Nicknames and Women Professional Baseball Players

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Abstract

Although women in the general population tend to have fewer nicknames than men, women baseball players in the All-American Girls Baseball League, 1943–1954, were as likely as male baseball players to have public nicknames. This high percentage may be the result of women baseball players taking on the role of nicknamer, since the group in power is more likely to bestow public nicknames and more likely to bestow them on members of their own group. Public nicknames may be a reflection of the power differential between men and women in a given environment.

Although it is generally recognized that nicknames are an important cultural element in American society, systematic research has been sparse, and almost none of it focuses on women. In sports, nicknaming has probably been more prevalent than in other areas of American life (Blount). Professional baseball provides a rich source of data to study the use of nicknames in American society. Professional baseball is usually thought of as a man's activity, but in the 1940s women played in a professional league. As with men, nicknames were commonly used, and it is the objective of this report to investigate the extent of nickname use and the types of nicknames these women ball players had. The goal is to better understand the use of women's nicknames in American society.

Women's Professional Baseball

In 1943, Philip K. Wrigley, owner of the Chicago Cubs, created the All-American Girls Baseball League. First, because of the World War II manpower shortage and the possibility that major league baseball would be canceled, Wrigley started women's softball. He saw women ball players serving as inspirational examples to other women who had entered the labor force. The players were to symbolize America's homefront heroes (Shlain).

Although the league began as the National Girls Softball League, after 1948 it became a baseball league and the name was changed to the All-American Girls Baseball League. The League played by major league baseball rules. The transition from softball to baseball occurred with the conversion of underhand pitching to sidearm pitching in 1946 and to overhand pitching in 1948. By 1954, the only difference between major league baseball and the women's baseball league was a five-foot difference in base-path distance. Women's baseball mirrored the evolution of men's baseball as we know it (Fidler).

During the League's eleven-year history, fourteen midwestern cities served as hosts to teams. Women from all over the United States and Canada played a 125 game season from mid-May to early September. By 1948, the league drew over one million fans. Players' salaries ranged from \$55 to \$150 a week. This was often better than the salaries paid in the men's minor leagues. Former minor and major league players served as team managers.

To make women's participation in baseball acceptable, spring training also included training at Helena Rubenstein's Charm School. Wrigley's marketing strategy was to have the women project ultrafeminine characteristics along with their ability to play ball. To create a feminine look, the players wore short-skirted uniforms with satin shorts designed by Wrigley's wife. Each team had a female chaperon who was responsible for the conduct, care, and appearance of the team's ball players. A chaperon often served as a counselor, surrogate parent, disciplinarian, friend, and trainer to the team's players (Roepke).

In 1954, the League folded and its memory faded just about as quickly as it had been conceived. The war was over and a woman's place again was back in the home. It was some thirty years later before these women received public recognition as professional baseball players. In 1988, the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown acknowledged women professional baseball players with a permanent display of the names of the players in the All-American Girls Baseball League (Fincher).

Female Nickname Research

While research suggests that giving nicknames is one way people express their inherent sense of the significance of names (Smith) and that nicknames may influence behavior (Harré), empirical evidence to support such speculations is limited. The existing studies suggest the fol-

lowing: The use of public nicknames has declined over time (Grosshandler; Skipper, "Public Nicknames"). The use of nicknames is more frequent in primary groups than in secondary groups (Smith; Harré; Skipper, "Nicknames, Coal Miners and Group Solidarity"). Nicknames are more common among children and teenagers than among adults (Smith; Lawson; Van Buren; Busse). Nicknames are more common among men than among women (Smith; Van Buren; Skipper and Leslie, "Women, Nicknames, and Blues Singers"). Since nicknames are not commonly recorded on official documents, individuals' nicknames usually do not survive unless they do something to gain fame (Skipper, "Public Nicknames").

In a study of American Blues singers' nicknames, James K. Skipper, Jr., and Paul L. Leslie argue that the lack of resources containing public nicknames of women limits research on women's nicknames. They suggest that we lack information about women's public nicknames because fewer women are in occupations where there is documentation of nicknames. In a list of 571 Blues singers, there were 464 males and 105 females. They found that only 28 (29%) of the women had public nicknames while 67 percent of the men had public nicknames. Research using historical data² has provided a rich source of public nicknames for men but produced few and sometimes no nicknames for women. Since a high percentage of male professional baseball players have nicknames, we hypothesize that the same will be true of female professional baseball players.

Methodology

Following Elsdon Smith, we define, for this study, a nickname as a name not derived from or a diminutive of a person's given name, but one that is added to, substituted for, or used alternatively with a person's given names. For example, *Pat* used instead of *Patricia* or *Jonesy* used instead of *Jones* would not qualify as a nickname. The former is a diminutive and the latter is a derivative. *Sis*, *Kitty*, and *Tiny* are examples of female nicknames that fit Smith's definition.

Skipper, in a 1989 article, defined "public nicknames" as those that are known and used by the public and have been documented and recorded. Nicknames that qualify as public nicknames in this study are those that were known to the public during a player's athletic career. Public nicknames included those used by the fans, players, and others

who followed the sport, and those recorded or documented during the women's professional careers.

To obtain a list of the women who had nicknames during their playing careers, we contacted the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Players' Association, which was formed in 1986. Of the 558 women who played in the League, 42 had died. Of the 516 remaining, 298 were members of this organization. As of September 1989, the Association had been unable to locate 218 of the former players. To ensure cooperation from the Association members, we obtained permission from the organization's Board to send a mail-back questionnaire to the members. A copy of the permission letter was attached to the questionnaire.

In May 1989, we sent the questionnaire to the 298 members, and 175 responded. A follow-up questionnaire garnered 25 more returns. Phone contacts provided an additional 21. Thus, data were available for 221 or 74 percent of the 298 association members.

On the questionnaire, each player listed her nickname and its meaning. Each respondent described how she received her nickname and whether the nickname was used during her professional career. From various publications about the League and the Association's newsletters, we found nicknames for six of the 42 deceased players.

After establishing a list of public nicknames, the next step was to develop a classification scheme. Two generic categories were chosen based on whether the origin of the nickname related to the skills of playing baseball or to something else. From the origin and meaning of the nicknames, we derived subcategories. Within each subcategory, the nicknames were divided according to whether the name related to the woman's participation in the League or not. If there were more than one nickname, the one most commonly used was classified. When the nickname included more than one term, it was the term that was the most important referent that dictated the category.

Results

From the questionnaires, various publications written about the League, and the Association's newsletters, we discovered 121 public nicknames from the 298 players who were members of the Association and the 42 deceased players. Thus 35.6 percent of these women had nicknames. This percentage was about the same as the estimated 35

percent found by Skipper ("Public Nicknames") among major league baseball players during the 1940s.

Classification of Women Baseball Players' Public Nicknames

Of the 121 public nicknames, 109 nicknames were classified. The origin and meaning of 12 nicknames were unavailable. These nicknames were placed in a separate category called **Origin Unknown** (see Appendix for a listing of nicknames and their respective categories). Of the 109 classified nicknames, 14 referred to the skills of playing baseball and 95 did not. Nicknames were also classified as to whether or not the nickname was a result of a player's participation in the league.

Table 1 shows the breakdown by subcategory of the 14 women ballplayers whose nicknames related to the skill of playing baseball. This subtotal represents 11.6 percent of the public nicknames. All the nicknames in this category resulted from league participation except two. Based on their origin and meaning, these nicknames were placed into five subcategories. Since the nicknames for each subcategory are listed in the Appendix, only illustrations of each subcategory will be reviewed. The first subcategory, labeled **Pitching Ability**, had five nicknames. For example, the nickname *Skip* compared Charlotte Armstrong's skills as a pitcher to the skills of a ship's skipper because it was her pitching strengths that led the team.

The second subcategory, Running and Speed Ability, had three nicknames. For instance, Lillian Jackson earned her nickname Birddog because her outfield coverage resembled the speed of a bird dog chasing birds. Speedy Edie and Flash referred to the players' skill of stealing and running bases. A third subcategory called Batting Ability had two nicknames. For example, Eleanor Dapkus's nickname, Slugger, was a reference to her setting the League's batting record in her first year of play in 1943.

A fourth subcategory, Overall Performance, consisted of two nicknames. Shirley Burkovich's performance on the field during a game earned her the nickname Hustle. Lucille Colacito was tagged Lulu when Denver Post sportswriter Jack Canberry called her a "lulu of a ball player." The last subcategory, Names of Degradation, were nicknames that reflected a player's lack of skill. This subcategory consisted of two nicknames: Duckie and Rookie. Cartha Doyle was called Ducksoup when

Table 1. Distribution of Women Baseball Players' Nicknames.

				League P	articipatio	
Related to Skill of Playing		Related		Not Related		
Subcategory	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Pitching Ability	5	4.0%	4	3.7%	1	0.9%
Running/Speed Ability	3	2.5	3	2.8	0	0.0
Batting Ability	2	1.7	2	1.8	0	0.0
Overall Performance	2	1.7	2	1.8	0	0.0
Names of Degradation	_2_	1.7	1	0.9	1	0.9
Sub-Total	14	11.6%	12	11.0%	2	1.8%
				League P	articipatio	
Related to Skill of Playing			Re	lated	No Rela	
Subcategory	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Physical Features	24	19.8%	16	14.8%	8	7.3%
Personality/Behavior	18	14.9	8	7.3	10	9.2
Critical Incident	17	14.1	12	11.0	5	4.6
Another Person's Name	12	9.9	6	5.5	6	5.5
Childhood Nicknames	11	9.0	0	0.0	11	10.1
Place Nicknames	6	5.0	6	5.5	0	0.0
Ethnic Group	5	4.1	5	4.6	0	0.0
Amphigoric	2	1.7	_2_	1.8	_0_	0.0
Sub-Total	95	78.5%	55	50.5%	40	36.7%
Origin Unknown	12	9.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Total	121	100.0%	69	61.5%	42	38.59

she first started to play softball because she was an easy out at the plate. *Ducksoup* was later shortened to *Duckie*. The nickname *Rookie* resulted from Theresa Rukavina joining the League in 1950, when most women were seasoned ballplayers.

Table 1 also shows the breakdown by subcategory of the 95 nicknames not related to the skill of playing baseball. This subtotal represents 78.5 percent of the public nicknames. The nicknames not related to skill have been divided into eight subcategories. Within the subcategories not related to skill, 55 nicknames were related to league participation, and 40 nicknames were not.

The first subcategory, **Physical Features**, is the largest and includes 24 nicknames, or 19.8 percent of the total public nicknames. Within this subcategory, 16 players' nicknames related to league participation and eight did not. The nicknames consisted of five types: left-handed players, hair color and style, body size, age, and facial feature. The most common nickname was *Lefty*. There were six left-handed players with the nickname *Lefty* and one with the nickname *Hook*. The most prevalent nickname type in this subcategory was based on hair color or style. There were seven nicknames that dealt with hair. For instance, having red hair accounted for terms such as *Red*, *Big Red*, and *Pepper*, while the nickname *Pigtails* denoted hair style. Of the six nicknames concerned with body size, all suggested small body size. For example, *Jeep* referred to Nancy Stoll's being only five feet tall. Helen Westerman was known as *Pee Wee* because of her petite stature.

Three nicknames related to a player's age. For instance, Margaret Russo became known as *Rookie* because she was the youngest player on her team. *Dolly* was a reference to Dolores Brumfield being only 14 when she joined the League. One nickname reflected facial features. Wearing eyeglasses resulted in Patricia Brown's nickname *Specs*.

The second subcategory, Personality and Behavior, had 18 nicknames or 14.9 percent of the total. There were eight players whose nicknames related to league participation and ten that did not. Fifteen nicknames dealt with behavior characteristics while only three dealt with personality characteristics. All three of the personality nicknames were received before the players joined the League. For example, Helen Waddell, called *Chippie*, received her nickname because of her lightheartedness. Two of the players had the nickname *Ginger* because they had spirited personalities.

Behavior-type nicknames varied. There were six nicknames not related to league participation. For instance, Sarah Sands' nickname Salty came from her habit of dressing in nonseasonal clothing that resembled the clothes of a man called Old Salty Hazard, who lived in her hometown. The term Wimpy came from Mary Baumgartner's love of hamburgers. The name was a reference to the cartoon character Wimpy who ate hamburgers. Francis Vukovich was known as Bebop because she loved jazz music. Nine nicknames depicted behavior that was related to league participation. For example, June Peppas was called Wiggles because she had a habit of wiggling

to adjust her belt when she was up to bat. The nicknames Gabby, Windy, and Squeaky referred to field chatter during the games. Two terms reflected behavior characteristics based on the position the players played. Dustie was a reference to Eunice Taylor playing catcher and getting dirty. Grasshopper described Jean Havlish's stance at short stop. Jenny Romatowski was tagged Romey by a hometown friend, because she traveled with the League. Jean Lovell was called Grumpy because she took her team's performance seriously. Although Faye Dancer received the nickname Tiger before she played in the League, the nickname was indicative of her enthusiastic performances to make games exciting for the fans. She was known to pull such capers as turning cartwheels on her way to and from center field.

The third subcategory, Critical Incident, had 17 nicknames representing 14 percent of the total public nicknames. This subcategory consisted of nicknames that originated from a particularly salient life event. Out of these 17 nicknames, only five were not related to league participation. For example, Helen Risinger earned the nickname Beans because as a child she once cried to eat pork and beans for breakfast.

There were 12 critical incident nicknames acquired because of league participation. Since these nicknames have such varied meanings, several examples have been included. For instance, June Emerson received the nickname Venus when she lost sight of the ball and it hit her on the head, bounced off, and was caught by the second baseman who turned it into a double play. Because Emerson's contribution to the play was by her head and not her arms, she became Venus, after the famous armless Greek statue, Venus de Milo. Marguerite Berger received the nickname Sonny after the following mistake appeared in a sports article: "M. Berger, pitcher, was supported by his teammate, Tommy Moore." Phyllis Koehn received the nickname Sugar, when a sports announcer called her Sugar Cane because her last name is pronounced cane. Margaret Callaghan was tagged Calhoun during a game when the fans called her Calhoun instead of Callaghan. Dora Shero was known as Baser after she referred to herself as a baser when asked what position she played. Elizabeth Trezza, tagged Moe by her teammates, was known to call other players *Moe* when she was unable to remember a player's name.

A fourth subcategory, Another Person's Name, has 12 nicknames and represents 9.9 percent of the total public nicknames. This subcategory includes nicknames that are based on another baseball player's name. Six nicknames resulted from league participation and six did not. Major league

players' names, semi-professional players' names, and teammates' names contributed to three types within this subcategory. Four nicknames came from other major league players' names. For example, Rita Meyer's nickname, *Slats*, was a reference to Marty "Slats" Marion, who played shortstop for the St. Louis Cardinals. Magdalen Redman was called *Minnie* after "Minnie" Minoso of the Chicago White Sox.

Nicknames based on semi-professional baseball players were Champ, Shorty, and Babe. For instance, Babe came from the female athlete "Babe" Detrickson Zaharias who played baseball but was better known for playing golf and track and field. Champ and Shorty came from the players' fathers who played semi-professional baseball. Names derived from other teammates consisted of the addition of Little or Big to another teammate's name or nickname. These nicknames usually served as a method for distinguishing players who had similar names. For example, Marie Zeigler was called Little Zig after Alma "Gabby" Ziegler, whose last name, though spelled differently, was pronounced the same.

Childhood Nicknames make up the fifth subcategory with 11 nicknames and represent 9 percent of the total. These nicknames obtained in childhood continued into adulthood without further attachments and have become public nicknames. The origins of nine nicknames came from within the family. For instance, Tiby served as a substitute middle name for Thelma Eisen because as a Jewish child she did not have a middle name. Only two women received their nicknames from school. Irene Kotowicz acquired the term Ike as a replacement for Irene when she was in grammar school. One type of childhood nickname came from male names. For example, Lois Barker's nickname Tommie was derived from the her family nickname Thomas Henry, which had been used because her family expected her to be a boy. Another type of childhood nickname came from younger siblings who were unable to pronounce the given name. Lee became a substitute for Juanita because Juanita Dokish's vounger sister was unable to pronounce Juanita. The nicknames E and I are indicative of a younger sibling trying to distinguish between the first names of Elaine and Eilaine Roth.

Place Nicknames with six nicknames, and Ethnic Group with five, are two more subcategories, representing 5 percent and 4 percent of the total respectively. All these nicknames related to league participation. Place nicknames usually depicted the town, city, or region of the country in which the player lived. For example, Ruby Heafner was called Rebel

because of her North Carolina roots, and *Choo Choo* was a reference to Irene Hickson's hometown of Chattanooga, Tennessee. Dorothy Maguire, called *Mickey*, and Mary Flaherty, called *Irish*, had nicknames indicative of their Irish ethnic background.

The last subcategory, Amphigoric, consists of two nicknames. Nicknames in this subcategory had no significant origin or meaning. Both the nicknames were acquired because of league participation. The nickname Lee, given to Elsie Harney by her teammates, was easier to pronounce than Elsie. Elizabeth Berthiaume, called Bo Bo by her fans, had no significant meaning.

Discussion

The data show that females who played professional baseball do have public nicknames. The percentage of women with nicknames is roughly equal to the percentage of male baseball players with nicknames during the same period of time.

The nicknames were classifed into several categories, including baseball skill, physical features, personality and behavior characteristics, childhood nicknames, other person's names, and critical incidents. The categories are not definitive or mutually exclusive. They do, however, suggest one way of examining patterns in the nicknames not only of women baseball players, but also in the nicknames of women in everyday life.

The most striking feature of the data is that women generally did not receive their nicknames because of their baseball skills. However, when the nicknames not related to skill are divided by whether players received their nicknames because of league participation, it appears that most of the women's nicknames resulted from their association with professional baseball. These women would not have had their nicknames otherwise. Under the Not Related to Skill category, only the subcategories Childhood Nicknames and Personality and Behavior have more nicknames that are not related to league participation. The case may be different for male baseball players. Skipper ("Public Nicknames") estimates that as many as one-third of major league baseball players would have had the same nicknames whether they played baseball or not. This evidence reinforces the research that suggests that males are more likely than females to acquire nicknames in American society.

Although there appear to be differences in how men and women received their nicknames, research is needed to see if women and men

receive the same kinds of nicknames. From the data on women ball players, it does not appear that geographic location or ethnic group is as important a factor in receiving a nickname as it is for men. We suggest that nationality and place of origin may be less a part of a woman's personal identity. Traditionally, women have been more identified with their family of origin or with their husband. Having a nickname that gives an attachment to groups outside the realm of family is probably less likely for women than for men. Even the women's nicknames in the subcategory Another Person's Name had five out of twelve nicknames that came from another family member. However, it may be that the low number of place nicknames and ethnic group nicknames is because the League only traveled in the midwest and most of the players were recruited from the area. Thus there was less geographic and ethnic group diversity than with male professional baseball players.

About one-fifth of the nicknames fall into the category of physical features. The most common nickname is Lefty. This is also true for male baseball players (Skipper, "Baseball Nicknames"). Examination suggests that a nickname such as Lefty or Red that calls attention to a physical feature that deviates from the expected norm, is likely to draw a nickname. Because of the social pressures in the League to recruit women who performed like men but looked like ladies, women were expected to wear their hair shoulder length and neatly styled. Therefore, a nickname such as Little Miss Pigtails was a reference to being different, but the nickname was not a negative reference. None of the nicknames relating to physical features had a negative connotation. Negative gender-related nicknames are, however, found among male baseball players (Skipper, "Feminine Nicknames").

The next two most frequent sets of nicknames are personality and behavior and critical incident nicknames. These nicknames were more heterogeneous than those denoting physical characteristics. Without knowing the individual origins of these nicknames, it would be difficult to ascertain if the nicknames belong in these categories. Skipper and Leslie suggest that it "may be easier to determine what a person looks like and obtain a high degree of inter-subjective agreement, than a person's personality quirks and behavioral patterns" ("Blues Singers. Part II" 37).

Although personality and behavior and critical incident nicknames were of a heterogeneous nature, it becomes clear upon examination that most of these nicknames resulted from intergroup interaction. It may be

that these two types of nicknames are most important for maintaining group solidarity. Acknowledging a personal incident or a personality and behavioral quirk through a nickname is one way of letting a person know that she is accepted by the group.

Because many of the nicknames appear to be the result of group interaction, it may be that the high percentage of women baseball players' public nicknames is a result of women giving other women nicknames. Other research (Skipper and Leslie, "Women, Nicknames, and Blues Singers") suggests that men are the prime nicknamers, not women. The high number of nicknames found among women baseball players may be a reflection of women taking on the role of nicknamer. The process of nicknaming for women may stem from the power differential between men and women in any given environment. We suggest that the group in power is more likely to bestow nicknames which become public, and more likely to bestow them on members of their own group. In general society, traditionally, men have had more power than women; they became the prime nicknamers and tended to nickname men rather than women. We suggest, however, that in situations where the reverse occurs, that is, where women are accorded equal or more power than men, women will become the nicknamers, and will be just as likely as men to nickname each other.

This appears to be the case with the All-American Girls Baseball League. It was made up almost entirely of women. The few men associated with the League had little control over the women in interactional situations, other than the actual games themselves. Although there were male managers, their control was restricted to matters pertaining to the playing of the game. Thus the women had more power to control themselves in such an environment than most women of the time who were not playing in the league. In such a case they became the prime nicknamers and as the data show ended up with about the same percentage of public nicknames as male baseball players.

It appears that the exclusion of women from the world outside the home, and especially from traditionally male occupations, may be a prime factor in why women generally have fewer public nicknames. This exclusion may have resulted in few women taking on the role of nicknamer. It is our hypothesis that the power differential between men and women within a given environment will affect the percentage of each receiving public nicknames.

If our assessment is valid, then several things can be expected. First,

those with the greatest power in a group will be the most likely to bestow public nicknames. Second, the number of nicknames bestowed on women will depend on their power in relation to men in a particular situation. One way to test this hypothesis is to compare populations that contain women's nicknames to see if there is a relationship between the power of women in the population and the percentage of women with public nicknames. Such an analysis will be the subject of a future paper. In the past there have been few populations on which the hypothesis could be tested. That is one reason why the data from the All-American Girls Baseball League are so valuable. In the future, however, as the number of women in occupations which are likely to attract public nicknames increases, and more importantly so does their power in relation to men, populations will be created where the hypothesis may be put to further test.

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Notes

- 1. Skipper, "Feminine Nicknames," "Baseball Babes" "Sociological Significance," "Placenames."
- 2. Skipper, "Nicknames, Folk Heroes and Assimilation," "Nicknames of Notorious," "Nicknames, Folk Heroes and Jazz Musicians," "Public Nicknames"; Skipper and Leslie, "Nicknames and Blues Singers."

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Women Professional Baseball Players 319

Appendix

Public Nicknames and Categories

I. Skill at Play

A. Pitching Ability

Name
Charlotte Armstrong
Kathleen Florreich
Bethany Goldsmith
Lenora Mandella
Constance Wisniewski

Nickname
Skip
Flash
Torchy
Ironchy
Lenora Mandella
Smokey
Ironwoman

B. Running and Speed Ability

Name
Lillian Jackson
Edithe Perlick
Rossey Weeks

Nickname
Birddog
Speedy Edie
Flash

C. Batting Ability

Name Nickname
Eleanor Dapkus Slugger
Betty Weaver Metropolis Mauler

D. Overall Performance

Name Nickname
Shirley Burkovich Hustle
Lucille Colacito Lulu

E. Names of Degradation

Name Nickname
Cartha Doyle Duckie
Theresa Rukavina Rookie

II. Not Related to the Skill of Playing

A. Physical Features

Name Nickname Amy Applegreen Lefty

Patricia Brown Specs **Dolores Brumfield** Dolly Jeneane Descombes Lefty Peggy Fenton Lefty Lefty Alice Hohlmayer Janet Betty Jacobs Peanuts Frances Janssen Big Red Short Stuff Adeline Kerrar Audrey Kissel **Pigtails** Lefty Dolores Klosowski **Emily Mahoney** Red Helen Nelson Little One Mary Nesbitt Lefty Lavonne Paire Pepper Ernestine Petras **Teeny Pigtails** Margaret Russo Rookie Dorothy Schroeder Jeep **Beverly Stuhr** Shorty Inez Voyce Hook Marie Wegman Blackie Helen Westerman Pee Wee Pee Wee Janet Wiley

B. Personality and Behavior

Name Nickname Evelvn Adams Tommie Mary Baumgartner Wimpy Virginia Bell Ginger Catherine Blumetta Swish Fave Dancer Tiger Eileen Gascon Ginger Jean Geissinger Squeaky Jean Havlish Grasshopper Jean Lovell Grumpy Lucella MacLean Frenchy June Peppas Wiggles Mary Reynolds Windy Jenny Romatowski Romey Sarah Sands Salty Dustie **Eunice Taylor** Francis Vukovich Bebop Helen Waddell Chippie Alma Ziegler Gabby

Women Professional Baseball Players 321

C. Critical Incident

Name	Nickname
Marguerite Berger	Sonny
Margaret Callaghan	Calhoun
Betty Cornett	Curly
Pauline Crawley	Hedy
June Emerson	Venus
Helen Irene Kerwin	Pepper
Phyllis Koehn	Sugar
Arlene Kotil	Riley
Noella Leduc	Pinky
Helene Machado	Chow
Marilyn Olinger	Corky
Helen Risinger	Beans
Dora Shero	Baser
Helen Smith	Gig
Joyce Steele	Lucky
Ellen Tronnier	Hornet
Elizabeth Trezza	Moe

D. Another Person's Name

Name	Nickname	
Edith Barney	Little Red	
Doris Cook	Big Cookie	
Donna Cook	Little Cookie	
Rita Meyer	Slats	

Dolores Jean Moore
Dolores Mueller
Champ
Charlene Pryer
Magdalen Redman
Irene Ruhnke
Twila Shively

Babe
Champ
Shorty
Minnie
Little Runk
Twi Twi Cuyler

Nancy Warren Hank Marie Zeigler Little Zig

E. Childhood Nicknames

Name	Nickname
Lena Arnold	Sis
Lois Barker	Tommie
Juanita Dokish	Lee
Thelma Eisen	Tiby
Dorothy Harrell	Snookie
Irene Kotowicz	Ike
Rhoda Ann Leonard	Nicky

Naomi Meier	Sally
Elaine Roth	E
Eilaine Roth	I
Lorraine Wuethrich	Lolly

F. Place Nicknames

Name	Nickname
Ruby Heafner	Rebel
Irene Hickson	Choo Choo
Joyce Hill	Farmer
Ruth Lessing	Tex
Marie Mansfield	Boston
Joyce Ricketts	Rick the Hick

G. Ethnic Group

Name	Nickname	
Ysora Castillo	Chico	
Mary Flaherty	Irish	
Dorothy Maguire	Mickey	
Janice O'Hara	Jerry	
Helen Walulik	Hensky	

H. Amphigoric

Name	Nickname
Elsie Harney	Lee
Elizabeth Berthiaume	Bo Bo

III. Origin Unknown

Name	Nickname
Mary Baker	Bonnie
Doris Barr	Dodie
Gladys Davis	Terrie
Alice Decambra	Big Al
Alva Jo Fisher	Tex
Ann Harnett	Tootie
Jacquelin Kelly	Scrounger
Dolores Lee	Pickles
Dorothy Mueller	Sporty
Doris Satterfield	Sadie
Betty Wanless	Duke
Senaida Wirth	Shoo Shoo