

Personal Names: 100 Years of Social Science Contributions*

Dedicated to Ross Stagner

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The purpose of this review is to show some of the contributions of the social sciences to onomastics. This review will be divided into several sections: Introduction and Basic Name Terms; Background History; Further Types of Name; Structure; Style; Address; and Usage; Change of Name; Destiny and Name; Recent Theoretical Views; Recent Applied Research: Anthropology/Sociology; Recent Applied Research: Psychology; Recent Applied Research: Psychiatry/Psychoanalysis; Newer Research Approaches; and Conclusions.

The rationale for inclusion of material was that it (1) was possible to locate, (2) met the criterion of being a contribution of the social sciences (in a broad sense) to names, and (3) would be of potential interest to the scholar. Regretfully, some excellent items that have already appeared in this journal were excluded because of space limitations.

One only has to work on a bibliography of names for a short time before realizing that while there is a wealth of material, many items cannot be easily located, many are not in English, and many are not found through the usual retrieval tools such as *Psychological Abstracts*, *Sociological Abstracts* or ERIC. One result is that many scholars are not aware of just how much work has been done. This report represents a systematic effort to bring together work done in the social sciences on a variety of topics related to names.

In thinking about work on names, one usually turns to the fields of literature, languages, or, perhaps, linguistics. To a large extent this is justified, but it is also true that other disciplines have made significant contributions as well, contributions that may, in some cases, have been overlooked.

Before going further, it might be wise to define some of the name terms used in this review and in the items cited. In this review the term *name* will be taken to refer to first name unless otherwise specified.

Personal name. Some authors use this as a general term to include first name and surname and, probably, middle name as well. Others reserve the term only for the first name.

First Name. The example would be *John* as in John Q. Public. But first names are also referred to, depending on the writer, as forenames, given names, Christian names, and baptismal names.

Middle Name. As John *Quincy* Public. Sometimes called second name.

Surname. As John Q. *Public*. The surname is also referred to as last name, patronym, and family name.

Nickname. As calling John Q. Public *Red* or *Torchy* because of his red hair. Also referred to as an eke-name or sobriquet. Unfortunately, the term *nickname* is not standardized and readers will find that some writers use the term loosely to refer to other forms such as Bobby, which really is the affectionate form, or Bob, which is the hypocoristic form.

Affectionate, familiar, adolescent names. The example of this would be *Johnny* Q. Public. Some writers call this the affectionate form while others call this familiar or adolescent. The affectionate form tends to be used more in the family; more for girls than for boys; and, of course, for some of our politicians.

Hypocoristic Name. Also referred to as a short name or an abbreviated name. Examples would be Bill, Jim, Ed, Dot, Meg, Marge.

Unique Name. Obviously, a unique name is one that is different from the rest. A boy with a name like Shirley or Marion (as has sometimes happened in the Midwest) has an unusual name, but so are names such as Zachariah, Lothar, or Preston. A unique name has also been called *unusual, peculiar, singular, low frequency, or uncommon*. A rule of thumb might be a name that occurs less than one time out of 500.

Eponym. This form refers to a place named after a person as, Lincoln, Nebraska after Abraham Lincoln or Washington, D.C. after George Washington.

Isonym. Individuals sharing the same last name have an isonym. Thus, if Sally Brown marries Bill Brown, this is an isonymic marriage, i.e. one between two individuals having the same surname.

Teknonym. This form is found widely in the Moslem world and also in some other cultures. A parent derives his/her name from a child. A man might be known as Abou Daud (father of David) or a woman as Um Daud (mother of David).

For this review the social sciences have been taken to include: anthropology, education, geography, psychiatry, psychoanalysis, psychology, and sociology. The reader who wishes a good social science introduction should consult Holt (1939) for excellent coverage until that date. There

are also two bibliographies that have name references in the social sciences: Smith (1952) and Sadowski and Wheeler (1980).

BACKGROUND HISTORY

In presenting the background history of names in the social sciences, it seems best to look at two major periods: until the end of World War II, and since War II. Three major influences appear to dominate the early work on names: psychoanalysis/psychiatry, anthropology, and psychology.

Psychoanalysis/Psychiatry

The first mention of names by a psychiatrist may have been just about a hundred years ago with that of Kraepelin (1883?/1903)¹ which includes a reference to a patient with a naming compulsion (The exact date of the first edition of this book by Kraepelin is not known). It is clear that Freud did have a number of references to names. *Early Psychoanalytic Associations* (1893–1899/1962) describes repression and memory of names as does *Letters to Fliess* (1887–1920/1954). *The Interpretation of dreams* (1900/1953) has references including one (p. 207; also, 1937, 267-268) where Freud mentions that his own name (*Freud* in German means *joy*) had made him the object of ridicule. *The psychology of everyday life* (1901/1960) has discussions of repression and forgetting of names, slips of the tongue, and displacement of names. *Totem and taboo* (1913-1914/1955) has references to the prohibitions in some cultures about pronouncing a name. *Moses and monotheism* (1937-1939/1964) traces the origin of the name of Moses to non-Hebrew sources.

Besides the views of Freud on repression, forgetting, and distortion of names, others representing the new psychoanalytic trend were also active. Several wrote about the effect of the name on the destiny of the individual. Among these were Abraham (1911) who reported a homosexual with a feminine first name; Stekel (1911) who found some correlation between a man's occupation and his name; Jones (1913/1938) who described a number of his patients with problems dealing with names; Silberer (1913, p. 460) who wrote "A man's name is like a shadow . . . it follows him all his life."; and Oberndorf (1918) who also described patients with name problems and who had anglicized or changed them. Stekel in *Compulsion and doubt* (1927/1949) recounted the symptoms of four patients whose names bore some relationship to their symptoms along the line of destiny and name. Ingeborg Flugel (1930) also discussed the general effect of name on personality.

Continuing the psychoanalytic trend, the translation of an ancient Greek inscription by Nunn (1929) shows that the original writer had a compulsion about falling in love with women named Demo. J. C. Flugel's brief discussion (1939) also mentions fixations of modern men falling in love with different women with the same first name, Schiller loving Charlottes; Shelley, Harriets.

Anthropology

The next discipline to make a contribution appears to be anthropology. Connolly (1896) described a primitive tribe, the Fanti, in what is now Ghana. He observed that each person had two names, one from the day of the week of birth, and another from some personal characteristic, or that of the mother, father, or member of the family. A few years later, Voth (1905), working in the American Southwest with the Hopi Indians, compiled a dictionary of the names that various clans gave their members.

There seems to be a gap of almost 20 years before further work was reported. Then, Radcliffe-Brown (1922) reported on the Andaman Islanders who live between Burma and Sumatra. There, children were named before birth; a girl took a flower name at puberty; at the birth of her own child, she reverted to her original name. Puberty names for boys, also, were not permanent. Rivers (1922, p. 347) describing Melanesian societies, found that on the island of Tikopia that couples at marriage renounced their former names for a new common name.

Lévy-Bruhl, the French anthropologist, also described aspects of the naming process. In *How natives think* (1910/1982, p. 51) he noticed that primitives perceive the name as something concrete and real and frequently sacred. He found among the Papuans (1922/1966-a) the belief that a criminal could be detected by pronouncing his name. In *the 'soul' of the primitive* (1927/1966-b), he described the Eskimo custom of naming a child after a deceased person so that the spirit of that person would live on.

In 1927, Miller, in a comprehensive review of the literature, reviewed naming practices in East Africa, Australia, Borneo, and North America. Morice (1933), working with the Carrier Indians of British Columbia, pointed out that while names were used to commemorate past events, or to draw attention to physical or personality characteristics, names of living persons were not given to a child. Radin in *Primitive religion* (1957, p. 86) described the naming custom for the initiation ceremony of the Arunta, a tribe in central Australia. In that ceremony the boys received a different name at each stage.

In Africa, Wieschoff completed two investigations. In Rhodesia (1937) he found that the Mashona had two names for each person. The first

describes the occasion of the birth as *There was a rain* or *The birth was difficult*. The second tends to be more personal as, *He sits down wherever he goes*, or *She is selfish*. The second report on the Ibo of Nigeria (1941) shows a somewhat different pattern of naming. In addition to the birth-circumstances type of name of the Mashona, other patterns show hopes for the future, disappointment, of requests for protection of spirits.

Psychology

The first mention of names by a psychologist seems to be that by the renowned G. Stanley Hall (1898). In a discussion of the sense of self, he listed and commented on a number of pet names, nicknames, baby names, and hypocoristic names, but no systematic research was done. There was a gap of a few years and then three studies out of the Wundt/Titchener structuralist tradition appeared. Kollarits (1914), English (1916), and Alspach (1917) were all concerned by the images aroused by various stimuli. Today, Alspach's work seems quite imaginative. Meaningless names such as *Gronch*, *Spren*, and *Drup* were created. Respondents then described associated personality characteristics. The conclusion was that sound is an important determinant of the social perception of names. DeLaski (1918) continued this line of research with a psychological analysis of Dickens' characters.

Representing the traditional American interest in learning and memory, Mulhall (1915) worked on recall of names and photographs. The Chinese scholar, Lo (1925), used the correlational approach to conclude that the more meaningful the name, the more famous the person tended to be. A few years later, Clarke (1934) demonstrated that names were easier to recall than faces. A somewhat different research approach is represented by the investigation by Longstaff (1936) of possible names for a new tooth powder, an industrial application of psychological techniques.

In addition to the interest in first names, some interest in nicknames developed. Orgel and Tuckman (1935), working with institutionalized children, concluded that nicknames are a source of much unhappiness. However, Habbe (1937) with normal schoolboys found just the opposite.

Working with children, Davis (1937) concluded that as the child gets older the practice of naming people and places in daily life tends to drop off. Turning their attention to the potency of attitudes toward name, Allport and Schanck (1936) used questionnaires to learn that college students would be more willing to fight for an insult to their name than for defense of their property. In his famous textbook on personality, Allport (1937) considered that one's name is the most important anchor point for selfhood. In the same year, Walton (1937) reported the first really system-

atic evaluation of first names. He used the methods of paired comparisons and absolute judgments to measure male and female names.

The undergraduate thesis of Holt *Studies in the psychology of names* (1939) represents a high level of scholarship. The work begins with a comprehensive review of the name literature in the social sciences, then reports on two separate investigations on ethnic name stereotyping, and finally, describes interviews with men and women on name changing. The stereotype studies used various ethnic names to obtain jury judgments on (1) crimes, and (2) admission to a Princeton eating club. The procedure involving reports of the feelings of men and women on name change seems ahead of its day.

The research on stereotypes of Schoenfeld (1942) followed somewhat the approach of Walton and Holt. Schoenfeld's results give evidence that stereotypes of personality characteristics are associated with specific names. Finally, there are the contributions of Allen, Brown, Dickinson, and Pratt (1941) and Finch, Kilgren, and Pratt (1944). The Allen work concluded that men possess and prefer more common; women, less common names. In addition, women tend to be more dissatisfied with either common or very unusual names. The Finch study confirmed that of Allen and also measured affectionate and hypocoristic names.

FURTHER TYPES OF NAMES

While there was brief description of the more common name terms at the beginning of this review, it seems appropriate now that some background material has been introduced to discuss additional types of name. The work of Van Buren (1974) on the derivation and usage of first names, nicknames, affectionate, and hypocoristic names should be mentioned for its usefulness in trying to understand current practices.

Ambiguous Names

During the past few years there has been some shift to names which have been called by some writers, *androgynous*, by others, *ambiguous*. *Jan* is such a name. One cannot tell immediately the sex of the bearer. Of course, we have always had around names such as Joy or Marion, or even Shirley, but the number of Lous and Lees seems to be increasing. Winick's view (1968) is that the trend toward sexually ambiguous names is a sign of the desexualization of America. Rickel and Anderson (1981) have recently explored androgynous names.

Alias

An alias is a false name that an individual assumes to prevent detection usually by police authorities. In a study of prisoners at Joliet, Illinois, Hartman (1951) learned that while 55% of the first-timers used aliases, 97% of the repeaters, a much higher percentage did. The repeaters also had more personality difficulties.

Hypocoristic Names

The hypocoristic name is a shortened or abbreviated form of the first name as *Will* for *William*. The Van Buren and Finch works mentioned above as well as Lawson (1973) have dealt with hypocoristic names. In another investigation, Drury and McCarthy (1980) interviewed American students at the University of Copenhagen, learning that about a third shortened their names. This name shortening was correlated with a positive attitude toward Denmark and positive self-esteem.

Jr. (Junior)

While the practice of using the suffix *Jr.* after the name has been going on for some time, its study is relatively recent. Four research efforts focus on the custom. Plank's view (1971) is that bestowing a *Jr.* on a son is evidence that the Hamlet hypothesis is working, that is, the father wants to perpetuate himself in his son and this is a possible source of conflict. Plank reports that the percentage of *Juniors* among mental patients at a Veterans Administration hospital to be three times the rate for the general population.

Taylor (1974) was also concerned with the practice of using the suffix *Jr.* and also *II*, *III*, and *IV*. Assessing telephone directories of 20 American cities, he found these suffixes more common on the Eastern seaboard and associated with the social status system; the practice is now being followed by Blacks and members of the working class. With school children, Busse, Busse, and Busse (1979) learned that boys named for their fathers liked their names as well as other boys; however, girls, named for their mothers, did not.

Probably the most interesting account on identical names for parent and child is that of Lenoski (1981). That report shows that among children reported battered by parents, a higher percentage than would be expected by chance, were named after one of the parents. Perhaps, one can conclude from Plank and Lenoski that naming a child after oneself can produce heightened identification, frustration, conflict, and, sometimes, aggression.

Nicknames

As mentioned above, Hall was the first to call attention to nicknames, followed by the work of Orgel and Tuckman and Habbe in the 30's. A bit later in Denmark, Hansen (1948) related names to feelings of inferiority. Dexter (1949) used a questionnaire with college students to conclude that those with nicknames were more popular. Moses and Freedman (1958) noted that nicknames have a magical function with disturbed children; that names such as *Sunny* or *Chief* often seem to act as prescriptions for the role the child is to follow.

More recently, there has been the work of Van Buren mentioned above and also that of Busse (1983). From Britain, there also have been some reports (James, 1979; Morgan, Oneill, & Harré, 1979; Harré, 1980) which have been devoted to nicknames. Morgan, et al., have an entire book on the nicknaming process including some cross-cultural work. They show that the nickname can be understood as a norm, a form of social control, an insult, and a form of status.

Pet Names

One psychoanalyst (Drake, 1957) has analyzed pet names used by couples. In this usage, the name has a high sexual connotation and implies intimacy.

Surnames

Surnames are what are commonly referred to as last names. Curiously, there are only two investigations by psychologists of surnames, that of Arthaud, Hohneck, Ramsey, and Pratt (1948) and Razran (1950). The Arthaud research compared (1) monosyllabic vs. dissyllabic surnames (Reeves vs. Scovill), and (2) names in the original language vs. the anglicized version (Bauer vs. Bower). Razran was interested in measuring ethnic prejudice. He used a sophisticated experimental design to evaluate how surname affects the observer's perception of the beauty, intelligence, and emotionality of young women.

Anthropologists have also been interested in surnames. In Brazil, Azevado (1980) was able to identify the predominant racial strain (whether Black, Indian, or White) in a population by a classification system for surnames. Other investigators (Lasker, 1978; Kaplan, Lasker, & Chiarelli, 1978; Raspe & Lasker, 1980) have been using surnames to study family relationships in small communities. One of the important measures is *isonymy*, the marriage of two people with the same surname.

Technonyms

There are a few investigations that report on teknonyms, the practice of referring to a parent as the father of so-and-so, or the mother of so-and-so. Needham (1954) described the practice among the forest nomads of northwestern Borneo; Geertz and Geertz (1964) among the Balinese; Antoun (1968) in a Jordanian village; and Beidelman (1974) among the Kaguru of eastern Tanzania.

Transsexuals

As transsexuals are described more and more, so are their names and naming patterns. Stoller (1966) reported a male patient named by the boy's mother after her younger brother who was a transvestite. In a second report (1970), he noted all of his transsexual patients had unequivocally masculine names; he attributed this to the mother's sense of phallicness needed for the child. Money (1974) described his experiences with those undergoing sexual reassignment and changing identity, as Desmond to Desmarie.

Twins

In his survey, Plank (1964) reported that 62% of the pairs of twins had the same first initial; that identical twins were more similarly named than fraternal twins; and a large percentage of twins had first names beginning with the letter *J*. Seeman (1980) also has some comments on twins.

Unique Names

Unique or unusual names have been the source of some controversy. Savage and Wells (1948) with college students, Ellis and Beachley (1954), Hartman, Nicolay, and Hurley (1968), and Bagley and Evan-Wong (1970) with clinical populations, concluded that a unique name predisposed to poorer adjustment. However, the evidence seems to be clearer for males than females. With college students, Eagleson and Clifford (1945) also reported that Blacks at that time had no higher a percentage of unusual names than Whites. With the recent consciousness of Black identity, a replication of this study might bring different results.

However, there is another side to the issue of unique names than that they foster or lead to poor adjustment. Houston and Sumner (1948), while reporting that unique names were associated with neuroticism, also found that more of the scholarship holders at Harvard had unique names. Schonberg and Murphy (1974) learned that male students performed better on a

personality test while no difference was found with females. In a series of investigations, the research of Zweigenhaft (1977-a, 1981, 1983) and Zweigenhaft, Hayes, and Haagen (1980) has provided evidence that unusually named people have scored higher on personality variables and intelligence tests, and also attain higher status.

STRUCTURE, STYLE, ADDRESS, AND USAGE

Not only have investigators been interested in types of name, there is also some interest in the form and structure of the name and how the name is used.

Length of name

Some interest has been shown about the length of the surname. Cabe (1967) tested the hypothesis that women would tend to marry men with shorter surnames since shorter surnames are more preferred. Initial results seemed to hold some possibility, the hypothesis would hold. However, further work (Cabe, 1968; Finch & Mahoney, 1975), although more carefully controlled, failed to provide confirmation.

Initial letter of surname

Some observers have felt that a person whose surname begins with a letter toward the beginning of the alphabet has a preferred position in school, in employment, and, perhaps, other places. Ring (1980), in Germany, has concluded that teachers do pay more attention to students whose names are at the beginning of the alphabet.

Style

Style in this sense refers to how the individual uses the name. A man might call himself *John Public*, or *John Q. Public* or one of several variations. Wells and Palwick (1950) reported that the most common style was *John Q. Public* except in the House of Representatives where the *John* or *Jack* style was preferred. Hartman (1958) has also reported on name style.

Boshier (1973) showed that in New Zealand the preference was for the *John Public* style, that those who used one name style across all situations were more conservative on a personality test. Replicating the Boshier work in California, Zweigenhaft (1975) found that his sample preferred the *John Q. Public* style, that there were no significant personality differences between those using one style and another.

There are investigations of name style using other approaches. Leirer, DePetris, Speciale, and Jensen (1978) had their respondents free-sort (categorize) a number of names. The results are three categories: formal, hypocoristic, and affectionate. Farley (1970, 1975, 1976) examined the signature pattern of married women returning to the work force. Her results concluded that those with higher status and motivation tend to sign their own names without the title of *Miss* or *Mrs.*

Before concluding the description of name usage, the work of Van Buren should be mentioned again. That work shows the rules for use of full first names, hypocoristic names, and affectionate names with many examples.

Change of Name

Holt (1939) did the first investigation of name change when he interviewed 15 married women and five men who had changed their names. Then, there are four reports by sociologists. Strauss (1959, pp. 15–18) discussed name change and how status may be affected by it. Broom, Beem, and Harris (1955) analyzed the reasons why people change their names. Goffman (1963) commented on legal and illegal change of name, the individual's right to privacy regarding one's past, and original name. Kang (1971a, 1971b, 1972) has reported that name changers among Chinese students at the University of Minnesota showed better socialization, economic adjustment, and social control.

There are two accounts of change of name during World War II to avoid detection by the Nazis. The first by Anna Freud (1956) describes the case of a three-year-old Jewish girl who, underground in Holland, was able to suppress her real name successfully for three years until the Liberation. Freud's account also shows the difficulties of those who took French names to survive and then had the problem of going back to their original identities. A second account by Lazard (1946) is autobiographical and vividly relates the experiences of assuming a different identity to survive the German invasion of France.

A somewhat different aspect of name change is reflected in the pattern of shift studied by Darden (1969) in which a small Louisiana community shifted from French to English. There, the naming of children changed from a French first name to an English first name followed by a French middle name.

In other work investigating the relationship between name change and improved economic conditions, Carol Feldman (1975) examined the records of pairs of brothers, one of whom had anglicized his name. The

pattern shows an improvement in economic status for the name changers. In other studies, Falk (1975) analyzed name changes among immigrants to Israel and Selischev (1979) the pattern of name changes in Russia.

DESTINY AND NAME

For some time social scientists have been interested in the effect of one's name on behavior. Abraham (1911), Stekel (1911), Freud (1913–1914/1955), Ingeborg Flugel (193), Fenischel (1945, p. 295) Plotke (1946, 1947), Ansbacher (1947), Garnot (1948) and Fodor (1956) have all commented on various aspects of how the name itself, or one's perception of a name, can influence behavior. Garnot's study of 4000-year-old pyramid texts reveals that even then powerful forces were attributed to the name.

More recently, and in a somewhat humorous vein, Davis (1974, 1978) has assembled lists of prominent animal behaviorists and other scientists to demonstrate how name can be linked to career. Thus, he lists animal behaviorists such as Swann, Finch and Heron; other scientists, Wise, Yokel, and de Wit. Casler (1975) has furnished similar listings.

RECENT THEORETICAL VIEWS

Psychology/Anthropology/Sociology

Sherif and Cantril (1947) in their well-known *Psychology of Ego-Involvements* drew from several sources for their description and analysis of naming practices. The discussion of Katz (1955) depicts some of the problems people in Europe have with names. Roger Brown's work (1958a, 1958b) gives a psycholinguistic analysis of the naming process. Lynd (1958) noted that the name gives security and protection; Allport (1961, p. 117) that the name is the most important anchor point in one's identity.

Brender (1963) approaches the motivational factors in the naming process from various aspects: psychoanalysis, family tradition, religions, fashions, and desire for uniqueness. Lafortune (1980), evaluating a number of cultures, presents a solid theoretical presentation of the meaning and function of names. Dion (1983) focuses on the work of experimental psychologists. A second review (in press) reviews some of the contributions of psychologists to names.

Psychoanalytic/Psychiatric

There are several contributions to aspects of naming from the psychoanalytic point of view. Reik (1949/1974) commented on the custom in parts of Africa, Asia, and Australia where women were forbidden to pronounce the name of a male relative. He also discussed the magical influence aspects of names. Fenischel (1945) was another psychoanalyst who dealt with aspects of names including their magic quality. Fodor (1956) also wrote an evaluation of names from a psychoanalytic view. Harold Feldman (1959) represents a somewhat different approach. His contention is that names are an expression of antagonism to the person named. That person has to acquiesce. Seeman (1972, 1976, 1980, 1983) has systematically dealt with a number of psychoanalytic, psychological and sociological aspects of names.

Names have also figured in dreams. Jones (1955), drawing from Freud, reported that although the name in a dream may change, the vowels remain constant. Seeman (1979) analyzes the emotional dynamics of four dreams associated with names.

RECENT APPLIED RESEARCH: ANTHROPOLOGY, SOCIOLOGY

Descriptions of the naming practices in various parts of the world have continued. Lévi-Strauss (1923/1966) described Indians in North and South America as well as other primitive societies; Price and Price (1972), the Saramaka Maroons of Surinam; Azevedo (1980), Blacks, Whites, and Indians in Brazil.

In Nigeria, Jahoda (1954) and Akinnaso (1980) described day names and circumstance names.

In South India, Emeneau (1974) reported the naming customs among the Toda; in Indonesia, Brewer (1981) the Bimanese; in Jordan, Antoun (1968) a small Arab village; in France, Léon (1976) a small French village.

Turning to North America again, Guemple (1965) and Dufour (1975) have reported on Eskimo naming customs. Rossi (1965) evaluated naming patterns in middle class families. Commenting on the shift away from naming sons after paternal kin, daughters for maternal. Zelinsky (1970), a geographer, used factor analysis to study patterns of male first names in 16 American counties at two times: 1790 and in 1968. Three basic patterns emerged: New England, the Midland, and the South.

RECENT APPLIED RESEARCH: PSYCHOLOGY

Learning, Memory, and Perception

The earlier interest of Mulhall (1915) and Clark (1934) on memory for names has been continued by Kaess and Witryol (1955), Cromwell (1956), and Bahrck, Bahrck, and Wittlinger (1975). Rychlak and Saluri (1973) used fifth and sixth grade children to relate higher self-esteem with ability to recall names. Blandford and Thompson (1964), testing college students, were able to demonstrate that positive stimulus names linked to nonsense syllables were able to enhance learning.

Again working with elementary schoolchildren, Ramirez and Castenada (1967) and Early (1968) experimented with sociometric procedures and name perception. Staats, Higa, and Reid (1970) used classical conditioning for name learning with college students, demonstrating that some names were more effective than others in forming associations. Series of experiments, Bruning (1972) was able to conclude that (1) liked names were learned easier, (2) that a disliked name, *Cecil*, was easily learned when it was embedded within a list of liked names, and (3) learning names with photographs was easier.

Finally, there is the work of Moray (1959) which represents a different approach. His work involves presenting two messages simultaneously, one to each ear. Most people can attend to only one message at a time, completely blocking out the other. Moray reports that the only stimulus able to break the barrier was the sound of the individual's name.

Stereotypes

Cumming (1967) has reviewed naming patterns in New York City over a period of time. Social psychologists have carried this interest further by studying the stereotypes associated with names. Stereotypes represent a generalization in one's thinking about various objects, concepts, people, or ideas. It is natural, then, that stereotypes of names be investigated.

In a popular article Marcus (1976) explains the power of the name stereotype, how the perception of a name can alter behavior toward the bearer of that name. Kaufmann (1973, pp. 352-353) recounts his own stereotyping and his initial shock at first hearing the excellent English of Cesar Chavez, the migrant labor leader. The importance of stereotypes, then, is clear.

Several empirical investigations along psychological lines have been carried out. The work of Razran (1950) with fictitious surnames to measure ethnic prejudice has already been mentioned. In Britain, Shep-

pard (1963) confirmed the earlier work of Schoenfeld; Wober (1970) worked with stereotypes of personality characteristics associated with some names by English schoolgirls.

The development of the semantic differential (Osgood & Suci, 1952; Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957) led to its application to the measurement of name stereotypes. Albott (1971) demonstrated that ratings were consistent from one condition to another. Other research (Buchanan and Bruning, 1971; Lawson, 1971, 1973, 1974, 1980) has confirmed the ability of rating scales to measure a relatively large number of names with efficiency. The work of Darden and Robinson (1976) and Darden (1983) has employed a new procedure, multidimensional scaling analysis, to investigate name stereotypes.

Liking/Familiarity/Popularity

McDavid and Harari (1966) in their work with schoolchildren were able to show a relationship between name desirability and sociometric popularity. Other investigations have confirmed the relationship between liking and popularity. Harrison's project (1969) was directed to the relationship between familiarity (exposure) and liking. The studies of Colman, Hargreaves, and Sluckin (1980, 1981) provide additional confirmation from England and Australia. Busse and Seraydarian (1979) investigating popularity in schoolchildren, used sociometric techniques to demonstrate the positive relationship between first name desirability and popularity. This result was clearer with girls than with boys.

Sex differences in stereotyping

McDavid and Garwood (1974) were concerned with whether male or female teachers did more stereotyping on names. Their results indicate that men teachers stereotype more than women. The results also show that there is more stereotyping by both sexes on the activity dimension of the semantic differential.

Common vs. unique names

The Allen et al. (1941) investigation mentioned earlier measuring stereotypes, reported that men preferred and possess more common names; women, less common and somewhat unique names. More recently, West and Schultz (1976) have confirmed the Allen investigation.

Developmental patterns

How early can the process of name stereotyping begin? Bruning and

Husa (1973) showed that children were able rate names as early as the third grade. Busse and Helfrich (1975) demonstrated the stability of name stereotypes with children in grades 2–11. With college students, Knechtel (1973) was able to conclude that first names do influence life roles to some extent.

School Achievement

Among the more important questions concerning stereotypes is whether the first name of the individual will affect the perception of and/or judgments of performance. The investigation of Harari and McDavid (1973) has been very important. They set up a situation where essays purportedly done by 10-year-olds were graded. Each paper had attached the name of a different fictitious author depending upon the design of the project. The essays received higher grades when authorship was attributed to someone with a desirable name. However, Seraydarian and Busse (1981) were not able to successfully replicate the work of Harari and McDavid.

In a related investigation, Garwood (1976) had teachers categorize boys' names as either desirable or undesirable. Scores on objective measures of achievement and personality were significantly higher for those in the desirable names group. Nelson (1977) was able to confirm Garwood with women college students, but not with men. Busse and Seraydarian (1978) demonstrated small but significant correlations in elementary and secondary schoolchildren between name desirability and school readiness, IQ, and achievement.

Seits (1981) did a variation on Harari and McDavid using community college English instructors who were asked to grade an essay. Different fictitious names were used. While no relationship was found between name and grade, a relationship was found between name and the miscellaneous remarks made on the essay by the instructors thus providing some confirmation for McDavid and Harari.

Physical attractiveness

Stereotypes of names have even been used in relation to physical attractiveness. Garwood and Habif (1977) reported that teachers are *less* punitive toward children who are both unattractive and bear undesirable names. This might be somewhat at variance with the common sense view and raises the question whether teachers might feel sorry for those children. Another study (Garwood, Cox, Kaplan, & Sulzer, 1980) showed that in the selection of a campus beauty queen more votes were given to

the candidate with a desirable first name. Tompkins and Boor (1980) used names varying in desirability and photographs varying in attractiveness as stimuli for ratings by men and women teachers on seventh grade boys on a number of dimensions, but the results failed to confirm hypotheses drawn from Harari and McDavid.

Sex roles and names

The last ten years has seen an increasing research interest in the appropriate sex roles of men and women. Bruning and Liebert (1973) were able to show that masculinity-femininity ratings of names correlated significantly with masculinity-femininity ratings of photographs of men and women. Landman (1974) has commented on the sex-role confusion experienced by those with androgynous names such as Lynn, Leslie, or Dana. Ellington, Marsh, and Critelli (1980) reported that women with masculine names were in the normal range. However, women *known* by more masculine names were less anxious and less neurotic. Other related work in this general area was contributed by Kleinke (1974), Garwood, Baer, Levine, Carroll, and O'Neal (1981), Duffy, and Ridinger (1981), and Rickel and Anderson (1981).

Ethnic stereotypes

Research by Holt and Razran on ethnic groups as objects of stereotypes has been referred to already. Other aspects of ethnic stereotypes have also been investigated. Meeker and Kleinke (1972) showed how Black, White, and Chicano groups used identifying names such as *Whitey* or *Gringo* inside and outside their own ethnic group. In research somewhat related, Busse and Seraydarian (1977) had schoolchildren evaluate on desirability a number of names categorized into eight ethnic groups. The results indicate that Afro-American names were liked less than those in other groups. In an investigation with Black, White, and Spanish schoolteachers in Georgia and Florida, Garwood and McDavid (1974) found greater differences by sex and location than by ethnicity. Allen (1983) in a quite different approach shows how personal names such as *Mike* became a collective term for Irishmen, Ivan for Russians, and thus became a measure of social conflict.

Therapists

There has even been a survey of preferred stereotypes for therapists. Gladding and Farrar (1982) found that women showed a greater preference for unusual names in therapists.

Bias

Peters and Ceci (1982a, 1982b) were concerned with bias in the evaluation of manuscripts submitted for publication. Resubmitting the articles to the journals in which they originally were published along with change in the name of the author and institutional affiliation, Peters and Ceci learned that nine were not detected as resubmissions by the editors. Of these nine, eight were rejected on various grounds. So much for objective editorial review!

Attribution Theory

One of the newer approaches in psychology is attribution theory, where the observer tries to assign responsibility for an act. Busse and Love (1973) presented stories to schoolchildren. In each story the main character had to choose between two courses of action. As anticipated, results confirmed that characters who possessed liked names were judged right more frequently. Garwood, Gray, Sulzer, Levine, Cox, and Kaplan (1983) went a step further. They investigated not only attribution (responsibility assignment) for the people in their stories but also sanction assignment. Their conclusion was that name and sex were important factors so that less reward was assigned males with undesirable names and less punishment (more leniency) was shown for females with undesirable names.

Personality

While aspects of names and personality have been touched on already, several topics of research applied to names and personality should be specifically considered.

Self-Concept

Bugental and Zelen (1950) asked men and women the question "Who are you?" and concluded that name is a central aspect of self-perception. Guardo and Bohan (1971) interviewing children, learned that one's name gives a sense of continuity. Jourard (1974) indicated that the name defines the identity of the individual.

Self-Esteem

Related to self-concept is self-esteem, the regard that the individual has for his/her own worth, especially as perceived from the reactions of others. Eagleson (1946) asked students how well they liked their first

names. Most did, although almost a quarter did not. In France, Plottke (1950) obtained similar results.

In further work, Adelson (1957), in a large systematic investigation on self-acceptance, self-identity, and attitudes, concluded that attitudes toward one's name are an important factor. Strunk (1958) showed that college students who liked their names received higher ratings on a personality scale of self-satisfaction. Busse (1980) in a large cross-sectional study with schoolchildren noted that boys liked their names more than girls; Blacks theirs more than Whites. Similar research with children has been done in New Zealand by Boshier (1968a, 1968b) and in South Africa by Strümpfer (1978).

Signature size

Signature size has also been the subject of research. Zweigenhaft (1970, 1977) has been the leader in this area, asserting that as the individual's status rose, so did size of the signature. While Swanson and Price (1972) have confirmed this view, Mahoney (1973), using personality measures along with the signature, did not. Stewart (1977), in Canada, continued the interest, demonstrating a relationship between signature size and status. Snyder and Fromkin (1977; 1980) found that those with larger signatures scored higher on a uniqueness scale.

Recent Applied Research: Psychoanalysis/Psychiatry

Social scientists have pointed to the importance of the name for the average person. The name can also figure prominently in a disturbed person. Several cases featuring name difficulties have been described by therapists. Düss (1946) has a description of a woman with a schizophrenic breakdown; Murphy (1957), case histories involving fantasy, rejection, and inferiority; Tarachow (1963), a male psychotic who called all men by the same first name, all women by another name; Laffal (1965), a patient who claimed that people were doing things with his name. For other clinical reports, the work of Fast (1974) and Burnham, Gladstone, and Gibson (1974) can be consulted.

NEWER APPROACHES IN RESEARCH

Most of the research in this review, although not all, has been of the observational or descriptive sort. Following the scientific approach, the next level of research would be some manipulation of variables, in this

case aspects of names or factors associated with names. A few investigations seem to point the way.

One is the experiment of Garwood, et al., on attribution, mentioned above. Respondents were asked to make a decision about the main character in a decision situation, and to assign sanctions if appropriate. The design of that research manipulated four factors simultaneously: name desirability, sex, level of responsibility, and assignment of sanctions.

A second experiment by Kleinke and Staneski (1972) evaluated how people use names in social interaction. The investigators set up ingratiating/dependent situations and noningratiating/independent situations. In the ingratiating/dependent situations the participant is an applicant for a job; in the noningratiating/independent situation an attractive woman interviews two men. The experimenters concluded that using another's name in the social (independent) situation is perceived more favorably than in the job applicant (dependent) situation.

In their experiment, Berkowitz and Knurek first gave participants negative association training to either of the names, *George* or *Fred*. Then the students were angered by the trainer. The final situation tested how they would react to a discussion partner who bore the critical name. Results showed a displacement of hostility in the direction of the critical name.

Finally, in a related experiment, Leyens and Picus (1973) first angered their participants; next, had them watch a film clip of a fight; then, gave them a chance to give an electric shock to a confederate who had the same name as the figure in the film. Their results, however, did not confirm that aroused hostility would generalize to the confederate with the same name as the figure in the film.

These experiments are important in that they demonstrate how names as a significant variable can be controlled by an investigator in a research design.

CONCLUSIONS

This review has tried to show that social scientists in the past one hundred years have done a great deal of scholarly work and research on names. The field is certainly disorganized and probably chaotic as well. It is clear that what is needed is some kind of integrating theory and theory testing. However, as the number of works cited shows, even if the theory end is not as strong as it might be, the research end is alive and well and the prognosis for the future looks good. Certainly the evidence is clear

that names research and scholarly activity continue to be important areas of the social sciences.

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