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Kim, Yeong-Joon. 2013. An optimality theoretic analysis on the word-formation of lexical blends. *Studies in Phonetics, Phonology and Morphology* 19.3. 365-393. In this paper, I want to show an aspect of grammaticality with regard to word-formation of lexical blends. There are a few advanced researches which used constraint-based theories to find out the peculiar characters of lexical blends. The researches, however, are to some extent restricted to researcher's own cases and did not propose universality in the blend-formation process. I would like to suggest some generalized constraints related to lexical blends formation, mainly based on Korean blends corpus and some cases from Japanese. These generalizations show an important role of overlapping and faithfulness constraints in the process of word-formation of lexical blends. (Seoul National University)

Keywords: blend, word-formation, Korean, Japanese, correspondence theory, overlapping, output-output correspondence

1.

(word-formation) ,

가 , 가
(blending) (compounding) , (back-formation),

(acronym) (clipping),
2010: 40). (Haspelmath and Sims

가
Berman (1989) . Algeo (1977), Bauer (1983, 1988),
Kubonozo (1990)

(semantic head)가
Gries (2004)

(Bat-El 1996, Piñeros 2004, Hong 2005, Ahn 2012, Kang 2013).

가 .
 Bat-El (1996) 가 Bauer (1983, 1988) Berman (1989)
 Piñeros (2004) 가 Kubonozo (1990) 가 .
 Bat-El (1996) , .
 (Portmanteau)
 가 , 가 .¹ Bat-El
 (1996) Hong (2005)
 가 , (1996), (2009)
 Ahn (2012)
 가 . Ahn (2012) ,
 가 가 , Kang (2013)
 (2011)
 , 가 Bauer (1983, 1988), Kubonozo (1990), Bat-El
 (1996), Ahn (2012), Kang (2013)
 가
 . 2 . 3 가
 . 4
 가 , 5

¹ Piñeros(2004) Algeo(1977) . Algeo
 (1977: 48-58) ,
 , *Chicagorilla* (*Chicago* + *gorilla*)
 (syntagmatic) 가 .
 가 (telescope)
 , (associative) , (portmanteau)
 . *bonk* (*bump* + *conk*)
 . Piñeros(2004)

Grammar) , (Harmonic
 ,
 , Ahn (2012)
가
Ahn (2012) 가
 , Piñeros (2004)가
가
(Ahn 2012: 36). Ahn (2012)
(HD)
가 14%
(exocentric)
가

1. (cf. Ahn 2011: 11)

	()	
a. (exocentric)	61 (14%)	(+) (+ 가)
b. (endocentric)	375 (86%)	(+) (+)

, Ahn (2012)

(1) [tonet^hicin] (Ahn 2012: 49)

to.ne.i.sjΛn + ne.t ^h i.cin	MAX-σ(HD)/ DEP-σ(HD)	MAX-seg	
⊕ a. to ^h t ^h icin		n,e,i,s,j,Λ,n	n,e
b. tonet ^h icin	σ!	i,s,j,Λ,n	

Ahn (2012)
(1b)가 (1a)
, Ahn (2012)
가 (weighted constraints) 가
Ahn (2012)

- 2.3
- 가 가 가 ,
- .
- 가
- Ahn (2012) 2.1 가
- , 가
- (2004) Ahn (2012) Bat-El (1996), Piñeros
- 가 ,
- .
- 2.3.1
- 2.2 Ahn (2012)
- 가, 가 .
- 가
- (compound)
- 가 (Kubonozo 1990, Piñeros 2004).
- 가
- . Bat-El (1996)
- 가
- 가
- Kubonozo (1990), Piñeros (2004), Ahn (2012)
- (endocentric)
- Piñeros (2004)
- 가
- 가 ,
- Piñeros (2004) 가 (truncation)
- 2
- , (SW₁, HD) (SW₂)
- .
- Bat-El (1996)
- .
- Ahn (2012) , Bat-El (1996)
- ,

Piñeros (2004)

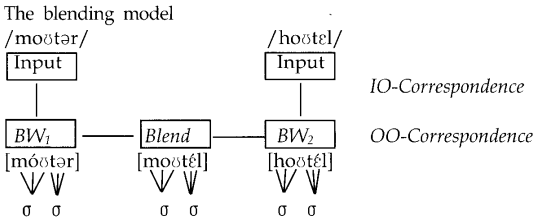
Ahn (2012)

Ahn (2012)

Ahn (2012)

Hong (2005)

가



1. (Hong 2005)

Hong (2005)

(OO-Correspondences)

Hong (2005)

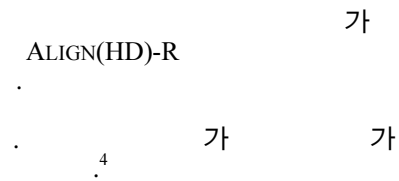
Hong (2005)

Hong (2005) , 가 OO-

가 IO- OO-

가

ALIGN(HD)-R



2.3.2 (Correspondence)

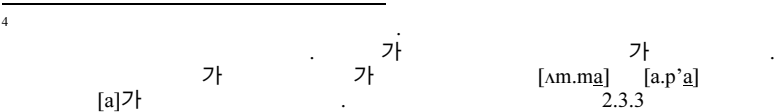
Bat-El (1996) MAXIMALITY
가 DEPENDENCY

- (5) MAXIMALITY/DEPENDENCY Constraints (Bat-El 1996: 294)
- a. σ-MAX:
 - b. σ-DEP:

가 (5), Piñeros (2004)가
Bat-El (1996) McCarthy and Prince (1995)가
(Piñeros 2004: 253).가 1
1 2 1가

σσσ, σσσσ		σMAX	σDEP
a.	σ σ σ E1		* final syllable in B lacks a correspondent in E1
	σ σ σ [σ] B		
	σ σ σ σ E2		
b.	σ σ σ E1	*! final syllable in E2 lacks a correspondent in B	
	σ σ σ B		
	σ σ σ [σ] E2		
c.	σ σ σ E1		**! final syllable in B lacks correspondents in E1 and E2; penultimate syllable in B lacks a correspondent in E1
	σ σ σ [σ σ] B		
	σ σ σ σ E2		

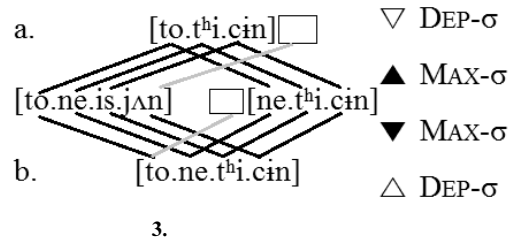
2. (Bat-El 1996)



Bat-El (1996: 295)

Bat-El (1996)

Bat-El (1996)



Hong (2005)

(OO-Correspondence)

$[tot^hi cin](BL_1)$
 $[toneisj\Delta n](SW_1),$

$[tonet^hi cin](BL_2)$
 $[net^hi cin](SW_2)$

3

가

SW_1
 MAX- σ

BL_1

가

(maximization)

SW_2

DEP- σ

가

3 가 MAX- σ DEP- σ
 $\sigma(SW_2-BL),$ DEP- σ (BL- SW_1),

4

MAX- σ (SW₁-BL), MAX-
 DEP- σ (BL- SW_2) 가

Bat-El (1996)

가

Bat-El (1996)

Ahn (2012)

가

Ahn (2012) Piñeros (2004)
 (Sem-HD)가

(Ahn 2012: 42).

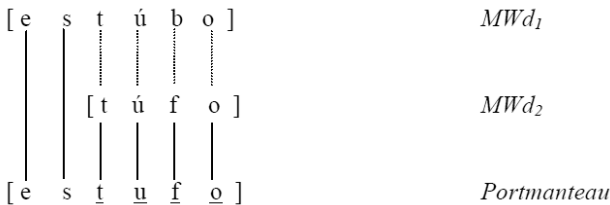
가

(6) Constraints for Maximization of segments (cf. Ahn 2012: 42)
MAX-seg:

Ahn (2012) MAX/DEP(HD)-σ

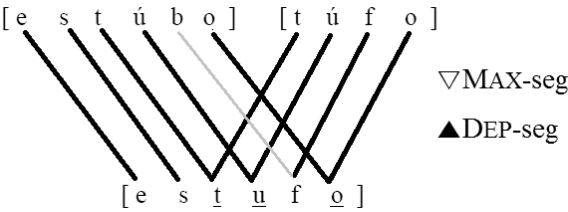
2:1 1:1 가',
Piñeros (2004)가 MAX/DEP(HD) ,
가

가



4. (Piñeros 2004)

Algeo (1977) Piñeros (2004)
(telescope) (portmanteau)
(HD) 가
Piñeros (2004)가 가
Piñeros (1999, 2004)가
가(superimposition)
Piñeros (2004)



5.

Piñeros (2004)
5 *estubo*(SW₁) [b] *tufo*(SW₂)
MAX-seg
[f] 가
MAX-seg(SW₁-BL), MAX-seg(SW₂-BL) Ahn (2012)
Piñeros (2004) Ahn (2012)
가 , 가
가
,
가
,
가
(faithfulness)
가

(7) MAXIMALITY and DEPENDENCY Constraints (revised)⁵

- a. MAX-σ:
- b. DEP-σ:
- c. MAX-seg:

(7a) (7b)

⁵ DEP-seg 가
MAX-seg
DEP-seg (overlapping) f
5 DEP-seg (BL-SW₁)
DEP-seg (BL-SW₂)
b ,

(7c) OT

(8) [kʰʌncʌpʌkʰiti] (Ahn 2012: 56)

kʰʌncʌpʌtʰipi +kʰiti	MAX-σ(HD)/ DEP-σ(HD)	MAX-seg
a. kʰʌncʌpʌkʰiti	σ!σ,σ	tʰ,i,p,i
⊗ b. kʰʌnti		c,ʌ,p,ʌ,tʰ,i,p,i kʰ,i

(9) [kʰʌncʌpʌkʰiti]

kʰʌncʌpʌtʰipi +kʰiti	MAX-σ	DEP-σ	MAX-seg
☞ a. kʰʌncʌpʌkʰiti		σ σ σ	tʰ,i,p,i
b. kʰʌnti	σ σ σ		c,ʌ,p,ʌ,tʰ,i!,p, i kʰ,i

(8) (8b) , (9)
(9a)

2.3.3 (Overlapping)

(overlapping)

(10) motel = mot(or) + (h)otel

motel (9) [oot]

가
Bat-El (1996)

(11) Designated Identical Segment Constraint (DISC) (Bat-El 1996: 292)

가

가 가 Bat-El (1996)
Piñeros (2004)가

가

(Piñeros 2004: 252).
(superimposition)

(12) DISC (revised)

가 .
가 가
.
, MAX/DEP-σ
가 .

(13) [tʰɛllʌnsʌ]

tʰɛl.lʌn.tʰi + a.na.un.sʌ	DISC	MAX-σ	DEP-σ
a. tʰɛl.lʌn.sʌ		σ	
b. tʰɛl.lʌ.un.sʌ	*!		σ

(13b) MAX/DEP-σ (13a)
가DISC
,
가 , 가 . DISC가
가

MORPHEMIC DISJOINTNESS (McCarthy and Prince 1995, Piñeros 1999, 2004, Hong 2005, Ahn 2012).

(14) Morphemic Disjointness (MORPHDIS)

DISC (14)
MORPHDIS , DISC
가
가 Piñeros (2004),

Ahn (2012) CONTIGUITY . IO-
OO-

(15) Contiguity Constraint (cf. Ahn 2012: 54)
OO-CONTIGUITY:

(14) (15) , . ,

가 . ,

가 가 .

2.3.4

6

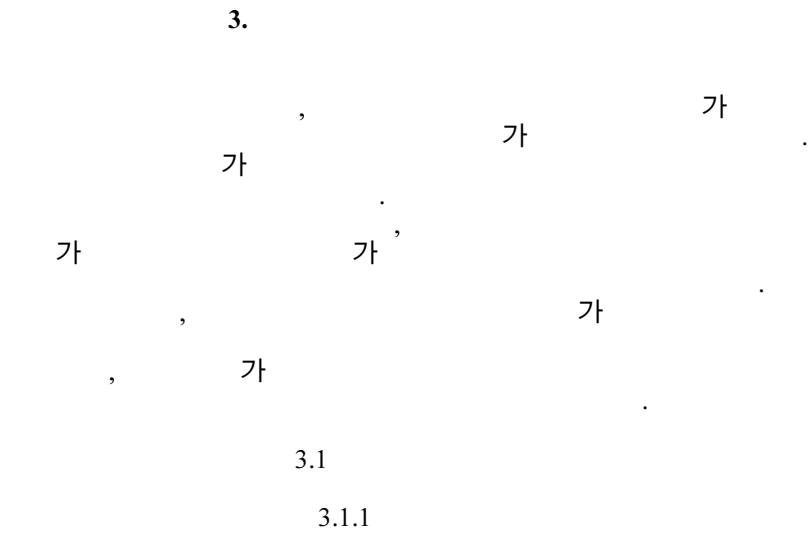
(16) ANCHOR-L/R, ALIGN (HD)-R ≧ DISC ≧ MAX-σ/DEP-σ ≧ MAX-seg ≧
MORPHDIS ≧ OO-CONTIGUITY

(17) [pallenc^hik^hin] (cf. Ahn 2012: 53)

pallent ^h ain + c ^h ik ^h in	ALIGN (HD)-R	DI SC	MAX -σ		DEP-σ	MAX-seg	
a. palk ^h in			σ σ			l,e,t ^h !,a,i,n	c ^h ,i
b. pallenc ^h ik ^h in					σ σ	t ^h ,a	
c. c ^h ik ^h in th ain	*!				σ σ	p,a,l,l,e	

Kang (2013) 가

. (17a) (17b) 가 (17a)가
가
(17b)가 .



Ahn (2012) 420

162 258

2. (Ahn 2012: 15)

Switch Point	Count	Examples
a. Syllable Boundary	247	o.cikʰʌl = o.(pʰe)la + (mju)cikʰʌl 'opera' 'musical'
b. Onset Split C/V(C)	6	jo.ko.ne.ci = jo.k(u.li.tʰi) + (ma.j)o.ne.ci 'yogurt' 'mayonnaise'
c. Others	5	cʰik.tʰoŋ.ljʌŋ = cʰikʰ(in) + (tɛ.)tʰoŋ.ljʌŋ 'chicken' 'president'

2 (a) , 가

(b) (c)

. Ahn (2012) (b) (a) ,

Kubonozo (1990) 가

(Ahn 2012:15).

가

가 .⁷

3.1.2

3.1.1 가 , 가

. 96 Ahn (2012) A
(2012) 가 , Ahn 3
가 , 14
2013 5 31
96 .

3.

Onset Spilt	+	(3.12%)	(96.88%)
	+	(14.58%)	(85.42%)
	+	(22.91%)	(77.08%)
	+	(37.5%)	(62.5%)
	+	(39.58%)	(22.91%) (37.5%)
	+	(62.5%)	(4.16%) (33.33%)
Others	+	(14.58%)	(20.83%) (64.58%)
	+	(25%)	(75%)
	+	(44.79%)	(55.2%)
	+	(59.37%)	(40.62%)
	+	(98.95%)	(1.04%)
	+	(22.34%)	(47.87%)
		(41.48%)	(58.51%)
	+	(26%)	(13%)
		(72.63%)	(27.36%)
	+가	(2.19%)	(80.21%)
		(6.59%)	(93.4%)

⁷ 가 , OO- (coda)
가 .

Ahn (2012)

,

,

(source word pairs)

Ahn (2012)

가

3.1.3

가

2

,

3.1.3.1 Onset Spilt Type

3

, Onset Split Type

가

,

·
·

(18) [pi.ca.tʰi](23%)/ [pi.ci.a.tʰi](77%)

pi.ci.ni.si + a.tʰi	MAX-σ	DEP-σ	MAX-seg
a. pi.ca.tʰi	σ	σ	i,n,i,s,i!
b. pi.ci.a.tʰi		σ σ	n,i,s,i

가

가

(18)

가

(19) [kʰo.pʰi.si.cok](37.5%)/ [kʰΛ.pʰi.si.cok] (62.5%)

kʰΛ.pʰi + o.pʰi.si.cok	MAX-σ	DEP-σ	MAX-seg	MORPH DIS	OO-CONTIG
a. kʰo.pʰi.si.cok		σ σ	Λ	pʰ,i	Λ!
b. kʰΛ.pʰi.si.cok		σ σ	o	pʰ,i	

2.3.3

, (19)

[kʰΛpʰi]

[opʰisicok]

[pʰ] [i]

OO-

CONTIGUITY

,

[kʰΛpʰi]가

MAX-seg (21b) (21a)가

3.2

가

가 (Piñeros 2004, Ahn 2012).

3.2.1

Piñeros (2004) (faithfulness) , 가 (Piñeros 2004: 227).

(22) IDENT (Feature): Featural Identity (Piñeros 2004: 228)

McCarthy and Prince (1995)

, Piñeros (2004)

(23) OT analysis of *pànsaklós* (Piñeros 2004: 37)

pánsa + sàntaklós	I-CONTIG (N-HD)	MAX (seg)N-HD	MAX (seg)HD	IDENT (feature)
a. <u>p</u> à <u>n</u> .sà.klós				[p s], [s t]
b. p <u>à</u> n. <u>t</u> a.klós	*!	s		
c. p <u>à</u> n.ta.klós		s!a		[p s]

(23) , Piñeros (2004)가 IDENT (feature) , 가

가 (22) (24)

(22) (24)가 가

, [spread glottis] 가 가

[spread glottis]

ID-SW-BL (feature) Ahn (2012)

t ^h ekwanto+ k ^h olian	DI SC	MAX -σ	DEP- σ	MAX-seg	MORP HDIS	ID-SW-BL (aspiration)
a. t ^h ek ^h olian	*!		σ σ	k,w,a,n,t,o		
☞ b. t ^h ek ^h olian			σ σ	w,a,n,t,o	k	*
c. t ^h elian	*!			k,w,a,n,t,o k ^h ,o		

DISC (25b)가

(27) UNIQUENESS (Hong 2005: 569)

(28) ANCHOR-L/R, ALIGN (HD)-R, UNIQUENESS \gg DISC \gg MAX- σ /DEP- σ
 \gg MAX-seg \gg MORPHDIS \gg OO-CONTIGUITY, ID-SW-BL (feature)

가

4.

Kubonozo (1990) (Ahn 2012), (Piñeros 2004),
(Bat-El 1996), (Ralli and Xydopoulos 2012) ,
가 가 가

, Kubonozo (1990, 2002)
가

4.1

Kubonozo (1990, 2002)
가

- (29) (Kubonozo 2002: 41-42)
- a. *ma.ma.gon* = *ma.ma* ‘mom’ + *do.ra.gon* ‘a dragon’
 - b. *hi.to.sa.i* = *hi.to.tsu* ‘one’ + *is.sa.i* ‘one age’
 - c. *go.zi.ra* = *go.ri.ra* ‘a gorilla’ + *ku.zi.ra* ‘a whale’

(29a) , 가

(30) [ma.ma.gon]

ma.ma + do.ra.gon	MAX-seg	MORPHDIS	OO-CONTIG
a. ma.ma.gon	d,o,r	a	
b. ma.ra.gon	m d,o	a	m!

(29b) 가

가

, (mora)가 .

(31) [hi.to.sa.i]

<i>hi.to.tsu + is.sa.i</i>	DISC	MAX-σ		DEP-σ		MAX-seg		MORPHDIS
a. hi.to.sa.i	*!			σ	σ	ts,u	s	
b. hi.sa.i	*!					t,o,ts,u	i,s	
⊕ c. h̥is.sa.i						t,o,ts,u		i

(31c) 가
MAX/DEP 가 ,
가
(.)
(/)

(32) [hi.to.sa.i]

<i>hi/to/tsu + i/s/sa/i</i>	DISC	MAX-σ		DEP-σ		MAX-seg	
☞ a. h̥i/to/sa/i				μ		ts,u	s
b. h̥i/sa/i			μ			t,o,ts,u!	i,s
c. h̥i/s/sa/i				μ		t,o,ts,u!	

. Ahn (2012)

(33) MAXIMALITY and DEPENDENCY CONSTRAINTS (for Japanese Blends)

a. MAX-μ:

b. DEP-μ:

, (29c)

(34) [go.zi.ra]

<i>go/ri/ra</i> + <i>ku/zi/ra</i> /	DI SC	MAX -μ	DEP -μ	MAX-seg		MORP HDis	OO- CONTIG
a. <i>go/zi/ra</i>				r	k,u	i,r,a	
b. <i>go/ri/ra</i>					k,u,z	i,r,a	
c. <i>ku/zi/ra</i>				g,o,r		i,r,a	

(34)

(34b)

(34c)

가

가

UNIQUENESS

가

(34a)

(35) [go.zi.ra]

<i>go/ri/ra</i> + <i>ku/zi/ra</i> +	UNIQU- ENESS	DI SC	MAX -μ	DEP- μ	MAX-seg		MORPH DIS
a. <i>go/zi/ra</i>					r	k,u	i,r,a
b. <i>go/ri/ra</i>	*!					k,u,z	i,r,a
c. <i>ku/zi/ra</i>	*!				g,o,r		i,r,a

UNIQUENESS

(35a)

4.2

가

가

, 가

가

가

DISC

MAX- σ /DEP- σ

MAX-seg

DISC

MAX- σ /DEP- σ

MAX-seg가

가

Hayes and Londe (2006) , ,
 (stochastically) 가 .
 , MAX- μ 가 .

5.

(semantic
 head) . 가
 ,
 , 가
 McCarthy and Prince (1995)가
 ,
 .
 Ahn (2012) ,
 Kang (2013)
 .
 ,
 ,
 ,
 ,
 ,
 가 .
 , 가
 , DISC
 가 가 가 가
 , 가
 가 DISC
 ALIGN (HD)-R 가 .

가 DEP-σ
가 가 가 436
가 24 5.5% (+
(+) 가 (+
) 가)
가

A.

1. + =(/)□
2. + =(/)□
3. + =(/ /)□
4. + =(/)□
5. + =(/)□
6. + =(/)□
7. + =(/ / /)□
8. + =(/ /)□
9. + =(/ / /)□
10. + + =(/)□
11. + + =(/ /)□
12. + =()□
13. + =()□

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26.4. 723-748.
. 1967. 34, 123-135.
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