodatna i moguća) svojstva. Postoji sedam opštih i pet specifičnih svojstava reči, o kojima je bilo detaljnije govora u sklopu



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razmatranja odgovora na dvanaest pitanja, gde su opšta svojstva sagledana pod Pitanjima 1-7, a specifična pod Pitanjima 8-12.

U svom prototipskom ispoljavanju, reči imaju sledećih sedam opštih svojstava, koja su u neposrednoj vezi s gornjom definicijom reči i koja će ovde biti samo nabrojana:

- pisana forma,
- izgovorna forma,
- morfosintaktička funkcija,
- deklinabilnost,
- jedinstveno deskriptivno značenje,
- jedinstveno asocijativno značenje, i
- samostalna upotreba.

Nadovezujući se na opšta svojstva, i u tesnoj, ali posrednoj, vezi s njima, a posebno sa samostalnom upotrebljivošću, jeste sledećih pet specifičnih svojstava, koja se tiču različitih formalnih i/ili sadržinskih leksičkih međuodnosa:

- morfosintaktička derivabilnost,
- semantička derivabilnost,
- stilistička derivabilnost,
- sinonimnost, i
- homonimnost.

Od dvanaest navedenih svojstava, posmatrani oblici, tj. reči nastale skraćivanjem, dele s rečima, u većoj ili manjoj meri, svih sedam opštih i svih pet specifičnih svojstava, kako je i pokazano u odgovorima na Pitanja 1-12.

U tom smislu, posmatrane oblike rečima čine sva formalna i sadržinska svojstva, počev od pisane forme pa do homonimnosti, pri čemu će skup od četiri prva formalna svojstva, tj. pisana forma, izgovorna forma, morfosintaktička funkcija i deklinabilnost poslužiti u narednom odeljku kao osnova za uspostavljanje pragmatičko-funkcionalne tipologije akronima.

Zbog svih opisanih svojstava, reči imaju leksemski status, što znači da su samostalno upotrebljive leksičke jedinice u govoru i pisanju. Štaviše, reči su ujedno i JEZIČKI ZNAKOVI, budući da u sebi objedinjuju označitelja, tj. predstavu o nekom glasovnom i/ili slovnom nizu, i označenika, tj. predstavu o nekom segmentu



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vanjezičke stvarnosti na koji se označiteljem upućuje (up. Prćić 2016: 14; Radovanović 2003: 87-88). Nasuprot rečima, zbog svoje gore opisane uloge, skraćenice nisu jezički znakovi, nego samo njihovi predstavnici, ili zastupnici.

(3) Gde se ovde nalaze posmatrani oblici. – Analizirajući upravo izložena i obrazložena svojstva i skraćenica, i reči, može se izvesti uopšteni zaključak, zasnovan na konkretnim jezičkim činjenicama i njihovom lingvističkom tumačenju, da se posmatrani oblici, tj. reči nastale skraćivanjem, nalaze negde između skraćenica i reči. S obzirom na to da sa skraćenicama imaju jedno zajedničko leksičko svojstvo, a s rečima dvanaest zajedničkih leksičkih svojstava, jasno je da su posmatrani oblici, po svojoj formi, funkciji, sadržini i upotrebi, suštinski i statusno mnogo bliži rečima nego skraćenicama.

Specifično, posmatrani oblici u potpunosti se ponašaju kao reči i po svojoj funkciji, i po svojoj sadržini, i po svojoj upotrebi – pa i po svojoj formi, čiji su pojavni oblici u pisanju i/ili izgovoru unekoliko drukčiji, i različiti, od pojavnih oblika punokrvnih, prototipskih, reči. Ali, ako je mačka bez repa i dalje mačka, iako ponešto atipična; ako je paradajz tamnoljubičaste boje i dalje paradajz, iako ponešto atipičan; ako je kuća bez prozorâ i dalje kuća, iako ponešto atipična – onda je i samostalno upotrebljiv niz slova i glasova, nalik na reč, ali s ponegde osobenim, za ponekoga neprijatno štrčećim, pisanim i/ili izgovornim i/ili gramatičkim identitetom, i dalje reč, iako ponešto atipična, ali ipak reč. Tim pre što se uklapa u definiciju reči, poseduje opšta i specifična kriterijalna svojstva reči i zadovoljava karakterizaciju jezičkog znaka, pa, sledstveno tome, ima leksemski status, kao što ga imaju sve reči.

Sa svim dosad izrečenim na umu, posmatrani oblici, kako je nagovešteno u odgovoru na završno natpitanje, jesu hibridne leksičke tvorevine, koje nisu ni čiste skraćenice, ni čiste reči, nego nešto između – delom skraćenice a delom reči, mada ipak više reči; ili istovremeno i skraćenice, i reči, mada ipak više reči – ili, možda najtačnije, to su reči nastale skraćivanjem.

Nakon pojmovnog razgraničenja, postaje moguće da se izvrši i terminološko razgraničenje, koje će na teorijsko-metodološki



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valjan način pokušati da odrazi distinkciju između posmatranih oblika i skraćenica, s jedne strane, i posmatranih oblika i reči, s druge.

### 15.3.2. Predlog terminološkog razgraničenja

Prvo će biti ponuđen pregled termina koji se i danas tradicionalno kod nas nalaze u upotrebi, stručnoj i laičkoj, da bi potom bili predloženi teorijsko-metodološki razgraničeni i obrazloženi termini za skraćenice i jedne i druge vrste.

(1) Trenutno rasprostranjena terminologija. – U sadašnjoj terminološkoj upotrebi, kako onoj laičkoj, svakodnevnoj, tako i onoj stručnoj, profesionalnoj (pomenutoj u uvodnom odeljku), s minimalnim izuzecima, dominira termin 'skraćenica', ne samo za pravopisna skraćivanja reči, poput *ul.*, *prof. dr*, *gđica*, *str.*, *km*, nego i za reči nastale skraćivanjem, poput *CeSID*, *BEMUS*, *TANJUG*, *DNK*, *FTN*. Iz dosadašnjeg izlaganja verovatno je postalo jasno da je termin 'skraćenica', bar u ne-laičkim, profesionalnim, tekstovima nepodesan, zbog svoje suviše velike uopštenosti, neodređenosti i nepreciznosti, jer nije baš sve što je u jeziku skraćeno automatski i skraćenica.

Po toj logici, skraćenicama bi se mogli nazvati i skraćeni, tj. elidirani, fonološki oblici reči i sintagmi, poput *išo*, i *pevo*, i *ajmo*, i *ko*, i *da l'*, i *je l'* (od *išao, pevao, kao, hajdemo, da li, je li*, po redosledu navođenja), kao i morfološki skraćene reči nastale suptraktivnim tvorbenim postupcima, u koje spadaju sledeći (nazivi se daju prema Prćić 1998, 2023, Pogl. 11 i 13 u ovoj knjizi):

- abrevijacija, kao u *poz*, *pljeska*, *Taš*, *ljub*, od *pozdrav*, *pljeskavica*, *Tašmajdan*, *poljubac* ili *ljubim*, po redosledu navođenja,
- elipsacija, kao u *hemijska*, *daljinski*, *beležnik*, *Zabavnik*, od *hemijska olovka*, *daljinski upravljač*, *javni beležnik*, *Politikin zabavnik*,
- konflacija, u našoj sredini poznatija kao (leksičko) slivanje (up. Bugarski 2019a), kao u *klinceza*, *ćirilatinica*, *uspomenar*, *(srećni) PLJiŽnici*, od *klin(ac + pr)inceza*,



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*ćiril(ica +) latinica, uspomen(e +) spomenar, PLJiŽ + (praz)nici,*

- DESUFIKSACIJA, kao u *smor, zbun, neizdrž, iznevera*, od *smoriti, zbuniti, ne izdržati, izneveriti*, i, svakako ne na poslednjem mestu, i
- AKRONIMIZACIJA, koja je glavna tema ove rasprave, kao u više puta pominjanim *CeSID, TANJUG, DNK, FTN*.

Svođenjem svih ovih procesa, grafoloških, fonoloških i morfoloških, i njihovih rezultata, na samo jedan preopšti naziv značilo bi izjednačavanje neizjednačivog, stavljanje u isti koš i mešanje onoga što se ne može i ne sme mešati, što svakako ne bi bilo teorijsko-metodološki prihvatljivo, a stoga ni lingvistički opravdano. Uprkos nekim površinskim sličnostima, razlike među članovima unutar ove grupacije više su nego očite i upadljive, i to na svim nivoima jezičke upotrebe i analize, što nužno iziskuje i različite nazive za različite lingvističke statuse i njihove različite lingvističke opise, poput onog ponuđenog u prethodnom odeljku.

Treba pomenuti i to da se u skorije vreme pojavio i termin 'verzalna skraćenica' (up. Jerković 1997; Pešikan, Jerković i Pižurica 2020, počev od prvog izdanja iz 2010. godine; Zeljić 1997, 2020), koji, iako precizniji od termina 'skraćenica', ne obuhvata sve članove ove kategorije, budući da neki od njih nisu bez ostatka napisani verzalno, poput *CeSID, PLJiŽ, JiKuViP, Tanjug, Avnoj, Bitef* (pored verzalnih *TANJUG, AVNOJ, BITEF*).

(2) PREDLOG RAZGRANIČENJA TERMINA. – S obzirom na sve napred izneto, ovde će biti predloženo terminološko razgraničenje, zasnovano i ovog puta na postojanju ili nepostojanju leksemskog statusa date jedinice, i to na sledeći način:

- **ukoliko data jedinica nema leksemski status, posredi je skraćenica, tj. reč skraćena, ili uprošćena, na grafološkom nivou**, pa će za tu kategoriju ovde biti predložena tri preciznija, varijantna i sinonimna naziva: GRAFOLOŠKE SKRAĆENICE, ili PRAVOPISNE SKRAĆENICE, ili ORTOGRAFSKE SKRAĆENICE – ili, kratko, samo SKRAĆENICE, u primerima poput *i sl., str., msr, kg*, a



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- **ukoliko data jedinica ima pun ili delimičan leksemski status, posredi je reč, tj. reč nastala skraćivanjem na morfološkom nivou**, pa će za tu kategoriju ovde biti predložena tri preciznija, varijantna i sinonimna naziva: MORFOLOŠKE SKRAĆENICE, ili TVORBENE SKRAĆENICE, ili LEKSIČKE SKRAĆENICE – ili, po međunarodnoj, posebno anglofonoj upotrebi, ALFABETIZMI, ili INICIJALIZMI, ili, najčešće, AKRONIMI (eng. *acronym, initialism, alphabetism*; up. Bauer 1983; Bauer i Huddleston 2002; Crystal 2008; Kristal 1999; Mattiello 2013; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech i Svartvik 1985), u primerima poput *CeSID*, *RTS*, *GSP*, *BBC*.

Fonološka skraćivanja, budući da nisu predmet ove rasprave, ostaju sa svojim starim, ustaljenim i valjanim terminom 'elizija' i njenim podvrstama.

### 15.3.3. Lingvistička karakterizacija akronima

U svetlu predloženog pojmovnog i terminološkog razgraničenja, u ovom pododeljku postaje moguće da se dosadašnja argumentacija zaokruži preciznom lingvističkom karakterizacijom akronima, u kojoj će posebno biti istaknuti detalji sakriveni u senci: šta su to akronimi, kako nastaju akronimi i zašto nastaju akronimi.

(1) ŠTA SU AKRONIMI. – AKRONIMI predstavljaju **reči, i potencijalne rečničke odrednice, u morfosintaktičkoj klasi imenica, nastale skraćivanjem dugačkih i otuda glomaznih polimorfemskih, i često višečlanih, leksičkih jedinica visoke frekventnosti javljanja**. Te leksičke jedinice mogu nastupati dvojako:

- prvo, u ulozi vlastitih imena, na tri moguća načina:
  - kao nazivi i naslovi, poput *Centar za slobodne izbore i demokratiju* (koji daje *CeSID*),
  - kao geografska imena (toponimi), poput *Los Anđeles*, od eng. *Los Angeles* (*LA*), i
  - kao spojevi imena i prezimena ljudi (antroponimski nizovi), poput *Džon Ficdžerald Kenedi*, od eng. *John Fitzgerald Kennedy* (*JFK*), i



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- drugo, u ulozi opštih, generičkih, apelativnih imenica, poput *porez na dodatnu vrednost* (*PDV*).

Strukturno posmatrano, te polimorfemske, i često višečlane, leksičke jedinice mogu se javiti u tri osnovna tvorbena morfosintaktička obrasca:

- najčešće, kao frazne imenice, poput *Radio-televizija Srbije* (*RTS*), *Centar za slobodne izbore i demokratiju* (*CeSID*), uključujući i leksikalizovane kolokacije (up. Dražić 2014, 2022; Prćić 2016, Pogl. 14 u ovoj knjizi), poput *dezoksiribonukleinska kiselina* (*DNK*), *porez na dodatnu vrednost* (*PDV*),
- retko, kao polusloženice, obično prethodno preuzete iz drugih jezika, poput *kompakt-disk*, od eng. *compact disk* (*CD*), i
- vrlo retko, kao neoklasične složenice (sačinjene u nekom modernom jeziku od elemenata iz klasičnih jezika, grčkog i latinskog; up. Bauer 1983; Klajn 2002, 2003; Pogl. 6 i 7 u ovoj knjizi), takođe obično prethodno preuzete iz drugih jezika, poput *televizija*, od fr. *télévision*, prvobitno iz ruskog.[54]

(2) Kako nastaju akronimi. – Reči nastale ovakvim skraćivanjem proizvod su tvorbenog postupka koji se naziva akronimizacija, visoko produktivan i često automatski postupak, koji deluje nad fraznim, polusloženim i složenim imenicama kao ulaznim osnovama, stvarajući monomorfemske i stoga sinhrono morfološki neraščlanjive i semantički neprozirne reči, u morfosintaktičkoj klasi imenica, koje predstavljaju nemotivisane jezičke znakove, u istoj ravni s monomorfemskim i nemotivisanim punokrvnim rečima, kao što su *knjiga, mačka, drvo, prst*. Postupak akronimizacije tipično se odvija u tri uzastopne i međupovezane etape:

- Etapa 1: izdvajanje početnih slova i glasova, jednog ili više njih, iz reči u sastavu ulazne osnove, po obrascima čiji izlazni rezultati nisu nužno uvek predvidljivi, kao u *Radio-televizija Srbije, glavni i odgovorni urednik, Telegrafska agencija nove Jugoslavije*, pri čemu, u retkim

[54] Up. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Television.



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slučajevima, izlazni rezultat na srpskom ima ulaznu osnovu na drugom jeziku, danas najčešće engleskom, kao u *CRTA*, od eng. *Center for Research, Transparency and Accountability* (tj. *Centar za istraživanje, transparentnost i odgovornost*). Postupku u ovoj etapi tipično su, iako ne obavezno, podvrgnute semantičke (punoznačne) reči, dok su kratke i jednosložne gramatičke (funkcijske) reči, obično veznici i predlozi, uključene mnogo ređe i prvenstveno radi postizanja eufonije, tj. lakše izgovorljivosti nastajuće celine, kao u *JiKuViP*, pored neizgovorljivog *JKVP*, od *Jezici i kulture u vremenu i prostoru* (naziv nekadašnjeg projekta na Filozofskom fakultetu u Novom Sadu).

- Etapa 2: pretvaranje izdvojenih slova, ili nizova slova, u jednu celinu, kao u *R, t, S > R T S*, *gl, od, ur > gl od ur*, *T, a, n, Jug > T a n Jug*.
- Etapa 3: spajanje dobijenih rezultata u jednu grafološku, tj. slovnu, celinu, verzalnu ili, ređe, deverzalnu ili mešovitu, kao u *RTS, glodur* ili *GLODUR*, *TANJUG* ili *Tanjug*, tipično bez tačaka između elemenata ili, mnogo ređe, sa tačkama, kao u *d.o.o.*

Iz ovog opisa može se zaključiti da akronimizacija spada u tvorbene postupke kod kojih se iz ulazne osnove uklanja morfološki materijal, u vidu pojedinih, mada ne i uvek unapred određenih, slova odn. glasova, slogova ili, retko, morfema. To ovaj postupak čini morfološki zasnovanim, ali uz značajan oslonac na grafološko-ortografske i fonološko-fonetske pojave i ograničenja, kao i na morfosintaksu, semantiku i stilistiku, a sve to u okrilju pragmatike. To ovaj postupak očigledno ne čini čisto grafološko-ortografskom, odn. pravopisnom, pojavom, koja je zastupljena u skraćenicama *ul.*, *v.*, *doc. dr*, *km*, *msr* i sličnima.

Pored toga, akronimizacija je pravilima poluregulisan tvorbeni postupak, budući da je ovde poznata i predvidljiva samo ulazna osnova, ali ne i izlazni rezultat; na primer, ulazna osnova *Radio-televizija Srbije* mogla je dati izlazne rezultate *RTSrbije*, i *RTSrb*, i *RaTeS*, i *RaTeSrb*, i još neke, ali se tvorac, ili tvorbenik,



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opredelio za *RTS*, kao najkraći i najjednostavniji oblik (up. Pogl. 11 u ovoj knjizi).

Među pravilima poluregulisanim postupcima nalaze se još i ranije pomenuti postupci konflacije, abrevijacije i desufiksacije, ali i dva tamo nepomenuta postupka, za koje se ovde predlažu posebni nazivi (up. Prćić 1998): REDUPLIKACIJA, kao u primeru *ček-ček*, udvajanjem neizmenjene osnove *ček(aj/ajte* od *-ati)*, i *trange-frange*, udvajanjem izmenjene osnove *trange* ili *frange*, i TRANSPOZICIJA, kao u primerima *tebra* i *ljakse*, zamenom mesta slogova u osnovama *brate* i *seljak*. Nasuprot ovoj grupaciji stoji grupacija pravilima regulisanih tvorbenih postupaka, koju čine: prefiksacija (npr. *nevreme*), sufiksacija (*pevač*), kompozicija (*sladoled*), polukompozicija (*paradajz-čorba*) i konverzija (*mlâda*), budući da su njihove ulazne osnove i izlazni rezultati poznati i predvidljivi po svojoj formi i funkciji, mada ne nužno i po svojoj sadržini, zbog delovanja procesa idiomatizacije kod polimorfemskih reči (up. Prćić 2016, Pogl. 11 i 13 u ovoj knjizi).

U tom smislu, u pogledu vrsta morfoloških promena kojima se ulazne osnove podvrgavaju u pojedinim tvorbenim postupcima, moguće je razlikovati četiri tipa mofološke modifikacije osnove (up. Prćić 1998, 2023, Pogl. 11 i 13 u ovoj knjizi):

- ADITIVNA modifikacija, u postupcima prefiksacije (npr. *ne.vreme*), sufiksacije (*rad.nik*), kompozicije (*slad.o.led*), polukompozicije (*krompir.pire*), reduplikacije (*trange. frange*) i superimpozicije (*ob[jav > web]iti*), kada se na sastav ulazne osnove dodaje morfološki materijal,
- SUPTRAKTIVNA modifikacija, u postupcima abrevijacije (npr. *friz(ura)*), elipsacije (*roditeljski (sastanak)*) i desufiksacije (*zbun(iti)*), kada se iz sastava ulazne osnove uklanja morfološki materijal,
- MEŠOVITA modifikacija, u postupcima akronimizacije (npr. *p(orez na) d(odatnu) v(rednost) > PDV*), konflacije (*kli-n(ac + pr)inceza > klinceza*) i retrosufikacije (*reperku(sije > -tovati) > reperkutovati*), kada se prvo na sastav ulazne osnove dodaje morfološki materijal, a zatim iz sastava tako dobijene osnove uklanja drugi morfološki materijal, i



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- NULTA modifikacija, u postupcima konverzije (npr. *mlada*$_{prid}$ > *mlada*$_{im}$) i transpozicije (*se*↔*ljak* > *ljakse*), jer sastav ulazne osnove ostaje morfološki nepromenjen.

Po istom ili sličnom mehanizmu akronimi nastaju i u drugim evropskim jezicima, a neki od tih akronima ulaze u srpski i ponašaju se kao pozajmljenice, monomorfemske, morfološki neraščlanjive i semantički neprozirne, u morfosintaktičkoj klasi imenica, sa osobenostima o kojima će biti govora u narednom odeljku. U srpski jezik akronimi se ubedljivo najviše preuzimaju iz engleskog, poput *UNICEF, NATO, NBA, BBC, SMS, USB, VIP, PR, JFK, LA*, pa onda iz nemačkog, *BMW, ARD, DPA*, francuskog, *FIFA, AFP, TGV*, italijanskog, *FIAT, RAI*, ruskog, *ITAR TASS, MiG*, mađarskog, *MOL, OTP*, itd.[55]

(3) ZAŠTO NASTAJU AKRONIMI. – Akronimi nastaju prvenstveno kao pragmatička pojava, podstaknuta bez ostatka i bez izuzetka jezičkom ili, tačnije, leksičkom ekonomijom, te subjektivnom i objektivnom potrebom da se određeni sadržaj izrazi i prenese (što) kraćom formom, uz primenu (što) manjeg broja jezičkih sredstava i uz ulaganje (što) manjeg napora pri govoru i pisanju. U slučaju akronima, posredi je potreba, i želja, za skraćivanjem (pre)dugačkih i (pre)glomaznih reči, u obliku višečlanih, a ponekad i mnogočlanih, mnogoslogovnih i mnogoslovnih, fraznih

[55] Kako se akronimi, i druge reči nastale skraćivanjem, lingvistički tretiraju u evropskim i vanevropskim jezicima može se videti u dvama obimnim priručnicima – dvotomnom *Morphologie. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Flexion und Wortbildung* / *Morphology. An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation* (Booij, Lehmann i Mugdan 2000; Booij, Lehmann, Mugdan i Skopeteas 2004) i petotomnom *Word-Formation. An International Handbook of the Languages of Europe* (Müller, Ohnheiser, Olsen i Rainer 2015-2016).

Korisni su i iscrpni članci na Wikipediji na engleskom jeziku, pod naslovom 'Acronym' i 'Abbreviation', na adresama: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Acronym i https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abbreviation, kao i u člancima na drugim jezicima.

Dve milionski najveće onlajn baze podataka akronima i skraćenica u engleskom jeziku i njihovih punih oblika su *Acronym Finder* i *Acronym Attic*, na adresama: https://www.acronymfinder.com/ i https://www.acronymattic.com/.



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imenica, poput teško izgovorljivih, još teže napisivih i, naročito, ponajteže zapamtljivih struktura *dezoksiribonukleinska kiselina* (*DNK*) ili *Univerzitetski centar za interdisciplinarne i multidisciplinarne studije i istraživanja* (*UCIMSI*, u Novom Sadu). Ta potreba do posebnog izražaja dolazi u današnje vreme, vreme prebrzih, prežurnih i prepovršnih pisanih mobilnih komunikacija, u kojima je vrlo često ograničen broj raspoloživih znakova, što onda iziskuje razna dovijanja komunikatora, putem raznoraznih skraćivanja reči, sintagmi i rečenica, ponekad nalik na šifrovano i/ili argotizovano tajno ili polutajno sporazumevanje (up. Bugarski 2021; Crystal 2009). U tim skraćivanjima značajnu ulogu, još značajniju nego ranije, dobijaju akronimi i akronimizacija.

Kako to dvojstvo između punih i skraćenih, akronimiziranih, oblika izgleda u praksi, pokazuje i donja, dvostubačno prikazana, rečenica, odlomak iz izmišljenog, za ovu priliku ciljano smišljenog, novinskog izveštaja, u kojem su ciljne reči istaknute kurzivno:

| | |
|---|---|
| U *Nedeljnim informativnim novinama* od sutra<br>očekujemo recenziju najnovijeg *kompakt-diska*,<br>u izdanju *Produkcije gramofonskih ploča*<br>*Radio-televizije Srbije*,<br>sa koncerta našeg poznatog gudačkog kvarteta,<br>The Sombor *String Quartet Most Vocal Players*,<br>održanog na *Novosadskim muzičkim svečanostima*,<br>u oktobru 2019. godine. | U *NIN-u* od sutra<br>očekujemo recenziju najnovijeg *CD-a*,<br>u izdanju *PGP*<br>*RTS-a*,<br>sa koncerta našeg poznatog gudačkog kvarteta,<br>The Sombor *SQMVPs*,<br>održanog na *NOMUS-u*,<br>u oktobru 2019. godine. |

Jasno je da su kraći oblici svakako lakši i pogodniji kako u pisanju, tako i u govoru, i stoga su, objektivno, poželjniji i preporučljiviji, i u govorenoj, i u velikoj većini pisane upotrebe jezika, osim, možda, u najformalnijim i najkonzervativnijim vrstama tekstova. Nema jakog, čvrstog i odbranjivog lingvističkog, sociolingvističkog, standardološkog ili bilo kojeg drugog opravdanja, osim nekih krutih, zastarelih i prevaziđenih subjektivnih navika, verovanja i stavova, za insistiranje na primeni punih oblika ovih i svih ostalih naziva i naslova, umesto onih ‘ružnih, prljavih i zlih’ kraćih, koji se još uvek žigošu, obeshrabruju i proskribuju kao ‘zagađivači’ jezika, na šta se u nekim domaćim normativnim priručnicima (koji ovde namerno neće biti navedeni) i danas može



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naići, mada se nigde eksplicitno ne kaže u čemu se to zagađivanje jezika tačno ogleda.

Ako se akronimi – zbog svojih ponekad razbarušenih, neuobičajenih i atipičnih pisanih i/ili izgovornih i/ili gramatičkih oblika, koji odskaču i odudaraju više ili manje od začešljanih, uobičajenih i tipičnih oblika punokrvnih reči – smatraju zagađivačima jezika, onda su i skraćenice zagađivači jezika, a i jezička ekonomija u celini je zagađivač, pa i razarač, jezika. Jedino se ne zna kog i kakvog jezika. Kao i drugde u životu, pa tako i u komunikaciji, ljudi po instinktu teže pojednostavljivanju svega komplikovanog oko sebe, a posebno nepotrebno komplikovanog, pa tako i glomaznih leksičkih i drugih jezičkih struktura, koje je donelo, donosi i donosiće novo doba. I nema u tome baš ništa loše, ni po jezik, ni po njegov sistem, ni po njegovu upotrebu, ni po njegove korisnike.

Ako ima nečeg lošeg u svemu ovome to je da se na jezičko-lingvističkim činjenicama neutemeljenim insistiranjem i istrajavanjem na zagađivačkoj prirodi akronima, nazivanih skraćenicama, pa i reči nastalih drugim tvorbenim postupcima svojstvenim neformalnom i žargonskom sloju srpskog jezika s kraja 20. i s početka 21. veka, prvo, sprečava, u svakom jeziku dobrodošlo, uprošćavanje jezičkog izražaja koje ne ide na uštrb kvaliteta izraženog sadržaja; i drugo, time se sputavaju spontani, prirodni, produktivni i kreativni postupci tvorbe reči, koje je iznedrilo novo doba s novim ljudima, koji nemaju vremena za dugotrajuće reči ili nizove reči, ali i te kako imaju i vremena, i volje, i znanja, i vrcavosti duha da se igraju (sa) svojim jezikom i stvaraju nove reči, uključujući i one nastale skraćivanjem. Zašto taj dragoceni dar sprečavati i sputavati?

## 15.4. Pragmatičko-funkcionalna tipologija akronima

U ovom odeljku biće predstavljena pragmatičko-funkcionalna tipologija akronima. Pragmatička zato što je zasnovana, i ovog puta, na ponašanju akronima u konkretnoj pisanoj i govorenoj upotrebi srpskog jezika, a funkcionalna zato što je usredsređena



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na funkcije koje akronimi vrše u konkretnim rečenicama i, posredno, u jeziku uopšte.

Kao što je ranije nagovešteno, ova tipologija polazi od četiri osnovna formalna svojstva akronima – pisanog oblika, izgovornog oblika, morfosintaktičke funkcije i deklinabilnosti, koju u realizaciji valja zvati preciznijim terminom 'deklinacija'. Ova četiri svojstva združeno određuju LEKSIKALIZOVANOST, odn. leksemnost, ili leksemsku statusnost, ili pripadnost kategoriji reči, nekog akronima, koja se manifestuje stepenovano, po kontrastu više – manje i kreće se u rasponu od jače, ili jače izražene, do slabije, ili slabije izražene. U zavisnosti od načina i obima ispunjenosti formalnih svojstava, i ujedno uslova, leksikalizovanosti, akronimi mogu biti više ili manje leksikalizovani, na različite načine i u različitim obimima, i otuda mogu imati pun, delimičan ili nikakav leksemski status. Kao takvi, oni mogu zauzimati (bar) jednu poziciju unutar grozdasto raspoređena četiri međupovezana i preklapajuća kruga leksikalizovanosti akronima i pripadati (bar) jednom od četiri tipa akronima, za koje će ovde biti predloženi i posebni nazivi (up. Prćić 2002, 2019a).

### 15.4.1. Leksikalizovani akronimi: tip *CeSID, BITEF, NASA*

U prvom krugu nalaze se LEKSIKALIZOVANI AKRONIMI, koji imaju pun leksemski status, jer se koriste i stoga se ponašaju kao tipične reči, što se može videti iz načina ispoljavanja ključna četiri njihova formalna svojstva:

(1) Leksikalizovani akronimi javljaju se u pisanom liku tipičnih reči, koje karakteriše jedna neprekinuta grafološka, odn. slovna, celina, bez tačaka, ali se od njih razlikuju po svojoj pretežno verzalnoj realizaciji i, povremeno, mada relativno retkoj, deverzalnoj realizaciji, s verzalnim početnim slovima kod vlastitih imena, ili, vrlo retkoj, mešovitoj realizaciji, kao u *CeSID, BITEF, GLODUR, NASA* prema *Cesid, Bitef, glodur, Nasa*.

(2) Leksikalizovani akronimi javljaju se izgovornom liku tipičnih reči, koje karakteriše jedna fonološka, odn. glasovna, celina, s rasporedom vokala i konsonanata, koji fonotaktički omo-



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gućava neprekinutu izgovorljivost fonema s jednim jedinstvenim akcentom u reči, tipično s naglaskom na prvom slogu, kao u /cȅsid/, /bȉtef/, /glȍdūr/, /nàsa/.

(3) Leksikalizovani akronimi javljaju se u morfosintaktičkoj funkciji imenice, u jednom od dva gramatička roda:

- u muškom rodu, koji se može odrediti dvojako: strukturno, prema završnom glasu, po pravilu bilo kojem konsonantu ili vokalu osim *-a*, kao u *CeSID, BITEF, AVNOJ*, i, dodatno, pomoću kolokacije s pokaznom zamenicom *taj*, koja identifikuje imenicu muškog roda, kao u *taj CeSID*, *taj BITEF*, itd., i
- u ženskom rodu, koji se takođe može odrediti dvojako: strukturno, prema završnom glasu, po pravilu vokalu *-a*, kao u *NASA, UEFA, NAMA*, i, dodatno, pomoću kolokacije s pokaznom zamenicom *ta*, koja identifikuje imenicu ženskog roda, kao u *ta NASA*, *ta UEFA*, itd.

(4) Leksikalizovani akronimi javljaju se u padežnim likovima, u skladu sa svojom muškom ili ženskom paradigmom, kao u *CeSID, CeSID-a, CeSID-u, CeSID*, itd., za muški rod, i *Nasa, Nase, Nasi, Nasu*, itd., za ženski rod.

Iz ovde navedenog može se zaključiti da leksikalizovani akronimi odstupaju od tipičnih reči po svom verzalnom ili mešovitom pisanom obliku.

Sledi izbor reprezentativnih leksikalizovanih akronima srpskog jezika i onih pozajmljenih iz drugih jezika a u upotrebi u srpskom (puni oblici ovde i drugde neće se davati, pošto su za ovo izlaganje od sekundarnog značaja):

leksikalizovani akronimi nastali u srpskom jeziku:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CeSID | BITEF | NOMUS | AVNOJ | NIN | JAT | KONUS |
| DOS | OEBS | TANJUG | NAMA | BIA | SUBNOR | NOLIT |
| MUP | BEMUS | NOB | UNS | REM | BIRODI | NIS |
| KRIK | NUNS | FAP | PIO | CINS | BIGZ | KoSSeV |
| YUMCO | GLODUR | EPS | NALED | PLJiŽ | MOK | SIMPO |



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leksikalizovani akronimi pozajmljeni iz drugih jezika:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NASA | FIFA | IRA | RAI | SEAT | UNICEF | BAFTA |
| UNMIK | NATO | OPEC | CIA | FIAT | IKEA | EURIBOR |
| AWACS | radar | AILA | MAV | UNESCO | KFOR | VIP |
| VAR | INA | МиГ | FIBA | SIM | laser | ABBA |
| TACC | WiFi | UEFA | HIV | MOL | PIN | LED |

## 15.4.2. Poluleksikalizovani akronimi: tip *RTS, GSP, BBC*

U drugom krugu nalaze se POLULEKSIKALIZOVANI AKRONIMI, koji imaju delimičan leksemski status, jer se delimično koriste i stoga se delimično ponašaju kao tipične reči, što se može videti iz načina ispoljavanja ključna četiri njihova formalna svojstva:

(1) Poluleksikalizovani akronimi javljaju se u pisanom liku tipičnih reči, ali se od njih razlikuju po svojoj gotovo redovnoj verzalnoj realizaciji, kao u *RTS, DNK, GSP, FTN, BBC* i, vrlo retko, deverzalnoj, bez tačaka ili s tačkama, kao u *d.o.o*.

(2) Poluleksikalizovani akronimi javljaju se u izgovornom liku tipičnih reči, ali se od njih razlikuju po rasporedu konsonanata i, ređe, vokala, koji fonotaktički onemogućava neprekinutu izgovorljivost celine s jednim jedinstvenim akcentom, zbog čega se kod njih javlja slogovni izgovor, odn. zaseban izgovor pojedinačnih slova, s mikropauzama između svakog i s naglaskom na poslednjem slogu, koji ujedno nosi taj jedan jedinstveni akcenat u reči, prema jednom od tri raspoloživa izgovorna obrasca:

- slogovni izgovor kod kojeg se konsonantska slova realizuju s pratećim vokalima, po tzv. latiničkim vrednostima slova, kao u /er-tē-ès/, za *RTS*, ili /dē-en-kâ/, za *DNK*,
- slogovni izgovor kod kojeg se konsonantska slova realizuju bez pratećih vokala, po tzv. ćiriličkim vrednostima slova, kao u /g-s-p/, za *GSP*, ili /f-t-n/, za *FTN*, mada se ti konsonanti u stvarnosti artikulaciono proizvode i auditivno primaju (pri pažljivom i ciljanom slušanju), s automatski pridruženim pratećim glasom [ə], tj. šva (nem. *Schwa*), pa se tako fonološko /g-s-p/ i /f-t-n/ fonetski realizuju kao [gəsəpə̑] i [fətənə̑] – zbog nemogućnosti ak-



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centovanja konsonantskih slova, u prikazima tipa /g-s-p/ podrazumevaće se da je poslednji konsonant naglašen, i

- slogovni izgovor kod kojeg se i konsonantska i vokalska slova realizuju po engleskim vrednostima slova, kao u /bī-bī-sî/, za *BBC*, ili /en-bī-êj/, za *NBA*.

Pri tome, u vezi s izgovorom poluleksikalizovanih akronima i njihovog upravo ponuđenog tumačenja potrebno je dati nekoliko napomena i bližih objašnjenja:

- napomena 1: postojanje naglaska na poslednjem slogu, koji ujedno nosi jedan jedinstveni akcenat u reči, u realizacijama poput /er-tē-ès/, /g-s-p/ odn. [gəsəpə̀], /bī-bī-sî/, može se lako utvrditi i potvrditi ukoliko se naglasak pomeri na prvi, drugi ili neki drugi slog, što se u praksi ne javlja, osim kao metajezički relevantan kontrastni naglasak, radi posebnog isticanja i/ili razlikovanja sličnih glasova, kao u: nije /er-pê-es/, *RPS*, nego /er-tê-es/, *RTS*, ili [gə̀səpə], *GSP*, a ne [kə̀səpə], *KSP*,
- napomena 2: u nizovima slogova koji realizuju neki akronim, naglašen je samo poslednji slog, i to uglavnom kratkosilazno ili dugosilazno, dok su svi ostali, ispred njega, ili kratki ili dugi nenaglašeni vokali, pri čemu su potonji označeni akcenatskim znakom za postakcenatsku dužinu, koji ovde sada obeležava predakcenatsku dužinu,
- napomena 3: ispred spojeva ‘latiničke vrednosti slova’ i ‘ćiriličke vrednosti slova’ umetnuta je skraćenica ‘tzv.’, zato što su ovi nazivi neprecizni, budući da izbor jednog ili drugog izgovornog obrasca nije povezan s pismom, iako je prvobitno to možda bio, nego s pragmatički uslovljenom eufonijom, navikom i frekventnošću javljanja, po kojoj će neki akronimi uvek biti izgovoreni s pratećim vokalima, i ako su napisani ćirilicom, i ako su napisani latinicom, poput *РТС, ПМФ, ПДВ, ДНК, ММФ* prema *RTS, PMF, PDV, DNK, MMF*, neki će uvek biti izgovoreni bez pratećih vokala, poput *ГСП, ФТН, СКЦ, МСЦ, ОРЛ* prema *GSP, FTN, SKC, MSC, ORL*, neki će slediti dva ili čak sva tri obrasca, poput *SPS* kao /es-pē-ès/ i /s-p-s/, *DVD* kao



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/dī-vī-dî/ i /dē-vē-dê/, *LGBT* kao /el-džī-bī-tî/ i /el-gē-bē-tê/ i /l-g-b-t/, dok će neki, vrlo retki, imati idiosinkratičan i nepredvidljiv izgovor, poput *VMA* kao /vē-mē-â/, *UNHCR* kao /un-hā-cē-ȅr/, pored /ū-en-hā-cē-ȅr/, *AFŽ* kao /ā-fē-žê/, *SFRJ* kao /es-ef-er-jû/ i /es-ef-er-jȍt/, pored /s-f-r-j/; ukratko, čvrstih pravila ovde nema, možda samo nekih više ili manje raspoznatljivih tendencija, koje se ostvaruju, više ili manje dosledno, od slučaja do slučaja – mahom slučajno, nedosledno i često s umnožavanjem nasumičnih varijacija jednog istog oblika, i

- napomena 4: poluleksikalizovane akronime stranog porekla, naročito iz engleskog jezika, s obzirom na njihov slogovni izgovor po engleskim vrednostima slova, moguće je, ako ne i preporučljivije, u srpskom prikazivati slogovnim pisanjem, tj. transkripcijom datih slogova povezanih crticom, kao u *Bi-Bi-Si, Si-En-En, Ef-Bi-Aj*, od eng. *BBC, CNN, FBI*, za vlastita imena, i *di-džej, si-vi, pi-ar*, od eng. *DJ, CV, PR*, za generičke imenice.

(3) Poluleksikalizovani akronimi javljaju se u morfosintaktičkoj funkciji imenice, u samo jednom gramatičkom rodu:

- u muškom rodu, koji se opet može odrediti dvojako: strukturno, prema završnom glasu, po pravilu bilo kojem konsonantu ili vokalu, kao u *RTS, DNK, GSP, FTN, BBC, DPA, PTI*, i, dodatno, pomoću kolokacije s pokaznom zamenicom *taj*, koja identifikuje imenicu muškog roda, kao u *taj RTS, taj GSP, taj BBC, taj DPA*.

(4) Poluleksikalizovani akronimi javljaju se u padežnim likovima, u skladu sa svojom muškom paradigmom, kao u *RTS, RTS-a, RTS-u, RTS*, ..., *GSP, GSP-a, GSP-u, GSP*, ..., *BBC, BBC-ja, BBC-ju, BBC*, ..., itd.

Iz ovde navedenog može se zaključiti da poluleksikalizovani akronimi odstupaju od onih leksikalizovanih po svom slogovnom izgovoru.

Sledi izbor reprezentativnih poluleksikalizovanih akronima srpskog jezika i onih pozajmljenih iz drugih jezika a u upotrebi u srpskom:



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poluleksikalizovani akronimi nastali u srpskom jeziku:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| RTS | GSP | PMF | VMA | SPC | DNK | MMF |
| SNS | AFŽ | NDNV | MSC | PTT | BSK | NLO |
| PKB | LSV | RTRS | PDV | SSP | MTS | FTN |
| TLZP | NVO | SPS | SSSR | RHMZ | FSS | ORL |
| SKC | BDP | CK SKJ | VD | UDK | SZO | PGP |

poluleksikalizovani akronimi pozajmljeni iz drugih jezika:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BBC | OMV | UNHCR | DVD | HD | MVP | GPS |
| DPA | PR | WC | NBA | AEG | LCD | DJ |
| USB | LGBT | JFK | PMS | OK | CNN | ATP |
| PDF | GMO | CV | BMW | JVC | BCG | ECTS |
| NGO | TGV | SBB | ISBN | SMS | QR | GDP |

### 15.4.3. Neleksikalizovani akronimi

U trećem krugu nalaze se NELEKSIKALIZOVANI AKRONIMI, koji nemaju leksemski status, jer se ne koriste i stoga se ne ponašaju kao tipične reči. Radi se o leksikalizovanim i poluleksikalizovanim akronimima, sa svojim već opisanim osobenim pisanim i izgovornim likovima, i morfosintaktičkom funkcijom imenice, ali koji se jednokratno, povremeno ili stalno upotrebljavaju samo u nominativu, bez primene ostalih padežnih likova, kao što pokazuju primeri *SANU, SAD, UNESKO, OEBS* (izvorno leksikalizovani akronimi), *SFRJ, SRJ, SNP, VMA* (izvorno poluleksikalizovani akronimi), u kontekstima sintagmi, klauza i rečenica poput:

- *izbori u SANU održaće se..., upućen je apel SAD da se..., iz SOKOJ upozoravaju..., od UNMIK će biti zatraženo..., pod pokroviteljstvom UNESKO, u BBC se nadaju..., na promociji svog CD, srdačno su zahvalili FIFA, sa teritorije bivše SFRJ, nova sezona u SNP počinje u oktobru, obratili smo se OEBS, revolucionarni zahvat lekara na VMA, rekao je da bi NVO trebalo osloboditi poreza, odlukom da PSBM oduzme mandate, upad u informatički sistem NASA.*



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Ovi raspadeženi oblici, svedeni na neobeleženi nominativ u svim pozicijama koje imenica može da zauzme, neobični su, ako ne i čudni, i komični, jer se sukobljavaju s gramatikom standardnog srpskog jezika i dovode do manjkavih sintaktičko-semantičkih konstrukcija, što će nekoliko kontrastnih primera jasno pokazati:

- *izbori u SANU održaće se...* nasuprot *izbori u Akademija*? ili u *Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti*? održaće se...,
- *upućen je apel SAD da se...* nasuprot *upućen je apel Amerika*? ili *Države*? ili *Sjedinjene Države*? ili *Sjedinjene Američke Države*? da se...,
- *sa teritorije bivše SFRJ* nasuprot *sa teritorije bivše Jugoslavija*? ili *Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija*?,
- *nova sezona u SNP počinje u oktobru* nasuprot *nova sezona u Pozorište*? ili u *Srpsko narodno pozorište*? *počinje u oktobru*.

Ako je glavna imenica iz akronima neprirodna, ako ne i nedoučena, a svakako nestandardna, u nominativu tamo gde treba da je u nekom drugom padežu, onda je i njen deklinabilan akronim neprirodan, nedoučen i nestandardan. Tim pre što nije uvek jasno da li se akronim i izgovara u tom nominativnom obliku ili u svom punom obliku, poput *izbori u Srpskoj akademiji nauka i umetnosti održaće se...*, ili *nova sezona u Srpskom narodnom pozorištu počinje u oktobru*. Štaviše, u nekim slučajevima, kao što su *rekao je da bi NVO trebalo osloboditi poreza, odlukom da PSBM oduzme mandate* i *upad u informatički sistem NASA*, padež je nejasan – da li je *NVO* jednina ili množina?, da li *PSBM* oduzeo ili su njemu oduzeti?, da li je *NASA* upala ili se njoj upalo? Sve to može se, možda, razrešiti tek u širem jezičkom (rečeničnom) ili, verovatnije, vanjezičkom (situacionom) kontekstu.

Iz ovde navedenog može se zaključiti da neleksikalizovani akronimi odstupaju i od onih leksikalizovanih i od onih poluleksikalizovanih po izostanku očekivane deklinacije – ili jednokratno, ili povremeno, ili stalno.



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Na ovaj način, neleksikalizovani akronimi se svojom funkcijom približavaju skraćenicama. Ako se određeni leksikalizovani ili poluleksikalizovani akronim stalno ili povremeno javlja bespadežno, utoliko se više i trajnije približava neleksikalizovanim akronimima, bar u ovom segmentu ispoljavanja četiri svoja osnovna formalna svojstva.

### 15.4.4. Deleksikalizovani akronimi

U četvrtom krugu nalaze se DELEKSIKALIZOVANI AKRONIMI, koji takođe nemaju leksemski status, jer se ne koriste i stoga se ne ponašaju kao tipične reči. Radi se o leksikalizovanim, poluleksikalizovanim i neleksikalizovanim akronimima, sa svojim već opisanim osobenim likovima, ali koji se jednokratno, povremeno ili stalno upotrebljavaju izgovoreni u punom obliku i s rečeničnom kongruencijom koja iz tog punog oblika proizlazi, kao što pokazuju primeri u kontekstima poput:

- *saopštila je danas PKS*, što se projektuje sa *Privredna komora Srbije*,
- *CIK BiH je objavila rezultate izbora*, što se projektuje sa *Centralna izborna komisija Bosne i Hercegovine*,
- *EU je otvorena za nove predloge*, što se projektuje sa *Evropska unija*, što u sva tri slučaja podrazumeva ženski rod, jedninu i nominativ,
- *SAD su uputile oštar protest*, što se projektuje sa *Sjedinjene Američke Države*, ženski rod, množina i nominativ, i
- dobio sam nekoliko *CD*, što se projektuje sa *kompakt-diskova*, muški rod, množina, genitiv.

Iz ovde navedenog može se zaključiti da deleksikalizovani akronimi odstupaju od svih ostalih tipova po izgovoru punog oblika i po kongruenciji koja je s njim u vezi.

Na ovaj način, deleksikalizovani akronimi se svojom formom i funkcijom približavaju skraćenicama. Ako se određeni leksikalizovani, poluleksikalizovani ili neleksikalizovani akronim stalno ili povremeno javlja u punom izgovornom obliku i pripadajućim



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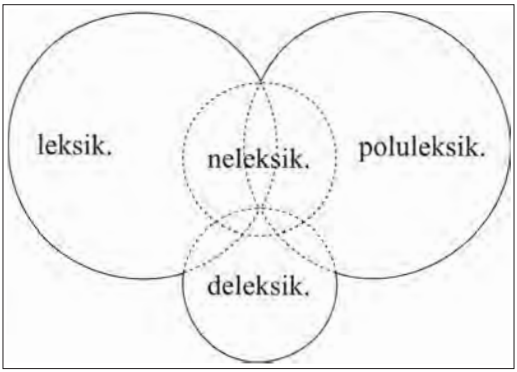
padežim oblicima, utoliko se više i trajnije približava skraćenicama, s kojima deli sva četiri osnovna formalna svojstva.

Zaključujući predstavljanje ove pragmatičko-funkcionalne tipologije akronima, treba istaći, još jednom ili još jasnije, nekoliko značajnih činjenica, koje su iznesene u tekstu, a koje su sada i zbirno vizualizovane na rekapitulativnoj Ilustraciji 12.




Ilustracija 12: četiri pragmatičko-funkcionalna tipa akronima

Razmeštaj i oblik četiri kruga treba posmatrati i razumeti na sledeći način (bez pratećih primera, pošto su sve navedene pojave bile detaljno objašnjavane i primerima potkrepljivane tokom dosadašnjeg izlaganja):

- ova tipologija zamišljena je da funkcioniše po principu spojenih sudova, ili, tačnije, spojenih krugova, utoliko što promena u statusu ili nekom svojstvu jednog akronima dovodi do promena ne samo u 'njegovom' krugu, nego posledično, kad i ako je to potrebno, neposredno ili posredno, i u ostala tri kruga,
- da bi izvesni akronim mogao da se klasifikuje kao jedan ili drugi glavni tip, svaki od njih mora zadovoljiti postavljene uslove, odn. kriterijume, leksikalizovanosti, a stepen i način ispoljavanja tih kriterijuma, u vidu četiri osnovna



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formalna svojstva, određuje kojem će tipu konkretni akronim pripasti,
- postoje dva glavna tipa akronima – leksikalizovani, s punim leksemskim statusom, i poluleksikalizovani, s delimičnim leksemskim statusom, koji međusobno dele neka zajednička formalna svojstva (otuda isprekidana linija na obodima),
- preostala dva tipa, neleksikalizovani i deleksikalizovani akronimi, nemaju leksemski status i oni zapravo čine više ili manje trajna i više ili manje izražena odstupanja od glavnih tipova (otuda kombinovana isprekidana linija između sva četiri tipa), i
- jedan akronim može se, po nekim svojim svojstvima, istovremeno nalaziti u nekoliko krugova, a moguća je i promena statusa deleksikalizovanih i neleksikalizovanih akronima ka gornjim krugovima, ukoliko neki od njih, zahvaljujući drukčijem načinu upotrebe i drukčijem ponašanju, otpočne, nastavi i okonča proces prerastanja u jedan ili drugi glavni tip.

## 15.5. Teorijsko-metodološke i praktične implikacije

Što se tiče mogućih teorijsko-metodoloških implikacija rezultata istraživanja iznesenih u ovoj raspravi, one bi najviše došle do izražaja u sledeće tri oblasti:
- u oblasti akronimije, vezano za sprovođenje opsežne i višeslojne korpusne analize upotrebe akronima u današnjem srpskom jeziku, naročito u medijskim i elektronskim tekstovima, da bi se kvalitativno i kvantitativno dokumentovalo konkretno ponašanje akronima u praksi, u pogledu svih formalnih i sadržinskih aspekata, uključujući i tipove morfosintaktičkih obrazaca u kojima se javljaju,
- u oblasti standardizacije, vezano za sastavljanje normativnih preporuka o upotrebi akronima na planu pisanja, izgovora, deklinacije i derivacije, i



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- možda najbitnije, u oblasti tvorbe reči, vezano za sprovođenje opsežne i višeslojne korpusne analize reči nastalih pravilima poluregulisanim tvorbenim postupcima u današnjem srpskom jeziku, čiji bi opisi vremenom prerasli u treći tom znamenitog dvoknjižja *Tvorba reči u savremenom srpskom jeziku* (Klajn 2002, 2003) i u dopunu poglavlja o tvorbi reči isto tako znamenite *Normativne gramatike srpskog jezika* (Piper, Klajn i Dragićević 2022), koje se u svojim sadašnjim izdanjima bave mahom samo pravilima regulisanim tvrbenim postupcima.

A što se mogućih praktičnih implikacija tiče, one bi se najkorisnijima pokazale u sledeće tri oblasti:

- u oblasti leksikografije, vezano za izradu specijalizovanog onlajn rečnika akronima u srpskom jeziku, uključujući podatke o njihovim punim oblicima, izvedenicama, sinonimima i homonimima, te prevode punih oblika akronima pozajmljenih iz drugih jezika,
- takođe u oblasti leksikografije, vezano za unošenje ustaljenih leksikalizovanih i poluleksikalizovanih akronima u opšte rečnike srpskog jezika, u svojstvu punopravnih odrednica s punom leksikografskom obradom, naporedo sa svim ostalim ustaljenim rečima nastalim drugim pravilima poluregulisanim tvorbenim postupcima, uključujući posebno reči nastale skraćivanjem, i
- možda najbitnije, u oblasti nastave srpskog jezika, počev od osnovne škole pa do fakulteta, gde bi akronimi bili sagledavani iz deskriptivne perspektive, kao jedan tip reči nastalih skraćivanjem, a onda i iz preskriptivne perspektive, s preporukama, koje tek treba razraditi, za njihovo standardizovano korišćenje u pisanju, govoru, gramatici i tvorbi reči, kako bi učenici i studenti uvideli da svako skraćivanje reči u jeziku ne urađa baš uvek skraćenicama, nego da postoje grafološke i leksičke skraćenice, koje su delom slične po nazivu ali se po svemu drugome i te kako razlikuju.



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Naročito se razlikuju po tome što potonje, leksičke skraćenice, ili akronimi, predstavljaju reči nastale skraćivanjem, koje imaju leksemski status, ali i svoj osobeni pisani lik, svoj osobeni izgovorni lik i, najvažnije od svega, svoju osobenu sposobnost promene po padežima i svoju osobenu sposobnost tvorbe novih reči. Sve ove osobenosti valja učiti, naučiti i znati, a onda i početi primenjivati u sopstvenom svakodnevnom pisanju i govoru.

I za sam kraj, jedan kuriozitet: moguća je i pojava da jedan isti oblik, u zavisnosti od svoje pragmatike i funkcije, bude akronim u jednoj upotrebi, a skraćenica u drugoj, pa tako oblik *dr,* izgovoren kao /dȍktor/, nastupa kao skraćenica i odnosi se na lekare ili doktore nauka ili umetnosti, a oblik *Dr*, izgovoren kao /dr̂/, nastupa kao akronim i odnosi se na naslov, i naslovni lik, poznate Nušićeve drame. Ovaj jedinstven, izuzetan, ali i usamljen, primer potvrđuje da se mnogo toga u jeziku i komunikaciji, uključujući i kompleksno pitanje reči nastalih skraćivanjem, razrešava pragmatički, konkretnom upotrebom jezičkih jedinica u konkretnom jezičkom (rečeničnom) i vanjezičkom (situacionom) kontekstu.



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***Words in a New Light*, first, electronic, edition**

Prof. dr Tvrtko Prćić

# REČI U NOVOM SVETLU

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