# The Fandom Pairing Name: Blends and the Phonology-Orthography Interface

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In English, blending is a highly predictable and productive naming process. However, no systematic morphological template for blends has yet been proposed. Using data from Internet fandom pairing names (FPNs), I describe the phonological and orthographic constraints that shape blended words, such as preference for complex onsets, maintenance of stress placement, and phonological and orthographic overlap. Outputs are compared with lexical neighbors to evaluate their phonotactic acceptability and orthographic transparency. This model of blending describes the interaction of many layers of representation, and also shows the effect of the Internet as a text-based speech community participating in linguistic decision-making.

KEYWORDS blends, orthography, morphology, word-recognition, phonology, compounds, fan culture

# Introduction

Blending is a compounding process that merges two words into one. Records of blends in English texts appear as early as the sixteenth century, such as the Shakespearean *rebuse* (*rebuke/abuse*) (Cannon, 1986). Some, like *travelogue* and *electrocute*, became part of the language (Pound, 1914), and others appeared only incidentally as literary puns, e.g. *alcoholiday* and *balconinny* (Wentworth, 1934). Today, blending is popular for naming. Newly developed software like *Linux* (*Linus/Unix*) and celebrity couples like Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie (*Brangelina*) are given blended names to signify that two entities are merged into a single unit. The semantics of lexical blends like *confuzzled*, *sexile*, and *burninate* have been well analyzed, showing that blends pick out the intersection between the semantic meanings of the two input stems (Kemmer, 2003). Name blends extend this definition, forcing a semantic overlap even when none is immediately apparent. Yet most attempts to analyze blends morphologically have been unsuccessful (Gries, 2004), and no complete and consistent template has been proposed.

On the Internet, a large repository of blends is found under the heading: the fandom pairing name (FPN). An FPN is a word invented by the members of a fan community and used to designate the characters' relationship as an object of reference

(e.g. *Drarry*, a blend of <u>*Draco*</u> and *H<u>arry</u> from <i>Harry Potter*). FPNs usually appear as some form of compound. Some pairings are represented by clipping compounds (LinCin = Lindsay/Cindy) and others use initialisms (*FAB* = <u>*Erankie*</u> <u>*And*</u> <u>*Bianca*</u>) or descriptive/metaphorical expressions (*Catfighters* = *Liz/Tess*), but by far the most frequently seen FPNs are blends.

Unlike speech-error blends, literary punning, or corporate branding, FPNs do not originate with isolated individuals or committees. Although individuals generate the forms, FPNs subsequently undergo evaluation by their speech community and are either accepted or rejected on the basis of the principles of natural language usage. Blends coined by the media are also evaluated, but they are difficult to reject. *Brangelina*, a term promoted by tabloid newspapers, is phonologically acceptable, but *Spirmitment*, an attempt at blending *spirit* and *commitment*, developed as part of an advertising campaign for the Alltel wireless provider, is unacceptable (Gubbins, 2004). Although the failure of the blend may have contributed to the failure of the advertising campaign, a media campaign can interfere with the process of evaluation. A term heard frequently, especially from an authoritative source, may become familiar enough to be accepted. FPNs, on the other hand, lack the pervasiveness provided by a media campaign and thus are more authentic language data.

FPNs are particularly interesting because they are a product of Internet-based speech communities. Thanks to the Internet, people who are geographically disparate can form groups based around shared interests and develop a shared vocabulary with which to discuss these interests. These communities are inherently text-based, and the influence of orthography on their linguistic decision-making processes is strong. But phonological information is equally important. Speakers use both orthographic and phonological principles when rejecting ill-formed or non-euphonic FPNs, which then fall into disuse or undergo swift replacement.

## A case study: Faberry

In May 2009, the TV musical comedy-drama *Glee* premiered, generating within weeks an explosion of fan communities. Splinter groups formed around various scripted or hoped-for couples on the show, and these couples were quickly dubbed with FPNs. One such couple, Rachel Berry and Quinn Fabray, was given the blended FPN *Quichel*. But by October, enough people had expressed their dissatisfaction with the name *Quichel* that the most active Rachel/Quinn-centric community decided to hold a poll to find a new, more satisfying, FPN (Boomwizard, 2009).

On solely phonological grounds *Quichel* was a perfectly satisfactory and well-formed blend. The difficulty lay in the orthography. In forming FPNs the orthographic strings of the two input forms must be merged while still maintaining the linearity and contiguity of the strings. No letters can be inserted or deleted, nor can any be replaced. Yet the spelling of the blend must clearly represent the pronunciation. English, with its idiosyncratic orthographic system, particularly for vowels, makes this problematic.

Studies of word recognition have shown that a word with a higher-frequency neighbor of a similar shape takes longer to interpret than a word with only lowfrequency neighbors (Grainger, 1992). Since there are few things of lower frequency than a neologism, any competitor can interfere with its recognition. The intended pronunciation of *Quichel* was [kwit $\int \vartheta$ ], but the string "quiche" contained in the blend triggered the mispronunciation [ki $\int \varepsilon$ ], rendering the input stems opaque and unrecoverable.

To remedy this confusion, the moderators of the community came up with ten possible blends for Rachel Berry and Quinn Fabray and put them to a vote.

As Figure 1 shows, there were two clear front-runners, the original *Quichel* and *Faberry*. *Faberry*, phonologically appropriate and orthographically interpretable, took the honors and was accepted by an ever-increasing community of fans.

The *Faberry* case study illustrates two important points. First, speakers can and do evaluate blends, and, second, the textual nature of the Internet has an overt effect on morphological processes. The FPNs in my study (included in the Appendix) were collected from Internet fan sites and communities. I removed from my initial set any FPN that was not robustly attested and any that was distinctly not a blend (no clipping compounds nor initialisms). My remaining 163 tokens are all FPNs that are accepted and frequently used by members of fan communities. In my analysis I propose a set of phonological and orthographic constraints relevant to blends and outline a model of blend generation and evaluation.

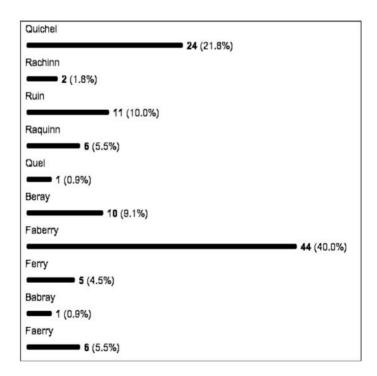


FIGURE 1 Rachel\_quinn "Moniker Poll."

## The morphology of blends

The term "blend" has in the past been used promiscuously to describe any sort of word-concatenation or play, including infixation (*ambisextrous*), clipping compounds (*Penn Yan*), and orthographic overlaps such as *firengine* and *cherubicund* (Wentworth,

1934). But these processes are distinct. The true blend is a single prosodic word characterized by maintaining the initial elements of one stem and the final elements of a second stem with a single splice point in between. Some of the segments of one or both of the input stems are deleted. This definition (similar to that in Gries, 2004) distinguishes blends from other types of wordplay and compounding processes.

Under this definition, blends are still allowed a large degree of variability. The prosodic position of the splice point and the ordering of the input stems are not determined by the definition; neither are the number and type of segments that are retained. Instead, the shape of a blend is determined by a complex of phonological principles. Syllable structure, stress clash avoidance, and consonant cluster restrictions are all salient in the formation of a blend. These principles work in concert to shape the output into a euphonious word. However, two constraints alone embody the morphological process of blend formation: Stress Match and Onset Conservation.

#### Stress match

Just as basic English compounds (*greenhouse*, *earworm*) do, blends have a single primary stress. Basic compounds retain the stresses of both input stems, promoting one of them to primary stress. Blends, however, merge the stresses, forming a single prosodic node (Selkirk, 1982). In FPNs, a strict mapping of a stress peak of one constituent onto a stress peak of the second constituent can be found in 86.5 percent of the data.

FIGURE 2 Otalia & Mirandy stress peaks.

Although all blends follow a splicing pattern, the position of the splice point varies. Blends may involve the swapping of onsets, (Draco/Harry = Drarry), onset plus vowel (Rachel/Ivy = Ravy), full syllables (Wesley/Lilah = Weslah), or, if a valid consonant cluster can emerge, a merger of onsets (Carly/Freddie = Creddie). In all of these cases, only segments up through the stressed syllable of the second stem can be replaced by material from the initial stem. It is the placement of stress that determines the range of positions where the splice point can occur.

Words in which there are two prosodic feet, and therefore two stressed syllables, often retain more of the initial stem than other blends. Usually the prosodic shape of the 2-foot stem is maintained, the stress of the initial stem being aligned with the first stress of the 2-foot stem and thereby avoiding stress clashes or hiatuses.

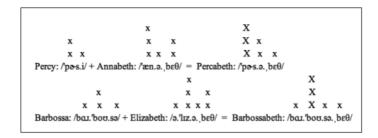


FIGURE 3 Percabeth & Barbossabeth stress peaks.

In 2-foot FPNs like *Willabeth* and *Sparrington*, the initial stem tends to contribute at least one full syllable to the blend. Studies on reading have shown that the initial segments of a word provide more assistance in word recognition than the final segments (Grainger, 1992), but the ease of recognition is constrained by the length of the word. In these situations the length of the 2-foot stem requires the initial stem to provide a longer string of segments to maintain recoverability.

#### Onset conservation

Stress may determine in which area the stems are grafted, but it is onset complexity that selects which stem should be initial and which should be final. As we have seen, blending can be more complex than a simple swapping of onsets, but a majority of FPNs (60.7%) only involve onset swap, simply exchanging the onset of the word-initial syllable of one input stem for the other. Which onset is retained is determined by the complexity of the onsets in question.

An onset containing a consonant cluster will replace an onset containing a single consonant (*Brooke/Peyton* = *Breyton*). An onsetless syllable will be given an onset (*Paige/Alex* = *Palex*). If the complexity of the onsets are equivalent, either one can replace the other (*Zach/Kendall* = *Zendall*, *Kate/Ziva* = *Kiva*). This constraint is likely motivated by the desire to maintain as much recognizable material from each input stem as possible.

Most English names have initial stress, and in these cases it is easy to determine how Onset Conservation applies. When the stressed vowel is not initial, an onset can still be added to a vowel-initial form (*Delena* =  $\underline{Damon/Elena}$ ), a simple onset replaced with a complex one (*Brynette* =  $\underline{Bree/Lynette}$ ), or onsets simply swapped (*Tynette* =  $\underline{Tom/Lynette}$ ).

It is possible that the ultimate goal of Onset Conservation is concatenation (<u>Bianca/Reese</u> = Breese), restrained by euphony and consonant cluster restrictions (<u>Tony/Kate</u> = \*Tkate). FPNs where an input stem contains non-initial stress seem to treat all the material before the nucleus of the stressed syllable as the "onset." If it is possible they combine this material (<u>Sebastian/Blaine = Seblaine</u>). If it is impossible they select the most euphonious sequence of segments (<u>Olivia/Natalia</u> = Otalia). These forms should also be interpreted as an instantiation of Onset Conservation.

## Overriding the morphology

#### Phonological and orthographic overlap

Although the shape of most FPNs can be predicted by Stress Match and Onset Conservation, certain tokens violate both constraints without repercussion. In these tokens, a segment or contiguous series of segments often appear in both input stems. This overlap becomes the splice point in the output. This allows these segments to be interpreted as belonging to both of the inputs, making the input stems more recoverable.

In cases where the phoneme and the grapheme representing the phoneme are identical in both input stems, there is no way to determine whether the motivation for using that splice point was orthographic or phonological, or both (<u>Cabot</u> ['kæb. ət] + <u>Benson</u> ['bɛn.sən] = Cabenson [kə.'bɛn.sən]). Other cases show phonological identity without orthographic identity (<u>Percy</u> [pə.si] + <u>Bianca</u> [bi.ɑŋ.kə] = <u>Percianca</u> [pə.si.ɑŋ.kə]). And some show orthographic identity without phonological identity (<u>Brittan</u>y ['bɪt.ni] + <u>Santan</u>a [sæn.'tæn.ə] = <u>Brittan</u>a [bɪt.'tæn.ə]).

Orthographic and phonological similarity reveal the origins of the morphological blend. One origin lies in speech-error blends, where speakers attempt to pronounce multiple words of similar meaning concurrently. Studies describe error-blends as sublexical slips, where subsyllabic segments from one lexeme are substituted for subsyllabic segments from another lexeme (Laubstein, 1999). This subselection is triggered by phonological similarity between the two semantically similar underlying constituents (*terrible* + *horrible* = *torrible*). A natural trigger for blending is not needed with FPNs, since morphological blending is an operation rather than an error. But the influence of phonological similarity is still felt.

In literary blends such as *cornicopious* and *ribalderdash*, the overlap in orthography is what motivates the coining of the blend. Maintaining a large proportion of the input stems increases the reader's ability to decompose the blend into its basic units; therefore, finding a set of letters that can be interpreted as belonging to both stems is very important. FPNs need not be so perfectly and immediately recoverable, but, as we can see in the data, an opportunity for orthographic overlap is nearly always exploited.

## Phonotactics and orthotactics

#### Phonotactic considerations

In recent work on phonotactics, quantifying the similarity of forms using corpora to represent the lexicon has been the most productive area of research (Shademan, 2006). Albright and Hayes (2003) use experimental methods to determine that phonological similarity makes reference to natural classes. These natural classes are encoded in context sensitive word-templates that speakers use to evaluate the "Englishness" of a word. When we examine some of the more unexpected FPNs, it becomes apparent speakers are using these sorts of templates to evaluate potential blends.

One phonotactic constraint on English is the sonorant restriction, in which a syllable with an onset cluster ending in a sonorant cannot have the same sonorant in the coda (i.e. \*plil). If this is, in fact, a real phonotactic constraint based on a generalization across the lexicon (\*\$CRVR\$), then we might predict that a blend

including a \$CRVR\$ string would be less preferred than a string more frequent in the lexicon.

In our FPN data we see two cases where this phonotactic constraint seems to have applied. *Gelphie* is the merger of *Glinda* and *Elphie*, but *Glelphie* is the form predicted by Onset Conservation. *Creddie*, which merges the onsets in *Carly* and *Freddie* is preferred over *Frarly*. Although this is a minimal amount of data, it supports the existence of a \*\$CRVR\$ phonotactic constraint, and likewise indicates that FPNs are indeed evaluated against the lexicon for acceptability.

#### Orthographic peculiarities: recoverability

When lexical blends are used in a literary context, it is essential that both the input stems are recoverable to the reader. But these input stems are essentially unconstrained, making recoverability difficult if a large proportion of segments are deleted. As speech-error blends are errors, and not required to be successfully communicative, the recoverability of the input stems is irrelevant. FPN recoverability falls somewhere between these two poles. It is important that the input stems are recoverable, but only for people within the community. Within a fandom, the set of names from which blends can be formed is predetermined, and a minimal remnant of a name in an FPN can trigger recognition. But as the *Faberry/Quichel* poll demonstrated, there are constraints on what counts as recoverable. In particular, if the graphemes and phonemes fail to correspond in an intuitive way, the FPN is considered ill-formed.

A large set of FPNs is formed not merely by swapping the onsets of the stressed syllable but by exchanging both onset and vowel. Many of these vowel swaps seem to be triggered by a need for orthographic clarity. The spelling of vowels in English is notoriously unpredictable. Single graphs can be diphthongs, as in *Ivy* [aIvi], and digraphs can be monophthongs (*Ellie* [ɛli]). Sometimes a final <e> can indicate a long or diphthongized medial vowel (*Spike* [spaɪk]). Sometimes it can be its own syllable (*Dante* [dunteɪ]). And sometimes it can mean nothing at all (*Brooke* [brok]). Research on word recognition has revealed that letter identities are encoded in terms of their immediate orthographic context (pairs or trios of graphemes) (Johnson, 1992). The reader's ability to interpret strings of letters is affected by the lexical neighborhood, i.e., the number of words in the lexicon that contain identical substrings, and how frequently these words are used.

Phonologically, *Kigo* [kigo0] (*Kim/Shego*) is a canonical example of onset swap, but orthographically the form is unexpected. The expected form *Kego*, however, is ill formed because the letter <e> is no longer recognizable as corresponding to the phoneme [i]. In the input stem *Shego*, the orthographic context <she> triggers the pronunciation [i] due to the frequency of the third person singular pronouns "he" and "she." But the orthographic context <keg> has no lexical neighbors in which the <e> is pronounced [i] (or even [1], which would still be a valid blend, though not simply an onset swap). Thus *Kego* is unacceptable.

FPNs where a full syllable is replaced also seem to be motivated by recoverability. *Finchel* (*Finn/Rachel*) is clearly pronounceable, while *Fachel* and *Fichel* have more ambiguous vowels. *Rinn* is problematic since within the fandom it could indicate either *Rachel/Finn* or *Rachel/Quinn*. *Callica* is more pronounceable than *Cerica*, not due to the interpretation of the vowel, but of the consonant <c>. <ca> = [kæ], but <ce> [se].

FPNs where both input stems begin with the same letter or sound must switch full syllables to ensure recoverability. Merely switching the onset will result in an output identical to one of the inputs (e.g. *Kurtofsky*, *\*Kurt*, *\*Karofsky*; *Ashden*, *\*Ashley*, *\*Aiden*). These maintain Stress Match, but Onset Conservation cannot apply to them or the output would be indistinguishable from one of the input stems.

### Semantic similarity

The most difficult aspect of blends to quantify is the role of semantic similarity. We have already seen in the *Faberry* case study that "quiche" was a disfavored semantic association (though another issue was phonological recoverability), but, in the poll, *Ruin* received 10 percent of the vote due to its having a favored (although not canonically positive) semantic association. For *Chuck* and *Blair*, *Bluck* has a phonological neighborhood that includes "yuck," "blech," and "duck," while *Chair* is problematic for other obvious reasons. These two blends are usually used in tandem, suggesting the difficulty of picking one over the other. Assessing the lexical neighborhood of the blend is the first step towards modeling the effects of semantic similarity, but the second is determining what is a favored semantic association and what is disfavored. These associations are idiosyncratic, so FPNs can be difficult to predict. For example *Castle/Beckett* being blended as *Caskett* is favored, since the fandom is *Castle*, a police procedural about a mystery writer, whereas in a different fandom the similarity of "casket" to the proposed FPN might cause it to be rejected.

## FPNs and lexical blends

One further question regarding FPNs is whether or not name-based data is comparable to data for lexical blends in general. Although a full analysis of this question is not within the scope of this study, in a preliminary evaluation it seems that the answer is yes. Lexical blends and FPNs both show the effects of Stress Match, Onset Conservation, and Phonological and Orthographic Overlap. Proportionally, however, far more lexical blends are motivated by Overlap than by Onset Conservation. Since the origin of most lexical blends resides in speech-error and wordplay, this tendency is not unexpected.

Onset Conservation, a constraint frequently seen affecting FPNs, is rare in lexical blends (even though it predicts *brunch* over *\*leckfast* and *smog* over *\*foke*). It could only have been identified in a data set like the FPN one, where orthographic and phonological overlaps are relatively uncommon. Since lexical blends often result from speech-errors and wordplay, their input stems are "self-selected" towards overlap. In contrast, the input stems of FPNs are not chosen based on linguistic similarity. Because of this, FPNs are a more transparent data set than lexical blends. As the morphological principles that FPNs display seem equally applicable to lexical blends, it is apparent that name-blending data is essential for determining the morphology of blends.

# Conclusion

In this analysis of the morphology of FPNs, I have identified a set of competing principles at work in shaping the compounded word. Together they account for 98.2

percent of the data. Stress Match identifies the general location of overlap. Onset Conservation predicts the ordering of the stems. Phonological and Orthographic Overlap either reinforce or completely derail the previous constraints. Orthographic Transparency indicates how much of each stem will be included. Lexical Neighborhood Evaluation allows the speaker to consider the blend in regards to euphony of sound and of meaning. From this wide-ranging set of constraints, we can see that neologism formation makes reference to many levels of lexical specification at once. The speaker must evaluate the prosodic structure, segmental information, semantic meaning, and orthographic representation of the form to ensure its acceptability. Luckily, the work of evaluation does not rely upon a single speaker.

One great benefit of the Internet to language research is that it records the day-today interactions of a speech community. The individual members of these communities may have differing off-line speech communities, and yet as part of online communities they propose and evaluate neologisms until they converge on a favored form. Thus, the evaluation of the Fandom Pairing Name is a microcosmic demonstration of language decision-making at work.

## Appendix

Onset Conservation

Clani	_	Clyde/Rani
Cluke	-	Clyde/Luke
Brucas	-	Brooke/Lucas
Breyton	_	Brooke/Peyton
Spuffy	_	Spike/Buffy
Bram	_	Brooke/Sam
Snarry	_	Snape/Harry
Cranny	_	Craig/Manny
Drarry	_	Draco/Harry
Snucius	_	Snape/Lucius
Sparco	_	Spinner/Marco
Spander	_	Spike/Xander
Spillow	_	Spike/Willow
Spawn	-	Spike/Dawn
Chlex	-	Chloe/Lex
Clex	-	Clark/Lex
Chulu	_	Chekov/Sulu
Fresley	-	Fred/Wesley
Spaith	-	Spike/Faith
Spam	-	Spencer/Sam
Snupin	-	Snape/Lupin
Snack	-	Snape/Sirius Black
Spiles	-	Spike/Giles
Śnanger	-	Snape/Granger
Snaco	-	Snape/Draco
Glog	-	Glinda/Bog
Chameron	-	Chase/Cameron
Grillows	-	Grissom/Willows
Gwack	-	Gwen/Jack
Gwys	-	Gwen/Rhys
Brarl	-	Bree/Karl
Sparmen	-	Spencer/Carmen
Spangs	-	Spencer/Bangs
Brathan	-	Brooke/Nathan
Brulian	-	Brooke/Julian
Cluinn	-	Clay/Quinn
Chryed	-	Christian/Syed
Brynette	-	Bree/Lynette
-		•

#### Onset Swap

Leyton	-	Lucas/Peyton
Fuffy		Faith/Buffy
	-	
Ruffy	-	Riley/Buffy (Briley)
Daroline	-	Damon/Caroline
Jam	-	Jim/Pam
Honks	-	Harry/Tonks
Zendall	-	Zach/Kendall
Darco		Dylan/Marco
	-	5
Piley	-	Peter/Riley
Cam	-	Carly/Sam
Lane	-	Lily/Cane
Lante	-	Lulu/Dante
Twillow	_	Tara/Willow
Niz		Nikolas/Elizabeth
	-	
Kinks	-	Kendall/Bianca
Breese	-	Reese/Bianca
Liley	-	Miley/Lilly
lameron	-	John/Cameron
lanto		Jack/lanto
	-	
Jisbon	-	Jane/Lisbon
Bamon	-	Bonnie/Damon
Kibbs	-	Kate/Gibbs
Tate	-	Tony/Kate
Tiva		Tony/Ziva
Zibbs	-	
	-	Ziva/Gibbs
Naley	-	Nathan/Haley
Cangel	-	Cordelia/Angel
Minx	-	Marissa/Bianca (Minks)
Tynette		Tom/Lynette
Tynette	-	Tom/ Lyneac
Onset Addition		
Loliver	-	Lillv/Oliver
	-	Lilly/Oliver Oliver/Miley
Moliver	-	Oliver/Miley
Moliver Jalex		Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex
Moliver Jalex Spashley		Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley
Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel	- - - -	Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel
Moliver Jalex Spashley	- - - -	Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel Willow/Oz
Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel		Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel
Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel Woz Xanya		Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel Willow/Oz Xander/Anya
Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel Woz Xanya Freffy	- - - - - -	Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel Willow/Oz Xander/Anya Freddie/Effy
Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel Woz Xanya Freffy Crash	- - - - - - -	Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel Willow/Oz Xander/Anya Freddie/Effy Craig/Ashley
Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel Woz Xanya Freffy Crash Mellie	- - - - - - -	Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel Willow/Oz Xander/Anya Freddie/Effy Craig/Ashley Marco/Ellie
Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel Woz Xanya Freffy Crash Mellie Pellie	- - - - - - - - -	Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel Willow/Oz Xander/Anya Freddie/Effy Craig/Ashley Marco/Ellie Paige/Ellie
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Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel Woz Xanya Freffy Crash Mellie Pellie Jellie Crellie Wemma Tartie Spangel Fangel	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel Willow/Oz Xander/Anya Freddie/Effy Craig/Ashley Marco/Ellie Paige/Ellie Jesse/Ellie Craig/Ellie Will/Emma Artie/Tina Spike/Angel Faith/Angel
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Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel Woz Xanya Freffy Crash Mellie Pellie Jellie Crellie Wemma Tartie Spangel Fangel Spanya Niirial Bedward	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel Willow/Oz Xander/Anya Freddie/Effy Craig/Ashley Marco/Ellie Paige/Ellie Jesse/Ellie Jesse/Ellie Vill/Emma Artie/Tina Spike/Angel Faith/Angel Spike/Anya Inial/Niall Bella/Edward
Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel Woz Xanya Freffy Crash Mellie Pellie Jellie Crellie Wemma Tartie Spangel Fangel Spanya Nirial Bedward Towen	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel Willow/Oz Xander/Anya Freddie/Effy Craig/Ashley Marco/Ellie Paige/Ellie Jesse/Ellie Craig/Ellie Will/Emma Artie/Tina Spike/Angel Faith/Angel Spike/Anya Irial/Niall Bella/Edward Toshiko/Owen
Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel Woz Xanya Freffy Crash Mellie Pellie Jellie Crellie Wemma Tartie Spangel Fangel Fangel Spanya Nirial Bedward Towen Brorson	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel Willow/Oz Xander/Anya Freddie/Effy Craig/Ashley Marco/Ellie Paige/Ellie Jesse/Ellie Craig/Ellie Will/Emma Artie/Tina Spike/Angel Faith/Angel Spike/Angel Faith/Angel Spike/Anya Irial/Niall Bella/Edward Toshiko/Owen Bree/Orson
Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel Woz Xanya Freffy Crash Mellie Pellie Jellie Crellie Wemma Tartie Spangel Fangel Spanya Nirial Bedward Towen Brorson Jalaric	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel Willow/Oz Xander/Anya Freddie/Effy Craig/Ashley Marco/Ellie Paige/Ellie Jesse/Ellie Craig/Ellie Will/Emma Artie/Tina Spike/Angel Faith/Angel Spike/Angel Faith/Angel Spike/Anya Irial/Niall Bella/Edward Toshiko/Owen Bree/Orson Jenna/Alaric
Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel Woz Xanya Freffy Crash Mellie Pellie Jellie Crellie Wemma Tartie Spangel Fangel Spanya Nirial Bedward Towen Brorson Jalaric Spaiden	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel Willow/Oz Xander/Anya Freddie/Effy Craig/Ashley Marco/Ellie Paige/Ellie Jesse/Ellie Craig/Ellie Will/Emma Artie/Tina Spike/Angel Faith/Angel Spike/Anya Irial/Niall Bella/Edward Toshiko/Owen Bree/Orson Jenna/Alaric Spencer/Aiden
Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel Woz Xanya Freffy Crash Mellie Pellie Jellie Crellie Wemma Tartie Spangel Fangel Spanya Nirial Bedward Towen Brorson Jalaric	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel Willow/Oz Xander/Anya Freddie/Effy Craig/Ashley Marco/Ellie Paige/Ellie Jesse/Ellie Craig/Ellie Will/Emma Artie/Tina Spike/Angel Faith/Angel Spike/Angel Faith/Angel Spike/Anya Irial/Niall Bella/Edward Toshiko/Owen Bree/Orson Jenna/Alaric
Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel Woz Xanya Freffy Crash Mellie Pellie Jellie Grellie Vemma Tartie Spangel Fangel Spanya Nirial Bedward Towen Brorson Jalaric Spaiden Tabby	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel Willow/Oz Xander/Anya Freddie/Effy Craig/Ashley Marco/Ellie Paige/Ellie Jesse/Ellie Jesse/Ellie Vill/Emma Artie/Tina Spike/Angel Faith/Angel Spike/Anya Irial/Niall Bella/Edward Toshiko/Owen Bree/Orson Jenna/Alaric Spencer/Aiden Tony/Abby
Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel Woz Xanya Freffy Crash Mellie Pellie Jellie Crellie Vemma Tartie Spangel Fangel Spanya Nirial Bedward Towen Brorson Jalaric Spalen Tabby Palex	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel Willow/Oz Xander/Anya Freddie/Effy Craig/Ashley Marco/Ellie Paige/Ellie Jesse/Ellie Jesse/Ellie Vill/Emma Artie/Tina Spike/Angel Faith/Angel Spike/Anya Irial/Niall Bella/Edward Toshiko/Owen Bree/Orson Jenna/Alaric Spencer/Aiden Tony/Abby Paige/Alex
Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel Woz Xanya Freffy Crash Mellie Pellie Jellie Crellie Wemma Tartie Spangel Fangel Spanya Nirial Bedward Towen Brorson Jalaric Spaiden Tabby Palex Jolivia	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel Willow/Oz Xander/Anya Freddie/Effy Craig/Ashley Marco/Ellie Paige/Ellie Jesse/Ellie Craig/Ellie Will/Emma Artie/Tina Spike/Angel Faith/Angel Spike/Angel Faith/Angel Spike/Anya Irial/Niall Bella/Edward Toshiko/Owen Bree/Orson Jenna/Alaric Spencer/Aiden Tony/Abby Paige/Alex Johnny/Olivia
Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel Woz Xanya Freffy Crash Mellie Pellie Jellie Grellie Wemma Tartie Spangel Fangel Spanya Nirial Bedward Towen Brorson Jalaric Spaiden Tabby Palex Jolivia Delena	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel Willow/Oz Xander/Anya Freddie/Effy Craig/Ashley Marco/Ellie Paige/Ellie Jesse/Ellie Craig/Ellie Will/Emma Artie/Tina Spike/Angel Faith/Angel Spike/Angel Faith/Angel Spike/Anya Irial/Niall Bella/Edward Toshiko/Owen Bree/Orson Jenna/Alaric Spencer/Aiden Tony/Abby Paige/Alex Johnny/Olivia Damon/Elena
Moliver Jalex Spashley Bangel Woz Xanya Freffy Crash Mellie Pellie Jellie Crellie Wemma Tartie Spangel Fangel Spanya Nirial Bedward Towen Brorson Jalaric Spaiden Tabby Palex Jolivia Delena Stelena	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Oliver/Miley Justin/Alex Spencer/Ashley Buffy/Angel Willow/Oz Xander/Anya Freddie/Effy Craig/Ashley Marco/Ellie Paige/Ellie Jesse/Ellie Craig/Ellie Will/Emma Artie/Tina Spike/Angel Faith/Angel Spike/Angel Faith/Angel Spike/Anya Irial/Niall Bella/Edward Toshiko/Owen Bree/Orson Jenna/Alaric Spencer/Aiden Tony/Abby Paige/Alex Johnny/Olivia Damon/Elena
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Elejah	-	Elena/Elijah
Waldsen	-	Waldorf/Woodsen
Caspie	-	Casey/Cappie
Kurtofsky	-	Kurt/Karofsky
Sparrington	-	Sparrow/Norrington
Barbossabeth	-	Barbossa/Elizabeth
Ashden	-	Ashley/Aiden
Lincas	-	Lindsay/Lucas
LINCOS	-	Linusay/Lucas
Onset Adaptation		
Klaine	-	Kurt/Blaine
Creddie	-	Carly/Freddie
Gelphie	-	Glinda/Elphaba
McKate	-	McGee/Kate
Khase	-	Krista/Chase
Non-Initial Stress Match		
Cabecca	-	Cappie/Rebecca
Faberry	-	Fabray/Berry
Otalia	-	Olivia/Natalia
Nexis	-	Ned/Alexis
Mirandy	-	Miranda/Andy
Naomily	-	Naomi/Emily
Seblaine	-	Sebastian/Blaine
Fiyeraba	-	Fiyero/Elphaba
Semantic Neighbors		
Chair	-	Chuck/Blair (Bluck)
Chair Calzona		Calliope/Arizona
Chair	- - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah
Chair Calzona	- - - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thirteen
Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett	- - - - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thirteen Castle/Beckett
Chair Calzona Camerah	- - - - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thirteen
Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett Samifer	- - - - - - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thirteen Castle/Beckett
Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett	- - - - - - - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thirteen Castle/Beckett Sam/Lucifer
Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett Samifer Rizzles Spixie	- - - - - - - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thirteen Castle/Beckett Sam/Lucifer Rizzoli/Isles
Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett Samifer Rizzles Spixie Recoverability		Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thirteen Castle/Beckett Sam/Lucifer Rizzoli/Isles
Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett Samifer Rizzles Spixie Recoverability layton	- - - - - - - - - - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thirteen Castle/Beckett Sam/Lucifer Rizzoli/Isles Spinelli/Maxie Jake/Peyton Rachel/Ivy
Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett Samifer Rizzles Spixie Recoverability layton Ravy	- - - - - - - - - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thirteen Castle/Beckett Sam/Lucifer Rizzoli/Isles Spinelli/Maxie Jake/Peyton Rachel/Ivy
Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett Samifer Rizzles Spixie Recoverability layton Ravy Kigo	- - - - - - - - - - - - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thirteen Castle/Beckett Sam/Lucifer Rizzoli/Isles Spinelli/Maxie Jake/Peyton Rachel/Ivy Kim/Shego
Chair Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett Samifer Rizzles Spixie Recoverability Recoverability layton Ravy Kigo Wiffy	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thirteen Castle/Beckett Sam/Lucifer Rizzoli/Isles Spinelli/Maxie Jake/Peyton Rachel/Ivy
Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett Samifer Rizzles Spixie Recoverability layton Ravy Kigo Wiffy Channy	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thirteen Castle/Beckett Sam/Lucifer Rizzoli/Isles Spinelli/Maxie Jake/Peyton Rachel/Ivy Kim/Shego Buffy/Willow Chad/Sonny
Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett Samifer Rizzles Spixie Recoverability layton Ravy Kigo Wiffy Channy Destiel	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thirteen Castle/Beckett Sam/Lucifer Rizzoli/Isles Spinelli/Maxie Jake/Peyton Rachel/Ivy Kim/Shego Buffy/Willow Chad/Sonny Dean/Castiel
Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett Samifer Rizzles Spixie Recoverability Recoverability Ravy Kigo Wiffy Channy Destiel Jeroline	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thirteen Castle/Beckett Sam/Lucifer Rizzoli/Isles Spinelli/Maxie Jake/Peyton Rachel/Ivy Kim/Shego Buffy/Willow Chad/Sonny Dean/Castiel Jeremy/Caroline
Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett Samifer Rizzles	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thirteen Castle/Beckett Sam/Lucifer Rizzoli/Isles Spinelli/Maxie Jake/Peyton Rachel/Ivy Kim/Shego Buffy/Willow Chad/Sonny Dean/Castiel
Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett Samifer Rizzles Spixie Recoverability Jayton Ravy Kigo Wiffy Channy Destiel Jeroline Steroline Steroline Klaulette Rokken	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thirteen Castle/Beckett Sam/Lucifer Rizzoli/Isles Spinelli/Maxie Jake/Peyton Rachel/Ny Kim/Shego Buffy/Willow Chad/Sony Dean/Castiel Jeremy/Caroline Stefan/Caroline Klaus/Charlotte Ron/Drakken
Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett Samifer Rizzles Spixie Recoverability Jayton Ravy Kigo Wiffy Channy Destiel Jeroline Steroline Steroline Klaulette Rokken	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thirteen Castle/Beckett Sam/Lucifer Rizzoli/Isles Spinelli/Maxie Jake/Peyton Rachel/Ivy Kim/Shego Buffy/Willow Chad/Sonny Dean/Castiel Jeremy/Caroline Stefan/Caroline Klaus/Charlotte
Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett Samifer Rizzles Spixie Recoverability Jayton Ravy Kigo Wiffy Channy Destiel Jeroline Steroline Steroline Klaulette Rokken Milby	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thiteen Castle/Beckett Sam/Lucifer Rizzoli/Isles Spinelli/Maxie Jake/Peyton Rachel/Ivy Kim/Shego Buffy/Willow Chad/Sonny Dean/Castiel Jeremy/Caroline Stefan/Caroline Stefan/Caroline Klaus/Charlotte Ron/Drakken Misty/Colby Kyla/Carmen
Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett Samifer Rizzles Spixie Recoverability Jayton Ravy Kigo Wiffy Channy Destiel Jeroline Steroline Klaulette	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thiteen Castle/Beckett Sam/Lucifer Rizzoli/Isles Spinelli/Maxie Jake/Peyton Rachel/Ivy Kim/Shego Buffy/Willow Chad/Sonny Dean/Castiel Jeremy/Caroline Stefan/Caroline Stefan/Caroline Klaus/Charlotte Ron/Drakken Misty/Colby Kyla/Carmen
Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett Samifer Rizzles Spixie Recoverability Jayton Ravy Kigo Wiffy Channy Destiel Jeroline Steroline Steroline Klaulette Rokken Milby Kymen		Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thirteen Castle/Beckett Sam/Lucifer Rizzoli/Isles Spinelli/Maxie Jake/Peyton Rachel/Ivy Kim/Shego Buffy/Willow Chad/Sonny Dean/Castiel Jeremy/Caroline Stefan/Caroline Klaus/Charlotte Ron/Drakken Misty/Colby
Chair Chair Calzona Camerah Foreteen Caskett Samifer Rizzles Spixie Recoverability layton Ravy Kigo Wiffy Channy Destiel leroline Steroline Steroline Steroline Klaulette Rokken Milby Kymen Kenlow		Calliope/Arizona Cameron/Sarah Foreman/Thiteen Castle/Beckett Sam/Lucifer Rizzoli/Isles Spinelli/Maxie Jake/Peyton Rachel/Ivy Kim/Shego Buffy/Willow Chad/Sonny Dean/Castiel Jeremy/Caroline Stefan/Caroline Stefan/Caroline Klaus/Charlotte Ron/Drakken Misty/Colby Kyla/Carmen Kennedy/Willow

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Artina	-	Artie/Tina
Brittana	-	Brittany/Santana
Cabenson	-	Cabot/Benson
Perachel	-	Percy/Rachel
Percianca	-	Percy/Bianca
Viony	-	Violet/Tony
Bellice	-	Bella/Alice
Turrow	-	Turner/Sparrow
Kathree	-	Kathrine/Bree
Drakkim	-	Drakken/Kim
Jerennie	-	Bonnie/Jeremy
Grindledore	-	Dumbledore/Grindelwald
Viony	_	Violet/Tony
Viony Long Mergers	-	Violet/Tony
Long Mergers		Violet/Tony Percy/Annabeth Annabeth/Luke
Long Mergers Percabeth	- 	Percy/Annabeth
Long Mergers Percabeth Lukabeth	- - - - -	Percy/Annabeth Annabeth/Luke
Long Mergers Percabeth Lukabeth Willabeth	- - - - - - -	Percy/Annabeth Annabeth/Luke Will/Elizabeth
Long Mergers Percabeth Lukabeth Willabeth Sparrabeth	- - - - - -	Percy/Annabeth Annabeth/Luke Will/Elizabeth Sparrow/Elizabeth
Long Mergers Percabeth Lukabeth Willabeth Sparrabeth Forwood		Percy/Annabeth Annabeth/Luke Will/Elizabeth Sparrow/Elizabeth
Long Mergers Percabeth Lukabeth Willabeth Sparrabeth Forwood Other	- - - - - - - -	Percy/Annabeth Annabeth/Luke Will/Elizabeth Sparrow/Elizabeth Forbes/Lockwood

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## Notes on contributor

Cara DiGirolamo is a graduate student in the Department of Linguistics at Cornell University. Her research is primarily in Historical Syntax and the Syntax-Semantics interface, but she is also interested in any question where untidy language data shows the dynamic interaction between people and linguistic systems.

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