

THE CREATION OF PORTMANTEAUS IN THE EXTRAGRAMMATICAL MORPHOLOGY OF SPANISH

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Portmanteaus such as [bruxéres] ‘mean women’ from [brúxa] ‘witch’ and [muxéres] ‘women’ are an interesting area of linguistic research because such neologisms depart from the usual way in which morphemes are combined. Instead of two words following a sequential order, as do the members of a compound (e.g. [[bòka][káye]] ‘street intersection’ < [bòka] ‘mouth’ + [káye] ‘street’), a portmanteau implements a part of one word simultaneously with a portion of the other one. As a consequence of this, there is a substring of the portmanteau that does not belong exclusively to a single morpheme (e.g. [bruxéres]). That portion of the portmanteau is ambimorphemic. Adding to this peculiarity is the fact that some of the ambimorphemic segments in the portmanteau often stand for two input segments that differ in various phonological features (e.g. [b≠m] and [e≠a] in the case of [bruxéres]).

To cope with these phenomena, one must acknowledge that a many-to-one relationship between input and output segments is indeed possible, and that the segments that participate in this type of relationship do not need be identical. Yet, the fact that an entire word may be implemented simultaneously with a non-identical portion of another word is a phenomenon of the morphology of playful language, not a regular pattern of the morphology of natural language. Using the frameworks of Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993) and Correspondence Theory (McCarthy and Prince 1995), I develop an analysis of the patterns exhibited by Spanish portmanteaus, which demonstrates that such playful word creations are not generated according to the same

principles that govern the grammatical morphology. Instead, portmanteaus are created in the extragrammatical morphology (Dressler 2000), where they are subject to constraints that are ‘distorted’ versions of those found in natural language, and others that are exclusive to playful language. It is also shown that Spanish portmanteaus are endowed with a syntactic/semantic head, which is crucial in order to account not only their syntactic and semantic properties but also for their phonological form. Despite their non-canonical form, portmanteaus are subject to well-formedness and faithfulness constraints, which determine that only one of the many possible ways in which the source words may combine is optimal. Yet above well-formedness and faithfulness constraints, there is a principle of recoverability of the source words, which portmanteaus must always respect.

1. Portmanteaus are associative word-formation blends

The term BLEND has been used in the literature to refer to various types of word creation that result from combining two or more words, at least one of which is shortened in the process of splicing them together (e.g. *boatel* < *boat* + *hotel*, *compushity* < *compulsion* + *push* + *necessity*).¹ As Algeo (1977) has pointed out, the shortening of the source words, which distinguishes blends from compounds, may be a consequence of deleting some segments (e.g. *Eurasia* < *Eur*⟨*ope*⟩ + *Asia*), and/or it may be the result of segment/feature overlapping (e.g. *slanguage* < *slang* + *language*, *rendezwoo* < *rendezvous* + *woo*).² Because this definition of blends applies to forms that have been created in quite different ways, it has been necessary to classify them in several categories. In this section I discuss two important classifications of blends according to which portmanteaus are associative word-formation blends.

1.1. Word-formation vs. speech-error blends

Lehrer (1996) refers to those blends that speakers purposefully create as WORD-FORMATION BLENDS, to distinguish them from unintended ones, which she calls SPEECH-ERROR BLENDS. Speech-error blends almost always result from combining words that compete for the same syntactic paradigmatic position (e.g. *quack* < *quick* + *fast*), whereas most word-formation blends involve words that are not in competition because they are not synonyms (e.g. *pulsar* < *pulsating* + *star*). Lehrer (1996) also remarks that whereas speech-error blends occur abundantly in all grammatical categories, the majority of word-formation blends are nouns.

Stuart Labstein (1999) argues that speech-error blends may be viewed as sublexical slips that involve the replacement of a subsyllabic constituent in one word by an identical subsyllabic constituent from some other word, such as the substitution of syllable onsets that occurs in the blend “yight” produced by an English speaker who in trying to provide an affirmative answer ends up combining the words “yes” and “right”. In sharp contrast, most word-formation blends may not be analyzed as the substitution of a subsyllabic-constituent, or any other prosodic constituent, because the part of the source words that is shortened does not always correspond to a prosodic unit, and it may also be the case that only one of the source words undergoes shortening (e.g. *squangle* < *squ(are)* + *angle*), or that shortening is more extensive in one of the source words than in the other one (e.g. *infomercial* < *info(rmation)* + *co(mmercial)*).³

Another important difference to note is that, unlike word-formation blends, speech-error blends never contribute to enrich the vocabulary of the language because speakers usually correct themselves immediately, and do not continue to use them

systematically in their speech. By contrast, although word-formation blends may be short-lived and limited to a specific speech community or social group, they are used systematically to express a new concept, and some of them may gain popularity and become part of the regular vocabulary of the language (e.g. *brunch* < *breakfast* + *lunch*). Because the focus of this paper is one particular type of Spanish word-formation blend, speech-error blends will not be discussed any further.

1.2 Telescopes vs. Portmanteaus

Algeo (1977) proposes two main systemic categories in word-formation blending: TELESCOPES (syntagmatic) and PORTMANTEAUS (associative). A telescope is a contraction of two words that occur sequentially in the speech chain. It combines the initial part of the first word with the final part of the second word as illustrated by the Spanish examples in (1). The reason for calling syntagmatic blends telescopes is that they are formed by conflating two juxtaposed words, similar to how one slides the cylindrical parts of a telescope together. In the case of the examples in (1), the two juxtaposed words that undergo conflation are the members of an NP.

(1) *Spanish telescopes*⁴

kwern <u>os</u> <u>nas</u> jionales	→	kwern <u>nas</u> jionales
‘horns’ ‘national’		‘national horns’
krista(lerja) <es> <u>pa</u> nola	→	krista <u>pa</u> nola
‘glassware’ ‘Spanish’		‘Spanish glassware’

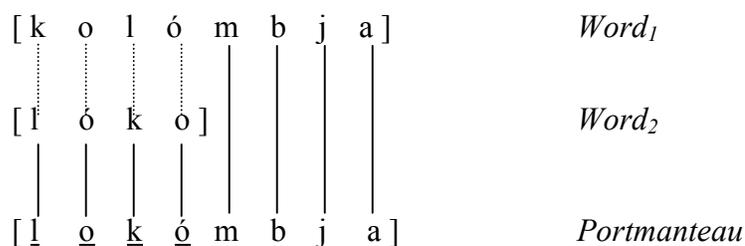
Portmanteaus, on the other hand, result from combining two or more words that the speaker has associated in his/her mind, not because they appear adjacent in the speech chain, but because they have some property in common. The shared property may be (i) having a morpheme in common (e.g. [repartir] ‘to give out’, [kompartir] ‘to share out’, [impartir] ‘to impart’), (ii) having similar sounds (e.g. [repartir], [resarsir] ‘to compensate’, [rebertir] ‘to revert’), or (iii) having similar meanings (e.g. [repartir], [entregar] ‘to deliver’, [dar] ‘to give’). Quite often, however, the link that brings the source words of a portmanteau together is not necessarily a similarity they bear, but a clever semantic association that the speaker establishes between them in his/her mind (Algeo 1977). This is particularly evident in the examples in (4), which come from a corpus of data I collected in Bogotá, Colombia.

(4) *Spanish portmanteaus*

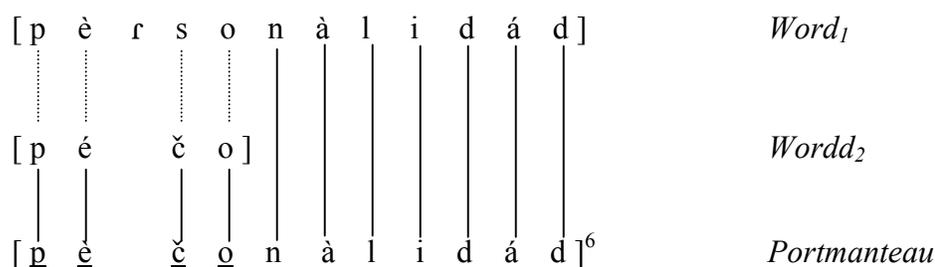
lóka	+	kolómbja	→	lokómbja
‘crazy’		‘Colombia’		‘crazy Colombia’
brúxa	+	muxéres	→	bruxéres
‘witch’		‘women’		‘mean women’
ladrón	+	makdónals	→	ladrónals
‘thief’		‘McDonald’s’		‘McDonalds as a rip-off’
pánsa	+	sàntaklós	→	pànsaklós
‘belly’		‘Santa Clause’		‘potbellied Santa Clause’

The motivation behind referring to associative blends as portmanteaus is that they pack two or more words within the structure of only one of them.⁵ This type of blend is created by superimposing the entire structure of one of the source words upon the structure of the other one, (5,6). As a consequence of this, portmanteaus exhibit a strong tendency to replicate the structure of one of their source words, as it is evinced by the fact that most portmanteaus have the same number of syllables and follow the same stress pattern as one of their source words, (cf. 4).

(5) *Portmanteaus replicate the structure of one of their source words*



Another consequence of superimposing one source word upon the structure of the other one is that the segmental substring that the portmanteau seems to have lost from one of the source words corresponds exactly to the length of the other one, as if one word were covering/hiding part of the structure of the other word, (5,6). This ‘concealment effect’ is robust evidence that the formation of portmanteaus does not involve clipping (Pharies 1987), but overlapping. Even in those cases where the portmanteau fails to preserve all of the segments in its input, shortening is not a consequence of clipping the source words, but of superimposing one of them upon the structure of the other one, (6). Note from the representations in (5) and (6) how the two syllables of the shorter source word conceal the first two syllables of the longer one.

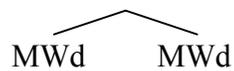
(6) *Portmanteaus do not involve clipping but overlapping*

It is this type of blend that is the focus of this paper. In the following sections, I develop a constraint-based analysis that accounts for the structural patterns exhibited by Spanish portmanteaus. Following Dressler (2000), I argue that portmanteaus are word creations that are generated in the extragrammatical morphology. It is shown that despite their apparent arbitrariness, the formation of portmanteaus is governed by regular principles, which although not identical to those that govern natural language, are ‘distorted’ versions of them that serve to build the grammar of playful language.

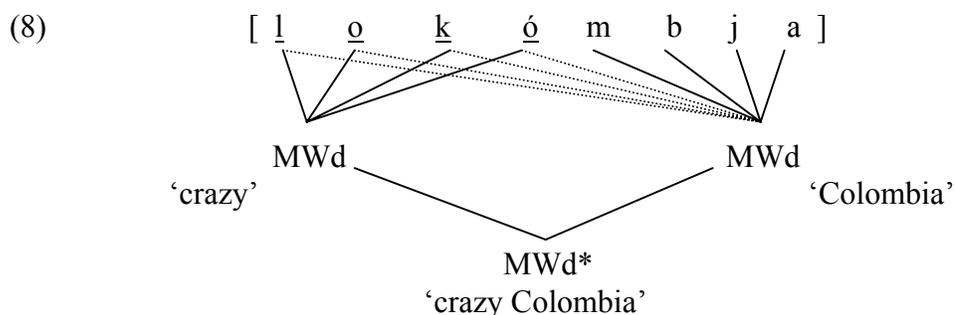
2. The internal structure of portmanteaus

In this section I argue that Spanish portmanteaus have internal structure built around a head, which is a crucial notion in order to account for their syntactic, semantic, and phonological properties. Most studies on portmanteaus consider them to be related to compounds because the morphemes that participate in blending, just like those that participate in compounding are free morphemes (Hansen 1963, Adams 1973, Algeo 1977, Pharies 1987, Janda 1986, Piñeros 1998a,b among others). Since a free morpheme is equivalent to a Morphological Word (MWd), it follows that the words resulting from these processes are complex MWd’s, which will be represented as MWd*.⁷

(7) MWd*



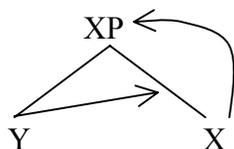
As an example, consider the portmanteau [lokómbja], which not only carries the meaning ‘crazy Colombia’, but also contains the more primitive meanings ‘crazy’ and ‘Colombia’. The representation in (8) illustrates the fact that the meanings of the two input MWd's combine in the portmanteau to form a new unified concept. That is to say that despite the blurred boundaries between MWd's, portmanteaus have a compositional morphological structure equivalent to that of compounds: MWd* \rightarrow MWd MWd.



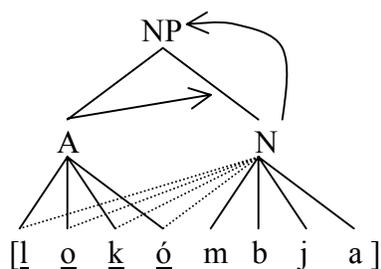
Like compounds, portmanteaus also have a syntactic and a semantic nucleus. It is clear that the portmanteau [lokómbja] is a noun because its syntactic nucleus is the noun [kolómbja], which also acts as the semantic nucleus given that the meaning of [lokómbja] is ‘a type of Colombia’. In other words, when Colombians use this word to refer to their country, they mean to say Colombia, but with the additional meaning that it is a crazy country. This type of modification relationship is present in the majority of Colombian portmanteaus I have collected. Of a total of 57 forms, 52 (equivalent to 91%) follow this semantic pattern, which may be represented as in (9). According to (9), the portmanteau

is a syntactic category XP, which in the corpus used for this study corresponds to an NP in 48 of the 52 portmanteaus of this subset (92%). In the remaining forms, XP corresponds to an AP in 2 cases (4%), and to a VP in the other 2 (4%). This XP dominates a head X, which is modified by its sister, a lexical category Y. Also note from (9) that the syntactic and semantic features of the head percolate up to its mother, and thereby determine the value of those features in the XP. The representation in (10) shows how this scheme applies to the portmanteau [lokómbja], while the representation in (11) illustrates a case where both the head and the modifier are nouns.

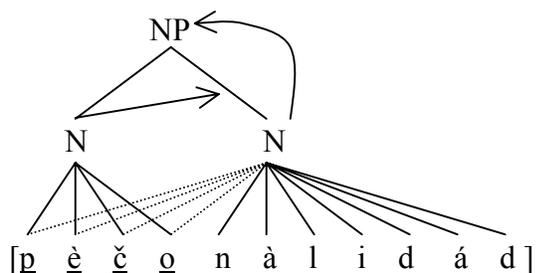
(9) *Modification relationship between the source words of a portmanteau*



(10)



(11)



The following additional examples, which also exhibit a modification relationship between the source words, confirm that Spanish portmanteaus are syntactically and

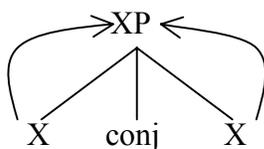
semantically headed, as it has also been claimed for English and Japanese portmanteaus (Kubonozono 1990).

(12)	číbča	+	kolómbjano	→	číbčombjano
	‘Chibchan’		‘Colombian’		‘Colombian with a Chibchan heritage’
	xéta	+	fòtografía	→	xètografía
	‘face of an animal’		‘photograph’		‘a bad photograph of a person’s face’
	trómpo	+	tòpoyíyo	→	tròmپoyíyo
	‘top’		‘Topogigio’		‘Topoyiyo as a toy for children to play with’
	dédo	+	dèmokrásja	→	dèdokrásja
	‘finger’		‘democracy’		‘a system of election by pointing with the finger’
	màtrimónjo	+	suicídjo	→	màtrísídjjo
	‘marriage’		‘suicide’		‘marriage as a suicide’

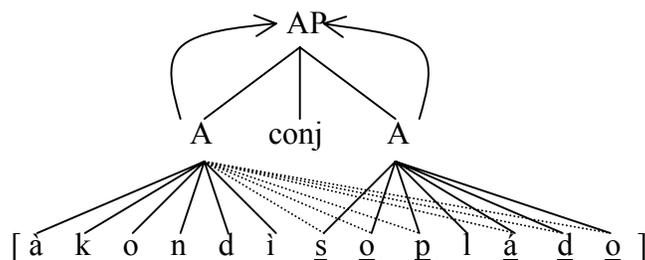
A less frequent semantic pattern I have found in Colombian portmanteaus is one of copredication, whereby two words of the same lexical category are conjoined to create an XP, which inherits the syntactic and semantic properties of its two daughters, (13). Such portmanteaus are similar to dual compounds (e.g. [sùroéste] ‘southwest’ < [súr] ‘south’ + [oéste] ‘west’) because both source words form part of the head. Only 5 of the 57 portmanteaus of the corpus follow this pattern, (9%). As an illustration of this kind of

semantic relationship between the source words, consider the representation in (14), which depicts the portmanteau [àkondisopládo] ‘conditioned and blown’, created from the source words [àkondisjonádo] ‘conditioned’ and [sopládo] ‘blown’.⁸ In 3 of the 5 portmanteaus that exhibit copredication, XP corresponds to an NP (e.g. [àmigóbjo] ‘friend and boyfriend’ < [amígo] ‘friend’ + [nóbjo] ‘boyfriend’). In the remaining two forms, it corresponds to an AP (e.g. [mamwérta] ‘dead and tired’ < [mamáda] ‘tired’ + [mwérta] ‘dead’).

(13) *Copredication relationship between the source words of a portmanteau*



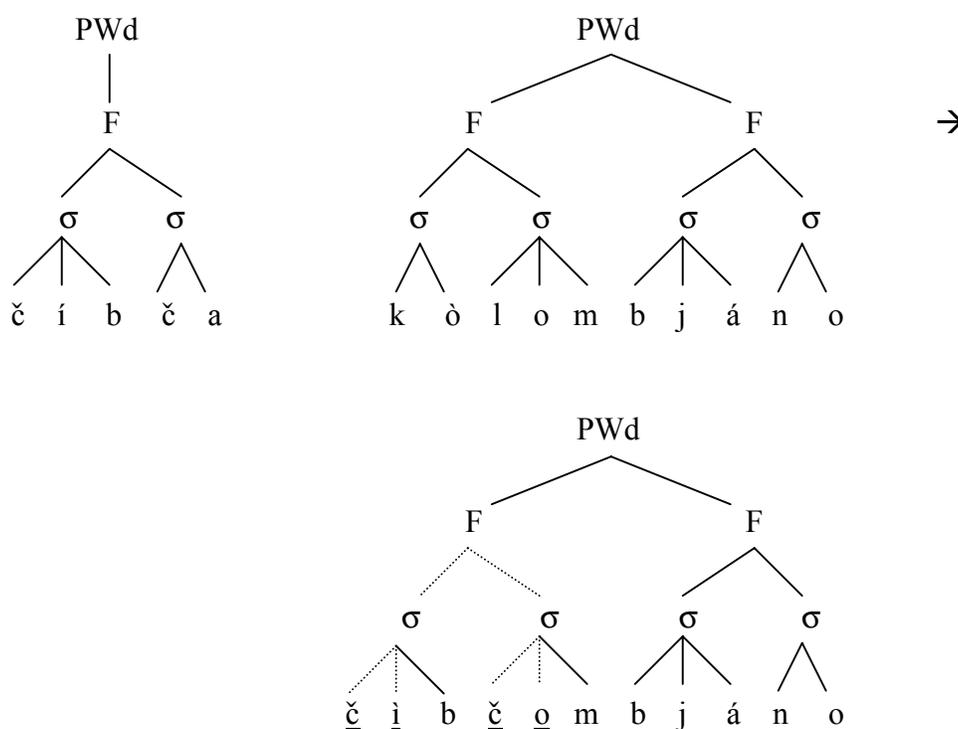
(14)



One of the main claims defended here is that the notion of head is crucial not only to determine the meaning and syntactic category of portmanteaus, but also in defining their phonological form. An important generalization I have identified in Colombian portmanteaus is that their prosodic structure tends to replicate the prosodic structure of the source word that functions as the head. Consider for example the prosodic structure

of the portmanteau [čib.čom.bjá.no], and compare it to the prosodic structure of the source word [kò.lom.bjá.no], which functions as its nucleus. From the representations in (15), it is clear that in the process of creating this portmanteau, the word [čib.ča] has been superimposed upon the structure of the word [kò.lom.bjá.no]. That is to say that in the creation of portmanteaus, it is the structure of the word that is acting as the syntactic/semantic head that is used as the frame upon which the other source word is overlapped.

(15) *Portmanteaus replicate the prosodic structure of their syntactic/semantic head*



Although one could argue that the reason why this portmanteau replicates the structure of [kò.lom.bjá.no] rather than that of [čib.ča] is in order to prevent an excessive

loss of segments, portmanteaus such as [me.trá.yo] ‘Medallo with the implication that it is a violent city’ from [me.dá.yo] ‘a colloquial term to refer to the city of Medellín’ and [mè.tra.yé.ta] ‘tommy machine gun’, confirm that the main factor that determines the phonological shape of portmanteaus is the drive to preserve the structure of the head. Note that because the nucleus of [me.trá.yo] is [me.dá.yo], this portmanteau does not replicate the structure of [mè.tra.yé.ta], even though that would allow the preservation of a greater number of input segments (e.g. *[mè.da.yé.ta]). In addition to the examples given in (4) and (12), those presented in (16) further support the claim that the source words of a portmanteau are packed within a frame that is defined by the prosodic structure of its syntactic/semantic head.

(16)	[xé.ta]	+	[bò.ka.bu.lá.rjo]	→	[xè.ta.bu.lá.rjo]
	‘face of an animal’		‘vocabulary’		‘the vocabulary of a person who cusses a lot’
	[már.ti.res]	+	[rá.ta]	→	[rá.ti.res]
	‘name of a park’		‘slang for thief’		‘the park of Mártires as a place full of thieves’
	[sú.sja]	+	[sò.sje.dád]	→	[sù.sje.dád]
	‘dirty’		‘society’		‘society as decadent and/or corrupted’
	[bú.ra]	+	[bì.si.klé.ta]	→	[bù.ri.klé.ta]
	‘donkey’		‘bicycle’		‘a small bicycle’
	[tè.le.no.bé.la]	+	[bó.ba]	→	[tè.le.bo.bé.la]

‘soap-opera’

‘silly’

‘silly soap-opera’

Although there are a few cases of Spanish portmanteaus that are not exact replicas of the prosodic structure of the head (e.g. [čì.čì.li.xén.sja] < [čì.čì] + [di.li.xén.sja], with one syllable more than the head), such deviations may be explained by the need to comply with linguistic principles other than faithfulness to the head, which are also active in the creation of portmanteaus. I return to this issue in Section 5.

3. Portmanteaus violate morphemic disjointness

The goal of this section is to find an explanation for the fact that portmanteaus are created by superimposing one of the source words upon the other one. Following McCarthy and Prince (1995:310), I assume that every morpheme stands in a primitive relation of exponence with some structure of segments/autosegments. This segmental structure is the flesh of morphemes, and is usually specified for each morpheme in its lexical entry.⁹ The segments/autosegments that participate in the exponence of a morpheme are its morpheme associates, which McCarthy and Prince (1995) define as in (17). Using the notion of morpheme associate, these authors propose the constraint MORPHDIS, (18), which requires that morphemic contents be disjoint. In other words, morphemes should be distinct in the segments/autosegments that form their exponence.

(17) Morpheme Associate: A segment (autosegment) x is an associate of morpheme M_k if x or some correspondent of x is an exponent of M_k : $x \subset M_k$.

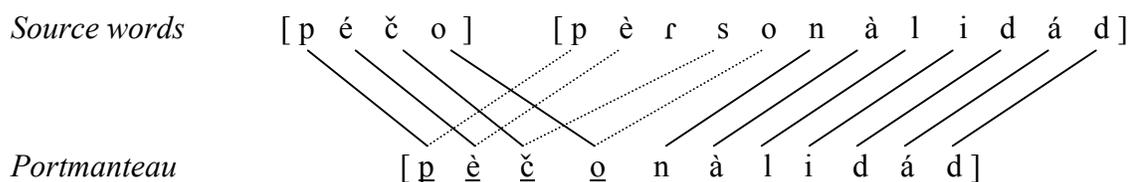
(18) MORPHDIS: *Morphemic disjointness*

$x \subset M_i \rightarrow x \not\subset M_j$, 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.”

Segments such as those that appear underlined in the representation in (19) are ambimorphemic. They violate the constraint MORPHDIS because they act as morpheme associates of more than one morpheme. This is an important formal aspect in which portmanteaus differ from compounds. Whereas MORPHDIS is an undominated constraint in compounding, it is often violated in blending. The question that this raises is, what causes portmanteaus to violate MORPHDIS?

(19) *MORPHDIS is violated in portmanteaus*



In order to answer this question it is important to take into account the pragmatic function of portmanteaus. Portmanteaus are witticisms that the speaker creates with the premeditated intention of striking the listener with a clever semantic association between two or more lexical meanings packed together as a single word. This is precisely why portmanteaus have a witty and jocular flavor to them, which makes them exceedingly apt tools for sarcasm and joking.

The process of creating a portmanteau begins when the coiner links two or more words in his/her mind through a clever semantic association that s/he establishes between them (e.g. [wé.ko] ‘pothole’ and [bò.go.tá] ‘the capital of Colombia’, which are semantically linked by the knowledge that the streets of this city have many potholes). The source words are then submitted to the morphological component in order to create a witticism based on the prosodic structure of the head (e.g. [wè.ko.tá] ‘Bogotá with the connotation that the city is full of potholes’). In this regard, it is important to clarify that the morphological component to which the source words are submitted for blending is not the grammatical morphology, where processes such as inflexion, derivation and compounding take place; but the extragrammatical morphology, where language games, hypocoristics, and other playful and expressive word creations are generated (Dressler 2000, Zwicky and Pullum 1987). I propose to capture the speaker’s intent to pack more than one word into the structure of a single lexical item through a principle of morphological alignment, (20), which belongs exclusively to the extragrammatical morphology of the language. The constraint ALIGN-MWd requires the input morphological words to coincide at one edge.

(20) ALIGN-MWd: *Align morphological words*

Align edge x of MWd₁ with the corresponding edge of MWd₂.

Support for this constraint is provided by the strong tendency exhibited by Spanish portmanteaus to have the two source words begin or end at the same point (Piñeros 1998a,b). In general, the source words of Spanish portmanteaus are not the

same size, but their edges usually match at one side. By starting at the same point, the left edge of the shorter MWd matches the left edge of the longer one.

(21) *Both input MWd's start at the same point*

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| a. | [p j é d r a]
[p è d a g ó x i k a] | ‘stone’
‘short for Universidad Pedagógica Nacional de Colombia (UPNC)’, which is known in Colombia for protests where students throw stones at the police’ |
| | ➤ [p j è d r a g ó x i k a] | ‘UPNC with the connotation that are protests there that involve the throwing of stones’ |
| b. | [k l í n t o n]
[k l í t o r i s] | ‘Clinton’
‘clitoris’ |
| | ➤ [k l í n t o r i s] | ‘a term used to refer to former President Clinton with the connotation that he was involved in sexual scandals with women’ |
| c. | [l é n g w a]
[l u g w í n s k i] | ‘tongue’
‘Lewinsky’ |
| | ➤ [l é n g w í n s k i] | ‘a term used to refer to Monica Lewinsky with the connotation that she was involved in a sexual scandal having to do with performing oral sex’ |

Alternatively, the source words of a Spanish portmanteau may end at the same point so that the right edge of the shorter MWd matches the right edge of the longer one.

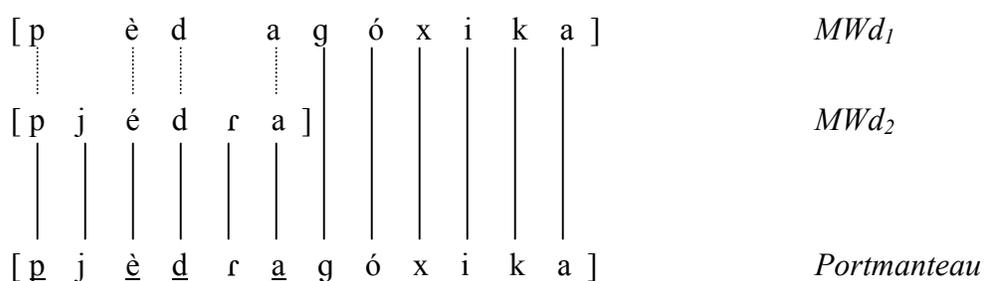
(22) *Both input MWd's end at the same point*

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|--|
| a. | [ɲ é r o]
[č à p i n é r o] | ‘homeless person’
‘a well-known neighborhood in Bogotá’ |
|----|----------------------------------|--|

- [č à p i n é r o] ‘Chapinero with the connotation that it is full of homeless people’
- b. [x ó d a] ‘bother’
[p à r a d ó x a] ‘paradox’
- [p à r a x ó d a] ‘an irritating paradox’
- c. [p é r o] ‘dog’
[m ò s k e t é r o] ‘musketeer’
- [m ò s k e p é r o] ‘dog-musketeer’

These patterns are undeniable alignment effects. By having its input words start or end at the same point, a portmanteau manages to abide by the morphological constraint ALIGN-MWd. Nonetheless, complying with ALIGN-MWd is not free of cost. As the representations in (23) and (24) show, for either left or right alignment to take place, the input MWd’s must overlap at one of their peripheries.

(23) *Left alignment forces overlapping at the left edge of the portmanteau:*



Within this analysis, ALIGN-MWd is directly responsible for the fact that in the creation of portmanteaus one of the source words must be superimposed upon a periphery of the other one, which gives rise to structural overlapping. Note that because the only way in which the source words may be aligned at one of their edges is if one of them is superimposed upon the other one, some of the segments in the portmanteau are forced to act as morpheme associates of more than one morpheme. A detailed discussion of the effects of ambimorphemicity is saved for Section 4.

At this point it is pertinent to highlight that ALIGN-MWd is unlike any alignment constraint enforced in natural language. Within Alignment Theory (McCarthy and Prince 1994), a certain edge of a prosodic/grammatical category, Cat1, is required to be aligned with a certain edge of another prosodic/grammatical category, Cat2. Therefore, alignment constraints fall under the scheme: ALIGN(Cat1, Edge, Cat2, Edge). That is to say that both the categories and the edges that are involved in the alignment are clearly specified. By contrast, while ALIGN-MWd specifies the categories that participate in the alignment, it does not specify whether it is their left or right edges that are to be aligned. This is a good indication that portmanteaus are not governed by exactly the same linguistic principles that govern regular word-formation processes. To the best of my knowledge, it is not a phenomenon of natural language that an entire word overlaps upon another one. This behavior is only found in the morphology of playful language. Therefore, rather than amending Alignment Theory in order to allow the type of

alignment constraint that suits portmanteaus (ALIGN-MWd), I opt to assume that such peculiar type of alignment is limited to the extragrammatical morphology of the language. This assumption is sponsored by the view of Zwicky (1986) and Zwicky and Pullum (1987) that playful word creations constitute an overlay on the basic linguistic system.

Within this approach, portmanteaus are generated in the extragrammatical morphology under the constraint ranking ALIGN-MWd >> MORPHDIS. Because ALIGN-MWd is dominant, a candidate that resorts to morpheme overlapping in order to obtain proper word alignment, (25b), is preferred over one that avoids ambimorphemicity by implementing one word after the other, (25a). By making certain segments ambimorphemic, a portmanteau manages to align the two source words at one edge, which allows these morphemes to be implemented simultaneously rather than sequentially. Note from candidate (25b) that before the last segment of the first word has been implemented, the first segment of the second word has already appeared.

(25) ALIGN-MWd >> MORPHDIS

Input: [čà.pi.né.ro] + [né.ro]	ALIGN-MWd	MORPHDIS
a. [čà.pi.nè.ro.né.ro]	*!	
☞ b. [čà.pi.né.ro]		nero

This analysis predicts that portmanteaus in which one source word is superimposed upon an internal portion of the structure of the other one should be rare because there is a linguistic principle that prohibits it, ALIGN-MWd. The portmanteau [tè.le.bo.bé.la] ‘silly soap opera’, from [tè.le.no.bé.la] ‘soap opera’ and [bó.ba] ‘silly’, is

the only Spanish portmanteau I have found where the shorter source word appears away from both edges of the longer one. This misalignment, however, may be just apparent since the Spanish word [tè.le.no.bé.la] is actually a compound created from [tè.le] ‘television’ and [no.bé.la] ‘novel’. Because of the internal structure of this word, one may argue that the portmanteau [tè.le.bo.bé.la] does not violate ALIGN-MWd. Notice that the left edge of the source word [bó.ba] is aligned with the corresponding edge of one of the morphological words within [tè.le.no.bé.la]: [[tele][[bobe]la]]. Nevertheless, even if this is granted, one should keep in mind that ALIGN-MWd is a violable principle, and under duress by a higher-ranking constraint, its satisfaction may not be possible. This is supported by blends such as [či.či.li.xén.sja] < [čí.či] + [di.li.xén.sja]), whose source words fail to start or end at exactly the same point. Such special cases are accounted for in Section 5.

4. Ambimorphemicity and faithfulness

This section addresses the issue of ambimorphemicity, which is the strategy used by portmanteaus in order to meet the challenge of preserving two different source words within the structure of a single one. As the reader has witnessed, it is not uncommon for Spanish portmanteaus to fail to preserve all of the segments present in the source words faithfully (e.g. [čàn.da.fé] ‘Santafé with the connotation that it is a lousy soccer team’ from [čán.da] ‘lousy’ and [sàn.ta.fé] ‘one of the two major soccer teams of Bogotá’). This fact is related to another important pattern that characterizes Spanish portmanteaus. Although in terms of prosodic structure, Spanish portmanteaus tend to be highly faithful

to the source word that functions as the head, with regards to segmental structure, they tend to be more faithful to the source word that is not the head. Note how [čàn.da.fé] is an exact replica of the prosodic structure of [sàn.ta.fé], yet it is the segmental string of [čán.da] that the portmanteau [čàn.da.fé] favors. This suggests that portmanteaus strive to remain faithful to both source words. Nonetheless, because the two words are to be packed into the structure of only one of them, perfect faithfulness to both of them is impossible, unless they were identical. The harmonious solution that Spanish portmanteaus have found is to grant greater faithfulness to the head at the prosodic level, and compensate the non-head with greater faithfulness at the segmental level. Within Correspondence Theory (McCarthy and Prince 1995), these patterns may be captured through the constraint that prohibits structural loss, MAXIMIZATION, which I split here into MAX(pros)HD and MAX(seg)N-HD.¹⁰

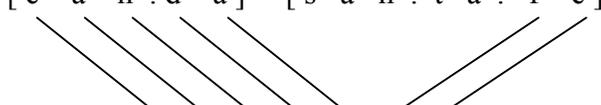
- (26) MAXIMIZATION: Every element in the input must have a correspondent in the output
- (27) MAX(pros)HD: Every prosodic unit in the head source word must have a correspondent in the portmanteau.
- (28) MAX(seg)N-HD: Every segment in the non-head source word must have a correspondent in the portmanteau.

As with ALIGN-MWd, it is important to note that the constraints MAX(pros)HD and MAX(seg)N-HD are not principles found in natural language. Although MAXIMIZATION is a universal linguistic principle, the split between faithfulness to the

head in terms of prosodic structure, and faithfulness to the non-head in terms of segmental structure, is unknown to the grammatical morphology. No such thing occurs in compounding, for example. That is to say that MAX(pros)HD and MAX(seg)N-HD are versions of MAXIMIZATION that are limited to the extragrammatical morphology.

Furthermore, we must note that unlike the formation of compounds, it is crucial for the creation of portmanteaus that the source words be endowed with prosodic structure; otherwise it would be a mystery why the portmanteau is bound to replicate the prosodic structure of its head (e.g. [pjè.dra.gó.xi.ka] < [pè.da.gó.xi.ka] + [pjé.dra]). Taking this into account, I assume that the source words of a portmanteau are fully-fledged forms that were generated in the grammatical morphology, where the regular word-formation processes take place. This assumption is in line with the claim made by Bankov, Dimitrov, and Dragnev (1989:10) that portmanteaus result from a process of secondary nominalization, whereby nouns that have been created through the primary nominalization processes of the language are reshaped. I adhere to this view, with the clarification that it is not only nouns but also, although considerably less frequently, words of other grammatical categories (e.g. verbs, adjectives, and possibly adverbs) that may be combined and reshaped as portmanteaus.

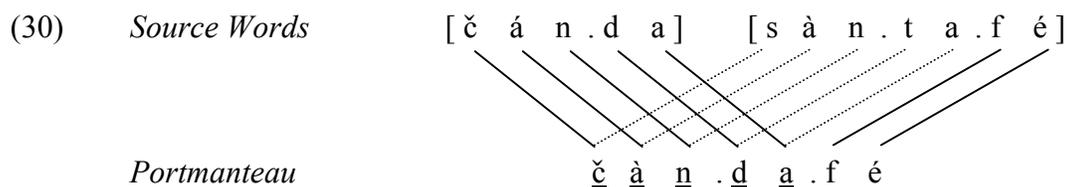
Violations of either MAX(pros)HD or MAX(seg)N-HD may greatly impinge on the identity between the portmanteau and its source words. In order to comply with these constraints, a portmanteau must preserve all of the syllables of the head and all of the segments of the non-head. To illustrate this point, consider the representation below.

(29) *Source Words* [č á n . d a] [s à n . t a . f é]


Portmanteau

č à n . d a . f é

Note that if the segments [č, a, n, d, a] preserved in the portmanteau stood exclusively for the segmental string of the source word [čán.da], then this portmanteau would incur two violations of the constraint MAX(pros)HD because the first two syllables of the source word [sàn.ta.fě], which functions as the head, would be deprived of an output correspondent. From a faithfulness viewpoint, this is a very undesirable result because portmanteaus are required to be faithful to both of their source words for they are both part of the input. In order to remain as faithful to both source words as possible, portmanteaus exploit the possibility of allowing a single segment to have multiple input correspondents.



Ambimorphic segments such as [č, a, n, d, a] in (30) help prevent violations of both MAX(pros)HD and MAX(seg)N-HD. Yet, because it is rarely the case that the source words have all of their segments in common, the overlapping portion of the portmanteau may not always remain completely faithful to both of them. Note that some correspondent segments in (30) are not identical in all of their features (e.g. [č≠s], [d≠t]). This means that even if ambimorphic segments are allowed, a certain degree of

unfaithfulness may persist, but the gain is that this is unfaithfulness to a few features (e.g. [continuant] and [anterior] in the case of [č≠s]; and [voice] in the case of [d≠t]). This type of unfaithfulness is certainly less detrimental to the identity between input and output forms than the unfaithfulness to entire segmental and/or prosodic units that deletion entails. In this regard, the constraint IDENT(Feature) becomes relevant for it is the principle that monitors featural faithfulness (McCarthy and Prince 1995).

(31) IDENT(Feature): *Featural Identity*

Correspondent segments must agree in feature specifications

Because portmanteaus avoid the loss of input structure by assigning a non-identical output correspondent to certain segments in the source words, the constraints MAX(pros)HD and MAX(seg)N-HD must outrank IDENT(Feature). The effect of this constraint ranking is illustrated in tableau (32). The ranking between MAX(pros)HD and MAX(seg)N-HD may not be determined because they are concerned with different structural levels, and satisfaction of one does not preclude satisfaction of the other. The broken line that separates these constraints in the tableau signals that they are unranked with respect to one another. Also note that although candidates (32a) and (32b) would be pronounced identically, they are formally different because they embody different correspondence relationships between input and output forms (cf. 29 and 30). Candidate (32a) represents an output where the segments [s, a, n, t, a] of the head source word have been deleted for the sake of featural faithfulness, (see 29). Candidate (32c) obeys the same drive, but it sacrifices the segments of the non-head source word instead. Either of

these moves is fatal because they run afoul of MAX(pros)HD or MAX(seg)N-HD, which take precedence over IDENT(Feature). By contrast, candidate (32b) allows its segments [č̣, a, n, d, a] to stand for segments in both of the source words, whether they agree in all feature specifications or not, (see 30). This option is optimal because it avoids all violations of MAX(pros)HD and MAX(seg)N-HD at the affordable cost of violating the bottom-ranking constraint. Put it in a nutshell, candidate (32b) is the optimal portmanteau because it succeeds at packing two words into a single one that remains as faithful to the input as possible.

(32) MAX(pros)HD, MAX(seg)N-HD >> IDENT(Feature)

Input: [čán.da] + [sàn.ta.fé]	MAX(pros) HD	MAX(seg) N-HD	IDENT (Feature)
a. [čàn.da.fé]	σ!σ		
☞ b. [č̣àn.da.fé]			[č̣≠s], [d≠t]
c. [sàn.ta.fé]		č!anda	

Positing a correspondence relationship between non-identical input and output segments is crucial not only to rescue structure that is at risk of being deleted but also in order to secure alignment whenever the input words differ in the edgmost segment of the string upon which they overlap. The examples in (33) show that despite not having identical leftmost segments, the two source words are properly aligned at their left edge.

(33)

x ì r a r d ó t	‘Girardot, a resort town in Colombia’
t ì r á r	‘to copulate’
➤ t ì r a r d ó t	‘Girardot with the connotation that couples go there to copulate’
x á k o m e	‘Jácome, a family name’
f l á k o	‘skinny’

- fl á k o m e ‘a nickname for a guy who is very skinny and whose family name is Jácome ’

- m e l g á r ‘Melgar, a resort town in Colombia’
- n á l g a ‘buttocks’

- n a l g á r ‘Melgar with the connotation that people there show their buttocks because they wear small swim suits’

The featural unfaithfulness that results from preserving the leftmost segments of the source words of these portmanteaus through non-identical output correspondents is amply justified because the top-ranking constraints MAX(pros)HD, MAX(seg)N-HD, and ALIGN-MWd greatly benefit from it. The ranking between the two MAX constraints and ALIGN-MWd is undeterminable because compliance with the former contributes to the satisfaction of the latter, and vice versa.

(34) ALIGN-MWd , MAX(pros)HD, MAX(seg)N-HD >> IDENT(Feature)

Input: [tì.rár] + [xì.rar.dót]	ALIGN-MWd	MAX (pros)H d	MAX (seg)N-HD	IDENT (Feature)
a. [tì.rar.dót]	*!		σσ	
b. [tì.ɹar.dót]	*!			
☞ c. [tì.ɹar.dót]				[t≠x]
d. [xì.rar.dót]	*!	tirar		

In tableau (34), candidates (34a) and (34d) are forms where one of the source words has been clipped. This has fatal consequences because clipping makes it impossible for the two source words to be aligned at one of their corresponding edges. The remaining candidates opt to allow ambimorphemic segments, but only if the

ambimorphemic string includes the leftmost segment, may all of the three top-ranking constraints be satisfied. Candidate (34c) is preferred over its competitors because it is the only one where the source words are properly aligned and no structure has been lost, despite the mismatch in feature specifications between the segment [t] and one of its input correspondents.

The freedom of having a single segment in the portmanteau stand in correspondence with two non-identical segments in the source words would yield disastrous results if it were totally unconstrained. Tableau (38) illustrates the fact that an output candidate that is identical to the head source word, and which exploits ambimorphemicity in order to avoid structural loss would incur as many violations as the actual portmanteau. Note that like the optimal candidate in (34), both candidates in (35) opt to violate MORPHDIS in order to satisfy higher-ranking ALIGN-MWd. Furthermore, they choose to violate the lower-ranking faithfulness constraint, IDENT(Feature), in order to avoid violating either of the MAX constraints.

(35) ALIGN-MWd, MAX(pros)HD, MAX(seg)N-HD >> MORPHDIS, IDENT(Feature)

	Input: [čán.da] + [sàn.ta.fé]	ALIGN- MWd	MAX (pros)HD	MAX (seg)N-HD	MORPH DIS	IDENT (Feature)
☞ a.	[sàn.ta.fé]				*	[s≠č], [t≠d]
☹ ☞ b.	[čàn.da.fé]				*	[č≠s], [d≠t]

Despite the result of this evaluation, portmanteaus are not usually identical to any of their source words. The fact that both candidates in (35) incur the same number of violations but only one of them is considered to be an actual portmanteau suggests that there must be an additional principle portmanteaus must comply with in order to be well

formed. The tie between the two candidates in (35) is broken by a constraint proposed by Bat-El (1996).

- (36) UNIQUENESS: A portmanteau should be phonologically distinct from each of its source words.

Unlike Bat-El (1996), I assume that UNIQUENESS, as all other linguistic constraints, is violable. This is supported by the fact that portmanteaus may indeed be identical to one of their source words provided that all of the segments in the non-head source word are also present in the head source word. As Algeo (1977:50) and Pharies (1987:286) have noted, when such situation arises, the portmanteau is also a pun (e.g. [ko.mér.sjo] ‘food’ from [ko.mér] ‘to eat’ and [ko.mér.sjo] ‘business’).¹¹ Because it is quite rare that the source words that are being semantically linked also have perfect phonological resemblance, most portmanteaus are not identical to either of their source words. Nonetheless, this does not mean that UNIQUENESS is inviolable. Indeed, UNIQUENESS must be dominated by the faithfulness constraints MAX(pros)HD, MAX(seg)N-HD, and IDENT(Feature) because a portmanteau may not become unfaithful by deleting or altering segments in order to avoid being identical to one of its source words.

- (37) MAX(pros)HD, MAX(seg)N-HD >> IDENT(Feature) >> UNIQUENESS

Input: [čán.da] + [sàn.ta.fé]	MAX (pros)HD	MAX (seg)N-HD	IDENT (Feature)	UNIQUENESS
a. [čán.da.fe]	σ!σ			
☞ b. [čán.da.fe]			[č≠s] [d≠t]	

c.	[<u>san.ta</u> .fe]		[s≠č] [t≠d]	*!
d.	[<u>san.ta</u> .pe]		[s≠č] [t≠d] [p≠f]!	
e.	[<u>sa.ta</u> .fe]	n!	[s≠č] [t≠d]	

Candidates (37b) and (37c) are the finalists in this evaluation because they satisfy the three top-ranking constraints better than any of their competitors. In order to avoid structural loss, these candidates allow that five of their segments have multiple input correspondents, two of which are not identical and result in violations of the constraint IDENT(Feature). Despite its dominated status, it is UNIQUENESS that is crucial in determining the winner of this evaluation. This constraint rules in favor of the candidate that is phonologically not identical to any of the source words, (37b). Candidates (37d) and (37e) are attempts to satisfy UNIQUENESS by altering or dropping a segment, but such strategies are ruled out by the higher-ranking faithfulness constraints.

Interestingly, when the segmental string of the non-head source word is a fragment of that of the head source word, the optimal output form cannot help falling in violation of UNIQUENESS; but it is able to remain completely faithful to both source words, (38c). It is the perfect phonological affinity between the source words that makes the portmanteau also a pun.¹² Note that the difference between candidates (38a) and (38b) is which one of the two source words is clipped.

(38) MAX(pros)HD, MAX(seg)N-HD >> IDENT(Feature) >> UNIQUENESS

Input:	[ko.mér] + [ko.mér.sjo]	MAX (pros)HD	MAX(seg) N-HD	IDENT (Feature)	UNIQUENESS
a.	[ko.mér.sjo]	σ!σ			*
b.	[ko.mér.sjo]		k!omer		

In a study of the order in which the source words appear in English blends, Kelly (1998) found that the first word tends to be higher in frequency, contain fewer syllables, and denote more prototypical category members than the second word. The data presented here reveals that a crucial factor in determining the order in which the source words appear represented in Spanish portmanteaus is the phonological resemblance between them. As I have shown above, because the two input morphological words are required to be aligned at one of their edges, the non-head source word must overlap upon one of the peripheries of the head source word. Whether overlapping will occur upon the left or right periphery depends on which one of the edges of the head source word bears the greatest resemblance to the segmental string of the non-head source word. The examples in (40) show that if the left edge of the head source word resembles the non-head source word more closely than its right edge, then the non-head source word will appear first in the portmanteau, (40a). Conversely, if the right edge of the head source word resembles the non-head source word more closely than its left edge, then the head source word will appear first in the portmanteau, (40b).

(40) *Phonological resemblance between source forms determines their order in P*

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|--|
| a. | [g ò n o r é a] | ‘gonorrhea, a term used in slang to refer to a nasty person’ |
| | [g ó r d o] | ‘fat’ |
| | ➤ [g ò r d o r é a] | ‘a fat nasty person’ |
| b. | [k r ù s i g r á m a] | ‘crossword puzzle’ |
| | [d r á m a] | ‘drama’ |
| | ➤ [k r ù s i d r á m a] | ‘a serious mess’ |

Although [gór.do] is a more frequent word than [gò.no.ré.a], and it also has fewer syllables than the latter, the crucial reason why it appears first in the portmanteau [gòr.do.ré.a] is because that order makes it possible to maintain greater faithfulness between the portmanteau and its source words, (41b).

(41) MAX(pros)HD, MAX(seg)N-HD >> IDENT(Feature) >> UNIQUENESS

Input: [gór.do] + [gò.no.ré.a]	MAX (pros)HD	MAX (seg)N-HD	IDENT (Feature)	UNIQUENESS
a. [gò.no.ré.a]		r!	[d≠n]	*
☞ b. [gòr.do.ré.a]			[d≠n]	
c. [go.no.gór.do]			[g≠r]! [o≠e] [o~a]	

Likewise, although [drá.ma] is also more frequent than [krù.si.grá.ma], and it also has fewer syllables than the latter, only if it appears second in the portmanteau that combines these source words can optimal identity be obtained, (42b). According to these findings, the source words of a portmanteau are not extrinsically ordered. Within Optimality Theory, this means that they are fed to GEN in no particular order. It is the interaction of the active constraints that determines how they will be spliced together. Note that whether the input is [drá.ma] + [krù.si.grá.ma] or the alternative [krù.si.grá.ma] + [drá.ma], the winner will always be the same, (42b).

(42) MAX(pros)HD, MAX(seg)N-HD >> IDENT(Feature) >> UNIQUENESS

Input: [drá.ma] + [krù.si.grá.ma]	MAX (pros)HD	MAX (seg)N-HD	IDENT (Feature)	UNIQUENESS
--------------------------------------	-----------------	------------------	--------------------	------------

a.	[krù.si.grá.ma]			[g≠d]	*!
☞ b.	[krù.si.drá.ma]			[d≠g]	
c.	[drà.ma.grá.ma]			[d≠k]! [a≠u] [m≠s] [a≠i]	

Despite the possibility of assigning non-identical output correspondents to certain segments in the source words, there are cases where some segments may not be preserved in the portmanteau. This situation arises whenever preserving a segment of the head source word would cause a disruption in the contiguity of the segmental string of the non-head source word (e.g. [pè.čo.nà.li.dád] < [pé.čo] + [pèr.so.nà.li.dád]). Note that if the coda consonant of the first syllable of [pèr.so.nà.li.dád] were preserved in the portmanteau (e.g. *[pèr.čo.nà.li.dád]), then an intrusive segment would interrupt the contiguous order of the segments [e] and [č] of the source word [pé.čo]. That Spanish portmanteaus prefer to sacrifice a segment of the head source word in order to secure the contiguity of the segments of the non-head source word is not surprising since we already noted that with regards to segmental structure, portmanteaus strive to be more faithful to the non-head than to the head source word. At this point it is appropriate to introduce CONTIGUITY, the faithfulness constraint that monitors the contiguity of segmental strings that stand in correspondence (McCarthy and Prince 1995). Split in the form of (43) and (44), CONTIGUITY penalizes illicit outputs in which an intrusive internal segment breaks up the contiguity of the non-head source word (e.g. *[rár.ti.res] < [rá.ta] + [már.ti.res]), as well as those cases in which an internal segment of the non-head source word is skipped (e.g. *[čàn.ta.fé] < [čán.da] + [sàn.ta.fé]).

- (43) O-CONTIGUITY(N-HD): *No intrusion in the non-head source word*
 The portion of the portmanteau standing in correspondence with the non-head source word must form a contiguous string.
- (44) I-CONTIGUITY(N-HD): *No skipping in the non-head source word*
 The portion of non-head source word standing in correspondence with the portmanteau must form a contiguous string.

Together, the constraints O-CONTIGUITY(N-Hd), I-CONTIGUITY(N-HD), and MAX(seg)N-HD force Spanish portmanteaus to be highly faithful to the segmental string of the non-head source word at the expense of being unfaithful to entire segments/features of the head source word. That is to say that O-CONTIGUITY(N-Hd), I-CONTIGUITY(N-HD), and MAX(seg)N-HD outrank not only IDENT(Feature) but also MAX(seg)HD, the constraint that prohibits the loss of segments from the head source word. This ranking order determines that [pè.čò.nà.li.dád] and [čàn.da.fé] are better portmanteaus than *[pèr.čò.nà.li.dád] and *[čàn.ta.fé], in which the contiguity of the segmental string of the non-head source word is disrupted for the sake of being faithful to segments from the head source word, (45, 46). Candidates (45a) and (46b) exemplify a major cause of illformedness in Spanish portmanteaus: the segmental string of the non-head source word may not gain or lose any internal segments.

(45) O-CONTIGUITY(N-Hd), MAX(seg)N-HD >> MAX(seg)HD, IDENT(Feature)

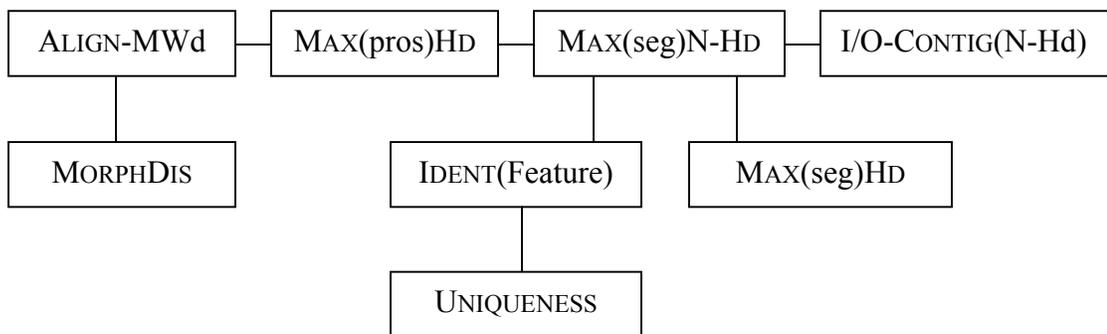
Input: [pé.čo] + [pèr.so.nà.li.dád]	O-CONTIG (N-Hd)	MAX (seg)N-HD	MAX (seg)HD	IDENT (Feature)
a. [pèr.čo.nà.li.dád]	*!			[č≠s]
☞ b. [pè.čo.nà.li.dád]			r	[č≠s]

(46) I-CONTIGUITY(N-Hd), MAX(seg)N-HD >> MAX(seg)HD, IDENT(Feature)

Input: [pán.sa] + [sàn.ta.klós]	I-CONTIG (N-Hd)	MAX (seg)N-HD	MAX (seg)HD	IDENT (Feature)
☞ a. [pàn.sa.klós]				[p≠s] [s≠t]
b. [pàn.ta.klós]	*!	s		
c. [pàn.ta.klós]		s!a		[p≠s]

The hierarchy in (47) summarizes the order in which the constraints that have been identified so far are ranked in the extragrammatical morphology of Spanish.

(47) *Constraint hierarchy responsible for the creation of Spanish portmanteaus*



5. Recoverability of the source forms

Lehrer (1996) is an insightful study of word blending from a listener's perspective. She is concerned with how listeners identify the source words of a blend and provide an interpretation for this type of neologism. Her study tested, and found

confirmation, for the following hypothesis. (i) Blends are more easily identified in context. (ii) The more material from the source words is present, the easier the blend is to identify. (iii) The higher the frequency of a source word, the easier it is to identify. (iv) The fewer the number of words in the semantic neighborhood of a source word, the easier it is to identify. (v) If one part of the blend is identified, its semantics will be relevant to identifying the other part. Of these hypotheses, (ii) is directly related to the analysis proposed here. The fact that this hypothesis has been confirmed lends support to the finding of the preceding section that faithfulness to both source words is a crucial factor in determining the wellformedness of portmanteaus.

Although Lehrer (1996) is more concerned with interpretation than with production, her work sheds light on a crucial aspect of the generation of portmanteaus. She points out that listeners are expected to understand portmanteaus without being told what the source words are. As simple as it may sound, this observation is of paramount importance when it comes to creating witticisms given that a portmanteau that needs to be explained can hardly be a good witticism. That is to say that since portmanteaus are always intended to be clever, their purpose would be defeated if the listener could not provide an interpretation for them. In order to capture this fact, I propose the constraint RECOVER, which similar to the constraint UNIQUENESS (Bat-El 1996) is a principle that applies exclusively to the creation of portmanteaus.

(48) RECOVER: *Recoverability*

Both source words of a portmanteau should be promptly recoverable from it.

Even though this constraint seems reminiscent of word recognition, it has nothing to do with how humans perform the task of recognizing words. RECOVER does not stand for any of the mental processes that allow humans to decode the speech signal and parse it into meaningful pieces. What this constraint actually stands for is a conscious ‘quality-check’ that the coiner of a portmanteau performs in order to make sure that his premeditated intention of striking the listener with a clever semantic association is going to be successful.

Considering that the speaker is aware of the fact that if the portmanteau cannot be promptly interpreted his/her intentions to sound witty will flop, it seems reasonable to believe that s/he will discard outputs that despite being optimal according to the constraint hierarchy in (47), fail to provide the listener with enough cues to recover the two source words promptly. From this standpoint, it seems more appropriate to view RECOVER as a meta-constraint, which unlike ALIGN-MWd, MAX(pros)HD, MAX(seg)N-HD, is not a grammatical principle that has been ‘stretched’ out of its function in natural language in order to create a playful word, but rather as a conscious pragmatic assessment that the coiner performs prior to uttering his creation.

As such, RECOVER takes precedence over all other principles that participate in the creation of portmanteaus, and it is capable of revoking the selection of an optimal form selected according to the hierarchy in (47). Consider, for example, how the source forms [č̣i.cí] ‘pee’ and [ḍi.li.xén.sja] ‘errand’ are combined. Because the segmental string of the non-head source word resembles the left edge of the head source word more closely than its right edge, overlapping should take place at the left periphery. The representation in (49) shows that through ambimorphemicity, and because of the

phonological resemblance between the source words, it is possible to achieve perfect left alignment without being terribly unfaithful to the input segments. Nonetheless, the form [č̣i.č̣i.xén.sja], where the two source words are perfectly aligned at their left edge is not favored. Instead, it is the form illustrated in (50), whose left alignment is less than perfect that is the actual portmanteau.

(49) a. *Perfect left alignment through overlapping:*

[d ì l i x é n s j a]	<i>MW_{d1}</i>
⋮ ⋮ ⋮ ⋮	
[č̣ ì č̣ í]	<i>MW_{d2}</i>
[č̣ ì č̣ í x é n s j a]	<i>Portmanteau</i>

(50) a. *Imperfect left alignment through overlapping:*

[d ì l i x é n s j a]	<i>MW_{d1}</i>
⋮ ⋮	
[č̣ ì č̣ í]	<i>MW_{d2}</i>
[č̣ ì č̣ í l i x é n s j a]	<i>Portmanteau</i>

The reason why this portmanteau sacrifices the perfect left alignment of its source words is because achieving such alignment would make one of the source words unrecoverable. The advantage of (50) over (49) is that whereas Spanish speakers have no problem at all in promptly identifying both [či.cí] and [di.li.xén.sja] in the form [č̣i.č̣i.li.xén.sja], they are unable to identify [di.li.xén.sja] in [č̣i.č̣i.xén.sja], which simply does not provide enough phonological information to unequivocally recover the head

source word. I have found that when presented with the form [č̣i.č̣i.xén.sja], speakers easily identify [č̣i.ci] in it, but the sequence [xén.sja] makes them retrieve words such as [ur.xén.sja] ‘urgency’, and [a.xén.sja] ‘agency’, but not [di.li.xén.sja]. As shown in tableau (51), it is RECOVER that favors [ci.č̣i.li.xén.sja] over [č̣i.č̣i.xén.sja].

(51) RECOVER >> ALIGN-MWd, MAX(seg)N-HD >> MORPHDIS, IDENT(Feature)

Input: [č̣i.ci] + [di.li.xén.sja]	RECOVER	ALIGN- MWd	MAX (seg)N-HD	MORPH DIS	IDENT (Feature)
a. [č̣i.č̣i.di.li.xén.sja]		***!*			
☞ b. [ci.č̣i.li.xén.sja]		**		di	[č̣~d]
c. [č̣i.č̣i.xén.sja]	[di.li.xén.sja]!			č̣ič̣i	[č̣~d] [č̣~l]

Candidate (51a) is discarded by ALIGN-MWd for being extremely misaligned. This candidate violates ALIGN-MWd four times because the left edge of the word [di.li.xén.sja] is separated from the left edge of the word [č̣i.č̣i] by four segments. Candidate (51c) is ruled out by RECOVER because despite the perfect left alignment of the source words, one of them is not promptly recoverable. The optimal output form, (51b), incurs two violations of ALIGN-MWd because it has the left edge of the word [di.li.xén.sja] separated from the left edge of the word [ci.č̣i] by two segments. It also violates MORPHDIS and IDENT(Feature) because it contains ambimorphemic segments, one of which has non-identical input correspondents. Despite these violations, [ci.č̣i.li.xén.sja] makes an optimal portmanteau because its source words are promptly

recoverable, and although not perfectly, they are optimally aligned. Furthermore, not a single segment has been lost in the process of splicing the source words together.

The reader can verify that the creation of the portmanteau [à.mi.gó.bjo] ‘friend and boyfriend’ from the source words [a.mí.go] ‘friend’ and [nó.bjo] ‘boyfriend’ follows the same logic. Despite its imperfect word alignment, the form [à.mi.gó.bjo] is favored because the alternatives with perfect alignment (e.g. *[a.mí.gjo] and *[a.nó.bjo]) fail to provide enough cues to recover both of the source words (e.g. only [a.mí.go] is recoverable from *[a.mí.gjo], and only [nó.bjo] is recoverable from *[a.nó.bjo]).

Finally, consider the case of the portmanteau [in.te.li.bú.ro] ‘stupid person’ whose source words bear very little phonological resemblance: [in.te.li.xén.te] ‘intelligent’ and [bú.ro] ‘donkey’, as they do not have even a single segment in common. Because of this lack of segmental affinity, faithfulness to the input segments will greatly suffer regardless of whether the source words overlap at the left or right periphery of the portmanteau. If the source words overlap at their left edge, [bù.ro.li.xén.te] is the output they yield; but if they overlap at their right edge, [in.te.li.bú.ro] is the outcome. Interestingly, when Spanish speakers are asked to identify the source words of the form [bù.ro.li.xén.te], they hesitate whether [xén.te] stands for [dì.li.xén.te] ‘diligent’, [nè.gli.xén.te] ‘negligent’, or [in.te.li.xén.te]. They believe that any of them could be in combination with [bú.ro] and make a sound semantic association. By contrast, when presented with the form [in.te.li.bú.ro], they immediately identify both [in.te.li.xén.te] and [bú.ro] as the unequivocal source words of this portmanteau. In other words, if overlapping takes place at the right periphery, [bú.ro] is clearly [bú.ro], and [in.te.li] may not be taken for any

other Spanish word but [in.te.li.xén.te]. Evidently, the greater potential for prompt recoverability of its source words makes [in.te.li.bú.ro] a better witticism. This means that it is RECOVERABILITY that crucially decides on the optimal way to splice these source words together.

(52) RECOVER >> ALIGN-MWd >> MAX(seg)HD, MORPHDIS, IDENT(Feature)

Input: [bú.ro] + [in.te.li.xén.te]	RECOVER	ALIGN -MWd	MAX (seg)HD	MORPH DIS	IDENT (Feature)
a. [bù.ro.in.te.li.xén.te]		*!***			
b. [bù.ro.li.xén.te]	[in.te.li. xén.te]!	*	n	buro	[u~i] [r~t] [o~e]
☞ c. [in.te.li. bú.ro]			n	buro	[b~x] [u~e] [r~t] [o~e]

Candidate (52a) is ruled out by ALIGN-MWd because of its extreme misalignment. The remaining candidates achieve better alignment because they have chosen to overlap the source words at one of their peripheries. However, candidate (52b) not only has the problem that one of its source words is quite likely to be mistaken for another word, but also that the leftmost segment of the word [in.te.li.xén.te], which is represented by the ambimorphemic segment [u], is separated from the left edge of the word [bú.ro] by one segment. This means that this candidate incurs one violation of ALIGN-MWd. Therefore, candidate (52c) not only has better recoverability, but better alignment as well, which explains why it is the portmanteau Spanish speakers prefer when combining the source words [bú.ro] and [in.te.li.xén.te].

6. Advantages of analyzing portmanteaus as overlapping morphemes

A central point to the analysis laid out above is the idea that in the process of generating portmanteaus one of the source words overlaps upon a periphery of the other one so that the input words may be aligned at one of their corresponding edges. There are, however, at least two alternatives that should be considered as well. One is a cut-and-paste approach (Pharies 1987:283), and the other one is a substitution approach (Stuart Laubstein 1999:136). I will compare them to the overlapping approach proposed here.

As Piñeros (1998a,b) points out, a major flaw of the cut-and-paste approach is that it fails to provide a criterion to determine how much of the source words should be clipped. Assuming that portmanteaus are generated by clipping the source words and putting their remains together wrongly predicts that any form that combines two mutilated words would be wellformed. To illustrate this point, consider how the portmanteau [in.te.li.bú.ro] would be generated within this approach. If clipping were to apply only to the longer source word, the following outputs would emerge.¹³

- (53) a. intelixen⟨te⟩ + buro → intelixenburo
 b. inteli⟨xente⟩ + buro → inteliburo
 c. inte⟨lixente⟩ + buro → inteburo
 d. in⟨telixente⟩ + buro → inburo

The cutting and pasting illustrated in (53b) yields the attested form. But in addition to generating the right output, this procedure also generates forms that no Spanish speaker would consider wellformed. Although it may be argued that a principle like RECOVERABILITY rules out the outputs in (53c,d), nothing would explain why (53a)

is not preferred if it also underwent cutting and pasting and both source words are recoverable from it. In fact, (53a) is more faithful to the input words than (53b). Put in a nutshell, there is no principle this approach may invoke in order to determine the exact amount of clipping. Not less serious is the fact that any approach that assumes clipping is unable to account for cases of morpheme overlapping since the possibility that different morphemes share a single segmental string is precluded by the very notion of clipping.

Within the substitution approach, one could argue that the portmanteau [in.te.li.bú.ro] is generated by replacing the last two syllables of the source word [in.te.li.xén.te] with the two syllables present in the word [bú.ro]. This seems quite reasonable since the process would be constrained to manipulating phonological units. Furthermore, as I demonstrated above, RECOVERABILITY can explain why replacing the last two syllables of [in.te.li.xén.te] is better than replacing its first two syllables. The advantage of the substitution approach is that, since the structure is not simply clipped but replaced, it restricts portmanteaus to having as many syllables as one of the source words. Nonetheless, the fact that there are a few portmanteaus that have more syllables than the longer source word would be unexplainable since the extra syllables would not be a replacement for anything (e.g. [čì.čì.li.xén.sja] < [čì.čì] + [di.li.xén.sja], [à.mi.gó.bjo] < [a.mí.go] + [nó.bjo]). Furthermore, the rarity of portmanteaus where the non-head source word replaces a non-peripheral part of the head source word becomes a total mystery. Note that since this approach only requires that the material that is removed from one source word be replaced with material from the other one, any part of the word should be substitutable. However, this is certainly not the case since portmanteaus

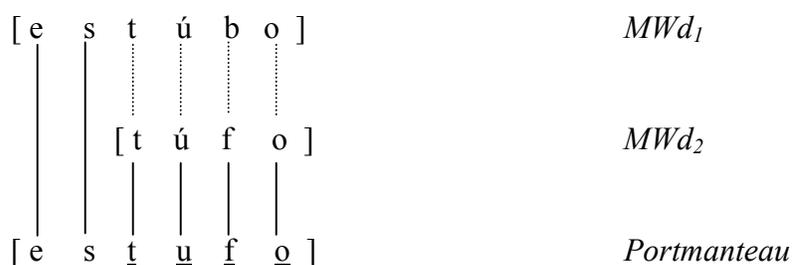
exhibit a strong aversion against the appearance of the non-head source word upon a non-peripheral portion of the head source word (e.g. *[in.te.bu.ro.te]). Additionally, the non-trivial fact that the number of phonological units that are substituted in the head source word is usually equivalent to the entire structure of the non-head source word is completely missed. To put it in a different way, non-overlapping approaches are unable to capture the generalization that the portion of the head source word that is missing from the portmanteau tends to be exactly equivalent to the structural space that the non-head source word is occupying. The obvious reason for this is that one of the words is concealing a part of the other one because they are in overlapping.

The overlapping approach does not suffer from any of the shortcomings that non-overlapping approaches stumble on, and it exceeds them in explanatory power. On the view that portmanteaus are overlapping morphemes, the generation of a portmanteau is seen as packing two words into a single lexical unit, so that the two words may be used to fill a single structural position in the speech chain (Algeo 1977). The requirement that these two morphological words be aligned at one edge formally captures the drive to have them sit in the same structural space. In this regard, it is worth noting that the formalization of this drive through an alignment principle is quite appropriate given that the span of a structural domain is defined by its edges. For the two words to occur in the same structural slot they must overlap upon some of their segments; otherwise, they could not occupy the same space. As a consequence of this, the segments of the substring that serves to implement both words become ambimorphemic.

I illustrate this line of reasoning with the portmanteau [es.tú.fo] ‘no translation is possible’ from [es.tú.bo] ‘you were, s/he was’ and [tú.fo] ‘bad breath as a result of

drinking alcohol'. This portmanteau always occurs in the expression *¿Dónde estufo?*, which replaces the question *¿Dónde estuvo?* 'Where were you?' when a person arrives and it is evident from his/her breath that s/he has been drinking. First of all, the coiner selects the source words by establishing a semantic link between them: someone has [tú.fo] because s/he [es.tú.bo] drinking somewhere. Once this link has been created, the associated words are submitted to the extragrammatical morphology, where they are subject to the requirement that they be aligned at one edge.

(54) *Word alignment causes overlapping (e.g. shortening)*



(55) *Overlapping makes it possible to pack two words into a single structural slot*

‘Peter was drinking at the bar and he now has bad breath from drinking alcohol’

Pedro [e s t ú b o] bebiendo en el bar y tiene [t ú f o].

¿Dónde [e s t ú f o]?

Where was he that he has bad breath from drinking alcohol?

Non-overlapping approaches not only fail to capture these facts, but also have trouble limiting the outputs that the mechanisms they employ are able to generate. By contrast, the overlapping approach unveils the intricate interaction of the principles working behind the creation of portmanteaus, and it successfully generates all and only the attested forms. The overlapping approach proposed here is successful because it takes into account that although word-alignment is the driving force in the generation of portmanteaus, this requirement may have to be minimally violated in order to secure the recoverability of the source words so that the portmanteau is an effective witticism.

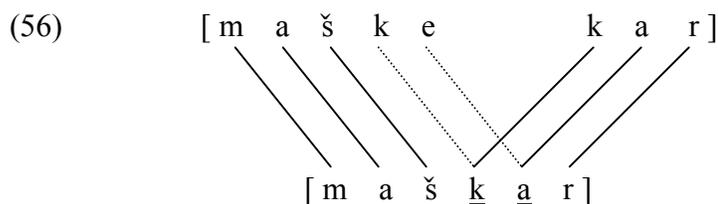
7. A note on Hebrew blends

Bat-El’s (1996) analysis of Hebrew blends may be considered a mix approach because it assumes that blended words contain one consonant that has correspondents in both source words (e.g. ambimorphemicity), but at the same time, it is assumed that the source words are pruned since certain segments are not assigned an output correspondent (e.g. clipping). This may be illustrated with the example [šman⟨man•na⟩mux] ‘dumpy’ from [šmanman] ‘plump’ and [namux] ‘short’. In Bat-El’s notational system, deleted

segments appear in angled brackets, and the only ambimorphemic segment she posits for each blend is transcribed in bold. The symbol • is used to indicate a word boundary.

The work of Algeo (1977) is not cited by Bat-El (1996), nor is the important distinction between telescopes (e.g. [maškar] ‘cold drink’ from [maške] ‘drink’ and [kar] ‘cold’) and portmanteaus (e.g. [kokolada] ‘chocolate with coconut’ from [kokus] ‘coconut’ and [šokolada] ‘chocolate’) ever made in her analysis. The problem with treating both types of blended words as one was foreseen by Algeo (1977:62), who points out that although telescopes and portmanteaus ‘are alike in structure, they are strikingly different in their system of formation and in the psychological processes that must be assumed for their making’. Crucially, portmanteaus represent an actual crossing of words, whereas telescopes are no more than contractions.

In accounting for telescopes, it is important to determine the point at which the blend switches from one source word to the other since that is the point where the contraction takes place.



In the telescope [maškar], for example, the contraction starts at the point where the first [k] of the sequence [maške kar] appears in this phrase. This blend is clearly haplogistic and an unquestionable case of morpheme overlapping resulting from the conflation of the adjacent edges of two juxtaposed words. Because there is a specific

point at which the two words contract, one can understand the intent in proposing the constraint DESIGNATED IDENTICAL SEGMENT, which says that ‘a blend must have one consonant that has correspondents in both elements of the base’ (Bat-El 1996:292). Nonetheless, this constraint is problematic because it stipulates that the segment upon which the source words overlap must be a consonant, and it completely ignores that overlapping often involves more than a single segment. As such, the DESIGNATED IDENTICAL SEGMENT constraint does not suit the reality of telescopes, and if one tries to force this constraint on portmanteaus, which is exactly what Bat-El (1996) inadvertently does, matters only become worse. By limiting the overlapping of the source words to only one segment, this approach views blending as a sort of word relay in which one word picks up at the point where the other one leaves off. Although this might be true for some telescopes, this view of word blending is problematic for telescopes whose source words overlap on more than one segment; and it is absolutely incompatible with portmanteaus, which always exhibit extensive overlapping given that the very aim in the process of creating a portmanteau is to superimpose the structure of one of the source words upon the structure of the other one so that the two words may be used to fill a single syntactic slot. In essence, this approach fails to realize that when morphemes overlap, it is not that the segments of one of the morphemes are clipped off; they are merely concealed by segments from the other morpheme. This is just one example of the many problems that arise from the constraints adopted in Bat-El (1996). In addition to the DESIGNATED IDENTICAL SEGMENT, the constraints FOOT CONTRIBUTION¹⁴ and MINIMAL CONTRIBUTION¹⁵ are unsupported, not likely to be universal, and give rise to constraint redundancy because they are subsumed by σ MAX, which is also employed.

Additionally, the faithfulness constraints σ_{MAX} and σ_{DEP} , which Bat-El redefines as a type of double correspondence, are quite bizarre within standard Correspondence Theory (McCarthy and Prince 1995), since they penalize output forms even in cases where no syllables have been lost or gained (Bat-El 1996:295).

Lack of accuracy also pervades in the interpretation of the data, as not even the difference between blends and regular compounds is observed. Forms such as [xaydak] ‘bacterium’ from [xay] ‘alive’ and [dak] ‘thin’, among many others, are considered as blends when indeed neither of the source words has undergone any type of shortening. Clearly, because such forms exhibit neither overlapping nor deletion, they are not blends but regular compounds (Algeo 1977, Pharies 1987, Bankov, Dimitrov, and Dragnev 1989). The conclusion that blends are deprived of a head is also rushed and unsupported. This is evident from the fact the main evidence put forward is the behavior of words like [kadursal] ‘basketball’ from [kadur] ‘ball’ and [sal] ‘basket’, which are evidently not blends but exocentric compounds.¹⁶ Furthermore, it should be noted that the fact that the head of a blended word does not always appear in the same position, as it is usually the case in compounds, does not mean that blends do not have a head. As I demonstrated above, the order in which the source words will appear in the portmanteau is not fixed but determined by the active constraints. Against Bat-El’s claim, the headedness of portmanteaus is robustly supported by Spanish (Pharies 1987, Piñeros 1998a,b), English (Kubonozono 1990), and even Hebrew portmanteaus (e.g. [misadag] ‘fish restaurant’ from [misada] ‘restaurant’ and [dag] ‘fish’).

7. Conclusion

I have shown that Spanish portmanteaus are not created according to the same principles that govern the grammatical morphology. Unlike compounds, portmanteaus are generated in the extragrammatical morphology (Dressler 2000), where constraints that are ‘distorted’ versions of those found in natural language, and others that are exclusive to playful language, are used to generate such word creations. Portmanteaus are witticisms that consist of superimposing one word upon the structure of another one with the intention of leading the listener to retrieve two different lexical meanings packed as a single word. I have demonstrated that Spanish portmanteaus are endowed with a syntactic/semantic head, and that this notion is crucial to determine not only their syntactic and semantic properties, but also their phonological form. Portmanteaus exhibit overlapping because the two source words are forced to occupy a single syntactic slot, which is possible through the emergence of ambimorphemic segments. I have formalized the intent to combine the two source words into the structure of a single one as a word alignment requirement, which may not always be perfectly satisfied because although input segments may be preserved through non-identical output correspondents, the portmanteau must still provide the listener with enough phonological information to be able to recover both source words promptly; otherwise, the listener would not be able to interpret it, and the portmanteau would fail as a witticism.

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Notes

¹ These examples come from Lehrer (1996) and Tournier (1985).

² These examples come from Algeo (1977) and Lehrer (1996). Those segments of the source words that are deleted in the blending process appear enclosed in angled brackets, while those that participate in sound overlapping appear underlined.

³ These examples are taken from Lehrer (1996).

⁴ Examples taken from Pharies (1987).

⁵ I have not found any Spanish portmanteaus created from three different source words. Yet, the possibility that Spanish portmanteaus may also be created from three different source words remains open.

⁶ This portmanteau means ‘the personality of a woman with the implication that her breasts are an important part of it’, and it is most often used in the expression *lo importante es la pechonalidad*, which is a variation of *lo importante es la personalidad* ‘what matters is the personality’ in referring to a woman’s personal traits.

⁷ I follow McCarthy and Prince (1993) in their use of a * after the label of a prosodic or morphological constituent (e.g. MWd* or PWd*) to indicate that it is a recursive category.

⁸ I recorded this portmanteau on a hot day in an old bus, which did not have air-conditioning installed. The hot temperature forced people to roll down the windows to get some cooler air while the bus was running, and somebody called it [ái.re a.kon.di.so.pla.do] ‘conditioned and blown air’.

⁹ In this regard, reduplicative morphemes are special in that their content only shows up in the output form, and this is their exponence.

¹⁰ Because portmanteaus never exhibit epenthesis, I am assuming that DEPENDENCE, the family of correspondence constraints that prohibits the insertion of structure, is undominated. I do not include it in the discussion because epenthetic candidates are never among the finalists in the selection of the optimal portmanteau.

¹¹ The source that reports this example is Pharies (1987) who points out that although [komér] is totally contained in [komérsjo], its presence in the portmanteau is demonstrated by the word’s meaning, as well as by the existence of parallel neologisms (e.g. [bebérsjo] ‘drink’ from [bebér] ‘to drink’ and [komérsjo] ‘business’, and [xodérsjo] ‘fornication’ from [xodér] ‘to copulate’ and [komérsjo] ‘business’).

¹² Another example of a portmanteau that is a pun is [pio] ‘no translation is possible’ from [pio] ‘chirp’ and [pio] ‘I ask, as pronounced when deletion of intervocalic /d/ takes place’. I identified this portmanteau in the slogan *el pollo que siempre pio* ‘the chicken I always ask for/chirp for’ used in an advertisement of a rotisserie in Bogotá.

¹³ The number of possible ways in which one may cut and paste the source words increases if we consider that it could be the shorter source word that is clipped.

¹⁴ FOOT CONTRIBUTION says that ‘each segment of the base must contribute a foot to the blend’

¹⁵ MINIMAL CONTRIBUTION says that ‘each element must contribute at least one syllable to the blend’.

¹⁶ The data presented in Bat-El (1996:287) speaks for the existence of two different types of compounds, but says nothing about blends because the relevant example (e.g. [kadursal] < [kadur] + [sal]) is not a blend but a compound.