# Final Letter Compared with Final Phoneme in Male and Female Names 

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First names of male and female residents in the United States in 1950 and 1990 were divided into three categories: the 100 most frequent names in 1950 and also in 1990, in 1950 only, and in 1990 only. The final letter more often than the final phoneme was associated with the same sex. The final letter was associated with the same sex more often for male than female names and therefore was more often predominantly male. Names that were the 100 most frequent in 1990 only had a final phoneme that was associated with the same sex more often for female than male names and therefore were more often predominantly female.

## Introduction

The ending appears to be the best single criterion for differentiating between male and female first names. Barry and Harper (1995) reported that among the 25 most frequent first names given in Pennsylvania in 1960 and 1990, the final phoneme was a consonant for most male names and a vowel for most female names. Barry and Harper (1998) found the same difference between male and female names in lists of the 50 most frequent first names compiled by Dunkling (1995).

The final spelled letter instead of the final spoken phoneme was analyzed by Barry and Harper (2000). An unusually large sample consisted of the 500 most frequent male and female first names given in Pennsylvania in 1990. The final letter was a, e, or $\underline{i}$ for $67 \%$ of female and $12 \%$ of male names. The final letter was $\underline{h}$ or $y$ for $14 \%$ of male and $15 \%$ of female names. Other final letters were the endings for $74 \%$ of male and $18 \%$ of female names.
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Different final letters of first names have been associated with male and female names since ancient times. In Latin, the final letter was always a for female names and us for male names (Ingraham, 1997, pp. 478-480). In English, different final letters are less consistently associated with male and female names.

The present paper compares the final spelled letter with the final spoken phoneme in male and female names. The comparison was applied to the 100 most frequent first names of United States residents in 1950 and 1990. The names in 1950 constitute estimates of frequency by Smith (1950), obtained largely from Social Security records. The names in 1990 are from the decennial census in 1990 (United States Census, 1990). Additional information is from first name frequencies in separate decades, 1900-1999, listed by the Social Security Administration (1999).

## Procedure

The final letter and final phoneme were identified for each of the 100 most frequent male and female first names of United States residents in 1950 and 1990. The birth dates of most of the 1950 residents were between 1870 and 1932 because in 1950 very few residents obtained a social security number prior to the age of 18 years. The birth dates of most of the 1990 residents were between 1910 and 1990. Some residents born between 1910 and 1932 were counted in both years. Most residents born before 1910 were counted only in 1950. Most residents born after 1932 were counted only in 1990.

The final letter of each name was identified by one of three codes: predominantly female, ambiguous, or predominantly male. Fifteen final letters, $\underline{b}, \underline{c} \underline{d}, \underline{k}, \underline{m}, \underline{n}, \underline{0}$ $\mathrm{p}, \underline{\mathrm{r}} \underline{\mathrm{s}}, \underline{\mathrm{t}}, \underline{\mathrm{w}}$, and $\underline{\mathrm{x}}$, are predominantly male. Two final letters, $\underline{\mathrm{h}}$ and $y$ are ambiguous because of similar frequencies in male and female names. Three final letters, a, e, and $\underline{i}$, are predominantly female. None of the names ended in one of the remaining six letters of the alphabet ( $\mathcal{f}, \mathfrak{j}, \underline{u}, \underline{v}$ and $\underline{z}$ ). Final letters associated with the same sex are predominantly male for male names and predominantly female for female names. Final letters associated with the opposite sex are
predominantly female for male names and predominantly male for female names.

Each final phoneme also was identified by one of three codes: predominantly male, ambiguous, or predominantly female. Predominantly male final phonemes are most consonant phonemes and the vowel phoneme $\underline{o}$ as in boat. Ambiguous final phonemes are sonorant, either nasal ( $\underline{m}, \underline{n}$, or $\underline{\mathrm{ng}}$ ) or resonant ( $\underline{\underline{r}}$ or $\underline{1}$ ). Predominantly female final phonemes are vowels except $\underline{\underline{o}}$. The criteria were described by Barry and Harper (1995). A subsequent change is that the vowel phoneme $\underline{o}$ is a male instead of female final phoneme.

The information on each first name was recorded in an electronic data file using a computer program package (SPSS, 1994) and procedures described by Barry (1995). Statistical significance of differences between two frequencies was tested by Chi Square with one degree of freedom. The two-tailed criterion and the correction for continuity were used to protect against invalid conclusions of statistical significance.

## Results

The 100 most frequent first names of male and female residents in the United States in 1950 and 1990 are divided into three categories. (1) The 100 most frequent in 1950 and also in 1990. (2) The 100 most frequent in 1950 but not in 1990. (3) The 100 most frequent in 1990 but not in 1950.

Tables 1-6 contain a total number of 147 male and 150 female names, divided into three categories. The first category, persistently popular, contains 53 male names listed in Table 1 and 50 female names listed in Table 2. Each name is followed by its rank frequency between 1 (most frequent) and 100 (least frequent), separately in 1950 and 1990. The second category, previously popular, contains 47 male names listed in Table 3 and 50 female names listed in Table 4. The rank frequency in 1950 is shown. They are the remaining names among the 100 most frequent in 1950 after removing the 53 male and 50 female names that were among the 100 most frequent in 1990 also. The third category, subsequently popular, contains 47 male names listed in Table 5 and 50 female names listed in Table 6. The rank frequency in 1990 is shown. They replaced in 1990 the same numbers of names that were among the 100 most frequent in 1950 but not in 1990.

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inal phoneme (FP) are associated with same sex ( opposite sex (O).


Name
Table 2. The 50 most female first names that were among the 100 most frequent in 1950 and also in 1990. Rank order frequency is shown for residents in 1950 and 1990. The final letter (FL) and final phoneme (FP) are associated with same sex (S), ambiguous (A), or associated with opposite sex (O).
Name $\qquad$
Mary Elizabeth Barbara $\stackrel{\square}{\square}$ Margaret Ruth Virginia Jean Fancy
Natricia











 1990



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Table 3．The 47 male first names that were among the 100 most frequent in 1950 but not in 1990 ． Rank order frequency is shown for residents in 1950．The final letter（FL）and final phor Rank order frequency号 のひむ



## Name

Francis
Frederick
Alexander
Edwin
Alfred
Herbert
Jacob
Theodore
Lewis
Hugh
Isaac
Nathaniel
Edmond
Horace
Oliver
Oscar
Augustus
Edgar
Elmer
Stanley
Herman
Franklin
Abraham
Leonard
Table 4．The 50 female first names that were among the 100 most frequent in 1950 but not in 1990．Rank order frequency is shown for residents in 1950．The final letter（FL）and final phoneme（FP）are associated with same sex（S），ambiguous（A），or associated with opposite sex （ 0 ）．
が仙 ○ ○

1950
17
18
20
26
28
29
31
36
39
40
44
45
46
47
48
50
51
52
54
55
57
58
60
61
62
Name


1950
63
68
69
72
73
75
76
77
78
79
82
83
84
85
87
89
91
92
93
94
96
97
98
99
100 Name

Pauline
Esther
Marian
Caroline
Rita
Priscilla
Violet
Beatrice
Geraldine
Hazel
Emma
Gladys
Adeline
Stella
Agnes
Elsie
Constance
Eileen
Genevieve
Rosalie
Cecilia
Joanne
Carmella
Vivian
Lucy

Dolores
Eleanor
Florence
Lorraine
Grace
Marjorie
Josephine
Marion
Lucille
Ellen
Harriet
June
Bernice
Jeanne
Charlotte
Loretta
Katharine
Elaine
Clara
Edith
Gertrude
Sylvia
Rosemary
Sally
Edna

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Table 5. The 47 male first names that were among the 100 most frequent in 1990 but not in 1950. Rank order frequency is shown for residents in 1990. The final letter (FL) and final phoneme (FP) are associated with same sex (S), ambiguous (A), or associated with opposite sex





Name
Mark
Steven
Brian
Ronald
Kevin
Jason
Gary
Jose
Larry
Jeffrey
Scott
Eric
Gregory
Jerry
Dennis
Douglas
Ryan
Joe
Juan
Jack
Justin
Terry
Gerald
Keith
Table 6. The 50 female first names that were among the 100 most frequent in 1990 but not in
( 1950 ) and final (FP) are associated with same sex (S), ambiguous (A), or associated with opposite sex phoneme
(O).


 Name Linda
Jennifer
Maria
Lisa
Karen
Sandra
Donna
Sharon
Michelle
Kimberly
Deborah
Jessica
Cynthia
Angela
Melissa
Brenda
Amy
Rebecca
Kathleen
Pamela
Debra
Amanda
Stephanie
Christine
Diane

The first category of names is defined as the 100 most frequent in 1950 and also in 1990. An additional characteristic of these names is that in both years they contained a high proportion of the most popular names, such as rank frequencies between 1 and 25 . In comparison with a rank frequency between 26 and 100, names with a rank frequency between 1 and 25 in one year are more likely to have a rank frequency between 1 and 100 in the other year. Popularity of names usually changes gradually instead of suddenly.

Among the 25 most frequent names in 1950, three male and three female names were the 100 most frequent in 1950 only instead of 1950 and also 1990. Among the 25 most frequent names in 1990, six male and 11 female names were the 100 most frequent in 19990 only instead of 1990 and also 1950. Increase is usually more rapid than decrease in popularity of a name. Combining male and female names, 17 names were the 25 most frequent in 1990 but not the 100 most frequent in the prior year, 1950, compared with six names that were the 25 most frequent in 1950 but not the 100 most frequent in the subsequent year, 1990. More rapid change in popularity of female than male names is indicated by the larger number of 14 female names than nine male names that were the 25 most frequent in 1950 only or 1990 only but not the 100 most frequent in 1950 and also 1990.

For each name in Tables 1-6, the final letter (FL) and final phoneme (FP) are coded by one of three letters that designate the association of the ending with sex of the name. The letter S indicates association with the same sex, which is a predominantly male ending of a male name or a predominantly female ending of a female name. The letter A indicates ambiguous because the frequency of the ending is similar in male and female names. The letter $O$ indicates association with the opposite sex, which is a predominantly female ending of a male name or a predominantly male ending of a female name.

Table 7 shows, separately for the final letter and final phoneme, the percentages of endings that are associated with same sex (S), are ambiguous (A), and are associated with opposite sex (O). The totals of the three percentages are $100 \%$ except $101 \%$ for the final letter of male names in 1990 only. The deviation from $100 \%$ is due to the effect of rounding the percentages to two digits.
Table 7. Summary of information in Tables 1-6. Percentages of names are shown with a final letter (FL) and final phoneme (FP) associated with same sex, ambiguous, and associated with opposite sex.
Ambiguous Opposite Sex

| Opposite Sex |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| FL FP |  |
|  |  |
| $11 \%$ | $20 \%$ |


$\begin{array}{ll}13 \% & 15 \% \\ 36 \% & 28 \%\end{array}$
17\%
$30 \%$ *
$4 \%$

| Ambiguous |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| FL | FP |
|  |  |
| $19 \%$ | $35 \%$ |
| $16 \%$ | $33 \%$ |
|  |  |
| $15 \%$ | $36 \%$ |
| $22 \%$ | $34 \%$ |
|  |  |
| $15 \%$ | $36 \%$ |
| $8 \%$ | $40 \%$ |
|  |  |
| $28 \%$ | $32 \%$ |
| $18 \%$ | $24 \%$ |

from the opposite sex.

```
    Same Sex
```


$47 \%$
49\%
$38 \%$
47\% $32 \%$

$38 \%$
$72 \%$ ** for difference
 150
n
47
50

47
50 ** All Names
Male
Female 1950, 1990
Male
Female
1950 Only
Male
1990 Only
Male
GO

In Table 7, the percentages for all 147 male and 150 female names are followed by the percentages for the three categories of names. The first category contains 53 male and 50 female names that were the 100 most frequent in 1950 and also 1990. These names are listed in Tables 1 and 2. The second category contains 47 male and 50 female names that were the 100 most frequent in 1950 only. These names are listed in Tables 3 and 4 . The third category contains 47 male and 50 female names that were the 100 most frequent in 1990 only. These names are listed in Tables 5 and 6.

Combining the total of 147 male and 150 female names, the association with the same sex averages $64 \%$ of the final letters and $46 \%$ of the final phonemes. The sex difference was tested for statistical reliability by comparing the two types of endings in each name. The ending was associated with the same sex for 86 final letters but not final phonemes and for 30 final phonemes but not final letters. The larger number of names with a final letter than final phoneme associated with the same sex is statistically significant (Chi Square $=14.34, \underline{\mathrm{df}}=$ $1, \mathrm{p}<.001$ ).

The same comparison between the two types of endings showed that the final phoneme was ambiguous in 100 names and the final letter was ambiguous in 51 names. An ambiguous final letter and ambiguous final phoneme never occurred in the same name. The larger number of names with an ambiguous final phoneme than final letter is statistically significant (Chi Square $=15.26, \underline{d f}=1, \mathrm{p}<.001$ ).

An ending associated with the opposite sex (O) was the final phoneme but not final letter in 46 names and the final letter but not final phoneme in 42 names. This difference is small and not statistically significant. The larger number of names with a final letter than final phoneme associated with the same sex therefore is accompanied by a reverse difference in the frequency of names with an ending that is ambiguous instead of associated with the opposite sex. In comparison
with the final letter, the final phoneme is more often ambiguous rather than associated with the opposite sex.

The final letter of many male names is a sonorant consonant, $\underline{1}, \underline{m} \underline{n}$, or $\underline{\underline{r}}$. Examples are John, William, Samuel, and Walter in Table 1. Male names with these ending are the most frequent reasons for the larger number of male names with a final letter than a final phoneme that was associated with the same sex. All consonant final letters are predominantly male, but sonorant consonant final phonemes are ambiguous.

The silent $\underline{e}$ final letter of many female names is preceded by a consonant letter. Examples are Jane, Alice, Anne, and Rose, listed in Table 2. Female names with a silent $\underline{e}$ final letter are the most frequent reasons for the larger number of female names with a final letter than a final phoneme that was associated with the same sex. The final letter is predominantly female. The final phoneme, a consonant, is ambiguous or predominantly male.

The percentages in Table 7 show differences between male and female names. An asterisk following the $70 \%$ correct prediction of the same sex by the final letter for the total of 147 male names indicates that the percentage for male names is reliably higher ( $\mathrm{p}<.05$ ) than the $58 \%$ prediction of the same sex by the final letter for the total of 150 female names (Chi Square $=4.18, \underline{\mathrm{df}}=1$ ). Conversely the $26 \%$ incorrect prediction of the opposite sex by the final letter for the 150 female names is reliably higher ( $p<.01$ ) than the $11 \%$ prediction for the 147 male names (Chi Square $=10.26, \underline{\mathrm{df}}=1, \mathrm{p}<.01$ ).

The difference between male and female names in percentage of final letters associated with the same sex is largest and continues to be statistically significant for the first category of names, listed in Tables 1 and 2. These are the persistently popular names, indicated by their inclusion among the 100 most frequent in 1950 and also in 1990. The sex difference is smaller and not statistically significant for the
names that were the most frequent in 1950 only (Tables 3 and 4) and in 1990 only (Tables 5 and 6).

The largest change from 1950 to 1990 in frequency of names with a final phoneme associated with the same sex was from $32 \%$ of female names that were the 100 most frequent in 1950 only to $72 \%$ of female names that were the 100 most frequent in 1990 only. The higher percentage in 1990 than in 1950 is statistically significant (Chi Square $=9.02, \underline{d f}=1, \underline{p}<$ .01). The change is largely attributable to two differences between the two years. The number of female names with a silent final letter e preceded by a consonant decreased from 20 in 1950 only to five in 1990 only. Examples in 1950, listed in Table 4, are Florence, Lorraine, and Lucille. These female names have a final phoneme that is ambiguous or associated with the opposite sex and a final letter that is associated with the same sex. The number of female names with the final letter a increased from ten in 1950 only to 22 in 1990 only. Examples in 1990, listed in Table 6, are Linda, Maria, and Lisa. These female names are associated with the same sex for final sound and final letter.

Among the 100 most frequent names in 1990 only, listed in Tables 5 and 6 , the final phoneme was associated with the same sex for $72 \%$ of the female names and $38 \%$ of the male names. The sex difference is statistically significant (Chi Square $=9.82, \underline{d f}=1, \underline{p}<.01$ ). Conversely, the final phoneme was associated with the opposite sex more frequently for male than female names (Chi Square $=9.91$, $\underline{\mathrm{df}}=1, \underline{p}<.01$ ). The lower percentage of male final phonemes associated with the same sex is partly attributable a high frequency of 12 for the final letter $\underline{n}$ among male names that were the 100 most frequent in 1990 only. The final letter is associated with the same sex but the final phoneme is ambiguous. Examples in 1990, listed in Table 5, are Steven, Brian, and Kevin.

The male names that were the 100 most frequent in 1990 only also included the unusually large number of 12 with the final letter $y$. The final letter is ambiguous and the final
phoneme is associated with the opposite sex. Stanley, Guy, Sidney, and Harvey, listed in Table 3, are the male names in 1950 only with the final letter y. In 1990 only, listed in Table 5, four different male names, Gary, Jeffrey, Gregory, Jeremy, have the final letter $y$. Eight additional male names with the final letter $y$, in 1990 only, are Larry, Jerry, Terry, Billy, Randy, Bobby, Johnny, and Jimmy. These eight names are more frequently nicknames or diminutives instead of official first names. Table 1 shows that a frequent nickname or diminutive with the final letter $£$ occurred in only one male name, Harry, that was the most frequent in 1950 and also in 1990.

A smaller but similar change from 1950 to 1990 occurred for frequent female nicknames or diminutives with the final letter y . The occurrences were none in 1950 only, one (Betty) in 1950 and also in 1990 (Table 2), and three (Judy, Kathy, and Tammy) in 1990 only (Table 6).

Table 8. Numbers of the 100 most frequent male (M) and female (F) names that had the final letter $y$ for births in ten successive decades, 1900-1999.

| Years <br> Born | Total |  | Conventional |  | Nicknames, |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Names |  | Names |  | Diminutives |  |
|  | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| 1900-09 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| 1910-19 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| 1920-29 | 9 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 1 |
| 1930-39 | 14 | 11 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 4 |
| 1940-49 | 21 | 13 | 10 | 6 | 11 | 7 |
| 1950-59 | 23 | 15 | 11 | 6 | 12 | 9 |
| 1960-69 | 24 | 15 | 13 | 9 | 11 | 6 |
| 1970-79 | 21 | 17 | 12 | 14 | 9 | 3 |
| 1980-89 | 14 | 19 | 13 | 19 | 1 | 0 |
| 1990-99 | 9 | 19 | 9 | 18 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 151 | 129 | 92 | 96 | 59 | 33 |

Table 8 shows the numbers of male and female names with the final letter $y$ that were the 100 most frequent for people born in the United States who applied for a Social Security card. Years of birth are shown in each of ten successive decades, from 1900-09 to 1990-99. Conventional names are distinguished from names that are more often nicknames or diminutives that replace a frequent conventional name.

The similarity in total number of male and female names is consistent with the designation of the final letter $y$ as ambiguous. The numbers of male and female names were highest for births in 1940-79 and lower both for earlier years, 1900-39, and later years, 1980-99. The higher numbers in 194079 are mostly attributable to an increase in numbers of frequent nicknames and diminutives rather than of conventional names. Most of the United States residents in 1950 were born prior to 1930 and thus prior to the increase in the numbers of nicknames and diminutives with the final letter y. Many of the United States residents in 1990 were born between 1940 and 1979, when nicknames and diminutives with the final letter $y$ were most frequent.

## Discussion

Analysis of the final letter instead of the final phoneme of first names has several advantages. The final letter is more often associated with the same sex and less often ambiguous. The final letter therefore is preferable for the purpose of identifying the sex of an unknown name. The sex is more likely to be unknown for a name that is printed or written instead of spoken. A practical advantage of the final letter for research on names is that lists of names are printed rather than spoken.

Two different comparisons, persistence of popularity and change in popularity, were obtained by assigning the names in the two years to three categories. The first category, which contains the 100 most frequent names in 1950 and also

1990, constitutes names with persistent popularity. In comparison with the other two categories, the persistently popular names indicate preference for names that have a final letter associated with male names. This preference may be one of the expressions of the prevalently superior status of males in the United States, described by Bem (1993).

A change in choices of names, during the span of 40 years, can be determined by differences of the third category, containing the 100 most frequent names in 1990 only, from the second category, containing the 100 most frequent names in 1950 only. The largest change was an increase in the percentage of female names that had a final phoneme associated with the same sex. The percentage of male names that had a final phoneme associated with the opposite sex also increased from 1950 only to 1990 only. Both changes indicate more frequent choices of names that have an ending associated with female names.

Previous reports also indicate more frequent choices of names with female attributes during the last few decades. Barry and Harper (1995) used several measures that differentiated between male and female names, including the final phoneme. Names with female attributes were more often chosen for boys and girls born in Pennsylvania in 1990 than in 1960. Barry and Harper (1998) analyzed lists compiled by Dunkling (1995) of the 50 most frequent male and female names in England and Wales, the United States, and Australia. Dunkling sampled multiple years from 1700 to 1995 in England and Wales, from 1875 to 1995 in the United States, and from 1950 to 1995 in Australia. The final phoneme and other characteristics that differentiate male from female names became increasingly male from the earliest date recorded until 1925 for male names and 1900 for female names. After 1925 for male names and 1950 for female names, these characteristics progressively became more often female.

Barry and Harper (1998) suggested that the final phonemes of most female names are vocally expanded and
soft. The final phonemes of most male names are vocally compressed and strong. Whissell (2001) similarly stated that phonemes are more soft, pleasant, passive, and sad in female names and more cheerful, active, nasty, and unpleasant in male names. The changes in choices of names from the 1950 to the 1990 residents may indicate increased preference for soft and pleasant rather than cheerful and active attributes. The same changes also may indicate increased acceptance of passive and sad rather than nasty and unpleasant attributes.

The United States residents in 1950 and 1990 include a wide range of years of birth. An advantage is that the names listed in Tables 1-6 were popular for a substantial number of years. The 100 most frequent names of the residents therefore exclude briefly fashionable names.

Differences between frequent names for births in two different years usually show more changes in female than male names (Barry \& Harper, 1995; Lieberson, 2000, pp. 36-42). One of the reasons for this sex difference was reported by Rossi (1965). Boys are more often given the first name of their father or of another family member. Girls are more often given a first name that is currently fashionable and new to their family.

The more rapid change in choices of female than male names was minimized for the United States residents by the wide range in their years of birth. Most of the residents in 1950 were born between 1870 and 1932. Most of the residents in 1990 were born between 1910 and 1990. More rapid change in choices of female than male names is indicated by 50 female names compared with 47 male names that were the 100 most frequent in one year only. This difference is small and not statistically significant. A larger difference is between 14 female and nine male names that were the 25 most frequent in one year but not the 100 most frequent in the other year.

Prolonged fashions can be detected by differences in the 100 most frequent names between the residents in 1950 and 1990. An example is the temporary popularity of names
with the final letter $y$ that are often nicknames or diminutives. Table 8 shows that names of this type were popular during four decades, 1940-79. The 100 most frequent names of residents in 1990 only include eight male names (Table 5) and three female names (Table 6) with these characteristics. The 100 most frequent names of residents in 1950 only and in 1950 and also 1990 (Tables 1-4) contain very few names with the same characteristics.

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