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Blend formation in Modern Greek*

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Abstract: In this paper we discuss lexical blending as a rather novel but developing word-formation process in Modern Greek. We understand blends as deliberate creations that follow the structure of [stem word] compounds. We claim that the formation of blends is subject to headedness restrictions and, unlike compounds, both constituents of blends are reduced, with the non-head assuming a stronger form reduction. In our view, blend formation is situated at the boundary of linguistic competence and creativity: if blends share a certain structure with compounds, blending could be considered as part of the native speaker's linguistic competence. However, blends differ from compounds, in that speakers create them consciously and intentionally, for specific communicative purposes.

Key words: lexical blends, compounds, endocentricity, exocentricity, reduction, competence, creativity, subvarieties, marginal vocabularies.

1. Definition and main claims

It is generally accepted that a blend is created from the structural fusion of two words. The byproduct of this fusion is the truncation of segmental material from the inner edges of the two constituents, or from only one of them. As claimed by Bat-El (1996), semantically, a blend delivers the concept of the two base words, and its meaning is contingent upon the semantic relation between them. Similarly, Hock and Joseph (1996) describe blending as a process delivering both a new *signifiant* and a new *signifié*.

A blend resembles a compound, since both formations involve the combination of two (or more) lexemes. However, while the form of blends results from conscious thinking, as stated by Ronneberger-Sibold (2006: 157), a compound is generated effortlessly according to word-formation mechanisms.

In this paper, following Dressler (2000) and Ronneberger-Sibold (2006), we accept that blending is subject to a general pragmatic constraint, which is imposed by the speakers' willingness to form a blend with a certain degree of semantic transparency, depending on various communicative purposes. However, we claim that although Greek blends may be deliberate creations, their structure follows the structure of a certain type of Greek compounds, namely that of [stem word] (Ralli 2007, 2009), where the first constituent is always a stem, and the second constituent a word. More specifically, we show that: a) blend formation is subject to headedness considerations, according to which the head is the righthand element, as is the case with Greek endocentric compounds; b) while compounds are subject to a morphologically-constrained form reduction with respect to the first constituent, in blends, both constituents may be reduced, with the non-head assuming a stronger form reduction, and the semantically empty compound marker *-o-* never surfaces. Thus, we agree with Soudek (1978: 466) that even if Greek blends are not fully identical to compounds, they are basically built according to normal rules of word formation, in our case, Modern Greek compound formation.

We finally propose that blend formation is situated at the boundary of linguistic competence and creativity: if blends share a certain structure with compounds, blending could be considered as part of the native speaker's linguistic competence. However, as already said, blends differ from compounds, in that speakers create them intentionally, for specific communicative purposes.

Claims and proposals are exemplified on the basis of a corpus comprising *ca.* 200 blends, which were collected from dialectal and general dictionaries of Greek and, mostly, internet term bases and blogs (see e.g. www.slang.gr).

2. Blending vs. Compounding

Blends are one-word units, which may be compared to compounds with respect to the following properties.

Both types of constructions are phonological words, that is they display only one stress, while each member has its own stress, when taken as an independent word:

- (1)a. Compounds
- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>limnothalasa</i>
'lagoon' | < | <i>limn(i)</i> ¹
'lake' | <i>thalasa</i>
'sea' |
| <i>psarosupa</i>
'fish soup' | < | <i>psar(i)</i>
'fish' | <i>supa</i>
'soup' |
- b. Blends
- | | | | |
|--|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>aerajito</i>
'food served on airplanes' | < | <i>aer(as)</i> ²
'air' | <i>(f)ajito</i>
'food' |
| <i>agnigenis</i>
'a relative you have
never met' | < | <i>agn(ostos)</i>
'unknown' | <i>(s)igenis</i>
'relative' |

According to Ralli (2007, 2009), the majority of Greek compounds are built on the basis of two structural patterns, [stem stem] and [stem word] (see (2a) below).³ Those which have the [stem stem] structure display a different inflectional ending from that of the second constituent, when taken in isolation, and are always stressed on the antepenultimate syllable. In contrast, compounds of the [stem word] pattern do not differ from the second constituent with respect to stress and inflection. Since blends also share the inflection and the stress with their second member, we suppose that their formation belongs to the [stem word] type:

- (2)a. Compound
- | | | |
|-------------------|--------|--|
| [stem stem] | | [stem word] |
| <i>kuklospito</i> | < | <i>kukl(a) spit(i)</i> |
| 'doll house' | 'doll' | 'house' |
| | | <i>domatosalata</i> < <i>domat(a) salata</i> |
| | | 'tomato salad' 'tomato' 'salad' |
- b. Blend
- | | | |
|-------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| [stem stem] | | [stem word] |
| n/a | | <i>vlama</i> |
| | | < <i>vla(kas) (vli)ma</i> |
| | | 'very stupid' 'stupid' 'thick' |
| | | <i>jiroini</i> |
| | | < <i>jir(os) (ir)oini</i> |
| | | 'kebab-addiction' 'kebab' 'heroine' |

Blends and compounds combine the same grammatical categories. There are [noun noun] or [adjective noun] instances, [noun verb], [adverb verb] and [verb verb] ones, as well as [adjective adjective] examples. Moreover, the constituent members of both categories bear the same functional relations, that is subordinative, attributive and coordinative (Bisetto and Scalise 2005). For an illustration, consider the following cases:

(3)a. NN subordinative Compound

psarósupa < *psár(i) súpα*
 ‘fish soup’ ‘fish’ ‘soup’

Blend

ayapúði < *ayáp(i) (tray)úði*
 ‘love song’ ‘love’ ‘song’

b. NN coordinative Compound

jíðopróvata < *jíð(ja) próvata*
 ‘goats and sheep’ ‘goats’ ‘sheep’

Blend

krópoli < *k(eri) (p)rópoli*
 ‘wax and propolis’ ‘wax’ ‘propolis’

c. NN attributive Compound

vroxónero < *vrox(i) neró*
 ‘rain water’ ‘rain’ ‘water’

Blend

vermuðjárís < *verm(úða) (ark)uðjárís*
 ‘man with hairy legs wearing bermuda shorts’ ‘bermuda’ ‘bear’

d. AN attributive Compound

mavropínakas < *mávr(os) pínakas*
 ‘blackboard’ ‘black’ ‘board’

Blend

vlaksitzís < *vlaks (taks)itzís*
 ‘stupid taxi driver’ ‘stupid’ ‘taxi driver’

- e. AA coordinative Compound
ksinóylikos < *ksin(ós) ylikós*
 ‘sweet and sour’ ‘sweet’ ‘sour’

Blend

psidrós < *psi(lós) (xo)drós*
 ‘tall and fat’ ‘tall’ ‘fat’

- f. NV subordinative Compound
afisokoló < *afis(a) koló*
 ‘stick posters’ ‘poster’ ‘stick’

Blend

sidirázo < *sidi (ayo)rázo*
 ‘buy a newspaper to get the CD’ ‘CD’ ‘buy’

- g. AdvV subordinative Compound
krifokitázo < *krif(á) kitázo*
 ‘peek’ ‘stealthily’ ‘look’

Blend

ipulegízo < *ípul(a) (pros)egízo*
 ‘approach in an insidious manner’ ‘insidiously’ ‘approach’

- h. VV coordinative Compound
aniyoklíno < *aní(o) klíno*
 ‘open and close’ ‘open’ ‘close’

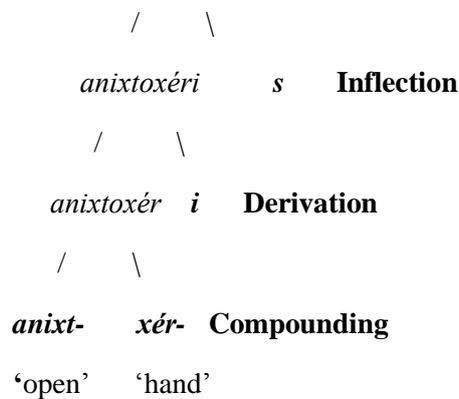
Blend

vréalízi < *vréx(i) (psi)xalízi*
 ‘it rains in small drops’ ‘it rains’ ‘drizzle’

Subordinative and attributive blends are subject to rightward headedness, exactly like compounds. In both categories, heads transmit their category and specific meaning to the mother nodes, as in the examples (3a,c,d,e,g,h) above. Headedness does not generally apply to coordinative structures (in both compounds and blends, see (3b,f,i)), since the two constituents are juxtaposed one after the other, and neither of the

two is responsible for the category and the basic meaning of the construction as a whole. Crucially though, and as opposed to compounding, where exocentric formations are productively built, Greek blending does not show any exocentric structures. In our view, this is due to two reasons. First, exocentricity induces semantic unpredictability in that there is a meaning which does not follow from that of the constituent parts. Since semantically a blend is also less transparent than a compound, as a result of its considerable form reduction, it would be impossible for the speakers to calculate the meaning of the blend as it would have become completely opaque.⁴ Second, as claimed by Ralli (2007) and Ralli and Andreou (2010), in Greek exocentric compounds a derivational suffix is added to the composition of two lexemes, as shown in (4), which gives the compound its grammatical category and the specific meaning ‘which/who has the property of’:

(4) *anixtoxéris* ‘generous’ **Exocentric formation**



The presence of this suffix makes the final output of the compound a derived structure, something impossible with blends, which combine only two lexemes and are not subject to further word formation, i.e. derivation.

On the basis of these remarks, it is legitimate to claim that blend formation in Greek starts as a type of [stem word] compound formation, but it further assumes a form reduction, which affects both constituents. Moreover, while the presence of a marker/linking element *-o-* is obligatory in compounds (5a), in blends, it never surfaces (see 5b):⁵

- (5)a. Compound
psil-ó-liynos < *psil(ós) liynós*
 ‘tall and thin’ ‘tall’ ‘thin’
- b. Blend
psidrós < *psi(lós) (xo)drós*
 ‘tall and fat’ ‘tall’ ‘fat’

3. Form reduction

As stated above, blends are subject to a form reduction affecting both constituents. However, since compounds also seem to undergo a certain type of form reduction, we should make a distinction between reduction in blending and reduction in compounding. First, compounds do not have a word-internal inflectional ending. In other words, the first constituent of compound structures is generally a stem, that is, a word deprived of its inflectional ending. As opposed to compounds though, and as shown in (2) above, segment deletion in blends is not restricted to the inflection of the first constituent, but may affect both constituents and involve parts of their stems. Second, it has been shown by Ralli and Karasimos (2009) that a constraint, the so-called *Bare-stem constraint*, systematically forbids derivational suffixes to be overtly realized within compounds. According to this constraint, compounds keep their internal structural cohesion by requiring the first stem constituents to be as bare as possible, i.e. without any overt suffixal material, as shown below:

- (6)a. *kliðabaróno* < *klið-ón(o) abaróno*
 ‘padlock’ ‘lock’ ‘bar’
- b. *kriřokitázo* < *kriř-á kitázo*
 ‘peek’ ‘stealthily’ ‘look’

Thus, formations containing a stem and a word, where only a derivational suffix is absent from the first stem, are true compounds and not blends.⁶

With respect to the phonological reduction that blends are subject to, we assume a prosodic structure, as put forward in the relevant literature (e.g. in Bat-El (1996) for Hebrew, Arvaniti (1998) for Greek, Kubozono (1990) for Japanese, Bertinetto (2001) for French, German and Italian and

Trommer and Zimmermann (this volume) for Spanish). In this line of thought, while the first constituent of Greek blends can be reduced to the point of keeping only the onset of the first syllable, the second constituent, i.e. the head, keeps the maximum of material. Since blends, like compounds, are subject to right headedness, we believe that maximization of the size of the head makes it easier to identify, and facilitates the semantic recoverability of the formation.

The crucial role of the head in blending is also shown by the syllabic length of the construction, which, in the majority of cases, follows that of the head, as also shown by Kubozono (1990) for Japanese and English.⁷ However, there are also exceptions, where the size of a Greek blend surpasses that of the second constituent by one syllable at most, displaying also an alteration of the onset of its second syllable:

- (7)a. *pe.zo.tí.zo* < *pe.zós* *po.tí.zo*
 ‘splash a pedestrian’ ‘pedestrian’ ‘splash’
 vs. possible blend **pezízo* and compound **pezopotízo*
- b. *kor.na.lá.kas* < *kor.ná.ɾə* *ma.lá.kas*
 ‘a “wanker” driver who blew the horn’ ‘blow the horn’ ‘wanker’
 vs. possible blend **kornákas* and compound **kornaromalákas*
- c. *a.ɣa.pí.ði* < *a.ɣá.pi* *ɾa.ɣí.ði*
 ‘love song’ ‘love’ ‘song’
 vs. possible blend **ayúði* and compound **ayapotráyυδο*
- d. *a.e.ɾa.ji.tó* < *a.é.ɾas* *fa.ji.tó*
 ‘food served on airplanes’ ‘air’ ‘food’
 vs. possible blend **aritó* and compound **aerofajitó*

Generally, the following instances of segment reduction can be frequently identified:

i) The syllabic length of the second constituent is maintained, while the first constituent contributes two syllables to the blend:

- (8) *si.di.rá.zo* < *si.dí* *a.ɾə.rá.zo*
 ‘buy a newspaper to get the free CD’ ‘CD’ ‘buy’

ii) The first syllable of the second constituent is replaced in its entirety by that of the first constituent:

- (9)a. *vlá.ma* < *vlá.kas* ~~*vlí.ma*~~
 ‘extremely stupid’ ‘stupid’ ‘thick’
- b. *psi.drós* < *psi.tos* ~~*xo.drós*~~
 ‘tall and fat’ ‘tall’ ‘fat’
- c. *vla.ksi.tzís* < *vlaks* ~~*ta.ksi.tzís*~~
 ‘stupid taxi driver’ ‘stupid’ ‘taxi driver’
- d. *vre.xa.lí.zi* < *vré.xi* ~~*psi.xa.lí.zi*~~
 ‘it rains in small drops’ ‘it rains’ ‘drizzle’

iii) The syllabic structure of the first constituent is almost entirely reduced except for the onset of its first syllable, which replaces the onset of the first syllable of the second constituent (cases termed ‘acro-blends’ by Koutita-Kaimaki and Fliatouras 2001):

- (10)a. *kró.po.li* < *ke.rí* ~~*pró.po.li*~~
 ‘wax and propolis’ ‘wax’ ‘propolis’
- b. *tza.má.tos* < *tzá.mi* ~~*γa.má.tos*~~
 ‘very cool person’ ‘cool’ ‘great chap’
- c. *pan.tó* < *pal.tó* ~~*man.tó*~~
 ‘a semi-casual coat’ ‘overcoat’ ‘light coat’

iv) The entire form of the second constituent is kept, and only the onset of the first one is added to it, producing voicing, where applicable:

- (11)a. *kré.vo.me* < ~~*ku.ré.vo.me*~~ *ré.vo.me*
 ‘burping while having a haircut’ ‘have a haircut’ ‘burp’
- b. *mba.tá.ta⁸* < ~~*ma.ta.kía*~~ *pa.tá.ta*
 ‘a rubbish thing (e.g. a film)’ ‘junk’ ‘crap’
- c. *zno.pós* < ~~*ze.stós*~~ *no.pós*
 ‘hot and sweating’ ‘hot’ ‘sweating’

d. *z̥ar.xi.ðis* < *z̥á:xi ar.xi.ðis*
 ‘a player taking long time to throw the dice’ ‘dice’ ‘a pain in the ass’

It should be noted that the extent of form reduction varies, depending on the speaker’s willingness to communicate a small or bigger part of the meaning of the combination. As also noticed by Ronneberger-Sibold (2006), speakers proceed to lesser or bigger form reduction for communicative purposes. As a result, the form and meaning of Greek blends are not easily recoverable, especially when the first constituent has been drastically reduced to the initial sound, as in the examples of (11). In contrast, the items of (12) are relatively easy to recover as, in spite of the segment deletion, both constituents are fully recognizable:

(12)a. *v̥la.ksi.tzís* < *vlaks ta.ksi.tzís*
 ‘stupid taxi driver’ ‘stupid’ ‘taxi driver’

b. *v̥re.xa.lí.zi* < *vré.xi psi.xa.lí.zi*
 ‘it rains in small drops’ ‘it rains’ ‘it drizzles’

4. Pseudo-blends

All data discussed so far display a compound-like morphological structure, and an interpretation deriving from the meaning of the constituent parts, while the only semantic deviation which they may assume is that produced by metaphor.⁹ However, Arvaniti (1998) as well as Koutita-Kaimaki and Fliatouras (2001)¹⁰ report data, which they consider as blends only because they appear to follow the structural constraints of blend formation, where most of the first constituent is lost while the second loses up to one or two syllables. Crucially though, these data lack the meaning criterion to be true blends, since they are semantically empty (see also Katsouda and Kritikou 2009: 440). For an illustration, consider the examples in (13) that constitute phonological paronyms either of the first or the second constituent (see Xydopoulos 2008):

(13)a. *krókotas* < *krókos kókotas* (2nd const.)
 no meaning ‘yolk’ ‘Kokotas’ (*surname*)

b. *bekáltsa* < *bekátsa káltsa* (1st const.)
 no meaning ‘woodcock’ ‘sock’

c.	<i>maimúθ</i> no meaning	<	<i>maimú</i> 'monkey'	<i>mamúθ</i> (2 nd const.) 'mammoth'
d.	<i>aitóst</i> no meaning	<	<i>aitós</i> 'eagle'	<i>tost</i> (1 st const.) 'toast'
e.	<i>melitsúla</i> no meaning	<	<i>melisúla</i> 'tiny bee'	<i>tsúla</i> (1 st const.) 'slut'
f.	<i>tsiguínos</i> no meaning	<	<i>tsigúnis</i> 'meanie'	<i>piguínos</i> (2 nd const.) 'penguin'
g.	<i>skulikó</i> no meaning	<	<i>skulíki</i> 'worm'	<i>sxolikó</i> (2 nd const.) 'school bus'
h.	<i>periptéri</i> no meaning	<	<i>períptero</i> 'kiosk'	<i>peristéri</i> (2 nd const.) 'pigeon'
i.	<i>nixterjíða</i> no meaning	<	<i>nixterída</i> 'bat'	<i>jída</i> (1 st const.) 'goat'
j.	<i>kokinokupítsa</i> no meaning	<	<i>kokinokufítsa</i> 'Little Red Riding Hood'	<i>skupítsa</i> (1 st const.) 'whisk'

Given the absence of meaning, the process of building these formations aims solely at the formation of jocular/ludling expressions as a lead on to a joke or anecdote. Structure-wise, this ultimately leads to paronymic formations that can be phonologically similar either to the first or to the second constituent of the formation. For this reason, we call them 'false' or 'pseudo blends'.¹¹ Following our line of thought, only few of these formations could, at some point, qualify as blends on the condition that they manage to obtain a semantic content through specific pragmatic circumstances and to become lexically established. For an illustration, consider the following examples:

(14)a.	<i>tzipúra</i> ¹² 'an expensive 4X4 car'	<	<i>tzip</i> 'Jeep'	<i>tsipúra</i> 'sea bream'
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- b. *piθikótsis* < *piθikos* *Biθikótsis*
 ‘a folk singer who looks like a monkey’ ‘monkey’ ‘a Greek singer’

In semantic terms, the item *tzipúra*, in (14a), has acquired the meaning of “expensiveness” from the fact that the sea bream is a quite expensive fish. Similarly, the item *piθikótsis*, in (14b), refers to a folk singer (re. *Biθikótsis*) whose appearance was said to be reminiscent of a monkey.

Other cases that should be excluded from the category of blends are those which are built in accordance with the compounding processes, but are reduced via haplology,¹³ as shown below:

- (15)a. *vlaxorjátis* < *vláxos* *xorjátis*
 ‘rural peasant’ ‘rural’ ‘peasant’
- b. *panoleθriamvos* < *panoleθria* *θriamvos*
 ‘disaster and triumph’ ‘disaster’ ‘triumph’
- c. *peripteréiban* < *peripterø* *réiban*
 ‘cheap RayBan-like sunglasses’ ‘kiosk’ ‘RayBan’

Finally, there are a couple of cases that again Koutita-Kaimaki and Fliatouras (2001) consider as “infixated blends”, assuming some sort of infixation:

- (16)a. *t.sa.kla.ki.ðja* < *t.sa.ki.ðja* *kla.ké.tes*
 ‘items used in dancing’ ‘scat’ ‘tap-dance’
- b. *skar.fa.ló.no* < *ska.ló.no* *kar.fó.no*
 ‘climb up’ ‘climb’ ‘nail’

We doubt that this is a case of blending as we were not able to find other examples in Greek that follow the same pattern and because these appear to be very rare formations in other languages too (see e.g. Soudek 1978: 464 for English and Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 178-179 for German). Furthermore, the suggested recovery of the original constituents looks rather paronymological (see also Katsouda 2009: 893 for a similar conclusion).

5. Blending at the confine of competence and creativity

In languages like Greek, a basic question may arise as to why there should be blend formation if there are productively built lexeme combinations resulting in compounds. A tentative answer would be that speakers form blends in order to create a special effect in specific situations, something which is not possible with regular compounds. For instance, with the use of “lighter” or “stronger” form reduction, they may express irony or mystery, define a playful situation, convey an allusive message, etc. Thus, although reduction is governed by linguistic laws, as we showed earlier (in section 3), its motivation is clearly extragrammatical.

This is a substantial proof to propose that blending is a process at the boundary between linguistic competence and creativity. According to Schultink (1961) and Lieber (1992), morphological creativity is the process under which there is a conscious coinage of a new word, as opposed to *morphological competence* and *productivity*, which involve words that are created by applying automated word-formation rules (Bauer 1983, 2001, Plag 1999). Extending the notion of morphological creativity, Baeskow (2004: 78) assumes that it can also imply a superficial reanalysis of items, which may be done for specific purposes, but without bringing any real change to their categorial status. Adopting these views, we would like to suggest that it is possible to account for the peculiar status of blends. As already pointed out, there are properties which could characterize them as instances of compounding, and properties that make them different. In all the examples given so far, the constituents seem to be deprived of their status of stems (or roots), since they miss substantial parts of their form. We suggest that this picture is only superficial, since the full stem forms, from which the constituents originate, still keep their status as far as their lexical entry is concerned, in that there is no change in their category and meaning. In other words, we imply that blend formation is a special type of compounding: structurally, blends belong to compounds, but superficially, in particular contexts, they lose part of their form. This is done intentionally, for special communicative purposes. As such, blends can be considered as belonging to the confines of morphological competence and creativity.

The claims we put forward in this work are also supported by the fact that, in Greek, blends are only found in special vocabularies belonging to subvarieties or dialects. In fact, Greek blends, in their vast majority, form part of the vocabulary of slang, which is mostly used by young people and

other well-defined social groups. In this area, blending is becoming quite systematic and productive, and speakers create blends for different types of informal communicative situations as nonce formations (Xydopoulos 2008). Relatively fewer and less systematic blends (not more than *ca.* 20 items) are found in some dialects of Greek, the majority of which can be located on the island of Samos (northeast Aegean sea) and in Messinia (southwest Peloponnese) (see Koutita-Kaimaki and Fliatouras 2001).

It follows then that blending in Greek is a rather novel process, compared to English, where a substantial number of blends are part of the general vocabulary (even in the scientific/technical jargon), as for instance, *motel*, *smog*, *quasar*, *medicare*, *arcology*, *aniseed* etc., and recoverability is not a problem for speakers.

6. Final remarks

In the previous sections we have shown that genuine blends in Greek have to be structurally transparent for users to recover their constituent elements. To this end, we claimed that they are based on endocentric (subordinate and attributive) and coordinate compounds, which are reduced to a variable degree. In Greek, they can be found (at least for the time being) only in subvarieties (e.g. youth language, marginal varieties/slang), where abbreviation (through the process of reduction/truncation/clipping, etc.) is generally allowed. Given that most, if not all, of the data that we were able to collect belong to marginal/slang vocabulary we are tempted to suggest that blending is a novel process in Greek, which will probably become more productive in the long term, and be applicable in general neology, as in English. This development may occur because the structure of blends does not differ from that of a certain type of compounds, and pragmatic and cultural reasons make English-dominated languages, like Greek, borrow lexical items with relative ease.

Notes

* We would like to thank the anonymous reviewers, and the audience of the *International Conference on Lexical Blending*, held on 10-11 June 2010 in Lyon, for their comments and suggestions. All mistakes remain our own.

1. Inflectional endings and other segments which do not surface in compounds and blends are put in brackets.
2. Greek masculine nouns in *-as* participate in word formation with a bare stem, that is without the ending *-as*. Since blends share with compounds a [stem word] structure (see below), *aer-* is considered to be the first constituent of the formation *aerajító*.
3. A small number of Greek compounds may also be built according to two other patterns: [word stem] and [word word]. However, these patterns involve uninflected constituents at the left-hand side, such as adverbs. E.g. *eksoxórafo* ‘outfield’ (< *ékso* ‘out’ *xoráf(i)* ‘field’), *ksanamiló* ‘talk again’ (< *ksaná* ‘again’ *miló* ‘talk’).
4. Although this observation should have a cross-linguistic validity, according to an anonymous reviewer, some exocentric blends are attested in English (e.g. *ebonics*, *humiture*).
5. See Ralli (2008) for details on compound marking.
6. This is not a real deletion though, but only a superficial absence of the derivational suffix, since its properties are still active. See Ralli and Karasimos (2009) for more details.
7. As suggested by Bauer (1983), the size of blends, their syllable structure and the general segmental makeup are predictable from the base constituents.
8. This blend contains a cluster /mb/ word initially, contrary to Greek phonology which does not allow such a cluster at this position.
9. According to Ralli and Andreou (to appear), semantic deviation is not sufficient to denote exocentricity.

10. Following the same line of thought, Katsouda (2009) discusses the phenomenon of blending in Greek, as opposed to that of contamination, from a terminological point of view.

11. In this category we also include what Soudek (1978: 465) calls “graphic blends”. These are formed on the basis of effects created by spelling (i.e. small vs. capital letters, combination of graphemes from different alphabets, use of punctuation marks etc.) and are made exclusively for advertisement / communicative purposes, e.g. *SYNedrio* “conference of ‘Synaspismos’ party” < SYN “[acronym of the] Greek left party ‘Synaspismos’” + *syneδrio* “conference” (see Katsouda and Kritikou 2009). These too are “pseudo blends” since only one of their forms (the written one) can contribute to their recoverability.

12. *Tzipura* is a left-headed blend because it is not based on a morphological compound but on a phrasal appositive formation (*Tzip tsipura* ‘a Jeep which is a tsipura’): See Ralli (forthcoming) for relevant information.

13. However, several linguists consider that haplologic formations are blends (e.g. “slanguage”. See, for instance, Ronneberger’s (2006: 167) “complete blending”). However, to our understanding, blending involves loss of material from both constituents contrary to what happens in haplology. As shown in the formations illustrated in (15a,b,c), identical segments are adjacent, thus, they are clipped for the sake of haplology.

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