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Año XLVI • Número 117 • 2014

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FOREWORD

This paper aims at providing a description of the means available nowadays for hypocoristization in Basque, although it is not our intention to limit our investigation to present-day pet names. We have considered it relevant to go back to the origins in which the modern system is rooted. With this aim in mind, we have analyzed historically common hypocoristics and the patterns that these follow as well. One of our findings is that the historical and present-day patterns for forming hypocoristics are the same, although it is no longer the case that their productiveness and liveliness has remained unaltered. We therefore claim to provide a panchronic view of Basque hypocoristics in this paper.

In order to reach our aim, we draw our data from medieval published documents, gathering and analyzing the pet names that are present in these. We also extract additional data from old Basque texts, literary works and other documents found in archives and which are dated from the 16th century onwards. Finally, we have conducted many oral surveys with the aim of finding out the hypocoristics that are used in present-day Basque. Most of the subjects who underwent these surveys were «qualified» speakers, meaning that they had great knowledge of Basque and a great sensitivity toward that language (see Salaberri, 2009: 3-6). We would like to thank all of them from here.

In the last previous years hypocoristics have been quite common elements of investigation in phonology studies, often from the point of view of prosodic morphology. Thornton (1996: 82) claimed the following, along the

* UPNA/NUP.
** UPV/EHU.

lines of McCarthy and Prince: «Recently McCarthy and Prince have characterized Prosodic Morphology as "morphology that is prosody-governed", where "phonological constraints take precedence over morphological ones"». A few years later that Avram (2010: 47-48) defines this area in the following way: «Prosodic morphology is here understood broadly as the theory of how morphology and phonology interact in the grammatical system of languages».

Some other authors write within the theoretical frame of Optimality Theory in order to explain the workings of hypocoristics. Everett (1996: 3) claims that «there are only violable constraints» and that this «means that structures cannot be ruled out as ungrammatical in an absolute sense, but only as less optimal than a competing form». Crystal (2008: 343), on his side, asserts that «Optimality theory [...] aims to account for a wide range of phenomena by specifying the interaction of a small number of UNIVERSAL constraints, which apply variously across languages in producing phonological representations». Driscoll (2013: 76), finally, says that «OT proposes a mechanism for generating a list of candidate outputs, a list of ordered constraints, and an evaluation metric to choose between the candidates based on the constraints. The candidate that violates the fewest highest-ranking constraints is generally chosen».

These authors, however, draw only on present-day data; they do not pay much attention to the past[1]. Our intention is, as claimed above, to investigate not only synchrony but also diachrony, since pet names constitute an indivisible *continuum*. It is true that a considerable number of names from the past have died off, and mostly as well, that names are used nowadays which would have been unconceivable a few decades ago. However, the means to derive the pet names of said names have remained the same. An undeniable continuity is present in this area, and it is very important, in our view, to portray this continuity in clear terms and to underline that the present hypocoristica have not emerged out of thin air. If we only studied present-day pet names, we would see but the last step of the system, the deadline picture, and not the picture of the whole race. We thus give great importance to the historical development of the Basque hypocoristics system, obviously without leaving present forms and their characteristics aside. In short, we work within the frame of onomastics, and not within the frame of phonology[2].

Depending on old documents has its problems, since often the administrative language in question prevents us from going deeper into the data, gi-

[1] A few actually do this, forced by the data: see Van de Weijer (1989). Prieto (1992b: 176) claims that constructing the feminine version of *Andrés* as compared to other names such as *Inés* or *Carlos* «reveals a difference in the status of the final part of each word; while *Carlos* forms the feminine *Carl* + *a*, *Andrés* forms the feminine *Andre* + *a*». Had this investigator taken a look at the mentioned names' history, he would have noticed that *Andreo* has often been the masculine version of *Andrea*, and that *Andresa* is also attested already by the medieval period. In short, a diachronic perspective would have allowed Prieto to understand present-day data in a better manner.

[2] It is true that onomastics plays a great role in the study of the history of the language, but only at a diachronic level, not at a synchronic level. Bakken (2002: 25) claims that «usually the phonological development of a language is established in language histories, and more often than not, names constitute part of the foundation on which these language histories are built [...]. So the interdependence between onomastics and general phonological history is obvious and important». In the case of Basque, the validity of this assertion becomes obvious just by reading Mitxelena's work.

ven the fact that some linguistic characteristics of Basque appear obscured. This is the case, for example, whenever place and personal names are declined according to the Latin pattern. In many other cases the sibilants of Basque are not properly represented in documents written in Spanish, i.e. they are represented according to Spanish spelling conventions. With regard to present-day data, not the Gascon language that Basque has had as a neighbour for centuries, but the phonetically much more distant French has been the dominant language in the Northern Basque Country for the past two hundred years or so. This has a direct impact on the speech of Basque speakers in that region, whereby even aged local natives pronounce the Basque alveolar trill as a uvular trill, as in French. This is by no means a historical phenomenon: according to one of the informants of the study, who was born in the bordering village of Luzaide[3], his grandmother, Mrs. Anita Etxegarai Etxeberri, born in the late 19th century in Arnegi (French Basque Country), could speak only Basque, and she used to pronounce [r], not [R], as did most of her piers in the same area.

This last piece of information is very relevant to the analysis of present-day pet names in the French Basque Country, since one might sometimes be lead to think, unless one knew about the history of the language, that the uvular trills of French and the alveolar trills of Basque, regardless of their considerably distinct phonetic articulation, resulted in equal forms in hypocoristics. We do not consider this to have been the case. In our view the hypocoristics that are currently used in the French Basque Country, at least most of them, can be traced back to the time in which the trill was pronounced in the same way as it is in the Spanish Basque Country. That is why, for example, French *André* [andRé] and Spanish *Andrés* [andrés] have fallen together in Basque (*Andde* / *Anddex*), with respect to the cluster that is nowadays pronounced in two different ways.

Another relevant matter is the one that concerns allonyms, especially in bordering villages. What is meant by this is that the hypocoristic in question does not always correspond to a person's official name, but to one of their allonyms. For the sake of comparison, some of the inhabitants of the above mentioned village Luzaide are known by the hypocoristics *Betti*, *Ge*(*h*)*axan*, *Gaxan*, *Ge*(*h*)*axina*, *Gexina*, whereas *Pedro*, *Gracián*, *Graciana* are their official names. Likewise, a person called *Laurent* can be called *Laurentx* in the French Basque Country, taking the original *Laurentz* as a starting point.

1. TERMINOLOGY ISSUES, DEFINITION AND OTHER MATTERS

In Basque hypocoristics can be defined as shortened, palatalized and suffixed variants of neutral personal names that commonly originate in a familiar context, and which later are often used among friends, in most cases because the name bearer himself wants it that way. In this case hypocoristics are easy to distinguish from nicknames, the latter of which are used to call the nicknamee whether it is their wish that it be so or not. It is moreover a well-known fact that some nicknames (which have occasionally been called

[3] That would be Mr. Peio Kamino Kaminondo.

behind-the-back nicknames in English) may not be or are usually not used in front of the person being nicknamed, unless one has the intention of creating a quarrel. We have settled the distinction between hypocoristics and nicknames for the simple reason that some investigators, particularly American ones, have included under the label of *nicknames* what we would call pet names, together with some name-like elements that we would label as nicknames in Basque.

Personal names, anthroponyms, are universal. They are found in every single language and culture, and there is no variety that we know of that has not made use of them. This does not mean, however, that the same or a similar system to produce anthroponyms and a similar organization exist in every case. Languages prominently create their own patterns, which then share a considerable number of characteristics with the patterns of other languages[4].

Regarding the nature of hypocoristics, we can claim that these are endearment variants used during childhood, which change as the bearer grows up, especially when the hypocoristic contains a suffix[5]. On the other hand, in many cases it is common for the name bearer and the people surrounding them to continue using the hypocoristic, in spite of the growing up of the former. It is even common for pet names to be used in the bearer's working environment and in other formal contexts, which would *a priori* be areas from which their use is excluded. We could bring up many definitions of hypocoristics, but let it suffice to quote the one provided by Frank (1975: 514): «*Die Koseform ist eine "aus Zärtlichkeit abgewandelte Form eines Namens". Begründet mit seiner Zärtlichkeitstendenz verniedlicht, verkleinert er sehr oft, wofür bestimmte Suffixe symptomatisch sind. Aber auch Namenformen ohne Suffixe, Vollformen, Kontraktionen und Kurzformen können im Sprachgebrauch als Kosenamen fungieren*»[6].

The palatalizations that are so common in Basque are missing from this definition. Moreover, we do not consider forms that lack a suffix to be pet names, unless they undergo shortening or palatalization. Evidently this can potentially change, according to the variety in question. For example, in Akan, which is a language spoken in Ghana and in the Ivory Coast, reduplication and compounding are common morphological processes in forming hypocoristics. So are the morphonological processes of elision, change in tonal pattern, prolongation of syllabic and phonic units and vowel harmony (Obeng, 1997: 39, 42). In Hausa, spoken in Nigeria and Niger, the most frequently used resources are suffixation and reduplication, occasionally accompanied by tone (Newman & Ahmad, 1992, see also Salaberri, 2009: 34-35).

[4] «Each language thus has an anthroponymic system but what sub-systems it is comprised of is language –and culture– specific» (Ainiala, Saarelma, Sjöblom, 2012: 125).

[5] Another reason to stop making use of a hypocoristic can lie on disagreement or disapproval: «Disapproval of or anger with the other can lead to a retreat from petname to formal name. This happens routinely in families, as well as in those groups where petnames mark adult relations of intimacy and affection» (Morgan, O'Neill, Harré, 1979: 31).

[6] «A hypocoristic is the form of a name thas has been altered due to endearment. Based on its tendency to be used as a marker of endearment, the hypocoristic is reduced very often, for which specific suffixes are frequent. But forms without suffixes, full forms, contractions and shortened forms can function as hypocoristics in everyday language».

In the Nootka or Nuuchahnulth language spoken in Canada the means for hypocoristization is by truncating the base name before the second vowel, changing the remaining vowel to middle and lengthening it if not already long, and adding the affix *-ʔis* (Stonham, 1991: 119, 2004: 196; see Kim, 1999 for a different perspective on the matter). On the other hand, in Japanese the most marked hypocoristics are constructed by adding the suffix *-[ʧ]a[N]* to the shortened version of the name, which is usually two moras long (Poser, 1984). Other suffixes can be used in this language, such as (*-kun*, *-san* or *-sama*), in addition to a certain prefix (*o-*) or a combination of one of the former and the latter (*o-* and *-san*) (Kozasa, 2000; Avram, 2010). However, Mester (1990) claims that the hypocoristics that bear the suffix *-ko* require not only a two-mora name, but also a monosyllabic one as a base name, and Avram (2010: 52) argues that the truncated version or *truncatum* must be monosyllabic, be it one or two moras long. Finally, in Korean (Lee, 1991: 135) a hypocoristic is created by dropping the last syllable of the base name and adding the suffix *-ya*/*-a*, depending on whether the truncated name ends in a vowel or a consonant. In addition to this, the vowel in the first syllable is lengthened with the aim of adding a mora, so that the moraic template required by this language is fulfilled: *Sunhi* → *Hi-ya* → *Hi:ya, Yumi* → *Mi-ya* → *Mi:ya, Sunc^{h}əl* → *C^{h}əl-a* → *C^{h}ə:ra*.

In addition to linguistic usage, social usage also can vary: for the sake of comparison, in the above-mentioned Akan language the expressive value of the hypocoristic varies according to the social relationship between addresser and addressee (the decisive factors usually being age and socioeconomic status; Obeng, 1997: 39, 52-53 and further). A wrong use of the hypocoristic on the part of the addresser «is face-threatening and can result in a confrontation» (*ibid.*, 2001: 115). Hypocoristization is a language-specific system, and has usually a specific structuring; this is why how a name is perceived is a matter of language[7] and within each language it can be related to gender[8].

At this point we want to make clear that in Basque, as is usual in other languages, not all pet names are used on the same level. For example, *Joxe*, *Patxi* or *Pello* are variants optionally used in formal situations[9], whereas the use of *Fernanddo* or *Ixiar* might be more doubtful in an identical situation, there being no doubt that hypocoristics of the kind of *Kexuxin*, *Kettuttin*, *Koxpa*, *Moxto*, *Nune*, *Papax*, *Ttattin*, *Ttattan* or *Eñautiko* are appropriately used in familiar or friendly environments, but not in more formal situations.

In certain cases a hypocoristic has undergone a process of neutralization; this is what has happened in examples like *Johannes* → *Johan* / *Hans*, *Konrad* → *Kurt* and *Nikolaus* → *Klaus* in German. We propose that the same thing is taking place in the mentioned examples of *Patxi* or *Pello* in Basque. Moreover, in the case of Basque pet names, the usual variant of a name to appear in documents in the last two centuries or so was one that we might call «neuter» or «non-hypocoristic», whereas another variant of endearment and

[7] In any case, it must be taken into consideration that in a language as widespread as English hypocoristic-constructing uses vary regionally, compare e.g. the United States vs. Australia (Wierzbicka, 1992: 225 and others, Simpson, 2001, Lappe, 2007: 35).

[8] See Lawson & Roeder (1986) for more on this matter.

[9] In Plénat's (2003: 79) line of thought, one could say that these hypocoristics are «lexicalized».

fondness was used at home, among friends, in town, etc. as a consequence of the diglossic situation undergone by this language. This situation still exists to a certain extent in the Spanish Basque Country, and to a greater extent in the French Basque Country, even though the situation is changing in both areas. In former times, however, things were unlike now, since many documents –which show variation as well, depending on the intention and kind of document and who it was meant for– appear full of pet names, *cfr.* the following quotes: «*Michelco fijo de Chariquo*» (Bera, Navarre, 1366), «*Chartico de artero e Johanco su cuñado, Johanto fijo de Johan de arzoz; sus fijos Choanco, Choaneto, Chartico*» (Betelu, Navarre, 1520).

In the present paper we consider only the hypocoristics which are based on first names, and not the ones that are based on surnames (e.g. *Lasarte* → *Laxarte*, *Salaberri* → *Xala*, *Susperregi* → *Xuxpe* or *Zubiri* → *Xubiri*). Neither do we consider hypocoristics whose origin may lay in place names, be they common toponyms (*Ezkurra* → *Exkurra*, *Goizueta* → *Goixut*, see Salaberri, 2009: 86-87) or denominations rooted in oyconyms (what we call «house nicknames–, such as *Arrosenea* [the house] → *Arroxene* [the owner of the house] in Ituren, *Pertalats* → *Pertalatx* in Arizkun or *Aldúntzìn* → *Aldùntxín* in Goizueta, all found in Navarre; see Salaberri & Zubiri, 2009).

University names are considered in other languages (in Japanese, see Milam, 2006), as well as names of tribes (in Nootka or Nuuchahnulth, see Stonham, 1991), or place names (e.g. Armas [1974: 195] for Guatemalan Spanish, or Simpson [2001] for Australian English)[10]. For other languages «hypocoristics of common names» are mentioned, in German (Wiese, 2001)[11] and English (Simpson, 2001) for comparison[12].

On the other hand, in order to know whether a hypocoristic is male or female in Basque, one must take the whole neuter name, the non-hypocoristic form in the base into consideration, as is the case in other languages. Suffixes, excluding the few ones which display gender markers[13] (i.e. feminine *-a*, as a way of explanation *-nda* in the older hypocoristics, *-it(t)a* in the newer ones, like *Otsanda*, *Pakitta*, *Pantxita*), are generally speaking used to construct both male and female names, as is the case in Czech (Bethin, 2003: 63). By way of comparison: *Betri*, *Petri*, *Petiri* → *Betriko*, *Petriko, Petiriko* vs. *Juana*, *Mari(a)* → *Juanako*, *Mari(a)ko*, all of which are formed using the suffix *-ko*.

[10] In American English as well; *cfr.* the examples *Cincinatti* → *Cincy*, *Philadelphia* → *Philly*, or the example that Simpson does not mention, *San Francisco* → *Frisco*. No such phenomena are attested for Basque, that we know of. We collected examples (Salaberri, 2009: 8) such as *La Rochapea* → *La Rocha* (*Arrotxapea*, a neighborhood in Iruñea/Pamplona) or *Portugalete* → *Portu* (a town in Bizkaia) among others, but these are common only in Spanish. However this may be, we are not sure whether reduced village names (*Ittun* 'Ituren', *Olazti* 'Olatzagutia' and *Otsagi* 'Otsagabia' in Navarre, for instance) can be considered to be, sometimes at least, hypocoristics of place names.

[11] He claims thus in a footnote (p. 135): «*Phoni* is hypocoristic for *Phonologe* 'phonologist', a formation English speakers are particularly fond of».

[12] On the other hand, Thornton (2006) and Halicki (2007) use the term *hypocoristic* to refer to the first name of a person, and the Italian term *accorciamenti* to refer to the shortenings or so-called *clippings* that happen in this language, which in our view is the correct manner to name these elements.

[13] In Basque grammatical gender does not exist, but in the field of onomastics male and female names have been explicitly gendered, since the Middle Ages at least.

2. PET NAMES IN BASQUE: FORMATION PATTERNS AND CHARACTERISTICS

We have had a well-organized hypocoristics system in our language, and we still have it. By this is meant that throughout the history of the language certain patterns have been used to form pet names, and although some of these patterns have changed to a certain extent, they still apply in the production of hypocoristics, even if some of them are not as productive as they used to be: a few have made their way «safe and sound» to our day (which is the case of most patterns consisting of palatalization) whereas others are not so much in force (e.g. suffixation). In this paper we define the so-called «hypocoristics system» along the lines of the «naming system» that Ainiala, Saarelma and Sjöblom (2012: 21) mention: «When speaking of a naming system, we are referring to a system that is formed by certain types of names where certain structural or functional principles are dominant».

In the case of Basque pet names, a few names such as *Joanes*[14], *Maria*, *Marti(n)*, *Petri*, etc. were commonly used as a base, and there existed a few main pathways that lead to the formation of hypocoristics. Nowadays names have changed, especially among the younger generations in the Spanish Basque Country (see Gorrotxategi, 2000). One initial cause for this change is the naming revolution lead by Arana‘s work during the first third of the 20th century, and a later cause are the renovations supported by Satrustegi. As a consequence hypocoristica have changed as well, since the bases are unlike the former ones, although the patterns for the formation of pet names continue to be the same ones. These are the following four (Salaberri, 2009):

2.1. Palatalization

This first pattern is alive and kicking among Basque speakers, although some subpatterns that historically existed have come to disappear. The following are the sounds that can undergo palatalization[15]:

/ś/: *Añes* → *Añex*, *Dolores* → *Dolorex*, *Nikolas* → *Nikolax*, *Sante* → *Txante**[16], *Sinforiano* → *Txifuriano*, *Sorkunde* → *Xorkun*. In some cases we observe that the palatalized sound has changed its quality after palatalization of the alveolar apical has taken place: *Joserra* → *Joxerra* → *Kotterra*, *Sebastián* → *Xaxtian* → *Ttattan*.

/s/: *Anizet* → *Anixet*, *Bizente* → *Bixente*, *Gaizka* → *Gaixka*, *Luzia* → *Lutxi*, *Luxia*; *Zipriano* → *Txipano*[17], *Zumar* → *Xumar*.

/ć/: *Alfontso* → *Alfontxo*, *Alpontxo*; *Urtsula* → *Urtxula*.

[14] This was the most frequent and extensively used name in Europe during the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance period (Ainiala, Saarelma, Sjöblom, 2012: 152).

[15] May it be noted here that Basque pronunciation has to be the starting point when inferring palatalized variants. For example, it is necessary to propose *Adorazion* when explaining the evolution from *Adoración* to *Adoraxon*, i.e. it is necessary to propose a middle stage with [s].

[16] If nothing else is specified in the text, we mark hypocoristics that are only historical with an asterisk placed behind.

[17] *Piano*, *Chano* and *Yano* are this name's hypocoristics in Mexico (Boyd-Bowman, 1955: 340), *Chano* in Honduras (Van Wijk, 1964: 304), and *Cipria* and *Pano* in Bogota (Urawa, 1985: 60). Anoher Basque hypocoristic of this name is *Xipri*, although this can be based as well on the French form *Cyprien*.

/ts/: *Aitziber* → *Aitxiber*, *Egoitz* → *Egoitx*, *Haritz* → *Haritx*.

/d/: *Domingo* → *Ddomingo*, *Txomin*; *Domeka* → *Txomeka**, *Dominika* → *Ddominika*; *Fernando* (→ *Ferrando*) → *Ferranddo*; *Ma(g)dalena* →*Maddalen*, *Maialen*, *Matxalen*.

/t/: *Katalin(a)* → *Katxalin**, *Mateo* → *Matteo*; *Victor* → *Bitor* → *Bittor*; *Toribio* → *Ttoribio*.

/g/: *Domingo* → *Domintxo*, *Gabon* → *Txabon**, *Migel* → *Mitxel**.

/k/: *Katalin(a)* → *Txatalin*, *Mikele* → *Mitxele*. This one is old.

/p/: *Peru* → *Txeru*. This one is not productive anymore.

/f/: *Fernando* → *Ferrando* → *Ferran(d,t)*) → *Txerran*. This one is unattested in present-day language.

/j/: *Joan(a)* → *(T)xoan(a)*, *Juane* → *Xuane*, *Juanperi(t)z* → *Txaperi*; *Juantxo*, *Juantxu* → *Txatxo*, *Txatxu*; *Jurdan(a)* → *(T)xurdan(a)*. This one is unknown in the present time; the hypocoristics of the kind of *Xan* (French Basque Country) have /ʒ/ as a source, and not /j/, as is here the case.

/l/: *(A)polonia* → *Polloni*, *Dolores* → *Dollores*; *Lope* → *Txope**.

/ɾ/: *Auria* → *Aulli**; *Maria*, *Marie*, *Mari* → *Maddia*, *Madda*, *Maddi*, *Malli**.

/m/: *Ma(i)ora* → *Txaora*, *Mari(a)* → *Txari(a)*, *Martin* → *Txartin*. This process of palatalization is not productive anymore.

/n/: *Ana*, *Anne* → *Aña*, *Añi*; *Arnaud* → *Añaut*, *Arño*, *Eñaut*; *Berna(r)t*, *Bernardo* → *Beñat*, *Beñardo*; *Bidane* → *Bidañe*; *Joanes* (*Juanes*, *Joanis*, *Juanis*) →*Mañex*, *Mañix*; *Necolas* → *Txekolas**, *Noel* → *Ñoel*. In some cases, in addition to the nasal the alveolar apical sibilant is palatalized as well: *Estanis* → *Extañix*[18].

The palatalized variants that result from these previous processes are the following:

/ś/ usually results in the fricative **/ʃ/**, and the affricate **/ʧ/** occasionally. The first variant (**/ʃ/**) later on turns into **/c/** in some cases.

/s/ mostly results in the fricative **/ʃ/**, and only seldom in the affricate **/ʧ/**.

From **/ć/** and **/ts/** usually arises **/ʧ/**.

From **/d/** arise **/ɟ/**, **/j/** and **/ʧ/**.

/t/ results in **/c/** in most of the areas, whereas in the West it results in **/ʧ/**. Once this last sound was found in Navarre as well.

/g/ can result in **/ʧ/**.

/k/ used to result in **/ʧ/** in the distant past.

/p/ occasionally turned into **/ʧ/** in the distant past.

/f/ resulted in the affricate **/ʧ/** in some cases; this process is lost now.

/j/ resulted in the fricative **/ʃ/** and the affricate **/ʧ/**.

/l/ results in **/ʎ/** now; the result used to be **/ʧ/** occasionally: *Lope* → *Txope*. It is possible, however, for there to have existed an unattested intermediate reduplicating variant like **Pope* (*cfr. Peru* → *Txeru*).

/ɾ/ gives **/ɟ/** now; it used to give **/ʎ/** once though.

/m/ often gave **/ʧ/**.

[18] As can be seen by this example, more than one instances of palatalization take place in some names; two further examples would be *Anastasio* → *Anaxtaxio* and *Izaskun* → *Ixaxkun*.

/n/ results in **/ɲ/**. There is one attestation of **/ʧ/** though, although this is an ancient example: *Necolas* → *Txekolas*. Nevertheless, it is possible for there to underlie a variant **Mecolas* of *Micolas*.

In addition to these it was frequent, especially in the western Basque Country, for protetic **/ʧ/** <tx> to be made use of: *Andres* → *Txandres*, *Anton* → *Txanton*, *Elena* → *Txelena*; *Ordoño* → *Txordon*, *Txorron*; *Osana* → *Txosan*, *Urdin(a)* → *Txurdin(a)*. The origins of this process can be traced back to the first cited consonant palatalizations (*Furtin* → *Txurtin*, *Marina* → *Txarina*, *Perute* → *Txerute*, and so on). This means that the initial palatalized sound was considered to be a characteristic of hypocoristics and that in a wide area of the Basque Country it began to be used, by means of analogy, not only replacing some consonants, but also in front of vowels.

2.2. Suffixation

Many have been the suffixes to be used in the last centuries, some of them being single and some compound suffixes (i.e. double or triple); a few, moreover, are very old, since they are attested in Aquitanian inscriptions from the Roman period. There is no room for doubt that there has been a great loss in this area: the one-time rich variety has become considerably scarce, previous multiple options having been reduced to a handful of suffixes.

These are some of the suffixes that got lost[19]: ***-degi*** (*Joandegi*), ***-di*** and ***-ti*** (*Jaundi*, *Jaunti*), ***-do*** (*Matxindo*), ***-et(a)*** (*Andregaileta*, *Garzet*, *Semeret*), ***-etako*** (*Joanetako*), ***-etillo*** (*Joanetillo*), ***-gi*** and ***-ki*** (*Jurdangi*, *Mariki*, *Otxoki*), ***-go*** and ***-ko*** (*Alamango*, *Andereko*, *Antsako*, *Petriko*, *Maringo*), ***-got(e)*** and ***-kot(e)*** (*Itxuskot*, *Joangote*, *Martingot*, *Otxokote*), ***-goto*** and ***-koto(a)*** (*Itxuskotoa*, *Juangoto*, *Xoankoto*), ***-gotxo*** and ***-goxo*** (*Joangotxo*, *Joangoxo*), ***-goxe(a)*** and ***-koxe(a)*** (*Joangoxe*, *Martingoxea*, *Mitxelkoxe*, *Totakoxe*), ***-goxoto*** (*Joangoxoto*), ***-ikon*** (*Perikon*), ***-ikoni*** (*Joanikoni*), ***-ikot(e)*** (*Joanikot*(*e*)), ***-ikoti*** (*Joanikoti*), ***-ikotx(ea)*** (*Joanikotx*(*ea*)), ***-illo*** (*Txopillo*), ***-itxo*** (*Juanitxo*), ***-kin(a)*** (*And(e)rekina*, *Marikin*), ***-koti*** (*Martikoti*), ***-l*** (*Enekol*, *Santzol*), ***-liko*** (*Santxoliko*), ***-lo*** (*Markolo*, *Txopelo*), ***-no*** (*Ortino*), ***-ndo*** (*Garzando*, *Zurindo*) or ***-nda*** (*Otxanda*)[20], ***-ndako*** (*Otxandako*), ***-ngo*** and ***-nko*** (*Otsango*, *Otxanko*), ***-on*** (*Mikelon*, *Nabarron*, *Santxon*), ***-onet*** (*Marañonet*, *Santzonet*), ***-osoa*** (*Joanosoa*, *Martiosoa*), ***-ot(e)*** (*Antxote*, *Aznarot*, *Beraskot*, *Enekot*), ***-oteko*** or ***-teko*** (*Otxoteko*), ***-otiko*** (*Joanotiko*), ***-otxe(a)*** (*Joanotxe(a)*), ***-otxo*** (*Martinotxo*); ***-s***, ***-tx*** and ***-x*** (*Maritx*, *Martix*, *Matxis*, *Perix*, *Perus*, *Perutx*); ***-ski*** (*Mariski*, *Peruski*), ***-skito*** (*Peruskito*), ***-skitxo*** (*Peruskitxo*); ***-sko***, ***-ska*** and ***-xko***, ***-xka*** (*Erlandexka*, *Marijoanexko*, *Marisko* and *Marixko*, *Perisko* and *Periska*, *Petruxka*); ***-so*** (*Jaunso*, *Urdinso*), ***-ste*** (*Antsoste*, *Peruste*); ***-sto*** (*Maristo*, *Mikelesto*, *Perosto*), ***-txto*** (*Perotxto*, sic) and ***-xto*** (*Perixto*, *Peroxto*); ***-t(e)*** (*Adant*, *Anderete*, *Itxuste*, *Joant*), ***-tiko*** (*Joantiko*), ***-til*** (*Paskotil*), ***-tilko***

[19] We would like to point out here that suffixes (and consequently pet names) often admit more than one interpretation. For example, *Matxindo** can be understood as < *Matxin* + *-do* / *-to* or as *Matxi* + *-ndo*, and *Antxote** < *Antxo* + *-ote* as well as *Antxo* + *-te*.

[20] It would seem that in this hypocoristic's case the *-e*, *-o* found at the end of base names such as *Garze(a)*, *Otso(a)*, *Otxo(a)* have become *-a* when adding suffixes like *-ndo*, *-ngo*, *-nko*. This is similar, for instance, to the case of *baso* 'forest' and *etxe* 'house', which in composition have become *basa-* and *etxa-*.

(*Otxotilko*), ***-tillo*** (*Juantillo*), ***-toko*** (*Mitxetoko*, *Xoantoko*), ***-ton*** (*Garz(i)aton*, *Mariton*), ***-tonko*** (*Maritonko*), ***-txa*** and ***-xa*** (*Betixa*, *Lopetxa*, *Mikeletxa*), ***-txe(a)*** and ***-xe(a)*** (*Amorexea*, *Gaztexe*, *Mariaxe*, *Nafartxe*, *Petritxea*), ***-txeko*** (*Joantxeko*), ***-txen*** (*Katalintxen*), ***-txet*** (*Perutxet*) and ***-xet*** (*Martixet*), ***-txeto*** (*Joantxeto*), ***-txi*** (*Juantxi*, *Martitxi*), ***-txito*** (*Juantxito*), ***-txon*** (*Mariatxon*, *Martitxon*), ***-txonki*** (*Mariatxonki*), ***-txot(e)*** (*Juantxot*, *Perutxote*).

Among the suffixes that are still productive we may find the following: ***-iko*** and ***-ika*** (*Anika*, *Eñautiko*, *Luxianiko*), ***-in*** (*Felixin*, *Tomaxin*); ***-it(t)o*** and ***-ita*** (*Andresitto*, *Anita*, *Bittorito*, *Ixabelita*); ***-ño(a)*** (*Anañoa*, *Bettiño*, *Juanaño*, *Pierraño* or *Piarreño*), ***-t(t)o*** (*Felixto*, *Koteto*, *Mattintto*), ***-txo*** (*Adriantxo*, *Aimartxo*) and ***-txu*** (*Karmentxu*, *Mirentxu*).

As the reader will notice, the hypocoristic suffixes in Basque are many more than those which Irigoien (1995) considered them to be almost twenty years ago. The Bizkaian linguist gathered a total of twenty-two, plus the not so clear *-ro*.

2.3. Name shortening

2.3.1. Introduction

One pattern to form pet names, which is considerably widespread among the languages that surround Basque, is the *shortening* of names defined in the broad sense. Most often the terms *shortening* and *reduction* are equivalent or quasi-equivalent, as will be shown below[21].

Occasionally the name is shortened only on one side, either in the beginning, the middle, or the end (see the data that Urawa [1985: 85-89] provides on Bogota Spanish). In some other cases, however, mostly in the case of compound names, sound elision takes place in more than one area of the name (e.g. *José Joaquín* → *Josejoakin* → *Joxejoakin* → *Oxokin*). In this paper we make use of the term *reduction*, following Trask (2000: 277), in the sense of «very broadly, any development which removes phonological material from a linguistic form. The term can be applied, for example, to the loss of an unstressed vowel or of a whole syllable, to the simplification of a consonant cluster [...]». For instance, we observe that in the familiar variant *Atxi* of the name *Aitziber* the final section *-ber* has been dropped, in addition to the palatal consonant having absorbed the palatal vowel preceding it. We furthermore note that final *-a* has been dropped in the hypocoristic *María Antonia* → *Manttoni*, in addition to the initial name having practically disappeared in the further shortened *Mantto*, except for the initial bilabial nasal (and perhaps the open vowel).

These reductions, or similar cases of them, are also documented in the process of pet name construction in other languages. For instance, the following is a claim by Wiese (2001: 137-138) about the reductions taking place in German in the creation of hypocoristics ending in *-i*: «There is also no clear answer to the question which consonant from a cluster is to be left out. Neither the position nor the quality of the consonant appears to determine uniquely the candidate to be deleted». Occasionally in Basque, such as in the examples *María Jesús* → *Maxux* or *Maria Teresa* → *Matexa*, elision goes

[21] For discussion on the terminology used in English in relation to the terms «name truncation» or «truncated name», see Avram (2010: 47-48).

beyond shortening and reduction. When this happens, we are dealing with what Obeng (1997: 48) calls «massive deletion» when dealing with Akan hypocoristics. This, apparently at least, is quite distant to the «ordered» shortenings as well as to the *clippings* that are noted for Japanese (*Motoko* → *Mokochan*, *Yayoi* → *Yaichan*, Poser, 1984: 223; *Ma[r]iko* → *Makochan*, Avram, 2010: 49-50).

In Basque, in spite of the fact that there are tetrasyllabic hypocoristics like *Kontzesiana* → *Kontxixiana*, *Sinforiano* → *Txifuriano*, it would seem that there exist, as well, a template or two underlying the construction of most pet names. There are no attestations of monosyllabic hypocoristics, that we know of, across the history of Basque, and only seldom do suffixless hypocoristics go beyond the level of three syllables. Pet names without suffixes have mostly been and still are di- or trisyllabic in this language. The most outstanding exception is found in compound names, in examples such as *Jose Fermin* → *Joxepillin*, *Josefa Inazia* → *Joxepainaxi*[22].

It is true, on the other hand, that occasionally monosyllabic hypocoristics are used in present-day Basque, mostly in the speech of youngsters in a friendly environment: *Laura* → *La*, *Leire* → *Le*, *Lidia* → *Li*, *Maider* → *Ma*, *Maite* → *Mai*, *Teresa* → **Tteresa* → *Tte*, and so on. In order to produce these there is no doubt that one must take the intermediate reduplicating variants as a point of origin, i.e. forms of the kind of *Laura* → *Lali*, *Leire* → *Lele*, *Lidia* → *Lili*. In the case of augmentative hypocoristics (see below) we observe the form *Zan*, which has originated in *Zanti* (< *Xanti* < *Santiago*).

In any case, and as mentioned above, most hypocoristics are either di- or trisyllabic and, as it would seem, this fact is responsible for some morphological and phonological phenomena, such as dropping of the word-final vowel (*Seberino* → *Xibirin*, *Zeferino* → *Txipirin* [and *Txipi*]), or of the word-final syllable (*Zacarías* → *Zakarias* → *Xakari*) (see below). A number of hypocoristics that are seemingly four syllables long are actually but three syllables long, be it because they contain a diphthong, or because a palatal vowel or semivowel has been assimilated to the palatal consonant standing next to it: *Tiburtzio* → *Tiburtxo*, *Zezilio* → *Txixil[j]o*, etc., even if the palatal consonant does not always absorb the palatal vowel standing next to it, and even though the palatal vowel does not always turn into a glide, e.g. *Tiburtzio* → *Diburtxio*.

Some of the above-mentioned compound names also turn into trisyllabic hypocoristics: *Jose Antonio* → *Oxĕanton*, *Jose Joakin* → *Oxokin*, *María Ascensión* → **Mariastentzion* → *Maixtentxon*, *María Luisa* → *Marilux*, *Maluxa*, or better yet, sometimes a disyllabic variant coexists with the trisyllabic one (*María Jesús* → *Makexux* → *Maxux*), in addition to a tetrasyllabic variant (*Marijexux*). Shortened variants of compound names are also commonly di- or trisyllabic in Spanish, and a few can be found that are tetrasyllabic, as in Basque. For the sake of comparison, in the Spanish of Bogota we

[22] In Japanese as well, the few names consisting of more than four moras can derive in common hypocoristics (consisting of two moras) or in larger hypocoristics (four moras). Poser (1984: 225) mentions the following: «Longer names behave just like shorter names with respect to hypocoristic formation. It is just that since they are longer they have enough material in their segmental melody to permit realization of the four-mora possibility as well as the two-mora possibility».

find the following pet names: *Carlos Alberto* → *Cabeto*, *Carlos Andrés* → *Candés*, *Juan Pablo* → *Juanpa*, *Luis Guillermo* → *Luisgui*, *María del Carmen* → *Marica* and *Maricame*, etc. (Urawa, 1985). In his analysis of Iberian Spanish, Prieto (1992: 153) claims that «basically, Hypocoristic Formation and Noun Truncation consist in copying the first two syllables of the base name — with some interesting restrictions [...], and movement of the stress to the first syllable, forming what we might call a "trochaic pattern"»[23]. In Italian hypocoristics are usually di- or trisyllabic as well, although a few exist that are monosyllabic: *Bernardo* → *Bardo*, *Giuseppe* → *Beppe*, *Bepi*, *Isep*, *Pépe*, *Peppe*, *Zösep* (also *Zep* and *Pippinu*), *Margarita* → *Mita*, *Martina* → *Marti*, *Matteo* → *Neo*, *Nicola* → *Nico* and *Cola*, *Nicolosa* → *Colosa* → *Cosa*, etc. (Halicki, 2007: 2-3; Berardi, 2007: 331-332).

2.3.2. Vowel subsumption, closing and dropping

Rather often the palatalized consonant assimilates the palatal vowel or glide standing next to it: *Adoración* → *Adorazion* → *Adoraxon*, *Asunción* → *Asuntzion* → *Axuntxon*; *Feliziana*, *Feliziano* → *Felixiana*, *Felixiano* → *Felixana*, *Felixano*; *Isidro* → *Xidro*, *Isidoro* → *Xidoro*, *Izaskun* → *Txaskun*[24], *Maitane* → *Mattane*, etc.

This phenomenon is especially frequent in compound names whose first element is *María*: *María Asunción* → *Maxuntxon*; *María Isabel* → *Marixabel* → *Maixabel* → *Maxabel*. However, for the semivowel to be dropped, it is not compulsory that the palatal consonant stand next to it: *María Luisa*, *Marie-Louise* → *Mailuixa* → *Mailuxa* → *Maluxa*; *María Teresa*, *Marie Thérèse* → *Mariaterexa* → *Mariterexa* → *Maateexa*, *Maitexa* → *Matexa*. In a few cases it would seem that the structure of the shortened name has prevented the palatal semivowel to drop: *Marisa* → *Marixa* → *Maixa*, but not **Maxa*. In the same way, we observe *Marisol* → *Marixol* → *Maixol*, but not **Maxol*. However, the change *María Jesús* → *Maixux* → *Maxux* is well known.

In some other cases the palatalized consonant has been responsible for palatalizing the vowel standing next to it, even though it has not completely closed or absorbed it: *Ambrosio* → *Anbroxio* → *Anbrixio*, *Concepción* → *Konzezion* → *Konxixion*, *Estanis* → *Extanix* → *Ixtanix*, *Esteben* → *Exteben* → *Ixteben*, *Zeferino* → *Txipirin*, *Zezilio* → *Xexilio* → *Xixilio*; *Zesario* → **Xexario* → *Xixario*. In order for vowel closing to take place it is not mandatory for the vowel to stand next to the palatalized consonant: *Engracia* → *Ingraxi*, *Silvestre* → *Txilibistro* (this can be an instance of pure vowel assimilation, i.e. *i.i.e* > *i.i.i*), *Sinforiano* → *Txifuriano*. Sometimes the vowel previous to the palatal

[23] In his conclusions, Prieto specifies his claim further in the following manner: «Crucially, the copying process operates on a circumscribed base, consisting of the first two syllables of the base, with the syllabification to the base retained. Moreover, the analysis requires the assumption of a condition that forces the last syllable of the truncated form to be light, optionally in the majority of the forms, obligatory in structures of the type [da.njél] : [dá.ni]».

[24] It is possible that in the last three examples the palatal vowel has not been assimilated by the palatalized consonant, but that it has simply dropped in the process of pet name creation.

consonant, if this vowel is *o*, turns into *u*, not *i*: *Anbrosio* → *Anbruxio* (also *Anbrixio*, as previously mentioned), *Santos* → *Santux*, *Xantux*; *Simon* → *Ximun* (in the Northern Basque Country[25]; *Ximon* in the Southern Basque Country).

The dropping of vowels is also a frequent phenomenon, mostly in final position. In the Spanish Basque Country, as mentioned before, the change *-ia* → *-i* is common in the ends of female names: *Alizia* → *Alixi*, *Antonia* → *Anttoni*, *Natalia* → *Nattali*, etc., The dropping of the final *-a* takes place also in other contexts: *Ma(g)dalena* → *Maddalen*, *Maialen*, *Matxalen*. This dropping, in any case, has been noticed sometimes in single-gender names across history (*Ordoño* → *Txordon*, *Osana* → *Txosan*). Moreover, we also find such phenomena in male names at the present time (*Zeferino* → *Txipirin*, *Seberino* → *Xibirin*), occasionally being dropped together with a consonant (*Zacarías* → *Xakarì*). As we have explained above, these phenomena may be connected to the possible template that is found in the basis of Basque hypocoristics.

The closing of the final vowel, i.e. *-o* > *-u*, is a common thing in a few names: *Frantzisko* → *Fraxku*, *Mantziku*, *Patxiku*, *Patziku*, *Praixku*, *Praxku*. Along these lines, it is possible that *Txatxu** has evolved not directly from *Juantxu* (we lack the middle-stage form **Txantxu*) but from **Txatxo*, by means of the closing of the final vowel. In the same way, *Lopillu** must doubtless be derived from *Lopillo** and this, in turn, from *Lope*; the palatalized variant *Txartiku** must be derived from *Martiku** and this one from *Martiko**, etc.

2.3.3. Diphthong monophthongation and preservation

Monophthongation of diphthongs has been known to happen and still happens in the production of pet names. Sometimes it is the diphthong [au̯] that is monophthongized, but the most frequent diphthong to undergo this process is the rising [wa]: *Bautista* → *Batxi*, *Batixta*; *Jwanjose* → *Kankoxe*, *[j]wanperi(t)z** → *Txaperi**, *José Joaquín* → *[x]oxe[x]wakin* → *Joxeakin*, etc. In a couple of cases [jo] monophthongizes as well, but this seems to be a consequence of dissimilation: *Dionisia* → *Dionixi* → *Donixi*; *Dionisio* → *Dionixio* → *Donixio*. The form of the regionally occurring *Uxebi*, *Uxebio*, *Uxtakio* could be due to the use of *Usebia*, *Usebio*, *Ustaquio* in Spanish; this, however, is not certain (see the following paragraph). Let it be noted that changes like *eulia* > *ulia* '(a, the) fly', *euria* > *uria* '(the) rain', *euskara, euskera* > *uskara*, *uskera* '(the) Basque language' are well known.

There are cases, however, in which the diphthong is not monophthongized: *Bau̯tista* → *Bau̯tíxta*; *Eu̯sebio*, *Eu̯sebia* → *Eu̯xebio*, *Eu̯xabi*; *Eu̯staquio*, *Eu̯staquia* → *Eu̯xtakio*, *Eu̯xtaki*; *Jwan* → *Jwantxo*, *Jwantxu*. A vowel occurring within the name can also change its quality, as can be seen in *Eu̯sebia* → *Eu̯xabi*.

[25] Nevertheless, the vowel closing case *o* → *u* before a nasal is common in an area of the Basque Country, outside of hypocoristic production as well.

2.3.4. Reduction of consonant clusters

In the language under study, as is the case with others[26], the simplification and even occasional breaking of consonant clusters is no rarity:

1. [**drV**] > [**ɟV**]: *André* → *Andde*, *Andrés* → *Anddex*.

2. [**flV**] > [**fV**] > [**pV**]: *Florencio* → *Florentzio* → *Fontxo*, *Pontxio*.

3. [**frV**] > *[**fV**] > [**pV**], [**mV**]: *François* → *Pantxoa*, *Frantziska* → *Maintxika*, *Pantxika*; *Frantzisko* → *Prantxito* → *Pantxito*, *Patxi*, *Pantxo*, *Mantziku*, *Patziku*.

4. [**grV**] > [**gV.rV**] (> [**gV.hV**]): *Gracianne* → *Gerexina*, *Gehaxina*.

5. [**grV**] > [**gV**]: *Graciosa*, *Gracieuse* → *Gaxuxa*. Another evolution of this structure is [**ʧV**], the one we find in the historical example of *Grazia* → *Txaxi*. If *Xaxi* derives from the same name as it seems to do, a further result of the consonant cluster [**gr**] would be [**ʃV**]. There may have been a middle stage in the form of **Gazi(a)*.

6. [**krV**] > [**kV**]: *Juan Cruz* → *[x]wankutx* → *Kankutx*; *María Cruz* → *Marikruz* → *Maɨkutz*.

7. [**n.ʧV**] > [**Ø.ʧV**]: (*Jwantxo*, *Jwantxu* →) *Txantxo*, **Txantxu* → *Txatxo*, *Txatxu* (see above). This is an old development that is no longer productive.

8. [**prjV**] > [**pV**]: *Zipriano* → *Txipano*.

9. [**prV**] > [**pV**]: *Prudentzio* → *Proentxio* → *Poentxio*.

10. [**r.dV**] > [**Ø.dV**]: *Benardin* → *Beñadin*.

11. [**r.lV**] > [**Ø.lV**]: *Karlos* → *Kalox*.

12. [**r.lV**] > [**Ø.λV**]: *Erlande* → *Ellande* → *Allande*; (*Karlos* →) *Karlin* → *Kallin*.

13. [**r.nV**] > [**Ø.ɲV**]: *Bernardo* → *Beñardo*, *Berna(r)t* > *Beñat*; *Fernan* → *Feñan*.

14. [**r.trV**] > [**Ø.cV**]: *Bertran(d)* → *Pettan*.

15. [**r.ʧV**] > [**Ø.ʧV**]: *Gartxot* → *Gatxot**, *Martxelo* → *Matxelo*, *Patxelo*.

16. [**r.tV**] > [**Ø.cV**]: *Bartolo* → *Mattolo*, *Martin* → *Mattin*.

17. [**r.tV**] > [**Ø.ʧV**]: *Marti* → *Matxi*. This is old.

18. [**r.tV**] > [**Ø.tV**]: *Joxemartiñ* → *Joxematiñ*, *Martina* → *Txartina** → *Txatina**.

19. [**r.xV**] > [**Ø.kV**]: *Bir[x]inia* → *Bir[x]i* → *Biki* (*Virgi* in Italian and Spanish, Urawa, 1985: 77; Thornton, 1996: 88, even though the pronunciation is different in each of those languages).

20. [**śil.bV**] > [**ʧi.li.bV**]: *Silvestre*, *Silvestra* → *Txilibistro*, *Txilibistra*.

21. [**śin.fV**] > [**ʧi.fV**]: *Sinforiano* → *Txifuriano*.

22. [**trV**] > [**cV**]: *Catherine* [katRín] → *Kattin*, *Kattina*, *Katti*; *Patrizia* → *Patti*; *Betri* → *Betti*, *Tristant* → *Ttittant*.

[26] An example from English would be *Andrew* → *Andy*, not **Andry*, since the second syllable never displays a complex onset, even if this is the case in the base name. In light of this the pet names *André, Andrés* → *Andde, Anddex* of Basque come to mind because the process is seemingly the same. For the evolution of consonant clusters in hypocoristics in English see Lappe (2007: 245 and successive pages), and for German see Wiese (2001). In dealing with Czech, Bethin (2003: 64) claims «that markedness/well-formedness constraints on prosodic structure to a large extent determine the shape of hypocoristics. Constraints on syllable structure enforce the presence of an onset and limit the types of permissible codas», and in a footnote this author adds: «... syllable structure constraints, which in general favor no complex cluster and homorganic codas, although there are exceptions [...]». In any case, reductions are scarce among the examples provided by this author.

In other instances, however, consonant clusters are not reduced, but preserved:

23. [**frV**] > [**frV**], [**prV**]: *Frantzisko* → *Fraxku*, *Prantxisko*, *Prantxito*, *Prantxo*, etc.

24. [**m.brV**] > [**m.brV**]: *Ambrosio*, *Ambrosia* → *Anbroxio*, *Anbroxi*.

25. [**m.bV**] > [**m.bV**]: *Janbatizt* (*Jean-Baptiste*) → *Janbattit*, *Janbattitt*.

26. [**n.tsV**] > [**n.ʧV**]: *Benantzio*, *Benantzia* → *Benantxio*, *Benantxi*.

27. [**priV**], [**prjV**] > [**prV**]: *Cipriano*, *Cyprien* → *Xipri*.

28. [**prV**] > [**prV**]: *Prudentzio*, *Prudentzia* → *Prudentxio*, *Prudentxi*.

29. [**r.dV**] > [**r.dV**]: *Benardin* → *Beñardin*, *Benardine* → *Beñardina*.

30. [**r.lV**] > [**r.lV**]: *Karlos* → *Karlox*.

31. [**r.nV**] > [**r.ɲV**]: *Bernardo* → *Berñardo*.

32. [**r.sV**] > [**r.ʧV**]: *Garze(a)* + *-ot* > *Gartxot*; *Garzio* → *Gartxio*; *Garzo* → *Gartxo*. This evolution is old.

33. [**r.tsV**] > [**r.ʧV**]: *Martzelo* → *Martxelo*.

34. [**r.tV**] > [**r.cV**]: *Alberto* → *Albertto*, *Bartolo* → *Marttolo*.

35. [**st**(**.V**)], [**ś.tV**] > [**ʃ.tV**]: *Batizt*, *Bautista* → *Batixta*, *Bautixta*; *Tristan* → *Trixtan*.

36. [**tV**] > [**cV**], [**ʧV**]: *Antonia* → *Anttoni*; *Antonio* → *Anton* → *Antton*, *Antxon*.

In one case the consonant cluster is not reduced, but it is changed in some way:

37. [**flV**] > [**prV**]: *Florencio* → *Prontxio*.

The following being a single example, it could be that the trill is dropped due to a dissimilation and not due to the hypocoristic status of the word, since we would otherwise expect a CV syllable, not CCV:

38. [**r.trV**] > [**Ø.trV**]: *Gertrudis* → *Ketruxa*. In this case the hypocoristic displays a vowel *-a* that the original form does not, in the same way as happens with Spanish *María Jesús* → *(María)Jesusa*. This might suggest the starting point from which the hypocoristic is derived to be **Gertrudisa*, i.e. for *-a* to be a gender marker. In some areas it is common for [k] to appear instead of [x], especially in those areas in which the velar sound [x] from Spanish is perceived as a foreign sound[27]: *Jesús* → *Kexux*, *José* and *Jose* → *Kotte* (and using this as a starting point, *Ttotte*), etc.[28].

We believe that the following is an example of assimilation:

39. [**m.bV**] > (*[**m.mV**] >) [**mV**]: *Janbatizt* (*Jean-Baptiste*) → *Jamattit*, *Jamattitt*.

2.3.5. Consonant dropping

It is necessary to investigate, at some point, what the relationship between vowel dropping and accentuation is: in some instances, in the case of *Zacarías* → *Xakári* for example, the stress seems to have shifted, although this

[27] Let it be pointed out, in any case, that the change [x] > [k] occasionally also occurs in Spanish (Piñeros, 2000: 82), and that there exist a few examples of this change in the Basque spoken in the Northern Basque Country as well.

[28] Boyd-Bowman (1955: 339) picked up on the occurrence of *Augusto*'s hypocoristic *Cuxo* in Yucatan, México, and Plénat (2003: 83) received this occurrence from him and included it in his work half a century later. We do not know, however, what the language environment is in which said pet name is found, and in such a situation it is difficult to write about it without being mistaken.

might be a mere illusion if it turns out that the name was pronounced *Zakárias*. However this may be, dropping of final *-s* is also well known: *Jesus* → *Kexux* → *Ketxu*, even if this phenomenon is not necessary (the form *Ketxus* exists as well). We could also be dealing with dropping of the final sibilant in the historical example *Txaperi*, if it were derived not from **Juanperi*, but from *Juanperi(t)z** (which was originally a structure *name* + *patronymic*).

We often observe variants that have undergone loss of a tap, occasionally next to the form that contains that sound: *Dolores* → *Doloex* (also *Dolorex*), *Evaristo* → *Ebaixto* (also *Ebarixto*), *Juanmari* → *Juanmaiko*, *Lorenzo* → *Loentxo* (also *Lorentxo*), *María Josefa* → *Maixepa* (also *Mariajoxepa*). This phenomenon is very widespread among names that contain *María* as a first member (see the examples mentioned above). An intervocalic voiced fricative can also be dropped, be it a bilabial (*Esteban* → *Extean*), dental (*Prudencia* → *Proentxi*) or velar (*Agustin*, *Augustin* → *Auxtin*, *Segunda* → *Xeunda*, *Segundino* → *Xeundino*).

These consonant droppings often cause vowels (or makes it easier for them) to fuse together: *Florencio* → *Fontxo*, *Pontxio*; *Lorentza*, *Lorentzo* → *Loentxa*, *Loentxo* → *Lontxa*, *Lontxo*; *Prudentzio* → *Proentxio* → *Proontxio* → *Prontxio*. They can also cause diphthongs to arise: *Esteban* → *Extwan*, *Ixtwan*. In ancient times the dropping of a consonant could be caused by the addition of a suffix: *Miguel* → *Mitxel* → *Mitxeto* (but *Mitxelko*).

It is worth noting at this point that in some varieties of Basque it is common for the sounds [ɾ], [ð], [ɣ] to be dropped ([β] considerably less frequently) and, to a certain degree at least, for the dropping of these sounds to be a consequence of the previously mentioned dialectal variation. In order to find out the implications of these phenomena, however, we should be familiar with the varieties of Basque that are spoken in all the villages from which we have collected the pet names. In any case, it is clear that hypocoristics contribute to the loss of certain sounds, even if this does not happen often in common speech. We can think that when both tendencies meet (the dialectal one and the hypocoristic-induced one) the mentioned fricative sounds are dropped more easily in intervocalic position.

2.3.6. Use of certain consonants in hypocoristics

The tendency of Basque hypocoristics to use [**p**] instead of [**f**] is noteworthy, even in those villages whose local variety does not commonly display such a change in daily speech: *Alfontso* → *Alpontxo, Frantziska* → *Pantxika, Frantzisko* → *Patxi* (which is attested in Zaraitzu / Salazar in the 16th century), *Martin* → *Mattin* → *Pattin; Martzelo* → *Martxelo* → *Matxelo* → *Patxelo*. This tendency is present in the Spanish spoken by children as well, according to Boyd-Bowman (1955: 356-357): *Bonifacio* → *Pacho*, *Sinforosa* → *Polocha*. In any case, it seems that such a change is present in pet names that apparently are not related to the speech of children: *Francisca* → *Paca*, *Francisco* → *Paco*[29].

[29] In dealing with English, Coates (2008: 326) mentions some of the names that present a number of phonological changes during and after the Middle Ages (the hypocoristics *Kit*, *Gib*, *Wat*, *Heb* and *Phip*, from the names *Chistopher*, *Gilbert*, *Walter*, *Herbert* and *Philip*). This author claims that *Kit* could be «an adoption by adult speakers of juvenile pronunciation», but that this is not certain in the case of the other hypocoristics. Thornton (1996) observes as well the influence of child speech in some pet names in Italian.

In the Northern Basque Country we observe the same change: *Bertran(d)* → *Pettan*, but this time stemming from [**b**]. We can consider these developments, following Piñeros (2000) and Plénat (2003), as the consequence of the «optimizing» of the «attaques» or «onsets» of the hypocoristics, since not all consonants have the same value when appearing in the onset of a syllable[30].

It would seem that [**m**] gives the same result, i.e. that this sound adds articulatory prominence to the hypocoristic: *Francisco* → *Mantziku*; *Juanes*, *Juanis* → *Juanex, Juanix* → *Manex, Manix; Nicolás* → *Mikolax*. We consider that the variants *Ganex*, *Ganix* of this name in the recent past must be explained differently, and the same must be said about the pet names *Fanex*, *Fanix*.

We sometimes find [**l**] in place of the original [**ɾ**]: *Bittorio* → *Bittolo, Teresa* → **Tteresa* → *Ttele*. The tendency, on the other hand, to use another palatal sound, [**c**], instead of [**ʃ**] or [**ʧ**] is noteworthy: *María Isabel* → *Maixabel, Maxabel* → *Mattel, Patxitto* → *Pattitto* (assimilation?), *Sebastian* → *Xaxtian* → *Ttattan*. This last name is an example of reduplicating hypocoristic and, in such cases, [**c**] can appear instead of another consonant: *Joxe* → *Kotte* → *Ttotte, Mattin* → *Ttattin*.

2.3.7. Consequences of assimilation and dissimilation

Assimilation and dissimilation are also related to occurrences of vowel-dropping and changes in the quality of vowels: *Florencio* → *Florentzio* → **Forontzio* → **Fontxio* (*cfr. Pontxio*) → *Fontxo*. This is also the case in general in relation to consonant loss and consonant change: *Jose Fermín* → *[x]oxepillin*; *Juan José* → *[x]wan[x]oxe* → *[x]wanxe; Juan Ignacio* → *[x]wan Inazio* → *[x]waninaxio* → *[x]wainaxio* → *[x]wanixjo*.

The occurrences of so-called «reduplication» must also be included here; the following are some instances of such phenomena in Basque: *Allande* → *Allalle*, *Dominica* → **Domi* → *Momi*, *Edurne* → *Nune*, *Fernando* → *Menano*; *Izaskun* → *Kakun*; *Jean-Pierre* → *Xanpier* → **Panpier* → *Panpi*; *Joana* → *Maña* → *Ñaña*; *Joanes* → *Ñañes*, *Josune* → *Totune* → *Totu*; *Maripaz* → *Papax*, etc. These forms may be related to the speech of children[31]. This being said, let us deal with some clear name-shortenings:

2.3.8. Elision of initial syllables, without palatalization

Examples of non-palatalized truncated names are extremely infrequent in Basque, since most occurrences present palatalization. Among the few examples that we found, *Garbikunde* → *Kunde* is worth mentioning.

[30] The following quote by Plénat (2003: 84) in which the author explains the hierarchies established by Optimality Theory can help understand the data provided in this paper: «*Prince & Smolensky (1993: 129) ont incorporé cette idée* [the relative sonority of the elements in the segment chain] *dans O.T. en proposant deux sous-hiérarchies universelles de contraintes, la* HIÉRARCHIE DES MARGES *et la* HIÉRARCHIE DES NOYAUX *[...]. La* HIÉRARCHIE DES NOYAUX *pénalise l'association des segments aux noyaux syllabiques en fonction de leur position sur une échelle de sonorité. Plus un phonème est sonore, moins la pénalité qu'il encourt en jouant le rôle de noyau d'une syllabe est sévère. La* HIÉRARCHIE DES MARGES *[...] utilise la même échelle de sonorité, mais en sens inverse: elle pénalise l'association des phonèmes à l'attaque et à la coda de la syllabe d'autant plus lourdement qu'ils sont plus sonores*».

[31] The analysis of reduplicated forms in Spanish that Plénat (2003) carries out is very interesting.

2.3.9. Elision of name-internal phonological material, without palatalization

These are not very frequent either, although they are in fact more frequent than those in the previous section: *Eufemia* → *Ufemia* → *Ufi*, *Francisco* → *Fraisko*, *Praisko*; *Jerónimo* → *Jolmo*, *María Dolores* → *Maloles*, etc.

2.3.10. Elision of final syllables, without palatalization

These come up considerably more often than those in the two previous sections, although palatalized instances are more frequent in any case. The following are some non-palatalized instances[32]: *Agustin* → *Agus*, *Begoña* → *Bego*, *Estíbaliz* → *Esti*, *Gabina* → *Gabi*, *Garazi* → *Gara*, *Garikoitz* → *Gari*, *Iñigo* → *Iñi*, *Izaskun* → *Izas*, *Iziar* → *Izi*.

2.3.11. Elision of initial and final syllables, without palatalization

These are very scarce as well, in addition to occasionally presenting some other change: *Aitziber* → *Tzibi*, *Hipólito* → *Poli*.

2.3.12. Others

Sometimes, in compound names, the hypocoristic seems to originate by taking a piece from each name; moreover, occasionally an additional change is to be seen: *Maria Azentzion* → *Mazintzi*, *Maria Lurdes* → *Malu*, *Maria Pilar* → *Maripi*.

2.4. Pattern combinations

2.4.1. Palatalization and suffixation

Suffixes often display a palatalized base. We find many examples in written documents; the following are some old instances: *Azeari* → *Axeariko*, *Grazi(a)* → *Graxiko*, *Graxit*; *Joanes* → *Xoanexko*, *Katalin(a)* → *Txatalingo*; *Lope* → *Txopiko*, *Txopin*, *Txopino*; *Maria* → *Malliato*, *Txariako*; *Marina* → *Txaringo*; *Marti* → *Matxikote*, *Txartiko*; *Martin* → *Matxingo*, *Matxiniko*; *Martina* → *Txartingo*, *Peru* → *Txeruko*, etc.

Nowadays we have *Felixin*, *Felixto (Felis)*, *Iñaxita*, *Iñaxito (Inazio)*, *Jexuxin*, *Jexuxito*, *Jexuxto*, *Kettuttin*, *Kexuxin (Jesus)*, *Jexuxita (Maria Jesus)*, *Laxarito (Lazaro)*, *Lorentxito (Lorentzo)*, *Patxikin (Frantzisko)*, *Paxita (Paz)*, *Pettitto (Pedro)*, etc.

We find a few cases of so-called «back-formation» or «retrograde formation». This means that the ending of a hypocoristic has been reanalyzed as a suffix (and has consequently been sometimes replaced by another suffix), and then, in a number of cases, it has been elided: *Frantzisko* → *Prantxito* → *Pantxito* → *Pantxo*, *Patxi* or *Frantzisko* → *Pantxiko* → *Patxiko* → *Patxi*.

[32] These can be put on the same level as the so-called «Type-A hypocoristics» mentioned by Piñeros (2000) (*Javier* → *Javi*, *Mauricio* → *Mauri*). On the other hand, in the so-called «Type-B hypocoristics» sound elision has taken place in a different manner, and palatalization is often present (*Alberto* → *Beto*, *Cecilia* → *Chila*, *Federico* → *Fico*, *Gregorio* → *Goyo*, *Susana* → *Chana*, etc.). These last examples are quite similar to many Basque hypocoristics.

2.4.2. Palatalization and shortening

2.4.2.1. Names are sometimes shortened from the beginning: *Anastasio* → *Taxio, Bonifazio* → *Faxio, Frantzisko* → *Frantxixku* → *Xixku, Gontzalo* → *Txalo*[33].

2.4.2.2. Instances of elision of name-internal phonological material are very frequent: *Frantzisko* → *Fraxko, Fraxku*; *Inazio* → *Ixio, José Fermin* → *Joxermin*; *Marguerite* → **Margerita* → *Margitta*, *Martín José* → *Martioxe*. Sometimes, however, it is not clear whether this internal shortening is a consequence of the hypocoristic status of the example or a development of the local variety: *Mercedes* → *Mertzedes* → *Mertxedex* → *Mertxex* [mertʃéʃ].

2.4.2.3. In some other names elision has taken place name-internally and name-finally: *Andres María* → *Apalli*, *José Antonio* → *Joxton*, *Koxton*; *María Dolores* → *Maloles* → **Mallolles* → *Mallo*.

2.4.2.4. In a number of cases the final part of the name disappears: *Asier* → *Axi, Frantziska* → *Frantxiska* → *Frantxixka* → *Frantxix, Manuel* → *Mañu, Paskuala* → *Paxku, Telesfora* → *Tteles.*

2.4.3. Shortening and suffixation

Such a development is well known in some names, but it can be said that we are not dealing with a productive pattern in Basque: *Arritokieta* → *Arri* → *Arritxu, Bakarne* → **Bakar* → *Bakartxo, Estibaliz* → *Esti* → *Estitxu*. In languages like Japanese, however, shortenings are frequent, when the hypocoristic takes the suffix[34].

2.4.4. Shortening, palatalization and suffixation

Fernando → *Ferrando* → *Ferran(d, t)* → *Txerran*[35] → *Txerrantxe*. This triple pattern is not common, and we prefer to think that *Ferran(d, t)* → *Txerran* is the basis for *Txerrantxe*. If this were the case we would only have a case of palatalization and suffixation, i.e. a double, and not triple, phenomenon.

2.5. Augmentative pet names

In addition to the four patterns mentioned above (palatalization / suffixation / shortening / a combination of two out of the previous three) there exists a fifth pattern, at least in the eastern Basque Country. This pattern is

[33] *Chalo* is the hypocoristic of *Gonzalo* in the Spanish of Mexico (Boyd-Bowman, 1955: 339) as well as in Honduras (Van Wijk, 1964: 304).

[34] This language presents a handful of hypocoristic affixes as shown above. Among others, *-chan* (colloquial register), *-san* (general) and *-sama* (formal register). For example, if we take the personal name *Masako* we can derive from it the forms *Masako-chan*, *Masako-san* and *Masako-sama*, although the first of them can undergo a number of modifications in its use among the name bearer's close friends and family members. The following are its possible variants: *Masa-chan, Mako-chan, Sako-chan* and *Maa-chan* (Kozasa, 2000: 2).

[35] Knörr (2007: 97) derives the hypocoristic *Txerran* from Aragonese-Catalan *Ferran* 'Ferdinand', mistakenly in our view, since *Ferrando* (*Ferrando de Badoztain*, Pamplona, 1350, *Ferrando de Yndo*, Deba, 1465), *Ferrand* (*Ferrand Semeneiç*, Pamplona, 1267), *Ferrant Gomez* (Navarre, 1282) and others have long been well known in Basque (*cfr.*, especially, *Ordoño* → *Txordon* → *Txorron*). Those inhabitants of Luzaide (Navarre) who are named *Fernando* are called or may be called by means of the hypocoristic *Ferranddo*.

quite special because it is used when conveying a despective meaning or when the hypocoristic bearer presents an outstanding characteristic related to their character or physical looks (e.g. tall, overweight, ill-humoured...). In such cases [s] or [ʦ] are used instead of [ś], [ʃ] or [ʧ]: *Andres* → *Andrez*, *Basilio* → *Bazilio*, *Felix* → *Feliz*, *Fermintxo* → *Fermintzo*, *Gaxan* → *Gazan*[36], *Isidro* → *Izidro*, *Jabiertxo* → *Jabiertzo*, *Jose Luis* → *Joselu* → *Jozelu*, *Manex* → *Manez*, *Paxkal* → *Pazkal*; *Ximon*, *Ximun* → *Zimon*, *Zimun*; *Xalbat* → *Zalbat*, etc.

In such cases we find sound-droppings and simplifications as well, exactly in the way they happen in the others: *Jexux* → *Ketzu, Juanjoxe* → *Kankoze*. There are also other kinds of shortening: *Joxeantonio* → *Jozeantonio* → *Zaton*. The depalatalization of other palatal consonants is the same kind of phenomenon (i.e. it is used for the same purpose): [ʎ] > [l] (*Pello* → *Pelo*), [ɲ] > [n] (*Beñat* → *Benat*), [c] > [t] (*Battitta* → *Batita, Pettan* → *Petan*).

It would seem that in these cases the closest origin of the depalatalized variants is the form that contains the palatalized element, and not the neutral base name. For the sake of comparison, we consider that in order to get to *Izidro*, we should not take *Isidro* as a reference, but its hypocoristic *Ixidro*. Likewise, in order to get *Joze* we whould start with *Joxe*, not *Jose*. This explanation is encompassing and it comprises all the available data, and we therefore consider it to be the most appropriate.

The speakers feel it that way too: in the Navarrese village of Amaiur[37] there used to exist the hypocoristic *Jezuz*, but only because the hypocoristic *Jexux* (*Jezuz Artxekoa* / *Jexux Barbain*) had previously existed as well. Likewise, *Zanti* is used nowadays, because *Xanti* was previously used (*Zanti Salaberri* / *Xanti Erdikoborda*). In the same line of thought, *Paskalttiki* used to be in use in Amaiur, apparently because *Pazkalaundi* was used in the village of Urdazubi, not far away. Therefore, it seems that a prerequisite for there to be augmentative hypocoristics is that common hypocoristics have to be used first, although the inverse is not necessarily implied by this, meaning that there can exist common hypocoristics without there being augmentative hypocoristics.

At this point it must be taken into account that the augmentative *Mizel* is based on the name *Mixel* in the French Basque Country, and also that the latter form, in spite of its appearance, is no hypocoristic, but a neuter form. The same can be held for *Pazkal*, since this form reflects nothing more than the Basque pronunciation of French *Pascal*, at least in most of the cases. It is a well-known fact that the pronunciation of French <s> and Basque <z> is close in articulatory terms. However this may be, it is clear that the *Pazkal* used in Urdazubi, the one to which *-aundi* 'big', 'tall' is or used to be added, is an augmentative when compared to *Paskalttiki* (*ttiki* 'small', 'short'). In the French Basque Country as well, [s] can be used to convey a big size, as can be seen in examples such as *Xalbat* → *Zalbat*.

[36] In some cases, unless we know the bearer of the hypocoristic, i.e. whether he or she is big, overweight, etc., it is not easy to determine the development of the hypocoristic in question.

[37] We owe these data to Paskual Rekalde.

3. CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions can be drawn from our claims, among others:

3.1. In order that a pet name can be considered Basque it is sufficient that its evolution be the product of a Basque pattern. The neuter name, the non-hypocoristic, does not need to be a Basque form (*Martie* for instance), let alone to be of Basque origin (*Haritz* for example).

3.2. What produces the hypocoristic can be a phonological process (i.e. palatalization), a morphological process (shortening, suffixation, or, in a few forms, a combination of both) or a morphonological process (i.e. palatalization + shortening / palatalization + suffixation). The matter here is that phonology (prosody) and morphology are closely related, as prosodic morphology clearly shows.

3.3. Regarding the length of pet names, it would seem that hypocoristica of single names, those which contain no suffixes, have a tendency to be two or three syllables long nowadays, as if there were an underlying force (a template) that leads hypocoristica in that direction. However, there are some hypocoristica that are four syllables long, as a consequence of the length of the original name.

3.4. One-syllable hypocoristics have not existed previously, or at least there are no instances of such in the documents that we have been examining. There exist a few monosyllabic hypocoristics at present, whose origin lies in reduplicated forms, but these are extremely infrequent and are used in very familiar environments.

3.5. Nowadays it is quite common for vowel-droppings to take place in order to get di- or trisyllabic hypocoristics, or for the vowel to become a glide, even to be absorbed, when there is a palatal consonant lying next to it. Sometimes these phenomena seem to have taken place with the aim of achieving trisyllabic hypocoristics.

3.6. In present-day Basque the simplification of consonant clusters is very frequent, so that the end-product is a syllable with a CV structure (a «light» syllable, in Prieto's [1992: 144] terms). This happens whenever the consonant cluster is tautosyllabic, but also when it is heterosyllabic, i.e. when the consonant belongs to the coda of the previous syllable. This coda, which is usually elided, is always a sonorant consonant, a trill in most of the cases, and a nasal or lateral occasionally. Therefore, the resulting structure is CV.CV. There is much to investigate about this, however.

3.7. Rarely, in order to achieve the same aim, an anaptyctic vowel is inserted, as was the case a long time ago of Latin loanwords (*cruce(m)* → *gurutze, libru(m)* → *liburu*).

3.8. In any case, in some consonant clusters we have two options: simplification or preservation of the cluster. The sociolinguistic environment of the language presumably plays a role in the preservation of consonant clusters, since Basque is in our days oppressed by the two main surrounding languages (Spanish and French).

3.9. Suffixation has been a very common resource in the creation of Basque pet names in the last centuries, often accompanied by palatalization. The suffixes that were once used were often compound suffixes, i.e. they consisted of two or three subparts.

3.10. Nowadays suffixation is quite weakened, only a few suffixes are used.

3.11. At present, palatalization is used above all in Basque to form hypocoristics, often alone and often accompanied by shortening of the name.

3.12. Shortening is also frequent in our days, and it can take place name-initially, medially or finally, or in more than one place at the same time, especially medially and finally (*-ia* > *-i* in female names in the Southern Basque Country) or, when it is a compound name, in both elements.

3.13. Sometimes it is hard to see the reason for the shortening as well as to explain the evolution of the name itself. It is possible that child speech has had a special influence on this area.

3.14. As is the case in many other languages, in Basque there exist reduplicating hypocoristica. It would seem that these, too, originated in child speech.

3.15. Moreover, the «augmentative hypocoristics» used in the eastern Basque Country are quite special and characteristic of *Euskara*, or Basque. These usually originate due to the size, overweight, tallness or roughness of the name bearer, and they consist of using the non-palatal counterparts of otherwise palatal sounds (usually instead of palatal sibilants), in the same way as happens in common speech (*goxoa* 'sweet' / *gozoa* 'very sweet', 'too sweet'; *xexena* 'small bull' / *zezena* 'common or big bull'). That is why we consider that the existence of common hypocoristics is a *sine qua non* condition for the use of augmentative hypocoristics, i.e. that the latter originate and organize on the basis of the former.

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ABSTRACT

A Descriptive Analysis of Basque Hypocoristics

In this article we explain the patterns that are and were used for hypocoristization in Basque, in addition to providing a definition of the term «hypocoristic» and mentioning some terminology problems on the matter. This article has been written from an onomastics point of view, but the works by some phonologists who have written about pet names are also taken into account. We similarly deal with hypocoristics from other languages, especially those from Spanish, insofar as they can help us understand Basque hypocoristics. The mentioned patterns used by Basque are essentially three: palatalization, suffixation and name shortening. Nevertheless, a combination of two of the previous patterns is also possible, although shortened names that contain suffixes are infrequent. Finally, before going on to our conclusions, we deal with what we have chosen to call «augmentative hypocoristics», which are common to a specific area of the Basque Country.

Keywords: hypocoristic; Basque (language); onomastics; palatalization; suffixes; name shortening; augmentative.

LABURPENA

Euskal hipokoristikoen azterketa deskriptiboa

Lan honetan euskal hipokoristikoak eratzeko izan diren eta diren bideak azaltzen ditugu, hipokoristikoaren definizioa eman eta horren inguruan dauden arazo terminologiko batzuk aipatu ondoan. Artikulua onomastikaren ikuspuntutik egina da, nahiz izen ttipiez arduratu diren fonologialari batzuen lanak ere aintzat hartzen diren. Iragaitzaz baizik ez bada ere, beste hizkuntza batzuetako hipokoristikoak ere hartzen ditugu ahotan, gaztelaniakoak bereziki, gureak hobeki ulertzen lagundu dezaketenean. Aipatu ditugun erabideak funtsean hiru dira: palatalizazioa, atzizkien erabilera eta izenen laburtzea, baina hiru horietako biren uztardura ere daitekeena da, laburtzea eta atzizkiak batean gutxitan aurkitzen diren arren. Euskal Herriko alderdi batean ohikoak diren hipokoristiko handigarriak ere ukitzen ditugu, ondorioetara igaro aitzinetik.

Gako hitzak: hipokoristikoa; euskara; onomastika; palatalizazioa; atzizkiak; izen laburtzea; handigarria.

RESUMEN

Un análisis descriptivo de los hipocorísticos vascos

En este artículo explicamos cuáles han sido anteriormente y son todavía hoy los modos más habituales de formar los hipocorísticos en lengua vasca, después de intentar definirlos y tratar algunos problemas terminológicos que los rodean. El trabajo se ha realizado desde el punto de vista de la onomástica, si bien se citan varios de los trabajos de los fonólogos que se han ocupado del tema. Mencionamos, igualmente, los hipocorísticos de otras lenguas, especialmente los de la castellana, en la medida en que nos ayudan a entender mejor los hipocorísticos vascos. Los recursos que posee el euskera para su formación son fundamentalmente tres: la palatalización, el empleo de sufijos y la reducción del nombre, aunque existe un cuarto recurso consistente en la combinación de dos de los tres susodichos. De todos modos, no es habitual encontrar nombres reducidos que lleven sufijo. Para terminar, y antes de pasar a las conclusiones, nos ocupamos brevemente de los que hemos denominado «hipocorísticos aumentativos» habituales en una zona de Vasconia.

Palabras clave: hipocorístico; lengua vasca; onomástica; palatalización; sufijos; reducción del nombre; aumentativo.

Fecha de recepción del original: 21 de febrero de 2014.
Fecha de aceptación definitiva: 17 de marzo de 2014.