

Origins of Unusual Given Names from the Southern United States

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Abstract

Given names in the South, often noted as unusual, have evolved from a variety of sources and by means of different mechanisms. Many of these names can be assigned to "clusters" (groups of equivalent forms) on the basis of regular spelling variations and on patterns of usage and can be analyzed like lexemes. Tables of data illustrate linguistic trends in name formation.

Naming practices common in the southern United States, including the use of double names, diminutives as formal given names, and male names for females and vice versa, and the invention of fancy names have contributed to the southern stereotype. H. L. Mencken, Thomas Pyles, Thomas L. Crowell, and others have discussed these trends primarily in sociological terms. For the most part, these writers have treated unusual names as quirky, highly individualistic, entertaining curiosities rather than as objects amenable to analysis. The purpose of this paper is to examine the mechanisms by which new names have originated, using examples of regularly-occurring southern names.

A new name can be treated as a new word and analyzed in terms of word formation. Dwight Bolinger states flatly that names are not analyzable as morphemes in a synchronic sense, as they are strictly denotative as whole units and cannot be broken down into meaningful parts ("Rime" 124). However, given names are one of the most fertile breeding grounds of new forms, reproducing largely by the productive use of specific roots. By virtue of their productivity, these onomastic building blocks can be regarded as morphemes in the *formative* sense defined by Bolinger ("On Defining the Morpheme" 21). In spite of the special nature of their semantic content, names originate and evolve like lexemes, and systems of analysis of word formation, such as John Algeo's "Taxonomy of Word Making," can be applied to names.

When a name is created, the new name will be consistent with the inventor's phonology; it will consist of permissible arrangements of

phonemes in English. This is the most basic (and sometimes the only) control on the formation of new southern names.

Few people start totally from scratch in creating names. Algeo's question, "Does the new item have an etymon?" ("Taxonomy" 124) applies to names as well as lexemes, and like lexemes most new names are based on some pre-existing root. Many of the "made-up names" listed by Crowell (266-67) and "pure root creations" in Pyles' "Bible Belt Onomastics" (96) are traceable to old roots. Most commonly, the etyma are given names already in use. Other etyma are proper names from other naming systems (placenames, surnames, brand names), English or foreign lexemes, foreign names, nicknames, and phrases. Only if no such relationship can be found can one tentatively assume that the name is pure invention.

Because names mutate at a much faster rate than do lexemes, they tend to occur as clusters of equivalent forms rather than as a single form. The dialectal and idiolectal variations of ordinary lexical items are rarely preserved orthographically, and lexemes are less commonly subjected to the deliberate elaboration and modification that names experience. Therefore, much can be gained by examining names as clusters rather than as isolated entities.

A *name cluster* is a set of (hypothetically) related names, and includes all English and foreign variations of the root name and its diminutives. Names are tentatively grouped together in a cluster if they are similar in spelling or pronunciation or if they appear to share a common ancestor, with the understanding that these factors can be misleading. Such relationships are tested by means of linguistic analysis, historical research, and testimonial. Names may be assigned to a cluster if intermediate forms exist that suggest a relationship. For example, *Author* is linked to *Arthur* by intermediate forms *Aurthur* and *Aurthor*. A link can be established when alternate forms of a name are given for a single individual in records. For example, in one record, an individual was listed as *Relief*, *Leaffe* and *Lephe*. Relationships may also be implied when family members share similar names: *Burla*, daughter of *Burl*; *Meraldine*, sister of *Geraldine*.

Name clusters may overlap, sharing common members. The greater the similarity between two names, the more their clusters will overlap and the more difficult will be the task of tracing a variant form of a name back to one root or the other.

The names used in this study were obtained from census, mortality,

birth and marriage records, telephone directories, bibliographies, genealogies, newspapers, and personal communication. In records where age or year of birth is given, every individual listed is tallied along with the date and place of birth, sex and race. All persons listed with an age in newspapers are tallied. In records where age data are not available, only unusual names are collected. Race, when unspecified (as in modern newspapers), can sometimes be inferred from church membership, funeral home used, or accompanying photographs.

A name is unique if it is used only once and is unrelated to other names; it is the only member of its name cluster. The chances of encountering a specific unique name in a name search are slim, although a certain number of unique names will be encountered during research. If a name is used twice and only twice by unrelated persons, the probability of finding both occurrences is even smaller. Therefore, if two examples of a name are found from unrelated sources, one can safely assume that the name is used more than twice; that it is regularly-occurring. Experience with vast quantities of name data supports this assumption, in that occurrence pairs generally proliferate into threesomes or more as the collection grows and that pairs generally fit into a larger name cluster. The recurrence of an unusual name suggests that some fundamental mechanism is at work to generate the name. The mechanism may be cultural, with the name originating from a point source such as a celebrity, popular fictional character, or significant event (Crowell 265-72; Duckert 190-93). Or the mechanism may be linguistic, in which case phonological patterns spontaneously give rise to similar variations among a number of separate individuals.

Origins

Most of the unusual names used in the South are related by various evolutionary mechanisms to the standard fare of American given names. However, some originate from sources outside the given-name pool.

A major source of new names is the surname. Mencken discussed this phenomenon in *The American Language* (516-17) and in the *Supplement II* (468-472). Another source, the placename, is discussed by Crowell (270) and Mencken (*Supplement II* 507). The use of southern state names for female given names became popular during the early middle part of the nineteenth century and died out in the early part of this century. Table 1* lists documented examples. *Tennessee*, interest-

ingly, returned to rare use in the twentieth century as a male name (and is listed as male by Dunkling and Gosling 270), a reversal of the usual pattern in which names are abandoned by males when they become popular among females.

Names that may have arisen from brand names include *Buffren* (m), *Lavoris* (m, b), *Chiffon* (f), and *Murene* (f), although the last may have come from a compound of productive name elements (see below).

English lexemes are another source of new given names. More than 930 were collected in a casual survey of the data (Lorenz 51-54). Many of the names encountered in this category are unique. Table 2 lists some documented examples. Crowell (269-70) also provides a long list of such names from Oklahoma and Washington, although some of his examples (such as *Kissie*, *Vermin*, *Dice*, *Barber* and *Lean*), despite appearances, probably originated through other mechanisms. (*Kissie* is from *Keziah*, *Vermin* a compound of name elements *ver* + *man*, *Dice* is a form of *Dacey* (from *Candice*?), *Barber* is a form of *Barbara* and *Lean* is probably *Le-Anne*.) An unusual characteristic of this category is that the meanings of the names are apparent. Whereas this is the norm for Arabic and Hindi names, most names used by English-speaking people do not have obvious meanings. The majority of the unusual names created by modern English speakers are developed without consideration of meaning.

Closely related to this category are phrase names, originating as whole or clipped English phrases. Puritans used biblical phrases, and Miriam Sizer (36) listed some examples from rural Virginia, but mostly these are used by blacks. The use of phrases as assumed names or nicknames is a long-standing tradition among blacks (Dillard 25-33) and such names have entered usage as formal given names as well. Examples are *Hardtimes* (m), *Blue Jesus* (m), *King Bee* (m), *Fortynine* (f, b. 1849), *Cartilyou* (from the words spoken during his birth: "I'm not getting out of this *car* 'til you..." [anonymous personal communication – teacher of this child, 1986]), and *Trans* (from the words this child's father expects him to use on girlfriends when he grows up: "I'm going to *transform* you!" [anonymous personal communication – aunt of this child, 1986]). Obviously, the origins of some of these names can be totally obscure without an explanation. A name like *Cartilyou* would otherwise appear to be a pure root creation.

*All tables are located at the end of the article.

Borrowing of lexemes from other languages can be identified as the origin of the name *Etoile*, derived from the French word meaning "star." (Algeo's question again: "Does the new item have a borrowed etymon?"). Foreign names as well as foreign lexemes may contribute new names to the American given-name pool. J. L. Dillard (18-23) suggests that African names among American blacks were more common than first appears because they tended to converge with established English names. The use of particularly distinctive African names was essentially suppressed (by social pressures) before the nineteenth century. Evidence that there are rare survivors of these African day names is a man named *Quam*, listed as a survivor in a recent obituary from the *Arkansas Gazette*. *Quam* is the seventeenth-eighteenth-century form of *Kwame*, generally taken directly from Africa in the latter form by modern blacks.

Another curiosity of southern name usage is the retention of Germanic names that are apparently long obsolete elsewhere in the English-speaking world. Examples are *Oathar*, *Icy*, and *Wilmot* (or *Wilmuth*). *Wilmot* offers the best evidence for retention (rather than re-invention). The second element is Germanic *moed*, a predominantly feminine ending (Schaar 178). However, Yonge (cxl) and others list it as a masculine name, and Withycombe (294), who derives it from *William*, comments that it was used as a feminine name up into the 1700s. In the South, however, the name and its variations continue to be predominantly feminine in usage.

Fragment names, meaningless in themselves but forming a whole unit when combined with the surname, represent another mechanism for name generation. It is rare even in the South. Two examples are *Ex Ray* and *Esque Row*. Other names used in this manner are more commonly standard (*Bob White*, *Seth Poole*, *Ann Chovie*, etc.) and are not included in this category. Finally, nicknames may come into use as given names. Well-known examples from the South are *Bubba* (from baby-talk "brother") and *Sissy*. An example from Arkansas is *Dub* or *Dubby*, a nickname given to a boy whose name starts with *W*, or whose official given name consists of the initial *W* (William "Dub" Kittler, personal communication, 1985). *Dub* and *Dubby* are used (but rarely) as formal given names. *Boots* (m), *Baby* (m) and *Tootsie* (f) are other examples.

Evolution

Modification of traditional names has produced a rich variety of new names in the South. Specific evolutionary mechanisms give rise to a recurrence of patterns among unusual southern names. Some of the modified forms differ from the source name to the extent that their origins would be obscure without intermediate forms or testimonial. This is especially a problem if the original form of the name is no longer extant.

In "Taxonomy of Word Making," Algeo asks three questions that concern clipping, blending, compounding, and derivational mechanisms: "Does the new item combine two or more etyma?" "Does the new item shorten an etymon?" and "Do the etyma include more than one base?" (125-26) These questions are relevant to a large number of new names.

The formation of derivatives from unclipped etyma using decorative affixes is perhaps the most obvious mechanism giving rise to new names in the South. These names, containing fewer bases than etyma, are examples of unblended composites, as discussed by Algeo in "Blends" (54-55). The affixes are most commonly suffixes such as *-ie*, *-ine*, *-elle*, and *-etta*, but also include prefixes such as *La-* or *De-*. This mechanism tends to be a feminine phenomenon, and is commonly used to convert a masculine name into a feminine name: *Charlesetta*, *Howardean*, *Clydelia*, etc., but these affixes may also be added to names that are already feminine, as in *Gelynn*, *Jeanelle*, and *Blanchie*. Less commonly, masculine names may be similarly modified: *Clydell*, *Albertis*, etc.

Another group of unblended composites are compounds of two unclipped bases, such as *Marianne* or *Terriruth*. These names, like the purely derivational forms, are rarely difficult to analyze.

Pure clipping, without combination with other etyma, is fairly common as a method of forming diminutives (Mencken gives a long list of them in *The American Language* 519.), but less commonly shows up in formal given names, even in the South. Southerners prefer to combine their clipped forms with affixes. However, some examples that have been used as given names include *Plez* from *Pleasant* (m), *Oma* and *Omie* from *Neoma* and *Naomi* (f), *Lige* from *Elijah* (m), and *Ules* from *Ulysses* (m). (See Table 3, the *Ulysses* name cluster.)

Clipped forms are more commonly combined with affixes to form unblended derivatives. These names contain fewer bases than etyma. Examples are *Nervy* from (Mi)*nerv*(a) + *y*, *Willette* from *Will*(iam) +

ette, and *Edeene* from *Ed(ward)* + *eene* (=ine). This is the usual mechanism by which diminutives are produced in English. Two regularly-occurring southern names derived by this mechanism from essentially extinct source names are *Tennie* (f) and *Tempy* (f), from *Tennessee* and *Temperance*, respectively. Dunkling and Gosling (270) list *Tennie* as a male name derived from a surname, but only female examples have been encountered in this study. Evidence supporting the link between *Tennie* and *Tennessee* includes timing of usage, matching gender, the intermediate forms *Tencie*, *Tenzy* and *Tensie*, and a personal communication (Anne Lorenz 1986). *Temperance* enjoyed a modest revival during the nineteenth century, with *Tempy* evolving from it at approximately the same time.

Nicie is also derived from an extinct source, as it evolved from *Eunice* at a time when that name was pronounced [yu- NAY-see]. The name dates back to at least 1755, slightly before the transition of the connotation of the word *nice* from unpleasant to pleasant (*OED*). The name is thus unlikely to have evolved from that lexeme. It is currently used as a diminutive for *Bernice* and *Denise*, but the use of *Nicie* precedes the use of both *Bernice* and *Denise* in the United States.

Whatever the reasons may be for the popularity of diminutive forms in the South (see Pyles, "Onomastic Individualism"), the practice of using them as given names originated among whites around the 1830s to 1850s. Probably the well-established black usage of such names was the most significant influence. (See Puckett 471-94 for analysis of black usage of diminutives.)

Blending by overlapping (see Algeo, "Blends" 49-50) of similar names or name clusters can give rise to new names. This is a well-established process of name generation. Withycombe (128) states that *Geoffrey* originated from the convergence of two or three Old German names. One southern example is the *Cleotis* cluster (m and f), derived from the blending of *Cleo* (m and f) with the *Cletus* cluster (m and f): *Cleotis* < *Cleo* + *Cletus*. With few exceptions, *Cleo* and *Cletus* did not come into use in the southern U.S. until the beginning of this century, when they surged in popularity and proliferated into a large variety of forms. *Cleo* is used with approximately equal frequency by males and females, whereas *Cletus* is predominantly, but not exclusively, male. Other overlapping names include *Bernestine* from *Bernice* and *Ernestine*, and *Alfrederick* from *Alfred* and *Frederick*. These blends contain the same number of bases and etyma and do not involve clipping.

Another type of blending takes place among names with different origins and spelling but similar pronunciation. These are homophonous blends, discussed by Algeo in "Blends" (49-50). The effect of such overlapping is most notable when names used by different sexes are involved. For example, the incorporation of the feminine name *Beryl* into the masculine *Burl* cluster accounts for the anomalous use of the former as a masculine name in the South. Similarly, *Muriel*, *Merle*, *Merrill*, and *Murl* have converged, with a resulting confusion of gender among the names.

The most complicated situation involves both clipping and blending. The fragments produced and combined are essentially meaningless, and may only fortuitously correspond to old morphemes. These forms may represent deliberate attempts to coin new names from fragments of old, as in the example given by Mencken in *The American Language* (521) of *Eldarema*, coined by blending fragments of *Elkanah*, *Daniel*, *Rebecca*, and *Mary*. Alternatively, they may result from the blending of familiar, common fragments into euphonious new combinations, without reference to specific source names. One cannot distinguish between the two possibilities without information from the creator of the name. In this process, fragments, whole names, and affixes are combined in a variety of ways to produce new forms. Certain of these ingredients are extremely productive. Productive combining names include *Lynn*, *Roy*, *Lee*, *Jean*, and *Ann*. Productive fragments include *Ber-*, *Ver-*, *Glo-*, *-a*, *-aine*, *-dal*, *-ice*, *-is*, *-ola*, and *-us*, to name a few. The process is further complicated by the tendency of the popular affixes to combine with thematic fragments before being added to the base form. For example, the Greek *-ine* suffix is the base of a family of productive endings such as *-dean*, *-rene*, *-line* and *-stine*. These new endings are added to roots not originally terminating with the introduced consonants, as in *Arthur-lene*, *Earlstine* and *Jeweldean*.

Some examples of this prolific process include the following: *Theonita* from *Theo-* + *-n-* + *-ita*, *Artholia* from *Arth(ur)* + *olia* (from *Magnolia*?), *Vonceil* from *Von-* (from *Yvonne* or *Vaughn*) + (Lu)*cille*, *Omalee* from (Ne)*oma* + *lee*, and *Urine* [yu REEN] from *Eu-* + *-r-* + *-ine*. This mechanism provides an explanation of the innocent use of names such as *Urine* or *Vermin* that might otherwise suggest a malicious or capricious name-giver.

The *Icy* name cluster is one that evolved largely through clipping and blending. This name was probably derived from the Germanic root *is* or *eis*, meaning "ice" or "iron." Albert Dauzat (337) and J. van der Schaar

(134) discuss French and Frisian names, respectively, derived from the same root(s). *Icy* may have originated from a name such as the French *Iselin* by dropping the ending. Addition of other endings has produced the *Icy* cluster (Table 4).

The use of *Bernice* as a masculine name in the South can be analyzed in terms of the above discussion. The anomaly is the result of an overlap between the masculine name *Burnis* and the feminine *Bernice*. *Burnis*, in turn, is the outcome of combining two productive name elements: *bern*, derived from such names as *Bernard*, *Barney*, and *Bernice*, and also a subset of the productive *ber* element (as in *Burl*, *Bert*, etc.); and *-is*, a masculine ending in the South. In addition, *Burnis* is influenced by *Ernest*, as evidenced by the form *Bernest*. *Burnis* is part of a large name cluster containing many orthographic representations, one of which is *Bernice*. (See Table 5.)

Spelling variations account for a large number of new name forms. Spelling changes are tricky to interpret because they may represent homophonous or nonhomophonous changes and may be intentional or unintentional. For the sake of this discussion, only those variations which would radically change the pronunciation of the name (for example, *Geraldine* > *Meraldine*) will be considered strictly intentional. Not only does pronunciation influence the spelling of a name, but spelling influences pronunciation. Two more of Algeo's questions from "Taxonomy of Word Making" (125-26) are important here: "Does the new item have a phonological motivation?" and "Does the new item derive from written rather than spoken etyma?"

Most of the homophonous changes involve variations in representation of vowel sounds. This takes place most commonly in unstressed syllables containing [ə]; examples are listed in Table 6.

The vowel [i] is also prone to spelling variations, a phenomenon that is most obvious in the large variety of *-ene* endings, listed, with sample names, in Table 7. However, *-ine* and *-yne* can also be modified nonhomophonously to [ɪn] or [aɪn] under the influence of *Lynn* and *Caroline*.

The [yu] sound is represented by *u*, *eu*, *hu*, and *you* (Table 3). The sound [ey] is represented by *a*, *e*, *y*, *ai*, *ea*, and *ay*, as seen in the *Clayburn* cluster (Table 8).

Finally, vowels preceding *r* are sensitive to both homophonous and nonhomophonous changes (Table 9).

In the South, *a* > *ia* can be a homophonous change. It occurs in unstressed feminine endings, and in unstressed terminal syllables that end

(most commonly) in coronal sonorants. Examples are *Lelia* [li'lə] (Lelia Purk, personal communication, 1986), *Shelia* [šilə] (anon. pers. com. 1986), and *Cairdenia* [kærdi nə] (Jim Fribourg, personal communication, 1987). Other examples are listed in Table 10.

Consonant changes commonly involve doubling of letters that are ordinarily single in the standard form of the name (Table 11), or in omitting a letter that is usually doubled (*Tami* for *Tammy* or *Teri* for *Terry* are common examples).

Variations in representation of consonant sounds such as [s] and [ʃ] are also common; see Tables 12 and 13.

Also variable in spelling is [k], particularly when part of consonant clusters [kl] and [kr]. *Cloe* and *Cristeen*, and *Chleo* and *Chrystal* are examples of the pattern. To a limited extent, [f] is variable in representation. *Cleofas* for *Cleophas* is not uncommon; nor is *Pheraby* for *Feraby* or *Pharis* for *Farris*. *Phyllis* as *Fillis* (f, b) and *Felicia* as *Phelicia* (f, b) are probably influenced by convergent trends involving the two names, since intermediate forms exist, such as *Pheleisa*, *Phillisa*, and *Phyllisha*. Other names exchanging *ph* and *f* are rarely found, although isolated examples, such as *Falanda* for *Philander*, exist. Variations in the spelling of [j] are common and not particularly southern. Substitutions of *d* for *t* are common, particularly when the latter represents [d]; see Table 14.

Phonetic spelling of popular foreign names or of their anglicized pronunciation (a nonhomophonous change) leads to interesting variations. Some of these are listed in Table 15. Rowland and Sarah Collins document this process with the names *Yvonne* and *Juanita* (207-09).

Perhaps more interesting are the nonhomophonous changes, those which suggest the flavor of the English spoken by the users of the unusual names. Modification of the vowel sound preceding *r* has already been mentioned. In the South, [i] can be replaced by [e], or vice versa (Table 16). In many southern dialects, [i] and [e] are not consistently distinguished.

The sound [b] can convert to [v], as in *Luberta* > *Louverda*, *Luverta*, but curiously, neither this change nor the *d/t* substitution takes place with *Roberta*. Another example is *Auvrey* (f). The reverse is found in *Orbille* (m, w) from *Orville*. Similar is the change [f] > [p] as in *Theopilus* from *Theophilus* (Table 17). Interestingly, the homophonous substitution of *f* for *ph* is never seen in this name. Similarly, [t] > [θ] in *Cleothus* (*Cleotis*) and *Lubertha* (*Luberta*).

The palatization of [s] to [ʃ] can occur when [s] follows a stressed vowel and precedes an unstressed vowel (Table 18). Commonly, the unstressed vowel is lost.

Perhaps the most mutable name elements are terminal sibilants or sibilants preceding terminal vowels (Table 19).

Addition or subtraction of the coronal stops [d] and [t] following coronal sonorants [n], [r], and [l] occurs commonly at the end of a word or syllable; see Table 20.

Another common change involves the insertion or deletion of *r* following a vowel, either at the end of a word or preceding a consonant. Loss of *r* is less common and is more often than not a modification used by blacks, whereas addition of *r* is used by both blacks and whites. Examples are listed in Table 21.

Permilia, a regularly-occurring American name that can be traced back to the eighteenth century, evolved by several of these mechanisms from *Pamela*. During the nineteenth century, *Pamelia* [pæmilyð] was the dominant form of the name in the South. Intrusion of *r* into this variant as well as the standard form produced names such as *Parmelia* and *Parmela*. The presence of [r] facilitated the mutation of the preceding vowel into a variety of new sounds and orthographic representations (Table 22). A marriage record from Massachusetts records a single individual as both *Pamelia* and *Permilia* in separate listings.

Different from the clipping of names discussed above is syncope, the phonological dropping of unstressed vowels between a stressed antepenultimate syllable and a sonorant. Some examples are listed in Table 23.

The lengthening of a name by addition of an internal syllable is less common than elaboration by affixation, but some examples have been recorded (*Casandera*, *Charolette*, *Paterisa*, *Presseley*, *Sandara*). It takes place by inserting an unstressed vowel into a consonant-sonorant cluster, a standard practice in English names that has produced *Jessamine* from *Jasmine* and *Jeffery* from *Jeffrey*. Another example may possibly be found in the *Paralee* cluster (Table 24), if *Paralee* evolved by this mechanism from *Pearlie*. The change would involve not only the intrusion of the extra vowel, but also a change in the vowel sound in the first syllable, from [ʌ] to [æ] or [a]. However, *Paralee* is more common than *Pearlie* in the early nineteenth century, and intermediate forms, such as *Pairly* or *Pairlee*, are rare and strictly modern in occurrence.

Intentional, radical spelling variations are created for a variety of

reasons. In "Onomastic Individualism" Pyles analyzes some of these, and in "Bible Belt Onomastics" he mentions a "riming principle" as a mechanism used by parents to modify standard names. Some examples are listed in Table 25. Other modifications, such as *Autreana* from *Audrey*, are more complicated. Some name-givers make anagrams, such as *Glistern* from *Sterling* or *Trebor* from *Robert*. Others use modified anagrams, such as *Ynohtno* from *Anthony*, with an *o* substituted for the *a*. Probably a great many names that appear to be pure root creations are actually anagrams that are modified by addition, omission and substitution of letters, or by combining a selection of letters from more than one name, beyond hope of detection.

Pure root creation appears to be the origin of some southern names, most of them unique, listed in Table 26. Whereas it may be possible to classify these names according to one of the mechanisms above if more information were available, their origins are not clear.

One mechanism that does *not* serve as an origin for unusual southern names must be mentioned. Very few (if any) southern parents derive a child's name by looking up obscure words in Old English or Old Norse dictionaries. However, the authors of several name dictionaries apparently use this method to decipher modern non-standard names with interesting but highly questionable results.

Names within a cluster generally arise from a mixture of processes and almost all name clusters exhibit spelling variations. A single name may have been produced by more than one mechanism, or may be interpreted in more than one way. For example, *Vernice* can be regarded as a variation of *Bernice* by a *b/v* substitution, a blend of *Bernice* and *Verna*, or a compound of the popular name elements *ver-* and *-nice*.

Modern names are largely decipherable if sufficient information is available. *Permelia* is a mysterious name only until it is traced back in time in the context of its cluster. Context, linguistics, history, testimonials, and a large data base are our most powerful tools for deciphering modern names.

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Tables

The following abbreviations apply for all tables:

f = female; m = male; b = black; w = white; b. = born; b.c. = born circa; d. = died; dv. = divorced; m. = married; p. = parent (bore or sired a child); r. = recorded.

Table 1. State names.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>
Alabama	f, b	b. c. 1909	AR	Illinois	f, w	b. 1844	IL
"	f, w	b. 1874	MO	Indiana	f, --	b. 1902	AR
"	f, w	b. 1849	TN	"	f, b	b. 1849	TN
"	f, b	b. 1849	AL	"	f, b	b. 1849	AL
"	f, w	b. 1848	AL	"	f, w	b. 1839	MD
"	f, b	b. 1847	AL	"	f, w	b. 1801	GA
"	f, w	b. 1847	AL	Indianna	f, b	b. 1848	AL
"	f, w	b. 1844	AR	Louisiana	f, w	1850	VA
"	f, b	b. 1840	AL	"	f, w	b. 1849	AR
"	f, w	b. 1837	AL	"	f, --	m. 1849	LA
"	f, w	b. 1833	AL	"	f, w	b. 1839	AL
"	m, b	b. 1790	SC	Louisana	f, w	b. 1811	AR
Bama	f, --	b. 1800	AR	Louseane	f, --	r. 1985	AR
Bamma	--, --	r. 1978	FL	Maryland	f, b	b. 1957	AR
Alaska	--, --	r. 1987	AR	"	m, b	b.c. 1926	AR
Arizona	f, b	b. 1914	AR	"	f, w	b. 1847	AR
"	f, --	b. 1898	AR	"	f, b	r. 1986	AR
"	f, --	r. 1987	AR	"	f, b	r. 1987	AR
"	--, --	r. 1974	TN	"	f, --	r. 1974	TN
"	--, --	r. 1974	CA	"	f, --	r. 1986	TN
"	--, --	r. 1987	LA	Missippssy	m, w	b. 1843	AR
Arkansas	f, w	b. 1843	AR	Missouri	f, --	b.c. 1919	AR
"	f, w	b. 1848	AR	"	f, --	b.c. 1885	AR
Arkie	f, --	b. 1912	AR	"	f, w	b. 1871	MO
"	f, --	b. 1906	AR	"	f, w	b. 1852	MO
"	f, --	b. 1901	AR	"	f, w	b. 1849	AL
"	f, --	r. 1986	AR	"	f, b	b. 1848	AR
"	f, --	r. 1987	AR	"	f, w	b. 1847	TN
"	f, b	r. 1987	AR	"	f, w	b. 1846	GA
"	f, w	r. 1987	AR	"	f, w	b. 1843	AL
California	f, --	m. 1867	AR	Nebraska	f, --	r. 1985	AR
"	m, b	b. 1850	AL	Nevada	f, w	b. 1866	AR
"	f, w	b. 1838	FL	"	f, --	r. 1986	AR
Carolina (common)				"	--, --	r. 1976	NY
Dakota	f, --	r. 1983	FL	"	--, --	r. 1972	AL
"	--, --	r. 1976	NY	"	--, --	r. 1974	CA
Florida	f, w	d. 1881	NY	Okla	f, --	b.c. 1898	AR
"	--, --	r. 1976	NY	"	f, --	b. 1891	AR
"	--, --	r. 1978	FL	"	f, w	b.c. 1889	AR
"	--, --	r. 1972	AL	"	f, w	r. 1972	AL
"	--, --	r. 1974	CA	"	f, w	r. 1974	CA
"	--, --	r. 1974	TN	"	f, w	r. 1976	NY
Georgia (common)				Oklie	f, --	b. 1915	AR
(Sister of				Lahoma	f, --	r. 1987	AR
Alabama	f, w	b. 1841	AL				
and Louisiana)							

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Table 1. continued.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>
Tennessee	f, --	b. 1894	AR	Tensie	f, --	r. 1987	AR
"	f, b	b. 1887	AR	Tincy	f, w	b.c. 1931	AR
"	f, w	b. c. 1884	AR	Tinnie	f, --	r. 1980	FL
"	f, w	b. 1883	MO	"	f, --	r. 1986	AR
"	f, w	b. 1877	MO	"	f, --	r. 1986	MS
"	f, w	b. 1861	AR	Tinsy	f, w	b. 1858	MO
"	f, w	b. 1852	TN	Texas	m, --	b. 1967	AR
"	f, w	b. 1850	AR	"	f, w	b. 1901	TX
"	f, w	b. 1849	TN	Tex	m, --	r. 1974	CA
"	f, w	b. 1833	TN	"	m, --	r. 1978	FL
"	f, w	b. 1827	TN	"	m, --	r. 1974	TN
Tennessa	f, b	b. 1843	AL	Texana	f, --	b. 1862	AR
Tennie	f, --	b. 1919	AR	"	f, --	r. 1978	FL
"	f, --	b. 1908	AR	Texanna	f, --	r. 1987	AR
"	f, --	b. 1897	AR	Texie	f, --	r. 1979	FL
"	f, --	b. 1864	AR	Utah	m, --	r. 1986	AR
Tenny	f, --	r. 1985	AR	Wyoma	f, w	b.c. 1927	AR
Tennye	f, --	r. 1986	AR	"	f, b	r. 1987	AR
Tencie	--, --	r. 1978	FL	"	f, b	r. 1974	TN
Tensie	f, --	r. 1980	FL	Wyomi	--, --	r. 1978	FL
"	f, --	r. 1972	AL	Wyomia	--, --	r. 1974	CA

Table 2. English lexemes as names.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>
Anarchy	f, b	b. 1800	VA	Dimple	f, --	b. 1923	AR
Barefoot	m, w	r. 1985	TX	"	f, --	b.c. 1925	AR
Beadie	f, --	b. 1895	AR	"	f, b	b.c. 1926	AR
"	f, --	r. 1986	AR	"	f, w	b.c. 1904	AR
"	--, --	r. 1974	TN	"	f, b	b.c. 1908	AR
"	--, --	r. 1978	FL	Dimples	f, b	b.c. 1908	AR
Bean	m, w	b. 1849	TN	Famous	m, --	b. 1914	AR
"	m, --	r. 1986	AR	Favorette	f, b	b. 1849	TN
Beauty	f, b	r. 1986	AR	Fifth	f, --	r. 1981	FL
Boss	m, b	b. 1835	TN	Fourteen	--, b	b. 1888	AR
"	m, w	r. 1987	AR	Glee	m, --	b. 1923	AR
Brawny	m, --	b. 1977	AR	Glorious	f, --	r. 1979	FL
Brother	m, --	r. 1985	AR	Hermit	m, --	r. 1987	AR
"	m, --	r. 1985	TN	Lasagna	f, --	r. 1979	FL
Brownie	f, w	b. 1933	Ar	Lawyer	m, b	r. 1987	AR
"	m, w	r. 1978	AR	Memory	f, w	b. 1856	SC
Casket	m, b	b. 1849	AL	"	f, w	r. 1987	AR
Champion	m, b	b. 1848	AL	Mourning	f, w	b. 1850	AL
Classic	m, b	r. 1986	AR	"	f, b	b. 1834	AL
Cozy	m, b	r. 1987	AR	"	f, w	b. 1716	VA
Cutie	f, --	r. 1980	FL	Mutt	m, b	b. 1749	TN
Dare	m, b	b. 1838	AL	Nameless	f, --	b. 1911	AR
Dazzle	f, b	r. 1986	AR	Nylon	m, --	b. 1953	AR

Table 2. continued.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>
Orange	m, b	b. 1828	TN	RasBerry	m, --	b. 1901	AR
"	m, b	b. 1844	AL	Snow	m, --	r. 1986	AR
Organ	m, w	b. 1840	AL	"	f, b	r. 1986	AR
(has also been recorded as a black slave name by Puckett)				Sweetie	f, b	r. 1987	AR
Parrot	m, b	b. 1800	TN	Trellis	f, --	r. 1987	AR
Pebble	f, w	r. 1987	AR	Toot	f, --	b. 1977	AR
"	f, --	r. 1981	FL	Union	m, --	b. 1904	AR
"	--, --	r. 1974	TN	Winsome	f, --	b. 1896	AR

Table 3. *Ulysses/Eulis* cluster (male).

Three-Syllable Forms							
<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>
Ulysses	m, b	b. 1930	AR	Eulis	m, w	b. 1916	AR
"	m, w	b. 1869	MO	"	m, w	b. c. 1901	AR
"	--, --	r. 1978	FL	"	m, b	r. 1986	AR
"	--, --	r. 1987	LA	"	m, b	r. 1987	AR
Ulyses	m, b	r. 1986	AR	"	m, --	r. 1980	FL
"	m, --	r. 1976	NY	"	m, --	r. 1972	AL
"	--, --	r. 1974	CA	"	--, --	r. 1974	TN
Ulysess	m, --	r. 1985	AR	Eullas	m, --	r. 1985	AR
"	m, --	b. 1961	AR	Eulos	m, --	r. 1986	AR
"	m, --	b. 1964	AR	Eulous	m, --	b.c. 1908	AR
"	--, --	r. 1978	FL	Eulus	m, --	r. 1974	TN
"	--, --	r. 1987	AR	Eulyess	--, --	r. 1972	AL
Ulysus	m, --	r. 1950	AR	Hulus	m, --	r. 1986	AR
Ulyssus	m, b	r. 1988	AR	Ulas	m, --	b. 1911	AR
"	m, --	r. 1983	FL	"	--, --	r. 1972	AL
Ullissy	--, b	r. 1988	AR	Ules	m, --	r. 1983	AR
Ulysses	m, b	b.1915	AR	"	m, --	r. 1974	CA
Uylysses	--, --	r. 1978	FL	Ulis	m, b	r. 1985	AR
Ulessier	--, --	r. 1974	TN	"	m, --	r. 1986	AR
Ulessye	m, --	r. 1980	FL	"	m, --	r. 1974	CA
Ulises	--, --	r. 1974	CA	Ulisse	--, --	r. 1974	CA
Ulishus	--, --	r. 1974	CA	Ulos	m, --	r. 1972	AL
Ulissus	--, --	r. 1974	TN	Uulous	m, --	r. 1974	TN
Ullissus	m, w	b. 1867	MO	Uluess	--, --	r. 1974	TN
Two-Syllable Forms				Ulus	--, --	r. 1974	TN
Eulas	m, --	r. 1984	AR	Ulys	m, --	b. 1903	AR
"	m, b	r. 1987	AR	"	--, --	r. 1974	TN
"	f, w	b. c. 1898	AR	Ulyss	m, --	r. 1986	AR
Eules	--, --	r. 1974	CA	Ulysse	m, --	m. 1897	LA
Euless	--, --	r. 1972	AL	Uyleas	--, --	r. 1974	CA
"	--, --	r. 1974	TN	Uyless	--, --	r. 1978	FL
Eulice	m, --	r. 1978	FL	Youlous	m, --	r. 1981	FL
Eulies	m, --	r. 1986	AR				

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Table 4. *Icy* cluster.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>
Iceal	m, --	r. 1980	FL	Icy	f, b	b. c. 1912	AR
Icel	m, --	r. 1979	FL	"	f, --	b. 1893	AR
Iceland	f, --	b. 1918	AR	"	f, b	b. 1896	AR
Icely	m, --	r. 1980	FL	"	f, --	r. 1986	AR
Icelyn	--, --	r. 1974	TN	"	f, b	r. 1987	AR
Icema	--, --	r. 1974	TN	"	--, --	r. 1974	TN
Icephine	--, --	r. 1978	FL	"	--, --	r. 1979	FL
Iceola	f, b	b.c. 1922	AR	Icyle	--, --	r. 1974	CA
"	--, --	r. 1974	CA	Icylee	--, --	r. 1974	CA
Icey	f, w	b. 1955	AR	Icylina	--, --	r. 1974	CA
"	f, --	b.c. 1907	AR	Icyphe	--, --	r. 1974	CA
"	--, --	r. 1982	FL	Icyphe	f, b	b. c. 1927	AR
Iceland	--, --	r. 1978	FL	Icyphe	f, --	r. 1987	AR
Icia	f, --	b. c. 1922	AR	IsaLea	f, --	r. 1987	AR
Icie	f, --	b. 1904	AR	Isalene	--, --	r. 1972	AL
"	f, --	b. 1915	AR	Isaree	--, --	r. 1978	NY
"	f, --	b. c. 1908	AR	Isell	--, --	r. 1978	NY
"	f, --	r. 1978	FL	Isi	--, --	r. 1974	TN
"	--, --	r. 1980	FL	Isilee	--, --	r. 1987	AR
"	--, --	r. 1972	AL	Isley	m, b	b. c. 1913	AR
"	--, --	r. 1974	TN	Isly	f, w	b. 1842	TN
Iceilla	f, b	r. 1987	AR	Isolene	--, --	r. 1974	TN
Iceite	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Isolina	f, --	r. 1979	FL
Isora	f, --	m. 1892	LA	"	--, --	r. 1974	CA
				Isophenia	f, w	b. 1855	AR
				"	f, --	r. 1979	FL
				Isophine	f, --	r. 1980	FL
				"	f, --	r. 1985	AR

Table 5. *Burnis* cluster.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>
Bernace	m, --	r. 1986	AR	Burnice	m, --	r. 1985	AR
Bernes	m, --	r. 1987	AR	"	m, b	r. 1987	AR
	(female also)			"	m, b	r. 1988	NY
Bernest	m, --	b.c. 1906	AR	"	--, --	r. 1978	FL
"	m, --	r. 1987	AR	"	--, --	r. 1972	AL
"	m, --	r. 1974	TN	"	--, --	r. 1974	CA
Bernice	m, --	b.c. 1914	AR	"	--, --	r. 1974	TN
"	m, b	r. 1987	AR		(female also)		
"	m, --	r. 1986	AR	Burnis	m, b	b. 1929	AR
	(female also)			"	m, --	r. 1987	AR
Burnas	m, --	b. 1918	AR	"	m, --	r. 1984	AR
Burnes	m, --	r. 1987	AR	"	--, --	r. 1972	AL
"	m, --	r. 1974	TN	"	--, --	r. 1974	CA
	(female also)			"	--, --	r. 1974	TN
				Burnist	--, --	r. 1974	CA

Table 6. Vowel substitutions in unaccented syllables.

<i>Modified Spelling</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Standard Spelling</i>
Agnis	f, w	b. 1721	VA	Agnes
"	f, --	r. 1986	AR	"
Carylon	--, --	r. 1978	FL	Carolyn
Dorithy	f, w	b. 1726	VA	Dorothy
Emanda	f, --	b. 1853	AR	Amanda
Equilla	f, w	b. 1979	AR	Aquilla
Geaneva	--, --	r. 1972	AL	Geneva
Kristun	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Kristen
Malinday	f, w	b. 1824	AL	Melinda
Masouria	f, w	b. 1836	TN	Missouri
Matilday	f, b	b. 1817	AL	Mathilda
Oreather	f, --	dv. 1950	AR	Areatha
Phyless	f, b	r. 1987	AR	Phyllis
Precillah	f, --	b. 1730	VA	Priscilla
Remona	f, --	b. 1942	AR	Ramona
Sebrenia	--, --	r. 1986, 1987	AR	Sabrina
Sharlett	f, w	r. 1986	AR	Charlotte
Stephone	m, --	r. 1986	LA	Stephen
Suffiah	f, w	p. 1733	VA	Sophia
Tiffeny	f, --	b. 1975	MO	Tiffany
Theophalis	--, --	r. 1978	FL	Theophilus

Table 7. Substitutions for [i].

<i>Modified Spelling</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Standard Spelling</i>
Berneice	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Bernice
Cealie	f, --	r. 1986	AR	Celie
Corneila	f, w	b. 1852	TN	Cornelia
Cornellia	f, b	b. 1849	TN	Cornelia
Cornila	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Cornelia
Deadra	f, w	r. 1986	AR	Deirdre
Deedra	f, w	r. 1986	AR	Deirdre
Felecia	f, b	r. 1985	Ar	Felicia
"	f, --	b. 1962	AR	"
Feleecia	f, b	r. 1986	Ar	"
Geneiva	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Geheva
Irine	--, --	r. 1978	FL	Irene
Jeraldene	f, --	r. 1986	AR	Geraldine
Maureene	f, w	b.c. 1965	AR	Maureen
Nadean	f, --	b. 1934	TN	Nadine
"	f, --	b. 1959	AR	"
Nadyne	f, --	r. 1980	FL	Nadine
"	f, --	b. 1890	AR	"
Norien	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Noreen
Regena	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Regina
Seborn	m, w	b. 1823	AR	Seaborn
Sebrena	f, --	r. 1985	AR	Sabrina

Table 8. *Clayburn* cluster (male).

<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>
Clabern	--, --	r. 1974	TN	Claibourne	m, b	b. 1790	TN
Claborn	m, w	b. 1812	TN	"	m, w	b. 1903	AR
"	m, w	b. 1840	AR	Claybon	--, --	r. 1987	AR
"	m, w	b. 1847	AR	Clayborn	m, b	b. 1909	AR
"	m, b	b. 1850	AL	"	m, b	b. 1962	AR
"	--, --	r. 1974	TN	Clayborne	m, --	r. 1974	TN
Claborne	m, b	r. 1987	AR	Claybourn	m, w	b. 1842	TN
Clabourn	m, b	b. 1832	TN	Claybourne	m, --	r. 1974	TN
Clabren	--, --	r. 1974	TN	"	m, --	b. ca. 1942	AR
Claburn	m, w	b. 1843	AR	Clayburn	m, w	b. 1812	AR
"	--, --	r. 1974	CA	"	m, --	b. 1960	AR
Claibon	--, b	r. 1988	AR	Cleaborne	--, --	r. 1974	TN
Claiborn	m, w	b. 1815	NC	Cleabourn	m, --	r. 1985	AR
"	m, b	b. 1831	TN	Cleborn	m, --	r. 1985	TN
"	m, b	b. 1846	AL	"	--, --	r. 1974	TN
Claiborne	m, w	b. 1875	MO	Clebrn	--, --	r. 1972	AL
"	m, --	b. 1902	AR	Cleburne	m, --	b. 1918	AR
"	m, w	b. 1915	AR	"	m, --	r. 1985	AR
Claibourn	m, b	b. 1817	TN	"	--, --	r. 1974	TN
"	m, w	b. 1839	AR	Clyborn	m, w	b. 1732	VA

Table 9. Changes in vowels preceding *r*.

<i>Modified Spelling</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Standard Spelling</i>
Burnadean	f, --	b. 1962	AR	Bernadine
Carneal	m, --	dv. 1987	AR	Cornelius
"	--, --	r. 1974	TN	"
Clarence	m, --	b.1943	AR	Clarence
"	--, --	r. 1974	CA	"
Darkis	f,w	b.1844	AL	Dorcas
Earsalene	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Ursuline
Eircell	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Ursula
Ersaleen	f, --	b.1948	AR	Ursuline
Irlene	f, --	b. c.1899	AR	Earline
"	f,w	b. c.1922	AR	"
Mearl	m, w	b.1940	AR	Merle
"	m, --	b.1907	AR	"
Mirl	f, --	b.1914	AR	"
Murle	f, --	r. 1979	FL	"
"	m, --	b. c. 1898	AR	"
Myrl	m, --	b.1938	AR	"
"	m, --	b.1949	AR	"
"	f, --	b.1900	AR	"
Norcissa	f, --	b.1849	NC	Narcissa
Orgus	m,w	r. 1987	AR	Argus
Taresa	f, --	p. 1987	AR	Theresa
Toretha	f, --	r. 1986	AR	Theresa

Table 10. *a > ia*.

<i>Modified Spelling</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Standard Spelling</i>
Burial	m, w	b.c. 1936	AR	Burl or Burrell
Candiacce	f, --	b.c. 1938	AR	Candace
Cherial	f, --	r. 1979	FL	Cheryl
Cheryal	f, --	r. 1983	FL	"
Darrial	m, --	p. 1987	AR	Darrell
Darriel	m, --	r. 1978	FL	"
Fredia	f, --	b. 1959	AR	Freda
Genia	f, --	b.c. 1909	AR	Gina
Geriel	--, --	r. 1972	AL	Gerald
Gerriel	m, --	r. 1987	AR	"
Isiac	m, --	b.c. 1931	AR	Isaac
Lauria	f, --	b.c. 1905	AR	Laura
Merriell	--, --	dv. 1988	AR	Merrill
Regenia	f, --	b.c. 1926	AR	Regina
Ritia	f, --	b. 1894	AR	Rita
Sandria	f, b	b. 1986	AR	Sandra
Sharion	f, --	b.c. 1960	AR	Sharon
Sherion	f, --	dv. 1988	AR	"
Sheryall	f, --	dv. 1988	AR	Cheryl
Trevia	f, --	b. 1969	AR	Treva

Table 11. Doubled consonants.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>
Addrian	m, --	r. 1986	AR
Cleatess	m, --	b. 1909	AR
		(Cletus)	
Cletta	f, --	r. 1986	AR
		(Cleta)	
Eddith	f, --	b. 1733	VA
"	f, --	r. 1986	AR
"	f, --	r. 1987	AR
Pamella	f, --	r. 1979	FL
Ullysses	m, b	b. 1915	AR
Terressa	f, --	b. 1902	AR

Table 12. Spelling variation of [s].

<i>Modified Spelling</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Standard Spelling</i>
Sedric	m, --	b.1908	AR	Cedric
"	m, b	r. 1987	AR	"
Sedrick	m, --	b.1959	AR	"
"	m, --	r. 1982	FL	"
Ceburn	m, w	b.1913	AR	Seaborn
Cemantha	f, w	b.1850	AL	Samantha
Cymantha	f, w	b.1849	TN	"
"	f, b	b.1850	TN	"
Sindee	f, --	r. 1979	FL	Cindy
Sintha	f, w	b.1849	AR	Cynthia
"	f, --	b.1959	AR	"
Scintha	f, w	b.1844	GA	"
Scelena	--, --	r. 1972	AL	Salina
Scelestine	--, --	r. 1974	CA	Celestine
Scelia	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Celia
Scyble	--, --	r. 1974	TN	Sybil
Selest	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Celeste
Sealess	f, ---	r. 1987	AR	"
Jacen	m, b	b.1850	TN	Jason
Syrous	m, b	b.1848	TN	Cyrus
Janas	f, b	r. 1987	AR	Janice

Table 13. Spelling variations of [ʃ].

<i>Modified Spelling</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Standard Spelling</i>
Sharlene	f, --	b. 1948	AR	Charlene
"	f, --	b. 1969	AR	"
Sharlett	f, w	r. 1986	AR	Charlotte
Sharlot	f, b	b. 1848	AL	"
Scharlette	f, --	r. 1979	FL	"
Shantelle	f, --	b. 1967	AR	Chantal
Charon	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Sharon
Scheran	f, --	r. 1974	CA	"
Sherry	f, --	r. 1974	CA	Sherry
"	f, --	r. 1986	AR	"
Sharol	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Cheryl
Scherryl	--, --	t. 1974	CA	"
"	--, --	r. 1978	FL	"
Scheryl	f, w	r. 1974	AR	"
Scheryle	f, --	r. 1983	FL	"
Machelle	f, --	b. 1970	AR	Michelle
Mischell	f, --	b. 1966	AR	"
Marchel	m, --	r. 1987	AR	Marshall

Table 14. *d/t* substitutions.

<i>Modified Spelling</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Standard Spelling</i>
Bedrix	f, w	b. 1773	NC	Beatrix, Beatrice
Cleadus	m, --	r. 1986	AR	Cletus
Cledis	m, --	r. 1986	AR	"
"	f, --	r. 1986	AR	"
Cledus	m, --	b. 1968	AR	"
Comford	f, b	b. 1777	VA	Comfort
Elberdia	f, --	r. 1986	AR	Elberta
Jacinda	f, b	r. 1985	Ar	Jacinta
"	f, --	r. 1982	FL	"
Kady	f, --	b. 1985	AR	Katy
Loubardia	f, --	r. 1985	AR	Luberta
Lubirda	f, --	r. 1987	AR	"
"	f, --	r. 1974	CA	"
Luverda	f, --	r. 1985	AR	"
Nadale	f, w	b. 1922	AR	Natalie
Winefritt	f, w	b. 1727	VA	Winifred
Winnifret	f, w	b. 1729	VA	"

Table 15. Phonetic spelling of foreign names.

<i>Modified Spelling</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Standard Spelling</i>
Alewishes	f, --	r.1980	FL	Aloysius (m)
Anthwine	m, w	b.1834	KY	Antoine
Antwan	m, b	r.1987	AR	"
"	m, --	b.1988	NY	"
Antwania	f, b	b.1975	AR	"
Antwaun	m, b	r.1987	AR	"
Antwine	m, --	b.1965	AR	"
Antwon	m, b	b.1981	AR	"
Elewese	f, --	b.1925	AR	Eloise
Ellouise	f, --	b.c.1930	AR	"
Elloweise	--, --	r.1974	TN	"
Elois	f, --	b.c.1927	AR	"
Eloiuse	f, b	b.1922	AR	"
"	f, --	b.1932	AR	"
Eloweze	f, b	b.1850	TN	"
Elweis	f, --	r.1987	AR	"
Louweegi	m, b	r.1987	AR	Luigi
Waneta	--, --	r.1978	NY	Juanita
"	--, --	r.1878	FL	"
Wanita	f, --	r.1986	AR	"
"	f, --	b.1964	AR	"
Etoil	f, --	r.1985	AR	Etoile
"	--, --	r.1974	CA	"
"	f, --	r.1987	AR	"
Etoilee	f, --	r.1985	AR	"

Table 15. continued.

<i>Modified Spelling</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Standard Spelling</i>
Etola	f, --	r. 1986	AR	Etoile
"	--, --	r. 1978	NY	"
Etolia	--, --	r. 1972	AL	"
Etolie	f, --	b.c.1905	AR	"
Etoulyou (?)	--, --	r. 1978	FL	"
Etoy	f, --	r. 1987	AR	"
"	--, --	r. 1972	AL	"
"	--, --	r. 1974	CA	"
Etoye	f, --	r. 1986	TN	"
Etoyle	--, --	r. 1972	AL	"
Ettoile	f, --	r. 1980	FL	"
Toylee	f,b	b.1948	AR	"
Twala	f, --	r. 1986	AR	"
Twila	f, --	b.1931	AR	"
"	f, --	b.1964	AR	"
Twilla	f,b	b.c.1934	AR	"
"	f, --	r. 1986	AR	"
Twillie	f, --	r. 1986	AR	"
Twolla	f, --	b.1965	AR	"
Twyla	f, --	b.1964	AR	"
"	f, --	b.c.1921	AR	"
"	f, --	b.1955	AR	"
Twylla	f, --	b.1955	AR	"
"	f,w	b.c.1947	AR	"

Table 16. [I]/ [ε]

[I] > [ε]				[ε] > [I]			
<i>Spelling</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Spelling</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>
Clenton	m, --	r.1987	AR	Binjamy	m, b	b. 1826	GA
"	--, --	r.1978	FL	Brinda	f, w	b.c. 1931	AR
Helda	f, --	b.1956	AR	"	f, --	r. 1982	FL
Kemberly	f, --	dv.1987	AR	Climent	--, --	r. 1978	NY
Lenda	f, --	r.1983	AR	Gwindolyn	f, --	r. 1987	AR
Olevia	f, --	b.1905	AR	Reginald	m, --	b. 1974	AR
"	f,w	b.1847	TN	Timpey	f, b	b. 1815	AL
"	f,w	b.1851	GA	(= Temy, dim of Temperance)			
Presellia	f,w	b.c.1937	AR	Tinnie	F, --	r. 1980	FL
Teffaney	f, --	r.1979	FL	"	f, --	r. 1986	AR
Ulessar	--, --	r.1974	TN	"	f, --	r. 1986	MS
				(= Tennie, dim. of Tennessee)			
				Windell	m, b	b. 1922	AR
				"	m, --	b. 1947	AR
				Windy	f, --	b. 1963	AR

Table 17. *Theophilus* cluster.

Name	Group	Date	State	Name	Group	Date	State
Theophilus	m, w	b. 1849	AR	Theopilus	m, b	b. 1941	AR
Thelophus	m, --	r. 1986	AR	Theoples	m, --	b. 1913	AR
Theopalis	m, b	r. 1986	AR	"	m, b	b.c. 1935	AR
"	m, b	r. 1987	AR	Theoplious	--, --	r. 1974	TN
Theophalis	--, --	r. 1978	FL	Theoplis	m, --	b. 1929	AR
Theophelus	m, w	m.1848	LA	"	m, b	b.c. 1925	AR
Theophiles	m, w	m.1848	LA	"	--, --	r. 1972	AL
Theophilis	m, w	r. 1987	AR	"	--, --	r. 1974	TN
Theophilus	--, --	r. 1972	AL	Theopolis	m, --	r. 1987	AR
Theophilues	--, b	b. 1864	AR	"	--, --	r. 1974	CA
Theophilus	m, w	b. 1847	AL	Theoppolis	m, b	r. 1987	AR
"	m, b	b. 1908	AR	Theopris	m, --	p. 1987	AR
"	m, --	r. 1980	FL	Therophis	m, b	r. 1987	AR
Theophis*	m, b	b.c. 1913	AR	Thesphilus	m, w	b. 1837	LA
Theopholus	m, --	r. 1978	FL	Thophyla	m, w	b. 1839	AR
Theophulus	m, w	b. 1860	AR				
Theophus*	m, --	b.c. 1918	AR				

*blend of Theophilus and Cleophas

Table 18. [s] > [ʃ].

Modified Spelling	Group	Date	State	Standard Spelling
Earshlie	--, --	r. 1978	NY	Ursula
Joshlyn	f, --	r. 1987	LA	Jocelyn
"	m, --	b. 1957	AR	"
Joshephine	--, --	r. 1972	AL	Josephine
Ulishus	--, --	r. 1974	CA	Ulysses

Table 19. Modification of terminal sibilants or sibilants preceding terminal vowels.

Modified Spelling	Group	Date	State	Standard Spelling
Anitha	--, --	r. 1974	TN	Anita
Cledith	m, w	1987	AR	Cletus
"	--, --	r. 1972	AL	"
Feleshia	f, --	r. 1982	FL	Felicia
Felica	f, --	r. 1987	AR	"
Felisia	f, --	m.1890	AR	"
Felitha	f, --	r.1979	FL	"
Janith	f, --	r. 1986	AR	"
"	f, --	r. 1979	FL	Janice
Malesia	f, --	r. 1979	FL	Melissa
Maletha	f, w	b.1832	TN	"
Melisha	f, --	r. 1988	FL	"
Melisia	f, --	r. 1987	AR	"
Meliza	f, --	m.1891	LA	"
Patrichia	f, --	r. 1978	NY	Patricia
Terecia	f, --	b.1922	AR	Theresa

Table 19. continued.

Tereetha	f,--	r. 1986	AR	Theresa
Teretha	f, b	r. 1986	AR	"
Tereza	f,--	b. 1968	AR	"
Therecha	f,--	r. 1980	FL	"
Therescia	f,--	r. 1983	FL	"
Vanescia	--, --	r. 1974	CA	Vanessa

Table 20. Addition and deletion of *d* and *t*.

Consonant Added				
<i>Modified Spelling</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Standard Spelling</i>
Eveland	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Evelyn
Eamond	m, b	r. 1987	AR	Eamon
Verlond	m, --	r. 1987	AR	Verlon
Handson	m, --	r. 1987	AR	Hanson
Rachald	f, --	p. 1729	VA	Rachel
Carold	m, --	r. 1987	AR	Carroll
Carrold	m, w	r. 1987	AR	Carroll
Evond	m, --	b. 1957	AR	Evan, Evon
Roziland	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Rosalyn
Consonant Dropped				
Geralene	f, b	b. 1931	AR	Geraldine
Millesin	f, w	b. 1716	VA	Millicent
Sealless	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Celeste
Garlan	m, --	r. 1986	AR	Garland
Emeral	m, b	r. 1987	AR	Emerald (f)
Hilligard	f, b	r. 1987	AR	Hildegard
Gwenolyn	f, b	r. 1987	AR	Gwendolyn

Table 21. Insertion and deletion of *r*.

Insertion				
<i>Modified Spelling</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Standard Spelling</i>
Abergale	f, w	b. 1848	KY	Abigail
Anner	f, w	b. 1827	AL	Anna
Dorcorrs	f, w	p. 1728	VA	Dorcas
Everlener	f, b	b. c.1925	AR	Evelyn
Everlenia	f, b	r. 1987	AR	"
Everlyn	f, b	r. 1987	AR	"
(daughter of Everlenia)				
Henryetor	f, w	b. 1842	AL	Henrietta
Henryetter	f, w	b. 1850	TN	"
Isabellar	f, w	b. 1850	AL	Isabella
Jacqueline	--, --	r. 1974	TN	Jacqueline
Lener	f, --	b. 1913	AR	Lena
Liller	f, b	b. 1832	GA	Lilla, Lily
Orbray	m, --	r. 1986	AR	Aubrey
Orbrey	m, --	r. 1986	AR	"
Orbry	m, --	r. 1974	TN	"
Oreather	f, --	dv.1950	AR	Areatha
Prisciller	f, b	b. 1835	TN	Priscilla
Reather	f, b	b. 1913	AR	Areatha
"	f, --	r. 1974	TN	"
Deletion				
Canelia	f, b	r. 1987	AR	Cornelia
Ceasa	m, b	b. 1805	AL	Caesar
Conneliaus	--, --	r. 1988	AR	Cornelius
Estah	f, w	b. 1848	AL	Esther
Falanda	m, b	r. 1987	TX	Philander
Herbeten	f, b	r. 1987	AR	Herbertine

Table 22. *Pamela* cluster.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>
Pam	f, w	b. 1814	TN	Pamie	f, w	r. 1986	AR
"	f, --	b. 1960	AR	Pamilla	f, w	m. 1825	MA
"	f, w	b. 1963	AR	"	f, --	r. 1980	FL
Pamala	f, --	b. c.1952	AR	"	--, --	r. 1974	TN
"	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Pamla	--, --	r. 1974	CA
Pamela	f, w	b. 1783	MA	Pamm	--, --	r. 1988	AR
Pamelar	f, w	b. 1850	AR	Pammy	f, --	r. 1980	FL
Pamelia	f, w	b. 1802	VA	"	f, --	dv. 1987	AR
"	f, w	b. 1829	MO	Parmela	f, w	b. 1768	MA
"	f, w	b. 1845	MS	Parmelia	f, w	b. 1806	TN
"	f, w	m. 1839	MA	"	f, w	b. 1815	SC
Pamella	f, --	r. 1979	FL	"	f, w	b. 1849	AR
Pamelle	f, --	r. 1974	TN	Permelia	f, w	b. 1815	GA
Pamellia	f, --	r. 1980	1980	"	f, w	b. 1815	SC
Pamesia	f, w	r. 1986	AR	"	f, w	b. 1821	TN

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Table 22. continued.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>
Permella	f, w	b. 1821	AL	"	f, w	b. 1849	AL
"	f, b	b. 1825	AL	"	f, w	b. 1860	NC
"	f, w	b. 1828	TN	"	f, --	r. 1986	AR
"	f, w	1832	GA	Permella	f, w	m. 1891	LA
"	f, w	b. 1846	TN	Permillia	f, --	r. 1979	FL
"	f, w	b. 1847	AR	Purmella	f, w	b. 1851	AR
"	f, w	b. 1848	AL				

Table 23. Syncope.

<i>Shortened Form</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Standard Form</i>
Brittney	f, b	b.c. 1987	AR	Brittany
Flarnce	f, --	r. 1986	AR	Florence
Gearldine	f, --	b. 1920	AR	Geraldine
Jacklynn	f, --	b. 1970	AR	Jacquelyn
Jermey	m, --	r. 1979	FL	Jeremy
Rodric	--, --	r. 1974	CA	Roderick
Tamra	f, w	r. 1987	AR	Tamara
"	f, w	r. 1988	AR	"
Zacry	m, w	b. 1847	AR	Zachary

Table 24. *Pearlie/Paralee* cluster.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>
Pairle	f, --	r. 1979	FL	Parilee	f, w	b. 1845	AL
Pairlee	f, b	r. 1987	AR	"	f, w	b. 1854	MO
"	f, --	r. 1986	AR	"	f, w	b. 1875	MO
"	f, --	r. 1987	AR	"	f, --	b. 1898	AR
Parahlee	--, --	r. 1978	FL	Parilla	f, w	b. 1830	TN
Paralee	f, w	b. 1824	AL	Parlee	f, w	b. 1846	TN
"	f, w	b. 1826	TN	"	f, w	b. 1861	MO
"	f, b	b. 1835	TN	"	f, w	b. 1879	MO
"	f, b	b. 1844	TN	"	f, --	r. 1987	AR
"	f, w	b. 1848	AR	Parlena	f, w	b. 1849	TN
"	f, w	b. 1865	MO	Parlie	f, w	b. 1869	AR
"	f, w	b. 1880	MO	"	f, --	r. 1987	AR
"	f, --	b. 1962	AR	Parline	--, --	r. 1978	FL
ParaLee	f, --	r. 1986	AR	Parly	f, w	b. 1832	TN
Paralie	f, --	b. c.1909	AR	Parolee	f, w	b. 1848	AR
Paralle	f, w	b. 1838	AL	"	f, --	r. 1987	AR
Paralissa	f, b	b. 1845	TN	Parreelee	f, w	b. 1848	AR
Parelee	f, w	b. 1848	AL	Parrilee	f, w	b. 1932	TN
Parelee	f, --	b. 1910	AR	"	m, w	b. 1851	AR
Parila	f, --	b. 1854	MO	Pearalee	f, --	r. 1987	AR

Table 24. continued.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>
Pearl	f, w	b. 1870	IN	Pearlina	f, b	r. 1986	AR
"	f, --	b. 1889	AR	"		r. 1987	AR
"	f, b	b. 1901	AR	Pearline	f, b	b. 1883	AR
"	f, --	b. 1903	AR	"	f, b	b. 1904	AR
"	f, --	b. 1910	AR	"	f, --	b. 1958	AR
Pearla	f, --	b. c.1925	AR	Pearly	f, --	b. 1917	AR
"	--, --	r. 1978	FL	"	f, --	b. 1921	AR
Pearle	f, w	b. c.1896	AR	"	f, --	b. 1984	AR
"	f, --	b. c.1906	AR	Perel	--, --	r. 1974	CA
Parlean	--, --	r. 1972	AL	Perl	f, --	b. 1907	AR
"	--, --	r. 1974	TN	Perla	f, --	r. 1979	FL
"	--, --	r. 1974	CA	Perlah	f, b	b. 1903	AR
"	--, --	r. 1978	FL	Perle	f, --	b. 1899	AR
Pearleana	f, b	r. 1987	AR	"	--, --	r. 1988	NY
Pearlee	f, --	b. c.1901	AR	Perlana	--, --	r. 1974	CA
"	--, --	r. 1974	CA	Perleta	f, --	b. c.1913	AR
"	--, --	r. 1978	FL	Perlie	--, --	r. 1972	AL
Pearlene	f, w	r. 1987	AR	Perlina	f, w	b. 1810	VA
"	f, b	r. 1987	AR	"	f, w	b. 1832	AR
Pearley	f, --	r. 1980	FL	"	f, w	b. 1841	AL
"	--, --	r. 1972	AL	Perline	f, w	p. 1881	AR
"	--, --	r. 1874	TN	"	f, --	r. 1985	AR
"	--, --	r. 1974	CA	"	f, b	r. 1987	AR
"	--, --	r. 1978	NY	Peryl	f, --	r. 1979	FL
Pearlie	f, --	b. 1904	AR	Purley	--, --	r. 1972	AL
"	f, --	b. 1909	AR	Purlie	f, --	r. 1974	CA
"	f, --	b. 1911	AR				
"	f, --	b. 1938	AR				
"	f, --	b. 1960	AR				

Table 25. Deliberate spelling variation.

<i>Modified Spelling</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Standard Spelling</i>
Changes In One Or More Letters				
Arbara	f, --	b. 1965	AR	Barbara
Ceotis	m, --	r. 1987	AR	Cleotis
(brother of Cleotis)				
Clester	m, --	r. 1987	AR	Chester
"	--, --	r. 1987	FL	"
Damilla	f, b	r. 1987	AR	Camilla
(sister of Camilla)				
Eatricia	f, --	r. 1986	MS	Patricia
Ebra	f, --	r. 1980	FL	Deborah
Geroy	m, b	r. 1985	AR	Leroy
Glois	f, b	b. 1943	AR	Lois
Gloyd	m, --	dv.1988	AR	Lloyd
Grachel	f, --	r. 1983	AR	Rachel

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Table 25. continued.

Leatrice	f, b	b. 1900	AR	Beatrice
LePolian	m, b	b. 1959	AR	Napoleon
Meraldine	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Geraldine
	(sister of Geraldine)			
Ramogene	f, --	r. 1986	AR	Imogen
Teroy	m, b	b. 1940	AR	Leroy
Anagrams				
Derfla	f, --	b. c.1915	AR	Alfred
"	f, --	r. 1974	CA	"
Glistern	m, b	b. 1967	AR	Sterling
Ledna	f, --	b. c.1921	AR	Alden or Dan(i)el
Ranel	m, --	r. 1987	AR	Arlen
Seretha	f, --	r. 1986	AR	Theresa
"	f, --	r. 1974	TN	"
Thides	f, --	r. 1987	AR	Edith + s
Trabue	f, --	r. 1974	TN	Aubert
Trebor	m, --	b. 1908	AR	Robert
Ynohtno	m, --	r. 1987	AR	O + (A)nthony

Table 26. Invented names (or names of obscure origin).

<i>Name</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>State</i>
Dethoil	m, --	dv. 1987	AR
Doie	f, --	r. 1987	AR
Dwedor	m, b	r. 1987	AR
Erkle	f, --	b. 1914	AR
Firch	m, --	r. 1986	AR
Fleeo	f, --	r. 1985	AR
Flerory	m, --	r. 1981	FL
Fliphem	m,w	b. 1798	MO
Gerstle	m,w	r. 1987	AR
"	m, --	r. 1981	CA
Huock	m, w	r. 1987	AR
Kokel	m, b	b. 1986	AR
Larfell	m, --	b. 1971	AR
Newata	f, --	b. 1947	AR
Remakon	--, --	r. 1974	TN
Rignita	f, --	r. 1987	AR
Sifinta	f, b	r. 1987	AR
Shufungus	m, b	b. 1972	AR
Teavorice	m, b	dv. 1987	AR
Teheva	f, w	b. 1967	AR
Tramu	m, w	b. 1794	SC
Welza	m, w	r. 1987	AR