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Croatian Blends from Personal Names

1. Introduction

This contribution examines Croatian blends that include personal names (first names, surnames, nicknames, aliases; thereinafter: personal name blends, PN blends) as at least one of their source words.[1] The focus is first on the structure of these blends, then, some aspects of their usage, semantics, and discursive function are considered. This analysis is based on a sample of PN blends extracted from the Croatian dictionary of lexical blends (MARKOVIĆ/KLINDIĆ/BORKOVIĆ 2016: *Hrvatski rječnik stopljenica*) which is the most comprehensive source of blends in Croatian to date. It records more than 5,000 lexical blends from 550 Croatian sources representing different registers and discourse types (e.g., fiction, journalistic texts, scientific texts, online forums, and colloquial language). The blends included in the dictionary were collected through the course of several earlier, smaller projects (e.g., from two Facebook pages (KLINDIĆ 2016), and a satirical magazine (HALAPIR 2013)). The dictionary includes blends found in various Croatian written sources and contains Croatian-made blends and blends borrowed from English (or, in fewer cases, from other languages). For this analysis, the first three chapters of the dictionary were systematically examined (see Section 2).

The usual assumption in research on word formation in Slavic is that blending is a marginal phenomenon. For instance, SICHERL (2018) claims that lexical blends were non-existent in Slovenian and emerged more recently under the influence of English. Similar observations related to Polish can be found in KONIECZNA (2012). BRDAR-SZABÓ and BRDAR (2008: 190) claimed that "Croatian exhibits very little compounding and only peculiar types of clipping and also has very few blends." However, more recently, blends from various Croatian sources have been collected within various projects, and it appears that they are not as rare as was assumed not so long ago. Determining how frequent or rare blends are in a language is difficult because blends cannot be extracted from general language corpora in any systematic

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[1] KOTOWSKI ET AL., n.d. use the term "personal name blends" for blends all of whose components are personal names.

way:[2] formal rules to define searches do not exist because the word-formational and semantic systemic predictability of blends is insufficient.

Blends are typically formed by fusing two words (source words, hereinafter SWs, see, e.g., KEMMER 2003; GRIES 2004) or units larger or smaller than words (source forms; see LÓPEZ RÚA 2004). Parts of these words or forms are typically lost in the blending process. SWs in blends are, as a rule, phonologically or graphically somewhat similar (e.g., the family name *Abdić* and the first part (*abdic*) of the verb *abdicirati* 'abdicate', which are SWs in the first blend found in the data, *abdićirati*). Similarity tends to concentrate around the point where the switch from one SW to the other takes place, although this is not an absolute rule.

Source words can be fully retained in the blend, or just some elements of the source word can be retained and these become blend constituents or splinters (e.g. CANNON 1986; LÓPEZ RÚA 2004). For instance, in our data the blend *abenomika* contains its full first SW, the name *Abe*, and the splinter (*nomika*) from the second SW *ekonomika* 'economics'.

It has been found that the most frequent blends in English are nouns, followed by adjectives and verbs (BAUER ET AL. 2013: 459–460). Noun dominance is also observed in other languages (e.g., Hebrew (BAT-EL 1996), and Greek (RALLI/XYDOPOULOS 2012)). When we consider combinations of SWs according to their grammatical category, the most frequent are noun + noun; adjective + noun; adjective + adjective and verb + verb (based on the classification in BAUER ET AL. (2013: 459)).

The factors influencing the order of SWs are found to be length, frequency and prototypicality. Shorter and more frequent elements tend to come first (e.g., *smog: smoke + fog*), as do more prototypical elements (e.g., *spork: spoon + fork*). Order is also influenced by pragmatics: for instance, in *brunch*, the order of constituents corresponds to temporal order of breakfast and lunch (examples from BAUER 2012: 12).

It is often claimed that in a typical blend the beginning of the first source word is merged with the ending of the second, e.g. AB + CD = AD (PLAG 2003: 123); see also BELIAEVA (2019) and DEVEREUX (1984: 210). This is an interesting issue worth examining in the Croatian data (see Section 2).

In regards to their formal complexity, blends can be comprised of more than two source forms. In literature on European languages, blends based on two SWs or forms dominate. However, blends based on three SWs are also attested, as well as blends containing more than three, albeit, rarely.

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[2] It is of course possible to extract blends from the sources in which such coinages are tagged (see, e.g., MATTIELLO (2018)).

The recognizability of SWs is important for blends. According to GRIES (2012: 164) SWs are blended "so as to maximize overlap in the middle of the fusion section and maximize phonemic / graphemic similarity elsewhere as much as is still possible". BELIAEVA in her experimental studies (e.g., 2015) demonstrated that the cognitive processing of blends involves the activation of their SWs in the readers' lexicon.

This paper aims to contribute to our understanding of the structure and semantics of blends in a less-studied Slavic language and to provide some insights for studying blends across languages. The decision to focus on blends involving personal names relates to the fact that PN blends are under-researched, even in languages such as English and German. Furthermore, blends with personal names as components are particularly challenging because personal names are commonly regarded as definite and monoreferential, and they do not possess any lexical meaning, nor do they characterize or evaluate. see, e.g., ANDERSON (2007)). However, KOTOWSKI ET AL., n.d. argue that PN blends with two personal names as their base involve lexical meanings that pertain either to the referent or to social aspects of the collection of individuals to which they refer.

2. Structure of the Croatian PN blends

For this analysis, three chapters (A, B, C) of the dictionary by MARKOVIĆ, KLINDIĆ, and BORKOVIĆ (2016) were examined, totaling 196 (A), 370 (B) and 158 (C) lemmas, that is, lexical blends. Among these 724 blends, 194 (47 in (A), 109 in (B) and 38 in (C)) were identified as PN blends in which at least one component was a personal name. The share of PN blends is between 24 (A and C) and 29 (B) percent. 172 of the PN blends are nouns, nineteen are adjectives, and three are verbs. In a few cases, a cluster of related morphological forms was attested in the data (e.g., *antofašist* (*Anto* + *antifašist* 'antifascist'), *antofašizam* (*Anto* + *antifašizam* 'antifascism', *antofašistički* (*Anto* + *antifašististički* 'antifascist')).

In the following section, the structure of the Croatian PN blends is presented (Table 1 and 2). The classification in Table 1 considers the types of words included and the order of the SWs, whereas the classification in Table 2 accounts for the degree of truncation and overlap of SWs, and their order.

Table 1 provides an overview of the types of units included in the blends with two, three and four components. PN refers exclusively to personal names. Proper names are all other names, which, in the data, are frequently geographical names (e.g., of countries and rivers) and names of various organizations.

Table 1. Components in the Croatian PN blends (parts of speech, morphemes)

Models	Examples	Source words/forms	Number
	TWO SOURCE WORDS/FORMS		175
PN + Common Noun	*Bloudekaonica*	*Bloudek*; *skakaonica* 'ski jumping hill'	(55)
Common Noun + PN	*Blunaček*	*bluna* 'stupid person'; *Lunaček*	(22)
			77
PN + PN	*Bazga*	*Bajaga*; *Rozga*	30
PN + Proper Name	*Causchwitz, Ceauschwitz*	*Ceauşescu*; *Auschwitz*	(13)
Proper Name + PN	*Coca-Coelho*	*Coca-Cola*; *Coelho*	(9)
			22
PN + Adjective	*antefašistički*	*Ante*; *antifašistički* 'antifascist'	(13)
Adjective + PN	*bašćaćanski*	*bašćanski* 'Baška (adj. relating to the town Baška/Baška tablet)'; *Ćaća*	(10)
			23
PN + Verb Verb + PN	*abdićirati*	*Abdić*; *abdicirati* 'abdicate'	(3)
	Blebekavac	*blebetati* 'blabber'; *Bekavac*	(8)
			11
Adverb + PN PN + Adverb	*Bogznanić*	*bogzna* 'God knows'; *Bozanić*	(3)
	brozno	*Broz*; *grozno* 'awful'	(1)
			4
Particle + PN	*Bredrag*	*bre*; *Predrag*	4
PN + Abbreviation PN + Abbr. Proper Name	*BaldaSSar*	*Baldasar*; *SS* 'Schutzstaffel'	(1)
	AsSAD	*al-Assad*; *SAD*	(1)
			2
PN +Number	*Cetrinski*	*Cetinski*; *tri* 'three'	1
Prepositional Phrase + PN	*Bescartes*	*bez karte* 'without a ticket'; *Descartes*	1
	THREE SOURCE FORMS		16
Proper Name + PN + PN	*Atlantun*	*Atlanta*; *Antun*; *Tun*	(1)
Proper Name + PN + Common Noun	*Bandekfest*	*Bandić*; *Bundek*; *festival*	(1)
PN + Proper Name + Common Noun	*bundalaština*	*Bundalo*; *Una*; *budalaština* 'foolishness'	(3)
Common Noun + PN + Proper Name	*Catastropola*	*katastrofa* 'catastrophe'; *Castropola*, *Pola*	(1)

			6
PN + Common Noun + Common Noun Common Noun + PN + Common Noun	*bobetka*	*Bobetko*; *bob* 'broad bean'; *beretka* 'beret'	3
PN + Common Noun + Suffix Common Noun + PN + Suffix	*bregovnitis*	*Bregović*; *govno* 'shit'; -*itis*	(1) (1)
	bezputinstvo	*bespuće* 'wasteland'; *Putin*; -*stvo*	2
PN + Common Noun + PN	*Arsenikides*	*Arsen*, *arsenik* 'arsenic'; *Wenzelides*	1
PN + Verb + Adjective	*beljački*	*Beljak*; *beljiti se* 'make a face'; *seljački* 'uncouth'	2
Interjection + Verb + PN	*Bljutković*	*bljak* 'yuck'; *bljuvati* 'puke'; *Butković*	1
PN + Common noun + Common noun	*Chewap*	*Che*; *ćevap* 'grilled dish of minced meat'; *wap*	1
	FOUR SOURCE FORMS		3
Common Noun + Common Noun + PN + PN	*Aršelides*	*aršin* 'cubit'; *Arsch* 'ass'; *Arsen*; *Wenzelides*	1
Interjection + Common Noun + PN + Common Noun	*blablagonič*, *blablablagonič*	*blabla*; *blago* 'cattle; *Blagonić*; *gonič* 'cattle driver'	2
Total			194

Table 1 shows that the majority of the Croatian PN blends include two constituents, most frequently words (e.g., two PNs; a PN and a common noun). They occasionally contain (splinters of) larger units, e.g., phrases, such as *bez karte* 'without a ticket', and only rarely smaller units (e.g., suffixes such as -*itis*). A limited number of blends include three SWs, while only three examples had four SWs.

Within the two-component blends, the largest categories are: blends consisting of two nouns; a noun and an adjective; or a noun and a verb.[3] In the noun-noun category, the largest subgroup comprises blends with PNs and common nouns, in which PNs tend to be the first SWs. Blends with two PNs are the second largest subgroup. Blends consisting of PNs and other proper names follow. In the blends comprising PNs and adjectives, there is no strong preference for the order of SWs, whereas in those combining verbs and PNs, verbs tend to be the first SW.

Further types of less frequent blends include those with two SWs comprised of PNs and adverbs or particles, as well as PNs and abbreviations. There were only single instances of PNs and other parts of speech, or PNs and phrases.

In the PN blends examined, words of Slavic origin and loanwords (or their splinters) are frequently combined. With blends consisting of two personal names, a Croatian (or Slavic)

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[3] KLINDIĆ (2016) found the same for all her blends collected from two Internet pages.

name is combined with a foreign name in nine cases (e.g., *Barelaire > Bare, Baudelaire*). In such blends, two foreign names (e.g., *Brangelina*) are combined in twelve blends; the majority of these seems to be borrowed from foreign (media) sources. Fifty-eight examples are hybrids combining a native element with a foreign one (e.g., *Bescartes > bez karte* 'without a ticket', *Descartes*; *Cowlinda > cow, Kolinda*; *Breichimir > Branimir, Reich*), whereas seventeen blends combine two foreign source forms (e.g., *boomberto > boom, Umberto*).

In the second part of the study, structural types of blends were analyzed and PN blends were classified following an adapted version of the model proposed by BELIAEVA (2019) which is compatible with earlier considerations and classifications of the attested structural types of blends (CANNON (1986); GRIES (2004: 415), KONIECZNA (2012)) [4]. BELIAEVA'S model was adapted to cover some specific features of the Croatian data (see Table 2). The model accounts for the amount of the SWs preserved in the blend (i.e., full words, splinters), which parts of the SWs (i.e., initial, final) are retained in the blends, and whether or not SWs overlap.

Table 2. Structural types of Croatian PN blends consisting of two SWs

A: Initial splinter – final splinter	SWs do not overlap *Balojun < Bal(ić) + (G)ojun*[5]	15
B: Full word – final splinter	SWs do not overlap, and the first word is entirely present in the blend *Barackillary < Barack + (H)illary*	14
C: Initial splinter – full word Subtype: Initial splinter – full word (discont.)	SWs may or may not overlap, and SW2 is entirely present in the blend *Amfetatina < amfeta(nin)* 'amphetamine' *+ Tina* *Bludiša < bludjeti* 'go astray' *+Budiša*	14
D: Initial splinter – final splinter with some overlap	SWs overlap, and none is entirely present in the blend *Bandek < Band(ić) + (Bund)ek*	35
E: Full word – final splinter with some overlap	SWs overlap, and the first word is entirely present in the blend *Barelaire < Bare + (Boude)laire*	35
F: Initial splinter – full word	SWs overlap, and the second word is entirely present in the blend	14

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[4] Concatenation of initial segments of the SWs (e.g., Polish *topser* (*topiony serek*), see KONIECZNA (2012)) is sometimes considered blending. Similar cases are borderline cases between blends and acronyms (LÓPEZ RÚA 2004) and are not included in the dictionary by MARKOVIĆ, KLINDIĆ and BORKOVIĆ. (2016). That model, cannot therefore be found in Table 2.

[5] Croatian handball players.

with some overlap	*Besmislav* < *bes(mislen)* 'non(sensical)' + *Mislav*	
G: Complete overlap Subtype: complete overlap, discontinuous	SWs overlap and both words are entirely present in the blend *aristoteletina* < *Aristotel* + *teletina* 'veal' *Bondbetko* < *Bond* + *Bobetko*	38
H: Intercalative blends	One SW (or its parts) is inserted in another SW, one of the SWs is not complete *Baćaće* < *Baće* + *Ća(ća)* *Breichimir* < *B(ran)imir* + *Reich*	10

Interestingly, the (A) model often considered as prototypical is not so frequently attested: (D), (E) and (G) are much more frequent. Intercalated blends (H) and a subgroup of blends in (G) which are very similar to (H)[6] taken together (27 blends) also outnumber (A).

The structural classification of blends was not a straightforward matter. This is due to the very essence of blending— the various ways in which SWs overlap make blends attractive and creative on the one hand, yet difficult to determine which (shared) elements represent individual SWs (see CANNON (1987: 144)) on the other. Shared letters or sounds can be regarded as provided jointly by both SWs (KAUNISTO 2013). For instance, in the blend *Bondbetko* (*Bond*; *Bobetko*), SW2 *Bobetko* is represented in its entirety, albeit in a discontinuous fashion. Another challenging type is non-sequential blends (e.g., *chortle* coined by Lewis Carroll from *chuckle* and *snort*) that CANNON (1987: 154) regarded as a small minority among blends.

The examples below illustrate some issues with the classification.

Bludiša	SW1: *bluditi* 'go astray', SW2: *Budiša* (family name)	C: Initial splinter – full word (discont.)
antiljerija	SW1: *Ante* (first name), SW2: *artiljerija* 'artillery'	D: Initial splinter (*ant*) – final splinter (*iljerija*); with some overlap (*a_ti*)
abdićirati	SW1: *Abdić* (family name), SW2: *abdicirati* 'abdicate'	E: Full word (*Abdić*) – final splinter (*irati*) with some overlap (*abdi*)
antopologija	SW1: *Anto* (first name), SW2: *antropologija* 'anthropology'	E: Full word – final splinter with some overlap

[6] Both (H) and that subgroup of (G) are considered rare (see, e.g., MILLER (2014)).

adolfescent	SW1: *Adolf* (first name), SW2: *adolescent* 'adolescent'	G: complete overlap (discont.)
Apsurdić	SW1: *apsurd* 'absurd', SW2: *Raspudić* (family name)	G: complete overlap (discont.)
arbićaćaža	SW1: *arbitraža* 'arbitration', SW2: *Ćaća* (nickname)	H: intercalative blends

Bludiša was classified as a sub-model of C. Formally, it could be analyzed as D (initial splinter - final splinter with some overlap), however, (D) does not account for the fact that SW2 (*Budiša*, family name) is completely preserved, albeit discontinuous in the blend.

The blend *antiljerija* seems to belong formally to D. The SW1 (*Ante*, first name) is not complete, unless we assume that the dative/locative form is used (in which case the model would be D). The blend almost entirely corresponds to SW2; only one element differentiates *antiljerija* and SW2 *artiljerija* 'artillery' (*n-r*).

The E model that *abdićirati* seems to follow implies that SW1 is entirely retained together with the splinter of SW2. However, SW2 is also nearly complete in the blend: what makes the blend *abdićirati* and similar ones attractive is that they correspond almost entirely to SW2: *abdićirati* and SW2 *abdicirati* 'abdicate' differ in only one element (i.e., *ć-c*). Similar blends are at the border of G (complete overlap).

The blend *antopologija* is very similar to its SW2 (*antropologija* 'anthroplogy'): the difference is solely that a single element from SW2, that is, (*r*), is missing in the blend. This and similar examples in the E model are also very close to complete overlap (G).

In *adolfescent*, SW1 (*Adolf*) is also completely retained, and appears to be followed by a splinter of SW2. However, SW2 is also complete, albeit discontinuous; the blend is thus classified as a sub-model of (G). The blend and SW2 are very similar: *adolfescent* contains an extra element (*f*) compared to SW2.

Apsurdić is an interesting example (the only one of its type in the data) in the G model. Its SW1 (*apsurd* 'absurd') is completely preserved, and SW2 (*Rapsudić*, family name) seemingly truncated. However, SW2 is also completely preserved, but its components are re-arranged, "shuffled" in the blend. *Apsurdić* is an anagram of *Rapsudić*.

Examples such as *arbićaćaža* were classified as intercalative blends (see KEMMER 2003). In similar cases, a full source word (or its splinter) is inserted in (the middle of) another. Intercalative blends resemble the cases of discontinuous complete overlap (G): in the latter, both words are completely retained, although one is discontinuous (e.g., *Cetrinski: Cetinski*, *tri* 'three'), whereas in the former, one of the SWs is not complete: in *arbićaćaža*, SW1 *Ćaća* is complete and replaces (the middle) part (*-tra-*) of SW2 *arbitraža* 'arbitration'. The intercalated words or splinters behave as infixes, and blending includes internal replacement.

Some blends in the data follow one of the models in Table 2 and illustrate as well orthographic blends. Such blends include *AsSAD* and *BaldaSSar* (G model). Importantly, these blends are recognizable as such only in written form, because the spoken form corresponds to their SW1.

3. Meaning and discursive function of PN blends

This section briefly addresses the meaning, sources, and discursive function of Croatian PN, focusing on blends consisting of two PNs (Section 3.1), and PN blends in evaluative contexts (Section 3.2).

MARKOVIĆ, KLINDIĆ, and BORKOVIĆ (2016) illustrate the blends with short sentences and occasionally provide rudimentary contextual information. In some cases, discourse samples – original sources of the examples – could be found online and studied. The remarks in 3.2 will therefore be based on examples for which sufficient context could be found.

Blending implies "an intentional and formally ingenious way of associating the semantics of two or more words in a new morphological object" (RENNER 2015: 119). This explains why blends are found in certain sources and genres more frequently than in others. The most frequent sources of the examples of PN blends included in the dictionary were a political-satirical weekly (*Feral Tribune*, 75 examples),[7] and an online news portal (*Index*, 46). The next most frequent source is a blog by a priest (16). Other sources cited repeatedly include various media and Facebook. Social media seem to be an important contemporary source of blends[8]. PN blends are often found in Internet memes. Nineteen PN blends (e.g., *Bajirot --* SW1: *Bajić*, SW2: *Poirot*; see below) were part of micro-contexts in which visual blends (photomontage) were also used.

3.1 Blends consisting of two PNs

When both constituents of a blend are PNs, the core meaning of the blend must be evoked by the word-formation pattern itself, enriched by contextual information (KOTOWSKI ET AL., n.d.). A standard assumption is that blends consisting of two PNs refer to a group of individuals (RENNER 2015: 127), teams of two, and couples (e.g., *Brangelina*: 'Brad and Angelina'). Such blends imply a coordinative semantic structure with an additive reading. However KOTOWSKI

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[7] HALAPIR (2013) identified 830 blends in this weekly. These are most probably included in MARKOVIĆ/KLINDIĆ/BORKOVIĆ 2016). HALAPIR relates some blends attested in various media after the closure of this weekly to the fact that the journalists who worked for *Feral Tribune* and coined many blends continued writing for other media (e.g., *Index*).
[8] KLINDIĆ (2016) found 380 blends on two Facebook pages – *Čaća se vraća* and *Di su pare*.

ET AL., n.d. claim that blends such as *Brangelina* imply not only a combination of the referents of the two constituent names: the referent is a romantic relationship conceived as an abstract event with a temporal dimension. In such blends, the reference is often to people's social roles (as a couple). *Brangelina* is attested in several examples in the dictionary, in most it refers to the couple; but one of the examples clearly implies an eventive reading, referring to the end of the couple's marriage (*krah Brangeline* 'Brangelina's breakdown').

KOTOWSKI ET AL., n.d. suggest that PN blends can be additive (two people are referred to as a mere plural entity), ascriptive (non-headed) such as *Brangelina* that ascribe a social status, and determinative (headed) in which the referent of a name is in some way characterized by another name (e.g., *Messidona*). The blend *Buljar* that refers to two Croatian handball players (SWs: *Buntić*; *Kopljar*) would perhaps be additive. It occurs in a context in which a sports commenter imagines some perfect handball players that combine the skills of existing ones.

Ascriptive blends (e.g., *Brangelina*, *Mercron*) refer to friendships, cooperations, abstract event types with a temporal dimension, and less frequently to single events (KOTOWSKI ET AL., n.d.).[9] Ascriptive blends in the Croatian data are, for instance, *Bvandžija* referring to the cooperation of a Serbian and Croatian musician (Bvana and Kandžija) and their joint projects, *Bazga* (SWs *Bajaga*; *Rozga*) referring to a joint concert of the musicians Momčilo Bajagić Bajaga and Jelena Rozga, and *Barackillary* (SWs *Barack*; *Hillary*) referring to the political coalition of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton.

Some of the ascriptive blends in the Croatian data are apparently borrowed from foreign media references to celebrities (*Bennifer*: SWs *Ben*; *Jennifer*) and have probably inspired blends referring to domestic couples' relationships and weddings (e.g., *Belmirza*: *Belma*; *Mirza*).[10]

In the determinative blends such as *Araslica* (SWs: *Aras*; *Aralica*) the head is *Aras* (the family name of a Croatian right-wing activist and politician). *Aralica* (the family name of a writer) is a modifier determining the meaning of the head. The meaning is similative, that is, some type of comparison or equivalence is implied between the elements. The blend was coined in a past context[11] in which Aras supported the idea that a square in Zadar be named after Mile Budak (a writer and minister in the fascist puppet state NDH). The blend suggests the similarity of Aras' views to right-wing views of another prominent public actor of that time, the politically engaged writer Ivan Aralica.

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[9] E.g., *Fedal* refers to an important match R. Federer and R. Nadal played in 2017 (KOTOWSKI ET AL., n.d.).
[10] Belma Hodžić was in the time of the discourse sample (2010) girlfriend of Mirza Džomba (a former professional Croatian handball player).
[11] Source: *Feral Tribune*, 2000.

Blends with two politicians' names are often similative, that is, the names are blended to suggest the similarity between two people. For instance, *Besor* (SW1: *Bečić*, SW2: *Kosor*) is a similative blend combining family names of two conservative Croatian female politicians, Nevenka Bečić and Jadranka Kosor**.** The blend refers to Jadranka Kosor in the context of 2013 when she was expelled from her party HDZ and founded the Deputy Club in the Parliament together with Bečić and Bečić's brother. A similar case is *Bandisar* (SW1: *Bandić*, SW2: *Baldasar*) that combines family names of the former mayors of Split and Zagerb – Ivo Baldasar and Milan Bandić, and refers to their similar attitudes and priorities as mayors.

Some blends convey a similative meaning in an ironic way, for example, *Bajirot* (SW1: *Bajić*; SW2: *Poirot*) that combines the family name of the former Croatian State Attorney General Mladen Bajić and the fictional Belgian detective featured in Agatha Christie's novels, Hercule Poirot, famous for his meticulous professional methodology. The blend is part of a multimodal meme with a photomontage of Bajić and Poirot and the text *Nema tog slučaja*, *kojeg nije uspio zataškati* 'There was no case that he did not manage to cover up'.[12] The skills of the two people are represented as similar at a generic level whereas at a more specific level, Bajić's skill to conceal something is mapped onto Poirot's skill to reveal it.

3.2 PN blends and evaluation

Many blends in the data are linked to contexts in which some issues that were "hot" in the past were discussed. Some are related to topics and persons that are no longer well-known. Readers need a great deal of contextual knowledge related to a specific past timeframe to understand the meaning of these blends. Sometimes, blends create a complex network of (metonymic) associations between a person whose name is used, and a concept, attitude or action referred to by another component. For instance, *Banduševac* (SW1: *Bandić*, SW2: *Manduševac*) refers to fountains near the National and University Library built in Zagreb during the era of the controversial mayor Milan Bandić. Manduševac is the most famous fountain in Zagreb and one of its symbols: the spring of water at the site has been present since antiquity. *Banduševac* is a mocking label for the new fountains built during Bandić's mayorship.

PN blends are frequently used in evaluative contexts ranging from somewhat to extremely negative. A large number (around 90) of PN blends in the data relate to a discursive

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[12]

https://www.facebook.com/1406713659566387/photos/a.1406714119566341/1406722852898801/?type=3&theater

negative evaluation of certain social actors.[13] In such cases, the micro-contexts reveal pejorative, derogatory usages. Negative evaluation is linked to the connotations of the second SW in the blends (if they include two SWs) which is, as a rule, overtly negatively evaluative. For instance, such negatively evaluative SWs are the adjective *blesav* 'stupid' and the noun *budala* 'fool' used in the blends referring to the footballers Mario Balotelli and Lionel Messi (*Blesotelli* 'stupid Balotelli', *Budalotelli* 'fool Balotelli', *Blessi* 'stupid Messi').

Negatively evaluative blends were frequently found in the discourse samples discussing politics. For instance, *Balvanasar* (SW1: *balvan* 'stupid, primitive person', SW2: *Baldasar*) refers to the former Split mayor, Ivo Baldasar. The term *balvan* serves as a modifier that ascribes negative features to the politician. The same goes for *Banditić* (SWs: *Bandić*; *bandit* 'robber, outlaw') referring to the former mayor of Zagreb Milan Bandić, who is negatively evaluated by the noun *bandit*. Interestingly, the negative evaluation is somewhat mitigated because of the presence of *-ić* (the final splinter of *Bandić* and a diminutive suffix), which implies a small/insignificant robber.

The blend *Beznadan* 'hopeless' is a modified first name of the Croatian politician and businessman Nadan Vidošević[14] who was arrested in 2013 on the charge of misappropriating almost US\$ 6 mil. from the Croatian Chamber of Commerce. Playing with the meaning of the word hope (*nada*) in the stem of his name, the blend *Beznadan* ascribes negative features to the social actor in question.

Negative evaluation of the politician Zoran Milanović[15] in the blend *Bezvezoka* (SW1: *bezveze* 'nonsense', SW2: *Zoka* (Milanović's nickname)) relates to the evaluative meaning of SW1. The discourse sample in which *Bezvezoka* is used contains some other evaluative means (…sad kad je *Bezvezoka* Milanović usrao sve što se da usrati 'now that Bezvezoka Milanović has screwed up everything that can be screwed up').

The modified negatively evaluative blended name *Bljutković* combines two SWs with negative connotations (the interjection *bljak* 'yuck' and verb *bljuvati* 'puke') with the PN Butković (family name of a journalist).

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[13] Persons that PN blends most often refer to are politicians, celebrities (singers, actors, performers), athletes, writers and artists.

[14] This politician's name or surname is the basis of several other evaluative blends in the dictionary, e.g., Jadan (*jadan* 'miserable'), Kradan (*krasti* 'steal'), Sljepošević (*slijep* 'blind') (MARKOVIĆ/KLINDIĆ/BORKOVIĆ 2016: 1064).

[15] This politician's name or surname is part of numerous evaluative blends that in addition to (the splinters of) his first or family name include explicitly evaluative nouns and verbs: Debilanović (*debil* 'moron'), Gnjidanović (*gnjida* 'nit'), Majmulanović (*majmun* 'monkey'), Muljanović (*muljati* 'slander') (MARKOVIĆ/KLINDIĆ/BORKOVIĆ 2016).

With all these and many other PN blends,[16] negative evaluation is related to the explicit negative evaluative force of the SWs included (adjectives, nouns, adverbs, particles, verbs, interjections).

An interesting case is exemplified by a few blends (e.g., *Brežulović*, *Bredrag*, *Bresinečki*) that use the particle *bre* as their first SW, and names or family names of persons as their second SW (*Dežulović*, *Predrag*, *Prosinečki*). *Brežulović* fuses *bre* and the family name of the journalist, writer and columnist Boris Dežulović who co-founded the political-satirical weekly *Feral Tribune* (1993-2008)[17] that combined satire and investigative reporting to stand up to corruption and promote human rights during the period of the wars in the Yugoslav successor states during the 1990s. Dežulović has for years been the target of Croatia's right-wing attacks, which often discredit him using labels such as Yugoslav, Communist, and Serbophile. The use of the blend *Brežulović* is in line with that tendency: it is used to negatively evaluate and discredit the journalist. The particle *bre* (most likely a Turkism, derived from Greek) is difficult to translate. It is described as a "prominent typically Serbian linguistic item to the extent that a number of people in the social networks in Serbia (e.g. Facebook) have been signed in with the discourse marker *bre* between the first and the last names, in the place of the middle name (e.g., Jovan Bre Marković)." (MIŠKOVIĆ-LUKOVIĆ/DEDAIĆ/POLOMAC 2015). It seems to function as an ultimate symbol of Serbia in the Croatian discourse samples in which blends with *bre* were found. Its discursive function is negative positioning of certain social actors by ascribing them a non-patriotic attitude which, in nationalist discourses, often identified with a pro-Serbian attitude. Whoever is labelled as a "bad Croat" is frequently labelled as a person attached to Serbs and Serbia in some way.

Although negative evaluation prevails in the data, many PN blends are neutral or unclear (around 30 each). For instance, *Alkabare* (*Alka*[18] + *kabare*) 'Alka's cabaret' expresses a possessive relation. A small number (15) of blends is positive, for instance, *Batigol* (SWs: *Batistuta* + *gol* 'goal') used in the context praising the footballer Batistuta and his goal-scoring abilities.

The authors of the blends are often engaged in wordplay (e.g., blending the first name of a Croatian fascist leader Ante Pavelić and the word *antifašist* 'antifascist' in the blend

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[16] Around 40 blends are from satirical and ironic contexts discussing various social actors in the public space, often in the political sphere. Their tone is mocking, and their evaluative force seems to be somewhat negative. However, in these cases, the exact nature of evaluation was difficult to determine due to the rather short examples and insufficient context.

[17] The source of many blends in the data.

[18] Alka Vuica is a Croatian singer and song writer.

antefašist), producing humorous effects (e.g., *Bezalkolinda* 'Kolinda[19] drinking non-alcoholic beverages'; SW1: *bezalkoholan* 'non-alcoholic', SW2: *Kolinda*)) and exploring the creative potential of language.

4. Conclusion

As shown in Section 2, the majority of the Croatian 194 PN blends examined in this study include two components, which are most frequently lexemes. The largest categories in the two-components blends are blends consisting of two nouns; a noun and an adjective; and a noun and a verb.

In a structural classification that accounts for the amount of SWs preserved, the parts of the SWs retained in the blends, and whether or not SWs overlap, the dominant model appeared to be one in which SWs overlap and both are present in the blend; or, in a variant of this, one in which one of the SWs is discontinuous. Two other models that are almost equally represented are those in which SWs overlap and none of the SWs are entirely present in the blend, and the model in which SWs overlap, and the first word is entirely present in the blend.

Many of the Croatian PN blends imply wordplay, which has often been pointed out (e.g., RENNER 2015), and were used in political and (social) media discourse. PN blends are attention-catching and expressive language resources, and result in creative language use. They tend to be part of multimodal contexts, exemplifying semiotic creativity beyond verbal language. PN blends were fairly often part of micro-contexts in which visual blends (photomontage) were also used.

PN blends create an association between two or more persons, or a person (or occasionally, two or more persons), and certain phenomena, concepts, or actions. They are created in a specific context and intended for a very specific occasion (and thus often have a short discourse history). The blends are often jocular and tend to appear in texts employing other means to create irony, sarcasm and other humorous effects. PN blends frequently express sharp criticism and negative evaluation, which is related to the semantics of SWs used in addition to PNs: when blends include common nouns or adjectives with a negative semantic prosody, that negative prosody is passed on to the blends. Fewer blends in the data were neutral, indicating, for instance, a possessive relation. Only a small number of blends in the data relate to positive evaluations.

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[19] Former Croatian President Kolinda Grabar Kitarović.

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