

## Blends and syllabic structure: A four-fold comparison

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To Ekkehard König  
for his first 60 years #

### 1. Introduction \*

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# This paper is dedicated to Ekkehard König. I was very glad to accept the promoters' invitation (soliciting a number of scholars to dedicate a paper to Ekkehard, whatever the publication site), not only out of my highest consideration for this wonderful colleague, but also out of my utter dislike for normal Festschriften. I find this way of honoring worthy colleagues much less intrusive, and thus much preferable.

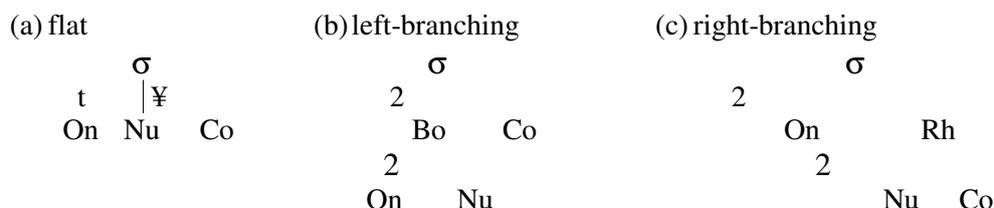
\* I am very grateful to the editors of this volume who allowed me to substitute the original paper read at the meeting with the present work. Special thanks are due to Ernest Scatton, who sent me the copies of a number of articles not easily accessible to me.

It is useful to spell out at the outset the NOTATIONAL CONVENTIONS that will be used throughout this paper. The signs <...> delimit the stretch of sounds that are left out when two words are fused together in blendings or acronyms, except that the underlined identical sequences within them indicate the overlap (if there is one; e.g. *californicate*, *Cali<fornia+for>nicate*). When the overlap exists, however, it may sometimes be useful to select just one of the possible solutions; in this case, no underlining is used, but the integers [1] or [2] within square brackets indicate the intended solution, i.e. whether the switching-point is located before or after the overlap (e.g. [1] *Cali<fornia+>fornicate*, [2] *Califor<nia+for>nicate*). Note further that, when no alternative specification is added, all examples should be intended as deriving from the English corpus.

The following ABBREVIATIONS will be used:

Bo	=	Body
Co	=	Coda
Nu	=	Nucleus
On	=	Onset
On*, Co*	=	fragment of an Onset or Coda
Rh	=	Rhyme
Sy	=	Syllable
Sy/Rh	=	onsetless Syllable (in such cases, the whole Syllable coincides with the Rhyme)
S <sup>c</sup>	=	Closed Syllable
BL-ERR	=	Blending Error
Br-P	=	Break Point (in SYL-ACRs)
Left-BR	=	Left Branching
LEX-BL	=	Lexical Blend
Right-BR	=	Right Branching
SYL-ACR	=	Syllabic Acronym
Sw-P	=	Switching Point (in LEX-BLs or BL-ERRs)
Sw-P <sub>1</sub> , Sw-P <sub>2</sub>	=	First or Second Switching Point
W <sub>1</sub> , W <sub>2</sub>	=	First or Second source Word (in LEX-BLs or BL-ERRs).

The internal geometry of the syllable is regarded by many phonologists as an important parameter of typological variation in natural languages. Syllables may present a ‘flat structure’ - where the terminal nodes Onset, Nucleus and Coda (henceforth On, Nu, Co) are directly dominated by the syllable node ( $\sigma$ ) - or they may be arranged hierarchically. If so, they may further differ in orientation: a syllable is said to be ‘right-branching’ (Right-BR) if Nu and Co are dominated by the Rhyme (Rh), and ‘left-branching’ (Left-BR) if On and Nu are dominated by the Body (Bo):



Although most scholars support, on purely theoretical grounds, just one among these options (most often Right-BR, but not infrequently flat structure), there is a substantial body of psycholinguistic evidence suggesting that variation in this domain is a concretely observable datum. For a review of the matter, and the essential bibliographical references, see Bertinetto (to appear-a). Suffice it to say that there is strong and converging evidence that English exhibits Right-BR, Japanese and Korean Left-BR, while Italian and Spanish (see also Bertinetto et al. 1999) are somewhere in between, with but a very weak orientation towards Right-BR.

A possible source of evidence concerning the internal organization of the syllable is offered by blends, to be understood both as a word formation device and as a type of spontaneous speech error. To distinguish between these two interpretations, I shall speak here of lexical blends (LEX-BL)<sup>1</sup> and blending errors (BL-ERR). The suggestion to look in this direction is to be found, for instance, in Kubozono (1989), where it is claimed that Japanese blends tend to recombine two words in such a way that the first ends in a Bo and the second begins with a Co,<sup>2</sup> while English allegedly tends to present ‘On+Rh’ recombinations (cf. *smog* , *sm<oke+f>og*). Thus, Japanese LEX-BLs favour Left-BR, while English ones support Right-BR. The aim of this paper is to collect data from four European languages, two Germanic (English and German) and two Romance (French and Italian), in order to gather evidence on this issue.

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<sup>1</sup> Excepting the English grammatical tradition, where the terminology seems to be fairly well agreed upon (but see Algeo 1977, who suggests a further distinction between ‘portmanteaus’ and ‘telescopes’), this type of word formation is assigned different labels by different authors. In French, the most common ones are ‘mots-valise’ and ‘mots porte-manteau’ (although the second term is also used for words such as *du*, where the two meaning components - singular and masculine - may not be attached to specific morphs, i.e. independent stretches of phonemes). For a useful discussion, see Grésillon (1984) and Cannon (1986). In Italian, the old-fashioned term “parola-macedonia” is currently replaced by “incrocio” or (perhaps more appropriately) “fusione”.

<sup>2</sup> To be more exact, in Japanese the relevant subsyllabic unit is the mora; however, when closed syllables are involved, things may also be described in that way. A relevant example of Japanese LEX-BL is *retaa* + *fakkusu* ‘letter + facsimile’ --> *retakkusu* ‘a new mail system’. As to BL-ERRs, consider *tomare* ‘stop-Imperative’ / *sutoppu* ‘stop’ --> *tomappu*.

LEX-BLs are a fairly old phenomenon, known at least since the times of Classical Greek; see *ερμηρακλης* (*ερμης+Ηρακλης*) ‘a bust of Herakles’, *Ερμαφροδιτος* (*Ερμης+Αφροδιτη*) ‘Hermaphrodite’ (believed to be an offspring of Hermes and Aphrodite). However, not all languages are equally prone to accepting this process of word formation: Spanish, for instance, exhibits virtually no examples (I have not been able to find a single one, despite consulting a few Spanish colleagues).<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, English, German and French exploit fairly often this device, which is also found to a lesser extent in Italian. LEX-BLs are particularly frequent in specific domains, like humour, advertising, and denomination of enterprises or new products (particularly those involving a mixture of two substances or objects or individuals). For lack of space, I refer the reader to the works of Bryant (1974), Algeo (1977), Devereux (1984), Cannon (1986), Thornton (1993), Allen (1993), Lehrer (1996), Bat-El (1996), Fradin (1997; 1999), who provide various attempts towards a classification (on formal and/or semantic grounds) and rich lists of examples.<sup>4</sup>

The interest in LEX-BLs for the purpose of syllabification studies is straightforward. Although the process of their creation may not be directly construed as an application of syllabic algorithms, it is highly conceivable that it reflects, at least in part, the overall prosodic structure of any given language. No doubt, among these formations there are several examples which violate syllabic naturalness, in the sense that one or both words are cut at unexpected points. Moreover, the splinters’ extraction strategy must be constrained by some kind of superordinate principle, for the output of the blending process must obviously converge on a pronounceable form. Consequently, the extraction strategy cannot simply be guided by a purely syllabic strategy. Nevertheless, it may reasonably be assumed that the most natural syllabic constituents (obviously, with respect to the language considered) will emerge as the statistically preferred switching-points (Sw-P). Thus, the assessment of reliable differences between the prominent Sw-Ps of different languages may be regarded as an indication of a significant structural difference in syllabic organization.<sup>5</sup> Note further that the fact

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3 Nevertheless, I am pretty convinced that some blends should also exist in Spanish, although they must be rarely used. The frequency factor is of course a relevant matter. I suspect that the number of attested forms is related to frequency, although I have no data (except my own intuition) to prove this.

4 It goes beyond the scope of the present paper to review all these details. Among the aspects that emerge most prominently, the following tendencies of LEX-BLs deserve special consideration, namely the tendency: (a) to be organized in such a way that the shorter and more frequent word becomes the first member of the blend (Kelly); (b) to have no more syllables than the longer of the two source words (Cannon); (c) to retain the same stress that occurs on one of the source words (Cannon); (d) to have not less than two syllables, and at least one deriving from each source word (Bat-El); (e) finally, the tendency of replaced consonants of the first splinter to be substituted by consonants that are very similar in terms of consonantal strength (Kelly).  
Bat-El points out that in Hebrew one may occasionally find alternative outputs for the same pair of source words, even in the sense that their sequence may be reversed. However, this is clearly an exception.

5 There is also a small portion of LEX-BLs that are based on interpolation rather than concatenation, such as Gm. *dialügisch* (*dialogisch+Lüge*). However, since they do not easily lend themselves to an analysis in terms of syllabic constituents, they will be disregarded here. Similarly, I ignore so-called “combining forms” (Bat-El), such as *workaholic* (*work+alcoholic*), which differ from true LEX-BLs on two counts: first, they present an inserted element (here <a>) that does not belong to any of the source words; second, they preserve the first word intact.

that LEX-BL formation procedures are not explicitly guided by the syllabification algorithms active in the given language lends further support to this claim, inasmuch as unattended goals, imposed by hidden biases, show evidence of compelling structural constraints. This is even more so with BL-ERRs, for these are totally uncontrolled processes. The observable contrasts between different languages may thus be thought to reflect behavioural forces governed by diverging prosodic patterns.

## 2. Blend features and language corpora

Despite their apparently simple structure, LEX-BLs present a number of properties that appear to be unevenly distributed among languages. Let us call Word<sub>1</sub> and Word<sub>2</sub> (W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>) the two elements that are in most cases involved in LEX-BL's formation.<sup>6</sup>

The first relevant property is that LEX-BLs may have an 'overlap'. To illustrate this, consider *californicate* (*Cali*<fornia+for>*nicate*), where the sequence /for/ belongs to both words (see again the initial note for the notational conventions adopted). Compare this with *brunch* (*br*<eakfast+l>*unch*), where no overlap is to be observed. The presence of overlaps in LEX-BLs, as well as the average length of the overlap, is a language-dependent feature, as may be gathered from table 1. In fact, there is a correlation between these two parameters, with German in the highest rank, followed by French, English and Italian.<sup>7</sup> Note that when an overlap exists, there is more than one Sw-P; in fact, their theoretical number equals  $n+1$ , where  $n$  stands for the number of overlapping phonemes. For instance, in *californicate* there are four conceivable Sw-P. However, in the present analysis it was decided to consider only the leftmost and rightmost Sw-P, for the inclusion of any internal Sw-P would have unduly increased the number of syllabically inappropriate divisions.

Another relevant feature is the full preservation of W<sub>2</sub>. Compare *californicate*, where W<sub>2</sub> is entirely preserved (at Sw-P<sub>1</sub>), with *varactor* (*var*<ying+re>*actor*), where only the final part of W<sub>2</sub> is preserved. Table 1 shows that this feature is also language-dependent. Here the ranking presents Italian first, followed by German, French and English.

A third feature concerns the possible existence of a shared lexical element. This is a very special case of overlap. Consider Gm. *Apfelkernreaktor* (*Apfel*<kern+Kern>*reaktor*), where *Kern* belongs to both compounds.<sup>8</sup> It is no wonder that the German corpus is the only one exhibiting this property, given the large number of compounds to be found in this language. Note, however, that this could in

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<sup>6</sup> There is a tiny share of examples (one in the German corpus, two in the Italian corpus) based on more than two words, as in Gm. *Schaumweingeistreich* (*Schaum*wein+Weingeist+geistreich). In these cases, both the transition from W<sub>1</sub> to W<sub>2</sub> and that from W<sub>2</sub> to W<sub>3</sub> are separately considered in the analysis.

<sup>7</sup> In the English corpus collected by Pound in 1914, the percentage of overlapping LEX-BLs was 59.5 % (Berg 1998).

<sup>8</sup> Among the 70 such examples in the German corpus, 8 belong to an intermediate type, in the sense that the shared element is an independent morpheme in both W<sub>1</sub> and W<sub>2</sub>, although it is not the same lexical element altogether; cf. *Diebstahlindustrie* (*Diebstahl*+*Stahlindustrie*).

principle have emerged in our other corpora.<sup>9</sup> Thus, what is at stake here is not simply a structural property of the German lexicon, but more specifically a structural tendency of German LEX-BLs as such. This is even more so with the other two properties considered (overlap and  $W_2$ -preservation), for in principle all LEX-BLs, regardless of the language, could exhibit these features. Apparently, different linguistic communities operate according to idiosyncratic patterns. It is therefore important to realize that over and above the prosodic constraints whose effects are the specific goal of the present inquiry, LEX-BLs are also modelled according to the partly fortuitous morphological choices developed in each linguistic community.

It should be noted that the analysis proposed here is based on the phonemic, rather than graphemic shape of LEX-BLs. For instance, in Fr. *aberrifique* (*abe<rrant+horrr>ifique*) the overlap's length is one phoneme (/r/), although it consists of two graphemes (<rr>), due to the absence of geminates in French. This entails that all (humorous) purely graphic LEX-BLs, easily available in French but also to be found in English or German, like Fr. *animots* (*animaux+mots*) or *crucifixion* (*crucifixion+fiction*), are ignored in this analysis. In the same vein, identical orthographic symbols corresponding to different phonemes are treated as different elements (e.g. the <o> of *smoke* and *fog* do not constitute an overlap in *smog*).

The corpora used for the present research have been collected in different ways. I collected the Italian corpora myself, exploiting also the suggestions found in Thornton (1993). The French corpus was created thanks to Bernard Fradin, who kindly provided me with his own list, and to Grésillon (1984), who also provided most of the German examples, enriched with a few suggestions by Livio Gaeta (my thanks to him). Finally, I gathered the English corpus myself after consulting a number of sources (Lehrer 1996, Bryant 1974, Algeo 1977). In contrast with the previous cases, where I made use of all the available examples, the English documentation was so abundant that a selection of the materials was made. Judging from the number of examples, English seems to be the language that makes the largest use of this word formation procedure, while Italian definitely comes last in my sample. Note that the number of the Italian LEX-BLs could have been artificially increased by adapting examples present in the other corpora (cf. *californicare*, built after *californicate*). However, although many examples may easily be transferred from one language to another, and some indeed are to be found in more than one corpus (like Fr. *phallucination* (*phallus+hallucination*), listed also in the German corpus as *Phalluzination*), I decided to base my corpora only on the effectively documented, rather than potentially conceivable material. Any mechanical transfer of materials might in fact alter the results in a much less than innocent way.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> To be fair, there is one example of this sort in the English corpus, i.e. *bonefisherman* (*bonefish+fisherman*), which is however slightly different from the German examples, in that *fish* and *fisher*, although etimologically related, are not the same word.

<sup>10</sup> For that matter, it is also obvious that any native speaker could indefinitely increase the number of LEX-BLs, but this would go beyond the purpose of the present study.

Some of the words are fairly well known, like *smog*, *brunch*, *bit* (*b*<*i*nary+dig>*it*), *chunnel* (*ch*<*annel*+<*t*>*unnel*), *medicare* (*medi*<*c*al+<*c*>*are*), *motel* (*m*<*o*tor+<*h*o>*tel*), *quasar* (*quas*<*i*+stell>*ar*), *pulsar* (*puls*<*e*+quas>*ar*), *reaganomics* (*Reaga*<*n*+econ>*omics*), *stagflation* (*stag*<nation+in>*flation*), *telethon* (*tele*<vision+mara>*thon*). However, and understandably, many of them are much rarer, and sometimes not easily interpretable. Compare the relatively transparent ones, such as *autopia* (*au*<*t*o+<*u*t>*opia*), *beefalo* (*bee*<*f*+buff>*alo*), *beermare* (*beer*<+night>*mare*), *boatel* (*b*<*o*at+<*h*o>*el*), *chatire* (*cha*<*t*+sat>*ire*), *depicture* (*de*<*p*ict+<*p*ic>*ture*), *hurricoon* (*hurric*<ane+typh>*oon*), *liger* (*l*<*i*on+<*t*i>*ger*), *sexploiter* (*s*<*e*x+<*e*x>*ploiter*), *slimnastic* (*sl*<*i*m+<*g*ym>*nastic*), with the much more obscure *aniseed* (*ani*<*s*e+<*s*>*eed*), *apodization* (*ap*<erture+peri>*odization*), *archology* (*ar*<*ch*itecture+ec>*ology*), *ausform* (*aus*<tenic+de>*form*), *brontic* (*bron*<chitis+asma>*tic*) and the like. Needless to say, some of these creations are fairly ephemeral. Nevertheless, to the extent that they are documented, they all contribute to illustrate the range of recombination possibilities that are relevant for our purposes.

Table 1. Corpora description.

	<i>English</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Italian</i>
corpus dimension	250	243	377	82
with overlap	113 (45.2 %)	217 (89.3 %)	299 (79.3 %)	20 (24.4 %)
overlap's length	1.57	3.04	2.21	1.1
W <sub>2</sub> -preservation	62 (24.8 %)	188 (77.4 %)	248 (65.8 %)	70 (85.4 %)
shared lexeme	1 (0.4 %)	70 (28.8 %)	-	-

### 3. Syllabification problems and recombination types

A very delicate problem is involved in the notion of ambisyllabicity, which is often invoked in the syllabification of Germanic languages. Actually, this claim has also been put forth for Italian as far as geminates - the prototypical ambisyllabic segments - are concerned, but the real issue is the possible ambisyllabicity of single intervocalic consonants. It goes without saying that admitting this possibility changes the picture quite substantially. Consider *electrofile* (*electro*<nic+>*file*), where the Sw-P gives rise to 'Bo+Sy' if /n/ in W<sub>1</sub> is regarded as ambisyllabic, and to 'Sy+Sy' otherwise.<sup>11</sup> For this reason,

<sup>11</sup> Note that in these cases the unit following the Bo is Sy rather than Co, since the Co would still be part of W<sub>1</sub>, while obviously, after the Sw-P, we must have segments belonging to W<sub>2</sub>. To clarify, consider the following analysis of *femikini* (*feminine*+*bikini*), where C<sub>amb</sub> stands for an ambisyllabic consonant before the LEX-BL recombination process yielding the sequence 'Bo+Sy':

in tables 3-6 the share of ambisyllabic solutions will be explicitly indicated. Note that in most cases ambisyllabicity increases the number of Bo units at the expense of Sy units, but it can also increase the number of closed syllables (S<sup>C</sup>) at the expense of On units, as in *cattalo* (*catt<le+buff>alo*, with ‘S<sup>C</sup>+Rh’ instead of ‘On+Rh’). These two solutions are indicated in the tables as ‘ambis. (Bo)’ and ‘ambis. (S<sup>C</sup>)’, respectively.

In the present analysis, ambisyllabicity in English is essentially understood as defined in Rubach (1996), with the exception that I do not count as ambisyllabic intervocalic consonants that follow a long vowel or a diphthong. I am perfectly aware that Rubach’s approach is not the only possible view of the problem, but to my knowledge this is the most detailed proposal. On the other hand, the modification introduced in his approach makes things more directly comparable to German, where ambisyllabic consonants cannot follow tense vowels (Wiese 1996:36).<sup>12</sup> Thus, in the treatment adopted here ambisyllabicity is admitted in /VCV/ sequences where only the first but not the second vowel may be stressed, and both vowels are lax.

Another thorny problem is the treatment of glides. These segments may behave differently, depending on whether they occur before or after the nucleus. Specifically, they may be associated with the Nu itself, instead of being allocated in the On or the Co, and things vary from one language to another. Since in this case the disagreement among the various theories and scholars is very large, the conservative solution was adopted to treat all glides - regardless of the language - as belonging to either the On or the Co. This increases the comparability between the four corpora at the expense of phonological faithfulness. However, as the bottom parts of tables 3 to 6 show, the number of such cases is so small, that no substantial pollution of the results is to be feared.

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[i]	W <sub>1</sub>	∅	W <sub>1</sub>		W <sub>2</sub>
	Bo Co On Rh		Bo	Sw-P	On Rh
	/ \ \ / /		/ \		
	C V C <sub>amb</sub> V		C V		C V
	fe m i n i ne		fe m i	<nine+bi>	k i ni

A further qualification is in order. Obviously, any Sy unit begins with an On, so the reader might wonder why the latter option is not chosen whenever a new syllable begins. The reason is that when the Sw-P precedes an On, it necessarily precedes the whole syllable. This is why the above recombination is labelled ‘Bo+Sy’ rather than ‘Bo+On’. On the other hand, when the Sw-P occurs after an On, the latter unit comes to the foreground, for it is separated from the rest of the syllable to which it belongs (see directly below for an example).

Note that ambisyllabic segments may also be part of an overlap. When this occurs, the ambisyllabic segment is analysed differently at the two Sw-Ps. For instance, while Sw-P<sub>1</sub> of *computape* (with ambisyllabic /t/) is predictably assigned to the ‘Bo+Sy’ type ([1] *compu<ter+>tape*), Sw-P<sub>2</sub> gives rise to an ‘On+Rh’ recombination ([2] *comput<er+t>ape*). Indeed, when the boundary is located after /t/, it is ipso facto placed after the second skeleton unit connected with the ambisyllabic segment of W<sub>1</sub>, i.e. the segment that - independently of ambisyllabicity - makes up the On of the next syllable (see [i] above).

In principle, there could also be cases where both Sw-Ps involve ambisyllabic segments. However, no such example occurred in my corpus.

12 For German, see also Ramers (1992), Vennemann (1994), Höhle & Schriefers (1995) and Ronneberger-Sibold (to appear). Other scholars however, like Vater (1992; 1998), do not allow for ambisyllabicity in this language.

The ambisyllabicity of English intervocalic consonants has also been repeatedly observed in psycholinguistic experiments; see for instance Ferrand et al. (1997) and Pitt et al. (1998).

French presents a peculiar problem in connection with the so-called “*e muet*”. Depending on whether such segments are or are not pronounced, syllabification may drastically change. For the sake of the present analysis, it was decided that all final syllables ending with a consonant followed by a graphemic <e> were considered closed, according to the standard solution, although they can postlexically develop a schwa.<sup>13</sup>

Another potential problem is the syllabification of /sC/ clusters. Although the preferred division is such that /s/ is in the Co of the preceding syllable, some languages may present alternative solutions. In particular, there are reasons to hypothesize that the syllabification of these clusters is undecidable in Italian (Bertinetto, to appear-b) and perhaps German (Berg et al., submitted). However, since undecidability of /sC/ clusters does not exclude the heterosyllabic treatment of /s/, it was decided that this solution would be adopted in order to increase the comparability among the four languages examined.<sup>14</sup>

As to the recombination possibilities, the typology is fairly rich. Some types are structure-preserving, in the sense that the two syllabic components, on both sides of the Sw-P, coincide with the components already present in the input. Other types of recombination are structure-changing. They differ from the former ones in that, although the components singled out exist in the source words, their juxtaposition inevitably brings about a change in the syllabic structure of the output. See for instance Gm. *begleit*<en+belei>*digen*, illustrating the ‘On+Sy’ type, where W<sub>1</sub> presents (at the Sw-P) the sequence ‘On+Rh’ and W<sub>2</sub> the sequence ‘Sy+Sy’. Thus, /t/ shifts from the position of On in the input to being part of a Co in the output; indeed, after recombination, the output exhibits the sequence ‘S<sup>c</sup>+Sy’ (in other words, the sequence *-gleit-* undergoes the transformation: Sy+On → S<sup>c</sup>).<sup>15</sup> Some of the structure-changing types are quite marginal also in terms of number of occurrences, and some conceivable ones do not even occur in my sample. Table 2 provides a list of the most prominent types. Note that, when an overlap exists, the interpretation provided in the table refers exclusively to the indicated Sw-P location.

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13 The only exceptions were *canaille* and *aiguille* (cf. *canail*<e+an>*archie*), which may be regarded as ending with a non-deletable schwa. On the other hand, in my corpus there were no internal “*e muets*” to be considered. All words containing any such possible candidate at the relevant Sw-P were like *coterie*, i.e. words that do not allow for the insertion of a schwa (cf. *abricoterie* [2] *abricots*<+co>*teries*).

14 At any rate, syllables closed by /s/ occurred only twice in the Italian corpus and once in the German corpus, in both cases at Sw-P<sub>1</sub>.

15 Another possible transformation of the type On+Sy consists in the fact that the input On may turn into the first part of the complex On of the following syllable. At any rate, the important thing to keep in mind is that in no case does the input On of such a type remain an On in the output. The same does not hold, however, for the type ‘Sy+Co’. Besides the example in table 2, consider also *béaltitude* ([2] *béa*<titude+a>*ltitude*). Here, the input Co remains a Co in the output, the only transformation being that the juxtaposition of Sy and Co brings about a shift from open to closed syllable (namely: Sy+Co → S<sup>c</sup>).

Table 2. Types of LEX-BL recombination

<i>structure-preserving</i>		<i>structure-changing</i>	
‘On+Rh’	ex. <i>ch</i> <uckle+sn> <i>ortle</i>	‘On+Sy’	ex. <i>g</i> <oopy+> <i>loopy</i>
		‘On+Co’	ex. Fr. <i>pour</i> <(r)ir+e> <i>spérer</i>
‘Bo+Co’	ex. <i>plo</i> <d+tru> <i>dge</i>	‘Bo+Sy’	ex. [1] <i>zi</i> <p+sym> <i>posium</i>
		‘Bo+Rh’	ex. Fr. [2] <i>aiguill</i> <e+guill> <i>otine</i>
‘Sy+Sy’	ex. <i>alpha</i> <bet+aryth> <i>metic</i>	‘Sy+Rh’	-
		‘Sy+Co’	ex. It. <i>mao</i> <ismo+ma> <i>rxismo</i>
‘S <sup>c</sup> +Sy’	ex. <i>Ox</i> <ford+Cam> <i>bridge</i>	‘S <sup>c</sup> +Rh’	ex. [2] <i>chat</i> <+sat> <i>ire</i>
		‘S <sup>c</sup> +Co’	-

A comment is in order with respect to the ‘S<sup>c</sup>+\_\_’ types. Their importance lies in the fact that closed syllables on the left handside of a Sw-P are possible candidates for the extraction of Bo units. Indeed, in order to state that a given language avoids switching after Bo units, to begin with it is necessary to check whether this possibility exists. For this reason, the number of ‘S<sup>c</sup>+\_\_’ types is explicitly indicated in tables 3 to 6. Note, however, that this datum does not refer to closed syllables following the Sw-P. In fact, once the Sw-P is placed before a syllable, it makes no difference whether it is open or closed.

The types listed in table 2 by no means exhaust the observable morphology. A rather special, and not infrequent, case is ‘On+Sy/Rh’, where the second unit is a naked (or onsetless) syllable, i.e. both a Sy and a Rh (cf. It. [1] *Al*<i+>*Italia*). This type is singled out because it may be interesting to see how often this possibility, vaguely resembling (but not to be confused with) the pure ‘On+Rh’ type, is exploited by the different languages. Apart from this, one observes quite a number of recombination types that exhibit illicit syllabic divisions. Here follows a partial exemplification; an asterisk attached to a syllabic component indicates that the Sw-P occurs inside the given unit, rather than at its boundaries. ‘Co\*+Sy’: [1] *bon*<d+boon>*doggle*, ‘Sc+Co\*’: *knur*<+gnar>*l*, ‘On\*+On\*’: [1] *b*<lend + p>*lunge*, etc. Obviously, all these divisions may be regarded as highly unnatural. For instance, *blunge* turns into a perfectly well behaved ‘On+Rh’ type at Sw-P<sub>2</sub> ([2] *bl*<end+pl>*unge*). These possibilities are considered in the analysis only for the sake of completeness, in order to prevent the adoption of arbitrary decisions; in the tables that follow they are listed under the label “Residual types”. Note however that in some cases these types of recombination are the only possibility available. It is therefore not viable to ignore their presence altogether.

#### 4. Types distribution

It is useful to present the results separately for the following situations: at the only Sw-P available (i.e. in LEX-BLs with no overlap), at Sw-P<sub>1</sub> (including no-overlap cases), at Sw-P<sub>2</sub>, at both Sw-Ps.

The first case is in some sense privileged, for we may see there the effect of the recombination strategy without the possibly confounding presence of the overlap. In fact, although in general the most obvious recombination is at Sw-P<sub>1</sub>, it should be noted that in a non negligible share of examples the most natural recombination occurs instead at Sw-P<sub>2</sub> (i.e. after the overlap), as is shown by those cases where the recombination at Sw-P<sub>1</sub> gives rise to a deviant type. An example of this was the form *blunge* discussed above.

Tables 3 to 6 exhibit the results for the four situations indicated. Bold figures refer to the four main supertypes, namely:

- (a) Neutral types            (= ‘Sy<sup>(C)</sup>+Sy(/Rh)’)
- (b) Right-BR types        (= ‘On+\_\_’, ‘\_\_+Rh’)
- (c) Left-BR types         (= ‘Bo+\_\_’, ‘\_\_+Co’)
- (d) Residual types.

As may be gathered from table 3, the preferred switching point of no-overlap LEX-BLs is in general localized at the boundary between two whole syllables (Neutral types), with the notable exception of English. The second preferred supertype is Right-BR, which is the predominant type in

Table 3. Recombination types in LEX-BL without overlap.

	English (N = 137)	German (N = 26)	French (N = 78)	Italian (N = 62)
‘Sy+Sy’	10.2 % } 36.5 %	19.2 % } 53.8 %	46.1 % } 52.5 %	37.1 % } 46.8 %
‘S <sup>C</sup> +Sy’	26.3 %	34.6 %	6.4 %	9.7 %
‘Sy+Sy/Rh’	0.7 % } 2.9 %	- } 3.8 %	- } 1.3 %	- } -
‘S <sup>C</sup> +Sy/Rh’	2.2 %	3.8 %	1.3 %	-
<i>Neutral types</i>	<b>39.4 %</b>	<b>57.6 %</b>	<b>53.8 %</b>	<b>46.8 %</b>
‘On+Sy’	3.6 % } 8.0 %	3.8 % } 7.6 %	- } 10.2 %	22.6 % } 33.9 %
‘On+Sy/Rh’	4.4 %	3.8 %	10.2 %	11.3 %
‘On+Rh’	27.7 % } 37.9 %	26.9 % } 30.7 %	12.8 % } 21.8 %	3.2 % } 3.2 %
‘S <sup>C</sup> +Rh’	10.2 %	3.8 %	9.0 %	-
<i>Right-BR types</i>	<b>45.9 %</b>	<b>38.3 %</b>	<b>32.0 %</b>	<b>37.1 %</b>
‘Bo+Co’	0.7 % } 13.1 %	- } -	2.6 % } 6.4 %	- } 4.8 %
‘Bo+Sy’	12.4 %	-	3.8 %	4.8 %
‘Sy <sup>(C)</sup> +Co’	-	3.8 %	2.6 %	3.2 %
<i>Left-BR types</i>	<b>13.1 %</b>	<b>3.8 %</b>	<b>9.0 %</b>	<b>8.0 %</b>
<i>Residual types</i>	<b>1.4 %</b>	-	<b>5.1 %</b>	<b>8.1 %</b>
‘S <sup>C</sup> +__’	38.7 %	42.3 %	16.7 %	9.7 %
glide	2.9 %	-	1.3 %	-
ambis. (Bo)	9.5 %	-	-	-
ambis. (S <sup>C</sup> )	2.9 %	-	-	-
/’/	-	-	16.7 %	-

Table 4. Recombination types at Sw-P1.

	English (N = 250)	German (N = 243)	French (N = 377)	Italian (N = 82)
'Sy+Sy'	8.4 % } 28.4 %	28.0 % } 74.1 %	49.6 % } 60.2 %	34.1 % } 46.3 %
'S <sup>c</sup> +Sy'	20.0 %	46.1 %	10.6 %	12.2 %
'Sy+Sy/Rh'	0.8 % } 2.4 %	- } 1.2 %	1.3 % } 1.6 %	- -
'S <sup>c</sup> +Sy/Rh'	1.6 %	1.2 %	0.3 %	-
<i>Neutral types</i>	<b>30.8 %</b>	<b>75.3 %</b>	<b>61.8 %</b>	<b>46.3 %</b>
'On+Sy'	2.0 % } 6.0 %	0.4 % } 6.6 %	0.3 % } 14.1 %	17.1 % } 35.4 %
'On+Sy/Rh'	4.0 %	6.2 %	13.8 %	18.3 %
'On+Rh'	25.2 % } 30.8 %	10.7 % } 11.1 %	13.3 % } 14.9 %	6.1 % } 6.1 %
'S <sup>c</sup> +Rh'	5.6 %	0.4 %	1.6 %	-
<i>Right-BR types</i>	<b>36.8 %</b>	<b>17.7 %</b>	<b>28.9 %</b>	<b>41.5 %</b>
'Bo+Co'	5.2 % } 26.4 %	2.5 % } 4.1 %	1.3 % } 3.4 %	3.7 % } 3.7 %
'Bo+Sy'	21.2 %	1.6 %	2.1 %	-
'Sy <sup>(c)</sup> +Co'	-	0.4 %	0.8 %	-
<i>Left-BR types</i>	<b>26.4 %</b>	<b>4.5 %</b>	<b>4.2 %</b>	<b>3.7 %</b>
<i>Residual types</i>	<b>6.0 %</b>	<b>2.5 %</b>	<b>5.0 %</b>	<b>8.5 %</b>
'S <sup>c</sup> +__'	27.2 %	47.7 %	12.5 %	9.7 %
glide	2.4 %	0.8 %	1.3	-
ambis. (Bo)	12.0 %	0.8 %	-	-
ambis. (S <sup>c</sup> )	1.6 %	-	-	-
/l/	5.0 %	-	5.0 %	-

English. English also exhibits the highest percentage in the Left-BR types. However, in this case there is not much difference between the various languages, and the overall figures are fairly low. Statistical comparisons between Right- and Left-BR types alone (excluding Neutral and Residual types) proved that the advantage of Right-BR is highly significant in all four languages (0.01 level). We may thus exclude that Left-BR plays a relevant role in any of the languages considered. As to Right-BR, there is some indication that it is a major feature in English, and to some extent in German and Italian. It is worth noting, however, that in Italian the figure for Right-BR is inflated by the considerable presence of the 'On+Sy(/Rh)' type, while the pure 'On+Rh' type reaches its highest value in English and German, i.e. in the two Germanic languages considered, as opposed to French and Italian. When this single type is considered, even French precedes Italian.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Kelly (1998) conducted a similar inspection of the no-overlap LEX-BLs of his English corpus, concluding that although there is a prevalence of Sw-Ps at the boundary between two whole syllables, Rh units neatly prevail over Bo units. It should be said that this author does not take ambisyllabicity into account.

Table 5. Recombination types at Sw-P2.

	<i>English</i> (N = 113)	<i>German</i> (N = 217)	<i>French</i> (N = 299)	<i>Italian</i> (N = 20)
'Sy+Sy'	0.9 % } 16.8 %	6.4 % } 48.8 %	31.1 % } 40.1 %	35.0 % } 35.0 %
'S <sup>c</sup> +Sy'	15.9 %	42.4 %	9.0 %	-
'Sy+Sy/Rh'	- } 0.9 %	- } 3.2 %	- -	- -
'S <sup>c</sup> +Sy/Rh'	0.9 %	3.2 %	-	-
<i>Neutral types</i>	<b>17.7 %</b>	<b>52.0 %</b>	<b>40.1 %</b>	<b>35.0 %</b>
'On+Sy'	1.8 % } 1.8 %	0.9 % } 0.9 %	- -	- -
'On+Sy/Rh'	-	-	-	-
'On+Rh'	28.3 % } 49.5 %	12.9 % } 32.7 %	22.7 % } 38.8 %	35.0 % } 35.0 %
'S <sup>c</sup> +Rh'	21.2 %	19.8 %	16.1 %	-
<i>Right-BR types</i>	<b>51.3 %</b>	<b>33.6 %</b>	<b>38.8 %</b>	<b>35.0 %</b>
'Bo+Co'	12.4 % } 15.0 %	1.4 % } 2.8 %	2.0 % } 4.3 %	- } -
'Bo+Sy'	2.6 %	1.4 %	2.3 %	-
'Sy <sup>(c)</sup> +Co'	2.6 %	3.7 %	8.7 %	10.0 %
<i>Left-BR types</i>	<b>17.7 %</b>	<b>6.5 %</b>	<b>13.4 %</b>	<b>10.0 %</b>
<i>Residual types</i>	<b>13.3 %</b>	<b>7.8 %</b>	<b>7.7 %</b>	<b>20.0 %</b>
'S <sup>c</sup> +__'	38.0 %	64.5 %	25.7 %	-
glide	1.8 %	2.3 %	0.7 %	-
ambis. (Bo)	2.6 %	-	-	-
ambis. (S <sup>c</sup> )	3.5 %	0.5 %	-	-
/ /	-	-	20.1 %	-

Table 4 shows that at Sw-P1 German and French present a neat predominance of the Neutral types (the comparison with the sum of Right- and Left-BR types is highly significant), while English and Italian exhibit a relatively high percentage for the Right-BR types. However, the figure for Italian is once again inflated by the exceptionally high score of the 'On+Sy(/Rh)' types. English presents here a remarkably high level for Left-BR types. In fact, the statistical comparison between Right- and Left-BR types is barely significant in English (0.05 level) and highly significant in the remaining languages.

Table 5 shows that at Sw-P2 the scores for the Neutral types drop in general at lower levels as compared with table 4, while the Right-BR types rise for all languages, with the only exception of Italian. In this case, however, the Italian score refers entirely to the pure 'On+Rh' type, in sharp contrast to the previous tables. This is good evidence that Sw-P2 presents characters of its own. As to the Left-BR types, the four languages show more or less the same values as in table 3. The comparison between Right- and Left-BR types is highly significant everywhere, excepting in Italian (no-significance).

Table 6. Recombination types at both Sw-P.

	English (N = 363)	German (N = 460)	French (N = 676)	Italian (N = 102)
'Sy+Sy'	6.0 % } 24.7 %	17.8 % } 62.1 %	41.4 % } 51.0 %	34.3 % } 44.1 %
'S <sup>c</sup> +Sy'	18.7 %	44.3 %	9.6 %	9.8 %
'Sy+Sy/Rh'	0.5 % } 1.9 %	- } 2.2 %	0.7 % } 0.8 %	- -
'S <sup>c</sup> +Sy/Rh'	1.4 %	2.2 %	0.1 %	-
<i>Neutral types</i>	<b>26.7 %</b>	<b>64.3 %</b>	<b>51.8 %</b>	<b>44.1 %</b>
'On+Sy'	2.2 % } 4.9 %	0.6 % } 3.9 %	- } 7.7 %	13.7 % } 28.4 %
'On+Sy/Rh'	2.7 %	3.3 %	7.7 %	14.7 %
'On+Rh'	25.9 % } 36.4 %	11.7 % } 21.3 %	17.4 % } 25.5 %	11.8 % } 11.8 %
'S <sup>c</sup> +Rh'	10.5 %	9.6 %	8.1 %	-
<i>Right-BR types</i>	<b>41.3 %</b>	<b>25.2 %</b>	<b>33.2 %</b>	<b>40.2 %</b>
'Bo+Co'	7.4 % } 22.8 %	1.9 % } 3.4 %	1.8 % } 4.4 %	- } 2.9 %
'Bo+Sy'	15.4 %	1.5 %	2.6 %	2.9 %
'Sy <sup>(c)</sup> +Co'	0.8 %	1.9 %	4.0 %	3.9 %
<i>Left-BR types</i>	<b>23.7 %</b>	<b>5.6 %</b>	<b>8.4 %</b>	<b>6.8 %</b>
<i>Residual types</i>	<b>8.3 %</b>	<b>4.8 %</b>	<b>6.5 %</b>	<b>8.8 %</b>
'S <sup>c</sup> +__'	28.9 %	56.5 %	18.0 %	9.8 %
glide	2.2 %	1.5 %	1.0 %	-
ambis. (Bo)	9.1 %	0.4 %	-	-
ambis. (S <sup>c</sup> )	2.2 %	0.2 %	-	-
/l/	-	-	11.4 %	-

Finally, table 6 unsurprisingly shows that, when both Sw-Ps are considered, the resulting picture is somewhat of a merging of the situations to be observed in tables 4 and 5, although this tendency is strongly affected by the ratio between overlapping and non-overlapping LEX-BLs, which is particularly low in Italian. The statistical comparison between Right- and Left-BR types is highly significant everywhere; in addition, the comparison between the Neutral types and the sum of Right- and Left-BR types is highly significant in German and French.

A few remarks are in order. It cannot go unnoticed that, in English, both the Right-BR and Left-BR types yield higher scores than in the remaining three languages. This might be regarded as an inconsistency in our data. But note that the high Bo percentage in English is partly due to the large number of Sw-Ps occurring before ambisyllabic segments. This is barely observed in German, and of course not at all in French and Italian. Should these cases be singled out - possibly also as a result of a more conservative syllabification, where ambisyllabicity is not admitted - then Bo scores would drop dramatically, to the advantage of Sy scores. In fact, consider the ratio of S<sup>c</sup> to Bo in W<sub>1</sub> for the four

languages as shown in table 7, presenting the situation to be observed at both Sw-Ps<sup>17</sup> (digits after the dash in the English row provide the scores when ambisyllabicity is excluded). It appears that ambisyllabicity has much to do with the very low English ratio. However, the English ratio remains fairly low even when disregarding the parameter of ambisyllabicity. In contrast, German shows a sharp repulsion for the Bo division in W<sub>1</sub>, while French and Italian are somewhat closer to English.

Table 7. ‘Closed syllable / Body’ ratio in W<sub>1</sub> at both Sw-Ps.

	Sc	Bo	ratio
<i>English</i>	111 / 107	83 / 46	1.33 / 2.32
<i>German</i>	258	16	16.12
<i>French</i>	121	29	4.17
<i>Italian</i>	10	3	3.33

The high German ratio poses further problems, namely: (a) the unexpected difference between the two Germanic languages considered in our sample; (b) the unexpectedly high propensity of German to keep the syllable unit intact in LEX-BLs’ recombinations. However, it should be noted that both results are a consequence of the high share of W<sub>1</sub>-preservations in the German corpus (cf. table 1), which inevitably forces a dramatic increment of whole syllable divisions.

The main conclusions are thus the following.

- (i) The general pattern of no-overlap LEX-BLs corresponds to some extent to our expectations. There is altogether a stronger inclination of English towards the emergence of the Right-BR types. With Italian, the situation is somehow obscured by the unusually high score of the ‘On+Sy(/Rh)’ types as compared to the pure ‘On+Rh’ type. When the latter is singled out, German and French (in this order) appear to precede Italian. In fact, as just observed, the ambiguous position of German, with its notably high value for the Neutral types, is due to the very special nature of the overlap in this language.
- (ii) The general trend emerging at Sw-P<sub>2</sub> suggests an overall increase of the ‘On+Rh’ type. Although there are reasons to suppose that Sw-P<sub>2</sub> does not play an equally important role as Sw-P<sub>1</sub>, it is in any case reassuring to note that Left-BR types do not prevail in any of the situations considered.
- (iii) Contrary to expectations, English is the language where Left-BR types preserve the best visibility, despite the fact that it is also the language where Right-BR prevails most neatly. However, this is partly due to ambisyllabicity.

To sum up, although the results are altogether compatible with our predictions, it turns out that the evidence yielded by LEX-BLs, with respect to syllabic organization, is not decisive. The prosodic structure of the various languages is partly obscured by spurious factors, depending on the specific

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<sup>17</sup> This solution was selected because the number of no-overlap examples is too small in German and too large in Italian for a fair comparison to be made.

blending strategy employed. It is therefore necessary to compare these results with other related data. This will be the topic of the next two sections.

## 5. Italian ‘syllabic’ acronyms

By ‘syllabic acronyms’ (henceforth SYL-ACR) a special type of acronym should be understood, such that each abbreviated word is indicated by a tiny fragment of characters/phonemes, usually taken from the beginning of the source word. The splinter’s extension goes from a minimum of one character/phoneme up to a larger sequence deriving from (but not coinciding with) two syllables. Consider Fr. *velcro* (*vel<ours+>cro<chet>*), *sitcom* (*sit<uation+>com<edy>*), It. *Ascom* (*as<sociazione+>com<mercianti>*), It. *Credit* (*cred<ito+>it<aliano>*). Although the definition given above should be further refined to take into account other possibilities, it is accurate enough with respect to Italian SYL-ACRs.<sup>18</sup> Since the length of each splinter is usually more than one character/phoneme, SYL-ACRs should not be confused with fully-fledged acronyms, such as *AIDS* (*A<cquired+>I<mmuno+>D<eficiency+>S<yndrome>*), where only the first character of each word is preserved. On the other hand, SYL-ACRs differ from both LEX-BLs and BL-ERRs in that they are not blends in the actual sense of the word. Indeed, in this case there is even little sense in speaking of Sw-Ps. Although, technically, there is always a Sw-P whenever two splinters are recombined, it is more appropriate to speak of break-points (Br-P), referring to the points at which each word is split in order to extract the preserved fragment.

Obviously, all splinters must follow each other in such a way that they do not blatantly violate the syllabic constraints of the language considered. Note, however, that with Italian SYL-ACRs one finds quite a few deviations from the expected word pattern. For instance, *Casmez* (*cas<sa+(del)+>mez<zogiorno>*) ends with an affricate, a non-available solution in the traditional lexicon. As a matter of fact, the majority of Italian SYL-ACRs end with closed syllables,<sup>19</sup> and not infrequently present internal closed syllables deriving from originally open ones, as in *Minculpop* (*Min<istero+(della+)>Cul<tura+>Pop<olare>*), thus yielding a higher than average percentage of

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18 Other languages may add other possibilities. In Hebrew, for instance, there is a class of acronyms formed in such a way that the initial consonants of the source words form a neologistic triconsonantal root, to which a vowel tier - independent of the source words - is added [Ravid 1990:310].

19 Out of 39 examples useful for this type of statistics, 29 ended with a closed syllable, i.e. a much larger share than one finds in the traditional Italian lexicon. Interestingly, Italian SYL-ACRs differ sharply in this respect from clippings, which tend to end with an open syllable (Thornton 1996). However, clippings do not necessarily respect the properties of the traditional lexicon, as Kilani-Shoch (1996) and Ronneberger-Sibold (1996) show for French and German, respectively.

closed syllables.<sup>20</sup> This slightly deviant phonotactical structure is presumably exploited to single out SYL-ACRs as a peculiar type of word-formation. Their semiotic diversity is further proven by other features not to be found in blends. An extreme example is offered by *acmonital* (*ac*<ciaio+>*mon*<etario+>*ital*<iano>). This form exhibits the consonantal cluster [km], quite unusual in Italian phonotactics. But on top of this, it also shows the conversion from [tS] of the input *a*[t:S]*aio* to [k] of the output *a*[k]*monital*. This indicates that in SYL-ACRs the extraction of materials from the source words may give rise to phonetic transformations due to the action of the normal orthographic conventions. Indeed, this principle also operates in pure acronyms like *AIDS* (see above), where the first vowel does not preserve the pronunciation of the source word. Ultimately, the basis for all sorts of acronyms is the written, rather than the spoken form. This creates a sharp contrast to LEX-BLs, and should be kept in mind here for it significantly reduces the reliability of this sort of data with respect to the syllabification issue.<sup>21</sup>

Because of these peculiarities, in the present analysis it was decided to by-pass the question of recombination types, and rather to inspect what kind of syllabic components were singled out at each Br-P. Note that this decision is also forced by the not infrequent case of forms such as *Dirstat* (*dir*<igenti+>*stat*<ali>) - but see also the already quoted examples of *Credit*, *Minculpop* and *acmonital* - where some of the non-initial splinters span more than simply one syllable or syllable component. In the case at issue, *stat-* includes the whole first syllable plus the onset of the second syllable of *W*<sub>2</sub>. This defeats the very purpose of limiting our attention to the first part of the given splinter and its recombination with the preceding one, for its final part (which is furthermore not possibly subject to recombination in the given case) should inevitably be taken into account. Besides, since in SYL-ACRs splinters coincide in most cases with the beginning of the word from which they are taken, there is very little to be learned from the study of their left margin. Consequently, the syllabic typology of SYL-ACRs will only be studied at (i.e. before) the Br-P of each splinter.

The corpus considered for the present research was collected by inspecting a list of abbreviations in a modern Italian dictionary. The number of forms collected was only 39. However, since there are 16 forms based on three words, 3 based on four words and 1 based on five (namely *Avedisco*, *a*<ssociazione+>*ve*<ndite+>*di*<rette+>*s*<ervizi+>*co*<nsumatori>), the total number of Br-Ps rises to 103. Note that, in contrast to blends, Italian SYL-ACRs hardly show any overlap. In my corpus, this

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20 On the other hand, consider *Coremar* (*co*<mpagnia+>*re*<gionale+>*ma*<rittima>). If the /m/ closing the first syllable of *W*<sub>1</sub> were preserved in the output, it would have to undergo place assimilation before the following dental consonant, thus obscuring the recoverability of the source word. This is probably the reason why the closed syllable is changed into an open one.

21 For instance, one finds examples such as *Superal* (*super*<iorità+>*al*<imentare>) or *Italtel* ([società *ital*<iana+>*tel*<efoni>), where the glide /j/ (orthographically <i>), belonging to the diphthongs /jo/ and /ja/ respectively, is separated from the first part of the On. Accordingly, one might wish to say that this is an argument for the syllabification of Italian onglides into the nucleus. However, it should be said that in most cases this does not happen in blends; thus, such a conclusion would be inappropriate.

occurs only 5 times out of 64 theoretical possibilities<sup>22</sup> (i.e. 7.8 %, a very low figure even compared with 24.4 % of Italian LEX-BLs, by far the lowest percentage among the four languages considered in table 1). This share is so low, that it was decided to consider only the Br-Ps preceding the overlapping sequences, ignoring overlaps altogether. In fact, there is reason to suspect that overlaps in SYL-ACRs are a purely accidental fact; they certainly do not have the ‘hinge’ function to be observed in LEX-BLs.

Table 8. Syllabic components singled out before Br-Ps in Italian SYL-ACRs.<sup>23</sup>

Sy	16.5 %	
S <sup>c</sup>	17.5 %	} 37.9 %
Sy/Rh	3.9 %	
On	37.9 %	} 44.7 %
On*	6.8 %	
Bo	17.5 %	} 17.5 %

Table 8 shows a fairly clear picture, essentially similar to that emerging from the study of LEX-BLs. Apart from the predictable statistical visibility of the Sy unit, it appears that Right-BR organization neatly prevails over the Left-BR alternative; see the higher percentage of the On unit over the Bo unit (the statistical comparison is highly significant). Thus, even in the case of SYL-ACRs - which are in some respects phonotactically deviant, in the sense stated above - there seems to be a clearly definable syllabic profile as a consequence of the extraction of materials from the source words. However, one should interpret these results with great caution, due to the very peculiar nature of this type of material.<sup>24</sup>

## 6. Blending errors

<sup>22</sup> 64 is the number of Sw-Ps, i.e. the number of splinters’ recombinations. To clarify, a form like *Codacons* (*co*<ordinamento>+*d*<elle+>*a*<ssociazioni+>*cons*<umatori>) contains four splinters, hence four Br-Ps, but only three recombinations, hence only three Sw-Ps. An easy way to grasp this datum in the preceding example is the following: the number of Br-Ps is shown by the italicized splinters, the number of Sw-Ps by the plus signs. This explains why in the corpus there are 103 Br-Ps but only 64 Sw-Ps.

<sup>23</sup> With respect to the issue of the syllabification of /sC/ clusters, it should be said that there are altogether 8 cases (6.2 %) where a syllable is closed by /s/. The adoption of the heterosyllabic solution, as opposed to the tautosyllabic one (see section 3), increases the number of S<sup>c</sup> over On\* by 2.3 %, and the number of Bo over Sy by 3.9 %.

<sup>24</sup> This is also confirmed by inspection of a short list of German SYL-ACRs taken from Vennemann (1998) (plus one example deriving from Ronneberger-Sibold (1996)). Out of a total of 23 splinters, there are 4 Sy units, 17 Bo (among which 4 Bo<sub>amb</sub>), and 5 On (plus one On\*). This diverges sharply from the data obtained in the study of German LEX-BLs.

A more promising source of evidence is to be sought in non-intentional blendings (BL-ERRs), i.e. spontaneous errors in which two words are accidentally fused together. Despite their superficial similarity, LEX-BLs and BL-ERRs should not be confused. As Berg (1998:152) puts it: “The first type is created to meet a particular communicative need, the second is a derailment of the psycholinguistic system without any communicative function or purpose”. Thus, we should not expect to find exactly the same properties in both types. One clear difference concerns cases where both source words present the same number of syllables. This feature occurs in 73 % of the German examples in Berg’s BL-ERRs corpus (Berg 1989), whereas it is only to be observed in 35.0 % of the examples in my German LEX-BLs corpus. However, the two types of blend are similar enough to exhibit substantial structural analogy. To put it in Berg’s own terms: although “it is to be expected that intentional blends are subject to the same basic constraints as unintentional ones, [...] these constraints should be less pronounced [...] in wilful language patterns than in slips of the tongue. This is because speakers’ intentions may reduce, but not annul, the impact of the processing principles” (p. 152). Berg goes on to prove this in a number of features, such as: (a) the tendency of source words to belong to the same syntactic category; (b) the tendency of blends to present an overlap (see also Dressler 1976);<sup>25</sup> (c) the tendency of blends to be closer in length to the longer source word than to the shorter one. With respect to each of these parameters, BL-ERRs present in fact higher figures in the corpora analysed by Berg.

As to syllabic recombinations, there is evidence that in both English and German Right-BR prevails over Left-BR. As to English, MacKay (1982) reports that although the Sw-P tends most often to occur between two whole syllables, the Rh unit prevails over the Bo. As to German, both Dressler (1976) and Berg (1989) point to the relative high frequency of ‘On+Rh’ recombinations. Finally, Berg & Abd-el-Jawad (1996) report similar conclusions concerning both English and German.

It is now interesting to see what the French and Italian data may teach us. As to French, we can exploit Rossi’s (1998) corpus. A list of 51 occurrences was compiled, namely all examples classified by the author as “amalgames”, but also some of those classified as “haplogogies”, provided they were clearly interpretable as blends, thus excluding those also characterized by consonant insertion, segment(s) interpolation or other disturbing features. Among these examples, 10 exhibit overlap. It is thus useful to separately consider the situation in the no-overlap cases, at Sw-P<sub>1</sub> (including the overlap examples) and at Sw-P<sub>2</sub>. The picture is as follows:

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<sup>25</sup> Berg reports a share of 62 % overlapping examples in the Fromkin corpus of English speech errors, which may be compared with the data shown above in table 1 for English LEX-BLs.

Table 9. French BL-ERRs and syllabic division.

	No-overlap (N = 41)	Sw-P <sub>1</sub> (N = 51)	Sw-P <sub>2</sub> (N = 10)
<i>Neutral types</i>	46.3 %	45.1 %	30.0 %
<i>Right-BR types</i>	41.5 %	43.1 %	30.0 %
<i>Left-BR types</i>	4.9 %	5.9 %	30.0 %
<i>Residual types</i>	7.3 %	5.9 %	10.0 %

The first thing we notice is the fairly low percentage of overlapping French BL-ERRs (19.6 %) as compared to French LEX-BLs (79.3 %; see table 1). This suggests that Berg's hypothesis that the latter type of blends essentially present the same features as the former, although to a lesser extent, is not universally confirmed. The high percentage of the overlap in French LEX-BLs seems to be the effect of a purposeful strategy, addressing the attention of the hearer to the shared sequence of phonemes in order to enhance the perception of both source words. The second discovery stemming from these data is the fairly high percentage of '\_\_\_+Rh' types, most of which concern the pure 'On+Rh' type (39.0 % in no-overlap examples); a much higher score than the one observed in French LEX-BLs.<sup>26</sup> The statistical comparison between Right- and Left-BR types is highly significant in no-overlap examples and at Sw-P<sub>1</sub>, while it yields a non-significant result at Sw-P<sub>2</sub>.

Let us now consider the Italian data, shown in table 10. The data are taken from Miranda (1987/89), a corpus of 2345 spontaneous errors, which offers 44 examples of BL-ERRs. In this case, the examples with overlap are indeed slightly more (13, i.e. 29.5 %) than in the corpus of Italian LEX-BLs (24.4 %; see table 1). But this is not the only difference with respect to French. In fact, the picture yielded by recombination types at Sw-P<sub>2</sub> is strikingly different from the no-overlap and Sw-P<sub>1</sub> situations. In the latter cases, one observes a vast predominance of the Right-BR types, whereas in the former case one finds the opposite tendency (the statistical comparisons are significant in both cases). This is yet another hint at the fact that Sw-P<sub>1</sub> and Sw-P<sub>2</sub> should not be regarded as manifestations of the same general tendency. In any case, if one singles out the no-overlap examples as the base-line, it appears that Italian LEX-BLs very neatly favour Right-BR, which is not quite what one would have expected on the basis of LEX-BLs. In fact, the statistical comparison between the Right-BR types and the sum of Neutral and Left-BR types is highly significant in both no-overlap and Sw-P<sub>1</sub> situations.<sup>27</sup> Note that the pure 'On+Rh' type (comprised in the Right-BR types) amounts to 67.7 % of the total in the no-overlap situation.

<sup>26</sup> Note further that in both no-overlap and Sw-P<sub>1</sub> recombinations all Residual types refer to 'On\*+Rh' cases, i.e. cases where the onset has been split. Should these examples be considered together with the pure 'On+Rh' type, the percentage of the latter would jump to 48.8 % in the no-overlap case.

<sup>27</sup> By contrast, at Sw-P<sub>2</sub> the Left-BR types only approach significance in comparison with Neutral and Right-BR ones, but this is probably due to the very low absolute figures.

Table 10. Recombination types in Italian BL-ERRs.

	No-overlap (N = 31)	Sw-P <sub>1</sub> (N = 44)	Sw-P <sub>2</sub> (N = 13)
<i>Neutral types</i>	9.7 %	6.8 %	15.4 %
<i>Right-BR types</i>	71.0 %	75.0 %	7.7 %
<i>Left-BR types</i>	16.1 %	11.4 %	76.9 %
<i>Residual types</i>	3.2 %	6.8 %	-

Another source of useful data is offered by ‘exchange’ BL-ERRs, i.e. errors where materials deriving from two different words are exchanged in the output. Consider for instance *ruola in gio...* (< *gioca in ruolo*). This is an ambiguous example, due to the overlap /o/, thus yielding two Sw-Ps. But note that in most exchanges there is more than one Sw-P regardless of the possible presence of an overlap. Consider *ha lasciato la perta aperta* (< *ha lasciato la porta aperta*); here one finds a first Sw-P in *p+erta*, and a second one in *ap+orta*. If - on top of this - there were an overlap in both output words, the number of Sw-Ps would rise to four. Thus, although there are only 15 relevant examples in the corpus, they provide 37 exploitable Sw-Ps.<sup>28</sup>

As may be seen in table 11, the situation is somewhat similar to the one exhibited by table 10, in the sense that Right-BR neatly prevails at Sw-P<sub>1</sub> and in no-overlap examples (the statistical comparison with Left-BR types is highly significant in both cases). The notable difference is that at Sw-P<sub>2</sub> there is predominance of the Neutral types, rather than Left-BR. But, as we noted above, the most informative sort of data is that yielded by no-overlap examples. In light of this, both pure BL-ERRs and exchange BL-ERRs provide evidence for a prevailing Right-BR organization of the syllable in Italian. The fact that this tendency is stronger than in LEX-BLs agrees with Berg’s prediction based on the nature of these two types of blend.

Table 11. Recombination types in Italian exchange BL-ERRs.

	No-overlap (N = 21)	Sw-P <sub>1</sub> (N = 29)	Sw-P <sub>2</sub> (N = 8)
<i>Neutral types</i>	9.5 %	6.9 %	75.0 %
<i>Right-BR types</i>	90.5 %	93.1 %	25.0 %
<i>Left-BR types</i>	-	-	-
<i>Residual types</i>	-	-	-

## 7. Concluding remarks

<sup>28</sup> In fact, in all instances but one there is more than one Sw-P. The overlap is to be found in 4 examples (26.7 %), yielding 16 Sw-Ps. In practice, there are 29 recombinations at Sw-P<sub>1</sub>, 8 at Sw-P<sub>2</sub>, and 21 in no-overlap examples.

In my attempt to sum up the results of the present inquiry, I shall disregard section 5, considering that SYL-ACRs proved to be fairly peculiar structures, not particularly informative for our purposes.

The starting assumption of this study was, according to a suggestion by Kubozono (1989), that LEX-BLs and BL-ERRs should provide relevant information as to the (supposedly) different syllabic organization of the various languages. In section 4, devoted to the analysis of LEX-BLs, evidence was indeed collected to the effect that different languages exhibit a variable degree of orientation towards one of the dominant types of syllabic structuring. Collapsing the results obtained for the various conditions examined (no-overlap, Sw-P<sub>1</sub>, Sw-P<sub>2</sub>, both Sw-Ps), it appears that, among the four languages considered, English is the most neatly right-branching oriented one, followed by German, French and Italian in this order. This suggests that the strength of the structural orientation may vary from language to language. Nevertheless, it is notable that each of the four languages showed an overall tendency towards Right-BR, rather than Left-BR or flat structure. Although this was the result expected on the basis of previous experimental investigations (at least as far as English is concerned), it is encouraging that things went this way since no large-scale analysis of natural blendings' structure had so far been performed. Note that both English and Italian manifested a sharp Right-BR orientation in artificial blending experiments (Bertinetto, to appear-a); these results are in striking agreement with those - reported above - based on LEX-BLs. Equally expected was the fact that Italian, as compared to English, occupies a lower position in syllabic orientation, considering the weak propensity of this language, again as opposed to English, to exhibit internal syllabic structuring in segment(s) substitution experiments (*ivi*). Although the different response of Italian and English subjects is in itself a very interesting datum, worth of careful scrutiny, I shall take up its discussion on another occasion (Bertinetto, to appear-c), concentrating my attention here on the general tendencies.

The overall Right-BR orientation emerged in an even neater way in the analysis of French and Italian BL-ERRs (section 6). English and German BL-ERRs were only briefly alluded to, for there is fairly substantial and converging evidence that this sort of spontaneous production manifests a predominant 'On+Rh' recombination. The important issue was therefore to examine the behaviour of the two languages that, to my knowledge, had not previously been scrutinized in this way. The results are straightforward. Both French and Italian exhibit an overwhelming 'On+Rh' recombination. There is thus no doubt that even these two languages favour this type of orientation, namely Right-BR, in their syllabic organization. The apparent contrast between BL-ERRs and LEX-BLs, in terms of the strength with which the prevailing orientation emerges, may easily be rationalized. As Berg puts it: "Because of the absence of any wilful intervention, errors [i.e. BL-ERRs as contrasted with LEX-BLs] may be expected more faithfully to reflect the network-internal constraints" (Berg 1998:152). In fact, LEX-BLs must obey further constraints, over and above the deep prosodic properties governing the distribution of segments within words. For one thing, the purpose of LEX-BLs' creation is very often the witty one of simultaneously addressing the attention of the hearer to both elements telescoped in the blend. This is often achieved by underlining the possible presence of an overlapping stretch of segments. More generally, there is no doubt that the degree of freedom enjoyed by LEX-

BLs' creators is far greater than that of the speaker's processing system as it goes astray during the production of BL-ERRs. To put it in very simple terms: LEX-BLs are artificially created, BL-ERRs are spontaneously produced. While the production mechanism is governed by internal forces that impose a strong bias on the output, a wilful act of creation may be performed in ways that consciously violate the dominant pattern. Alternatively, the individual creator may be less sensitive to the structural tendencies of her/his language than we would normally expect (i.e., in the ideal world); thus, he might give rise to a form that, although quite acceptable, appears to be less than optimal in structural terms. The production mechanism, by contrast, is much more tightly conditioned; it may, of course, violate the internal forces that govern it (constraint violation being explicitly contemplated in today's linguistic models), but it is expected to do so much less often. In light of all this, it is encouraging that even LEX-BLs showed an overall orientation towards Right-BR not only in English, where this result was expected, but also in the remaining four languages considered in the analysis presented above.

Still, one fundamental problem remains. Namely, why is it that Italian (and Spanish) subjects appear to present a variable behaviour in the different tasks to which they are submitted, while English subjects invariably point towards a strong right-BR structure? One possibility is that the syllable, rather than being a deep abstract component of phonological structure (available from the very start of lexical derivation), is gradually built up in the course of on-line speech processing. This can be conceived of in at least two ways. Either in the sense that the syllable's internal organization becomes gradually perceptible at a given stage (not the same one in every language); or even in the sense that different aspects of this entity - like the identification of syllabic nuclei on the one side and the definition of the syllable's boundaries on the other side - operate at different levels of processing. According to this view, which is gaining more and more consensus among the specialists (see in particular Berg & Abd-el-Jawad 1996), the syllable turns out to be a shallow structural unit, emerging at relatively late stages of processing under the pressure of low-level (phonotactics) and higher-level (word-prosody) constraints.

An alternative - but in fact complementary - interpretation of the contrasting behaviour to be observed in syllable processing (e.g., depending on the experimental task) could be, as has indeed been suggested by several authors, that a given segment may simultaneously be part of more than one syllabic component, although with different weights. This would give rise to a sort of 'variable geometry' structure. This idea has in fact been exploited by Vennemann (1988) in relation to the possible involvement of syllabic components in the diverse syllable-sensitive phonological processes; applied by Berg (1989) to the design of a parallel-activation model of the syllable; and finally adopted by Kessler & Treiman (1997) with respect to the various statistical associations that link subsyllabic components. By hypothesis, this could also apply to the results of the segment(s) substitution tasks run with Italian and Spanish subjects, where the reactions are strongly affected by the shape of the stimulus, i.e. ultimately by features relating to word-level prosody (such as length, stress position, presence of a consonantal word-offset, etc.). Accordingly, the emergence of a certain type of syllable

geometry in a given language (namely, Righ- or Left-BR), should not be regarded as equivalent to the fixation of a rigid template; any phonology is a complex organism, allowing many sorts of solutions. What we should find is therefore not more than a prevailing orientation of syllable-sensitive phonetic regularities and phonological processes along the direction indicated by the dominant internal geometry, without excluding more or less occasional deviations from the main path.

## **8. A brief excursus on variability and OT**

This poses an interesting theoretical issue that I would like to briefly consider here. The story might be put in the following way: Who's afraid of variability? Note that variable linguistic behaviours are very frequent in linguistic communities, including of course much more visible phenomena than the syllable's geometry. Speakers often speak differently, either because they belong to contrasting sociological strata, or because one and the same speaker may select contrasting registers depending on the situation. What is of interest here is the latter type of variability, namely intrapersonal - rather than interpersonal - variability. In rule-based phonological approaches, which are presently regarded with enormous suspicion, variability is not a problem: rules may be suspended, their order may be inverted, or they may simply have a variable application. Of course, there must be a serious reason to allow for this freedom, but the important thing is that the variable application of rules does not necessarily imply the existence of competing grammars for one and the same speaker. Connectionist models, as well as the 'analogical' (probabilistic) model developed by Skousen (1989), also pose no problem: since the approach is intrinsically non-deterministic, all phonological processes are regarded as endowed with a probabilistic index, which can easily be modulated by contextual (pragmatic) conditionings.

Consider now Optimality Theory. According to this approach (or, one should better say, to its fundamental bet), the constraints' hierarchy should be rigidly assessed for the whole grammar. There may be occasional variations in their order when they are adjacent and mutually undominated; but whenever this condition is not obtained, the only way to get variable outputs is to assume alternative constraints orderings, thus ultimately alternative grammars. This is the real issue. While rule-based and probabilistic approaches may cope with variability without postulating different grammars for one and the same speaker, OT cannot exclude this possibility. Now, it might well be that all the known cases of intrapersonal variable behaviour can be dealt with by adjacent and mutually undominated constraints. But it might also turn out that this is not viable in a number of cases. Consider an abstract - but perfectly conceivable - situation, where a speaker presents, say, 10 variable behaviours, none of which is amenable to adjacent and mutually undominated constraints. In such a case, one has to admit, in OT terms, that this speaker has 10 different grammars. And note further that the complication of each of these grammars, with respect to the others, might even be considerable; it

could easily occur that two variable behaviours, although differing in a tiny detail, dramatically diverge in terms of some crucial constraints' ordering.

Needless to say, I willingly agree that the existence of alternative grammars for one and the same speaker should independently be admitted; just consider the case of a speaker who lives in a very sociolinguistically composite community. However, most phonologists would agree that not all instances of linguistic variability should imply a multiplication of grammars, considering that variable behaviours often involve very narrow and local details, as compared to the whole grammatical system. This leads me to the point. As a matter of fact, I believe that the issue of variability will turn out to be the true litmus test for OT, and I find it rather astonishing that so little attention has so far been devoted to this issue. This is even more striking, considering that the advocates of OT are essentially the same people (i.e. most of the generative-inspired phonologists) who until not long ago would have taken as a matter of principle that economy is the main factor that determines the choice between alternative grammars. Surprisingly, all of a sudden, the principle of economy has been abandoned in favour of a model that - theoretically at least - appears to be utterly liberal with respect to the presence of alternative grammars in the cognitive systems of one and the same speaker. Further studies on variability in natural languages will help us resolve the question.

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## Appendix

### English LEX-BLs

*adhocracy* (ad hoc + burocracy), *alphametic* (alphabet + arythmetic), *anchorlastic* (anchor + elastic), *aniseed* (anise + seed), *angiotensin* (angiotonin + hypertensin), *apodization* (aperture + periodization), *archology* (architecture + ecology), *ausform* (austenitic + deform), *autopia* (auto + utopia), *backini* (back + bikini), *bascart* (basket + cart), *batmobile* (bat + automobile), *beefalo* (beef + buffalo), *beermare* (beer + nightmare), *bisquick* (biscuit + quick), *bit* (binary + digit), *blaxploitation* (blacks + exploitation), *blunge* (blend + plunge), *blotch* (blot + botch), *boatel* (boat + hotel), *bondoggle* (bond + boondoggle), *bonefisherman* (bonefish + fisherman), *bonking* (bumping + conking), *bookmobile* (book + automobile), *brangle* (brawl + wrangle), *brontic* (bronchitis + asmatic), *brunch* (breakfast + lunch), *brusherific* (brush + terrific), *bullionaire* (bullion + billionaire), *burocrock* (burocrat + crock), *busnapper* (bus + kidnapper), *buttleger* (butt + bootlegger), *Californicate* (California + fornicate), *camerantics* (camera + antics), *camporee* (camp + jamboree), *carideer* (caribou + reindeer), *carsual* (carwood + casual), *cattalo* (cattle + buffalo), *cinemammoth* (cinema + mammoth), *cinemenace* (cinema + menace), *ciniversal* (cinema + universal), *ciphony* (cipher + telephony), *chemagination* (chemistry + imagination), *chemmuniqué* (chemistry + communiqué), *chortle* (chuckle + snortle), *chump* (chunk + lump), *chunnel* (channel + tunnel), *chatire* (chat + satire), *clamato* (clam + tomato), *clamboree* (clambake + jamboree), *clash* (clap + crash), *cocacolonization* (coca cola + colonization), *colorbestos* (color + asbestos), *compander* (compressor + expander), *compcenter* (computer + center), *computape* (computer + tape), *contrail* (condensation + trail), *curvessence* (curve + essence), *dawk* (dove + hawk), *densylon* (dense + nylon), *depicture* (depict + picture), *desipamine* (desmethyl + imipamine), *dielectrophoresis* (dielectric + electrophoresis), *diesohol* (diesel + alcohol), *Dinnerama* (Dinner + panorama), *dishmobile* (dishwasher + mobile), *Dixican* (Dixie + republican), *docudrama* (documentary + drama), *drabwear* (drab + underwear), *dramassassin* (drama + assassin), *dressshirt* (dress + shirt), *duraknit* (durable + knit), *dynetic* (dynamic + magnetic), *earthoon* (earth + moon), *ecdysone* (ecdysis + hormone), *educare* (education + care), *electret* (electricity + magnet), *electrofile* (electronic + file), *elevon* (elevator + aileron), *Eurasia* (Europe + Asia), *exurb* (ex + suburb), *fantabulous* (fantastic + fabulous), *featherib* (feather + rib), *femikini* (feminine + bikini), *flaretrol* (flare + control), *fleep* (flying + jeep), *flare* (flame + glare), *flush* (flash + gush), *flustrated* (flustered + frustrated), *Frenglish* (French + English), *frivolash* (frivolous + lash), *funderwear* (fun + underwear), *galumph* (gallop + triumph), *garlion* (garlic + onion), *gayola* (gay + payola), *geep* (goat + sheep), *glasphalt* (glass + asphalt), *glimmer* (gleam + shimmer), *glob* (globe + blob), *gloopy* (goopy + loopy), *golffelt* (golf + felt), *grum* (grim + glum), *guck* (goo + muck), *guestimate* (guess + estimate), *gyropilot* (gyroscope + pilot), *happenstantial* (happenstance + circumstantial), *heliport* (helicopter + airport), *hesiflation* (hesitation + inflation), *hurricoon* (hurricane + typhoon), *icekhana* (ice + gymkhana), *immittance* (impedance + admittance), *imperence* (impertinence + impudence), *instaview* (instant + view), *Japlish* (Japanese + English), *jounce* (joll + bounce), *jumble* (joll + tumble), *kleagle* (klan + eagle), *kiddypliance* (kiddy + appliance), *klanonym* (klan + synonym), *klonclave* (klan + conclave), *knurl* (knur + gnarl), *leerics* (leer + lyrics), *letterset* (letterpress + offset), *lidar* (light + radar), *liger* (lion + tiger), *linar* (line + star), *lumist* (luminous + mist), *Manhatter* (Manhattan + hatter), *medicaid* (medical + aid), *medicare* (medical + care), *megalopolitan* (megalopolis + metropolitan), *mirropane* (mirror + pane), *motel* (motor + hotel), *mousewife* (mousy + housewife), *natter* (nag + chatter), *narcome* (narcotic + coma), *navar* (navigational + radar), *neuristor* (neuron + transistor), *Nixonomics* (Nixon + economics), *ocupeople* (oculist + people), *oidraulic* (oil + hydraulic), *opart* (optical + art), *optronic* (optic + electronic), *order-gram* (order-gram), *ovalliptic* (oval + elliptic), *Oxbridge* (Oxford + Cambridge), *parafoil* (parachute + airfoil), *Paralympics* (Paraplegic + Olympics), *peektore* (peek + picture), *peepscope* (peep + microscope), *pentomino* (penta + domino), *permafrost* (permanent + frost), *permapress* (permanent + press), *pervertising* (perverted + advertising), *pilgarlic* (pilled + garlic), *pinkermint* (pink + peppermint), *plenamin* (plenty + vitamin), *plodge* (plod + trudge), *polocrosse* (polo + lacrosse), *popcorn* (popped + corn), *porny* (pornography + horny), *positron* (positive + electron), *posturepedic* (posture + orthopedic), *pomato* (potato + tomato), *presself* (press + self), *pringle* (sprinkle + tingle), *prissy* (prim + sissy), *probit* (probability + unit), *proletcult* (proletariat + cult), *psychedelicatessen* (psychedelic + delicatessen), *psychedelphia* (psychedelic + Philadelphia), *psychergy* (psychic + energy), *psytocracy* (psychological + autocracy), *pulsar* (pulse + quasar), *quasar* (quasi + stellar), *racon* (radar + beacon), *radiocorder* (radio + recorder), *radionics* (radiation + electronics), *radome* (radar + dome), *rapidry* (rapid + dry), *Reaganomics* (Reagan + economics), *reprography* (reproduce + photography), *rockoon* (rocket + balloon), *ruddetor* (rudder + elevator), *saniclean* (sanitary + clean), *scentillating* (scent + titillating), *scentsation* (scent + sensation), *scrapnel* (scrap + shrapnel), *screamager* (scream + teenager), *scrunch* (scram + bunch), *selectric* (select + electric), *sexploiter* (sex + exploiter), *shepherdress* (shepherdess + dress), *shoat* (sheep + goat), *shorthalls* (short + overalls), *simulcast* (simultaneous + broadcast), *slackedelic* (slacks + psychedelic), *slimnastic*

(slim + gymnastic), *sloburb* (slob + suburb), *slumlord* (slum + landlord), *slurch* (slink + lurch), *smash* (smack + mash), *smaze* (smoke + haze), *smog* (smoke + fog), *smokurb* (smoke + curb), *snobject* (snob + object), *snoblem* (snob + problem), *snowmobile* (snow + automobile), *snurfing* (snow + surfing), *soliloquacity* (soliloquy + loquacity), *soundsational* (sound + sensational), *Spanglish* (Spanish + English), *splanch* (spleet-level + ranch), *splanket* (spread + blanket), *splurge* (splash + surge), *sportianity* (sport + christianity), *spotch* (spot + blotch), *spreestakes* (spreed + sweepstakes), *squawk* (squall + hawk), *squangle* (square + angle), *squinch* (squirm + pinch), *squiggle* (squirm + wriggle), *stagflation* (stagnation + inflation), *sugly* (so + ugly), *sunflector* (sun + reflector), *swacket* (sweater + jacket), *tangemon* (tangerine + lemon), *technocy* (techno + idiocy), *telecast* (television + broadcast), *telethon* (television + marathon), *thighscraper* (thigh + highscraper), *tigon* (tiger + lion), *toddle* (totter + wobble), *travelcade* (travel + cavalcade), *treatwich* (treat + sandwich), *trudge* (tread + drudge), *twirl* (twist + whirl), *ultronic* (ultra + electronic), *urbantry* (urban + country), *varactor* (varying + reactor), *velveteen-ager* (velveteen + teen-ager), *vidstation* (video + station), *vibronic* (vibration + electronic), *vitamer* (vitamin + isomer), *vodkatini* (vodka + Martini), *walkathon* (walk + marathon), *wintertainment* (winter + entertainment), *youngmobile* (young + Oldsmobile), *ziposium* (zip + symposium), *zircalloy* (zirconium + alloy).

### German LEX-BLs

*Agitproperette* (Agitprop + Operette), *Altartaren* (Altar + Tartaren), *alterna-tief* (alternativ + tief), *Amtsschimmelpilz* (Amtsschimmel + Schimmelpilz), *Apfelkernreaktor* (Apfelkern + Kernreaktor), *apfelmüsig* (Apfelmus + müsig), *arbeitslebenslang* (Arbeitsleben + lebenslang), *Arbeitslosgewinn* (Arbeitslos + Losgewinn), *Arbeitsplätzchen* (Arbeitsplatz + Plätzchen), *Armbrustschwimmer* (Armbrust + Brustschwimmer), *Armutprobe* (Armut + Mutprobe), *Assimilisation* (Assimilation + Zivilisation), *Atommeilerstiefel* (Atommeiler + Meilenstiefel), *Atompilzsammler* (Atompilz + Pilzsammler), *Autofriedhofkapelle* (Autofriedhof + Friedhofkapelle), *Bandscheibenbremse* (Bandscheibe + Scheibenbremse), *Barometerware* (Barometer + Meterware), *begleitdigen* (begleiten + beleidigen), *Beneinung* (Bejahung + Verneinung), *Bengelszunge* (Bengel + Engelszunge), *Bettseller* (Bett + Bestseller), *Bilanzknecht* (Bilanz + Landsknecht), *Blitzschlagzeug* (Blitzschlag + Schlagzeug), *Blödsinngebung* (Blödsinn + Sinngebung), *Blutrotbuch* (Blutrot + Rotbuch), *Boxmeisterdieb* (Boxmeister + Meisterdieb), *Bruchbudenhocker* (Bruchbude + Budenhocker), *Bullizist* (Bulle + Polizist), *Bundesratlosigkeit* (Bundesrat + Ratlosigkeit), *CDUnfähigkeit* (CDU + unfähigkeit), *Christfindelkind* (Christkind + Findelkind), *Cinemarxist* (Cinema + marxist), *dämondän* (dämon + mondän), *Dataismus* (Daten(verarbeitung) + Dadalismus), *Demokratatur* (Demokratie + Diktatur), *Denkmaler* (Denkmal + Maler), *Depositenlosigkeit* (Depositen + sittenlosigkeit), *Detonationalhymne* (Detonation + Nationalhymne), *Diebstahlindustrie* (Diebstahl + Stahlindustrie), *Disharmonica* (Disharmonie + Harmonica), *Ehrgeizhals* (Ehrgeiz + Geizhals), *Eisenerzbischof* (Eisenerz + Erzbischof), *Eskimoral* (Eskimo + Moral), *Europathologisch* (Europa + Pathologisch), *Falschgeldanlage* (Falschgeld + Geldanlage), *Fantasiegel* (Fantasie + Siegel), *Faustrechtsstaat* (Faustrecht + Rechtsstaat), *Faustunrecht* (Faustrecht + Unrecht), *Feierabendstern* (Feierabend + Abendstern), *Flitterwochenende* (Flitterwochen + Wochenende), *Flitterwochenbett* (Flitterwochen + Wochenbett), *Formularifari* (Formular + Larifari), *Fortschrott* (Fortschritt + Schrott), *Freibierbühne* (Freibier + Freibühne), *Fritzkrieg* (Fritz + Blitzkrieg), *Frivolitätigkeitsbericht* (Frivolität + Tätigkeitsbericht), *Fussballade* (Fussball + Ballade), *Fussballetristik* (Fussball + Belletristik), *Galantiquität* (Galant + Antiquität), *Geographiker* (Geographie + Graphiker), *germanisch-depressiv* (germanisch + manisch-depressiv), *Gernegrosshandel* (Gernegross + Grosshandel), *Giftzahnarzt* (Giftzahn + Zahnarzt), *Glasbläserkapelle* (Glasbläser + Bläserkapelle), *Golgathal* (Golgatha + Tal), *Götterbrotdieb* (Götterbrot + Brotdieb), *Grundsatzzeichen* (Grundsatz + Satzzeichen), *Hakenkreuzottern* (Hakenkreuz + Kreuzottern), *Hakenkreuzzug* (Hakenkreuz + Kreuzzug), *Hakenkruzifix* (Hakenkreuz + Kruzifix), *Halbweltschmerz* (Halbwelt + Weltschmerz), *Halluzinationalismus* (Halluzination + Nationalismus), *Halluzinazi* (Halluzination + Nazi), *Hampelmannschaft* (Hampelmann + Mannschaft), *Hausinstandbesetzer1* (Hausbesitzer + instandsetzen...), *Hausinstandbesetzer2* (...instandsetzen + besetzen), *Heidesauerkraut* (Heidekraut + Sauerkraut), *himbeergeistvoll* (Himbeergeist + geistvoll), *Himmelschlüsselbein* (Himmelschlüssel + Schlüsselbein), *Hofkunstpfuscher* (Hofkunst + Kunstpfuscher), *HONkels* (HO + Onkel), *Humpelstilzchen* (humpeln + Rumpelstilzchen), *Indiskretin* (indiskret + Kretin), *Inventouristik* (Inventur + Touristik), *ionescomisch* (Ionesco + komisch), *Ja-Panik* (Japan + panik), *Jehovialität* (Jehova + Jovialität), *jein* (ja + nein), *Judaslohnsteuer* (Judaslohn + Lohnsteuer), *ka-lauern* (Kalauer + lauern), *Kaliberté* (Kaliber + Liberté), *Kamelefant* (Kamel + Elefant), *Kanzleisetreter* (Kanzlei + Leisetreter), *karikativ* (Karikatur + karitativ), *kindersprachlos* (Kindersprache + sprachlos), *Klamottenkugel* (Klamotten + Mottenkugel), *klau* (klug + schlau), *Kokainszeichen* (Kokaïn + Kainszeichen), *Ko-librettist* (Kolibri + Librettist), *Kolibrigade* (Kolibri + Brigade), *Kommentartaren* (Kommentar + Tartaren), *Komplikatesse* (Komplikation + Delikatesse), *Kompromissgeburt* (Kompromiss + Missgeburt), *Konkurz* (Konkurs + kurz), *Konkursbuch* (Konkurs + Kursbuch), *Kontaktsperre* (Kontakt +

Taktsperre), *kozsequent* (kotzen + konsequent), *Kurlaub* (Kur + Urlaub), *Labyrindvieh* (Labyrinth + Rindvieh), *lachdienlich* (lachen + sachdienlich), *Lakritzelei* (Lakritze + Kritzelei), *Laufbahnmasche* (Laufbahn + Laufmasche), *Lavendeltreppe* (Lavendel + Wendeltreppe), *Lebertrank* (Lebertran + Trank), *Leckermaulkorb* (Leckermaul + Maulkorb), *Leerlaufbahn* (Leerlauf + Laufbahn), *legintim* (legitim + intim), *lett* (lieb + nett), *liebenswidrig* (liebenswert + widrig), *Liger* (Löwe + Tiger), *Literarhysteriker* (Literarhistoriker + Hysteriker), *Literatrubel* (Literatur + Trubel), *Lokalamität* (Lokal + Kalamität), *Lolitaneien* (Lolita + Litaneien), *LPGeringfügigkeiten* (LPG + Geringfügigkeiten), *Machtwächter* (Macht + Nachtwächter), *Maskenballade* (Maskenball + Ballade), *Mansch* (Mann + Mensch), *mausetotalitär* (mausetot + totalitär), *Medizyniker* (Medizin + Zyniker), *Meisterstückwerk* (Meisterstück + Stückwerk), *Missgeschicksal* (Missgeschick + Schicksal), *Misstonleiter* (Misston + Tonleiter), *monumentan* (Monument + momentan), *morb* (morsch + mürb), *Moskauerwelsch* (Moskau + Kauerwelsch), *Müllionärin* (Müll + Millionärin), *Vielharmonie* (viel + Philharmonie), *Nachtlokalredakteur* (Nachtlokal + Lokalredakteur), *Nacktrice* (nackt + Actrice), *Nähkorbball* (Nähkorb + Korbball), *Narkosewort* (Narkose + Kosewort), *Narragonien* (Narr + Aragonien), *Nashornist* (Nashorn + Hornist), *Nazionist* (Nazi + Zionist), *Negerstammisch* (Negerstamm + Stammtisch), *Nettogewichtelmännchen* (Nettogewicht + Wichtelmännchen), *oblügen* (obliegen + lügen), *Ohnmachthaber* (Ohnmacht + Machthaber), *Öl-egant* (Öl + elegant), *Opferstockfisch* (Opferstock + Stockfisch), *Orchideenflug* (Orchideen + Ideenflug), *Pädagogenschläge* (Pädagoge + Gongschläge), *Paradiesel* (Paradies + Diesel), *Parkettenreaktion* (Parkett + Kettenreaktion), *Paukenschlaganfall* (Paukenschlag + Schlaganfall), *Pelikanaille* (Pelikan + Kanaille), *Pelikanone* (Pelikan + Kanone), *Persilverität* (Persil + Perversität), *Phallosdri* (Phallus + Hallodri), *Phallosophin* (Phallus + Philosophin), *Phalluzination* (Phallus + Halluzination), *Philosophaselei* (Philosophie + Faselei), *Phrasenmäher* (Phrase + Rasenmäher), *Polizeitung* (Polizei + Zeitung), *Primitiefsinn* (primitif + Tiefsinn), *Profittiche* (Profit + Fittiche), *Promillionär* (Promille + Millionär), *Psychedelikatessen* (psychedelic + Delikatessen), *Quonne* (Qual + Wonne), *Radikalauer* (radikal + Kalauer), *Rebusfahrer* (Rebus + Busfahrer), *Restauratorium* (Restauration + Oratorium), *Ringfingernagel* (Ringfinger + Fingernagel), *Rotweinkampf* (Rotwein + Weinkampf), *Sabogent* (Saboteur + Agent), *Sackgassenkehrer* (Sackgasse + Gassenkehrer), *Safarisiko* (Safari + Risiko), *Satzbauhaus* (Satzbau + Bauhaus), *Schaumweingeistreich1* (Schaumwein + Weingeist ...), *Schaumweingeistreich2* (... Weingeist + geistreich), *Scheinheiligschein* (scheinheilig + Heiligschein), *Schlachtbankier* (Schlachtbank + Bankier), *Schlappschuss* (schlapp + Schnappschuss), *Schlawiener* (Schlawiner + Wiener), *Schlepptauwetter* (Schlepptau + Tauwetter), *Schlechtival* (schlecht + Festival), *Schmusik* (schmusen + Musik), *Schnapsbruderschaft* (Schnapsbruder + Bruderschaft), *Schokoladentisch* (Schokolade + Ladentisch), *schornsteinreich* (Schornstein + steinreich), *Schreibtischgebet* (Schreibtisch + Tischgebet), *schuhverlässlich* (Schuh + zuverlässig), *Schwermutmassung* (Schwermut + Mutmassung), *Seifenblasenleiden* (Seifenblasen + Blasenleiden), *Semikolonist* (Semikolon + Kolonist), *Senilpferd* (senil + Nilpferd), *Sexbombenangriff* (Sexbomb + Bombenangriff), *Sexeget* (Sex + Exeget), *sexpansiv* (Sex + expansiv), *sexzentrisch* (Sex + exzentrisch), *Sinnflut* (Sinn + Sintflut), *Skandalmdudler* (Skandal + Almdudler), *Skandelaber* (Skandal + Kandelaber), *slavatisch* (slavonisch + kroatisch), *Somnambuhle* (somnambul + Buhle), *Sonderphallus* (Sonderfall + Phallus), *Spätnik* (spät + Sputnik), *Sportographie* (Sport + Ortographie), *stammheimlich* (Stammheim + klammheimlich), *Sündenfallobst* (Sündenfall + Fallobst), *sympadisch* (sympatisch + badisch), *Taifunzel* (Taifun + Funzel), *Tapetenmusterehen* (Tapetenmuster + Musterehen), *Telegrammatik* (Telegramm + Grammatik), *Tempolemik* (Tempo + Polemik), *Theolügenbeutel* (Theologen + Lügenbeutel), *Tomoffel* (Tomate + Kartoffel), *Tränensackgasse* (Tränensack + Sackgasse), *unanbequem* (unangenehm + unbequem), *Überzeugungsakt* (Überzeugung + Zeugungsakt), *Unheiland* (Unheil + Heiland), *Unheilanstalt* (Unheil + Heilanstalt), *Unrechtschreibung* (Unrecht + Rechtschreibung), *Unterstreichmusik* (unterstreich + Streichmusik), *Unterweltanschauung* (Unterwelt + weltanschauung), *Utiliteratur* (utilitaristisch + Literatur), *Verschwindsucht* (verschwind + Schwindsucht), *Versorgungskontorso* (Versorgungskonto + Torso), *Verstandesbeamter* (Verstand + Standesbeamter), *Viehshionomik* (Vieh + Physionomik), *Volksetymogeleyen* (Volksetymologie + Mogeleyen), *wesentiell* (wesentlich + essentiell), *Wespennestwärme* (Wespennest + Nestwärme), *Wetteifersucht* (Wetteifer + Eifersucht), *wildschön* (wild + bildschön), *Wirtschaftstiefwunder* (Wirtschaftstief + ...wunder), *Witzenschaft* (Witz + Wissenschaft), *Wortbildhauer* (Wortbild + Bildhauer), *wortschrittlich* (Wort + fortschrittlich), *Wortspielhölle* (Wortspiel + Spielhölle), *Zinnentstellung* (Zinn + Sinnentstellung), *Zwielichspiele* (Zwielicht + Lichtspiele).

## French LEX-BLs

*aberrifique* (aberrant + horifique), *abricoteries* (abricots + coteries), *agendarme* (agent + gendarme), *aggravitation* (aggravation + gravitation), *agit-proprette* (agit-prop + proprette), *aigrivain* (aigri + écrivain), *aiguillotine* (aiguille + guillotine), *alcooolade* (alcool + accolade), *alcoolyte* (alcooolique + acolyte), *alibibi* (alibi + bibi), *amalgramme* (amalgame + anagramme), *amarouché* (amouraché + effarouché), *américanoïaque* (américain + paranoïaque), *amnistice* (amnistie + armistice), *amphibiguïté* (amphibie + ambiguïté),

*anagrammaire* (anagramme + grammaire), *analgébriste* (analiste + algébriste), *animalitaire* (animalier + humanitaire), *animalphabet* (animal + alphabet), *antégriste* (anti-Christe + intégriste), *apostrosser* (apostropher + rosser), *aragais* (arabe + portugais), *aristocrâne* (aristocrate + crâne), *aristocrasseux* (aristocrate + crasseux), *aristogustin* (aristocrate + augustin), *armerde* (armée + merde), *armitiés* (armes + amitiés), *arthéologie* (archéologie + théologie), *ashkérades* (ashkénase + séfarade), *astromôme* (astronome + môme), *atmosphérique* (atmosphérique + féérique), *audimarathonien* (audimat + marathonien), *autobiographe* (autobiographe + grave), *autobiogriffe* (autobiographie + griffe), *autobsession* (auto + obsession), *autumnante* (automne + étonnante), *automobilité* (automobile + mobilité), *baratartiner* (baratiner + tartiner), *Barrasme* (Barre + masme), *barreborygme* (Barre + borborygme), *barricadres* (barricades + cadres), *barrocardiste* (barriste + rocardiste), *bavardhurler* (bavarder + hurler), *bavardîner* (bavarder + dîner), *béaltitude* (béatitude + altitude), *bébétude* (bébé + hébétude), *bébin* (bébé + bambin), *béhabitude* (béatitude + habitude), *beurgeois* (beur + bourgeois), *bibliothéconomie* (bibliothèque + économie), *Bichelieu* (Bismark + Richelieu), *bisouterie* (bisou + bijouterie), *bistroquet* (bistrot + troquet), *blâmard* (blâme + cafard), *blessourd* (blessé + sourd), *bosphormidable* (bosphore + formidable), *bourreaucratie* (bourreau + bureaucratie), *brasserive* (brasserie + rive), *brigoler* (bricoler + rigoler), *brodouiller* (broder + bredouiller), *cacathédrale* (caca + cathédrale), *cafélin* (café + félin), *calembourbier* (calembour + bourbier), *calembourde* (calembour + bourde), *calembourrasque* (calembour + bourrasque), *caméscope* (caméra + magnétoscope), *camisolitude* (camisole + solitude), *canaillarchie* (canaille + anarchie), *caoutchouchouter* (caoutchou + chouchouter), *capothéose* (capoter + apothéose), *carburéacteur* (carburant + réacteur), *carthaginoiseries* (carthaginois + chinoiseries), *cataplanche* (catamaran + planche (à voile)), *catapostrophe* (catastrophe + apostrophe), *catholischisme* (catholicisme + schisme), *caveaubulaire* (caveau + vocabulaire), *célibattante* (célibataire + battante), *centannuaire* (centenaire + annuaire), *charlacan* (charlatan + Lacan), *chevalchimie* (cheval + alchimie), *chiantifique* (chiant + scientifique), *chien-panzé* (chien + chinpanzé), *Chirouette* (Chirac + girouette), *cinavortement* (cinéma + avortement), *cinémagique* (cinéma + magique), *cinémanimaux* (cinéma + animaux), *cinémateur* (cinéma + amateur), *cinépuisement* (cinéma + épuisement), *circonférencier* (circonférence + conférencier), *circonvulsion* (circonvolution + convulsion), *cisologique* (ciseau + zoologique), *clocho* (clochard + clodo), *clodard* (clodo + clochard), *coca-colonisation* (coca-cola + colonisation), *cocoricollarisme* (cocorico + collarisme), *coïtération* (coït + itération), *commutativité* (commutativité + activité), *concordial* (Concorde + cordial), *concupiscence* (concupiscence + cubiste), *confipote* (confiture + compote), *Confuciusional* (Confucius + confessionnal), *congaulois* (congolais + gaulois), *constipation* (constipation + passion), *cordoléance* (cordial + doléance), *cosmopolisson* (cosmopolitain + polisson), *couacophonie* (couac + cacophonie), *croquemigraine* (croquemitaine + migraine), *cybernéma* (cybernétique + cinéma), *Dantonique* (Danton + tonique), *débouliner* (débouler + dégouliner), *débricolage* (débris + bricolage), *déceptioniste* (déception + réceptioniste), *délicaresse* (délicatesse + caresse), *délicieux* (délicieux + vicieux), *démonstre* (démon + monstre), *diabolitique* (diabolique + politique), *documenteur* (documentaire + menteur), *économistérieux* (économie + mystérieux), *écrivaineux* (écrivain + haineux), *éducastreur* (éducateur + castreur), *édification* (éducation + édification), *égologique* (égo + écologique), *électrotiser* (électriser + érotiser), *électrhystérique* (électrique + hystérique), *éléphantaisiste* (éléphant + fantaisiste), *éléphantobus* (éléphant + autobus), *élévache* (élevage + vache), *élitérature* (élite + littérature), *embrouillonner* (embrouiller + bouillonner), *enfantaisies* (enfant + fantaisies), *enfantasque* (enfant + fantasque), *enfantimages* (enfantillages + images), *ennuiversel* (ennui + universel), *éphémérde* (éphémère + merde), *épidermabrasion* (épiderme + abrasion), *épouvantard* (épouvant + vantard), *esplace* (espace + place), *éternullité* (éternité + nullité), *ethnostalgique* (ethno + nostalgie), *étudiamant* (étudiant + amant), *euphorisme* (euphorie + aphorisme), *explosion* (explosion + exposition), *farfelunettes* (farfelu + lunettes), *fécondatrice* (fécond + conductrice), *fellahcieux* (fellah + fallacieux), *fessetival* (fesse + festival), *fictionnaire* (fiction + dictionnaire), *filministe* (film + féministe), *filmontage* (film + montage), *fixion* (fixe + fiction), *fligolo* (flic + gigolo), *floribond* (florissant + moribond), *folluptueux* (fol + voluptueux), *foultitude* (foule + multitude), *fruitillante* (fruitée + pétillante), *führanoïa* (Führer + paranoïa), *funamboule* (funambule + en boule), *futurlupinade* (futur + turlupinade), *garaque* (garage + baraque), *gastroquet* (gastronomie + troquet), *gauchemar* (gauche + cauchemar), *girafenêtre* (girafe + fenêtre), *giraffoler* (girafe + raffoler), *Giscarpette* (Giscard + carquette), *Goncourtiser* (Goncourt + courtiser), *gondolance* (gondole + somnolance), *grammaniaque* (grammairien + maniaque), *gouvernebanca* (gouvernemental + banca), *harmolodique* (harmonie + mélodique), *hebdromadaire* (hebdomadaire + dromadaire), *hécatombola* (hécatombe + tombola), *hépathétique* (hépathique + pathétique), *hérésistance* (hérésie + résistance), *hétérorisme* (hétéro(sexuel) + terrorisme), *heureupéen* (heureux + européen), *hilarsenic* (hilare + arsenic), *hippidémie* (hippie + épidémie), *humanaïque* (humain + maniaque), *humanimalité* (humain + animalité), *humarathon* (humanité + marathon), *humoureux* (humoriste + amoureux), *hypoChrist* (hypocrite + Christ), *hypocritiquement* (hypocrite + critiquement), *icônerie* (icône + connerie), *ignommable* (ignominie + inommable), *illuogicien* (illusion + logicien), *imagination* (imagination + machination), *inconciliabule* (inconciliable + conciliabule), *infâmille* (infâme + famille), *infostantane* (information + instantanée), *ingénuflexion* (ingénu + génuflexion), *insolitude* (insolite + solitude), *instinctestins* (instinct + intestins), *intelligentement* (intelligemment + gentiment), *interlotuteur* (interlocuteur + tuteur),

*Instambulversant* (Instambul + bulversant), *jaloup-garoup* (jaloux + loup-garoup), *japoniaiserie* (japonais + niaiserie), *jargonautes* (jargon + Argonautes), *jargot* (jargon + argot), *JEnocide* (je + génocide), *jouisseur* (jouissance + Jussieux), *Joxe-terrier* (Joxe + fox-terrier), *jupe-conscient* (jupe + subconscient), *juplotte* (jupe + culotte), *kamasoutrage* (kamasoutra + outrage), *karatechattes* (karatéka + chatte), *lincuistre* (linguiste + cuistre), *littératurer* (littérature + raturer), *livresse* (livre + ivresse), *locomotivé* (locomotive + motivé), *madrécoraux* (madrépore + coraux), *Mahochrist* (Mahomet + Christ), *maimoire* (mai + mémoire), *mallise* (malle + valise), *Maradollars* (Maradona + dollars), *Maradonaples* (Maradona + Naples), *masogique* (masochiste + magique), *massacrilège* (massacrer + sacrilège), *masturbin* (masturber + turbin), *mécontemporain* (mécontent + contemporain), *médiamnésie* (média + amnésie), *médiartiste* (média + artiste), *méditactif* (méditatif + actif), *méfiançailles* (méfiance + fiançailles), *mégérie* (mégère + égérie), *mégoïste* (mégot + égoïste), *mélancomique* (mélancolie + comique), *mélomaniaque* (mélomane + maniaque), *ménopausotamie* (ménopause + Mésopotamie), *mercantilyrisme* (mercantilisme + lyrisme), *mercredées* (mercredi + idées), *météorique* (météore + théorique), *métropolitique* (métropole + politique), *midîneur* (midi + dîneur), *misanthroglodyte* (misanthrope + troglodyte), *moitrinaire* (moi + poitrinaire), *monarchiennerie* (monarchie + chiennerie), *mongolfiade* (mongolfière + olympiade), *monstruation* (monstre + menstruation), *multimédiartiste* (multimédia + artiste), *musaique* (musique + mosaïque), *muscadenas* (muscade + cadenas), *musicomédien* (musiciens + comédiens), *musicionnaire* (musique + dictionnaire), *mystigorique* (mystique + allégorique), *naf-naffaire* (naf-naf + affaire), *naïvité* (naïveté + nativité), *nanarchisant* (nana + anarchisant), *nauséabondance* (nauséabond + abondance), *négropolitaine* (négro + métropolitaine), *neurocomunisme* (neuro- + eurocomunisme), *normalignité* (normalité + malignité), *nostalgérie* (nostalgie + Algérie), *nostradamusant* (Nostradamus + amusant), *nuicide* (nuit + suicide), *nullibiquité* (nullité + ubiquité), *obaldiable d'homme* (Obaldia + diable d'homme), *onaniversaire* (onanie + anniversaire), *onomatopoétique* (onomatopéique + poétique), *optimystique* (optimiste + mystique), *oradorateur* (orateur + adorateur), *ordinausaure* (ordinateur + dinosaure), *orthogaffe* (orthographe + gaffe), *Oulipotes* (Oulipo + potes), *utiliser* (outil + utiliser), *palimgeste* (palimpseste + geste), *papapillon* (papa + papillon), *papatrie* (papa + patrie), *paralympiques* (paralytique + Olympiques), *Parisgoler* (Paris + rigoler), *Paristroïka* (Paris + perestroïka), *parlementeur* (parlementaire + menteur), *patriotocard* (patriote + tocard), *pauvrisseur* (pauvre + provisseur), *pénétraversé* (pénétrer + traversé), *pépédalante* (pépé + pédalante), *personagité* (personnalité + agité), *phalanstère* (phalange + monastère), *phallucination* (phallus + hallucination), *phallustrade* (phallus + balustrade), *phénomène* (phénomène + noumène), *phonore* (phonique + sonore), *photocopillage* (photocopie + pillage), *picoléreux* (picoler + coléreux), *pitriote* (pitre + patriote), *plaisirlande* (plaisir + Irlande), *pleurire* (pleurer + rire), *poésure* (poésie + peinture), *polichinin* (polichinelle + arlequin), *pornoviseur* (pornographique + proviseur), *portagnol* (portugais + espagnol), *potimarron* (potiron + marron), *pourspérer* (pouirrir + espérer), *poursticher* (poursuivre + pasticher), *préfecturpitude* (préfecture + turpitude), *prostipute* (prostitute + pute), *provillusoire* (provisoire + illusoire), *provocasseur* (provocateur + casseur), *pubéreuse* (pubère + tubéreuse), *puđibondieuserie* (puđibond + bondieuserie), *quinquagérial* (quinquagénaire + génial), *rachitive* (rachitique + chétive), *racontinue* (raconte + continue), *radigaleux* (radical + galeux), *radioteux* (radio + radoteux), *raplaplate-forme* (raplapla + plate-forme), *réfolution* (réforme + révolution), *remue-méninges* (remue-ménage + méninges), *(se) renconfrogner* (rencontrer + renfrogner), *reporterre* (reporter + terre), *rhinocérossignol* (rhinocéros + rossignol), *rhinoféroce* (rhinocéros + féroce), *rigoulot* (rigolo + goulot), *Riminiscence* (Rimini + réminiscence), *Rocardbespierre* (Rocard + Robespierre), *rococoterie* (rococo + coterie), *romansonge* (roman + mensonge), *salamandragore* (salamandre + mandragore), *samedimanche* (samedi + dimanche), *sarcastifleur* (sarcastique + persifleur), *schizophrénétique* (schizophrène + phrénétique), *séduisant* (séduisant + savant), *sentimage* (sentiment + image), *sentimenteur* (sentiment + menteur), *s'étrangleuler* (s'étrangler + gueuler), *saxogénaire* (saxophoniste + sexagénaire), *séfanase* (séfarade + ashkenase), *sénateur* (sénateur + tueur), *sexercice* (sexe + exercice), *sexiproque* (sexe + réciproque), *signifiancés* (signifiants + fiancés), *snobiliaire* (snob + nobiliaire), *snobservateur* (snob + observateur), *Somorrhe* (Sodome + Gomorrhe), *somnambidule* (sombambul + bidule), *sophistoqué* (sophistiqué + toqué), *Sorbonagre* (Sorbone + onagre), *spectaculateur* (spectateur + spéculateur), *spermissive* (sperme + permissive), *sportable* (sport + portable), *stator* (statique + rotor), *stéradian* (stéréo + radian), *submerfuge* (submergé + subterfuge), *suicidéurgie* (suicide + sidéurgie), *surrenchiisme* (surrenchère + chiisme), *symptraumatise* (symptôme + traumatiser), *tauromagie* (tauromachie + magie), *Tchernobâle* (Tchernobyl + Bâle), *teignasse* (teigne + tignasse), *télébrité* (télévision + célébrité), *télélysée* (télévision + élysée), *télépater* (télépathie + épater), *télépholie* (téléphone + folie), *téléphonctionner* (téléphone + fonctionner), *téléthique* (télévision + éthique), *texticules* (texte + testicules), *textile* (textile + utile), *topinambourlinguer* (topinambour + bourlinguer), *torcheculatif* (torche-cul + spéculatif), *trafouiller* (travailler + farfouiller), *tranquillitude* (tranquillité + quiétude), *tristoce* (triste + féroce), *trombihoroscope* (trombine + horoscope), *uburbanisme* (Ubu + urbanisme), *universatilité* (université + versatilité), *valdorloter* (valdotain + dorloter), *Vaticancan* (Vatican + cancan), *verranne* (verre + fibranne), *vérotationnaire* (vérole + révolutionnaire), *vertigénial* (vertige + génial), *Vichyssitude* (Vichy + vicissitude), *vidéopérette* (vidéo + opérette), *villoyen* (villageois + citoyen), *violupté* (viol + volupté), *voluptial* (volupté + nuptial), *Yoghourmand* (yoghourt + gourmand).

## Italian LEX-BLs

*Alitalia* (ali + Italia), *amerasiatico* (americano + asiatico), *archipittura* (architettura + pittura), *Aschimici* (associazione (industriali) + chimici), *Assicredito1* (associazione + italiana...), *Assicredito2* (...italiana (del) + credito), *Assobancaria* (associazione + bancaria), *Assocarni* (associazione + carni), *Assografici* (associazione + grafici), *Assolombarda* (associazione + lombarda), *Assoscuola* (associazione + scuola), *Bankitalia* (banca (d') + Italia), *calcementi* (calci + cementi), *cantautore* (cantante + autore), *cartolibreria* (cartoleria + libreria), *cattocomunista* (cattolico + comunista), *Cereagricola* (cereali + agricola), *Coldiretti* (coltivatori + diretti), *Confagricoltura* (confederazione + agricoltura), *Confcommercio* (confederazione + commercio), *Confcooperative* (confederazione + cooperative), *Confederterra* (confederazione + terra), *Confedilizia* (confederazione + edilizia), *Confesercenti* (confederazione + esercenti), *Confindustria* (confederazione + industria), *Corsera* (Corriere (della) + Sera), *Edagricole* (edizioni + agricole), *eroicomico* (eroico + comico), *esentasse* (esente + tasse), *Eurasia* (Europa + Asia), *Fabbriguerra* (fabbricazioni + guerra), *fantascienza* (fantasia + scienza), *Farmitalia* (farmaci + Italia), *Fedepesca* (federazione + pesca), *Federbraccianti* (federazione + braccianti), *Federcalcio* (federazione + calcio), *Federgrani* (federazione + grani), *Federmetalli* (federazione + metalli), *Federstampa* (federazione + stampa), *Federterra* (federazione + terra), *Fedeseta* (federazione + seta), *ferrotramvieri* (ferrovieri + tramvieri), *fertigazione* (fertilizzazione + irrigazione), *Finmare* (finanziaria + mare), *Finmeccanica* (finanziaria + meccanica), *fubbia* (fumo + nebbia), *furgonoleggio* (furgone + noleggio), *Genepesca* ((compagnia) generale + pesca), *impumone* (imputato + testimone), *infostrada* (informazione + strada), *innocentrista* (innocentista + centrista), *Italcasse* ((società) italiana + casse), *Italcementi* ((società) italiana + cementi), *Italgas* ((società) italiana + gas), *kiwana* (kiwi + banana), *leopone* (leopardo + leone), *mandarancio* (mandarino + arancio), *maorxismo* (maoismo + marxismo), *metalmeccanico* (metallo + meccanico), *meccatronico* (meccanico + elettronico), *Miproguerra* ((ministero per la) programmazione + guerra), *Montedison* (Montecatini + Edison), *narcotraffico* (narcotici + traffico), *Palaghiaccio* (palazzo + ghiaccio), *Palatrussardi* (palazzo + Trussardi), *pantacollant* (pantaloni + collant), *papamobile* (papa + automobile), *pecapra* (pecora + capra), *pessiottimismo* (pessimismo + ottimismo), *Polstrada* (polizia + strada), *quallina* (quaglia + gallina), *qualunfascismo* (qualunquismo + fascismo), *ristobar* (ristorante + bar), *rosviola* (rosso + viola), *Sampdoria* (Sampierdarena + Doria), *tigone* (tigre + leone), *turismatica* (turismo + informatica), *Unioncamere* (unione + camere (di commercio)), *vidiota* (video + idiota), *zebrallo* (zebra + cavallo), *zebrasino* (zebra + asino).

## Italian SYL-ACRs

*Acmonital1* (acciaio monetario...), *Acmonital2* (... monetario italiano), *Acoser1* (azienda consorziale...), *Acoser2* (... consorziale servizi...), *Acoser3* (... servizi (del) Reno), *Armir1* (armata italiana...), *Armir2* (... italiana (in) Russia), *Ascom* (associazione commercianti), *Assap1* (associazione agenzie...), *Assap2* (... agenzie pubblicitarie), *Assider* (associazione (industrie) siderurgiche), *Avedisco1* (associaz. vendite...), *Avedisco2* (... vendite dirette...), *Avedisco3* (... dirette servizi...), *Avedisco4* (... servizi consumatori), *Cambital* (cambio italiano), *Carige1* (cassa risparmio...), *Carige2* (... risparmio Genova), *Carisbo1* (cassa risparmio...), *Carisbo2* (... risparmio (di) Bologna), *Casmez* (cassa (del) mezzogiorno), *Codacons1* (coordinamento delle...), *Codacons2* (... delle associazioni...), *Codacons3* (... associazioni (dei) consumatori), *Cogepesca1* (commissariato generale...), *Cogepesca2* (... generale (della) pesca), *Comiliter1* (comando militare...), *Comiliter2* (... militare territoriale), *Confida1* (confederazione italiana...), *Confida2* (... italiana degli...), *Confida3* (... degli agricoltori), *Confital1* (consorzio fiduciario...), *Confital2* (... fiduciario italiano), *Confitarma1* (confederazione italiana...), *Confitarma2* (... italiana armatori), *Coreco1* (comitato regionale...), *Coreco2* (... regionale (di) controllo), *Coremar1* (compagnia regionale...), *Coremar2* (... regionale marittima), *Credit* (credito italiano), *Dirstat* (Dirigenti statali), *Endirot1* (Ente distribuzione...), *Endirot2* (... distribuzione rottami), *Fininvest* (finanziaria investimenti), *Finsider* (Finanziaria siderurgica), *Formez* (Ist. formazione (e studi sul) Mezzogiorno), *INCOM1* (industria corti...), *INCOM2* (... corti metraggi), *Italsider* ((società) italiana (per la) siderurgia), *Italtel* ((società) italiana telefoni), *mapo* (mandarino pompelmo), *Maripers* (marina personale), *Milmart1* (milizia marittima...), *Milmart2* (... marittima artiglieria), *Mincomes1* (ministero commercio...), *Mincomes2* (... commercio estero), *Minculpop1* (ministero cultura...), *Minculpop2* (... cultura popolare), *MITO*

(Milano Torino), *Modit* (moda italiana), *Monital* (monopolio italiano), *Polfer* (polizia ferroviaria), *Superal* (superiorità alimentare), *TOTIP* (totalizzatore ippico).