

# MAURITIAN CREOLE HYPOCORISTIC FORMATION

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a study of hypocoristic formation in Mauritian Creole. Mauritian Creole is a language spoken in Mauritius, a small island in the Indian Ocean, off the east coast of Madagascar. Before proceeding to discuss the data and the analysis, I believe that it is important for the reader to understand some of the history of Mauritius.

The island was originally uninhabited, before it was discovered by the Portuguese around the beginning of the sixteenth century (Baker 1972: 5). The Dutch took possession at the end of the sixteenth century, and remained there until 1710 (Baker 1972: 5). When they gave up attempts to establish settlements five years later, the French claimed the island as their own, and it was during this time that immigration to Mauritius began (Baker 1972: 5). The majority of arrivals during the French period were Europeans from France or Reunion<sup>1</sup>, their African slaves (mostly from Mozambique and Madagascar), muslim traders from West India, and south Indian artisans (Baker 1972: 5,8). It was during this time that Mauritian Creole began to develop, as a means of communication among the slaves (speaking many different east-african languages) and their French-speaking masters.

In 1810, the British captured the island, and although French law, culture and religion were given official sanction, English became the official language (Baker 1972: 8). Before slavery was abolished in 1833, african slaves made up about 76% of the population of Mauritius, but due to the labour shortage which followed emancipation, indentured labourers were brought from India on a very large scale (Baker 1972: 8). In less than 30 years, 365,000 Indian labourers arrived in Mauritius, so that by 1866, people of Indian descent formed more than 2/3 of the population (Baker 1972: 8).

Currently, the largest ethnic groups in Mauritius are North Indian Hindus (35%), Muslims of Indian descent (17%), Creoles (non-white Catholics of African or mixed descent)(28%), people of Chinese descent (3%), and Franco-Mauritians (2%) (Eriksen 1999: 2). This ethnic diversity is reflected very clearly in Mauritian names. Most names in Mauritius tend to reflect ethnic origin and/or religious persuasion, and it is therefore usually possible to tell a person's ancestry from their name alone. For example, a non-muslim Indo-mauritian may have the name *Shalini* or *Rajesh*, while a Creole person or a Chinese christian might have the name *Dominique* or *Claudine*.

Despite the heavy influence of ethnicity on naming practices in Mauritius, I hope to show that all names are treated the same when it comes to hypocoristic formation in Mauritian Creole. Indian names do not follow an 'Indian' pattern of hypocoristic formation, nor do French names show a 'French' pattern of hypocoristic formation; I will show that names in Mauritius show a 'Mauritian Creole' pattern of hypocoristic formation.

## 2. THE DATA

The data for this research is made up of 90 full names and 83 hypocoristics. The relationship between full name and hypocoristic is not always one-to-one, since in some cases, one hypocoristic may be shared by more than one full name, while in other cases, one full name may have more than one hypocoristic form.

The data comes from three sources. 45 of the full-name/hypocoristic pairs were provided by Brinda Chengadu, a native speaker of Mauritian Creole currently residing in Canada. 33 of the full-name/hypocoristic pairs

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<sup>1</sup> Another island in the Indian Ocean and Mauritius' closest neighbor.

are from stories by Dev Virahsawmy, one of the few mauritian authors who writes in Mauritian Creole. The 10 remaining full-name/hypocoristic pairs are from my own knowledge of people's names in Mauritius.

Hypocoristics in Mauritian Creole fall into several different categories: truncation to a monosyllable at the left edge, truncation to a monosyllable at the right edge, truncation to a disyllable at the left edge, truncation to a disyllable at the right edge, and reduplication.

*Truncation to a monosyllable at the left edge*<sup>2</sup>

Truncation to a monosyllable at the left edge is by far the most common pattern found in the data, with over 50% of hypocoristics falling into this category. With this type of truncation, segmental material at the left edge of the full name (the beginning of the word) is preserved, while everything else is deleted. Out of the 45 hypocoristics in this category, 42 of them are (C)CVC syllables. (C)CVC syllables tend to occur regardless of the syllabification of the base name (ie. a full name with an initial (C)CV syllable will tend to take the onset of the following syllable as its coda in the formation of its hypocoristic). Examples of truncation to a (C)CVC syllable on the left edge are given in (1).

- |     |                            |                           |
|-----|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| (1) | <b>Brin.da</b> > Brin      | (B. Chengadu)             |
|     | <b>San.dya</b> > San       | (B. Chengadu)             |
|     | <b>Nee.la</b> > Nil        | (B. Chengadu)             |
|     | <b>Ra.jen</b> > Raj (rad3) | (B. Chengadu)             |
|     | <b>Sha.li.ni</b> > Shal    | (B. Chengadu)             |
|     | <b>Ruk.sa.na</b> > Ruk     | (B. Chengadu)             |
|     | <b>Do.mi.nique</b> > Dom   | (R. Strandquist)          |
|     | <b>Ka.mi.ni</b> > Kam      | (D. Virahsawmy 'Jericho') |

Of the three hypocoristics in this category which are not of the shape CVC, two are (C)CV and one is VC. Examples are given in (2).

- |     |                           |                  |
|-----|---------------------------|------------------|
| (2) | <b>Clau.dine</b> > Clo    | (R. Strandquist) |
|     | <b>Fi.dou</b> > Fi        | (B. Chengadu)    |
|     | <b>Ash.vin</b> > Ash (af) | (B. Chengadu)    |

*Truncation to a monosyllable at the right edge*<sup>3</sup>

In this type of hypocoristic formation, segmental material in the rightmost syllable of the name is preserved, while all other segmental material is deleted. Truncation to a monosyllable at the right edge is not nearly as prevalent as truncation to a monosyllable at the left edge. In all of my data, there are only seven hypocoristics that fit this pattern (3).

- |     |     |                                   |   |
|-----|-----|-----------------------------------|---|
| (3) | i.  | <b>Pri.ty</b> > Ti                | (B. Chengadu)                           |
|     |     | <b>Mo.hen.jo</b> > Jo (d3o)       | (D. Virahsawmy 'Galileo Gonaz')         |
|     | ii. | <b>Dee.raj</b> > Raj (rad3)       | (B. Chengadu)                           |
|     |     | <b>De.vind</b> > Vin <sup>4</sup> | (B. Chengadu)                           |
|     |     | <b>Dha.ram Raj</b> > Ram          | (D. Virahsawmy 'Jericho')               |
|     |     | <b>Chris.tianne</b> > Tian        | (R. Strandquist)                        |
|     |     | <b>Da.vi.das</b> > Das            | (D. Virahsawmy 'Souiv Larout Ziska...') |

<sup>2</sup>See Appendix 1.

<sup>3</sup>See Appendix 2.

<sup>4</sup>Although at first glance this form doesn't seem to fit the pattern, in fact it does. Mauritian Creole doesn't allow complex codas, and this form exhibits cluster simplification. I would go so far as to suggest that the full name 'Devind' is likely to be pronounced 'Devin' in Mauritian Creole.

In the above data, we see that the hypocoristics in (3)i. are CV syllables, while the hypocoristics in (3)ii. are CVC syllables.

*Truncation to a disyllable at the left edge*<sup>5</sup>

In this pattern, the first two syllables of the base name are preserved in the hypocoristic, while the rest of the segmental material is deleted. Truncation to a disyllable at the left edge is the second most common type of hypocoristic formation in my data, with 17 of the forms falling into this category. Some examples of this pattern are given in (4):

- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| (4) i. Ra.di.ka > Ra.di           | (D. Virahsawmy 'Souiv Larout Ziska...') |
| Dan.ielle > Da.ni                 | (R. Strandquist)                        |
| ii. Bel.za.minn > Bel.za          | (D. Virahsawmy 'Dr. Nipat')             |
| Krish.na.dev > Krish.na (kriʃ.na) | (D. Virahsawmy 'Linconnsing Finalay')   |
| iii. Da.vi.das > Da.vid           | (D. Virahsawmy 'Souiv Larout Ziska...') |
| iv. An.ge.la > An.gel (an.dʒe.la) | (R. Strandquist)                        |
| v. Au.re.lie > Au.rel             | (R. Strandquist)                        |
| vi. A.mau.ry > A.mo               | (R. Strandquist)                        |
| vii. Be.a.trice > Be.a            | (B. Chengadu)                           |

The most interesting thing about this particular pattern of hypocoristic formation is the lack of uniformity within the category. Seven different combinations of syllable types can be found within this pattern (CV.CV (7), (C)CVC.CV (3), CV.CVC (1), VC.CVC (1), V.CVC (1), V.CV (2), CV.V (2)), making it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to make any generalizations about truncation to a disyllable at the left edge.

*Truncation to a disyllable at the right edge*<sup>6</sup>

In this pattern, the two rightmost syllables from the base are preserved in hypocoristic formation, while the rest of the segmental material is deleted. Truncation to a disyllable at the right edge is among the least common hypocoristic types in Mauritian Creole. Only six hypocoristics in my data could be classed in this category (5):

- |                                 |                              |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (5) A.ni.ta > Ni.ta             | (B. Chengadu)                |
| Ve.ro.ni.ka > Ni.ka             | (B. Chengadu)                |
| A.man.da > Man.da               | (B. Chengadu)                |
| Ve.ro.nique > Ro.nique (ro.nik) | (R. Strandquist)             |
| Kle.o.pa.tra > Pat.ra           | (D. Virahsawmy 'Dernie Vol') |
| Ar.jou.na > Jou.na              | (D. Virahsawmy 'Li')         |

As with truncation to a disyllable at the left edge, disyllabic truncations at the right edge can have several different shapes (CV.CV (3), CVC.CV (2), CV.CVC (1)).

*Reduplication*<sup>7</sup>

Although it doesn't seem to be a very productive way to form hypocoristics in Mauritian Creole, reduplication occurs in a small number of forms. There are only six examples of reduplicated hypocoristics in

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix 3.

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix 4.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix 5.

my data, and as with the two previous patterns, there is little uniformity within the category. Reduplicated hypocoristics can have the shape CV-CVC (1), CV-CV (3), or CVC-CVC (2). Examples are given in (6):

- |                               |   |       |
|-------------------------------|---|-------|
| (6) i. Bel.za.minn > Be-bel   | (D. Virahsawmy 'Galileo Gonaz')         |       |
| ii. Pe.dan > Pe-pe            | (D. Virahsawmy 'Galileo Gonaz')         | Jean- |
| Phi.lippe > Jean-jean (3v-3v) | (R. Strandquist)                        |       |
| Kle.o.pat.ra > Kle-kle        | (D. Virahsawmy 'Dernie Vol')            |       |
| iii. Zann > Zan-zan           | (D. Virahsawmy 'Mamzel Zann')           |       |
| Y.von > Von-von               | (D. Virahsawmy 'Souiv Larout Ziska...') |       |

*Other*<sup>8</sup>

Only four of the hypocoristics in my data don't fit into any of the above categories. These are listed in (7):

- |                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| (7) i. Kor.de.lia > Kord-i | (D. Virahsawmy 'Tabisman Lir')          |
| Ja.ne.gy > Jan-i           | (D. Virahsawmy 'Tabisman Lir')          |
| ii. Mary > May             | (B. Chengadu)                           |
| San.nya.si > Nas           | (D. Virahsawmy 'Souiv Larout Ziska...') |

The examples in (7)i. are monosyllabic truncations on the left edge, but they have an additional suffix -i. The most plausible explanation for these two forms is that they show influence from English, where suffixation of -i is very prominent. The forms in (7)ii. also seem to be truncations, but deletion is either from the middle of the word (Mary > May) or from both edges with additional deletion of palatalization (Sannyasi > Nas).

### 3. ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS

Having looked at all of the different hypocoristic types in Mauritian Creole, and understanding the diverse origins of the names themselves, several questions arise; "Where do these patterns come from?" "Do names that originated in a particular language follow the patterns of hypocoristic formation of that language, or do they all follow the same pattern, regardless of origin?" In a language so heavily influenced by other languages, and, in fact, created by contact among these languages, these are very interesting and relevant questions that must be answered if we are to understand hypocoristic formation in this language. In attempting to answer these questions, I will compare Mauritian Creole hypocoristic formation with hypocoristic formation in the three languages from which most Mauritian names are derived: French, Indo-Aryan languages, and Arabic. Since truncation to a monosyllable on the left edge is by far the most common pattern in Mauritian Creole, I will concentrate on this pattern for comparison.

Let us first look at French. French is the language with which Mauritian Creole shares the most similarities, although this similarity is mostly restricted to vocabulary items. As mentioned above (section 1), French was introduced to Mauritius near the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Although the island was later controlled by the British for over 150 years, French has maintained its status as a prestige language. Since French had a lot of influence on Mauritian Creole's early development<sup>9</sup> and since it is currently so prevalent in Mauritian society, it seems likely that French could have had considerable influence on hypocoristic formation.

Regarding names, French *has* had substantial influence, since most Catholics in Mauritius (and many non-Catholics) have French names. But this influence does not seem to extend to hypocoristic formation. Although truncation to a monosyllable does occur in French, current work on hypocoristic formation in Modern French

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix 6.

<sup>9</sup> It is not entirely fair to compare Mauritian Creole with Modern Standard French, since the French spoken in the early 1700's would have been somewhat different than the French spoken today. But because not much is known about hypocoristic formation in this time period, I believe this to be an accurate enough comparison for present purposes.

indicates that the most common type of hypocoristic formation is reduplication (below (8)), not truncation (Scullen 1993: 228).

- |     |                       |                     |
|-----|-----------------------|---------------------|
| (8) | FRENCH                | (Scullen 1993: 228) |
|     | bernard >> bebe       |                     |
|     | joseph >> zeze        |                     |
|     | brigitte >> guiguitte |                     |
|     | albert >> bebert      |                     |

- |                  |                  |
|------------------|------------------|
| MAURITIAN CREOLE |                  |
| dominique >> dom | (R. Strandquist) |
| valerie >> val   | (B. Chengadu)    |
| pamela >> pam    | (B. Chengadu)    |
| philip >> phil   | (B. Chengadu)    |

As we saw above (6) Mauritian Creole also shows reduplication<sup>10</sup>, but on a very small scale. Based on these observations, we can very tentatively conclude that French has had minimal influence on hypocoristic formation in Mauritian Creole.

Another language which has had the potential to influence Mauritian Creole hypocoristic formation is Bhojpuri. Figures from the 1962 census indicate that Bhojpuri was the mother tongue of approximately 50% of the population of Mauritius (Baker 1972: 13); it is by far the most widely spoken Indian language in Mauritius. Although it was unlikely to have had much influence on Mauritian Creole's early development (since the majority of the Indian labourers did not arrive in Mauritius until the mid-1800's), it could easily have influenced hypocoristic formation after their arrival. Indeed, most Mauritian people of Indian descent have Indian names, but whether or not Bhojpuri has influenced their hypocoristics is a separate question.

Since there has been no work done on hypocoristic formation in Bhojpuri, I am forced to choose the next best thing: Bengali. Bengali and Bhojpuri are both members of the Eastern Indo-Aryan language family (Ethnologue), so it seems reasonable to use Bengali hypocoristic formation as a basis for comparison with Mauritian Creole hypocoristic formation. The predominant method of hypocoristic formation in Bengali (and in Hindi (Mehrotra 1994)), is truncation to a monosyllable with the addition of a suffix, either -a, -i, or -u (Anjali Lowe, p.c.) (9):

- |     |                     |   |
|-----|---------------------|---|
| (9) | balram >> bal-a     | (MC <i>bal</i> (D. Virahsawmy 'Tantinn Timi') |
|     | neela >> nil-u      | (MC <i>nil</i> (B. Chengadu))                 |
|     | sharmila >> sharm-i | (MC <i>sharm</i> (B. Chengadu))               |

Mauritian Creole shows virtually no suffixation in hypocoristic formation (except for the extremely marginal examples given in (7)i.), so it seems that Indian languages have had very little, if any, influence on hypocoristic formation in Mauritian Creole.

As we have seen above, Indian Muslims make up a considerable proportion of the Mauritian population, and not surprisingly, many of these people have Arabic names. Arabic is not spoken by many Mauritians, and as such, has not had much chance to influence the language. Indeed, monosyllabic truncations are extremely rare in Arabic hypocoristic formation, with most hypocoristic patterns exhibiting root-and-pattern phenomena (Khalsa al-Aghbari and Shadiya al-Hashmi, p.c.). In Mauritian Creole, names of Arabic origin are truncated to a monosyllable at the left edge (10):

<sup>10</sup> It may be that these six forms do show influence from French, but this does not detract from the statement that French has not influenced the predominant pattern of hypocoristic formation.

- (10)      nazima >> naz                      (B. Chengadu)  
              ruksana >> ruk                    (B. Chengadu)  
              nashrin >> nash                  (B. Chengadu)

Based on the above evidence, it appears as though Arabic has not had any influence on Mauritian Creole hypocoristic formation.

From what we have seen in this section, it seems that the predominant pattern of hypocoristic formation in Mauritian Creole (truncation to a monosyllable at the left edge) is not a result of the influence of any other language, but is a feature native to Mauritian Creole itself.

#### 4. THE ANALYSIS

Having looked at the data in section 2, as well as the other observations made in section 3, it seems fairly clear that the basic pattern in Mauritian Creole hypocoristic formation is truncation to a (C)CVC syllable on the left edge. What could account for such a pattern? Following Alber (2001) and Lappe (2003), I will claim that truncation to a (C)CVC syllable on the left edge is due to “output-oriented prominence maximization”, a type of positional faithfulness whereby prominent positions such as stressed syllables or initial syllables are given special status in words (Alber 2001: 1).

The theory of prominence maximization is couched in Optimality Theory (OT) (first proposed by Prince and Smolensky in 1993), a theory in which possible candidates are evaluated by universal constraints on well-formedness, ranked differently in every language (Schaefer: 1). Constraints are violable, so that “a form violating a constraint can surface if all other possible forms are ruled out by more or more important constraints” (Schaefer: 1). The optimal candidate is that which violates only the lowest-ranked constraints. There are two major types of constraint in OT: *faithfulness constraints*, which ensure identity with the underlying representation, and *markedness constraints*, which “require the output to conform to certain structural patterns” (Schaefer: 1). Basic faithfulness constraints ensure correspondence between the input and the output (IO faithfulness), but this is not the only type of correspondence. Correspondence is also seen between outputs, such as base and truncation (Benua: 1995)(11).

- (11)      Input  
              ↓  
              Output ↔ Truncation

Prominence maximization itself was first discussed in Beckman (1998), although it was not used to account for monosyllabic templates (as it will be here) until Alber’s (2001) “Maximizing First Positions”, in which prominence maximization is used to account for monosyllabic templates in Diyari, Agta, Swedish and German. Lappe’s (2003) “Monosyllabicity in Prosodic Morphology: the Case of Truncated Personal Names in English” extended the use of prominence maximization with monosyllabic templates to an analysis of English hypocoristics. It is Lappe’s method which I will be following in this treatment of Mauritian Creole monosyllabic hypocoristics.

Beckman (1998) posits a set of constraints which target prominent positions in words, such as initial syllables, stressed syllables and onsets of syllables, protecting these prominent positions from “processes which happen elsewhere” (Lappe 2003: 156). In terms of truncation (ie. truncation to a monosyllabic template) these prominence constraints define what is left over after truncation has taken place (Lappe 2003: 157). The key to this analysis is the following; not only do truncations preserve “elements that are prominent in the base [...], they also tend to display all segmental material they inherit from the base in a prominent position in the output’ (Lappe 2003: 157). Under this analysis, monosyllabic words have an advantage over disyllabic words, because all of the segmental material contained in a monosyllabic word is in a prominent position, whereas disyllabic words contain segmental material in non-prominent syllables (Lappe 2003: 157).

The constraint responsible for output-oriented prominence maximization in general is COINCIDE-P (Alber 2001: 3):

- (12)      COINCIDE-P : every element of the output is in P (P = some prominent

position).

This general constraint can be adjusted to apply to specific prominent positions:

- (13) COINCIDE-ONSET $\sigma_1$  : every output-element must be in the onset of the first syllable of the root (Alber 2001: 4).
- (14) COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$  : every segment of the output is in the first syllable of some morpheme (Alber 2001: 10)
- (15) COINCIDE- $\sigma_{\text{stress}}$  : every element of the output is in the main-stressed syllable (Lappe 2003: 157)

Which of these prominence constraints is active in Mauritian Creole hypocoristic formation? We know that the dominant pattern of hypocoristic formation is truncation to a monosyllable at the left edge (the initial syllable), so this rules out the constraint COINCIDE-ONSET $\sigma_1$  (which only deals with the coda). Stress in Mauritian Creole falls on the final syllable of the word, so if the constraint COINCIDE- $\sigma_{\text{stress}}$  were active, we would see truncation to a monosyllable at the right edge. This is obviously not the case, so COINCIDE- $\sigma_{\text{stress}}$  is ruled out. This leaves COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$ , which does account for the dominant pattern of hypocoristic formation in Mauritian Creole. In truncation to a monosyllable at the left edge, the material in the initial (prominent) syllable is preserved, while everything else is deleted. COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$  is violated when segments in a word appear outside of the initial syllable. Each segment which appears outside of the initial syllable constitutes one violation mark in the tableau (see below).

Since we are dealing here with correspondence between a base and its truncated form we also need to make use of the faithfulness constraint MAX-BT (Benua: 1995):

- (16) MAX-BT : every segment in the base has a correspondent segment in the truncation.

MAX-BT is a constraint which penalizes deletion from the truncated word. Every segment missing from the truncated word constitutes one violation mark. The tableau in (17) establishes a ranking for COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$  and MAX-BT:

(17)

Base: pre.mi.la	COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$	MAX-BT
☞ a) prem		***
b) pre		****!
c) pre.mi.la	*!***	

In the above tableau, three candidates are evaluated by our two constraints. Candidate a) is the winner, because it doesn't violate COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$ . It does violate MAX-BT, but since MAX-BT is ranked lower than COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$ , the violation is not fatal. Candidate b) doesn't violate COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$  either, but it has four violations of MAX-BT, one more than candidate a). This makes candidate b) worse than candidate a), so even though MAX-BT is lowly ranked, the extra violation mark becomes fatal. The candidate in c) violates COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$  four times, because four of its segments are not in the initial syllable (although even one violation mark would have been enough to disqualify it).

The tableau in (18) tests another name against the constraints discussed so far:

(18)

Base: ruksana	COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$	MAX-BT
☞ a. ruk		****!

☉ b. ruks		***
c. ruk.sa.na	*!***	

As in (17), candidate c) fatally violates COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$ , because four of its segments are not in the initial syllable. The problem that arises is with candidates a) and b). Based on what we know is the attested form, candidate a) should be optimal. But in this tableau, candidate b) shows up as the optimal form because it has fewer violations of MAX-BT.

This problem is easily solved with the addition of a new constraint. It is a phonological fact of Mauritian Creole that complex codas do not occur<sup>11</sup>, which means that there is a constraint active in the language that militates against complex codas. This constraint is called \*COMPLEXCODA and is formulated as follows:

- (19) \*COMPLEXCODA : no complex codas

The following tableau (20) shows the ranking of \*COMPLEXCODA in relation to MAX-BT and COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$ .

(20)

Base: ruk.sa.na	COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$	*COMPLEXCODA	MAX-BT
☉ a) ruk			****
b) ruks		*!	***
c) ruk.sa.na	*!***		

\*COMPLEXCODA is ranked above MAX-BT, which eliminates candidate b). Candidate a) is therefore the winner, despite its two violations of the lower ranked MAX-BT. \*COMPLEXCODA and COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$  are unranked in relation to each other, since neither can ever affect the other.

A summary ranking of the constraints responsible for the ‘truncation to a monosyllable at the left edge’ pattern of hypocoristic formation in Mauritian Creole is given in (21):

- (21) COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$ , \*COMPLEXCODA >> MAX-BT

At this point it is important to clear up one final question. Why does COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$  not affect regular words in the grammar? Why aren’t all Mauritian Creole words monosyllabic? This is due to the highly ranked status of MAX-IO. Take as an example full names in Mauritian Creole. Full names are in correspondence with an input as well as with a truncation (see (11)), and therefore they are subject to input-output correspondence. MAX-IO ranks above COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$ , ensuring that full names are not subject to truncation, but not affecting hypocoristics at all, since hypocoristics are not affected by input-output correspondence. The tableaux in (22) and (23) illustrate this point:

(22) Deriving Full Names

Input: ruk.sa.na	MAX-IO	COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$	*COMPLEXCODA	MAX-BT
☉ a) ruk.sa.na		*****		
b) ruk	*!***			

In the above tableau (22), only MAX-IO is important. Since MAX-IO can never be violated, all other constraints are irrelevant.

(23) Deriving Hypocoristics

Base: ruk.sa.na	MAX-IO	COINCIDE- $\sigma_1$	*COMPLEXCODA	MAX-BT
☉ a) ruk				****

<sup>11</sup> There are a few exceptions to this rule: eg. fiks ‘fixed’ and taks ‘tax’



b) ruk.sa.na		*!***		
--------------	--	-------	--	--

In the above tableau (20), MAX-IO plays no role at all, since truncations are only subject to BT-correspondence, not IO-correspondence.

## 5. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have given a description and analysis of Mauritian Creole hypocoristic formation. First, I have shown that there are five patterns present in Mauritian Creole hypocoristics (truncation to a monosyllable at the left edge, truncation to a monosyllable at the right edge, truncation to a disyllable at the left edge, truncation to a disyllable at the right edge, and reduplication), but that truncation to a monosyllable at the left edge is by far the most frequently occurring pattern. Then, I have shown that truncation to a monosyllable on the left edge is a feature of Mauritian Creole itself, not a borrowing from French, Bhojpuri or Arabic hypocoristics. Finally, I have given an analysis of the ‘truncation to a monosyllable at the left edge’ pattern of hypocoristic formation using ‘output-oriented prominence maximization’, a theory which claims that truncation is due to the vulnerable status of segmental material outside of prominent positions.

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#### Appendix 1- Truncation to a Monosyllable at the Left Edge

Hypo-coristic	Full Name	Origins	Gender	Source
/brin/	Brinda	Indian	F	B. Chengadu
/dev/	Devianne	Indian	F	B. Chengadu
/san/	Sandya	Indian	F	B. Chengadu
/ram/	Rama (Ramananda)	Indian	M	B. Chengadu
/dik/	Deekash	Indian	M	B. Chengadu
/krit/	Creeta (Creetananda)	Indian	?	B. Chengadu
/prem/	Premila	Indian	?	B. Chengadu
/ash/	Ashvin	Indian	M	B. Chengadu
/vis/	Vishwanee	Indian	?	B. Chengadu
/raj/	Rajesh	Indian	M	B. Chengadu
/raj/	Rajesh (Rajeshwaree)	Indian	F	B. Chengadu
/raj/	Rajen (Rajendra)	Indian	M	B. Chengadu
/raj/	Raja	Indian	M	B. Chengadu
/raj/	Raju	Indian	M	B. Chengadu
/rav/	Ravin	Indian	M	B. Chengadu
/nil/	Neela	Indian	F	B. Chengadu
/shil/	Sheela	Indian	F	B. Chengadu
/shal/	Shalini	Indian	F	B. Chengadu
/sharm/ [sha:m]	Sharmila	Indian	F	B. Chengadu
/shiv/	Shivananda	Indian	M?	B. Chengadu
/nan/	Nanda	Indian	M	B. Chengadu
/naz/	Nazima	Arabic	F	B. Chengadu
/naz/	Nazbee	?	F	B. Chengadu
/ruk/	Ruksana	Arabic	F	B. Chengadu
/nash/	Nashreen	Arabic	F	B. Chengadu
/yas/	Yasmine	Arabic	F	B. Chengadu
/gay/	Gaetan	French	M	R. Strandquist
/dom/	Dominique	French	M	R. Strandquist
/fi/	Fifi	French	F	R. Strandquist
/fi/	Fidou	?	?	B. Chengadu
/mat/	Maty	?	?	B. Chengadu
/bin/	Binella	?	F	B. Chengadu
/pam/	Pamela	French?	F	B. Chengadu
/val/	Valerie	French	F	B. Chengadu
/fil/	Philip	French	M	B. Chengadu
/clo/	Claudine	French	F	R. Strandquist
/jes/	Jessie	French?	F	R. Strandquist
/mad/	Madli	?	F	D. Virahsawmy (Profeser Madli)
/bal/	Balsaf	?	M	D. Virahsawmy (Profeser Madli)
/kord/ [ko:d]	Kordelia	French	F	D. Virahsawmy (Tabisman Lir)
/jay/	Jaysee	?	?	D. Virahsawmy (Tabisman Lir)
/kris/	Krishnadev	Indian	M	D. Virahsawmy (Linconnsing Finalay)

/kris/	Crisiraj	Indian	?	B. Chengadu
/des/	Desdemona	?	F	D. Virahsawmy (Presidan Otelo)
/tob/	Toby	English?	M	D. Virahsawmy (Sir Toby)
/kal/	Kalibann	?	?	D. Virahsawmy (Toufann)
/mak/	Makbef		M	D. Virahsawmy (Zeneral Makbef)
/kam/	Kamini	Indian	?	D. Virahsawmy (Jericho)
/bal/	Balram	Indian	M	D. Virahsawmy (Tantinn Timi)
/tim/	Timi	?	F	D. Virahsawmy (Tantinn Timi)
/dan/	Danila	?	F	B. Chengadu

#### Appendix 2- Truncation to a Monosyllable at the Right Edge

Hypo-coristic	Full Name	Origins	Gender	Source
/ti/	Pritty	Indian	F	B. Chengadu
/raj/	Deeraj	Indian	M	B. Chengadu
/vin/	Devind (exhibits cluster simplification)	Indian	M	B. Chengadu
/jo/	Mohenjo	Indian	M	D. Virahsawmy (Galileo Gonaz)
/ram/	Dharam Raj	Indian	M	D. Virahsawmy (Jericho)
/das/	Davidas	?	M	D. Virahsawmy (Souiv Larout Ziska...)

#### Appendix 3- Truncation to a Disyllable on the Left Edge

Hypo-coristic	Full Name	Origins	Gender	Source
/ja.ya/	Jayantee (Jayanteemala)	Indian	F	B. Chengadu
/be.a/	Beatrice	French	F	B. Chengadu
/ro.sy/	Rosy-Ann	French	F	B. Chengadu
/kri.si/	Crisiraj	Indian ?	?	B. Chengadu
/re.be/	Rebecca	French	F	R. Strandquist
/an.gel/	Angela	French	F	R. Strandquist
/au.rel/	Aurelie	French	F	R. Strandquist
/a.mo/	Amaury	French	M	R. Strandquist
/da.ni/	Danielle	French	F	R. Strandquist
/kle.o/	Kleopatra	?	F	D. Virahsawmy (Dernie Vol)
/or.fi/	Orfilia	?	F	D. Virahsawmy (Dr. Hamlet)
[o:.fi]				
/ra.wa/	Rawana	Indian	F	D. Virahsawmy (Li)
/krish.na/	Krishnadev	Indian	M	D. Virahsawmy (Linconnsing Finalay)
/bel.za/	Belzaminn	?	M?	D. Virahsawmy (Dr. Nipat)
/lin.fo/	Linforom	?	?	D. Virahsawmy (Dr. Nipat)
/ra.di/	Radika	?	?	D. Virahsawmy (Souiv Larout Ziska...)
/da.vid/	Davidas	?	M	D. Virahsawmy (Souiv Larout Ziska...)

#### Appendix 4- Truncation to a Disyllable on the Right Edge

Hypo-coristic	Full Name	Origins	Gender	Source
/ni.ta/	Anita	French	F	B. Chengadu
/ni.ka/	Veronika	English	F	B. Chengadu
/man.da/	Amanda	French	F	B. Chengadu

/ti.an/	Christianne	French	F	R. Strandquist
/ro.nik/	Veronique	French	F	R. Strandquist
/pat.ra/	Kleopatra	?	F	D. Virahsawmy (Dernie Vol)
/ju.na/	Arjouna	Indian	F	D. Virahsawmy (Li)

#### Appendix 5-Reduplication

Hypo-coristic	Full Name	Origins	Gender	Source
/pe.pe/	Pedan	?	M	D. Virahsawmy (Galileo Gonaz)
/be.bel/	Belzaminn	?	M	D. Virahsawmy (Galileo Gonaz)
/∞v.∞v/	Jean-Philippe	French	M	R. Strandquist
/zan.zan/	Zann (Jeanne)	French	F	D. Virahsawmy (Mamzel Zann)
/kle.kle/	Kleopatra	?	F	D. Virahsawmy (Dernie Vol)
/von.von/	Yvon	French	F	D. Virahsawmy (Souiv la Route Ziska...)