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Romanian and Japanese Name Truncations

Abstract

This paper looks into the structural properties of both Romanian and Japanese truncated names. Name truncation is considered to be a word-formation process and is analyzed from the perspective of Prosodic Morphology (McCarthy & Prince 1995, 1998; Booij 2005; Downing 2006). A contrastive analysis of the morphological and phonological structure of truncated names in both Romanian and Japanese shows that they are subject to strict prosodic requirements. Thus, linguistically significant generalizations and constraints on the makeup of truncated names can only be formulated in terms of moras, syllables and feet. Also discussed is the relation between name truncation and prosodic minimality in the two languages.

Keywords: name truncation, syllable, bimoraic foot, prosodic minimality, derived word.

1. Introduction

The status of name truncations, word clippings and blends is a matter of some debate in the morphological literature. A number of authors (*e.g.* Zwicky & Pullum 1987; Dressler 2000; Haspelmath 2002; Booij 2005 or Ronneberger-Sibold 2010) do not include truncated names, word clippings and blends among word-formation processes proper. According to Zwicky and Pullum (1987), for example, name truncations and word clippings express familiarity and should be treated as instances of "expressive morphology." Dressler (2000) states that truncated names, clippings and blends are highly idiosyncratic and are therefore "extragrammatical," *i.e.* they do not fall within the province of grammatical morphology. Haspelmath (2002: 25) writes that clippings and blends "are operations that can be used to create new words [but] they do not fall under morphology, because the resulting new words do not show systematic meaning – sound

resemblances of the sort that speakers would recognize." Therefore, Haspelmath (2002: 25) concludes that "not all processes of word-creation fall under word-formation." Booij (2005: 20–21) lists truncated names, word clippings and blends among the types of word creation or word manufacturing which he regards as non-morphological sources of words. For Ronneberger-Sibold (2010: 201), "operations such as shortening or blending" are "techniques for the creation of new lexemes not covered by the rules (or models) of regular word formation," and "the use of a creative technique is termed *word creation*." Ronneberger-Sibold (2010: 203) explicitly considers word creation as "a subtype of extragrammatical morphology" which yields "words characterized by a specific sound shape and/or a specific degree of transparency." For other authors (*e.g.* Joseph 1997; Plag 2003; Aronoff & Fudeman 2005; Downing 2006 or Lappe 2007), however, morphology explicitly includes the study of truncated names, word clippings and blends. Essentially, two arguments can be put forth in support of viewing name truncation as a word-formation process. First, as argued by Plag (2003: 117) with respect to English, name truncations "are highly systematic." This systematicity also leads Aronoff and Fudeman (2005: 113–116) to include name truncations, word clippings and blends under the heading of "other derivational processes." Second, although derivation is commonly defined as a process whereby new words are formed, *i.e.* it should add new meaning to a base, a case can be made for name truncation as a type of word-formation. As briefly discussed by Plag (2003: 117), while truncated names do not have a new referential meaning, they do express familiarity and a (usually) positive attitude towards the referent, *i.e.* name truncation does add new meanings. On the strength of these two arguments, in this paper name truncation is considered to be a word-formation process.

A second problem that needs to be addressed is a terminological one. Besides "name truncation" or "truncated name," alternative terms appearing in the literature include "nickname" (Kenstowicz 1994: 9; McCarthy & Prince 1995: 344; Aronoff & Fudeman 2005: 75; Downing 2006: 62) and "hypocoristic" (Kenstowicz 1994: 9; Booij 2005: 21, 181; Crystal 2008: 232). However, nicknames are not necessarily the result of truncation. As for hypocoristics, there are considerable differences in the various definitions found in the literature. Booij (2005: 21, 181), for instance, simply defines them as "names of endearment" and "endearment forms of proper names," respectively. In Crystal (2008: 232), although the definition "a term used in LINGUISTICS for a pet name (e.g. *Harry* for *Harold*)" does not mention truncation, the only example given illustrates it. Variation in the definition of hypocoristics is also striking in the Romanian literature. The most restrictive definition is found in Graur (1965: 57), according to whom "the reduced forms [of names] are known in linguistics as hypocoristics." Ionescu (1989: 144) defines hypocoristics as "a secondary form resulting from the modification of the original form of a proper name." Hypocoristics are very similarly defined by Tomescu (2001: 254) as "a secondary […] form with an affectionate character, resulting from the formal modification of a proper name." However, for both of these authors, hypocoristics also include forms derived via suffixation to the source name. Finally, the widest definition is given by Bidu-Vrănceanu (1997: 238): "value of tender affection of: some forms of addressing […]; some proper names which undergo phonetic modifications […], in casual, intimate or popular usage […]; some diminutive suffixes." In order to avoid any possible terminological confusions, throughout this paper the terms "name truncation" or "truncated name" will be used exclusively.

The theoretical framework adopted here for the analysis of name truncation in both Japanese and Romanian is that of prosodic morphology. Along the lines of *e.g.* McCarthy and Prince (1995, 1998), Booij (2005), and Downing (2006), prosodic morphology is understood broadly as the theory of how morphology and phonology interact in the grammatical system of languages.

The corpus of Romanian truncated names consists of two dictionaries of first names (Ionescu 2008 and Cosniceanu 2010) and of my own collection (Avram 2011), while that of Japanese truncated names consists of forms listed in the literature.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 focuses on Romanian truncated names. The formation of Japanese truncated names is discussed in section 3. Section 4 summarizes the findings and discusses some of their implications.

2. Romanian

2.1. Truncated names

Truncated names are not so frequent in Romanian (Graur 1965: 63; Tomescu 2001: 254). There is considerable variation as to the part of the source name which is preserved.[1] A very frequently attested case[2] is that in which the segmental material is provided by both syllables of disyllabic source names or the first two syllables of longer source names, with the possible addition of a segment from the onset of the following syllable, as in the third variant in (1a):

(1) Name   Truncated name
a.   *Alexandru*   *Al / Alec / Alex*
b.   *Emil*   *Emi*
c.   *Grigore*   *Grig*
d.   *Iulia*   *Iuli*
e.   *Liviu*   *Livi*
f.   *Mădălina*   *Mădă*
g.   *Nicolae*   *Nic*
h.   *Ştefan*   *Ştef*
i.   *Teodora*   *Teo*
j.   *Viorel*   *Vio*

The segmental material can also be taken from a stressed syllable and the following, word-final one[3]:

(2) Name   Truncated name
a.   *Con'stanţa*   *Tanţa*
b.   *Geor'geta*   *Geta*
c.   *I'rina*   *Rina*
d.   *Va'sile*   *Sile*

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1   This is sometimes called "anchoring points" in the literature on truncation (see *e.g.* Lappe 2008).

2   This is referred to as "apocope" in the literature on Romanian pet names (Ionescu 1989: 145; Bidu-Vrănceanu 1997: 238; Tomescu 2001: 254).

3   Romanian linguists (*e.g.* Ionescu 1989: 145; Bidu-Vrănceanu 1997: 238; Tomescu 2001: 254) use the term "apheresis."

In other forms, it is the word-medial syllables, a stressed syllable and the preceding (3a) or following one (3b)–(3d), which provide the segmental material[4]:

(3)   Name   Truncated name
a.   ˌAuguˈstin   Gusti
b.   Corˈnelia   Neli
c.   Eˈmilia   Mili
d.   Ocˌmtaviˈan   Tavi

Truncated names may also consist of segments which are not adjacent in the source name:

(4)   Name   Truncated name
a.   Daniela   Dana
b.   Maria   Mia
c.   Nicolae   Nae

Some name truncations exhibit simplification of onset clusters. In the examples below, the second syllable of the truncated name has a simple onset, even though the original syllable in the source name contains a complex one:

(5)   Name   Truncated name
a.   Alexandru   Sandu
b.   Dumitru   Mitu[5]

A characteristic shared by all these name truncations is that their form is either that of a heavy syllable or that of a disyllabic foot.

2.2. Reduplicated truncated names

Romanian truncated names can also be derived via truncation and subsequent reduplication. There are two patterns, which have not been previously distinguished in the literature.[6] One such pattern is illustrated by the following forms:

(6)   Name   Truncated name
a.   Cornelia   Coco
b.   Dimitrie   Didi
c.   Lucia   Lulu
d.   Victoria   Vivi

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4   Graur (1965: 64) describes this as "the simultaneous deletion of the beginning and of the end."

5   The [tr-] cluster is preserved in the variant *Mitru*.

6   Both patterns are lumped together under various names, such as "doubling of a syllable" by Graur (1965: 64), "syllabic redoubling" by Ionescu (1989: 145) and Tomescu (2001: 254), or "reduplication" by Vascenco (1995: 40) and Bidu-Vrănceanu (1997: 238).

Examples (6a) and (6d) demonstrate that the initial CV sequence of the source name is reduplicated. This CV sequence does not necessarily coincide with the first syllable of the source name, contra Vascenco (1995: 40), who refers to this pattern as "reduplication of the initial syllable." In the other pattern, a sequence made up of a consonant from the source name and the vowel [i] undergoes reduplication:

(7) Name   Truncated name
  a. *Elena*   *Lili*
  b. *George*   *Gigi*
  c. *Maria*   *Mimi*
  d. *Octavian*   *Vivi*

Whatever the pattern of reduplication, the form of the reduplicated name truncations is that of a disyllabic foot.

2.3. Truncated names with diminutive suffixes

According to Tomescu (2001: 254), Romanian pet names are most frequently formed by means of a diminutive suffix, *e.g. -aș, -el, -ică/-ica, -iță/-ița, -uț/-uța*,[7] attached either to the source name or to a truncated form of the source name:

(8) Name   Pet name
  a. *Andrei*   *Andreiaș*
  b. *Constantin*   *Costel / Costică*
  c. *Elena*   *Lenuța*
  d. *George*   *Georgică*
  e. *Ion*   *Ionel / Ionică / Ioniță / Ionuț*
  f. *Irina*   *Irinel*
  g. *Ștefan*   *Ștefănel / Ștefănița / Fănel / Fănică / Făniță / Fănuș*
  h. *Vasile*   Vasilică

These diminutive suffixes start with a vowel and consist either of a heavy syllable or of a disyllabic foot. Some of these pet names undergo further truncation. In such cases, only a consonant in onset position is preserved from the source name:

(9) Pet name   Truncated name
  a. *Costică*   *Tică*
  b. *Georgică*   *Gică*
  c. *Lenuța*   *Nuța*
  d. *Ioniță*   *Niță*
  e. *Irinel*   *Nel*
  f. *Vasilică*   *Lică*

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7 A list of the most important suffixes used for deriving Romanian diminutive forms of names can be found in Graur (1965: 65–66).

The resulting form is either that of a heavy syllable or that of a disyllabic foot.

Less frequently, as noted by Graur (1965: 66) and Vasiliu (2001: 589), some diminutive suffixes can function as truncated names (and may correspond to more than one pet name), and no segment from the base survives. Contra Graur (1965: 66), who mentions the suffixes *-ica*, *-eta* and *-uța*, this does not only apply to feminine endearment forms (10b), but to some masculine ones as well (10a), in the case of *e.g. -ică* (Vasiliu 2001: 589):

(10) Pet name   Truncated name
a.   *Ionică*   *Ică*
b.   *Lenuța*   *Uța*

Note that only disyllabic masculine forms of diminutive suffixes can function as name truncations. Romanian pet names can also be formed by truncation and the subsequent addition of the vowel [-i]:

(11) Name   Truncated name
a.   *Adrian*   *Adi*
b.   *Ciprian*   *Cipi*
c.   *Dumitru*   *Miti*
d.   *Eduard*   *Edi*
e.   *Gabriela* *Gabi*
f.   *Petru*   *Peti*
g.   *Tiberiu*   *Tibi*
h.   *Valentin* *Vali*

In such forms, the second syllable disallows a complex onset even if the source name contains a complex onset, *e.g.* [dr-] in (11a), [pr-] in (11b), [tr-] in (11c) and (11f), [br-] in (11e). This suggests that the bare truncatum (*i.e.* the shortened form to which [-i] is added) must be a possible Romanian syllable. While *e.g.* [ad] in (11a), [ʧip] in (11b), [gab] in (11e) and [pet] in (11f) are possible Romanian syllables, [adr], [ʧipr], [gabr] and [petr] are not. Such an analysis appears to be more plausible than the account in Graur (1965: 64–65), according to whom "children's pronunciation difficulties […] explain the deletion of some sounds: *Adi* for *Adri-*."

A few remarks are in order with respect to the status of [-i]. Thus, [-i] is analyzed by Graur (1965: 64) as "a new suffix, *-i* […], with which diminutives are formed." Vascenco (1995: 36–37) also writes that "after truncation most of [the diminutive hypocoristics] have been augmented by the attachment of the suffix *-i*." Similarly, Vasiliu (2001: 589) states that "some truncated names are developed by the attachment of the suffix *-i*." On the other hand, [-i] is considered "an ending" and, respectively, as "the vocalic ending *-i*" by Zafiu (2001: 246, 247). There is some independent evidence showing that [-i] is a suffix: it occurs in truncations of family names and in word clippings, *e.g. libi* from *liberare* 'discharge from the army' or *pluti* from *plutonier* 'warrant officer' (Zafiu 2001: 246).

2.4. Truncated names with a final vowel

Pet names can also be derived via truncation of a source name or of a pet name and the addition of the vowel [-u]:

(12) Name / Pet name   Truncated name
 a.   *Aurel*   *Relu*
 b.   *Georgel*   *Gelu*
 c.   *Ionel*   *Nelu*
 d.   *Teodor*   *Doru*

As shown by the following example, the truncated name may occasionally exhibit changes on the segmental level, *e.g.* /h/ → [ʃ]:

(13) Name   Truncated name
      Mihai   *Mișu*[8]

In all of these cases, the form of the truncated name is that of a disyllabic foot. The bare truncatum is monosyllabic and consists of a heavy syllable which conforms to the structural constraints on possible syllables.

2.5. Truncated family names

Family names can also undergo truncation, but less frequently so than first names. According to Zafiu (2001: 246), truncation of family names is a relatively recent phenomenon which is particularly typical of Romanian journalese. Zafiu (2001: 246) starts from the assumption that "the [family] name has to be somewhat longer, and likely to end in a vowel or to produce a phonetic figure of repetition, of symmetry" in its truncated version. She identifies three patterns in the truncation of family names. Thus, "the prototype of current truncation is represented by the disyllabic shape, with a vocalic ending and containing the same vowel in both syllables" (Zafiu 2001: 246). The following examples (Zafiu 2001: 247) are listed in support of this claim:

(14) Name   Truncated name
 a.   *Hrebenciuc* *Hrebe*
 b.   *Lăcătuș*   *Lăcă*
 c.   *Patapievici* *Pata*
 d.   *Stolojan*   *Stolo*
 e.   *Văcăroiu*   *Văcă*
 f.   *Vătășescu*   *Vătă*

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8   An alternative truncated name derived from the base *Mihai* is *Mihu*, with no segmental change.

Zafiu (2001: 247) further maintains that in a second pattern "the remaining part of the name does not contain a repeated vowel, but respects the conditions of the disyllabic character and of the vocalic ending (in -*u* or -*o*)," as in the two examples provided:

(15) Name   Truncated name
 a. *Măgureanu* *Măgu*
 b. *Miloșevici* *Milo*

Finally, Zafiu (2001: 247) notes that "in some less frequent cases, the shortened form is modified by adding the vocalic ending -*i*, as in hypocoristics of first names," as in the only such example provided:

(16) Name   Truncated name
  Truțulescu *Truți*

Several remarks are in order here. First, it is hardly clear what is meant by "a phonetic figure of repetition, of symmetry" (Zafiu 2001: 246). Second, the examples under (14) and (15), which allegedly illustrate two different patterns, actually instantiate the same type, in which the segmental material is taken from the first two syllables. As in the source name, the vowel in the second syllable may be identical with or different from that in the first syllable. Consequently, what Zafiu (2001: 247) calls "the vocalic ending (in -*u* or -*o*)" is in fact the vowel in the second syllable of the source name. Let us now consider the additional examples below, from my own collection, which show that the first two syllables of the source name provide the segmental material of the truncated name:

(17) Name   Truncated name
 a. *Arotăriței* *Aro*
 b. *Băsescu* *Băse*
 c. *Pătrășcoiu* *Pătră*
 d. *Smărăndescu* *Smără*
 e. *Teodorovici* *Teo*

Third, the family name does not have to be "somewhat longer." Even shorter family names which are already disyllabic may undergo truncation:

(18) Name   Truncated name
  Avram *Avra*

Fourth, the -*i* in (16) is not a "vocalic ending," but a suffix, as shown in section 2.3. The occurrence of the pattern of truncation in which the bare truncatum is suffixed with -*i* is confirmed by other forms in my corpus:

(19) Name   Truncated name
 a. *Pițurcă* *Piți*
 b. *Șumudică* *Șumi*

Finally, there is another pattern of truncation, probably the least frequent one, in which the truncatum consists of a single, heavy syllable. This pattern is illustrated by one of the examples which Zafiu (2001: 246) lists without, however, analyzing it:

(20) Family name   Truncated name
      Ştefănescu   Ştef

To sum up, the truncated forms of family names instantiate a subset of the patterns previously identified in the truncation of first names. Thus, the truncatum may consist of a heavy syllable, which is a type of truncation discussed in section 2.1. Much more frequently, the form of the truncated name is that of a disyllabic foot. The disyllabic foot is built with segmental material from the first two syllables of the source name, a pattern that was also illustrated in section 2.1. Alternatively, the disyllabic foot obtains via truncation to a heavy syllable which is suffixed with *-i*, a pattern analyzed in section 2.3.

On the other hand, there appear to be some differences between the truncation of family names and that of first names. Thus, the segmental material in truncated family names is invariably taken from the first two syllables of the source name. Also, truncations of family names always consist of segments which are adjacent in the source name. Moreover, some patterns, such as reduplication or the use of the final vowel [-u], as discussed in sections 2.2 and 2.4, respectively, are not attested in truncated family names.

3. Japanese

3.1. Rustic girls' names

The so-called "familiar forms" of rustic girls' names are derived by attaching the honorific prefix *o-* to a base (Poser 1990: 92; Mester 1990: 479–480; Suzuki 1995: 450). There is variation in the part of the base which is preserved. Thus, if the root of the source name consists of a heavy syllable or of two light ones, *i.e.* of two moras, it coincides with the bare truncatum. This is the case for bimorphemic names which contain the suffix *-ko*. Consider the following examples (with the boundaries between moras indicated with a dot):

(21) Name   Truncated name
  a. /ke.:.ko/   [o.ke.:]
  b. /ha.na.ko/   [o.ha.na]
  c. /sa.ki.ko/   [o.sa.ki]

Consider next monomorphemic names which consist of more than two moras:

(22) Name   Truncated name
  a. /ka.e.de/   [o.ka.e]
  b. /mi.do.fi/   [o.mi.do]

As can be observed, the bare truncatum (to which the prefix *o-* is attached) obtains by taking segmental material from the first two moras of the source name. Note that these two moras may be distributed in one heavy syllable or over two light syllables. The derivation of familiar forms of rustic girls' names thus presupposes the preservation of the initial bimoraic foot of the source name.

3.2. Truncated names suffixed with *-chan* or *-kun*

In Japanese there is a very productive process in which the suffix *-chan* or *-kun* is added to a truncated base (Poser 1984, 1990: 81–89; Mester 1990: 479; Suzuki 1995: 449; Kubozono 1999: 41). Consider the examples below:

(23)   Name   Truncated name
a.   /a.ki.ʃa/   [a.ki.tʃa.N]
b.   /ha.na.ko/   [ha.na.tʃa.N]
c.   /jo.ko/   [jo.ko.tʃa.N]
d.   /ma.ʃi.ko/   [ma.ʃi.tʃa.N]
e.   /ma.sa.ɸɯ/   [ma.sa.kɯ.N]
f.   /no.ʃi.ko/   [no.ʃi.tʃa.N]
g.   /ta.ka.ko/   [ta.ka.tʃa.N]
h.   /a.i.ko/   [a.i.tʃa.N]
i.   /zjɯ.N.ko/   [dʒɯ.ɲ.tʃa.N]

In such forms the bare truncatum (to which the suffix *-chan* or *-kun* is added) is a bimoraic foot. This bimoraic foot is created by taking segmental material from the first two moras of the source name, regardless of whether they are distributed in one or over two syllables. Another possibility is to lengthen the vowel in the first mora of the source name:

(24)   Name   Truncated name
a.   /ha.na.ko/   [ha.:.tʃa.N]
b.   /jo.ko/   [jo.:.tʃa.N]
c.   /ma.sa.ɸɯ/   [ma.:.kɯ.N]
d.   /ta.ka.ko/   [ta.:.tʃa.N]

Changing a non-moraic consonant into a moraic[9] one is yet another option:

(25)   Name   Truncated name
a.   /ha.na.ko/   [ha.t.tʃa.N]
b.   /sa.ti.ko/   [sa.t.tʃa.N]
c.   /ta.ka.ko/   [ta.t.tʃa.N]

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9   The vowel is deleted and the remaining consonant undergoes total assimilation.

A bimoraic foot may also obtain via epenthesis of a moraic consonant[10]:

(26) Name   Truncated name
      /no.ɕi.ko/   [no.ɲ.tʃa.N]

Truncated names can also be derived without the inclusion of segmental material from the first mora of the source name:

(27) Name   Truncated name
      /hi.ɕo.mi/   [ɕo.mi.tʃa.N]

Less frequently, the bare truncatum can consist of segments which are not adjacent in the source name. In such cases, when combining two moras, a portion of the source name is skipped over:

(28) Name   Truncated name
      /ma.ɕi.ko/   [ma.ko.tʃa.N]

All of the processes illustrated in the examples under (23) through (28) yield a bimoraic truncatum. Consequently, all of these forms have in common the characteristic that the bare truncatum to which the suffix -*chan* or -*kun* is attached is a bimoraic foot, which may consist either of a heavy syllable or of two light ones.

3.3. Names of regular customers of bars and of geishas

Regular customers of bars and of geishas are given special names, which are modified versions of their family names. These special names consist of a truncated base to which the honorific prefix *o-* and the honorific suffix -*san* are added (Poser 1990: 91–92; Mester 1990: 480; Suzuki 1995: 450). Several patterns of forming such names are attested. In one such pattern, the truncatum corresponds to the first syllable of the source name, provided that it is heavy and that it does not end in the first part of a geminate obstruent:

(29) Name   Truncated name
  a. /i.:.da/   [o.i.:.sa.N]
  b. /sa.i.to/   [o.sa.i.sa.N]
  c. /ko.N.do/   [o.ko.n.saN]

Alternatively, segmental material may be taken only from the first syllable, with lengthening of the vowel:

(30) Name   Truncated name
  a. /sa.i.to/   [o.sa.:.sa.N]
  b. /ko.N.do/   [o.ko.:.sa.N]

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10   The epenthesized consonant is /N/, phonetically realized as [ɲ] before a [CORONAL, –anterior] consonant.

If the initial syllable of the source name is heavy, but ends in the first part of a geminate obstruent, the vowel in the first mora undergoes lengthening:

(31) Name   Truncated name
      /ha.t.to.ʃi/   [o.ha.:.sa.N]

Finally, if the first syllable of the source name is light, the vowel of the first mora is lengthened. Consider the example below:

(32) Name   Truncated name
      /ta.na.ka/   [o.ta.:.sa.N]

In this case it is impossible to derive the form *[o.ta.n.sa.N] since /taN/ is not a syllable of the source name /tanaka/.

The examples above show that the bare truncatum is invariably bimoraic and monosyllabic. For instance, if the first two syllables of the source name are monomoraic, *e.g.* /hɯ.zi.mɯ.ʃa/, a form such as *[o.ɸɯ.ʤi.sa.N] is ill-formed since the bimoraic foot of the truncatum is disyllabic. To sum up, the process of forming the special names of regular customers of bars and of geishas involves taking over the initial syllable of the source name, and vowel lengthening if that syllable is monomoraic. In other words, the truncatum must be a bimoraic foot consisting of a heavy syllable.

3.4. Truncated names suffixed with -*ko*

As shown by Mester (1990: 484), truncated names can be suffixed with -*ko*. Consider first the following possible forms derived from the source name *Hiromi* [çiɾomi]:

(33) Name   Truncated name
  a. /hi.ʃo.mi/   [çi.ko]
  b. /hi.ʃo.mi/   [mi.ko]
  c. /hi.ʃo.mi/   [ʃo.ko]

In all of these examples, the suffix -*ko* is attached to a truncatum consisting of a light syllable. However, in another pattern, an originally short vowel is lengthened:

(34) Name   Truncated name
  a. /hi.ʃo.mi/   [çi.:.ko]
  b. /hi.ʃo.mi/   [mi.:.ko]

Vowel lengthening yields a truncatum consisting of a heavy syllable. Finally, a non-moraic consonant, either of the source name or of the suffix, can be turned into a moraic one. Consequently, the truncatum consists of a heavy syllable:

(35)   Name   Truncated name
  a.   /hiʃomi/   [ʃo.ŋ.ko][11]
  b.   /hiʃomi/   [çi.k.ko][12]

On the other hand, the following examples are ill-formed, although the suffix *-ko* is attached to a bimoraic truncatum:

(36)   Name   Truncated name
  a.   /hiʃomi/   *[çi.ʃo.ko]
  b.   /hiʃomi/   *[çi.ʃo.mi.ko]
  c.   /hiʃomi/   *[ʃo.mi.ko]

The generalization, accounting for all the cases under (33) through (35) and for the incorrect forms under (36), can only be formulated in terms of the type of syllable: the suffix *-ko* attaches to a truncatum consisting of one syllable, whether light (monomoraic) or heavy (bimoraic).

4. Conclusions

Both Romanian and Japanese truncated names have been shown to exhibit systematic structural properties. Accordingly, as stated by Plag (2003: 117), this "indicates that the knowledge about the structural properties of these categories should be treated as part of the morphological competence of the speakers."

Morphologically, Romanian truncated names can consist of a bare truncatum or of a truncatum augmented with a diminutive suffix, whereas Japanese truncated names are prefixed, suffixed or both prefixed and suffixed.

In both languages name truncation is an operation defined over prosodic units. The fact that Romanian name truncations too must meet certain prosodic requirements has gone unnoticed in much of the literature (*e.g.* Graur 1965; Ionescu 1976, 1989; Tomescu 1998, 2001; Ionescu 2008; Cosniceanu 2010). Notable exceptions are Vascenco (1995) and Zafiu (2001). Both authors, however, restrict their observations to a particular class of name truncations. Thus, Vascenco (1995: 36) only looks at truncated names of the so-called "common gender,"[13] noting that most "formations are disyllabic, have stress on the first syllable (being, therefore, of the trochaic type" and that those "with a consonantal ending are, generally, monosyllabic"). On the other hand, Zafiu (2001: 246–247) attempts to account for the phonological shape of truncated family names exclusively, and her analysis has been shown not to be entirely accurate.[14]

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11   The vowel /i/ in /mi/ is deleted, while /m/ undergoes partial assimilation of the place of articulation and is phonetically realized as [ŋ] before a [DORSAL, +high] consonant.

12   The consonant /k/ of the suffix *-ko* undergoes gemination.

13   Truncations of either feminine or masculine forms of names.

14   See also Avram (2011: 15–16).

The shape of the truncatum in both Romanian and Japanese is that of a heavy syllable or of a disyllabic foot.[15] This is in accordance with the principle of foot binarity (*e.g.* McCarthy & Prince 1995; Hayes 1995; McCarthy & Prince 1998; Downing 2006; Kager 2007; Alber 2009), *i.e.* feet are binary under moraic and syllabic analysis. Moras, syllables and feet are all primitives of Universal Grammar, *i.e.* abstract linguistic categories. However, name truncations in the two languages are an "example of phonological knowledge" (Kenstowicz 1994: 9), and therefore demonstrate the so-called "psychological reality" of moras,[16] syllables and feet.

In both Romanian and Japanese truncated names the segmental material is generally taken from a prominent syllable. In Romanian it is either the first syllable or one which carries stress, while in Japanese it is usually the first syllable that provides the segmental material. This is consistent with cross-linguistic findings. Thus, according to Lappe (2008), "anchoring is surprisingly uniform," with initial and (main-)stressed syllables as anchoring points.[17]

Romanian resorts to simplification of truncation-medial consonant clusters as a repair strategy whereby the truncatum is adjusted in accordance with the phonotactic constraints on possible syllables. As noted by Downing (2006: 142), truncation-medial simplification of consonant clusters "always results in a simplex coda and onset." However, Downing (2006: 142) also states that "the only allowable coda – onset sequences are the least marked: sonorant – obstruent or *s* – obstruent." This claim is disconfirmed by the occurrence of forms such as Romanian *Octi* (from *Octavian* or *Octavia*), in which a marked cluster like [kt] survives and therefore yields an obstruent–obstruent coda–onset sequence.

The foot is also relevant for the truncation-medial simplification of consonant clusters attested in Romanian. Most name truncations are parsed into a trochaic stress foot and, as mentioned by Downing (2006: 142), "it is extremely common, cross-linguistically, for consonants and consonant sequences to be reduced in markedness or complexity in Foot-medial position, as this is a weak position."

In addition to being a possible syllable in Romanian, the monosyllabic bare truncatum tends to be the maximal syllable extractable from the source name.[18]

In both Romanian and Japanese the truncatum occasionally consists of segments which are not adjacent in the source name.

Changes on the segmental level of truncated names occur in both languages. In Romanian, segmental changes only occur in idiosyncratic forms. In Japanese, on the other hand, such changes are dictated by the necessity to conform to a strict prosodic requirement: vowel lengthening, changing a non-moraic consonant into a moraic one or moraic consonant insertion all create an additional mora, such that the resulting truncatum is a bimoraic foot.

Unlike in Japanese, Romanian pet names formed with some diminutive suffixes can undergo truncation such that no segment from the base is preserved. In such cases the diminutive suffix by itself functions as a truncated name.

One last issue to be addressed is that of prosodic minimality, *i.e.* how this relates to the phonological shape of name truncations in Romanian and Japanese. Booij (2005: 181) writes that "the morphological

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15 Alber (2009) discusses the role of the foot in truncation.

16 For the psychological reality of the mora in Japanese, see Kubozono (1992), Avram (1996), Kubozono and Honma (2002), Avram (2005: 71–83), Vance (2008: 117–131) and Otaka (2009: 47–64).

17 See also Alber (2009).

18 Itô and Mester (1997) make the same point with respect to German name truncations.

use of the prosodic category 'minimal prosodic word' is also found in the formation of hypocoristics […] through truncation." In her cross-linguistic survey of truncated names, Lappe (2008) concludes that "most truncations correspond to the minimal prosodic word form predicted in Prosodic Morphology."

In both languages the relation between prosodic minimality and name truncation is less straightforward. Romanian is listed by Hayes (1995: 88–89) among the languages that do not have minimal word constraints. Indeed, there is no prosodic minimality restriction imposed in Romanian on lexical/content words, which can consist of a single, light syllable: *gri* 'gray,' *șa* 'saddle,' *zi* 'day.' Similarly, Japanese does not have a minimal word constraint (Itô 1990), *i.e.* lexical/content words may consist of a single, light syllable, *e.g. ha* 'tooth,' *ko* 'child,' *su* 'vinegar.' In truncated names, however, the truncatum has to consist of a bimoraic foot. This shows that the prosodic minimality constraints at issue here only hold for derived forms in both Romanian and Japanese. This observation is confirmed by Romanian word clippings,[19] which minimally consist of one heavy syllable or of two syllables (Avram 2011: 17), and by several classes of derived words in Japanese which have to be minimally bimoraic.[20] As noted by Downing (2006: 103), "derived words in some languages are subject to different minimality constraints from underived words." Romanian and Japanese, then, both belong to this class of languages.

Name truncations in both languages also exhibit unexpected properties. Thus, primary stress in Romanian is "insensitive to weight" and "secondary stress is assigned by left to right trochees" which "must be disyllabic" (Chitoran 2002: 87), *i.e.* the stress foot is a quantity-insensitive syllabic trochee. In languages with this type of stress foot the minimal word would be expected to be disyllabic (Downing 2006: 49). However, Romanian truncated names (and word clippings) consist minimally either of a heavy syllable or, most frequently, of two light syllables (Avram 2011: 17) – a property that is typical of truncations in languages with quantity-sensitive stress feet, either iambs or moraic trochees. In Japanese, on the other hand, the base to which the suffix *-ko* is attached can also be a single, light syllable, *i.e.* monomoraic, and in violation of prosodic minimality (Itô 1990; Avram 2005: 94), which generally requires that the base of derived words should consist of at least one bimoraic foot.

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19 Examples of such word clippings can be found in Vasiliu (2001: 598).

20 For other examples of derived words illustrating this constraint, see Itô (1990) and in particular Avram (2005: 83–94).

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