

AG 6 (Kurz-AG)
Deconstruction and Reconstruction of Portmanteau Morphemes

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Unpacking Mordvin portmanteaus
24.02.2010, 14.30–15.00 Uhr, Raum 1.308

Mordvin, a Uralic language spoken in Russia, has portmanteau agreement morphology for features of the subject and object (on various aspects of which, see Abondolo 1982, Ackerman 2000, and Aranovich 2007). Even so, its 28 possible combinations are realized by only 15 affixes. The neutralization pattern that composes the 47% syncretic distribution presents a challenge for purely impoverishment-based approaches, and I will argue that the solution is to be found instead in the way that number agreement is (a) computed and (b) realized, within a distributed architecture. This type of explanation marks a step towards more restricted models in which impoverishment is a principled operation with a grammatical motivation, and thus not invoked willy-nilly. Given this division of labor in the grammar, not all aspects of morphological form are generated solely within a modularized and encapsulated morphology component, but rather can sometimes result from functional structure underlying the syntax of number values. In Mordvin, object number realization is neutralized in the presence of plural subjects for a hierarchical reason: because subjects are higher goals for agreement. On the other hand, the phenomenon of 'omnivorous' number agreement (Nevins, 2008) -- also found in languages such as Georgian, Soazza Italian, and Onondaga -- conditions a Vocabulary Item yielding portmanteau realizations (e.g. 1st person as *miz'* whenever either subject or object is plural). These two aspects of the valuation and exponence of NumP in Mordvin help characterize its pattern of syncretism in terms of more explanatory primitives, which have analogues in other language families where the surface reflexes might be wildly divergent but their underlying mechanism the same.

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What's in a coat? The development of verb prefixes in the Iwaidjan language
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The verb prefixes of the Iwaidjan languages (Australian, Non-Pama-Nyungan, Northern Arnhem Land) typically represent the subject as well as an additional argument, which usually bears the grammatical relation of (direct) object. These prefixes are often viewed as portmanteau-morphemes (e.g. Singer 2006), though in quite a number of cases, it is actually possible to tease apart the functional elements (cf. Evans 2000: 105-107).

- (1) Verb prefixes in Iwaidja and transparency
- a. *kun-* *-bun*
1sg/2sg- -hit 1sg formally not represented (Evans 2000: 107)
 'I hit you.'
- b. *ngan-bu-wun*
 1sg- -3pl- -hit order of morphemes
3pl/1sg- -hit meaning (cf. Evans 2000:105f)
 'They hit him.'

However, in Amurdak the portmanteau verb prefix clearly does not express a second verbal argument beside the subject. Instead, in addition to expressing information about the subject, Amurdak verb prefixes also encode TAM information, which in most other Iwaidjan languages is typically done by suffixes.

- (2) Amurdak verb prefixes
- a. *wandu-* *wun-ka-rlu*
3nsg.Imperfective hit -1sg-acc
 'They're hitting me.'
- b. *wara-* *wun-ka-rlu*
3sg.Perfective hit -1sg-acc
 'He hit me.'

Since the situation in (1) can be assumed as ancestral for all Iwaidjan languages (Evans 2000), the question arises how the Amurdak system evolved. The talk wants to further develop the hypothesis proposed in Mailhammer (2009), according to which it was the loss of productive gender marking in the verbal prefixes that led to the restructuring of the Amurdak verb prefixes, using old elements and combining them with modal/temporal morphology.

The conclusion drawn will be that the case presented supports the intuition that portmanteau morphemes are not always completely opaque to the speakers. While not all the different functions expressed in a portmanteau morpheme need to be identifiable, it seems that it supports its stability if a key function can be clearly identified.

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The life-cycle of portmanteau morphemes
 24.02.2010, 15.30–16.00 Uhr, Raum 1.308

One of the aspects which render morphological structures complex is their frequent failure to conform to the ONE-TO-ONE mapping relation between form and function. On the paradigmatic axis, the usual examples of violations of the principles of biuniqueness (Dressler 1985) are:

- ONE-TO-MANY: one and the same form fulfils different mutually exclusive functions i.e. syncretism applies,
- MANY-TO-ONE: a variety of segmentally distinct forms are assigned the same “meaning” i.e. allomorphy applies.

However, in addition to the traditionally better known cases of syncretism and allomorphy, there are also various phenomena on the syntagmatic level which also challenge biuniqueness. To these instances of deviations from the ONE-TO-ONE mapping relation belong the following two phenomena (as described in Matthews 1974, for instance):

- ONE-IN-MANY: one function is expressed by several elements which (ideally) are not neighbours in the morphotactic chain i.e. discontinuous exponence applies,
- MANY-IN-ONE: in one form, several notionally independent categories are expressed simultaneously i.e. cumulative exponence applies.

In my paper, I look at cumulative exponence aka portmanteau morphemes with special focus on their changeful history. How do portmanteau morphemes come about? What are the most favourable conditions for their genesis? Are there any preferences as to the categories which normally join to be expressed by portmanteau morphemes? What happens to portmanteau morphemes when languages change? What is the role of portmanteau morphemes within the framework of Natural Morphology? Where do we locate the life-cycle of portmanteau morphemes on the grammaticalisation cline?

With a view to answering these question (or important parts thereof), I will highlight those constellations where, in a given language, within the same paradigm, there coexist word-forms containing portmanteau morphemes and word-forms do not attest cumulative exponent-*ce*. A paradigm of this kind can be found in the regular declension of the definite adjective in modern Latvian, cf. table 1.

Table 1 Definite adjective declension in Latvian

categories	word-form	definiteness “cumulated”
Nom.Sg.M.Def	<i>vec-ai-s</i>	no
Gen.Sg.M.Def	<i>vec-ā</i>	yes
Dat.Sg.M.Def	<i>vec-aj-am</i>	no
Acc.Sg.M.Def	<i>vec-o</i>	yes
Loc.Sg.M.Def	<i>vec-aj-ā</i>	no

This “excerpt” from the much larger paradigm of the adjective *vecs* ‘old’ includes word-forms whose definiteness markers and case-number-gender markers are kept apart side by side with other word-forms which only have one portmanteau morpheme whose functional load also includes definiteness. Examples of this and similar kind from a sample of 50 languages serve as the empirical basis of my study.

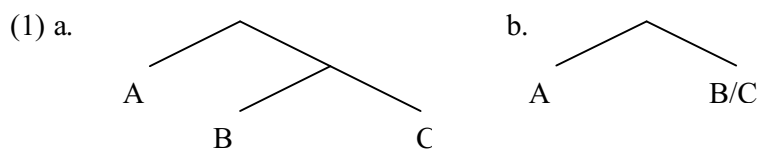
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Vocabulary insertion and (im)possible portmanteaus

24.02.2010, 16.30–17.00 Uhr, Raum 1.308

Introduction. This paper offers a proposal regarding the derivation of portmanteau morphemes, specifically, cases in which a single exponent realizes two (or more) terminal nodes of the syntax. The proposal here dispenses with the DM operation of fusion (Halle and Marantz 1993, Halle 1997, Bobaljik 1997, Embick and Noyer 2001, Chung 2007), in favor of vocabulary insertion at non-terminal nodes (cf. the Spanning Vocabulary Principle (Williams 2003) and the Universal Contiguity (Caha 2009)). The proposal here differs from Williams 2003 and Caha 2009 in restricting vocabulary insertion (and hence portmanteaus) to constituents. The current proposal allows a narrower range of empirical predictions than Williams 2003 and Caha 2009. The theory is tested against data from local (spatial) case morphology from a sample of 62 languages (Radkevich 2008): the attested portmanteau morphemes are, without exception, consistent with the narrower range of predictions available under the Vocabulary Insertion Principle (VIP).

Portmanteaus in DM. In DM, portmanteau morphemes are derived by fusion, an operation that combines two terminal nodes into a single locus for vocabulary insertion (Halle and Marantz 1993, Chung 2007), as in (1). Since fusion is by hypothesis restricted to sister nodes (1), portmanteau morphology in this theory provides evidence of morphological constituency. However, as noted by Radkevich 2009, Caha 2009, fusion creates a conspiracy within the theory - the environments for the fusion rule must be stipulated to be the same as the environments for the insertion of the corresponding portmanteau morphemes (Chung 2007), but nothing within the theory guarantees this connection.



Non-DM proposals. Williams (2003) & Caha (2009) suggest that vocabulary insertion may realize any arbitrary span of contiguous terminal nodes, with no requirement that they form a constituent at any level of representation. Consider the structure in (1): Williams and Caha predict that three portmanteaus are possible: A+B, B+C, A+B+C. This theory imposes only weak restrictions on possible portmanteaus: terminal nodes must comply with the contiguity requirement (thus excluding an A+C portmanteau) and thus gives overt morphology only a rather weak probative value for diagnosing hierarchical structure.

The VIP vs. other proposals. I propose the VIP, as given in (2). The conspiracy inherent in fusion is avoided, and all insertion is driven by the features of vocabulary items. In principle, the VIP and Spanning/Contiguity make different predictions about possible portmanteaus. For example, in (1a) the VIP would exclude an A+B portmanteau, which the Spanning/Contiguity approach would allow. However, testing predictions is not straightforward, inasmuch as the underlying structure itself is also a

matter of investigation, with many competing proposals both in syntax and morphology. Nevertheless, the VIP makes a specific type of implicational prediction which the Spanning/Contiguity principle does not. Specifically, a given linear string A-B-C admits of only two binary constituent parses: [A [BC]] or [[AB] C]. Assuming constituency is fixed for a given language, if not universally, it follows from the VIP that if A+B can be a portmanteau, then B+C cannot be, and vice versa (though A+B+C can under either theory). Spanning, by contrast, will permit such overlapping portmanteaus.

(2) *The Vocabulary Insertion Principle*

The phonological exponent of a vocabulary item is inserted at the minimal node dominating all the features for which the exponent is specified.

Testing predictions. The predictions made by the VIP are tested against two sets of portmanteaus: Tense-Aspect-Mood portmanteau and local case portmanteaus.

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French portmanteau as simplex elements

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Since Hockett (1947), the French forms *du*, *des*, *au*, and *aux* have been taken to be prime examples of portmanteaus. We argue that these forms, historically derived from preposition + article sequences, are best analyzed synchronically as prepositions taking an N' as complement, and not as contractions or instances of multidomination (as proposed e.g. by Blevins 1990, Wescoat 2002, Payne et al. 2007).

Coordination data first discussed by Miller (1992) show that the portmanteaus *du*, *des*, *au*, and *aux* do not have the same distribution as the sequences *à/de la* and *à/de l'*. In an analysis based on contraction or multidomination, the portmanteau *au* should be possible in (1a), as it is in Spanish (1b), or, if it is somehow blocked, the uncontracted sequence *à le* should surface, as in (2a). In fact, both (1a) and (2a) are ungrammatical, in contrast to the non-contracting example in (2b).

To account for this, we assume that *au* is a single lexical item: a preposition that incorporates the properties of the article *le* and selects a masculine singular N' complement. Example (1a) is ungrammatical because the NP *sa mère* cannot be the complement of *au* (3a) and cannot be coordinated with the N' *garçon* (3b). The non-portmanteau forms *à* and *de* must be prevented from taking NP complements beginning with *le* and *les* (2a, 4a). The data in (5) shows that this can not be done by simply inspecting the phonology of the following word. *À* and *de* can take a coordinate NP complement, but only if *none* of the conjuncts starts with *le* or *les*. No such non-local condition applies to the parallel Spanish examples in (6).

To account for this we assume a lexically-specified feature \pm LE that distinguishes the articles *le* and *les* (+LE) from all other French words (–LE). The value of \pm LE is propagated along the left edges of simple syntactic phrases, so that it remains locally accessible when *à/de* selects its NP complement. The \pm LE value of a coordinate structure is determined as a function of the \pm LE values of the individual conjuncts:

the presence of any +LE conjunct, as in (2a, 5b), causes the entire coordination to carry the feature +LE, which makes it unsuitable as a complement of *à/de*.

- (1) a. *au garçon et sa mère "to the boy and his mother"
b. al muchacho y su madre (< [a [el muchacho y su madre]])
- (2) a. *à le garçon et sa mère "to the boy and his mother"
b. à la fille et sa mère "to the girl and her mother"
- (3) a. *au sa mère "to the his mother"
b. [au *[garçon et sa mère]] "to the [boy and his mother]"
- (4) a. *de [le garçon], *de [les enfants] "of the boy, of the children"
b. de [la fille], de [l'enfant], de [sa mère], de [Paris]
"of the girl, of the child, of her mother, of Paris"
- (5) a. de la mère et l'enfant "of the mother and the child"
b. *de la mère et le fils "of the mother and the son"
- (6) a. de la madre y la hija "of the mother and the daughter"
b. de la madre y el hijo "of the mother and the son"

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On the processing and representation of blends in long term memory

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In this work we analyse the mental representation of blends (*portemanteau* words), particularly focusing on French. Blends are assimilable to compounds in that they combine two lexemes at least. However, in blends, the bases often appear in a reduced form. For instance, the word *motel* is made by combining the lexeme *motor* and the lexeme *hotel*. Blends formation depends on phonological and semantic constraints, and can generally be divided into several types (Fradin, 2000 ; Grésillon, 1984, Lehrer, 1996). Although some phonological patterns seem to be more natural than others, the base lexemes are in general clipped, thus violating a universal principle such as the integrity of the base. Blends can be then defined as being a « less regular way to coin new lexical units than compounds » (Fradin, 2000). Moreover, as suggested by some authors (Fradin *et al.* 2009 ; Grésillon, 1984; Piñeros, 2004), in most cases blends result from the linear superposition of a phonological sequence shared by both their base lexemes, rather than from their deletion. The process of blending, then, can be assimilated to haplogy (cf. Fradin *et al.*, 2009). Semantically, blends are generally interpreted on the basis of the meaning of their base-morphemes.

If blends result from a superposition governed by a constraint of linearity of the constituents, they should be stored in memory as whole forms, closely connected to their base-lexemes representations.

The aim of the present paper is to investigate this issue. Through a series of psycholinguistic experiments, we manipulated blends and constituent lexemes, in order to examine, on the one hand, how blends are cognitively processed by readers during visual recognition, and on the other hand, in which format blends are coded in long term memory. Finally, we will present a cognitive architecture of lexical access that integrates lexemes and blends.

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Unity of principles in the formation of portmanteaus and teleskopos

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The term 'portmanteau' has been often used as a synonym for a blend, referring to its complex meaning rather than phonological structure (e.g. Alego 1997: 61, Kelly 1998: 582). It is also used more specifically to refer to associative blends. In Piñeros (2002: 14) portmanteaus represent a structural type of a blend that has all the segments from the first (shorter) word and prosodically replicates the number of syllables and the stress pattern of the second (longer) word, e. g. *shockumentary*, *glocalization*, *multitude*. The other term 'telescope' , also used as a synonym for a blend, is thought to be most appropriate for the kind of structures involving conflation of two words that can be juxtaposed in the speech chain by overlapping or deleting their inner edges. (Alego 1977: 56, Cannon 1986: 730). Piñeros 2000: 49, Piñeros 2002: 5). The letter type implies syntagmatic origin blends (cf. Bauer 2006: 502) like *motel*, *flexitarian* based on modifier-head relationship or copredication relationship as in *politainer*, *animutation*. However, most of English associative blends have source words that cannot be successfully coordinated or juxtaposed in a phrase, e. g. *ringxiety* (*ring* + *anxiety*), *slimnastics* (*slim* + *gymnastics*). There are also blends based on source words that can form a phrase or a compound, e.g. *eatertainment* (*eater* + *entertainment*), *webrarian* (*Web* + *librarian*), *sportianity* (*sport* + *Christianity*) but their meaning is idiomatized rather than predictable from their component parts. Thus the two structurally different types of blends do not correlate with their origin.

The present proposal addresses the regularities in the phonological structure of English blends studied from the perspective of the extended version of Optimality Theory, known as Output-to-Output Correspondence (McCarthy 1995) and claims that these two apparently differing types of blends (fig.1) are effected by the same mechanism and thus do not represent distinct structural categories. It shows that all structural types of blends (with or without identical segment(s) overlap) involve correspondence relationships between the blend and its source words such that the blend has a certain number of correspondent segments in both its source words. Corresponding segments need not be identical in their feature specification.

(1)	a portmanteau:	a telescope:
	<i>fishetarian</i>	<i>edutainment</i>
	fɪʃ	ɛðokéɪʃən
	vɛdʒətéəriən	ɛntətéɪnmənt
	_____	_____
	fɪʃətéəriən	ɛdətéɪnmənt

The paper argues that, as a morphological operation, blending is based on two Morphological Words whose simultaneous phonetic realization is mediated by their prosodic structure because it is the similarity of prosodic structure between the source words rather than segment affinity that decides which substrings of the source words will surface in the blend.

The paper also argues that regularities in the phonological structure of English blends can be captured in terms of interaction of constraints that operate elsewhere in the grammar. Beside standard Markedness and Faithfulness constraints of Maximization type, already proposed in other OT accounts of the phonological structure of blends (e.g. Bat-El 1996, 2006, Piñeros 2000, 2002), it shows two specific faithfulness constraints referring to morphology-prosody interface to be active in evaluating well-formedness of English blends. These are Burzio's (2000:44) Metrical Consistency requirement and Oostendorp's (2004:45) Prosodic Syllable Integrity constraint, which has been extended here to the context of English blends.

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Core argument flagging and gender marking: a cross-linguistic study of a portmanteau system

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This paper aims at exploring the cross-linguistic relevance of the interweaving between flagging and classificatory meanings into single morphemes, mainly devoted

to core argument and gender marking. An extended sample of languages belonging to distant stocks will be considered in order to highlight the restrictions (if any) which characterize the development of such a portmanteau type in terms of parametric interdependencies. Synchronic and diachronic facts will also be addressed when possible, inasmuch as typological distributions can be often explained in dynamic terms, that is as the skewed instantiation of universal tendencies of language change.

The existence of portmanteau systems for core argument flagging and gender marking has been sparsely noted, especially within specific case-studies of single languages or language families (McGregor 2008 on Australian languages, König 2006, 2008 on some Highland East Cushitic and North Omotic languages and Wurm 1982 with respect to some West Papuan languages). What, as far as I know, has not yet been attempted is an extended analysis of the cross-linguistic regularities which might be identified as significant features for the emergence of this portmanteau system and its stability across languages. The main purpose of this paper will be that of trying to fill this gap in the literature.

Three major aspects will be taken into account: 1) the paths of semantic change which might control the emergence of this grammatical construction; 2) the morpho-syntactic facet of the resulting portmanteau system; 3) the functional and pragmatic motivations which trigger its rise.

The grammaticalization of markers of control and topicality as core argument markers is cross-linguistically quite frequent and seems to work either as a salience or a non-obviousness highlighting device (for example, in Manipuri, a Tibeto-Burman language, core participant markers are clearly the descendents of markers of control and affectedness and their occurrence can be still conditioned by the specific construal of the event).

What seems to be less frequent in terms of typological distributions is the fact that such a pathway of diachronic change (overt coding of topicality and referentiality > core argument marking) might evolve into a third stage (noun classification).

What will be questioned in this paper is whether or not, in those languages which present such a portmanteau system, core argument flagging and gender marking devices are the concomitant result of the same grammaticalization chain. If not and - as seems to be suggested by preliminary research data - they are diachronically related to each other, we should wonder about the sort of conventionalized implicatures which link the two grammatical domains (argument flagging and classification) as well as the nature of the evolutionary relationship which leads one value to the other. This might shed new light on the understanding of the role of referentiality and noun classification in argument realization as well as in the construal of event participants.

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Articles and genitive markers
 25.02.2010, 09.30–10.00 Uhr, Raum 1.308

A prototypical portmanteau morpheme is a morpheme that combines preposition and article, such as French *du*. The purpose of this paper is to highlight diachronic connections between two sets of grammatical markers which often happen to fuse together, namely genitive markers and definiteness markers.

The starting point of the discussion is the sort of co-occurrence constraint of article and genitive to be seen in English 's-genitives, which is cross-linguistically not uncommon. Similar constraints have been noted in the literature for languages as typologically and genetically diverse as e.g. Amharic, Modern Celtic languages, Hungarian, Terêna (Arawakan), Boumaa Fijian. The basis of this constraint has been traced in semantically rooted economic motivations, having to do with the anchoring function, and thus somehow inherent definiteness, of "possessors" (genitives), while its diachronic explanation has been linked to the chronological order genitive construction – definite article grammaticalisation (Haspelmath 1999). On the basis of a comparison of various languages where a single article constraint holds in Noun + Genitive constructions, and of a survey of various possible sources of genitive markers on the one hand and of determiners on the other, it may be shown that there are both genitive markers that stem from (the same sources as) articles -usually so-called determinative pronouns- and articles stemming from genitive markers - particularly pronominal genitive affixes, mainly used as co-reference indexes. These sources thus may give rise to portmanteau morphemes, since the grammaticalised markers develop a twofold grammatical function (dependency and definiteness and/or other nominal features such as gender or animacy), which, although sometimes stemming from the semantic load of its lexical source, cumulates what may not be regularly combined in one morpheme in the language. This has already been suggested to be the case for English -'s and for other similar genitive markers in Germanic languages (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2003: 668, 701). Thus it will be claimed that in the case of genitive morphemes what may be called a portmanteau morpheme, as it combines what is lexically not regularly combined in a particular language, may not necessarily be the result of morphological fusion of two different morphemes, as is the case for French *du* (which, by the way, is also a non-genitive determiner), but may also stem from reanalysis and grammaticalisation of a single morpheme into a new one.

Finally, I speculate that there may be a limit to the multi-functionality of genitive-definiteness markers, namely that Noun Phrase-initial single determiners in genitive constructions may not simultaneously mark definiteness, the genitive construction as such (either head- or dependent-marking) and agree in some grammatical feature (gender, number) with the following noun.

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