

A CASE STUDY ON THE MORPHO-PHONOLOGICAL STATUS OF SERBIAN ADJECTIVAL DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES WITH INITIAL J

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Aleksandra A. Janić

University of Niš, Faculty of Philosophy, Serbian Department, Niš, Serbia

Abstract. *The subject of this paper is the status of Serbian adjectival derivational suffixes with initial j in comparison to their variants with initial lj, nj, and also without an initial consonant. Azbučnik prideva u srpskoj prozi dvadesetog veka by Miroslav Josić Višnjić was used as a corpus. The most favourable possible scenario for adjectival derivational suffixes -jan, -j(a)n, -jav, -jast, -ji, -jiv, -jal(a)n, -jar(a)n, -jat, -jev, -jevit, -jikav, -jin, -jit, -juškast and their distribution were analysed regarding the phonological characteristics of the final consonant of a derivational base they are combined with. These derivational suffixes with initial j in Serbian are the most stable with n and l at the end of a base (n + j from a derivational suffix > the phoneme nj, l + j from a derivational suffix > the phoneme lj), but they are rarely visible on the surface structure of adjectives (cf. pasji). In word formation analyses, adjectives with derivational bases with final nj, lj and other palatal and palatalised consonants can be morpho-phonologically explained with derivational suffixes with an initial j, but some of them also with initial nj, lj or without initial consonant.*

Key words: *adjectives, derivation, palatalisation, palatalisation via j, morphemic boundary*

1. INTRODUCTION

There are different linguistic opinions regarding the status of derivational suffixes with initial j in Serbian. One group of linguists (e.g. Mrazović–Vukadinović, Stakić, Stevanović) considers most of derivational suffixes with initial j to be non-existent formants. Another group of linguists (e.g. Klajn, Petrović–Gudurić) does not explicitly mention all derivational suffixes with initial j, but they imply that this is the case. Some other linguists (e.g. Babić, Dragičević, Janić) explicitly refer to derivational suffixes with initial j.

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Corresponding author: Aleksandra Janić

University of Niš, Faculty of Philosophy

E-mail: aleksandra.janic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

From the morpho-phonological aspect, it is important to review the status of derivational adjectival suffixes with initial *j* in comparison to their variants with initial *lj*, *nj*, and also without initial consonant. Namely, from the synchronic point of view, in the cases where there are changes in the final consonant of a derivational base (palatalisation, in the broadest sense of the term) of *l*, *n*, *k* (and *c* which historically originates from *k*), *g* (and *z* which historically originates from *g*), *h*, *b*, *p*, *m*, *v*), as well as in the case of palatal consonants *nj* and *lj* as final consonants of a derivational base, more than one derivational suffix should be considered in word formation analyses. These possible scenarios – the most favourable ones – for adjectival derivational suffixes with initial *j* are considered in this paper, and all alternative derivational suffixes are also commented on. More precisely, derivational suffixes with initial palatal consonants such as *j*, *lj*, and *nj* (e.g. *-jast*, *-ljast*, *-njast*) are compared with each other, as well as with their variants which do not start with a consonant (e.g. *-ast*), with a consideration of their tendencies to combine with different final consonants of derivational bases and phonological changes of final consonants of derivational bases.

The aim of this paper is to analyse a) how stable the adjectival derivational suffixes with initial *j* are and what is their status in Serbian; b) which derivational suffixes are just phonological alternatives to derivational suffixes with initial *j* and which ones should be used in word formation analyses; and c) what is the connection between the end of a derivational base and adjectival derivational suffixes with initial *j* in Serbian.

The corpus used is *Azbučnik prideva u srpskoj prozi dvadesetog veka* by Miroslav Josić Višnjić, which includes adjectives from contemporary Serbian literature. This dictionary is chosen for the following reasons: a) it can show how much native speakers of Serbian are exposed to adjectives with derivational suffix with initial *j*, and b) with this case study we can describe the influence reading contemporary literature in Serbian has on the use, comprehension and analysis of adjectives derived with derivational suffixes with an initial *j*.

The structure of this paper is the following: in the second section we give the alphabetic list of adjectives from the corpus, as well as charts with the comments on a) the distribution of adjectival derivational suffixes *-jan*, *-j(a)n*, *-jav*, *-jast*, *-ji*, *-jiv*, *-jal(a)n*, *-jar(a)n*, *-jat*, *-jev*, *-jevit*, *-jikav*, *-jin*, *-jit*, *-juškast* in the corpus; b) the distribution of derivational base types which are combined with adjectival derivational suffixes with initial *j* in the corpus. The third section gives the theoretical base to the (non-)existence of adjectival suffixes with initial *j* and the methodology of the analysis is given in the fourth section. From section 5 to 11 the distribution of adjectival derivational suffixes *-jan*, *-j(a)n*, *-jav*, *-jast*, *-ji*, *-jiv*, *-jal(a)n*, *-jar(a)n*, *-jat*, *-jev*, *-jevit*, *-jikav*, *-jin*, *-jit*, *-juškast* and their other palatal (with initial *lj* and *nj*) and non-palatal variants (without initial consonant) are analysed in terms of phonological characteristics of the final consonant of the derivational base.

2. THE CORPUS

The sample analysed consists of 326 adjectives (8% of all of the adjectives in *Azbučnik prideva u srpskoj prozi dvadesetog veka* /Josić Višnjić 2007/), whose (possible) derivational suffix has initial *j*, such as *-jan*, *-j(a)n*, *-jav*, *-jast*, *-ji*, *-jiv*, *-jal(a)n*, *-jar(a)n*, *-jat*, *-jev*, *-jevit*, *-jikav*, *-jin*, *-jit*, *-juškast*. This list of derivational suffixes with initial *j* in Serbian is not final, but those derivational suffixes can be confirmed phonologically in the following adjectives:

akustičan, *beskrajan*, *bestijalan*, *bezbojan*, *bezbožan*, *bezbrojan*, *bezgraničan*, *bežični*, *bezobličan*, *bezosećajan*, *bezrazložan*, *bodljiv*, *bodljikav*, *bogaljast*, *bojni*, *bračni*,

*bradavičav, brašnjast, brbljiv, brižan, brljav, brojan, bubrežni, bubuljičav, bučan, bujan, buljav, buvlji, ciničan, cmoljav, crvljiv, čađav, čavrljav, čekinjast, čekinjav, čeličan, čežnjiv, čovečan, čovečji, čujan, čuljav, ćirilični, ćunjast, debeljuškast, dečji, detaljan, detinjast, dimljiv, divljačan, dogmatičan, drčan, drobljiv, dronjav, dvojni, džandrljiv, džgoljav, džigljast, đavolji, egzotičan, električni, erotičan, familijaran, fanatičan, fantastičan, genijalan, gibljiv, gladnjikav, gnojan, gnojav, gojan, grabljiv, groljav, gromuljičav, grozničav, guljav, gušoboljan, hladnjikav, (h)rskavičav, igličast, iskričav, jajast, jajni, jamičast, jastučast, jektičav, jesenji, jezičast, jezičav, kaljav, kaljev, kapljičast, kestenjast, kijavičav, klasičan, klupčast, kolebljiv, kolonijalan, konjast, kritičan, krivičan, krkljav, krmeljiv, krnjav, krošnjav, kružan, krvopijast, kržljav, kudelnji, kuljav, kurčev, kurčevit, kužan, lajav, lančan, leujav, lepljiv, letimičan, ličan, linijast, lisičji, lišajiv, logičan, lojav, mačji, maljav, mastiljav, matični, mesečast, metiljav, migoljav, migoljav, mišji, mlečan, mnogobrojan, mračan, mravlji, mrzovoljan, mrzovoljast, muljav, muljevit, munjevit, muvlji, nabojit, naučan, (ne)čujan,¹ (ne)dostižan, (ne)dostojan, (ne)hajan, (ne)objašnjiv, (ne)odoljiv, (ne)pojmljiv, (ne)pokolebljiv, (ne)ponovljiv, (ne)postojan, (ne)potkupljiv, (ne)razdvojan, (ne)spokojan, (ne)umoljiv, novčan, nožni, običajan, oblačan, očajan, odbojan, odličan, okružni, olujan, opipljiv, opojan, osojan, ospičav, ovčast, pačji, pahuljav, pamučan, paničan, paperjav, papričav, pasji, patuljav, pepeljast, pepeljav, peščan, pihitjav, pijan, pijavičav, pikljav, plastičan, plužni, pokojni, pokrajni, poprečni, poročan, porođajni, porodični, postižan, potajan, preduzimljiv, primamljiv, prisojan, pristojan, prljav, prosečan, pšenični, ptičji, ranjav, razumljav, rečni (the motivational noun is *reka*), repičast, riblji, ridast, romantičan, ručni, rujav, rujav, runjav, rupičast, rušnjikav, sablažnjiv, sabljast, sadržajan, sanjav, saobraćajni, sapunjav, simboličan, sipljav, siromašan, sitničav, sjajan, sjajnodremljav, slojevit, slučajan, slušni, snažan, snebivljiv, snežan, sočan, spoljni, srčan, sredovečan, steničav, stočan, stomaćni, strašan, streličast, strpljav, stručan, strujni, sumnjiv, sunčan, sunčev, surevnjav, sušičav, svrabljiv, svrbljiv, šaljiv, šeprtljav, šiljav, šiljat, škiljav, štrkljav, šupljikav, tajni, tankovjav, tankozvučan, temeljan, temeljit, težinjav, trboboljan, trbušast, trbušni, trešnjav, trešnjin, tričav, trščan, tunjav, tužan, ubojit, ubojni, ulični, upotrebljav, uspravljiv, uzročni, večan, vetrenjav, vilični, višnjav, vižljav, vižljiv, vlažan, vlažnjikav, vodenični, vojni, voljan, vonjav, vrljav, vučji, zaljubljav, zanimljiv, zavičajni, zavojit, zebnjav, zečji, zejtinjav, zeljav, zemljan, zemljav, zemljevit, zemljin, zimljiv, zlačan, zlojezičan, zlovoljan, zmijav, značajan, znojav, zujav, zvaničan, zvučan, žablji, žgoljav, željan, žičan, živčan, žuljav, žuljevit.*

Chart 1 represents the distribution of adjectival derivational suffixes with initial *j* in the sample. Those (phonologically possible) derivational suffixes whose frequency is below 10 in the sample we consider sporadic, such as *-jal(a)n*, *-jan*, *-jar(a)n*, *-jat*, *-jev*, *-jevit*, *-jikav*, *-jin*, *-jit*, *-juškast*. The four most frequent adjectival derivational suffixes in the corpus are *-j(a)n* (127 – 38.96%), *-jav* (60 – 18.4%), *-jiv* (42 – 12.88%), *-jast* (39 – 11.96%) (cf. Chart 1). On the other hand, the least frequent adjectival derivational suffixes are *-ji* (17 – 5.21%), *-jan* (12 – 3.68%), *-jevit* (6 – 1.84%), *-jikav* (6 – 1.84%), *-jev* (5 – 1.53%), *-jit* (4 – 1.23%), *-jal(a)n* (3 – 0.92%), *-jin* (2 – 0.61%), *-jar(a)n* (1 – 0.31%), *-jat* (1 – 0.31%), *-juškast* (1 – 0.31%).

¹ The negative prefix *ne-* [NON] is given in brackets when a positive form was not confirmed in the sample. In other cases the positive forms are listed.

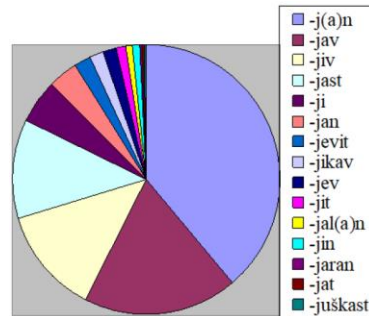


Chart 1 The distribution of adjectival derivational suffixes with initial *j* in the corpus

The distribution of different derivational base types² combined with derivational suffixes with initial *j* in the sample is given in Chart 2. The most frequent type of derivational base is the nominal one (219 – 67.18%) /e.g. *bubuljičav*, cf. *bubuljica*/, followed by a verbal base (73 – 22.39%) /e.g. *brbljiv*, cf. *brbljati*/, a compound base (20 – 6.13%) /e.g. *mrzovoljan*, cf. *mrzovolja*/, an adjectival base (10 – 3.07%) /e.g. *vlačnjikav*, cf. *vlačan*/, an adverbial base (3 – 0.92%) /*spoljni*, cf. *spolja*/, and a numeral base (1 – 0.31%) /e.g. *dvojni*, cf. *dvoje*/.

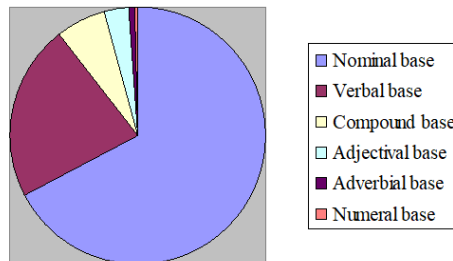


Chart 2 The distribution of derivational bases types which are combined with derivational suffixes with initial *j* in the corpus

3. (NON-)EXISTENCE OF ADJECTIVAL DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES WITH INITIAL *J* IN SERBIAN

There are three groups of linguistic approaches to derivational suffixes with initial *j* in Serbian.

From a diachronic point of view, Stakić (1985; 1988) mentions only the derivational suffix *-ji* with initial *j*. Mrazović and Vukadinović (2009, 307–311), Stevanović (1963; 1981), and Piper and Klajn (2013, 231–236), as well, mention just the derivational *-ji* with initial *j*, but they do not specify the reasons for that. Stakić (1991, 406–409) explains the palatalised *l* into *lj*, *n* into *nj*, *k*, *g*, *h* into *č*, *ž*, *š* at the end of a derivational base by generalisation and by semantical analogies, but it can seem as a vague argument to deny the existence of derivational suffixes with initial *j*.

The second group of linguists includes Klajn (2003, 253–291), who implies the existence of some derivational suffixes with initial *j*, such as *-jav*, *-jan(i)*, *-jast*, *-jat*, *-jaš(a)n*, when he makes a connection between them and their non-palatal variants *-av*,

² In word formation analyses, the principle of compositionality (cf. Szabó 2017) is implemented.

-an(i), *-ast*, *-at*, *-aš(a)n* in the sense of word formation processes. Furthermore, in the word formation analyses of examples such as *sapunjav*, *zbunjiv*, *sićušan* palatalisation via *j* is mentioned, which indicates the morphological status of derivational suffixes such as *-jav*, *-jiv*, and *-jušan*. On the other hand, even Klajn (2003) explicitly mentions palatal derivational suffixes *-ji* (*ptičji*), *-jikav* (*hladnjikav*), *-ljav* (*mirišljav*), *-njiv* (*prašnjiv*), *-njast* (*kitnjast*), *-njikav* (*žutnjikav*), as well as Petrović and Gudurić (2010, 481) marking them as *-'ast'*³ (e.g. *pepeljast* /cf. *pepel-/*), *-'av* (*pepeljav* /cf. *pepel-/*). The most representative derived adjectives are given in brackets.

The group of linguists who are the most “tolerant” when assigning the status of a derivational suffix to those formants which have initial *j* includes Babić (1986, 335–446), who analyses adjectives derived by palatal suffixes *-ji* (*pasji*), *-j(a)n* (*rožan*), *-jan* (*končan*), *-jav* (*pepeljav*), *-jiv* (*sažaljiv*), *-jast* (*pepeljast*), *-jikav* (*mutnjikav*), *-jah(a)n* (*bljedahan*), *-juš(a)n* (*kračušan*), *-juškast* (*debeljuškast*), so these morphemes are explicitly considered derivational suffixes in the adjectives in brackets, as well as the following ones which have initial *lj* or *nj*: *-ljat* (*oštrljat*), *-ljav* (*mirišljav*), *-ljiv* (*istegljiv*), *-nji* (*gornji*), *-njav* (*blatnjav*), *-njiv* (*prašnjiv*), *-njikav* (*vodnjikav*). In the analysis of derived adjectives which denote human characteristics, Dragičević (2001) mostly agrees with the attitudes of Babić. Finally, more evidence about the morpho-phonological status of the derivational suffix *-jiv* in Serbian and nominal derivational suffixes *-ak/-njak/-jak/-ljak* in the Serbian jargon are given in Janić (2018) and Janić (2019). In those analyses the author confirmed a) the status of derivational suffixes for *-ak*, *-njak*, *-jak*, *-ljak*, with a remark that the first three are more frequent than the last one (Janić 2019, 229); b) that the derivational suffix *-ljiv* is today more productive than *-iv*, and *-jiv* behaves as a residual because it is undoubtedly combined with derivational bases with a final *n* (Janić 2018, 207–209). In this paper, there are no semantical differences in the analysed adjectives with different word formation analyses (on the semantical nuances of *-iv*, *-jiv*, and *-ljiv* cf. Šojat 1959; Šakić 1965; Janić 2016; Janić 2018).

4. THE METHODOLOGY

Morphophonology is a phonological discipline of morphology, which considers variants of phonemes in derivational and flective morphemes, as well as alternations of consonants which occur in the contact of a base and a suffix (cf. Stakić 2003, 28). This aspect of analysis is the most adequate one for determining the status of a derivational suffix – its phonological possibility or its independent usage. We will not group alternations of consonants either into phonological and morphological or into synchronic and diachronic etc. (cf. Stakić 1991; Stakić 2000; Stakić 2007) because we want to analyse all possible scenarios for determining the status of adjectival derivational suffixes with initial *j*. Another reason is that derivational suffixes which are analysed are frequent, and phonological changes of final consonants of derivational bases still occur in new derived adjectives.

From a joint morphophonological, morphological and phonological perspective, in this paper the analysis included the most favourable scenarios for adjectival suffixes with initial *j*. Every possible analysed example from the corpus can have a word formation analysis with some derivational suffix with initial *j*. On the other hand, some of those lexemes can also suggest an analysis with variant suffixes which do not have initial *j*, or that have initial *lj* or *nj*.

In the tables given there are numbers of the bases with every possible final consonant of a base, which were grouped, based on their phonological characteristics and also their

³ The apostrophe represents a palatal element (here: *j*).

combinations with different variants of adjectival derivational suffixes (with initial *j*, vowel (without initial consonant), *lj*, and *nj*). For example, the following groups of consonants were considered: sonants, explosive consonants, affricative consonants, fricative consonants, as well as palatal consonants, dental consonants, labial consonants (bilabial and labio-dental), velar and alveolar consonants. Moreover, special attention is given to bases whose final consonant is a) *l* and *n* because of the palatalisation by *j* and because of double interpretation of derivational suffixes (with *j* and *lj*, or with *j* and *nj*); b) *b*, *p*, *m*, *v* because of the palatalisation by *j* and because of double interpretation of possible derivational suffixes (with *j* and *lj*); c) *k*, *g*, *h*, *c* because of palatalisation by vowels or by *j* and therefore double interpretation of possible derivational suffixes (with a non-consonant suffix or with a *j*-suffix); d) *nj* and *lj* because of the triple interpretation of possible derivational suffixes (*j*, *lj*, and a non-consonant initial phoneme or *j*, *nj*, and a non-consonant initial phoneme).

We will refer to *Azbučnik prideva u srpskoj prozi dvadesetog veka* in order to verify the existence of variants with visible *j*, *lj*, *nj* derivational suffix forms, which will also influence the final conclusion about the proposal for the precise word formation analysis in the future and for the implicit acquisition of adjectival derivational suffixes *-jan*, *-j(a)n*, *-jav*, *-jast*, *-jiv*, *-ji*, *-jal(a)n*, *-jar(a)n*, *-jat*, *-jev*, *-jevit*, *-jikav*, *-jin*, *-jit*, *-juškast* in Serbian.

5. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX *-j(A)N*

The alternative for the derivational suffix *-j(a)n* in 99.21% of the adjectives in the corpus is *-(a)n* and in 8.66% of the analysed adjectives *-lj(a)n* is the phonological alternative for *-j(a)n*. The derivational suffix *-nj(a)n* was not confirmed in the corpus as a phonological possibility because there were no adjectival bases with the final consonants *n* and *nj*. Moreover, the adjectives in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika* (in English: *Reverse Dictionary of Serbian*) show that *-lj(a)n* and *-nj(a)n* are not independent suffixes because they are not visible on the surface level. The endings *-lj(a)n* and *-nj(a)n* can be found in the adjectives whose bases have a final *lj* and *nj*⁴ (e.g. *voljan* – motivated by the noun *volja*).

The existence of *-j(a)n* is implied by the palatalisation of *n* and *l* (there were no examples in the corpus⁵), which is only possible with *j*, not with vowels. On the other hand, palatalisation by a transitory vowel *a* or by *j* is phonologically possible for bases with a final consonant *k* (e.g. *bučan* /cf. *buka*/, *večan* /cf. *vek*/, *logičan* /cf. *logika*/, *mlečan* /cf. *mleko*/, *mračan* /cf. *mrak*/, *naučan* /cf. *nauka*/), *g* (e.g. *brižan* /cf. *briga*/, *vlažan* /cf. *vлага*/, *kružan* /cf. *krug*/, *snažan* /cf. *snaga*/, *snežan* /cf. *sneg*/, *tužan* /cf. *tuga*/), *h* (e.g. *siromašan* /cf. *siromah*/, *strašan* /cf. *strah*/, *slušni*?/cf. *slušan* /cf. *sluh*/, *trbušni*?/cf. *trbušan*⁶ /cf. *trbuh*/), *c* (e.g. *krivičan* /cf. *krivica*/, *letimičan* /cf. *letimice*/, *ličan* /cf. *lice*/, *vodenični*?/cf. *vodeničan* /cf. *vodenica*/, *ulični*?/cf. *ulican* /cf. *ulica*/, *pšenični*?/cf. *pšeničan* /cf. *pšenica*/).

The derivational suffixes *-j(a)n* and *-(a)n* are interchangeable, except with bases with a final *n* and *l*, where only *-j(a)n* is a possible interpretation in a word formation analysis. Velar consonants (48.82%), explosive consonants (45.67%) and palatal consonants (40.94%) occur most frequently with the suffix *-j(a)n* and *-(a)n* (cf. tables 1 and 2).

⁴ There are no bases with final *nj* in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika*.

⁵ For example, the motivational word for an adjective *trboboljan* is a noun *trbobolja*, in which case *lj* is a final consonant of a base and *-j(a)n* is a phonological possibility for a word formation analysis. This example is not motivated by a reduced nominal base *trb-*, the interfix *-o-* and a reduced verbal base *bol-* of *boleti* and a derivational suffix *-j(a)n*.

⁶ In the last two pairs of examples only the definitive adjectival type is common.

Table 1 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-(a)n*, *-j(a)n*, *-lj(a)n* and *-nj(a)n* with different groups of final consonants (sonants, explosive consonants, affricative consonants, and fricative consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix <i>-j(a)n</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-lj(a)n</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-nj(a)n</i>	The non-palatal derivational suffix <i>-(a)n</i>	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is <i>-(a)n</i>
Sonants j, r, v, l, lj, m, n, nj	j (41), lj (11)	lj (10)	/	j (41), lj (11)	j (41), lj (11)
Explosive consonants b, p, d, t, g, k	g (14), k (44)	/	/	g (14), k (44)	g (14), k (44)
Affricative consonants c, č, ć, dž, đ	c (13)	/	/	c (13)	c (13)
Fricative consonants z, s, ž, š, š, f, h	h (4)	/	/	h (4)	h (4)
The Total Number	127 (100%)	11 (8.66%)	0	126 (99.21%)	127

Table 2 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-(a)n*, *-j(a)n*, *-lj(a)n* and *-nj(a)n* with different groups of final consonants (palatal consonants, dental consonants, bilabial consonants, labio-dental consonants, velar consonants, and alveolar consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix <i>-j(a)n</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-lj(a)n</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-nj(a)n</i>	The non-palatal derivational suffix <i>-(a)n</i>	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is <i>-(a)n</i>
Palatal consonants j, lj, nj, ć, đ, š, ž, č, dž	j (41), lj (11)	lj (11)	/	j (41), lj (11)	j (41), lj (11)
Dental consonants t, d, s, z, c	c (13)	/	/	c (13)	c (13)
Bilabial consonants b, p, m	/	/	/	/	0
Labio-dental consonants v, f	/	/	/	/	0
Velar consonants k, g, h	g (14), k (44), h (4)	/	/	g (14), k (44), h (4)	g (14), k (44), h (4)
Alveolar consonants l, r, n	/	/	/	/	0
The Total Number	127 (100%)	11 (8.66%)	0	126 (99.21%)	127

6. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX -JAV

The alternative for the derivational suffix *-jav* in 86.67% of the adjectives in the corpus is *-av*, in 43.33% of the analysed adjectives *-ljav* is the phonological alternative for *-jav*, and *-njav* in 16.67% of the analysed adjectives. Phonological possibilities for all four derivational suffixes were confirmed. Moreover, the adjectives in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika* show that *-ljav* is not an independent suffix because *lj* is contained at the end of bases on the surface level, but *-njav* is visible and independent in adjectives such as *blatnjav* /cf. *blato*/, *gašnjav* /cf. *gas*/, *kitnjav* /cf. *kititi*/, where *nj* is obviously not the part of the mentioned motivational words.

The existence of *-jav* is implied by the palatalisation of *l* (e.g. *guljav* /cf. *guliti*/, *mastiljav* /cf. *mastilo*/, *pepeljav* /cf. *pepel*- from *pepeol*/) and *n* (e.g. *sapunjav* /cf. *sapun*/, *težinjav* /cf. *težina*/, *zejtinjav* /cf. *zejtin*/), which is only possible by *j*, not by vowels. It could not be assumed that the suffix is *-ljav* in the examples whose base has a final *l* especially because *-ljav* was not confirmed as an independent derivational suffix in all the other examples, but the derivational suffix *-njav* can be considered a phonological option in the word formation analysis because its existence is confirmed in adjectives with bases which have different final consonants.

On the other hand, both the first palatalisation and the palatalisation by *j* are phonologically possible for bases with a final consonant *k* (e.g. *jezičav* /cf. *jezik*/, *jektičav* /cf. *jektika*/, *papričav* /cf. *paprika*/), *g* (there were no examples in the corpus, an example can be *kvržav* /cf. *kvrga*/), *h* (there were no examples either in the corpus, or in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika*), *c* (e.g. *bradavičav* /cf. *bradavica*/, *bubuljičav* /cf. *bubuljica*/, *grozničav* /cf. *groznica*/, *gromuljičav* /cf. *gromuljica*/, *ospičav* /cf. *ospica*/).

The derivational suffixes *-jav* and *-av* are interchangeable, except with bases with a final *n* and *l*, where only *-jav* is a possible interpretation in word formation analysis, as well as *-njav* with bases with a final *n*. Sonants (71.67%), palatal consonants (60%) and affricative consonants (23.33%) occur most frequently with the suffix *-jav* (cf. tables 3 and 4).

Table 3 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-av*, *-jav*, *-ljav*, and *-njav* with different groups of final consonants (sonants, explosive consonants, affricative consonants, and fricative consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix <i>-jav</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-ljav</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-njav</i>	The non-palatal derivational suffix <i>-av</i>	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is <i>-av</i>
Sonants j, r, v, l, lj, m, n, nj	j (7), l (3), lj (23), n (5), nj (5)	l (3), lj (23)	n (5), nj (5)	j (7), lj (23), nj (5)	j (7), l (3), lj (23), n (5), nj (5)
Explosive consonants b, p, d, t, g, k	k (3)	/	/	k (3)	k (3)
Affricative consonants c, č, ć, dž, đ	c (13), đ (1)	/	/	đ (1), c (13)	c (13), đ (1)
Fricative z, s, ž, š, f, h	/	/	/	/	0
The Total Number	60 (100%)	26 (43.33%)	10 (16.67%)	52 (86.67%)	60

Table 4 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-av*, *-jav*, *-ljav*, and *-njav* with different groups of final consonants (palatal consonants, dental consonants, bilabial consonants, labio-dental consonants, velar consonants, and alveolar consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix <i>-jav</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-ljav</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-njav</i>	The non-palatal derivational suffix <i>-av</i>	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is <i>-av</i>
Palatal consonants j, lj, nj, ć, đ, š, ž, č, dž	j (7), lj (23), nj (5), đ (1)	lj (23)	nj (5)	j (7), lj (23), nj (5), đ (1)	j (7), lj (23), nj (5), đ (1)
Dental t, d, s, z, c	c (13)	/	/	c (13)	c (13)
Bilabial b, p, m	/	/	/	/	0
Labio-dental v, f	/	/	/	/	0
Velar k, g, h	k (3)	/	/	k (3)	k (3)
Alveolar l, r, n	l (3), n (5)	l (3)	n (5)	/	l (3), n (5)
The Total Number	60 (100%)	26 (43.33%)	10 (16.67%)	52 (86.67%)	60

7. THE STATUS OF THE DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX *-JAST*

The alternative for the derivational suffix *-jast* in 89.74% of the adjectives in the corpus is *-ast*, in 30.77% of the analysed adjectives *-ljast* is the phonological alternative for *-jast*, and *-njast* is the phonological alternative for *-jast* in 17.95% of the analysed adjectives. Phonological possibilities for all four derivational suffixes were confirmed. Moreover, the adjectives in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika* show that *-ljast* is not an independent suffix because it is contained in the base on the surface level, but *-njast* is independent because it is visible in adjectives such as *kimjast* /cf. *kititi*/, *krečnjast* /cf. *kreč*/, where *nj* is obviously not a part of these motivational words.

The existence of *-jast* is implied by the palatalisation of *l* (e.g. *pepeljast* /cf. *pepel-* from *pepeol*) and *n* (e.g. *brašnjast* /cf. *brašno*/, *kestenjast* /cf. *kesten*/), which is only possible with *j*, not with vowels. We could not assume that the suffix is *-ljast* in examples whose base has a final *l* especially because *-ljast* was not confirmed as independent derivational suffix in all the other examples, but the derivational suffix *-njast* can be considered a phonological option in word formation analysis because its existence is confirmed in adjectives with bases which have different final consonants, such as those mentioned above.

On the other hand, palatalisation by a vowel or by *j* is phonologically possible for bases with a final consonant *k* (e.g. *jastučast* /cf. *jastuk*/, *jezičast* /cf. *jezik*/), *g* (there were no examples in the corpus, e.g. *ročast* /cf. *rog*/), *h* (e.g. *trbušast* /cf. *trbuh*/), *c* (e.g. *kapljičast* /cf. *kapljica*/, *mesečast* /cf. *meseč*/, *ovčast* /cf. *ovca*/).

The derivational suffixes *-jast* and *-ast* are interchangeable, except in cases with bases with a final *n* and *l*, where only *-jast* is a possible interpretation in word formation analysis, as well as *-njast* with bases with a final *n* and *nj*. Sonants (66.67%) and palatal consonants (58.97%) occur most frequently with the suffix *-jast* (cf. tables 5 and 6).

Table 5 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-ast*, *-jast*, *-ljast*, and *-njast* with different groups of final consonants (sonants, explosive consonants, affricative consonants, and fricative consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix <i>-jast</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-ljast</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-njast</i>	The non-palatal derivational suffix <i>-ast</i>	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is <i>-ast</i>
Sonants j, r, v, l, lj, m, n, nj	j (7), l (1), lj (11), n (3), nj (4)	l (1), lj (11)	n (3), nj (4)	j (7), lj (11), nj (4)	j (7), l (1), lj (11), n (3), nj (4)
Explosive consonants b, p, d, t, g, k	k (3)	/	/	k (3)	k (3)
Affricative consonants c, č, ć, dž, đ	c (8), đ (1)	/	/	c (8), đ (1)	c (8), đ (1)
Fricative z, s, ž, š, f, h	h (1)	/	/	h (1)	h (1)
The Total Number	39 (100%)	12 (30.77%)	7 (17.95%)	35 (89.74%)	39

Table 6 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-ast*, *-jast*, *-ljast*, and *-njast* with different groups of final consonants (palatal consonants, dental consonants, bilabial consonants, labio-dental consonants, velar consonants, and alveolar consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix <i>-jast</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-ljast</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-njast</i>	The non-palatal derivational suffix <i>-ast</i>	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is <i>-ast</i>
Palatal consonants j, lj, nj, ć, đ, š, ž, č, dž	j (7), lj (11), nj (4), đ (1)	lj (11)	nj (4)	j (7), lj (11), nj (4), đ (1)	j (7), lj (11), nj (4), đ (1)
Dental t, d, s, z, c	c (8)	/	/	c (8)	c (8)
Bilabial b, p, m	/	/	/	/	0
Labio-dental v, f	/	/	/	/	0
Velar k, g, h	k (3), h (1)	/	/	k (3), h (1)	k (3), h (1)
Alveolar l, r, n	l (1), n (3)	l (1)	n (3)	/	l (1), n (3)
The Total Number	39 (100%)	12 (30.77%)	7 (17.95%)	35 (89.74%)	39

8. THE STATUS OF THE DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX *-jiv*

The alternative for the derivational suffix *-jiv* in 78.57% of the adjectives in the corpus is *-ljiv*, in 19.05% of the analysed adjectives *-njiv* is the phonological alternative for *-jiv*, and *-iv* is the phonological alternative for *-jiv* in 16.67% of the analysed

adjectives. Phonological possibilities for all four derivational suffixes were confirmed. Moreover, the adjectives in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika* show that *-njiv* is not an independent suffix because it is contained in the base on the surface level, but *-ljiv* is visible in adjectives such as *barutljiv* /cf. *barut*/, *ćutljiv* /cf. *ćutati*/, *uništljiv* /cf. *uništiti*/, where *lj* is obviously not the part of the motivational words.

The existence of *-jiv* is implied by the palatalisation of *l* (e.g. *šaljiv* /cf. *šaliti se*/, *odoljiv* /cf. *odoleti*/) and *n* (e.g. *ranjiv* /cf. *raniti*/, *sanjiv* /cf. *san*/), which is only possible with *j*, not with vowels. We could not assume that the suffix is *-njiv* in the examples whose base has a final *n* and *nj* (e.g. *sumnjiv* /cf. *sumnjati*/) especially because *-njiv* was not confirmed as independent derivational suffix in all other examples, but the derivational suffix *-ljiv* (as well as *-jiv*) can be considered a phonological option in the word formation analysis of the mentioned adjectives with bases with a final *l*, as well as those with a final *lj* (e.g. *brbljiv* /cf. *brbljati*/), *p* (e.g. *lepljiv* /cf. *lepiti*/), *b* (e.g. *upotrebljiv* /cf. *upotrebiti*/), *m* (e.g. *razumljiv* /cf. *razumeti*/), *v* (e.g. *snebivljiv* /cf. *snebivati se*/) because the existence of *-ljiv* is confirmed in adjectives with bases which have different final consonants and the existence of *-jiv* is also confirmed by palatalisation via *j*.

On the other hand, palatalisation by a vowel or by *j* is phonologically possible for the bases with a final consonant *k*, *g*, *h*, *c*, but there were no such examples in the corpus, or in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika*, except for the example with *g* in a base *dostiživ* /cf. the verbal base *dostig-*/ in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika*.

The derivational suffix *-jiv* is interchangeable with *-iv* or *-ljiv* except with bases with a final *n*, where only *-jiv* is a possible interpretation in word formation analysis. Sonants (66.67%) and bilabial consonants (52.38%) occur most frequently with the suffix *-jiv* (cf. tables 7 and 8).

Table 7 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-iv*, *-jiv*, *-ljiv*, and *-njiv* with different groups of final consonants (sonants, explosive consonants, affricative consonants, and fricative consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix <i>-jiv</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-ljiv</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-njiv</i>	The non-palatal derivational suffix <i>-iv</i>	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is <i>-iv</i>
Sonants j, r, v, l, lj, m, n, nj	j (1), v (4), l (3), lj (4), m (8), n (6), nj (2)	v (4), l (3), lj (4), m (8)	n (6), nj (2)	j (1), lj (4), nj (2)	j (1), v (4), l (3), lj (4), m (8), n (6), nj (2)
Explosive consonants b, p, d, t, g, k	b (9), p (5)	b (9), p (5)	/	/	b (9), p (5)
Affricative consonants c, č, ć, dž, đ	/	/	/	/	0
Fricative z, s, ž, š, f, h	/	/	/	/	0
The Total Number	42 (100%)	33 (78.57%)	8 (19.05%)	7 (16.67%)	42

Table 8 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-iv*, *-jiv*, *-ljiv*, and *-njiv* with different groups of final consonants (palatal consonants, dental consonants, bilabial consonants, labio-dental consonants, velar consonants, and alveolar consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix <i>-jiv</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-ljiv</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-njiv</i>	The non-palatal derivational suffix <i>-iv</i>	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is <i>-iv</i>
Palatal consonants j, lj, nj, ć, đ, š, ž, č, dž	j (1), lj (4), nj (2)	lj (4)	nj (2)	j (1), lj (4), nj (2)	j (1), lj (4), nj (2)
Dental t, d, s, z, c	/	/	/	/	0
Bilabial b, p, m	b (9), m (8), p (5)	b (9), m (8), p (5)	/	/	b (9), m (8), p (5)
Labio-dental v, f	v (4)	v (4)	/	/	v (4)
Velar k, g, h	/	/	/	/	0
Alveolar l, r, n	l (3), n (6)	l (3)	n (6)	/	l (3), n (6)
The Total Number	42 (100%)	33 (78.57%)	8 (19.05%)	7 (16.67%)	42

9. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX *-JI*

The phonological alternative for the derivational suffix *-ji* in 29.41% of the adjectives in the corpus is *-lji*, but regarding the examples both in the corpus and in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika*, the ending *-lji* exists just on the surface level. The derivational suffix *-i* does not exist in Serbian, and the derivational suffix *-nji* is possible with bases with a final *n*, because *-nji* exists as an independent derivational suffix (e.g. *maternji* /cf. *mater-*/, *bližnji* /cf. *blizu*/).

The derivational suffix *-ji* is not as frequent in the corpus as the previous suffixes mentioned in the paper. Palatalisation of a final *n* and *l* by *-ji* is visible in only 2 of the 17 examples: *jesenji* /cf. *jesen*/ and *đavolji* /cf. nominal base *đavol-*/, but it is more frequent for *b* and *v* (5 examples): e.g. *riblji* /cf. *riba*/ and *mravlji* /cf. *mrav*/. The most frequent final consonants of the derivational base with the derivational suffix *-ji* are affricative consonants (35.29%), sonants (29.41%), and palatal consonants (17.65%) (cf. tables 9 and 10).

Table 9 The distribution of derivational suffixes **-i*, *-ji*, *-lji*, and *-nji* with different groups of final consonants (sonants, explosive consonants, affricative consonants, and fricative consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix <i>-ji</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-lji</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-nji</i>	The non-palatal derivational suffix <i>*-i</i>	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is <i>-i</i>
Sonants j, r, v, l, lj, m, n, nj	v (3), l (1), n (1)	v (3), l (1)	n (1)	/	v (3), l (1), n (1)
Explosive consonants b, p, d, t, g, k	b (2), k (2)	b (2)	/	/	b (2), k (2)
Affricative consonants c, č, ć, dž, đ	c (4), č (2)	/	/	/	c (4), č (2)
Fricative z, s, ž, š, f, h	s (1), š (1)	/	/	/	s (1), š (1)
The Total Number	17 (100%)	5 (29.41%)	1 (5.88%)	0	17

Table 10 The distribution of derivational suffixes **-i*, *-ji*, *-lji*, and *-nji* with different groups of final consonants (palatal consonants, dental consonants, bilabial consonants, labio-dental consonants, velar consonants, and alveolar consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffix <i>-ji</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-lji</i>	The derivational suffix <i>-nji</i>	The non-palatal derivational suffix <i>*-i</i>	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is <i>-i</i>
Palatal consonants j, lj, nj, ć, đ, š, ž, č, dž	č (2), š (1)	/	/	/	č (2), š (1)
Dental t, d, s, z, c	s (1), c (4)	/	/	/	s (1), c (4)
Bilabial b, p, m	b (2)	b (2)	/	/	b (2)
Labio-dental v, f	v (3)	v (3)	/	/	v (3)
Velar k, g, h	k (2)	/	/	/	k (2)
Alveolar l, r, n	l (1), n (1)	l (1)	n (1)	/	l (1), n (1)
The Total Number	17 (100%)	5 (29.41%)	1 (5.88%)	0	17

10. SPORADIC DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES *-JAN*, *-JAT*, *-JEV*, *-JIN*, *-JIT*

The morphemes *-jan*, *-jat*, *-jev*, *-jin*, *-jit* are sporadic in the corpus. The derivational independence of the formant *-jan* is palatalisation by initial *j* from the derivational suffix in adjectives such as *zlaćan* /cf. *zlatol*. The formant *-jat* is a phonologically possible derivational formant in the corpus because the final consonant of the base is the palatal *lj*, but adjectives

like *domišljat* /cf. *domisliti*/ can be the argument for the status of the derivational suffix for *-jat*. The derivational suffix *-jev* is equally possible as *-ev* because of palatalisation (via *j* or via vowel *e*). The derivational status of *-jin* and *-jit* is a phonological possibility in the corpus because the bases have a final palatal sonant *j* (e.g. *zavojit* /cf. *zavoj*/), *lj* (e.g. *zemljín* /cf. *zemlja*/, *temeljít* /cf. *temelj*/), *nj* (e.g. *trešnjín* /cf. *trešnja*/) (cf. tables 11 and 12). The derivational suffixes *-ljan*, *-njan*, *-ljat*, *-njat*, *-ljev*, *-njev*, *-ljit* and *-njit* were not proven independent by the examples in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika*.

Table 11 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-jan*, *-jat*, *-jev*, *-jin*, *-jit* and their variants with different groups of final consonants (sonants, explosive consonants, affricative consonants, and fricative consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffixes <i>-jan</i> , <i>-jat</i> , <i>-jev</i> , <i>-jin</i> , <i>-jit</i>	The derivational suffixes <i>-ljan</i> , <i>-ljat</i> , <i>-ljev</i> , <i>-ljín</i> , <i>-ljít</i>	The derivational suffixes <i>-njan</i> , <i>-njat</i> , <i>-njev</i> , <i>-njín</i> , <i>-njít</i>	The non-palatal derivational suffixes <i>-an</i> , <i>-at</i> , <i>-ev</i> , <i>-in</i> , <i>-it</i>	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is <i>-an</i> , <i>-at</i> , <i>-ev</i> , <i>-in</i> , <i>-it</i>
Sonants j, r, v, l, lj, m, n, nj	j (2 -jan, 3 -jit), lj (1 -jan, 1 -jat, 1 -jev, 1 -jin, 1 -jit), nj (2 -jev, 1 -jin)	lj (1 -ljan, 1 -ljat, 1 -ljev, 1 -ljín, 1 -ljít)	nj (2 -njev, 1 -njín)	j (2 -an, 3 -it), lj (1 -an, 1 -at, 1 -ev, 1 -in, 1 -it), nj (2 -ev, 1 -in)	j (2 -an, 3 -it), lj (1 -an, 1 -at, 1 -ev, 1 -in, 1 -it), nj (2 -ev, 1 -in)
Explosive consonants b, p, d, t, g, k	k (2 -jan), t (1 -jan)	/	/	k (2 -an)	k (2 -an), t (1 -an)
Affricative consonants c, č, ć, dž, đ	c (6 -jan, 2 -jev)	/	/	c (6 -an, 2 -ev)	c (5 -an, 2 -ev)
Fricative z, s, ž, š, f, h	/	/	/	/	0
The Total Number	24 (100%)	5 (20.83%)	3 (12.5%)	23 (95.83%)	24

11. COMPLEX DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES *-JAL(A)N*, *-JAR(A)N*, *-JEVIT*, *-JIKAV*, *-JUŠKAST*

Derivational suffixes *-jal(a)n*, *-jar(a)n*, *-jevit*, *-jikav*, *-juškast* are indirectly visible in the corpus because of the palatalisation of the final consonant of a base (e.g. *debeljuškast* /cf. the adjectival base *debel-* of adjective *debeo*/, *vlažnjikav* /cf. *vlažan*/). In other cases, derivational suffixes *-jal(a)n*, *-jar(a)n*, *-jevit*, *-jikav*, *-juškast* are connected with the palatal sonant *j* (e.g. *slojevit* /cf. *sloj*/, *familijaran* /cf. *familija*/, *kolonijalan* /cf. *kolonija*/), *lj* (e.g. *šupljikav* /cf. *šupalj*/), *nj* (e.g. *munjevit* /cf. *munja*/), where they are phonologically equally possible as variants without a consonant, with initial *lj* or with initial *nj*: a) *-ar(a)n* and *-jar(a)n* (e.g. *familij-* + *-ar(a)n* or *familij-* + *-jar(a)n*), b) *-ljikav*, *-ikav*, and *-jikav* (e.g. *šuplj-* + *-ikav*/*-jikav*/*-ljikav*), c) *-njevit*, *-jevit*, and *-evit* (e.g. *munj-* + *-evit*/*-jevit*/*-njevit*).

Palatal consonants occur most frequently as the final phonemes of a derivational base (92.31%) – cf. tables 13 and 14.

Table 12 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-jan*, *-jat*, *-jev*, *-jin*, *-jit* and their variants with different groups of final consonants (palatal consonants, dental consonants, bilabial consonants, labio-dental consonants, velar consonants, and alveolar consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational suffixes <i>-jan</i> , <i>-jat</i> , <i>-jev</i> , <i>-jin</i> , <i>-jit</i>	The derivational suffixes <i>-ljan</i> , <i>-ljat</i> , <i>-ljev</i> , <i>-ljin</i> , <i>-ljit</i>	The derivational suffixes <i>-njan</i> , <i>-njat</i> , <i>-njev</i> , <i>-njin</i> , <i>-njit</i>	The non-palatal derivational suffixes <i>-an</i> , <i>-at</i> , <i>-ev</i> , <i>-in</i> , <i>-it</i>	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is <i>-an</i> , <i>-at</i> , <i>-ev</i> , <i>-in</i> , <i>-it</i>
Palatal consonants j, lj, nj, ć, đ, š, ž, č, dž	j (2 -jan, 3 -jit), lj (1 -jan, 1 -jat, 1 -jev, 1 -jin, 1 -jit), nj (2 -jev, 1 -jin)	lj (1 -ljan, 1 -ljat, 1 -ljev, 1 -ljin, 1 -ljit)	nj (2 -njev, 1 -njin)	j (2 -an, 3 -it), lj (1 -an, 1 -at, 1 -ev, 1 -in, 1 -it), nj (2 -jev, 1 -in)	j (2 -an, 3 -it), lj (1 -an, 1 -at, 1 -ev, 1 -in, 1 -it), nj (2 -ev, 1 -in)
Dental t, d, s, z, c	t (1 -jan), c (5 -jan, 2 -jev)	/	/	c (5 -an, 2 -ev)	t (1 -an), c (5 -an, 2 -ev)
Bilabial b, p, m	/	/	/	/	0
Labio-dental v, f	/	/	/	/	0
Velar k, g, h	k (2 -jan)	/	/	k (2 -an)	k (2 -an)
Alveolar l, r, n	/	/	/	/	0
The Total Number	24 (100%)	5 (20.83%)	3 (12.5%)	23 (95.83%)	24

Table 13 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-jal(a)n*, *-jar(a)n*, *-jevit*, *-jikav*, *-juškast* and their variants with different groups of final consonants (sonants, explosive consonants, affricative consonants, and fricative consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational Suffixes <i>-jal(a)n</i> , <i>-jar(a)n</i> , <i>-jevit</i> , <i>-jikav</i> , <i>-juškast</i>	The derivational Suffixes <i>-lj(a)n</i> , <i>-ljar(a)n</i> , <i>-ljevit</i> , <i>-ljikav</i> , <i>-ljuškast</i>	The derivational Suffixes <i>-nj(a)n</i> , <i>-njar(a)n</i> , <i>-njevit</i> , <i>-njikav</i> , <i>-njuškast</i>	The non-palatal Suffixes <i>-al(a)n</i> , <i>-evit</i> , <i>-ar(a)n</i> , <i>-evit</i> , <i>-ikav</i> , <i>-uškast</i>	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is <i>-al(a)n</i> , <i>-ar(a)n</i> , <i>-evit</i> , <i>-ikav</i> , <i>-uškast</i>
Sonants j, r, v, l, lj, m, n, nj	j (1 -jevit, 3 -jal(a)n, 1 -jar(a)n), 1 (1 -juškast), lj (3 -jevit, 2 -jikav), nj (1 -jevit)	1 (1 -ljuškast), lj (3 -ljevit, 2 -ljikav)	nj (1 -njevit)	j (1 -evit, 3 -al(a)n, 1 -ar(a)n), lj (3 -evit, 2 -ikav), nj (1 -evit)	j (1 -evit, 3 -al(a)n), 1 -ar(a)n), 1 (1 -uškast), lj (3 -evit, 2 -ikav), nj (1 -evit)
Explosive consonants b, p, d, t, g, k	/	/	/	/	/
Affricative consonants c, č, ć, dž, đ	c (1 -jevit)	/	/	c (1 -evit)	c (1 -evit)
Fricative z, s, ž, š, f, h	/	/	/	/	/
The Total Number	13 (100%)	6 (46.15%)	1 (7.69%)	12 (92.31%)	13

Table 14 The distribution of derivational suffixes *-jal(a)n*, *-jar(a)n*, *-jevit*, *-jikav*, *-juškast* and their variants with different groups of final consonants (palatal consonants, dental consonants, bilabial consonants, labio-dental consonants, velar consonants, and alveolar consonants)

The last consonant of the base / Consonant groups	The derivational Suffixes <i>-jal(a)n</i> , <i>-jar(a)n</i> , <i>-jevit</i> , <i>-jikav</i> , <i>-juškast</i>	The derivational Suffixes <i>-lja(a)n</i> , <i>-ljar(a)n</i> , <i>-ljevit</i> , <i>-ljikav</i> , <i>-ljuškast</i>	The derivational Suffixes <i>-nja(a)n</i> , <i>-njar(a)n</i> , <i>-njevit</i> , <i>-njikav</i> , <i>-njuškast</i>	The non-palatal derivational Suffixes <i>-al(a)n</i> , <i>-ar(a)n</i> , <i>-evit</i> , <i>-ikav</i> , <i>-uškast</i>	The Total Number of Adjectives whose ending is <i>-al(a)n</i> , <i>-ar(a)n</i> , <i>-evit</i> , <i>-ikav</i> , <i>-uškast</i>
Palatal consonants j, lj, nj, ć, đ, š, ž, č, dž	j (1 -jevit, 3 -jal(a)n, 1 -jar(a)n), 1 (1 -juškast), lj (3 -jevit, 2 -jikav), nj (1 -jevit)	1 (1 -ljuškast), lj (3 -ljevit, 2 -ljikav)	nj (1 -njevit)	j (1 -evit, 3 -al(a)n, 1 -ar(a)n), lj (3 -evit, 2 -ikav), nj (1 -evit)	j (1 -evit, 3 -al(a)n, 1 -ar(a)n), 1 (1 -uškast), lj (3 -evit, 2 -ikav), nj (1 -evit)
Dental t, d, s, z, c	c (1 -jevit)	/	/	c (1 -evit)	c (1 -evit)
Bilabial b, p, m	/	/	/	/	0
Labio-dental v, f	/	/	/	/	0
Velar k, g, h	/	/	/	/	0
Alveolar l, r, n	/	/	/	/	0
The Total Number	13 (100%)	6 (46.15%)	1 (7.69%)	12 (92.31%)	13

12. DISCUSSION

Palatalisation by *j* in adjectives whose bases have the final consonants *n* and *l* is an inevitable explanation for the morphological status of derivational suffixes with initial *j* (8.9% of the examples in the corpus */Azbučnik prideva u srpskoj prozi dvadesetog veka* by Miroslav Josić Višnjić). Phonological alternatives for derivational suffixes with bases which have a final consonant *n* and *l* are *nj*- or *lj*- suffix variants, but that kind of analysis is not uniform because *lj*- and *nj*- suffixes are not always proven independent in Serbian.

Derived adjectives with palatal consonants *j*, *đ*, *lj*, *nj* (43.56%) at the end of the base have a few word formation analysis variants.

Firstly, adjectives such as *zujav*, with a final *j* in the base, can be a combination of a reduced verbal base *zuj*- and the derivational suffix *-av* or *-jav*, and those adjectives such as *čađav*, with a final *đ* in the derivational base, can also be a combination of the nominal base *čađ*- and the derivational suffixes *-av* or *-jav*.

Secondly, adjectives with derivational bases which have a final *nj* and *lj* (22.7% of the examples of the analysed examples) can be phonologically explained in three ways: with

derivational suffixes which have initial *j*, *nj* or vowel (bases with a final *nj*) or with derivational suffixes which have initial *j*, *lj* or vowel (bases with a final *lj*). In word formation analyses we only considered the suffixes with initial *lj* and *nj* which were independently confirmed in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika*.

Thirdly, palatalisation of labials *b*, *v*, *m*, *p* by *j* from a derivational suffix was found in 9.51% of the analysed adjectives. The alternative are suffixes with initial *lj* (if they were confirmed in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika*). Therefore, the word formation analyses for examples such as *žablji*, *kolebljiv*, *mravlji*, *snebljiv*, *razumljiv*, *opipljiv* should be: *žab-* + *-ji*, *koleb-* + *-jiv/-ljiv*, *mrav-* + *-ji*, *snebiv-* + *-jiv/-ljiv*, *razum-* + *-jiv/-ljiv*, *opip-* + *-jiv/-ljiv*.

Finally, the first palatalisation of *k*, *g*, *h*, *c* (35.58%) has the same phonological results as palatalisation via *j*. Therefore, the word formation analyses for examples such as *jastučast*, *jezičav*, *čeličan*, *brižan*, *siromašan*, *letimičan*, *bradavičav*, *srčan*, *igličast*, *sunčev* should be: *jastuk-* + *-ast/-jast*, *jezik-* + *-av/-jav*, *čelik-* + *-(a)n/-j(a)n*, *brig-* + *-(a)n/-j(a)n*, *siromah-* + *-(a)n/-j(a)n*, *letimic-* + *-(a)n/-j(a)n*, *bradavic-* + *-av/-jav*, *src-* + *-an/-jan*, *iglic-* + *-ast/-jast*, *sunc-* + *-ev/-jev*. There were no examples with final *z* that can alternate with *ž* (cf. *knez/kneže*).

Approximately 54.6% of the analysed adjectives can be explained by palatalisation in the broadest sense of that term and 98.31% of them have more phonological alternatives for derivational suffixes because of the existing palatal consonant at the end of the base (cf. Table 15).

Table 15 The frequency and percentage of different types of derivational suffixes

The last consonant of the base	The initial <i>j</i> in the derivational suffix	The initial <i>lj</i> in the derivational suffix	The initial <i>nj</i> in the derivational suffix	The non-palatal suffix	The Number of Adjectives
b	11	11	0	0	11
c	47	0	0	44	47
č	2	0	0	0	2
đ	2	0	0	2	2
g	14	0	0	14	14
h	5	0	0	5	5
j	66	0	0	66	66
k	54	0	0	53	54
l	9	9	0	0	9
lj	59	59	0	59	59
m	8	8	0	0	8
n	19	0	19	0	19
nj	15	0	15	15	15
p	5	5	0	0	5
s	1	0	0	0	1
š	1	0	0	0	1
t	1	0	0	0	1
v	7	7	0	0	7
The sum	326 (100%)	99 (30.37%)	34 (10.43%)	257 (78.83%)	326

The consonant *c* in front of the derivational suffix *-ji* can alternate with *č* (*dečji* /cf. *deca*/, *ptičji* /cf. *ptica*/), and *š* is also combined with *-ji* (*mišji* /cf. *miš*/). On the other hand, *s* is not palatalised via *j* in the corpus (*pasji* /cf. *pas*/), but *t* is (*zlačan* /cf. *zlato*/), which is also the argument for the existence of *-ji* and *-jan* in the word formation structure, as well as the other derivational formants which cause palatalisation by the initial *j* from derivational suffixes.

13. CONCLUSION

The most important research question in this paper is what the status of derivational suffixes with initial *j* in Serbian is, and how often native speakers of Serbian are exposed to adjectives which are possibly derived with derivational suffixes with initial *j* in the contemporary literature. Native speakers do not do word formational analyses explicitly, but they are implicitly aware of derivational suffixes which exist in their native language, especially the ones they are frequently exposed to. These conclusions about adjectives with a possible interpretation of derivational suffixes with initial *j* can be a guide for understanding derivational processes in the future.

Derivational suffixes with initial *j* are equally morpho-phonologically possible as their non-palatal variants (without initial consonant) and those with initial *lj* and *nj*. Because of palatalisation alternations of consonants via *j*, derivational suffixes with initial *j* should be considered parallel with derivational suffixes with initial *lj*, initial *nj*, and without initial consonant. The most precise derivational analysis should include every possible morpho-phonological scenario, but should not include non-confirmed derivational suffixes. These analyses point to the independence of derivational suffixes with initial *lj* and *nj*, and those with initial *j* would be residuals.

The derivational suffixes *-j(a)n* and *-(a)n* are interchangeable in most cases where *-j(a)n* is a possible formant, except with the bases with a final *n* and *l*, where only *-j(a)n* is a possible interpretation in word formation analysis. The formants *-lj(a)n* and *-nj(a)n* are not independent suffixes, but only phonological possibilities.

The existence of *-jav* is implied by the palatalisation of *l* (e.g. *mastiljav* /cf. *mastilo*/) and *n* (e.g. *težinjav* /cf. *težinal*/), which is only possible with *j*, not with vowels. The alternative for the derivational suffix *-jav* in 86.67% of the adjectives in the corpus is *-av*; *-ljav* is the phonological alternative for *-jav* in 43.33% of the analysed adjectives; and *-njav* in 16.67% of the analysed adjectives. The formant *-ljav* is not an independent suffix because it is contained only in the base on the surface level, but *-njav* is visible in adjectives such as *kitnjav* /cf. *kititi*/, where *nj* is obviously not a part of the derivational base.

The alternative for the derivational suffix *-jast* in 89.74% of the adjectives in the corpus is *-ast*; *-ljast* is the phonological alternative for *-jast* in 30.77% of the analysed adjectives; and *-njast* in 17.95% of the analysed adjectives. Phonological possibilities for all four derivational suffixes were confirmed, but *-ljast* is not an independent suffix because it is contained in the base on the surface level. On the other hand, the formant *-njast* is visible in adjectives such as *kitnjast* /cf. *kititi*/, where *nj* is obviously not a part of the base, so it has the status of an independent derivational suffix.

The alternative for the derivational suffix *-jiv* in 78.57% of the adjectives in the corpus is *-ljiv*; *-njiv* is the phonological alternative for *-jiv* in 19.05% of the analysed adjectives; and *-iv* in 16.67% of the analysed adjectives. Phonological possibilities for all four derivational suffixes were confirmed. Moreover, the adjectives in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika* show that *-njiv* is not an independent suffix because *nj* is contained in the base on the surface level, but *-ljiv* is visible in adjectives such as *barutljiv* /cf. *barut*/, where *lj* is obviously not a part of these bases, which is the argument for *-ljiv* being an independent derivational suffix.

The phonological alternative for the derivational suffix *-ji* in 29.41% of the adjectives in the corpus is *-lji*, but in the examples both in the corpus and in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika* the ending *-lji* exist on the surface level. The derivational suffix *-i* does not exist in

Serbian, and the derivational suffix *-nji* should be considered in word formation analyses of adjectives with bases which end in *n*, because *-nji* exists as an independent derivational suffix (e.g. *maternji* /cf. *mater-/*).

The morphemes *-jan*, *-jat*, *-jev*, *-jin*, *-jit* are sporadic in the corpus. The derivational independence of the formant *-jan* is visible through the process of palatalisation by an initial *j* of the derivational suffix in adjectives such as *zlačan* /cf. *zlato*/. The formant *-jat* is a phonologically possible derivational formant in the corpus because the final consonant of the base is the palatal *lj*, but adjectives like *domišljat* /cf. *domisliti*/ can be an argument in favor of *-jat* being a derivational suffix. The derivational suffix *-jev* is equally possible as *-ev* because of palatalisation (via *j* or via vowel *e*). The derivational status of *-jin* and *-jit* is a phonological possibility in the corpus because the bases have a final palatal sonant *j* (e.g. *zavojit* /cf. *zavoj*/), *lj* (e.g. *zemljin* /cf. *zemlja*/, *temeljit* /cf. *temelj*/), *nj* (e.g. *trešnjin* /cf. *trešnja*/). The derivational suffixes *-ljan*, *-njan*, *-ljat*, *-njat*, *-ljev*, *-njev*, *-ljit* and *-njit* were not proven independent by the examples in *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika*.

The derivational suffixes *-jal(a)n*, *-jar(a)n*, *-jevit*, *-jikav*, *-juškast* are indirectly visible in the corpus because of the palatalisation of the final consonant of a base (e.g. *debeljuškast* /cf. the adjectival base *debel-* of adjective *debeo*/, *vlažnjikav* /cf. *vlažan*/). In other cases, derivational suffixes *-jal(a)n*, *-jar(a)n*, *-jevit*, *-jikav*, *-juškast* are connected with the palatal sonant *j* (e.g. *slojevit* /cf. *sloj*/, *familijaran* /cf. *familija*/, *kolonijalan* /cf. *kolonija*/), *lj* (e.g. *šupljikav* /cf. *šupalj*/), *nj* (e.g. *munjevit* /cf. *munja*/), where they are phonologically equally possible as variants without a consonant, with initial *lj* or with initial *nj*: a) as *-ar(a)n* (e.g. *familij-* + *-ar(a)n* or *familij-* + *-jar(a)n*), b) as *-ljikav* or *-ikav* (e.g. *šuplj-* + *-ikav*/*-jikav*/*-ljikav*), c) as *-njevit* or *-evit* (e.g. *munj-* + *-evit*/*-jevit*/*-njevit*).

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STUDIJA SLUČAJA O MORFOLOŠKO-FONOLOŠKOM STATUSU SRPSKIH PRIDEVSKIH SUFIKSA SA INICIJALNIM J

Predmet ovog rada je ispitivanje morfološko-fonološkog statusa pridevskih sufiksa sa inicijalnim j u srpskom jeziku, kao što su -jan, -j(a)n, -jav, -jast, -ji, -jiv, -jal(a)n, -jar(a)n, -jat, -jev, -jevit, -jikav, -jin, -jit, -juškast, u poređenju sa njihovim sufikslnim varijantama sa inicijalnim lj i nj, kao i bez inicijalnog konsonanta. Građa je ekscerpirana iz „Azbučnika prideva u srpskoj prozi dvadesetog veka” Miroslava Josića Višnjića. Analiziran je fonološki najpovoljniji mogući scenario za navedene pridevske sufikse sa inicijalnim j i njihova distribucija s obzirom na fonološke karakteristike finalnog konsonanta iz tvorbenih osnova sa kojim se kombinuju. Sufiksi sa inicijalnim j u srpskom su najstabilniji kada jotuju n i l na kraju tvorbene osnove i retko su vidljivi na površinskoj strukturi prideva (up. pasji). Pridevi sa završnim konsonantom tvorbene osnove k (i c istorijski nastalo od k), g (i z istorijski nastalo od g), h – fonološki mogu biti objašnjeni palatalizacijom ili jotovanjem kada nastanu č, ž, š, a suglasničke grupe blj, plj, mlj, vlj mogu biti objašnjene jotovanjem b, p, m, v ili sufiksom sa inicijalnim lj. Sufiksi sa inicijalnim j u srpskom su podjednako mogući kao njihove nepalatalne varijante (bez inicijalnog j) i palatalni sufiksi sa inicijalnim lj i nj. Zbog posledica jotovanja u izvedenim pridevima, što dokazuje postojanje sufiksa sa inicijalnim j, sufiksi sa inicijalnim j trebalo bi da u tvorbenoj analizi budu posmatrani paralelno sa onima koji imaju inicijalno lj i nj i u slučajevima kada nema jotovanja, odnosno kada se osnova završava palatalnim konsonantom. Pokazuje se težnja ka samostalnoj upotrebi sufiksa sa inicijalnim lj i nj, a sufiksi sa inicijalnim j su rezidualni i javljaju se u ograničenim fonološkim kontekstima.

Ključne reči: *pridevi, sufiksacija, palatalizacija, jotovanje, morfemska granica.*