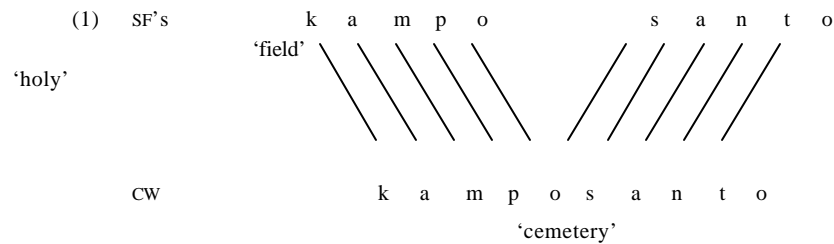


**WORD-BLENDING AS A CASE OF NON-CONCATENATIVE
MORPHOLOGY IN SPANISH**

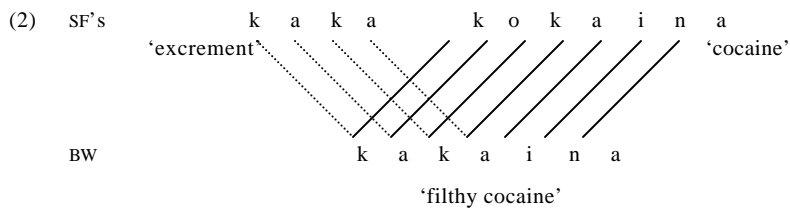
Carlos-Eduardo Piñeros
University of Iowa

0. Introduction

Compounding is a morphological process that combines two Source Forms (SF's), which are free or potentially free morphemes, to generate a Compound Word (CW). In regular compounds, the two morphemes surface in strict linear order such that the second morpheme may only start after the first one has ended.



Blended Words (BW) are a type of compound where the two morphemes break that strict linear order by overlapping. This requires a many-to-one correspondence relationship between two segments in the SF's and a single segment in BW. As a result, one of the morphemes is realized simultaneously with a part of the other one.

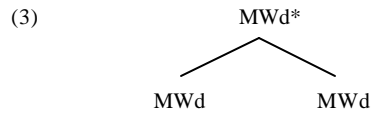


Much research on Spanish morphology has focused on concatenative processes (e.g. prefixation, suffixation, compounding), where morphemes are linked to one another in a linear fashion (e.g. *inter + nacion + al + iza + ción* 'internationalization'). This is indeed the

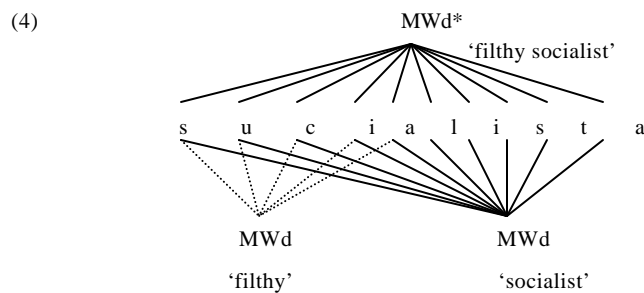
most common pattern of Spanish morphology (Alemany Bolufer 1920, Alcina and Blecua 1975, Urrutia 1978, Lang, M.F. 1990). Nevertheless, Spanish does have processes that break away from morpheme concatenation. In this paper, I demonstrate that word-blending constitutes a clear case of non-concatenative morphology in Spanish. It is argued that the formation of blends takes place within an (Output-Output)-Correspondence dimension, where a dominant markedness constraint (e.g. NO-PWd*) keeps BW from projecting a PWd* node. As a consequence of this, the two formatives must align at one of their edges; so that a greater number of morphological-word edges are licensed by prosodic-word edges in compliance with the interface constraint ALIGN(M \leftrightarrow P). The precise locus of blending is determined through constraint interaction. Given that BW must be faithful to both SF's, it is better to allow a segment in BW to have multiple correspondents in the SF's than to provide correspondents for the segments of only one of the SF's. Furthermore, since it is rarely the case that the two SF's have all segments in common, it often happens that a segment in BW acts as correspondent for two non-identical segments in the SF's. However, the optimal BW reduces featural unfaithfulness to a minimum by having the SF's amalgamate at the periphery where they bear the greatest phonological resemblance.

1. The morphological structure of blends

It has been argued that blends are a subcategory of compounds (Adams 1973, Algeo 1977, Pharies 1987, Janda 1986, among others) because the morphemes that participate in word-blending, just like those that participate in compounding, are free or potentially free morphemes. Since a free morpheme is equivalent to a Morphological Word (MWd), it follows that both compounding and blending combine MWd's to generate a new lexeme. This new lexeme constitutes a complex MWd, which will be represented as MWd*.



Assuming that a morpheme is a unit of meaning, one can clearly identify three morphemes in a blend. The representation in (4) is intended to illustrate the fact that *sucialista* does not only convey a stigma on socialists, it also reveals the meanings ‘filthy’ and ‘socialist’. Put differently, the meanings of the two input MWd’s combine in the blend to form a new unified concept. Accordingly, the segments of the two MWd’s are also affiliated to MWd* since they contribute to form it.



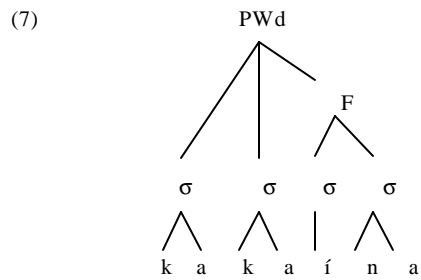
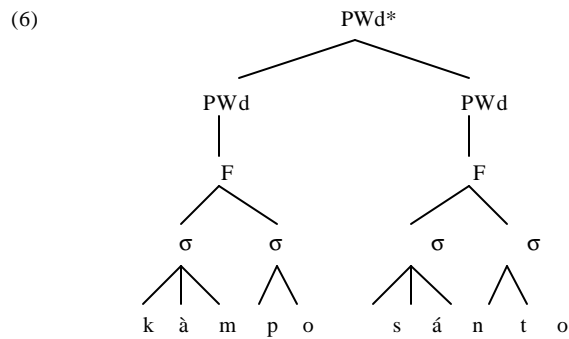
My claim is that although the boundaries between the MWd’s are blurred due to overlapping, blends do have a compositional morphological structure. I specifically argue that the two input MWd’s remain in the blend according to the analysis $MWd^* \rightarrow MWd$ MWd, which applies to both compounds and blends. This assumption is crucial in order to maintain that blends contain ambimorphemic segments since no segment in a blend could be ambimorphemic if there were only one morpheme. The examples in (5) further show that the meaning of a blend is compositional, which is proof that they have an internal morphological structure.¹

(5) a. sucia + sociedad → suciedad

	‘filthy’		‘socialist’		‘filthy society’
b.	analfabeta ‘illiterate’	+	bestia ‘beast’	→	analfabestia ‘illiterate idiot’
c.	burro ‘donkey’	+	burocracia ‘bureaucracy’	→	burrocracia ‘stupid bureaucracy’

2. Compounding without PWd recursion

Despite their semantic and morphological similarities, there is a crucial difference between compounds and blends as far as their prosodic structures are concerned. Unlike regular compounds, whose formatives project their own Prosodic Word (PWd) under a PWd* node (6), the two formatives of a blend surface under a single PWd (7).



This particular behavior of blends reflects a tendency to avoid recursion of the constituent PWD. I propose the markedness constraint NO-PWD* to sanction the projection of PWD* nodes.

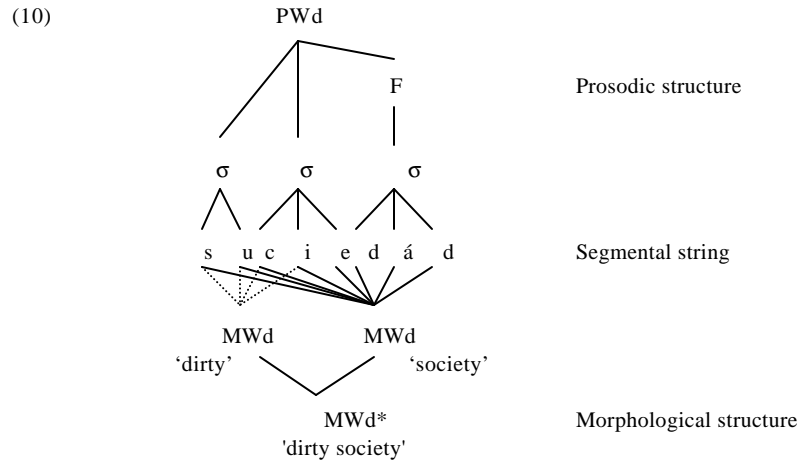
- (8) NO-PWD*: *No Prosodic Word Recursion*
Output forms do not have PWD* nodes.

It has been noticed that recursion of prosodic constituents is not possible, except for the category PWD (McCarthy and Prince (1993b: 5). However, even if PWD recursion is possible, it is not freely granted. Through NO-PWD*, I intend to capture the fact that recursion of PWD does come at a cost. I claim that the resulting constituent, PWD*, is marked with respect to PWD since a new layer of prosodic structure is added. The constraint NO-PWD* favors prosodic unmarkedness by penalizing outputs that bear this extra mark. This constraint is just an instance of the more general markedness constraint *STRUC (Prince and Smolensky 1993, Zoll 1993, 1996, De Lacy 1999), which militates against structure.

Despite its cost, PWD recursion is needed in the combination of two MWD's given that every morphological constituent is subject to prosodic licensing. Specifically, every MWD must be licensed by a PWD. Prince and Smolensky (1993) formalize this condition as $LX \approx PR$.

- (9) $LX \approx PR$: *A Lexical Word equals a Prosodic Word*
A member of the morphological category MWD corresponds to the prosodic category PWD.

The effect of $LX \approx PR$ is to ensure that for every MWD there is a PWD that licenses it. According to this, violations of $LX \approx PR$ are to be expected when the output contains fewer PWD's than MWD's. In this regard, it is important to remark that BW contains only one PWD despite the fact that there are three MWD's in it.



The representation in (10) reveals that blends satisfy NO-PWd* to the detriment of LX≈PR. Under the ranking NO-PWd* >> LX≈PR, the optimal BW needs to find a way to license the three MWd's without projecting a PWd* node. To show how this is accomplished, I point to a consistent pattern followed by Spanish blends. In general, the SF's of Spanish blends are not the same size. The shorter SF may start at the same point as the longer one, so that the left edge of its initial syllable matches the left edge of the initial syllable of the longer SF.

(11) *Both SF's start at the same point*

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| a. | pie d ra | 'stone' |
| | p e d a g o g i c a | 'UPN' ² |
| | ➤ p i e d r a g o g i c a | 'a stigmatized term for UPN' |
| b. | b u r r o | 'donkey' |
| | b i c i c l e t a | 'bicycle' |
| | ➤ b u r r i c l e t a | 'small bicycle' |
| c. | d e d o | 'finger' |
| | d e m o c r a c i a | 'democracy' |

- dedocracia ‘an arbitrary system of election by pointing with the finger’

Alternatively, the shorter SF of a blend may end at the same point as the longer one, so that the right edge of its final syllable matches the right edge of the final syllable of the longer SF.

(12) *Both SF's end at the same point*

- a. p e r r o ‘dog’
 m o s q u e t e r o ‘musketeer’
- m o s q u e p e r r o ‘dog-musketeer’
- b. j o d a ‘bother’
 p a r a d o j a ‘paradox’
- p a r a j o d a ‘an irritating paradox’
- c. g o l ‘goal’
 f u t b o l ‘soccer’
- f u t g o l ‘a soccer magazine published in Spain’

These patterns are obviously related to alignment. By starting or ending at the same point, the SF's of a blend manage to get a greater number of MWd-edges aligned with Pwd-edges. To capture this fact, I propose to reformulate $LX \approx PR$ as the alignment constraint $ALIGN(M \Leftrightarrow P)$, which is defined as follows.

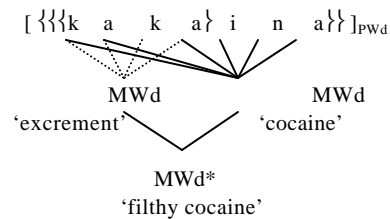
- (13) $ALIGN(M \Leftrightarrow P)$: *Align MWd-edges with Pwd-edges*
 Given MWd_i, MWd_j, \dots and PWd_i, PWd_j, \dots
 Align $(MWd_\alpha, E, PWd_\alpha, E)$

Edge E of category MWd_α is aligned with the corresponding edge of category PWd_α .

This constraint quantifies over the two edges of a MWd. When both edges of MWd_{α} match the corresponding edges of PWd_{α} , MCat is fully licensed. When only one edge of MWd_{α} matches the corresponding edge of PWd_{α} , it is not that MCat is unlicensed. Rather, it is partially licensed. Put differently, $ALIGN(M \leftrightarrow P)$ accomplishes the same effect as $LX \approx PR$, but it has the advantage of allowing finer distinctions among competing candidates because prosodic licensing is measured edge by edge rather than category by category.

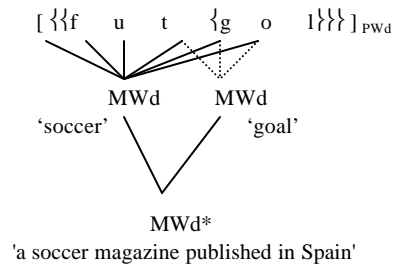
With three MWd's in BW but only one PWd to license them, the SF's of a blend must array in such a way that they can maximize the use of the two PWd-edges that are available. This explains the patterns exhibited by the examples in (11) and (12), which are further illustrated by the representations in (14) and (15) below.³

(14) *Left Alignment*



In (14), only one of the six MWd-edges is misaligned. Note how the left edges of the three MWd's match the left edge of the PWd since all three MWd's dominate [k], the leftmost element. At the right periphery, two MWd-edges match the right edge of the PWd. Only the right edge of the MWd $\{kaka\}$ is caught in the middle of the blend. The mirror image of this situation arises for blends whose SF's end at the same point. In (15), it is the left edge of the MWd $\{gol\}$ that is misaligned. The reader can confirm that all other MWd-edges match a PWd-edge.

(15) *Right Alignment*



These patterns suggest that $\text{ALIGN}(\text{M} \leftrightarrow \text{P})$ is the force that triggers word-blending. This constraint also plays a crucial role in determining the locus of blending. The SF's must overlap at one of their peripheries because, although $\text{ALIGN}(\text{M} \leftrightarrow \text{P})$ is dominated by NO-PWd^* , the optimal BW must minimize the number of violations of this constraint. Only if both SF's start or end at the same point can $\text{ALIGN}(\text{M} \leftrightarrow \text{P})$ be optimally satisfied. In this way, five out of six MWd-edges get to be aligned with PWd-edges (16d).

(16) $\text{NO-PWd}^* \gg \text{ALIGN}(\text{M} \leftrightarrow \text{P})$

SF:	[(ká.ka)] [ko.ka.(í.na)]	NO-PWd*	ALIGN(M↔P)
a.	[{ [{kàkal}] [{kokaína}] }]	* !	
b.	{ [{káka}] [{kokaína}] }		* ! *
c.	[{ {kaka} } { {kokaína} }]		* ! *
d.	\varnothing [{ { {kaka} } } { {ína} } }]		*

Candidate (16a) achieves perfect compliance with $\text{ALIGN}(\text{M} \leftrightarrow \text{P})$ by providing a PWd for every MWd, including the projection of a PWd* whose edges match the edges of MWd*. This, however, runs afoul of top-ranking NO-PWd^* , which puts (16a) out of competition right away. Candidate (16b) keeps from projecting a PWd* in order to satisfy NO-PWd^* , but this gives rise to two violations of $\text{ALIGN}(\text{M} \leftrightarrow \text{P})$ because the edges of the category MWd* are not abutted by the edges of a PWd*. Candidate (16c) attempts to

maximize the use of PwD-edges to achieve better alignment, but two MWd-edges still remain misaligned because the two SF's do not start or end at the same point. Candidate (16d) is the winner because it optimally exploits the use of PwD-edges available for alignment. By having the two SF's start at the same point, this candidate achieves the best alignment possible. Despite the fact that $\text{ALIGN}(M \leftrightarrow P)$ has to be violated once, so that the higher-ranking constraint NO-PwD^* is respected, its role is decisive in the selection of the optimal candidate. The minimal violation of this constraint makes the difference between the winner, (16d), and the most serious contenders (16b,c). The price of achieving optimal alignment, however, is that the SF's must overlap at one edge.

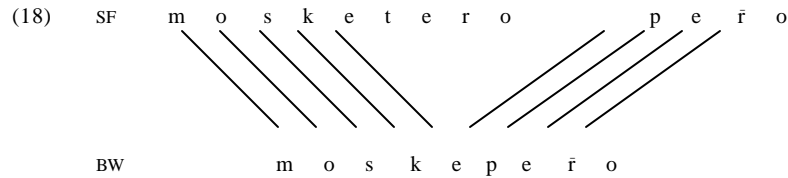
3. Ambimorphemic segments

It is not uncommon to find blends that leave out some of the segments present in the SF's (e.g. *moskepeño* < *mosquetero* + *peño* 'dog-musketeer'). Such type of unfaithfulness is prohibited by the correspondence constraint $\text{MAX}(\text{SF-BW})$.

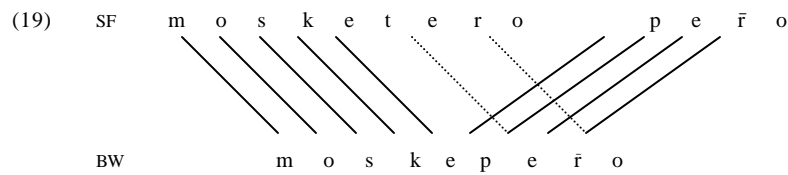
- (17) $\text{MAX}(\text{SF-BW})$: *Maximization of the Source Forms*
(Based on McCarthy and Prince 1995)

Every element in the SF's must have a correspondent in BW.

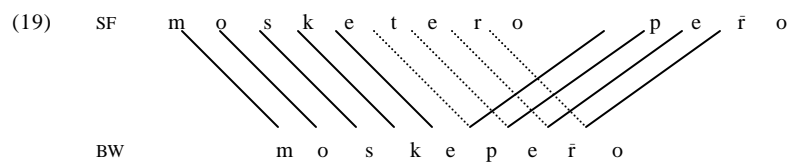
Violations of $\text{MAX}(\text{SF-BW})$ may greatly impinge on the identity between BW and its SF's. In order to comply with $\text{MAX}(\text{SF-BW})$, BW must provide correspondents for all of the segments in both SF's. Note from the representation in (18) below that if the segments *peño* in BW were the exclusive correspondents of the segments *peño* of the shorter SF, then BW would incur four violations of the constraint $\text{MAX}(\text{SF-BW})$. From a correspondence viewpoint, this is a very undesirable result given that BW must be faithful to both SF's because they are both part of the input.



In order to reduce the damage to (SF-BW)-Identity that may be caused by the alignment of the SF's, blends exploit the possibility of allowing a single segment in BW to act as correspondent of two segments in the SF's. By having multiple correspondents in the SF's, such segments become ambimorphemic as they become associated with more than one morpheme (Stemberger 1980, Janda 1986, Piñeros 1998, De Lacy 1999).



Ambimorphemic segments like [e] and [o] in (19) help reduce the number of violations of MAX(SF-BW). However, since it is rarely the case that the shorter SF has all of its segments in common with the longer one, the overlapping portion of BW may not always be completely faithful to both SF's. For not providing correspondents for [t] and [r], BW in (19) still incurs two violations of MAX(SF-BW). This situation may be considerably improved by allowing the possibility that a single segment in BW act as correspondent of two non-identical segments in the SF's.



In (20), the segment [p] in BW acts as correspondent of both [t] and [p] in the SF's. Similarly, [r] in BW is the correspondent of both [r] and [r̄] in the SF's. Obviously, a certain degree of unfaithfulness persists, but the gain is that this is unfaithfulness to a few features (e.g. [place] in the case of [p] ~ [t]; and [tense] for [r] ~ [r̄]) as opposed to unfaithfulness to entire segmental units. The constraint IDENT(SF-BW) becomes relevant in this type of correspondence relationship for it is the one that is concerned with the matching of feature specifications between correspondent elements.

(21) IDENT(SF-BW): *Featural Identity*

Let α be a segment in SF and β be any correspondent of α in B. If α is [γ F], then β is [γ F].

Another constraint that becomes relevant due to the overlapping of the SF's is the morphological constraint MORPHDIS (McCarthy and Prince 1995), which promotes the distinctness of morphemes.

(22) MORPHDIS: *Morphemic Disjointness*

$x \subset M_i \rightarrow x \not\subset M_j$, for instances of morphemes $M_i \neq M_j$ and for x a specific segmental (autosegmental) token.
 “Distinct instances of morphemes have distinct contents, tokenwise.”

Whether they are identical or not, for every segment in BW having double correspondents in the SF's one violation of MORPHDIS is incurred. In other words, the ambimorphemic segments in BW come at the cost of sacrificing a certain degree of the distinctness of the SF's.

The reasoning for ranking these constraints with respect to one another is as follows. Given that ALIGN(M \leftrightarrow P) dominates MAX(SF-TF), the SF's of a blend must overlap even if this entails the deletion of some segments (e.g. *agaṛīsta* ‘a swindler on farmers’ < *agaṛā*

'grab' + *agrارista* 'defendant of the rights of farmers'). Tableau (23) illustrates the selection of the optimal form according to this partial ranking. Only candidates that abide by NO-PWd* are considered hereafter. Ambimorphemic segments appear underlined>.

(23) ALIGN(M↔P) >> MAX(SF-TF)

SF:	[agára] [agrارista]	ALIGN(M↔P)	MAX(SF-TF)
a.	[{agára} {agrارista}]	* * !	
b. ☞	[{agar} {ista}]	*	a r

Furthermore, because MAX(SF-BW) outranks MORPHDIS, it is possible for a single segment in BW to have multiple correspondents in the SF's. Additionally, a single segment in BW may have non-identical correspondents in the SF's because MAX(SF-BW) also outranks IDENT(SF-TF). The interaction of these constraints is illustrated in tableau (24) below.

(24) MAX(SF-TF) >> MORPHDIS, IDENT(SF-BW)

SF:	[mosketero] [peró]	MAX(SF-TF)	MORPHDIS	IDENT(SF-BW)
a.	[moskeperó]	t ! ero		
b.	[moskep̄r̄o]	t ! r		
c. ☞	[moskepēr̄o]		* * * *	[p/t] [r/r̄]

Phonetically, there would be no difference between any of the candidates in (24). However, they are formally different because they participate in different correspondence relationships that are observed in their evaluation. In candidate (24a), the segments *p*, *e*, *r̄*, *o* stand in exclusive correspondence with the segments *p*, *e*, *r̄*, *o* of the shorter SF. This means that the segments *t*, *e*, *r*, *o* of the longer SF do not have correspondents in BW. Therefore, this candidate incurs four violations of MAX(SF-BW). Candidate (24b) is an improvement

because there are only two segments in the longer SF that lack correspondents in BW. Nevertheless, candidate (24c) is preferred because it avoids all violations of MAX(SF-BW) by allowing the segments *p*, *e*, *r̄*, *o* to serve as correspondents of multiple segments in the SF'S even though they are not all featurally identical. The fact that MORPHDIS and IDENT(SF-BW) are lower-ranking constraints makes ambimorphemicity the best way to protect (SF-BW)-Identity.⁴

Whenever the SF's differ in the edgemost segment of the portion where they overlap, this type of non-identical correspondence is crucial to secure optimal alignment.

(25)	k o m e r θ j o	‘business’
	x o d e r	‘copulate’
	➤ x o d e r θ j o	‘prostitution business’
	x e s t a p o	‘police organization’
	g r i s	‘an officer of the armed police’
	➤ g r i s t a p o	‘armed police’

In (25), the SF's of the blend are aligned at their left edge even though the segments sitting at that periphery are not identical (e.g. /k/ ≠ /x/ and /x/ ≠ /g/). Despite their non-identity, the members of these pairs of segments are not extremely dissimilar, which results in only a few violations of IDENT(SF-B) if one of them is allowed to stand as the correspondent of both SF-segments. Indeed, the candidate that opts for this alternative is preferred because by having ambimorphemic peripheral segments such form is able to achieve better alignment (26d) than an output form that lacks the correspondent of the edgemost segment of one of the SF's (26c). The latter can not help incurring an extra violation of ALIGN(M⇔P) since the lack of peripheral correspondents precludes proper alignment.

(26) ALIGN(M⇔P) >> MAX(SF-BW) >> MORPHDIS, IDENT(SF-BW)

SF: {kómérθio} {xodér}	ALIGN	MAX	MORPHDIS	IDENT
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a.	{xoder} {komérθjo}	**!			
b.	{xodér} {θjo}	**!	komer		
c.	{x _o dér} {θjo}	**!	k m	o er	
d.	{xodér} {θjo}	*		xoder	[k/x] [m/d]

By having ambimorphemic segments, including a pair of non-identical correspondents (e.g. [k/x], [m/d]), candidate (26d) is not only able to perfectly comply with MAX(SF-BW), but it also manages to align the greatest number of MWd-edges. Note that in (26d) only the right edge of MWd {xoder} does not match a Pwd-edge. By contrast, the closest contender, (26c), which only allows ambimorphemic segments when the SF-correspondents are featurally identical (e.g. [o/o], [e/e], [r/r]), cannot help falling in violation of ALIGN(M \leftrightarrow P) twice. Note in this candidate that it is not only the right edge of MWd {xoder} that is misaligned but also the left edge of the mutilated MWd {o erθjo}.

One important prediction of the analysis developed above is that the locus of blending will always be at the point where the SF's bear the greatest resemblance to one another because only so may BW achieve optimal satisfaction of the faithfulness constraints MAX(SF-BW) and IDENT(SF-BW). According to this, the SF's of a blend can be fed into GEN in any order because it is the push-and-pull of the active constraints that determines where the SF's should overlap. To illustrate this point, consider the case of the blend *piedragóxika* < *piédra* + *pedagóxika*. It is clear that the reason why the shorter SF appears towards the left edge of BW is because it is towards this margin that the SF *piédra* has the greatest phonemic affinity with the SF *pedagóxika*. This explains why an apparently equally good competing candidate such as **pedagopiedra* is not selected. Notice that even though both *piedragóxika* and *pedagopiedra* achieve optimal alignment (see 27), only the former

exploits the phonemic affinity between the SF's in the best way possible to avoid unnecessary violations of MAX(SF-BW) and IDENT(SF-BW).

(27) ALIGN(M \leftrightarrow P) >> MAX(SF-BW) >> MORPHDIS, IDENT(SF-BW)

SF:	{\pi i \u00e9 d r a }	ALIGN	MAX	MORPHDIS	IDENT
a.	{\{ \{ \pi i e d r a \} \} \{ \{ g \u00f3 x i k a \} \} }	* * !	peda		
b.	{\{ \{ \{ \pi i e d r a \} \} \{ \{ g \u00f3 x i k a \} \} }	*		peda	
c.	{\{ \{ \{ \pi e d a g o \} \{ \pi i \u00e9 d r a \} \} \} }	*		\pi i d a	[p/x] !
d.	{\{ \{ \{ \pi e d a g o \} \{ \pi i \u00e9 d r a \} \} \} }	*	x ! k	i a	
e.	{\{ \{ \{ \pi e d a g o \} \} \{ \{ \pi i \u00e9 d r a \} \} }	* * !	xika		

Candidates (27a) and (27e) avoid ambimorphemic segments by deleting the correspondents of four SF-segments, each. This is, of course, sanctioned by the correspondence constraint MAX(SF-BW). But crucially, these candidates also incur two violations of higher-ranking ALIGN(M \leftrightarrow P) because, when they lose some of their segmental contents, two of their MWD-edges end up misaligned. Candidates (27b) and (27c) satisfy ALIGN(M \leftrightarrow P) as optimally as possible. The decision is then passed onto MAX(SF-BW), which is able to compel violations of lower-ranking MORPHDIS and IDENT(SF-BW). Candidate (27d), which allows only featurally identical ambimorphemic segments, is ruled out for not providing correspondents for the [x] and [k] of the longer SF. Candidate (27c), with some non-identical ambimorphemic segments, maintains the closest resemblance possible, if blending occurs at the right margin. It is finally the faithfulness constraint IDENT(SF-BW) that makes it clear that only if blending takes place at the left margin can ambimorphemicity be exploited to the benefit of the identity between (SF-BW) in an optimal way. Candidate (27b), with blending at the left margin, maximally exploits the phonemic affinity between

the SF's to achieve perfect featural identity at the affordable cost of incurring some violations to bottom-ranking MORPHDIS.

4. Conclusion

Within the analysis developed above, blends are economical because they save structure, both prosodically and segmentally. Specifically, they manage to save prosodic structure by optimizing the alignment of morpho-phonological constituents and they spare segmental structure by allowing certain segments to affiliate with more than one morpheme. This account of blends provides robust support for Correspondence Theory and such types of correspondence relationships as many-to-one correspondence and non-identical correspondence, thereby providing insight into how the mind processes language. It was demonstrated that the generation of blends is not arbitrary, but governed by consistent linguistic principles that interact to yield an optimal form in which the higher-ranking principles are maximally obeyed and the lower-ranking principles are minimally violated.

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Notes

¹ Examples from Pharies (1987). Throughout the text, the data will be presented in Spanish orthography except when clarity requires a phonetic transcription.

² Universidad Pedagógica Nacional de Colombia, a public university whose students are known for confronting the police by throwing rocks at them.

³ I use [] to signal PwD-edges whereas { } indicate MWd-edges.

⁴ For an alternative approach to word-blending, see Bat-El (1996). His analysis of Hebrew blends is also couched within Optimality Theory but it differs greatly from my account in that it does not allow non-identical ambimorphemic segments and overlapping is only granted to one of the segments that acts as pivot at the junction of the formatives. Furthermore, prosodic licensing plays no role in motivating word-blending like it does in my analysis.