# Name Clustering on the Basis of Parental Preferences 

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Parents do not choose first names for their children at random. Using two large datasets, for the UK and the Netherlands, covering the names of children born in the same family over a period of two decades, this paper seeks to identify clusters of names entirely inferred from common parental naming preferences. These name groups can be considered as coherent sets of names that have a high probability to be found in the same family. Operational measures for the statistical association between names and clusters are developed, as well as a two-stage clustering technique. The name groups are subsequently merged into a limited set of grand clusters. The results show that clusters emerge with cultural, linguistic, or ethnic parental backgrounds, but also along characteristics inherent in names, such as clusters of names after flowers and gems for girls, abbreviated names for boys, or names ending in -y or -ie.

## Introduction

The variety in personal given names has increased enormously over the past century. In the Netherlands, the top 3, top 10, and top 100 names account, respectively, for $16 \%, 33 \%$, and $70 \%$ of the first names of elderly born between 1910 and 1930, while these figures are $3 \%, 8 \%$, and $39 \%$ for babies born between 2000 and 2004. Comparable figures are presented by Galbi $(2002,4)$ for England and Wales. Along with the increase in the variety in names, the motives behind the choice of names for children by their parents have changed from a more or less prescribed naming after relatives to a free decision, a process that was facilitated in the Netherlands by the tolerant name law of 1970. This does not mean, however, that naming norms are absent in the naming practice. As Tucker (2003, xxvii) has shown, many forenames are still indicative of cultural, ethnic or linguistic (CEL) groups within a population.

In the last two decades we saw a proliferation of statistical analyses of name datasets, especially with respect to ethnicity classification. This is largely due to the availability of large digital name datasets, an increasing need for reliable data on the size and geographical distribution of ethnic minorities in countries to monitor
inequalities between ethnic groups in health status, educational achievements, and job careers, and a growing interest in international migration patterns. ${ }^{\text {I }}$ Mateos (2007) provides an excellent review of the name-based ethnicity classification literature, mainly limited to studies which meet certain accuracy standards and evaluate their classification results against a non-name-based ethnicity information source. As Mateos notes, the fundamental trade-off in these classifications is between maximizing coverage and maximizing accuracy: the more disaggregated the ethnic groups are defined to maximize coverage, the more misclassifications (so-called false positives) result, compromising the accuracy of the classification.

Tucker (2003) has developed a technique to classify surnames in Cultural-Ethnic-Linguistic groups, and used the results to compile a Dictionary of American Family Names (DAFN). The aim of DAFN is to maximize for people the chance to find their surname as an entry in the dictionary. His method is as follows. First, using a large dataset of 89 million telephone subscribers, he showed that about $4 \%$ (slightly above 70 thousand) of all r .75 million different surnames covers $85 \%$ of the total population. Second, a team of experts were set to the task of classifying the 70 thousand surnames into 23 pre-defined CEL groups. For a large fraction ( $20 \%$ ), they were unable to assess with any confidence even the language of origin. Third, a statistical analysis on forename-surname correlation was performed. Specific forenames can be highly diagnostic for particular CEL groups if they are rarely used outside a particular CEL group (examples given are Niamh for Irish and Giuseppe for Italian). A limited set of 8000 highly diagnostic forenames were manually classified into CEL groups by onomastic experts. Fourth, using this diagnostic list a fore-name-cluster analysis was performed to merge forenames belonging to the same group. Finally, for each surname the distribution of forename CEL scores is given in the dictionary. Using this method, Tucker reduced the percentage of unidentified surnames from 20 to only $3 \%$.

Mateos, Webber, and Longley (2007) also rely on what they call the CEL-triage technique, supplemented by other information provided by other techniques such as spatio-temporal analysis, geodemographics analysis and text mining (see sections $3.2-3.4)$ to subdivide the entire UK population and to classify every surname and forename with a frequency of 3 or higher in Britain in 2004 into 185 CEL-types (a subdivision of 15 CEL groups).

Harding et al. $(1999,48)$ use the Nam Pelchan South Asian Names dictionary as a reference list to estimate the size of the Sikhs, Moslem, and Hindu population in Bradford, UK. Lauerdale and Kestenbaum (2000) identify six major Asian-American ethnic groups by combining a name dataset which included country of birth and a name dataset with information on race (white, black, other) for persons 60 years or older. Each surname has a score for the proportion with the associated Asian country of birth (e.g. $80 \%$ Vietnamese) and for the proportion with race 'other'. Only surnames with a sufficiently high score on the product of both scores are considered as sufficiently predictive to identify persons with these names as belonging to one of the six categories Asian-American groups.

The limitation of the previously mentioned studies ${ }^{2}$ is that some pre-defined classification is needed - largely based on language, origin and religion - in
combination with expert knowledge. Furthermore, the sizes of the classes can differ considerably. In the Mateos (2007) study, out of the 46 million British people classified, 3 I million came into the CEL type England, and another 10 million in the CEL types Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. Whereas the identification of the other, much smaller CEL groups related to ethnic minorities is certainly very valuable, a further subdivision of the massive CEL groups may give additional insights, particularly in the relation between socioeconomic factors and naming. In order to make this possible, and to circumvent a lack of data that could define additional factors, we took an entirely different approach. Instead of the largely top-down methods discussed before, we adopted a bottom-up method by studying the naming preferences of parents. In this approach, the assumption is that parents tend to give names to their children on the basis of preferences that are influenced by their social group (see also Fryer and Levitt (2004) for an analysis of differences in naming patterns between blacks and whites and of the growth of distinctively black names following the Black Power movement in the early 1970s). Given a sufficient number of parents that share these preferences, we can identify names as belonging to what we label as name groups. These name groups can resemble CEL groups or CEL types, but they may also show a much finer structure. A name group could consist of, for example, Frisian names, but also of girls' names after flowers or gems, or abbreviated names.

To identify these name groups, we will exploit the statistical information in name corpora, containing the names of children born in the same family. We have access to a full sample of names for children born in between 1982 and 2005 in the Netherlands and a $40 \%$ draw of all children born in between 1982 and 2002 in the UK. By exploiting the conditional probability that a combination of names can be found for children within the same family, it will turn out that some names have a stronger association to each other than to other names. This is the basis for their clustering in name groups. A major part of this paper is devoted to the design of an appropriate statistical method for their identification. An outline of the method has been presented already in Bloothooft (2001, 2002), but is now given a new and solid mathematical foundation. The quintessence of a truly bottom-up method is that, besides some setting of parameters, no additional information is being used.

This paper is structured as follows. In section 2 we shortly describe our name databases. Sections 3 and 4 comprise the methodological part. Section 3 explains how the phenomenon that some names are strongly connected to each other can be expressed in terms of conditional probabilities, defined as the likelihood that a younger sibling of a child with name $i$ has name $j$. In section 4 , the conditional probabilities are used to cluster names into name groups. The purpose of the cluster process is to identify sets of names that have a high probability to be found in the same family. We will demonstrate that it is beneficial to make a distinction between a cluster level that shows fine details and a higher level of grand clusters that summarizes the major features of the fine clusters. The information processed in the derivation of grand clusters covers the whole continuum in the naming practice of parents: they can choose names for all of their children from a single fine cluster, from one or more related clusters, but also definitely not from certain other clusters. A paradigmatic example of the latter is that names from the Western and Arabic clusters are virtually never to be found in the same family. We conclude with an annotated
presentation of all grand and fine name clusters for both the Netherlands and the UK.

## Name databases

The Dutch Social Security Bank (SVB) made available to us the initial first name, gender and year of birth of all children born in the Netherlands between 1982 and 2005. The SVB draws these data directly from the Civil Registration. In addition to the names, we also got a code by which children in the same family could be identified. The corpus consists of the initial first name of 4.65 million children, of which 3.54 million were born in 1.46 million families with more than one child, which is a condition for our further analysis.

The same type of data was received from the HM Revenue and Customs in the UK. The sample includes the initial first name of children born in between 1982 and 2002. For privacy reasons, names with a frequency less than 60 were removed from the full sample, as were their siblings. Subsequently, a random draw of $40 \%$ was performed. This corpus includes the initial name of 4.46 million children, born in 1.80 million families.

We believe that both corpora are exquisite data sets to investigate whether, and which, name groups exists. There are however some differences between both corpora. Whereas the size of the Dutch and UK corpora are similar, the number of different names in the corpora differs considerably. In the Netherlands there are 68,230 different names for boys and 84,354 different names for girls, while for the UK corpus this is 26,253 and 35,293 respectively. This difference is a consequence of deleting names with a frequency less than sixty and does not necessarily imply that naming in the Netherlands is more varied than in the UK. Other related differences in the distributions of our corpora are that popular names in the UK cover a higher percentage of all children, while the number of low-frequent and unique names is lower than in the Netherlands.

## Name pairs

We assume that parents do not name their children in a random way. This implies that the name of the older child can be of predictive value for the choice of the names of subsequent children. We express this relationship by the conditional probability $\mathrm{P}\left(\right.$ name $_{\mathrm{i}} \mid$ name $\left._{\mathrm{i}}\right)$. For easier interpretation, we will use the example names John and Mary throughout this paper. The conditional probability $\mathrm{P}(J o h n \mid M a r y)$ presents the likelihood that a younger brother of Mary will be named John. If this likelihood is high, it demonstrates a close relationship between the two names. $\mathrm{P}(J o h n \mid$ Mary $)$ is calculated by selecting all families with a girl named Mary, count all occurrences of a younger brother John ( $N_{\text {Jobn|Mary }}$ ) and divide this by the number of all younger brothers of Mary until and including a boy named John ( $\mathrm{N}_{\text {YoungerBrothers|Mary }}$ ). Thus

$$
\begin{equation*}
P(\text { John } \mid \text { Mary })=\frac{N_{\text {John } \mid \text { Mary }}}{N_{\text {YoungerBrothers } \mid \text { Mary }}} \tag{I}
\end{equation*}
$$

It is not known how many younger brothers of Mary will be born after the end of our data range. However, we think that this uncertainty only has a small effect given our time span of over twenty years. In the initial years of our corpora only starting families were included.

In Table I we present the top ten probabilities of a name for a brother or sister of Maria in the Netherlands, and of Mary in the UK. The top ten covers about $20 \%$ of the names of all younger brothers and sisters of Maria and Mary, while this is $40 \%$ for the top ten of brothers of Mary. The names are of a rather traditional type and we may conclude somewhat prematurely that when parents choose the traditional name Maria or Mary for a daughter, they are likely to choose a traditional name for other children as well. It is a first indication that knowledge of names of children in a family conveys interesting information on parents' naming preferences. Note that, taking Mary as the English equivalent of the Dutch Maria and John of Jan, Table i

TABLE 1
THE TOP TEN NAMES OF YOUNGER BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF MARIA IN THE NETHERLANDS (BASED ON 16,347 MARIA'S WITH 9201 YOUNGER BROTHERS AND 8471 YOUNGER SISTERS) AND OF MARY IN THE UK (BASED ON 2878 MARY'S WITH 1685 YOUNGER BROTHERS AND 1579 YOUNGER SISTERS)

Probabilities are expressed as percentages

| Maria (NL) |  | Mary (UK) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| brothers | \% | brothers | \% |
| Johannes | 6.17 | John | 7.91 |
| Cornelis | 3.21 | Michael | 6.12 |
| Jan | 2.51 | James | 5.32 |
| Petrus | 1.85 | David | 3.47 |
| Willem | 1.70 | Patrick | 2.88 |
| Hendrik | 1.65 | William | 2.56 |
| Pieter | 1.73 | Peter | 2.34 |
| Marinus | 1.49 | Martin | 1.85 |
| Gerrit | 1.47 | Robert | 1.85 |
| Martinus | 1.20 | George | 1.65 |
| sisters | \% | sisters | \% |
| Johanna | 5.11 | Sarah | 4.60 |
| Anna | 3.35 | Elizabeth | 2.85 |
| Cornelia | 2.52 | Alice | 2.49 |
| Elisabeth | 2.21 | Catherine | 2.18 |
| Catharina | 1.73 | Anna | 1.74 |
| Adriana | 1.52 | Margaret | 1.63 |
| Wilhelmina | 1.05 | Kathleen | 1.19 |
| Petronella | 0.94 | Ruth | 0.97 |
| Hendrika | 0.85 | Ann | 0.76 |
| Jacoba | 0.83 | Frances | 0.65 |

exhibits some more equivalents. Among the brothers we find (Johannes, Jan, Willem, Petrus, Pieter, and Martinus) for Maria, corresponding to (John, William, Peter, and Martin) for Mary. The same goes for the sisters, with the Dutch set (Anna, Elisabeth, and Catharina) corresponding to (Ann, Anna, Elizabeth, and Catherine).

For the full data set, the highest probabilities were found in the UK for Mohammad with a brother Mohammed ( $24.6 \%$ ), Tom with a brother Jack ( $14.2 \%$ ), Shazia with a sister Nazia ( $\mathrm{I} 2.9 \%$ ), and Lowri with a sister Ffion (I2.I \%). For the Netherlands it is Fatima with a brother Mohamed ( $16.6 \%$ ), Yasin with a sister Yasemin ( $14.5 \%$ ), Björn with a brother Sven (ir.7\%) and Yunus with a brother Emre (ir.7\%).

The mirror image of the likelihood that Mary gets a younger brother John, is the likelihood that John will get a younger sister Mary. This probability $\mathrm{P}($ Mary $\mid$ John $)$ is usually not the same as $\mathrm{P}($ John $\mid$ Mary $)$. Actual data for John and Mary can illustrate this. It turns out that $\mathrm{P}($ John $\mid$ Mary $)=7.9 \mathrm{I} \%$ and $\mathrm{P}($ Mary $\mid$ John $)=0.9 \mathrm{I} \%$, a difference that originates in the much higher popularity of John (2I,740 John's) compared to Mary ( 2878 Mary's). The theoretical relationship between both conditional probabilities is expressed as

$$
\begin{equation*}
P(\text { John } \mid \text { Mary })=\frac{P(\text { Mary } \mid \text { John }) \cdot P(\text { John })}{P(\text { Mary })} \tag{2}
\end{equation*}
$$

Since we wish to express the attraction between two names by a single measure, the dependency of conditional probabilities on the popularity of a name poses a problem. However, from (2) it immediately follows that

$$
\begin{equation*}
\frac{P(\text { Joh } n \mid \text { Mary })}{P(\text { Joh } n)}=\frac{P(\text { Mary } \mid \text { Joh } n)}{P(\text { Mary })} \tag{3}
\end{equation*}
$$

and we could use this value as an expression of the attraction $\mathrm{A}(J o h n$, Mary) between two names, that is independent of their order and individual popularity. The measure tells us how more often John is chosen as the name of a brother of Mary than as a name for a boy in general, which equals how more often Mary is chosen as a name for a sister of John than for a girl in general.

Although theoretically attractive, this approach still does not work well in practice, which can be illustrated by an example. Suppose a population has two distinct religious groups, Christians and Muslims, of which there are nine times as many Christians as Muslims. Members of both groups only choose typical names from their own religion. And although Mary and Fatima, and John and Mohammed may be equally popular within their groups, for the whole population the frequencies of John and Mary will by nine times higher than those for Mohammed and Fatima, respectively. This implies that $\mathrm{P}($ John $\mid$ Mary $)=\mathrm{P}($ Mohammed $\mid$ Fatima $)$ and $\mathrm{P}($ Mary $\mid$ John $)=$ $\mathrm{P}($ Fatima $\mid$ Mohammed $)$, but $\mathrm{P}($ Mohammed $\mid$ Fatima $) / \mathrm{P}($ Mohammed $)=9 * \mathrm{P}($ John $\mid$ Mary $)$ / $\mathrm{P}(J o h n)$. In other words, the attraction between two names is dependent on the size of the subgroup in which they are popular. Normally, we do not know this subgroup nor its size beforehand. Otherwise we could define a corrected attraction measure $\mathrm{A}_{\mathrm{c}}$ such that

$$
\begin{equation*}
A_{c}(\text { John }, \text { Mary })=\frac{P(\text { John } \mid \text { Mary })}{P^{\prime}(\text { John })}=\frac{P(\text { Mary } \mid \text { John })}{P^{\prime}(\text { Mary })} \tag{4}
\end{equation*}
$$

where $\mathrm{P}^{\prime}(J o h n)$ and $\mathrm{P}^{\prime}($ Mary $)$ are the probabilities of John and Mary relative to the size of their subgroup. However, using equation (3), we can estimate these probabilities by considering that for all names related to some subgroup the following conditional relationships hold

```
\(\mathrm{P}^{\prime}(\) Mary \()=\mathrm{P}^{\prime}(\) John \() \mathrm{P}(\) Mary \(\mid\) John \() / \mathrm{P}(\) John \(\mid\) Mary \()\)
\(\mathrm{P}^{\prime}(\) William \()=\mathrm{P}^{\prime}(\) John \() \mathrm{P}(\) William \(\mid\) John \() / \mathrm{P}(\) John \(\mid\) William \()\)
\(\mathrm{P}^{\prime}(\) Elizabeth \()=\mathrm{P}^{\prime}(\) John \() \mathrm{P}(\) Elizabeth \(\mid J o h n) / \mathrm{P}(\) John \(\mid\) Elizabeth \()\)
\(\mathrm{P}^{\prime}(J o h n)=\mathrm{P}^{\prime}(J o h n)\)
```

The sum of the probabilities on the left-hand side is I for all boys and I for all girls since we apply gender specific probabilities. By taking the sum at both sides we arrive at

$$
\begin{equation*}
P^{\prime}(\text { John })=\frac{2}{\mathrm{I}+\sum \frac{P\left(\text { name }_{i} \mid \text { John }\right)}{P\left({\text { John } \left.\mid \text { name }_{i}\right)}^{2}\right.}} \tag{5}
\end{equation*}
$$

where the sum is taken over all known brothers and sisters of John. The relative size R of the subgroup is $\mathrm{P}(J o h n) / \mathrm{P}(J o h n)$. In our example this value would be 0.9 for Christian names and o.r for the Muslim names. In that case, $\mathrm{A}_{\mathrm{c}}$ (John,Mary) equals $\mathrm{A}_{\mathrm{c}}$ (Mohamed,Fatima).

Although theoretically $\mathrm{A}_{\mathrm{c}}$ (John,Mary) should be exactly the same as $\mathrm{A}_{\mathrm{c}}$ (Mary,John), in practice this is not the case because of inaccuracies in the estimation of the relative size of their subgroup. Therefore we take the average of both values as the final estimate of the attraction between the names John and Mary. If the estimated relative size of the subgroup for the two names differs more than a factor 3 , possibly because the names reside in two different subgroups, we exclude the pair.

Since children with names of low popularity have few brothers and sisters, we will arrive at poor estimates of the conditional and individual probabilities of their names, which would seriously hamper further analysis. To avoid this, we required that for any name there should be at least in total 100 younger brothers to consider for a pair with a male name, and at least 100 younger sisters for a pair with a female name. One more brother or sister with some name then roughly increases the conditional probability by maximally $0.5 \%$, which we considered acceptable given observed probabilities up to $25 \%$.

Finally, we neglect name pairs for which $\mathrm{A}_{\mathrm{c}}$ is less than one, which implies that a name would have a lower likelihood to be found in that pair than in general. These quite severe restrictions result for the Dutch data in 24,435 name pairs from 1409 names, and for the UK data in $30,8 \mathrm{I5}$ name pairs from 9 I2 names. This is much less than the maximum number of 2 million and 0.8 million pairs ${ }^{3}$ that could be formed from those names in the Netherlands and UK respectively, which suggest severe limitations on the possible pairs. It suggests that clustering of names is viable. The number of 1409 and 912 names that fulfill our conditions is only around $\mathrm{I} \%$ of the total number of different names. However, because these names are highly frequent, their coverage of the total number of children is $75 \%(\mathrm{NL})$ and $87 \%$ (UK). For the

UK, the share of children covered in the full population would probably be lower than $87 \%$, since our sample does not include names with a frequency less than 60 .

Using equation (4), we can now list the name pairs that have the highest attractions, to see whether our results are plausible and already show some typical features. The top twenty name pairs with the highest attraction scores (limited to highly popular names with a frequency over 10,000 ) is presented in Table 2.

For the Dutch top twenty, it can be seen that Lars scores highest with Niels. The attraction tells us that the likelihood of finding a brother Niels with Lars is 4.59 times higher than the probability of finding the name Lars in general (within the group of parents that could consider Nordic names). There are also combinations of Niels or Lars with other Nordic names like Sven, Jesper, Bjorn, and Jorn, but these combinations fall outside the top twenty range. Apparently these parents prefer Nordic names for their children. From Table 2 we observe in the Dutch data already some likely clusters of three or more names, such as (Martijn, Jeroen, Sander, Jasper), (Bas, Tom, Tim, Bart, Daan, Koen), (Mike, Nick, Roy, Kim), and (Maria, Johannes, Johanna).

TABLE 2
THE 20 PAIRS OF POPULAR NAMES WITH HIGHEST ATTRACTION, BOTH IN THE NETHERLANDS (1982-2005) AND THE UK (1982-2002)

The frequency of each name is higher than 10,000

| NL |  | UK |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| name pair | attraction | name pair | attraction |
| Lars, Niels | 4.59 | Ben, Sam | 8.12 |
| Martijn, Jeroen | 4.52 | Edward, William | 5.56 |
| Bas, Tom | 4.38 | George, Harry | 5.04 |
| Maarten, Wouter | 3.95 | Elizabeth, Katherine | 4.58 |
| Martijn, Sander | 3.46 | Ross, Scott | 4.64 |
| Bas, Tim | 3.25 | Elizabeth, Catherine | 4.60 |
| Mike, Roy | 3.22 | Samuel, Benjamin | 3.61 |
| Daan, Koen | 3.14 | Samuel, Joseph | 3.55 |
| Mike, Nick | 3.03 | Mark, Paul | 3.46 |
| David, Ruben | 3.01 | Elizabeth, Victoria | 3.34 |
| Bram, Daan | 3.00 | Edward, George | 3.28 |
| Martijn, Jasper | 2.91 | Eleanor, George | 3.23 |
| Mark, Linda | 2.88 | Dean, Lee | 3.19 |
| Johannes, Maria | 2.81 | Alice, Emily | 3.09 |
| Roy, Kim | 2.78 | Alice, Edward | 2.97 |
| Bart, Koen | 2.75 | Jennifer, Katherine | 2.95 |
| Bart, Tom | 2.74 | Elizabeth, Edward | 2.93 |
| Jeffrey, Wesley | 2.72 | Craig, Scott | 2.93 |
| Patrick, Chantal | 2.68 | George, William | 2.88 |
| Johanna, Maria | 2.67 | Callum, Connor | 2.80 |

No cluster-crossing combination like (Mike, Lars) is seen. This suggests that it may be possible to cluster names into groups based on parental preferences. The sets also immediately evoke associations to original language, length of the names (notably in very short names like Bas and Tom), and the time they were most popular (the traditional names as we have already seen with Maria, but also in the set with Martijn which names have passed their peak several years ago).

For the UK top twenty highly popular name pairs, the same type of observations can be made. Possible sets are (Edward, William, George, Harry, Victoria, Elizabeth, Eleanor, Alice, Emily, Katherine, Catherine), including quite a few royal names, the Scottish names (Scott, Ross, Craig) and the Hebrew names (Samuel, Benjamin, Joseph). Note that the attraction values for the UK do not differ considerably from those for the Netherlands.

If we put no limitation on the frequencies of names (other than set by our analysis method) the top twenty of name pairs is different and shown in Table 3.

The names in Table 3 are less common, but form very plausible pairs. For the Dutch top twenty, only Marjolein, Evelien, Annemiek, and Carolien are a set, but for

TABLE 3
THE 20 PAIRS OF NAMES WITH HIGHEST ATTRACTION, BOTH IN THE NETHERLANDS (1983-2005) AND THE UK (1982-2002)

| NL |  | UK |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| name pair | attraction | name pair | attraction |
| Oscar, Victor | 9.50 | Ffion, Lowri | 34.25 |
| Gijs, Teun | 7.86 | Nia, Aled | 32.18 |
| Allard, Ewoud | 7.69 | Aoife, Eoin | 29.63 |
| Noud, Ward | 7.37 | Ffion, Nia | 29.00 |
| Jill, Lynn | 7.18 | Bethan, Rhian | 25.76 |
| Jildou, Marrit | 7.15 | Jimmy, Tommy | 24.97 |
| Evelien, Marjolein | 7.06 | Lowri, Nia | 24.77 |
| Auke, Sietse | 6.93 | Aisling, Roisin | 23.93 |
| Carolien, Marjolein | 6.91 | Lowri, Tomos | 23.11 |
| Caitlin, Megan | 6.91 | Niamh, Orla | 22.78 |
| Joram, Tamar | 6.86 | Lowri, Aled | 21.87 |
| Björn, Sven | 6.79 | Dafydd, Sion | 20.86 |
| Eric, Marc | 6.68 | Cerys, Rhian | 20.69 |
| Jet, Pien | 6.68 | Ffion, Tomos | 20.67 |
| Esther, Judith | 6.67 | Roisin, Sinead | 20.10 |
| Lynn, Tess | 6.60 | Ceri, Nia | 20.01 |
| Jip, Puck | 6.59 | Albert, Arthur | 19.90 |
| Annemiek, Evelien | 6.48 | Eoin, Niall | 19.84 |
| Dave, Mike | 6.25 | Ciara, Orla | 19.80 |
| Gideon, Jonathan | 6.25 | Aine, Aiofe | 19.45 |

the UK top twenty there are Welsh names in (Ffion, Lowri, Nia, Aled, Tomos, Ceri) and (Rhian, Bethan, Cerys), and Irish names in (Aoife, Eoin, Niall, Aine) and (Aisling, Roisin, Sinead). While the attraction of the Dutch pairs is only slightly higher than that for the popular name pairs presented in Table 2, for the UK name pairs the attraction is more than three times higher (also in comparison to the highest Dutch attraction scores). This may originate in an underestimation of the size of the subgroup of parents that may choose for such a name in the UK, as we did using formula (5). Alternatively, it might be that in the UK there are more indigenous names. For the Netherlands, highest values for the subgroup size were obtained for Laura and Mark with $54 \%$ and $5 \mathrm{I} \%$ of all parents. For the UK these were James and Emma with even $87 \%$ and $84 \%$. The popular names with highest attraction (Table 2) typically relate to $30-50 \%$ of all parents for the Netherlands and $45-65 \%$ for the UK. The names in Table 3 belong to a smaller subgroup of parents, typically between $10-20 \%$ in both countries. However, this may be still a too high estimate in the UK case.

## Clustering of names

The aim of this section is to identify name groups. Obviously, to combine names into name groups based on the values of their mutual attraction cannot be done by hand. The purpose of our clustering method is to separate groups of comparable names from others, so that names within one cluster are more similar than names of different clusters. Cluster analysis covers a wide array of statistical techniques used to group objects in homogeneous sub-groups on the basis of similarity (see Everitt et al., 200I). In principle, by using a clustering technique choices have to be made. The similarity between objects can be measured by the distance such as the squared Euclidean distance, by the correlation between objects or still another (dis)similarity criterion. In addition, the cluster method can be hierarchical or non-hierarchical, where a hierarchical method makes combinations in successive rounds (objects combined in the first rounds are more closely related than objects combined in subsequent rounds), whereas a non-hierarchical method is mostly an iterative technique, revising divisions until an optimum is reached. Finally, a clustering algorithm has to be chosen. A cluster algorithm can be seen as an amalgamation rule which determines when two clusters are sufficiently close to be combined. At the start, each object is considered its own cluster, but in successive rounds, clusters are formed. One such algorithm that we will use in the first step of our analysis (see below) is known as Single-linkage or Nearest neighbour, which combines two clusters when any two objects in the two clusters are closer together than to any other object not in these two clusters. To make the picture complete, a fundamental and unresolved problem in cluster analysis is that there are no rules for the choice of the optimal number of clusters. In principle, the number of clusters can vary from I to the total number of objects.

In what follows, we will explain our preferred cluster technique, motivated by both practical and conceptual considerations. At the practical level, we have to cope with the problem that a large number of objects (I409 names for the Netherlands, 9 II for
the UK) have to be entered in the clustering process, which rules out any standard cluster method due to computational constraints. As said, by concentrating on the highest observed attractions, in the first step we use a variant of the Single-linkage algorithm to arrive at an initial clustering, where the number of clusters is determined endogenously. After this first step, the availability of the attraction scores between two names also allow us to compute the attraction between a name and an initial cluster, or the attraction between two clusters.

## Initial clustering

The first step in our procedure is to organize an initial, self-organizing clustering on the basis of descending attractions. For this, we order all name pairs according to their attraction from high to low, while for each pair - starting with the pair with highest attraction - we take the following decisions:
I. If both names are not yet assigned to a cluster, they constitute a new cluster
2. If one of the names has been assigned already to one cluster and the other name is new, the latter is assigned to the same cluster
3. If both names already were assigned to some cluster, either the same or different ones, no further action is taken.

This procedure results in a moderate clustering of names. For the Dutch data the 1409 names are combined in 302 clusters, while for the UK data the 912 names are combined in 160 clusters. These initial results are not yet optimal, however, since the start of a new cluster is very much dependent on the (accidental) order of attractions. That is, if two pairs of names (John, Mary) and (William, Albert) exist, each with high attraction, while the bridging attractions (John, William), (John, Albert), (Mary, William) or (Mary, Albert) do not reach that high, initially two clusters will be generated, one around John and Mary and one around William and Albert. But if all information could be taken together, it may be that a single cluster of these names would provide a better description of the data.

## Initial clusters reconsidered

In the second phase we reconsider the initial clusters. For this, we focus on the attraction between a cluster and a target name. This attraction tells us how more likely it is to find for some target name the names for brothers and sisters in a cluster, than to find them in general in the population. With this knowledge we can find the cluster that has the highest attraction to some target name. That may be the cluster the name is already in, but it may be another cluster as well. If the latter is the case, we reassign the name to that cluster.

The attraction between a cluster and some target name is simply the sum of the attractions of all names in the cluster and the target name. As an example, if the name under consideration is Mary, and John and William are in one cluster already, we sum $\mathrm{A}_{\mathrm{c}}$ (Mary, William) and $\mathrm{A}_{\mathrm{c}}($ Mary, John $)$ as the attraction of the cluster (John, William) to Mary. Or, in general terms, the attraction A of cluster K to the name Mary is

$$
\begin{equation*}
A\left(\text { Mary }^{\prime}, \text { cluster }_{K}\right)=\sum_{i \in K} A_{c}\left(\text { Mary }^{\prime} \text { name }_{i}\right) \tag{6}
\end{equation*}
$$

After having reassigned the names to the clusters which exert the highest attraction - when necessary - their distribution over clusters may have changed, and the procedure has to be repeated. In this iterative process, the number of clusters gradually decreases since some clusters lose all their names, but the process converges after several iterations.

Unfortunately, it shows that a straightforward summation of attractions does not work well. For the UK, all Western names gather in one big cluster, while names from other ethnic and religious origin join in some much smaller clusters. For the Dutch data, the result is more diverse, but still unbalanced with a few big and many small clusters. The reason is that the attraction between a limited number of typical or idiosyncratic names is not high enough to stand the collective (individually much lower) attraction of many other atypical names in big clusters. The optimization problem of the second phase consists of making the best use of strong connections of name pairs, while neutralizing the aggregate effect of many weak connections of popular names with other names in the cluster outcomes. To achieve this, we put much more emphasis on closely related names by applying an exponential weighting of the attraction by a so-called Minkowski coefficient m . The attraction by cluster K on some name then is

$$
\begin{equation*}
A\left(\text { name }^{\text {cluster }}{ }_{K}\right)=\left\{\sum _ { i \in K } A _ { c } \left({\text { name } \left.\left., \text { name }_{i}\right)^{m}\right\}^{\mathrm{I} / m}}^{m}\right.\right. \tag{7}
\end{equation*}
$$

For both the Dutch set, with initially 302 clusters, and the UK set, with initially i60 clusters, the final number of clusters as a function of the Minkowski coefficient $m$ is shown in Figure 1.


FIGURE 1 Number of name clusters as a function of weighting with Minkowski coefficient $m$, for both Dutch and UK data

For high values of the Minkowski coefficient m, the number of clusters approaches the number of clusters in the initial phase ( 302 for the Dutch data, 160 for the UK data), because then only the nearest neighbours of a name will have an influence on the result. Recall that in the initial clustering phase only the single nearest neighbour was in play. As mentioned before, a straightforward summation of all attractions (equivalent with $\mathrm{m}=\mathrm{r}$ ) will reduce the number of clusters to a minimum, but with an unbalanced outcome.

Obviously there is some optimum value of $m$ for which clusters convey a maximum amount of information while not generating too much irrelevant detail. For this value of $m$ there is no recipe, however, because it depends on specific properties of the data. The best $m$ gives enough granularity in clusters (no big cluster that takes all), while expected clusters like regional names or Hebrew names, show up. For the Dutch data this was the case for $\mathrm{m}=2.5$ ( I 64 clusters), for the UK data for $\mathrm{m}=3.5$ (I44 clusters).

The resulting clusters are shown in Tables 4 and 5. But before discussing these, we still have one step to make, because the number of clusters is still quite high.

## Grand clusters

So far, our analysis was concerned with the relationship between a name and another name, or between a name and a cluster of names. This approach is based on the assumption that parents choose names for all their children from a single cluster of names. However, parents that have affinity to some typical group of names may also like related names from neighbouring clusters. If certain Dutch parents prefer some cluster of Frisian names for their children, they may also like other clusters of Frisian names or certain types of traditional Dutch names, while disliking English names and not even thinking of Arabic names. The result is that, among this group of parents, some will choose names for all their children from that specific Frisian name set, but other parents may choose only one name from it and another name out of other Frisian names or traditional Dutch names. Therefore, after having looked for parents that choose names for all their children from a single name cluster, we may widen our view and look for parents that share a similar pattern of preferences among the entire spectrum of name clusters we have distinguished already.

The relationship between name clusters can be quantified by the computation of the attraction that clusters exerts on each other. Analogous to formula (7) but with an extension, formula (8) gives the attraction of clusters vis-à-vis each other. For the computation of the attraction of cluster $G$ on cluster K , we compute the attraction of cluster $K$ on each individual name in $G$, take the sum over all names in $G$, and normalize the result for the number of names involved. It shows that optimal results are obtained if we use the maximum of the number of names in cluster K or G for the latter. The attraction between clusters G and K is then (symmetrically) defined as:

$$
\begin{equation*}
A\left(\text { cluster }_{G}, \text { cluster }_{K}\right)=\left[\frac{\sum_{j \in G} \sum_{i \in K} A_{c}\left(\text { name }_{i}, \text { name }_{j}\right)^{m}}{\max \left(N_{G}, N_{K}\right)}\right]^{\mathrm{T} / m} \tag{8}
\end{equation*}
$$

On this basis, we can compute the attraction that all name clusters exert on each other. The result is a cluster attraction matrix of $164 * 164$ values for the Dutch data and I44 * I 44 values for the UK data in which we can search for common attraction patterns. We use factor analysis for this (see e.g. Gorsuch, 1983), and apply varimax rotation to find patterns on which the loading ( L ) of individual name clusters is maximized. For both the Dutch and UK data we set a limit to 25 independent patterns, which together explained $48.7 \%$ and $63.4 \%$ of total variance in the attraction values, respectively. Each of the 164 (NL) and I44 (UK) name clusters has the highest loading on a particular pattern, and they are grouped accordingly in grand clusters. Maximum loadings are typically higher than $\mathrm{L}=0.5$. In a few cases the loading was scattered over many patterns. The name cluster was then still associated to the best fitting grand cluster, or a number of name clusters were taken together in a separate, weakly classified grand cluster. In all, we distinguished 34 grand clusters for the Netherlands and 28 for the United Kingdom.

The final results are presented in Table 4 for the Netherlands and in Table 5 for the United Kingdom. The tables are enriched with general information on the grand name group, and include a short description that helps to identify the properties. This description can be based on the dominant language, the overall length of the names, or another striking feature, possibly including the dominant gender. Besides the total number of children in a name group, we also distinguished two periods of birth, 1985-1989 and 2000-2005 (NL) or 2000-2002 (UK), for which we give the percentage of coverage. This makes it possible to identify trends in the general popularity of a name in a name group, although some individual names may deviate from the change in popularity of the name group to which it belongs. The order of presentation is governed by these trends. Per country, we start with grand name groups that are in decline, followed by those which represent upcoming names. We conclude with non-Western name groups.

As we look to the first grand cluster for the Netherlands in Table 4 as an example, we observe traditional names in Latin form, as usually used by the Catholic part of the population. This group consists of 69 names, and declined between about 1987 and 2003 from 5.6 to $2.2 \%$ of all children. Names are equally distributed among boys and girls. The grand cluster is composed of four finer name groups, JOHANNES, MARCUS, REGINA, and JOACHIM, of which JOHANNES stands out. Their loading (L) on the grand cluster is strongest for the groups JOHANNES and MARCUS ( 0.7 and 0.8 ). The estimate of their total subgroup size (R), i.e. the share of the parents that might consider a name from this group, is $31 \%$ for the group JOHANNES, and drops to only $4 \%$ for the group JOACHIM. Subsequently, Table 4 lists the important names of this grand cluster, with name, gender, and frequency ( N ) in the whole period 1982-2005. The order is by fine name group and frequency. In the same way, all grand clusters are presented, in Table 4 for the Netherlands and in Table 5 for the UK.

Note that the emerging groups and clusters are entirely defined by a statistical analysis, and therefore can be heterogeneous due to accidental properties of the data. This may especially be relevant for the names with lower frequencies. Nevertheless, the result seems surprisingly plausible for both countries, which adds to the general validity of the approach.

TABLE 4

## DUTCH FIRST NAMES (1982-2005), SPECIFIED PER GRAND CLUSTER, BASED ON PARENTAL PREFERENCES

Per grand cluster the total number of names and children involved is given, the percentages of boys and girls within the group, the percentage of children with a name from the group around 1987 and around 2002. Then follow summary data of the name clusters involved in the pattern (each indicated by the most frequent name, in italics); per name cluster the loading $L$ on the pattern ( $L=1.0$ is complete; a loading less then 0.3 is not given), the mean of the estimated relative size $R$ of the subgroup ( $R=100 \%$ would be all children), and the total number of children $(N)$ are presented. Grouped by name cluster, first names are presented, their gender and the total number of children. The presentation of names is limited to those with at least 500 name bearers, or those beared by more than 1000 children when the number of names in a cluster is higher than 10 . The groups are divided in (1) names in decline, (2) upcoming names, and (3) non-Western names

## NAMES IN DECLINE <br> TRADITIONAL NAMES

## Latin form

69 names - 187,133 children
$49 \%$ male - $51 \%$ female
5.6\% 1987 > 2.2\% 2003

Names that were traditionally predominantly given in the Catholic southern part of the country. Seriously in decline for fifty years. Johannes and Maria were the most popular names until 1989 and 1990, respectively.

| respectively. |  |  |  | Michaël <br> Albertus | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{m} \\ & \mathrm{~m} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1595 \\ & 1589 \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | L | R(\%) | N |  |  |  |
| JOHANNES | 0.7 | 30 | 168,527 | Henricus | m | 1407 |
| MARCUS | 0.8 | 13 | 14,167 | Bernardus | m | 1401 |
| REGINA | 0.5 | 6 | 3092 | Francisca | f | 1242 |
| JOACHIM | 0.3 | 4 | 1347 | Leonardus | m | 1105 |
| Johannes |  | m | 23,819 | Gabriëlle | f | 1091 |
| Maria |  | f | 21,067 | Marius | m | 1069 |
| Johanna |  | f | 16,437 | Marcus | m | 2224 |
| Anna |  | f | 16,273 | Paulus | m | 1852 |
| Elisabeth |  | f | 9773 | Robertus | m | 1553 |
| Catharina |  | f | 4828 | Andreas | m | 1241 |
| Petrus |  | m | 4742 | Bartholomeus | m | 1128 |
| Jacobus |  | m | 4690 | Stefanus | m | 936 |
| Martinus |  | m | 4552 | Markus | m | 916 |
| Wilhelmina |  | f | 4076 | Susanna | f | 883 |
| Adrianus |  | m | 3817 | Carolina | f | 863 |
| Nicolaas |  | m | 3813 | Jozef | m | 820 |
| Antonius |  | m | 3220 | Regina | f | 667 |
| Hendrikus |  | m | 3168 | Laurentius | m | 592 |

TABLE 4 (Continued)

| Theresia |  | f | 558 | Jacoba | f | 2908 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Joachim |  | m | 528 | Geert | m | 2904 |
| TRADITIONAL NAMES |  |  |  | Janna | f | 2836 |
|  |  |  |  | Leendert | m | 2650 |
| Dutch form |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 128 names - 248,803 children |  |  |  | Berend | m | 2639 |
| 69\% male - 31\% female |  |  |  | Frederik | m | 2517 |
| 6.7\% 1987 > 3.5\% 2003 |  |  |  | Roelof | m | 2423 |
|  |  |  |  | Evert | m | 2414 |
| Names that were traditionally predominantly given by the non-Catholic population. Serious in decline for fifty years. It is of interest that more boys than girls are still given a name from this group which is possibly due to more naming after the grandfather(s) in original spelling than for girls. |  |  |  | Gerard | m | 2407 |
|  |  |  |  | Gerben | m | 2077 |
|  |  |  |  | Aaltje | f | 2034 |
|  |  |  |  | Abraham | m | 2009 |
|  | L | R(\%) | N | Geertje | f | 2008 |
| JAN | 0.4 | 24 | 241,869 | Neeltje | f | 2003 |
| JANTINE | 0.6 | 6 | 2140 | Teunis | m | 1902 |
| BAREND | 0.7 | 6 | 1566 | Arend | m | 1821 |
| OTTO | 0.7 | 4 | 1217 | Giisbert | m | 1767 |
| WILLEMPJE | 0.6 | 3 | 1061 | Herman | m | 1767 |
| CARINA | 0.4 | 7 | 950 | Grietje | f | 1704 |
|  |  |  |  | Geertruida | f | 1697 |
| Jan |  | m | 19,975 | Jannetje | $f$ | 1627 |
| Willem |  | m | 13,232 | Marina | $f$ | 1619 |
| Hendrik |  | m | 12,322 | Anne | m | 1571 |
| Cornelis |  | m | 12,299 | Frans | m | 1562 |
| Pieter |  | m | 12,032 | Dirkje | $f$ | 1464 |
| Gerrit |  | m | 8342 | Harmen | m | 1459 |
| Dirk |  | m | 7382 | Antje | f | 1361 |
| Cornelia |  | f | 7115 | Alida | f | 1358 |
| Jacob |  | m | 6545 | Martina | f | 1353 |
| Johan |  | m | 5714 | Aart | m | 1346 |
| Marinus |  | m | 5585 | Hendrikje | f | 1344 |
| Adriana |  | f | 4922 | Willemina | $f$ | 1339 |
| Hendrika |  | f | 4148 | Derk | m | 1263 |
| Albert |  | m | 3657 | Andries | m | 1232 |
| Elizabeth |  | f | 3547 | Pieternella | $f$ | 1228 |
| Arie |  | m | 3399 | Lena | $f$ | 1189 |
| Klaas |  | m | 3106 | Dina | $f$ | 1172 |
| Harm |  | m | 3070 | Trijntje | f | 1165 |
| Adriaan |  | m | 3063 | Karel | m | 1116 |

TABLE 4 (Continued)

| Gerritje |  | f | 1058 | Friso |  | m | 795 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Jantje |  | $f$ | 1053 | Ewout |  | m | 670 |
| Henk |  | m | 1049 | ELITE NAMES 2 |  |  |  |
| Egbert |  | m | 1027 |  |  |  |  |
| Jantine |  | f | 700 | 11 names - 33,122 children |  |  |  |
| Henri |  | m | 535 | 78\% male - 22\% female |  |  |  |
| Aline |  | f | 534 | 0.9\% 1987 > 0.4\% 2003 |  |  |  |
| Barend |  | m | 795 | Another group of international names in decline with an elite connotation. |  |  |  |
| Annigje $\quad 511$ f |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Carina |  | f | 548 |  | L | R(\%) | N |
|  |  |  |  | ALEXANDER | 0.5 | 39 | 22,716 |
| ELITE NAMES 1 |  |  |  | ALEXANDRA | 0.3 | 14 | 3052 |
| 19 names - 13,662 children |  |  |  | BARBARA | 0.7 | 18 | 2585 |
| 54\% male - 46\% female |  |  |  | NORA | 0.6 | 7 | 2504 |
| 0.3\% 1987 > 0.2\% 2003 |  |  |  | RUDOLF | 0.2 | 12 | 2265 |
| The names in this group associate to the elite. They are quite long and include some typical Dutch and French names. They are somewhat in decline. |  |  |  | Alexander |  | m | 8352 |
|  |  |  |  | Sebastiaan |  | m | 8198 |
|  | L | R(\%) | N | Christiaan |  | m | 6166 |
| RODERICK | 0.5 | 7 | 4934 | Alexandra |  | f | 2235 |
| LISELOTTE | 0.6 | 9 | 2982 | Victoria |  | f | 817 |
| EMILIE | 0.6 | 4 | 2260 | Barbara |  | $f$ | 1859 |
| MAXIMILIAAN | 0.6 | 7 | 2021 | Caspar |  | m | 726 |
| FRISO | 0.6 | 7 | 1465 | Nora |  | $f$ | 1685 |
| Roderick |  | m | 1012 | Sofia |  | f | 819 |
| Ferdinand |  | m | 971 | Rudolf |  | m | 1288 |
| Boudewijn |  | m | 916 |  |  | m | 977 |
| Magdalena |  | f | 706 | MIXED NAMES 1 |  |  |  |
| Bernadette |  | f | 525 | 23 names - 17,046 children |  |  |  |
| Liselotte |  | f | 1171 | 64\% male - 36\% female |  |  |  |
| Rozemarijn |  | f | 1044 | 0.4\% 1987 > 0.3\% 2003 |  |  |  |
| Annemijn |  | f | 767 | A small group of names, perhaps with some elite flavour. The cluster INGEBORG includes Nordic names |  |  |  |
| Emilie |  | f | 655 |  |  |  |  |
| Frédérique |  | $f$ | 572 |  | L | R(\%) | N |
| Philippe |  | m | 518 | LUKAS | 0.5 | 15 | 4013 |
| Etienne |  | m | 515 | INGEBORG | 0.4 | 9 | 3985 |
| Maximiliaan |  | m | 939 | LENNARD | 0.7 | 10 | 3353 |
| Justus |  | m | 560 | ANTONIE | 0.6 | 8 | 2445 |
| Constantijn |  | m | 522 | JOANNE | 0.5 | 10 | 2373 |

TABLE 4 (Continued)

| JURIAN | 0.3 | 5 | 877 | Ilse | f | 9193 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Lukas |  | m | 1759 | Frank | m | 9124 |
| Kasper |  | m | 1537 | Peter | m | 9117 |
| Jurriaan |  | m | 717 | Erik | m | 8214 |
|  |  | , | 1116 | Paul | m | 7316 |
|  |  | f | 1116 |  |  |  |
| Sigrid |  | f | 727 | Inge | f | 6482 |
| Arne |  | m | 701 | Rob | m | 6118 |
| Kristian |  | m | 571 | Sandra | f | 5861 |
| Roald |  | m | 501 | Saskia | f | 5156 |
| Lennard |  | m | 1035 | Ellen | f | 5083 |
| Arnoud |  | m | 838 | Yvonne | f | 4317 |
| Madeleine |  | f | 531 | Martin | m | 4159 |
| Antonie |  | m | 872 | René | m | 4110 |
| Machiel |  | m | 590 | Irene | f | 3579 |
| Aleida |  | f | 566 | Karin | f | 3455 |
| Joanne |  | f | 1306 | Ruud | m | 3229 |
| Corine |  | f | 607 | Alex | m | 3193 |
|  |  |  |  | Susan | f | 2615 |
| INTERNATIONAL \& DUTCH NAMES premodern |  |  |  | Petra | f | 2485 |
|  |  |  |  | Astrid | f | 2444 |
| 92 names - 250,732 children |  |  |  | Ingrid | f | 2308 |
| 41\% male - 59\% female |  |  |  | John | m | 2301 |
| 8.0\% 1987 > 2.4\% 2003 |  |  |  | Anke | f | 2238 |
| The clusters in this group are in serious decline and have had their most popular years in the seventies or earlier. The big cluster LAURA shows many internationally used names (Laura was the most popular girls name in 1991, 1994-1997), while the other clusters predominantly include Dutch names. |  |  |  | Jolanda | f | 2185 |
|  |  |  |  | Elisa | f | 2119 |
|  |  |  |  | Anita | f | 1999 |
|  |  |  |  | Jos | m | 1990 |
|  | L | R(\%) | N | Sylvia | $f$ | 1823 |
| LAURA | 0.6 | 34 | 218,569 |  | $f$ | 761 |
| MARIEKE | 0.7 | 31 | 14,463 | Moniek | f | 1708 |
| MARIIKE | 0.7 | 16 | 8970 | Ben | m | 1570 |
|  |  |  |  | Paula | f | 1561 |
| HANS | 0.7 | 16 | 4397 | Kristel | f | 1535 |
| HILDE | 0.6 | 17 | 2460 | Nico | m | 1501 |
| ELSKE | 0.6 | 5 | 1873 | Nico | m | 1501 |
| Laura |  | f | 20,225 | Tanja | $f$ | 1356 |
| Mark |  | m | 18,413 | Karen | f | 1285 |
| Linda |  | f | 13,414 | Paulien | f | 1222 |
| Robert |  | m | 11,003 | André | m | 1160 |

TABLE 4 (Continued)

| José |  | f | 1113 | Wouter | m | 13,869 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mario |  | m | 1083 | Jasper | m | 12,574 |
| Anja |  | f | 1010 | Maarten | m | 11,988 |
| Marieke |  | f | 7750 | Suzanne | f | 9442 |
| Janneke |  | f | 4440 | Eline | f | 9353 |
| Hanneke |  | f | 1568 | Lisanne | f | 7986 |
| Marjan |  | f | 705 | Matthijs | m | 7106 |
| Marijke |  | $f$ | 2862 | Simone | f | 6897 |
| Anneke |  | f | 1588 | Joris | m | 6653 |
| Tineke |  | f | 820 | Marloes | f | 6383 |
| Perry |  | m | 721 | Steven | m | 6068 |
| Ineke |  | f | 688 | Marjolein | f | 6058 |
| Gert-lan |  | m | 684 | Michiel | m | 5975 |
| Annette |  | $f$ | 622 | Rianne | f | 5677 |
| Devin |  | m | 620 | Bastiaan | m | 5067 |
| Hans |  | m | 2197 | Leonie | f | 4784 |
| Bert |  | m | 782 | Marleen | $f$ | 4415 |
| Wim |  | m | 598 | Wessel | m | 4366 |
| Hilde |  | f | 1876 | Mathijs | m | 4205 |
| Else |  | f | 584 | Elise | f | 4140 |
| Elske |  | f | 619 | Evelien | f | 4077 |
| Theo |  | m | 517 | Rutger | m | 4071 |
| DUTCH NA |  |  |  | Robbert | m | 3975 |
| premoder | MAS |  |  | Menno | m | 3955 |
| 87 names | 81 c |  |  | Marije | f | 3928 |
| 58\% male | femal |  |  | Lisette | f | 3774 |
| 8.3\% 1987 | \% 200 |  |  | Jochem | m | 3644 |
| The big cluster THOMAS is presented separately but has spread loadings to both premodern names and Dutch modern names. The name Thomas itself was the most popular boys name in 1995-1998, 20002003 and formed a kind of a bridge between premodern and modern names. Most other names had their peak period (much) earlier. |  |  |  | Susanne | f | 3576 |
|  |  |  |  | Lianne | f | 3548 |
|  |  |  |  | Marijn | m | 3507 |
|  |  |  |  | Karlijn | f | 3029 |
|  |  |  |  | Rosanne | f | 2846 |
|  | L | R(\%) | N | Mariëlle | f | 2767 |
| THOMAS | 0.5 | 34 | 343,881 | Mariëlle Martine | f f | 2686 2608 |
| Thomas |  | m | 25,933 | Carlijn | f | 2568 |
| Jeroen |  | m | 21,125 | Emiel | m | 2448 |
| Sander |  | m | 16,205 | Janine | f | 2339 |
| Martijn |  | m | 16,192 | Caroline | f | 2289 |

TABLE 4 (Continued)

| Tijmen | m | 2272 | Ronnie |  | m | 954 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Marianne | f | 2268 | Dennie |  | m | 541 |
| Thijmen | m | 2266 | ENGLISH NAMES |  |  |  |
| Aniek | f | 2123 |  |  |  |  |
| Willemijn | f | 2115 | premodern |  |  |  |
| Lennart | m | 2068 | 231 names - 759,960 children |  |  |  |
| Pauline | f | 2008 | 51\% male - 49\% female |  |  |  |
| Annemarie | f | 1953 | 18.0\% 1987 > 11.5\% 2003 |  |  |  |
| Rogier | m | 1927 | The big cluster KEVIN largely exists of English names but also includes some Roman names. Kevin itself |  |  |  |
| Marissa | f | 1925 |  |  |  |  |
| Mirthe | f | 1835 | was the most popular name from 1990-1994, but many other names from this cluster attained a high frequency as well. Currently most names are in decline. |  |  |  |
| Maureen | f | 1795 |  |  |  |  |
| Marlies | f | 1758 | L |  |  |  |
| Jolien | f | 1740 |  |  | R(\%) | N |
| Marnix | m | 1664 | KEVIN | 0.5 | 27 | 759,960 |
| Merijn | m | 1570 | Kevin |  | m | 22,586 |
| Jurgen | m | 1562 | Dennis |  | m | 18,965 |
| Annemiek | f | 1505 | Robin |  | m | 16,904 |
| Annemieke | f | 1495 |  |  |  |  |
| Anton | m | 1377 | Michael |  | m | 14,699 |
| Annelies | f | 1326 | Stefan |  | m | 14,565 |
| Anniek | f | 1321 | Jeffrey |  | m | 13,281 |
| Dorien | f | 1307 | Michelle |  | f | 13,174 |
| Margot | f | 1298 | Patrick |  | m | 12,976 |
| Roland | m | 1291 | Danny |  | m | 11,334 |
| Carolien | f | 1255 | Wesley |  | m | 11,226 |
| Jeanine | f | 1231 | Melissa |  | f | 11,196 |
| Heleen | f | 1224 | Chantal |  | f | 11,000 |
| Annabel | f | 1217 | Daniëlle |  | f | 9948 |
| DUTCH NAMES |  |  | Naomi |  | f | 9915 |
| unclassified premodern |  |  | Denise |  | f | 9546 |
| 4 names - 9,953 children |  |  | Vincent |  | m | 9451 |
| 100\% male - 0\% female |  |  | Jordy |  | m | 9375 |
| 0.3\% 1987 > 0.1\% 2003 |  |  | Romy |  | f | 9116 |
|  |  |  | Joey |  | m | 8919 |
|  | R(\%) | N | Daphne |  | f | 8363 |
| MARC | 31 | 8458 | Sharon |  | f | 8132 |
| RONNIE | 9 | 1495 | Samantha |  | f | 8029 |
| Marc | m | 5667 | Jessica |  | f | 8021 |
| Eric | m | 2791 | Wendy |  | f | 7988 |

TABLE 4 (Continued)

| Richard | m | 7878 | Ramon | m | 3834 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Remco | m | 7833 | Bryan | m | 3828 |
| Demi | f | 7782 | Christian | m | 3757 |
| Nicole | f | 7343 | Damian | m | 3692 |
| Dylan | m | 7314 | Esmée | f | 3683 |
| Justin | m | 7077 | Ryan | m | 3679 |
| Melanie | f | 6957 | Youri | m | 3630 |
| Stephanie | f | 6837 | Cynthia | f | 3622 |
| Marco | m | 6794 | Ashley | $f$ | 3582 |
| Ricardo | m | 6551 | Edwin | m | 3531 |
| Michel | m | 6397 | Amanda | f | 3531 |
| Jennifer | f | 6290 | Larissa | f | 3511 |
| Nathalie | f | 6290 | Miranda | f | 3468 |
| Tamara | f | 6197 | Nadine | f | 3358 |
| Kimberley | f | 6126 | Quinten | m | 3321 |
| Brian | m | 5400 | Sabrina | f | 3297 |
| Danique | f | 5305 | Arjan | m | 3280 |
| Kimberly | $f$ | 5268 | Yannick | m | 3275 |
| Priscilla | f | 5206 | Stefanie | f | 3093 |
| Julian | m | 5185 | Jeremy | m | 2972 |
| Sabine | f | 5080 | Raymond | m | 2955 |
| Mariska | f | 5004 | Guido | m | 2890 |
| Marcel | m | 4968 | Tristan | m | 2859 |
| Stephan | m | 4702 | Leroy | m | 2856 |
| Claudia | f | 4657 | Mitchel | m | 2835 |
| Bianca | f | 4641 | Marvin | m | 2827 |
| Ronald | m | 4632 | Shirley | f | 2737 |
| Melvin | m | 4603 | Angelique | f | 2659 |
| Pascal | m | 4595 | Natasja | f | 2658 |
| Patricia | $f$ | 4594 | Brenda | f | 2601 |
| Mitchell | m | 4559 | Kyra | f | 2507 |
| Angela | f | 4545 | Jason | m | 2488 |
| Erwin | m | 4544 | Celine | f | 2480 |
| Leon | m | 4220 | Renate | f | 2340 |
| Maikel | m | 4204 | Joëlle | f | 2338 |
| Maurice | m | 4106 | Jamie | f | 2333 |
| llona | $f$ | 4075 | Roxanne | f | 2305 |
| Monique | f | 4021 | Kayleigh | f | 2291 |
| Carmen | f | 3861 | Davey | m | 2245 |

TABLE 4 (Continued)

| Ralph | m | 2225 | Christel | f | 1376 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nikita | f | 2224 | Monica | f | 1375 |
| Yvette | f | 2193 | Desiree | f | 1365 |
| Kaylee | f | 2166 | Jenny | f | 1363 |
| Jacqueline | f | 2099 | Ferry | m | 1352 |
| Tara | f | 2063 | Jaimy | f | 1316 |
| Anthony | m | 2015 | Dionne | $f$ | 1306 |
| Anthony | m |  | Kenneth | m | 1304 |
| Natascha | f | 2001 | Carlo | m | 1274 |
| Randy | m | 1961 | Selina | f | 1263 |
| Nigel | m | 1911 | Marcella | f | 1248 |
| Andrea | f | 1881 | Rowena | $f$ | 1237 |
| Diana | f | 1872 | Jerry | m | 1228 |
| Rowan | m | 1866 | Calvin | m | 1225 |
| Quinty | f | 1811 | Manuela | f | 1224 |
| Debbie | f | 1800 | Carola | f | 1217 |
| Shannon | f | 1737 | Sascha | f | 1177 |
| Sylvana | f | 1734 | Céline | $f$ | 1176 |
| Vivian | f | 1708 | Arno | m | 1168 |
| Tycho | m | 1699 | Wilco | m | 1119 |
| Tycho | m | 1699 | Jack | m | 1115 |
| Madelon | f | 1642 | Veronique | f | 1113 |
| Xander | m | 1625 | Alyssa | $f$ | 1107 |
| Remy | m | 1624 | Brigite | $f$ | 1089 |
| Jamie | m | 1620 | Lesley | m | 1079 |
| Esmeralda | f | 1619 | Kenny | m | 1078 |
| Raoul | m | 1581 | Kelsey | f | 1073 |
| Brandon | m | 1526 | Danielle | f | 1063 |
| Lindsey | f | 1522 | Desirée | f | 1049 |
| Sharona | f | 1508 | Shanna | $f$ | 1031 |
| Jaimy | m | 1497 | Elvira | $f$ | 1028 |
|  | , |  | Lauren | $f$ | 1018 |
| Kelvin | m | 1486 | Arnold | m | 1004 |
| Charissa | $f$ | 1478 |  |  |  |
| Ramona | $f$ | 1463 | ENGLISH NAMES |  |  |
| Robbin | m | 1455 | royal names |  |  |
| Manouk | f | 1454 | 3 names - 2966 children |  |  |
| Lindsay | f | 1439 | 100\% male - 0\% female |  |  |
| Dominique | m | 1421 | 0.1\% 1987 > 0.0\% 2003 |  |  |
| Sebastian | m | 1410 |  | R(\%) | N |
| Babette | f | 1397 | WILLIAM | 13 | 2966 |

TABLE 4 (Continued)

| William |  | m | 1705 | Johnny |  | m | 1331 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| James |  | m | 696 | Benny |  | m | 514 |
| Harry |  | m | 565 | Sidney |  | m | 753 |
| ENGLISH NAMES |  |  |  | MIXED NAMES 2 |  |  |  |
| y-suffix |  |  |  | 5 names - 2408 children |  |  |  |
| 33 names - 61,863 children |  |  |  | 51\% male - 49\% female |  |  |  |
| 43\% male - 57\% female |  |  |  | 0.1\% 1987 > 0.0\% 2003 |  |  |  |
| 1.8\% 1987 > 0.6\% 2003 |  |  |  |  | L | R(\%) | N |
| These clusters include English names with the -y suffix. Just like the cluster KEVIN they are in decline. |  |  |  | REMKO | 0.4 | 6 | 1422 |
|  | L | R(\%) | N |  | 0.3 | 7 | 986 |
| KELLY | 0.5 | 23 | 47,066 | Remko |  | m | 620 |
| IIMMY | 0.6 | 15 | 9365 | Remi |  | m | 598 |
| QUINCY | 0.6 | 4 | 2396 |  |  |  |  |
| JOHNNY | 0.4 | 11 | 1845 | UPCOMING NAMES |  |  |  |
| SIDNEY | 0.6 | 3 | 1191 | FRISIAN NAMES |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | 67 names - 100,871 children |  |  |  |
| Kelly |  | f | 9359 | 40\% male - 60\% female |  |  |  |
| Mandy |  | f | 8189 | 1.8\% 1987 < 2.5\% 2003 |  |  |  |
| Nicky |  | m | 4666 | This group including names that originate from the |  |  |  |
| Daisy |  | f | 4177 |  |  |  |  |
| Cindy |  | f | 3745 | especially names in the cluster FEMKE have gained nationwide popularity and are responsible for the growth of this group. |  |  |  |
| Davy |  | m | 2310 |  |  |  |  |
| Nancy |  | f | 2185 | L |  | R(\%) | N |
| Ricky |  | m | 1678 | FEMKE | 0.7 |  | 40,518 |
| Andy |  | m | 1510 |  |  | 34 |  |
| Barry |  | m | 1441 | JELMER | 0.7 | 13 | 24,087 |
| Donny |  | m | 1424 | DOUWE | 0.8 | 8 | 10,824 |
| Debby |  | f | 1289 | HIDDE | 0.7 | 9 | 8202 |
| Patty |  | f | 1097 | NOORTJE | 0.5 | 14 | 6432 |
| Jimmy |  | m | 3332 | FAMKE | 0.8 | 7 | 3674 |
| Tommy |  | m | 1578 | WIETSKE | 0.7 | 7 | 2536 |
| Lizzy |  | f | 1234 | SIETSKE | 0.6 | 9 | 1921 |
| Gaby |  | f | 990 | JOUKE | 0.6 | 4 | 1670 |
| Bobby |  | m | 817 |  |  | 2 | 1007 |
| Sonny |  | m | 783 | Femke |  | f | 10,535 |
| Francis |  | f | 631 | Jelle |  | m | 9940 |
| Quincy |  | m | 1389 | Maaike |  | f | 8804 |
| Shanice |  | f | 569 | Nienke |  | f | 7574 |

TABLE 4 (Continued)


TABLE 4 (Continued)

| Noah <br> Levi <br> Nathan | m$m$ | $\begin{aligned} & 3240 \\ & 2614 \end{aligned}$ | the cluster CHARLOTTE has female French names, the cluster FLORIS has old noble Dutch male names, while the cluster CASPER has these with a more international flavor. |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | m | 2046 |  |  |  |  |
| Aron | m | 1726 |  | L | R(\%) | N |
| Aaron | m | 1307 | AMBER | 0.6 | 24 | 51,499 |
| Jonas | m | 1101 | EMMA | 0.7 | 31 | 41,088 |
| Ayla | f | 814 | CHARLOTTE | 0.5 | 23 | 27,980 |
| Tamar | f | 777 | FLORIS | 0.7 | 21 | 19,536 |
| Chloë | f | 762 | CASPER | 0.5 | 22 | 14,851 |
| Joram | m | 589 | OLIVIER |  |  |  |
| Joshua | m | 3335 |  | 0.6 | 8 | 9227 |
| Timothy | m | 3107 | FABIAN | 0.6 | 15 | 7608 |
|  |  |  | ROSALIE | 0.7 | 20 | 7593 |
| Matthias | m | 1575 | ROELAND | 0.3 | 9 | 5646 |
| Christopher | m | 1513 | MADELIEF | 0.4 | 7 | 2043 |
| Matthew | m | 1231 |  |  |  |  |
| Talitha | f | 926 | Amber |  | f | 10,271 |
| Andrew | m | 816 | Fleur |  | f | 9205 |
| Elena | f | 813 | Merel |  | f | 8454 |
| Samuël | m | 674 | Myrthe |  | f | 4857 |
| Gregory | m | 673 | Esmee |  | f | 4128 |
| Rachel | f | 4077 | Jasmijn |  | f | 3559 |
| Deborah | f | 3451 | Sterre |  | f | 3045 |
| Rebecca | f | 3408 | Veerle |  | f | 2762 |
| Debora | f | 842 | Claire |  | f | 2073 |
| Joël | m | 2937 | Jade |  | f | 1604 |
| Thirza | f | 979 | Linde |  | f | 1541 |
| Micha | m | 809 | Emma |  | f | 9992 |
| Esmé | f | 507 | Julia |  | f | 9475 |
| Boaz | m | 846 | Sophie |  | f | 8893 |
| Tirza | f | 688 | Sarah |  | f | 7102 |
| Yoran | m | 661 | Rosa |  | f | 3370 |
| Ezra | m | 651 | Sophia |  | f | 2256 |
| Noah | f | 557 | Charlotte |  | f | 9874 |
| Hannah | f | 2968 | Isabelle |  | f | 3103 |
| ELITE NAM |  |  | Louise |  | f | 2446 |
| 70 names - |  |  | Valerie |  | f | 2077 |
| 30\% male - |  |  | Emily |  | f | 1880 |
| 2.4\% 1987 |  |  | Josephine |  | f | 1333 |
| Names in this group have a typical elite flavor. The cluster AMBER has female names originating in nature |  |  | Juliette |  | f | 1258 |
|  |  |  | Christine |  | f | 1209 |

TABLE 4 (Continued)

| Fabienne | f | 1114 | DUTCH NAMES |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Frederique | f | 928 | modern |  |  |
| Floris | m | 5828 | 158 names - 575,780 children |  |  |
| Laurens | m | 5066 | 60\% male - 40\% female |  |  |
| Pepijn | m | 2990 | 8.0\% 1987 < 16.2\% 2003 |  |  |
| Maurits | m | 2375 | Dutch modern names are short (abbreviated), seldom more than five letters, for boys in many cases just one syllable. Lisa was the most popular name for girls in 1992, Iris in 1993, and Sanne from 1998-2006, Tim for boys in 1996 and 1999. Many high-ranked names are still in the top twenty. The cluster has weak relations to the English names in the cluster KEVIN, which were most popular in the years before. |  |  |
| Philip | m | 1657 |  |  |  |
| Reinier | m | 1620 |  |  |  |
| Casper | m | 4589 |  |  |  |
| Hugo | m | 3105 |  |  |  |
| Victor | m | 2796 |  |  |  |
| Arthur | m | 1841 | L | R(\%) | N |
| Oscar | m | 1839 | TIM 0.4 | 29 | 575,780 |
| Edward | m | 681 | Tim | m | 22,915 |
| Olivier | m | 2458 | Sanne | f | 21,600 |
| Julius | m | 1319 | Anne | $f$ | 19,853 |
| Diederik | m | 1182 | Lisa | f | 16,874 |
| Valentijn | m | 994 | Tom | m | 16,630 |
| Roosmarijn | f | 660 | Rick | m | 16,541 |
| Leander | m | 572 | Iris | $f$ | 16,373 |
| Lodewijk | m | 553 | Bart | m | 15,996 |
| Olga | f | 544 | Daan | m | 14,672 |
| Nicolas | m | 515 | Eva | f | 13,228 |
| Fabian | m | 3217 | Bas | m | 12,690 |
| Tobias | m | 2582 | Max | m | 12,485 |
| Florian | m | 1334 | Bram | m | 12,455 |
| Rosalie | f | 3081 | Lotte | f | 12,129 |
| Isabel | f | 2782 | Koen | m | 11,709 |
| Isabella | f | 1730 | Thijs | m | 11,511 |
| Roeland | m | 1043 | Tessa | $f$ | 10,861 |
| Jacco | m | 955 | Jesse | m | 10,239 |
| Ernst | m | 704 | Joost | m | 8665 |
| Allard | m | 688 | Luuk | m | 8573 |
| Folkert | m | 598 | Stijn | m | 8512 |
| Eleonora | f | 588 | Nina | f | 7881 |
| Alissa | f | 568 | Lieke | $f$ | 7291 |
| Ewoud | m | 502 | Sjoerd | m | 6897 |
| Madelief | f | 1069 | Vera | $f$ | 6777 |
| Merlijn | m | 974 | Gijs | m | 6615 |

TABLE 4 (Continued)

| Sam | m | 6136 | Boris | m | 1980 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Maud | f | 5924 | Imke | f | 1948 |
| Pim | m | 5834 | Sam | f | 1874 |
| Stan | m | 5808 | Pien | f | 1873 |
| Rik | m | 5672 | Jaap | m | 1868 |
| Floor | f | 5618 | Silke | f | 1867 |
| Sem | m | 5434 | Ties | m | 1693 |
| Niek | m | 5427 | Dana | f | 1632 |
| Roos | f | 5278 | Jessie | $f$ | 1629 |
| Sara | f | 5186 | Wout | m | 1605 |
| Maartje | f | 5140 | Noor | f | 1583 |
| Roel | m | 4688 | Evi | f | 1552 |
| Isa | f | 4636 | Liza | f | 1504 |
| Bob | m | 4462 | Elke | f | 1475 |
| Rens | m | 4359 | Jort | m | 1457 |
| Luc | m | 4321 | Floortje | f | 1443 |
| Joep | m | 4236 | Nils | m | 1435 |
| Teun | m | 4196 | Lex | m | 1399 |
| Job | m | 4156 | Mieke | f | 1399 |
| Loes | f | 3810 | Mara | f | 1367 |
| Bo | f | 3493 | Tomas | m | 1356 |
| Stef | m | 3375 | Janne | f | 1342 |
| Jens | m | 3091 | Kees | m | 1333 |
| Chris | m | 3085 | Jip | m | 1329 |
| Cas | m | 3054 | Chiel | m | 1323 |
| Ivo | m | 3008 | Malou | f | 1317 |
| Twan | m | 2965 | Marlou | f | 1268 |
| Mees | m | 2902 | Jop | m | 1233 |
| Meike | f | 2900 | Ruby | $f$ | 1222 |
| Thom | m | 2838 | Jet | f | 1221 |
| Guus | m | 2594 | Sil | m | 1192 |
| Jorn | m | 2585 | Pleun | f | 1182 |
| Coen | m | 2511 | Felix | m | 1157 |
| Sjors | m | 2477 | Marijn | f | 1150 |
| Sofie | f | 2359 | Maik | m | 1108 |
| Tijn | m | 2172 | Tijs | m | 1107 |
| Mart | m | 2104 | Kaj | m | 1062 |
| Julie | f | 2083 | Sacha | f | 1062 |
| Freek | m | 2082 | Brent | m | 1048 |

TABLE 4 (Continued)


TABLE 4 (Continued)

| FABIËNNE | 0.8 | 10 | 4527 | Beau | f | 1349 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| STÉPHANIE | 0.6 | 8 | 3154 | Emile | m | 766 |
| DIMITRI | 0.3 | 8 | 1773 | Alain | m | 722 |
| Maxime |  | f | 2720 | Mathieu | m | 624 |
| Aimée |  | f | 846 | Guy | m | 610 |
| Thierry |  | m | 781 | Julien | m | 590 |
|  |  |  |  | 572 |  |
| Noël |  |  | m |  | 691 | Yves | m |
| Dominique |  | $f$ | 4194 | Valérie | f | 556 |
| Pascalle |  |  |  | Jules | m | 1455 |
|  |  | $f$ | 773 | Louis | m | 953 |
| Fabiënne |  | f | 1527 | Camiel | m | 778 |
| Rachelle |  | f | 1410 |  |  |  |
| Juliëtte |  | f | 1031 | Inez | f | 681 |
| Florine |  | f | 559 | Maxim | m | 1087 |
| Stéphanie |  |  |  | Beau | m | 966 |
|  |  | f | 942 | Roman | m | 523 |
| Geoffrey |  | m | 632 |  |  | 1409 |
| Xavier |  | m | 630 |  |  |  |
| Mylène |  | $f$ | 512 | Jean | m | 731 |
| Dimitri |  | m | 1043 | Anique | f | 618 |
| Dominic |  | m | 730 | MIXED NAMES |  |  |
| FRENCH NAMES |  |  |  | short |  |  |
| short |  |  |  | 18 names - 17,557 children |  |  |
| 26 names - 33,234 children |  |  |  | 50\% male - 50\% female |  |  |

$0.6 \% 1987<0.8 \% 2003$
Another group of clusters with French names, including the somewhat shorter names.

|  | L | R(\%) | N |  | L | R(\%) | N |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ROBIN | 0.4 | 26 | 16,368 | BENTE | 0.5 | 10 | 8549 |
| BEAU | 0.6 | 6 | 6765 | IVAN | 0.5 | 8 | 4642 |
| JULES | 0.8 | 10 | 3867 | ABEL | 0.5 | 6 | 2379 |
| MAXIM | 0.5 | 5 | 2576 | LISE | 0.6 | 9 | 1987 |
| MARIE | 0.5 | 12 | 2140 | Bente |  | f | 2980 |
| ANIQUE | 0.6 | 6 | 1518 | Mats |  | m | 1998 |
| Robin |  | f | 5511 | Mirte |  | f | 1419 |
| Nikki |  | f | 5385 | Merle |  | f | 1297 |
| Renée |  | f | 3227 | Sten |  | m | 855 |
| Nicky |  | f | 2245 | Ivan |  | m | 1046 |

TABLE 4 (Continued)

| Rolf | m | 827 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Rudy | m | 713 |
| Carla | f | 622 |
| Frits | m | 523 |
| Kitty | f | 505 |
| Abel | m | 849 |
| Ward | m | 813 |
| Noud | m | 717 |
| Lise | f | 930 |
| Hanne | f | 580 |


| Ivar | m | 1237 |
| :--- | :---: | ---: |
| Dagmar | f | 1237 |
| Lilian | f | 1094 |
| Birgit | f | 895 |
| Joran | m | 1197 |
| Leanne | f | 816 |
| Alwin | m | 735 |
| Duco | m | 589 |
| Yorick | m | 1203 |
| Ingmar | m | 698 |

## MODERN NAMES 1

11 names - 14,964 children
23\% male - 77\% female
$0.1 \% 1987<0.6 \% 2003$
A mixture of modern short names, predominantly female, are found in this group. Jip is typical Dutch (and unisex).

|  | L | R(\%) | N |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | ---: |
| PUCK | 0.5 | 11 | 5161 |
| MIKA | 0.4 | 7 | 3190 |
| DONNA | 0.8 | 10 | 2668 |
| ADAM | 0.5 | 5 | 2035 |
| SELMA | 0.1 | 7 | 1910 |
| Puck |  | f | 2273 |
| Kiki | f | 2190 |  |
| lip | f | 698 |  |
| Mika | m | 1643 |  |
| Senna | f | 1547 |  |
| Donna | f | 1499 |  |
| Gina | f | 1169 |  |
| Adam | f | 1166 |  |
| Lina | f | 869 |  |
| Selma | m | 1233 |  |
| Ferdi |  | 677 |  |
| M0DERN NAMES 2 |  |  |  |
| 29 names - 58,573 children |  |  |  |
| 53\% male - 47\% female |  |  |  |
| 0.4\% 1987 < 2.6\% 2003 |  |  |  |

TABLE 4 (Continued)

| This group also includes modern names, with a variety of backgrounds. |  |  |  | ITALIAN \& SPANISH NAMES <br> 30 names - 30,345 children <br> 64\% male - 36\% female |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | L | R(\%) | N |  |  |  |  |
| MILAN | 0.8 | 14 | 13,610 | 0.4\% 1987 < 0.8\% 2003 |  |  |  |
| LARA | 0.7 | 13 | 9400 | Italian names dominate this group, but it shows also Juan and Diego. |  |  |  |
| JARNO | 0.5 | 15 | 8890 |  |  |  |  |
| ZOË | 0.7 | 16 | 8772 |  | L | R(\%) | N |
| LOİS | 0.6 | 8 | 6747 | LORENZO | 0.7 | 7 | 9183 |
| DION | 0.5 | 11 | 5277 |  |  |  |  |
| LUCA | 0.5 | 8 | 3925 | SORAYA | 0.5 | 6 | 4938 |
| NOËLLE | 0.5 | 10 | 1952 | GINO | 0.7 | 8 | 4238 |
|  |  |  |  | ALICIA | 0.5 | 8 | 4071 |
| Milan |  | m | 4659 | DIEGO | 0.6 | 3 | 2582 |
| Jordi |  | m | 4224 | SERENA | 0.2 | 7 | 2309 |
| Luna |  | $f$ | 2507 | GABRIËLIA | 0.1 | 7 | 1846 |
| Dani |  | m | 1501 | GIANNI | 0.5 | 2 | 1178 |
| Stella |  | f | 719 |  |  |  |  |
| Lara |  | f | 3199 | Lorenzo |  | m | 2999 |
| Indy |  | f | 1982 | Giovanni |  | m | 2454 |
| Yara |  | f | 1741 | Delano |  | m | 1298 |
| Mila |  | f | 1445 | Romano |  | m | 1154 |
| Isis |  | f | 1033 | Celina |  | f | 698 |
| Jarno |  | m | 2956 | Marciano |  | m | 580 |
| Dewi |  | $f$ | 1865 | Soraya |  | f | 1947 |
| Jari |  | m | 1588 | Felicia |  | $f$ | 1202 |
| Rico |  | m | 1561 | Stefano |  | m | 896 |
| Renzo |  | m | 920 | Gino |  | m | 1804 |
| Zoë |  | f | 4590 | Angelo |  | m | 1616 |
| Noa |  | f | 4182 | Sergio |  | m | 818 |
| Loïs |  | f | 1591 | Alicia |  | f | 1543 |
| Boy |  | m | 1531 | Roberto |  | m | 863 |
| Jay |  | m | 1503 | Miguel |  | m | 652 |
| Vince |  | m | 1077 | Selena |  |  |  |
| Dean |  | m | 1045 | Selena |  | f | 597 |
| Dion |  | m | 3219 | Diego |  | m | 1103 |
| Roan |  | m | 1179 | Juan |  | m | 550 |
| Rowan |  | f | 879 | Serena |  | $f$ | 1192 |
| Luca |  | m | 2478 | Chiara |  | f | 1117 |
| Nino |  | m | 1447 | Gabriëlla |  | $f$ | 686 |
| Noëlle |  | f | 1262 | Daniëlla |  | f | 606 |
| Romée |  | f | 690 | Gabriël |  | m | 554 |

TABLE 4 (Continued)

| Gianni | m | 611 | Mohamed | m | 9964 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Fabio | m | 567 | Fatima | f | 3684 |
|  |  |  | Youssef | m | 2007 |
| ITALIAN NAMES |  |  | Khadija | f | 1299 |
| unclassified |  |  | Brahim | m | 787 |
| 3 names - 1830 children |  |  | Zahra | f | 578 |
| 67\% male - 33\% female |  |  | Halima | f | 574 |
| 0.0\% 1987 < 0.0\% 2003 |  |  | Mustapha | m | 526 |
|  | R(\%) | N | Khalid | m | 1584 |
| LEONARD | 7 | 1830 | Rachid | m | 1434 |
|  |  |  | Said | m | 1057 |
| Leonard | m | 877 | Jamal | m | 958 |
| Louisa | f | 597 | Laïla | f | 519 |
| SLAVIC NAMES |  |  | Ahmed | m | 2511 |
| 3 names - 1,794 children |  |  | Hassan | m | 832 |
| 35\% male - 65\% female |  |  | Saida | f | 525 |
| 0.0\% 1987 < 0.0\% 2003 |  |  | Karima | f | 1226 |
|  |  |  | Latifa | f | 730 |
|  | R(\%) | N | Salima | f | 603 |
| IVANA | 3 | 1794 | Rachida | $f$ | 697 |
|  | f | 722 | Hayat | f | 623 |
| lgor |  | 633 | Fatiha | f | 544 |
|  | m |  | Najat | f | 501 |
| NON-WESTERN NAMES |  |  | Asma | f | 951 |
|  |  |  | Maryam | f | 909 |
| ARABIC NAMES 1 |  |  |  |  |  |

## ARABIC NAMES 2

14 names - 17,447 children
36\% male - 64\% female
$0.4 \% 1987$ > 0.3\% 2003
Whereas Arabic names are considered by no more than $3 \%$ of all parents, the cluster NADIA is an exception with $13 \%$, probably because Nadia itself also is a well-known Slavic name.

|  | L | $\mathrm{R}(\%)$ | N |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NADIA | 0.5 | 13 | 6128 |
| SIHAM | 0.7 | 2 | 4024 |
| ACHRAF | 0.7 | 1 | 3853 |
| SAMIR | 0.9 | 2 | 3442 |
| Nadia |  | f | 3741 |
| Samira |  | f | 2387 |

TABLE 4 (Continued)

| Siham | f | 1317 | FADOUA | 0.7 | 1 | 1814 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Amal | f | 1221 | ASMAE | 0.7 | 1 | 1502 |
| Naoual | f | 787 |  |  |  |  |
| llam | f | 699 | Hicham |  | m | 1285 |
| Achraf | m | 995 | Yasmina |  | f | 1279 |
| Anouar | m | 907 | Yassin |  | m | 735 |
| Soufiane | m | 818 | Hanane | f | 1121 |  |
| Mounir | m | 690 | Fadoua | f | 602 |  |
| Samir | m | 1445 | Imad | m | 599 |  |
| Karim | m | 1358 | Asmae | f | 568 |  |
| Saloua | f | 639 |  |  |  |  |

## ARABIC NAMES 5

upcoming
31 names - 30,203 children
50\% male - 50\% female
0.3\% 1987 < 1.0\% 2003

|  | L | R(\%) | N | The Arabic names in this group are increasingly popular, but Mohamed is not in this group. |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| TARIK | 0.8 | 2 | 4287 |  |  |  |  |
| BOUCHRA | 0.6 | 2 | 1682 |  | L | R(\%) | N |
| IKRAM | 0.8 | 2 | 1449 | YASSINE | 0.7 | 2 | 10,027 |
| REDOUAN | 0.8 | 2 | 1314 | OMAR | 0.9 | 2 | 8214 |
| FOUAD | 0.6 | 1 | 1008 | HAMZA | 0.6 | 2 | 3594 |
|  |  |  |  | IMANE | 0.7 | 2 | 3489 |
| Tarik |  | m | 1156 | YASMINE | 0.9 | 2 | 3340 |
| Adil |  | m | 915 | OUMAIMA | 0.7 | 1 | 1539 |
| Nabil |  | m | 823 | Yassine |  | m | 2120 |
| Jaouad |  | m | 652 | Youssra |  |  |  |
| Bouchra |  | f | 663 | Youssia |  | f | 1410 |
|  |  | Younes |  |  | m | 1228 |
| Ikram |  |  | f | 994 | Kaoutar |  | f | 938 |
| Redouan |  | m | 949 | Anissa |  | f | 751 |
| Fouad |  | m | 797 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Loubna |  |  | f | 747 |
| ARABIC NAMES 4 |  |  |  |  | Dounia |  | $f$ | 721 |
| 15 names - 8785 children |  |  |  | Marouane |  | m | 585 |
| 34\% male - 66\% femal |  |  |  | Sana |  | f | 578 |
| 0.2\% 1987 > 0.2\% 200 |  |  |  | Sanae |  | f | 564 |
|  | L | R(\%) | N | Omar |  | m | 1985 |
| HICHAM | 0.8 | 2 | 3641 | Zakaria |  | m | 1609 |
| HANANE | 0.6 | 2 | 1828 | Ayoub |  | m | 1368 |

TABLE 4 (Continued)

| Hajar | f | 1127 | Though the loadings for the clusters in this group are low, they definitely join Turkish names. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mariam | f | 951 |  |  |  |
| Chaima | f | 726 |  | $R(\%)$ | N |
| Hamza | m | 1803 | IBRAHIM | 3 | 3905 |
| Soumaya | f | 639 | MERVE | 2 | 2656 |
| Imane | f | 1482 | HAKAN | 1 | 2402 |
| llias | m | 1318 | YASIN | 1 | 1951 |
| Amine | m | 689 |  |  |  |
| Yasmine | f | 1399 | DENIZ | 1 | 1916 |
| Anass | m | 1116 | HASAN | 1 | 1781 |
| Oussama | m | 825 | SERKAN | 1 | 1469 |
| Oumaima | f | 922 | WALID | 2 | 1032 |
| Chaimae | f | 617 | KÜBRA | 1 | 801 |
| TURKISH NAMES |  |  | DUYGU | 1 | 783 |
| unclassified 1 |  |  | AZIZ | 1 | 718 |
| 6 names - 7127 children |  |  | ZAINAB | 1 | 693 |
| 63\% male - 37\% female |  |  | Ibrahim | m | 2240 |
| 0.1\% 1987 < 0.2\% 2003 |  |  |  | m |  |
|  |  |  | Ismail | m | 1665 |
| L | R(\%) | N | Merve | f | 1538 |
| EMRE | 1 | 4488 | Meryem | f | 1118 |
| ESRA | 2 | 2639 | Hakan | m | 833 |
| Emre | m | 1729 | Gökhan | m | 556 |
| Yusuf | m | 1238 | Volkan | m | 545 |
| Yunus | m | 816 | Yasin | m | 1069 |
| Enes | m | 705 | Yasemin | f | 882 |
| Esra | f | 1911 | Deniz | m | 804 |
| Esma | f | 728 | Derya | $f$ | 735 |
| TURKISH NAMES |  |  | Hasan | m | 1032 |
| unclassified 2 |  |  | Hüseyin | m | 749 |
| 28 names - 20,107 children |  |  | Serkan | m | 683 |
| 63\% male - $37 \%$ female |  |  | Walid | m | 542 |
| 0.5\% 1987 > 0.3\% 2003 |  |  | Kübra | f | 801 |

TABLE 5
FIRST NAMES FROM THE UK (1982-2002)
See Table 4 for an explanation

| NAMES IN DECLINE |  |  |  | Stephen | m | 19,005 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| TRADITIONAL NAMES |  |  |  | Steven | m | 17,957 |
| 146 names - 1,470,464 children |  |  |  | Jennifer | f | 17,910 |
| 55\% male - 45\% female |  |  |  | Nicola | f | 17,590 |
| 46.7\% 1987 > 13.0\% 2001 |  |  |  | Kirsty | f | 17,426 |
| Until the 1990s, naming in the UK was very much dominated by this group of traditional names, without subclusters. Popularity has dramatically dropped since then. The group is strongly related to the Scottish and Gaelic names and has a loading of 0.628 to those. Because of its size and distinct character, the group is presented separately. |  |  |  | Louise | f | 17,138 |
|  |  |  |  | Stephanie | f | 16,920 |
|  |  |  |  | Kelly | f | 15,184 |
|  |  |  |  | Lisa | f | 14,417 |
|  |  |  |  | Peter | m | 14,070 |
|  | L | R(\%) | N |  | m | 3,245 |
| DANIEL | 0.6 | 71 | 1,470,464 | Hayley | f | 13,006 |
| Daniel |  | m | 76,508 | Anthony | m | 12,759 |
| James |  | m | 75,337 | Stacey | f | 11,739 |
| Matthew |  | m | 58,591 | Leanne | f | 10,779 |
| Christopher |  | m | 54,417 | Michelle | f | 10,659 |
| Rebecca |  | f | 48,739 | Martin | m | 10,637 |
| Emma |  | $f$ | 46,644 | Dean | m | 10,350 |
| Michael |  | m | 45,720 | Stuart | m | 10,217 |
| Sarah |  | f | 44,304 | Anna | f | 10,076 |
| Laura |  | $f$ | 44,278 | Catherine | f | 9896 |
| David |  | m | 43,946 | Darren | m | 9439 |
| Adam |  | m | 39,186 | Gary | m | 9265 |
| Andrew |  | m | 39,017 | Shaun | m | 8791 |
| Robert |  | m | 29,832 | Helen | f | 8647 |
| Samantha |  | f | 26,832 | Philip | m | 8629 |
| Mark |  | m | 25,756 | Rachael | f | 8570 |
| Rachel |  | f | 25,660 | Kimberley | f | 8330 |
| Paul |  | m | 22,920 | Joanne | f | 8176 |
| Richard |  | m | 22,367 | Kevin | m | 7904 |
| Gemma |  | f | 22,182 | Kerry | f | 7578 |
| Jonathan |  | m | 21,564 | Carl | m | 6611 |
| Natalie |  | $f$ | 20,070 | Kathryn | f | 6477 |
| Craig |  | m | 19,334 | Amanda | f | 6444 |
| Claire |  | $f$ | 19,321 | Clare | f | 5958 |
| Lee |  | m | 19,201 | Alan | m | 5042 |

TABLE 5 (Continued)

| Gavin | m | 5027 | Keith |  | m | 1690 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Caroline | f | 4827 | Lyndsey |  | f | 1652 |
| Donna | f | 4727 | Nichola |  | f | 1632 |
| Carly | f | 4591 | Shelley |  | f | 1625 |
| Jenna | f | 4513 | Tracey |  | f | 1570 |
| Mathew | m | 4195 | Dawn |  | f | 1538 |
| Maria | $f$ | 4059 | Sharon |  | f | 1421 |
| Ashley | f | 3912 | Angus |  | m | 1346 |
| Alison | f | 3839 | Shona |  | f | 1234 |
| Ellen | f | 3787 |  |  | m | 1212 |
| Wayne | m | 3692 |  |  | m |  |
| Rory | m | 3648 | Elaine |  | f | 1178 |
| Christina | f | 3501 | Debbie |  | f | 1146 |
| Karen | f | 3389 | Johnathan |  | m | 1128 |
| Colin | m | 3281 | Pamela |  | f | 1100 |
| Graham | m | 3267 | Tina |  | f | 1096 |
| Phillip | m | 3142 | Lorraine |  | f | 1040 |
| Melanie | f | 3030 | Jayne |  | f | 1024 |
| Cheryl | f | 2875 | Derek |  | m | 1001 |
| Suzanne | $f$ | 2633 | TRADITIONAL NAMES 2 |  |  |  |
| Brian | m | 2624 | 19 names - 43,843 children |  |  |  |
| Julie | f | 2507 | 77\% male - 23\% female |  |  |  |
| Cara | f | 2473 | 1.3\% 1987 > 0.6\% 2001 |  |  |  |
| Christine | f | 2471 |  |  |  |  |
| Marie | f | 2471 | The traditional names John, Mary, Ann, Patrick, and Margaret form the dominant cluster in this group. |  |  |  |
| Adrian | m | 2398 |  | , | R(\%) | N |
| Jonathon | m | 2363 |  | L | (\%) | N |
| Barry | m | 2351 | JOHN | 0.7 | 66 | 36,472 |
| Angela | f | 2290 | KATHLEEN | 0.8 | 35 | 2737 |
| Susan | f | 2110 | PATRICIA | 0.6 | 31 | 2103 |
| Graeme | m | 2070 | GERARD | 0.7 | 21 | 1851 |
| Gillian | f | 2034 | GERALDINE | 0.4 | 13 | 680 |
| Kim | f | 2001 | John |  | m | 23,156 |
| Jacqueline | f | 1978 | Patrick |  | m | 7381 |
| Martyn | m | 1970 | Mary |  | f | 3116 |
| Lynsey | f | 1960 | Margaret |  | f | 1258 |
| Lindsay | f | 1959 | Ann |  | f | 931 |
| Andrea | $f$ | 1863 | Kathleen |  | f | 1710 |
| Daryl | m | 1785 | Eric |  | m | 558 |

TABLE 5 (Continued)
 flavor.

|  | L | R(\%) | N | 52 names - 122,368 children |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ELIZABETH | 0.7 | 66 | 26,453 | 75\% male - 25\% female |  |  |  |
| JOANNA | 0.8 | 54 | 9978 | 3.1\% 1987 > 2.1\% 2001 |  |  |  |
| ANNABEL | 0.5 | 35 | 6151 | The group of Scottish and Gaelic names is in decline, just like the other traditional English names. The cluster HEATHER seems a bit of an outlier with some names linked to nature. |  |  |  |
| ALICIA | 0.6 | 37 | 5861 |  |  |  |  |
| JULIA | 0.6 | 39 | 2241 |  |  |  |  |
| Elizabeth |  | f | 15,095 |  | L | R(\%) | N |
| Katherine |  | f | 9993 | SCOT | 0.8 | 54 | 54,098 |
| Katharine |  | f | 1365 | FIONA | 0.8 | 42 | 25,284 |
| Joanna |  | f | 5370 | IAN | 0.5 | 66 | 12,384 |
| Philippa |  | f | 2207 | HEATHER | 0.5 | 55 | 12,149 |
| Robin |  | m | 1732 | ALISTAIR | 0.7 | 37 | 9485 |
| Susannah |  | f | 669 | GREGORY | 0.7 | 41 | 8968 |
| Annabel |  | f | 1905 | Scott |  | m | 20,107 |
| Louisa |  | f | 1753 | Ross |  | m | 11,266 |
| Lucinda |  | $f$ | 1109 | Cameron |  | m | 8560 |
| Camilla |  | f | 1005 | Grant |  |  |  |
| Alicia |  | f | 2574 | Grant |  | m | 3570 |
|  |  | f | 1311 | Fraser |  | m | 2458 |
|  |  | f | 1311 | Stewart |  | m | 1871 |
| Annabelle |  | f | 1014 | Kirstie |  | f | 1680 |
| Verity |  | f | 962 | Greg |  |  |  |
| Julia |  | f | 1728 |  |  | m | 1605 |
| Rosalind |  | f | 513 | Blair |  | m | 717 |
|  |  |  | Murray |  | m | 565 |
| JANE \& RUTH |  |  |  | Fiona |  | f | 5358 |
| 5 names - 8105 children |  |  |  | Calum |  | m | 3550 |
| 0\% male - $100 \%$ female |  |  |  | Lorna |  | f | 2551 |
| 0.3\% 1987 > 0.1\% 2001 |  |  |  | lain |  | m | 2444 |

TABLE 5 (Continued)

| Ewan | m | 1871 | Jade | f | 17,620 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Kirsten | f | 1746 | Amber | f | 5705 |
| Alastair | m | 1646 | Jasmine | f | 4807 |
| Euan | m | 1558 | Jasmin | f | 1382 |
| Catriona | f | 1184 | Keeley | f | 1215 |
| Eilidh | f | 1038 | Crystal | f | 707 |
| Ian | m | 7361 | Coral | f | 616 |
| Neil | m | 5023 | Kirk | m | 585 |
| Heather | f | 6136 | Danny | m | 4190 |
| Frances | f | 2154 | Ricky | m | 3508 |
| Rosemary | f | 1628 | Tony | m | 2561 |
| Hazel | f | 1488 | Terry | m | 1710 |
| Tessa | f | 743 | Nicky | m | 861 |
| Alistair | m | 2393 | Deanna | f | 515 |
| Duncan | m | 1655 | Shane | m | 6277 |
| Kenneth | m | 1585 | Charlene | f | 3423 |
| Finlay | m | 923 | Sadie | $f$ | 1475 |
| Alasdair | m | 832 | Tammy | f | 1310 |
| Donald | m | 573 | Tara | f | 3347 |
| Bonnie | f | 562 | Tanya | f | 2732 |
| Malcolm | m | 543 | Russell | m | 2206 |
| Gregory | m | 3248 | Nigel | m | 758 |
| Douglas | m | 1619 | Tania | f | 739 |
| Gordon | m | 1285 | Kelvin | m | 620 |
| Allan | m | 1254 | Lindse | f | 2168 |
| Alec | m | 734 |  |  |  |

## GEMS \& NAMES IN -y

29 names - 72,719 children
33\% male - $67 \%$ female
1.8\% 1987 > 1.3\% 2001

Gems like jade, amber, crystal and coral inspire parents, who also seem to have affinity to names in -y .

|  | L | $\mathrm{R}(\%)$ | N |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| JADE | 0.4 | 44 | 32,637 |
| DANNY | 0.5 | 46 | 13,815 |
| SHANE | 0.5 | 47 | 13,287 |
| TARA | 0.7 | 53 | 6079 |
| RUSSELL | 0.6 | 42 | 4323 |
| LINDSEY | 0.6 | 46 | 2578 |

DIAN
17 names - 13,642 children
$9 \%$ male - $91 \%$ female
$0.5 \% 1987$ > 0.1\% 2001
Also this group has two clusters with female names in -y .

|  | L | $\mathrm{R}(\%)$ | N |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| PAULA | 0.4 | 33 | 3844 |
| VICKY | 0.6 | 32 | 3207 |
| TRACY | 0.7 | 31 | 3016 |
| DIANE | 0.7 | 28 | 1854 |
| RAYMOND | 0.5 | 36 | 1721 |
| Paula |  | f | 1747 |
| Denise |  | f | 796 |

TABLE 5 (Continued)

| Sandra |  | f | 583 | Selina |  | f | 994 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Vicky |  | f | 1609 | Anita |  | f | 721 |
| Becky |  | f | 1043 | TONI |  |  |  |
| Carley |  | f | 555 | 11 names - 13,464 children |  |  |  |
| Tracy |  | f | 1212 | 16\% male - 84\% female |  |  |  |
| Wendy |  | f | 714 | 0.5\% 1987 > 0.1\% 2001 |  |  |  |
| Mandy |  | f | 698 |  |  |  |  |
| Diane |  | f | 790 | A small group of mainly female names, consisting o typical pairs of names with quite a few ending with an i sound. |  |  |  |
| Carol |  | f | 722 |  |  |  |  |
| Raymond |  | m | 1279 |  | L | R(\%) | N |
| FEMALE NAMES IN -a |  |  |  | TONI | 0.7 | 45 | 5509 |
| 21 names - 35,157 children |  |  |  | DAMIEN | 0.5 | 41 | 3597 |
| 4\% male - 96\% female |  |  |  | STACY | 0.4 | 31 | 2286 |
| $0.9 \% 1987$ > 0.5\% 2001 ( 2072 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Many names in this group of female names are ending on -a, with the exception of the clusters GABRIELLE and TERENCE. |  |  |  | Toni |  | f | 3538 |
|  |  |  |  | Terri |  | f | 1971 |
|  |  |  |  | Damien |  | m | 1810 |
|  | L | R(\%) | N | Carrie |  | f | 1412 |
| NATASHA | 0.5 | 65 | 15,729 | Stacy |  | f | 1337 |
| KATRINA | 0.7 | 42 | 6140 | Ami |  | f | 638 |
| GABRIELLE | 0.4 | 31 | 4458 | Kay |  | f | 863 |
| CARLA | 0.5 | 45 | 4372 | Jody |  | f | 836 |
| TERENE | 0.4 | 35 | 2743 | FRANK |  |  |  |
| SELINA | 0.7 | 27 | 1715 | 6 names - 4540 children |  |  |  |
| Natasha |  | f | 13,900 | 67\% male - 33\% female |  |  |  |
| Nikita |  | f | 1398 | 0.1\% 1987 > 0.0\% 2001 |  |  |  |
| Katrina |  | f | 2745 |  | L | R(\%) | N |
| Sabrina |  | f | 1581 | MICHEAL |  | 40 | 2165 |
| Sonia |  | f | 1205 | FRANK | 0.7 | 26 | 1258 |
| Monica |  | f | 609 | TERESA | 0.5 | 23 | 1117 |
| Gabrielle |  | f | 1972 | Micheal |  |  |  |
| Dominique |  | f | 801 | Micheal |  | m | 1786 |
| Dionne |  | f | 785 | Frank |  | m | 668 |
| Carla |  | f | 2896 | Roy |  | m | 590 |
| Justine |  | f | 819 | Teresa |  | f | 673 |
| Gina |  | f | 657 | DARRYL |  |  |  |
| Terence |  | m | 1070 | 16 names - 16,452 children |  |  |  |
| Sarah-Jane |  | f | 638 | 49\% male - 51\% female |  |  |  |
| Anne-Marie |  | f | 535 | 0.5\% 1987 > 0.2\% 2001 |  |  |  |

TABLE 5 (Continued)

|  | L | R(\%) | N |  | L | R(\%) | N |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| MARC | 0.6 | 56 | 5898 | THOMAS | 0.7 | 58 | 171,897 |
| NIKKI | 0.5 | 33 | 2976 | SAMUEL | 0.5 | 60 | 126,442 |
| CASSIE | 0.5 | 29 | 2322 | CHARLOTTE | 0.5 | 66 | 88,596 |
| DARRYL | 0.7 | 29 | 2242 | ALEXANDER | 0.5 | 67 | 68,840 |
| ROSANNA | 0.5 | 25 | 1927 | OLIVER | 0.8 | 40 | 30,112 |
| FERN | 0.3 | 17 | 1087 | ALEX | 0.7 | 37 | 22,140 |
| Marc |  | m | 4601 | JOEL | 0.6 | 27 | 19,286 |
| Jon |  | m | 1297 | MOLLY | 0.7 | 23 | 17,594 |
| Nikki |  | f | 1797 | DOMINIC | 0.6 | 41 | 16,016 |
| Trevor |  | m | 635 | JACOB | 0.6 | 32 | 10,798 |
| Kris |  | m | 544 | LYDIA | 0.8 | 27 | 10,599 |
| Cassie |  | f | 886 | ELLA | 0.5 | 31 | 9844 |
| Kellie |  | f | 723 | IMOGEN | 0.8 | 17 | 8860 |
| Christie |  | f | 713 | LOUIS | 0.5 | 28 | 7879 |
| Darryl |  | m | 1051 | LOIS | 0.7 | 19 | 6839 |
| Maxine |  | f | 821 | ELLIOTT | 0.6 | 25 | 6626 |
| Rosanna |  | f | 1066 | FLORENCE | 0.5 | 13 | 5810 |
| Fern |  | f | 769 | LILY | 0.6 | 17 | 5584 |
| JEFFREY |  |  |  | NATHANIEL | 0.8 | 20 | 4215 |
|  |  |  |  | MILLIE | 0.5 | 13 | 4127 |
| 70\% male - 30\% female |  |  |  | FREYA | 0.6 | 17 | 3795 |
| 0.0\% 1987 > 0.0\% 2001 |  |  |  | HARRISON | 0.5 | 25 | 3540 |
|  |  |  |  | ISOBEL | 0.5 | 30 | 2909 |
|  | L | R(\%) | N | Thomas |  |  | 66014 |
| JEFFREY | 0.6 | 23 | 808 |  |  | m | 66,014 |
|  |  |  |  | William |  | m | 27,049 |
| Jeffrey |  | m | 563 | George |  | m | 17,861 |
|  |  |  |  | Harry |  | m | 16,335 |
| UPCOMING NAMES |  |  |  | Edward |  | m | 11,247 |
| POPULAR CLASSIC NAMES |  |  |  | Eleanor |  | $f$ | 10,703 |
| 150 names - 652,348 children |  |  |  | Charles |  | m | 9161 |
| 72\% male - $28 \%$ female |  |  |  | Harriet |  | f | 5776 |
| 10.9\% 1987 < 20.0\% 2001 |  |  |  | Henry |  | m | 5426 |
| Where the traditional group DANIEL collapsed, this group of popular names doubled in size. The clusters, which mostly have a classic flavour, are varied with male royal names in the cluster THOMAS, Hebrew names in the clusters SAMUEL, JOEL, and JACOB, French names in the clusters CHARLOTTE, DOMINIC, and LOU- |  |  |  | Frederick |  | m | 2045 |
|  |  |  |  | Samuel |  | m | 32,627 |
|  |  |  |  | Joshua |  | m | 32,103 |
|  |  |  |  | Benjamin |  | m | 31,821 |
| IS, abbreviated names in the cluster ALEX, names in -y in the cluster MOLLY, names on -a in the cluster |  |  |  | Joseph |  | m | 29,891 |
| ELLA, and so on. |  |  |  | Charlotte |  | f | 35,957 |

TABLE 5 (Continued)

| Victoria | f | 21,627 | Serena | f | 852 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Alexandra | f | 9000 | Reuben | m | 750 |
| Georgina | f | 8375 | Caleb | m | 605 |
| Francesca | f | 5634 | Molly | f | 6653 |
| Claudia | f | 1346 | Rosie | f | 4121 |
| Lucas | m | 1342 | Daisy | f | 3339 |
| Gabriella | f | 1325 | Poppy | f | 1881 |
| Daniella | f | 1286 | Polly | f | 966 |
| Antonia | f | 1248 | Nancy | f | 634 |
| Alexander | m | 27,809 | Dominic | m | 6968 |
| Nicholas | m | 15,962 | Christian | m | 3288 |
| Jason | m | 12,716 | Sebastian | m | 2061 |
| Timothy | m | 7093 | Tristan | m | 1225 |
| Justin | m | 1826 | Benedict | m | 930 |
| Laurence | m | 1607 | Nicolas | m | 522 |
| Jeremy | m | 974 | Emilia | f | 518 |
| Julian | m | 853 | Beatrice | f | 504 |
| Oliver | m | 19,109 | Jacob | m | 8895 |
| Toby | m | 3477 | Zachary | m | 1903 |
| Lawrence | m | 1632 | Lydia | f | 4409 |
| Helena | f | 1558 | Phoebe | f | 3336 |
| Oscar | m | 1551 | Mia | f | 2202 |
| Tobias | m | 1400 | Esme | f | 652 |
| Felix | m | 824 | Ella | f | 4549 |
| Barnaby | m | 561 | Lara | f | 1716 |
| Alex | m | 7491 | Nina | f | 1316 |
| Max | m | 5341 | Maya | f | 762 |
| Elliot | m | 3958 | Anya | f | 599 |
| Guy | m | 513 | Jak | m | 505 |
| Miles | m | 1222 | Imogen | f | 2857 |
| Leo | m | 1134 | India | f | 986 |
| Hugh | m | 1034 | Madeline | f | 866 |
| Joel | m | 4120 | Hugo | m | 741 |
| Ethan | m | 4101 | Meghan | f | 687 |
| Deborah | f | 2812 | Maximilian | m | 588 |
| Isaac | m | 1982 | Miranda | f | 580 |
| Esther | f | 1317 | Louis | m | 5502 |
| Martha | f | 1104 | Gabriel | m | 889 |
| Miriam | f | 895 | Lois | f | 1754 |

TABLE 5 (Continued)

| Matilda | f | 747 |  | L | R(\%) | N |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Eva | f | 742 | HANNAH | 0.5 | 56 | 172,678 |
| Jemima | f | 721 | SOPHIE | 0.5 | 54 | 118,246 |
| Tegan | f | 690 | KYLE | 0.6 | 45 | 56,725 |
| Tabitha | f | 612 | LUKE | 0.4 | 50 | 54,359 |
| Fergus | m | 570 | GEORGIA | 0.5 | 43 | 35,946 |
| Gregor | m | 568 | CHELSEY | 0.6 | 34 | 20,270 |
| Elliott | m | 2597 | MITCHELL | 0.8 | 19 | 16,393 |
| Harvey | m | 1784 | LEAH | 0.7 | 4 | 13,850 |
| Shelby | f | 828 | COURTNEY | 0.7 | 28 | 8224 |
| Spencer | m | 726 | BRANDON | 0.7 | 27 | 6730 |
| Frazer | m | 691 | KANE | 0.6 | 17 | 6555 |
| Florence | f | 1063 | LEIGH | 0.4 | 35 | 6437 |
| Arthur | m | 752 | DEMI | 0.6 | 24 | 5726 |
| Alfred | m | 715 |  |  |  |  |
| Theo | m | 669 | CURTIS | 0.6 | 29 | 3750 |
| Eliza | $f$ | 551 | BRYONY | 0.4 | 26 | 3112 |
| Edmund | m | 507 | KIERON | 0.5 | 32 | 2702 |
| Lily | $f$ | 2896 | HOPE | 0.5 | 15 | 1973 |
| Ruby | f | 1840 | Hannah |  | f | 35,958 |
| Scarlett | f | 848 | Jessica |  | f | 32,167 |
| Nathaniel | m | 1610 | Danielle |  | f | 19,397 |
| Myles | m | 972 | Nathan |  | m | 17,895 |
| Theodore | m | 640 | Bethany |  | f | 13,716 |
| Flora | f | 516 | Abigail |  | f | 11,633 |
| Millie | f | 1799 | Nicole |  | f | 9528 |
| Maisie | f | 1539 | Naomi |  | f | 6158 |
| Madison | f | 789 | Marcus |  | m | 3816 |
| Freya | f | 1890 | Chantelle |  | f | 3604 |
| Rowan | m | 875 | Rebekah |  | f | 2882 |
| Saskia | f | 671 | Alisha |  | f | 1935 |
| Harrison | m | 2608 | Roxanne |  | f | 1754 |
| Maxwell | m | 932 | Nadine |  | f | 1481 |
| Isobel | f | 2439 | Simone |  | $f$ | 1436 |
| POPULAR TRENDY NAMES |  |  | Elisha |  | f | 1151 |
| 141 names - 533,676 children |  |  | Sophie |  | f | 32,326 |
| 34\% male - $66 \%$ female |  |  | Katie |  | f | 27,490 |
| 8.6\% 1987 < 15.2\% 2001 |  |  | Chloe |  | f | 27,141 |
| This group almost doubled in size. The clusters seem rather varied, and unorthodox in several cases. |  |  | Ashley |  | m | 14,018 |
|  |  |  | Bradley |  | m | 9337 |

TABLE 5 (Continued)

| Hollie | f | 4721 | Chelsie | f | 732 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Wesley | m | 1309 | Mitchell | m | 3415 |
| Lucie | f | 1028 | Tyler | m | 3385 |
| Kyle | m | 11,190 | Ellis | m | 1564 |
| Kayleigh | f | 10,346 | Taylor | m | 1512 |
| Melissa | f | 8998 | Mason | m | 1211 |
| Reece | m | 6148 |  |  |  |
| Karl | m | 4976 | Jordon | m | 1107 |
| Kelsey | f | 1977 | Charley | f | 964 |
| Brett | m | 1892 | Bailey | m | 798 |
| Vanessa | f | 1880 | Harley | m | 723 |
| Arron | m | 1714 | Ebony | f | 714 |
| Kimberly | f | 1329 | Leah | f | 7334 |
| Vincent | m | 1038 | Jay | m | 3362 |
| Luke | m | 32,391 | Corey | m | 1725 |
| Jake | m | 15,165 | Casey | f | 1429 |
| Zara | f | 2469 | Courtney | f | 5902 |
| Zak | m | 1579 | Brooke | f | 1332 |
| Kai | m | 1258 |  |  |  |
| Kira | f | 926 | Chelsey | f | 990 |
| Jed | m | 571 | Brandon | m | 4633 |
| Georgia | f | 11,069 | Drew | m | 959 |
| Jodie | f | 9425 | Brad | m | 571 |
| Jemma | f | 4581 | Chad | m | 567 |
| Robyn | f | 3825 | Kane | m | 2030 |
| Jamie | f | 1778 | Tia | f | 1503 |
| Abby | f | 1688 | Troy | m | 809 |
| Damian | m | 1203 | Summer | f | 683 |
| Billie | f | 866 | Paris | f | 646 |
| Todd | m | 766 | Leigh | m | 1443 |
| Stevie | $f$ | 745 | Warren | m | 1374 |
| Chelsea | f | 6885 | Glenn | m | 1355 |
| Leon | m | 3199 |  |  |  |
| Jordan | f | 2437 | Hayden | m | 1271 |
| Charlie | f | 1676 | Keely | f | 668 |
| Leigh | f | 1383 | Demi | f | 2186 |
| Alex | f | 1154 | Morgan | f | 1637 |
| Levi | m | 863 | Taylor | f | 1373 |
| Cory | m | 741 | Alexandria | f | 530 |

TABLE 5 (Continued)

| Curtis |  | m | 2616 | Garry |  | m | 1092 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Candice |  | f | 703 | Kaylee |  | f | 508 |
| Bryony |  | f | 1760 | JOSH |  |  |  |
| Brogan |  | f | 689 | 8 names - 23,991 children |  |  |  |
| Jared |  | m | 663 | 15\% male - 85\% female |  |  |  |
| Kieron |  | m | 1945 | 0.3\% 1987 < 1.2\% 2001 |  |  |  |
| Kurtis |  | m | 757 | Another few names of trendy character, with a smal cluster of female names an i sound. |  |  |  |
| Hope |  | f | 842 |  |  |  |  |
| Jesse |  | m | 577 |  | L | R(\%) | N |
| Casey |  | m | 554 | ELLIE | 0.5 | 38 | 19,494 |
|  |  |  |  | JOSH | 0.6 | 23 | 3629 |
| NAMES IN -ie |  |  |  | KERI | 0.3 | 16 | 868 |
| 31 names - 66,474 children |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 79\% male - 21\% female |  |  |  | Ellie |  | f | 7005 |
| 1.3\% 1987 < 2.0\% 2001 |  |  |  | Aimee |  | f | 5904 |
|  |  |  |  | Abbie |  | f | 4538 |
| This group is largely dominated by the cluster IAMIE, whose name ending in -ie is typical. Popularity is growing. |  |  |  | Amie |  | f | 2047 |
|  |  |  |  | Josh |  | m | 3051 |
|  | L | R(\%) | N | Zack |  | m | 578 |
| JAMIE | 0.4 | 46 | 61,370 | ABBREVIATED NAMES |  |  |  |
| APRIL | 0.5 | 37 | 1988 | 26 names - 238,599 children |  |  |  |
| GARRY | 0.4 | 25 | 1712 | $33 \%$ male - 67\% female |  |  |  |
| KAYLEE | 0.5 | 17 | 1404 | 4.0\% 1987 < 7.2\% 2001 |  |  |  |
| Jamie |  | m | 24,413 | Abbreviated, short names are increasingly popular as well, with clusters that are gender specific. |  |  |  |
| Charlie |  | m | 6869 |  |  |  |  |
| Dale |  | m | 4465 | L |  | R(\%) | N |
| Billy |  | m | 4030 | JACK | 0.6 | 43 | 77,331 |
| Alfie |  | m | 2135 | AMY | 0.8 | 63 | 65,049 |
| Robbie |  | m | 1950 | EMILY | 0.5 | 45 | 57,786 |
| Mollie |  | $f$ | 1911 | HOLLY | 0.5 | 48 | 16,617 |
| Annie |  | f | 1801 | KATE | 0.8 | 55 | 10,394 |
| Kylie |  | f | 1617 | FAYE | 0.5 | 42 | 6728 |
| Glen |  | m | 1375 | SALLY | 0.7 | 50 | 4694 |
| Tommy |  | m | 1328 | Jack |  | m | 41,801 |
| Kerrie |  | f | 1274 | Ben |  | m | 14,426 |
| Josie |  | f | 1087 | Sam |  | m | 10,616 |
| April |  | f | 1673 | Joe |  | m | 7226 |

TABLE 5 (Continued)


TABLE 5 (Continued)

| Megan |  | f | 20,311 | Ciaran |  | m | 2307 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gareth |  | m | 7913 | Sinead |  | f | 2098 |
| Sian |  | f | 5120 | Brendan |  | m | 1773 |
| Bethan |  | f | 3683 | Aiden |  | m | 1668 |
| Rhian |  | f | 1288 | Francis |  | m | 1480 |
| Cerys |  | f | 1046 | Lianne |  | f | 1105 |
| Cassandra |  | f | 980 | Roisin |  | $f$ | 1101 |
| Kayley |  | f | 926 | Conor |  | m | 5462 |
| Dillon |  | m | 553 | Erin |  | f | 3891 |
| Rhiannon |  | f | 2964 | Michaela |  | f | 3170 |
| Angharad |  | $f$ | 678 | Niamh |  | f | 2942 |
| Haydn |  | m | 614 | Ciara |  | f | 2090 |
| IRISH NAMES |  |  |  | Shauna |  | f | 1702 |
|  |  |  |  | Ronan |  | m | 867 |
| 45 names - 263,171 children |  |  |  | Orla |  | $f$ | 698 |
| 69\% male - 31\% female |  |  |  | Niall |  | m | 2765 |
| 3.5\% 1987 < 7.3\% 2001 |  |  |  | Aoife |  | $f$ | 668 |
| Also the clusters with Irish names more than doubled in size over the last fifteen years. |  |  |  | Eoin |  | m | 506 |
|  | L | R(\%) | N | Keira |  | f | 563 |
| RYAN | 0.7 | 51 | 236,517 | FEMALE NAMES IN -a |  |  |  |
| CONOR | 0.9 | 35 | 21,194 | 24 names - 35,497 children |  |  |  |
| NIALL | 0.8 | 26 | 4409 | 13\% male - 87\% female |  |  |  |
| KEIRA | 0.4 | 20 | 1051 | 0.5\% 1987 < 1.3\% 2001 |  |  |  |
| Ryan |  | m | 35,587 | Names in this group, ending in -a have a Romanic origin. The few male names in this group are Ger- |  |  |  |
| Lauren |  | f | 32,162 | manic. |  |  |  |
| Liam |  | m | 25,151 | L |  | R(\%) | N |
| Jordan |  | m | 20,732 |  |  |  | 18,581 |
| Callum |  | m | 16,565 | OLIVIA | 0.7 | 31 |  |
| Aaron |  | m | 16,490 | ADELE | 0.4 | 35 | 11,463 |
| Sean |  | m | 14,918 | NADIA | 0.6 | 27 | 2584 |
| Connor |  | m | 13,540 | ELENA | 0.8 | 19 | 1,564 |
| Kieran |  | m | 11,480 | BIANCA | 0.5 | 24 | 1305 |
| Shannon |  | f | 10,512 | Olivia |  | f | 11881 |
| Caitlin |  | f | 5794 | Sophia |  | f | 2723 |
| Ashleigh |  | f | 5488 | Isabella |  | f | 1726 |
| Siobhan |  | f | 3516 | Lucia |  | f | 518 |
| Aidan |  | m | 3496 | Natalia |  | f | 504 |
| Declan |  | m | 3496 | Adele |  | f | 1942 |

TABLE 5 (Continued)

| Tiffany |  | f | 1873 | Heidi |  | f | 1522 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Stefan |  | m | 1870 | Aisha |  | f | 1497 |
| Alana |  | f | 1433 | Ayesha |  | f | 1022 |
| Kristian |  | m | 1326 | Hassan |  | m | 981 |
| Tamara |  | f | 1202 |  |  | m | 981 |
| Shanice |  | f | 746 | Sana |  | f | 613 |
| Anton |  | m | 545 | Leila |  | f | 582 |
| Chantel |  | f | 526 | Farah |  | f | 504 |
| Nadia |  | f | 1813 | Antony |  | m | 2464 |
| Layla |  | f | 771 | Janine |  | f | 1068 |
| Elena |  | $f$ | 857 | Kristopher |  | m | 879 |
| Bianca |  | f | 958 | Kristina |  | f | 803 |
| KARA |  |  |  | Ellis |  | f | 728 |
| 6 names - 3,524 children |  |  |  | Karina |  | f | 578 |
| 0\% male - $100 \%$ female |  |  |  | Corinne |  | f | 524 |
| 0.1\% 1987 < 0.1\% 2001 |  |  |  | Blake |  | m | 769 |
|  | L | R(\%) | N | Hanna |  | f | 674 |
| KARA | 0.7 | 10 | 1936 | Leona |  | f | 580 |
| SAFFRON | 0.6 | 4 | 1588 | Sasha |  | f | 1705 |
| Kara |  | f | 1163 | Laurie |  | f | 628 |
| Saffron |  | f | 726 |  |  |  |  |
| SARA |  |  |  | NON-WESTERN NAMES |  |  |  |
| 25 names - 27,243 children |  |  |  | ARABIC NAMES 1 |  |  |  |
| 20\% male - 80\% female |  |  |  | upcoming |  |  |  |
| 0.6\% 1987 < 0.6\% 2001 |  |  |  | 9 names - 19,229 children |  |  |  |
| In this group, the cluster SARA is special as it includes names from both Western and Arabic origin, which originates in the fact that Sara and Leila belong to the name inventory of both cultures. Heidi is in the cluster because of a strong attraction to Sara. |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & 92 \% \text { male - 8\% female } \\ & 0.3 \% 1987<0.8 \% 2001 \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | L | R(\%) | N |
|  | L | $R(\%)$ | N | MOHAMMED | 0.8 | 4 | 14,362 |
| SARA | 0.4 | 30 | 15,410 | MUHAMMAD | 0.8 | 2 | 2503 |
| ANTONY | 0.6 | 36 | 7044 | KIRAN |  | 1 | 1469 |
| BLAKE | 0.6 | 25 | 2456 | FAISAL |  | 2 | 895 |
| SASHA | 0.7 | 36 | 2333 | Mohammed |  | m | 11,116 |
| Sara |  | f | 4687 | Mohammad |  | m | 3246 |
| Yasmin |  | f | 2840 | Muhammad |  | m | 1783 |

TABLE 5 (Continued)


## Discussion and further research

Given names of children can reveal cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and socioeconomic backgrounds of parents, but the relationships are usually complex, hidden, and noisy. And although some relationships are much stronger than others, in all cases extreme care should be taken in their interpretation. We had the advantage that we could base our analysis on the names of children born in the same family, rather than a mere
list of names of children. This enabled us to reveal structures in naming that are otherwise very difficult to unravel. Whereas ethnic and linguistic backgrounds of exogenic names can be inferred from popularity in cultures, countries, or linguistic communities from which they originate or where they currently have a high frequency, this is much less obvious for cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds in endogenic names. The self-organizing methodology we propose has the advantage that it does not require the assumption of explicit underlying factors beforehand. The interpretation of the results comes afterwards, and could be based on correlations with factors like income, educational level of the parents, or geodemographic spread. The advantage is that these correlations need not to be based on individual names, but on the aggregated level of name groups, which statistically makes a much stronger case.

The interpretation of name groups in the present study is still impressionistic. Its validity resides in the plausibility of the results, the reason why we included the full lists in Tables 4 and 5 . Further research is under way that will link socioeconomic information and names of children, both available at the family level. The power of using name groups in relation to geodemographic spread has been demonstrated already by Bloothooft et al. (2004). In contrast to individual names, name groups have a sufficient frequency at the level of postal code area (with a total of 396I areas in the Netherlands) to define a reliable profile of their presence. Using factor analysis on these profiles, a limited number of most characteristic name group profiles can be distinguished. By attaching the best fitting of these profiles to each postal code area, a map of the Netherlands can be drawn that highlights naming preferences. The same can be done for the UK.

There is a correspondence between the analysis of the linked information of given name and surname in the same person and CEL factors as performed by Tucker (2003), and the linked information of given names of children in the same family in our study. In Tucker's case, the knowledge of onomastic experts on the origin (or usage) of first names could be used to obtain probabilities on the otherwise unknown ethnic and linguistic background of surnames. However, the combination given name and surname can be seen as a pair of linked information, just like the pair(s) of given names in the same family. With minor adaptations, the self-organizing clustering we applied is methodologically applicable to any combination of types of names, including the combination of given name and surname. As in our case, only when it comes to the interpretation of resulting clusters ex hoc expert knowledge will be indispensable.

Our approach is strongly motivated by the opportunity to let the data speak for themselves. The current procedures are mathematically well defined - much more solid than in the original publications of Bloothooft (2001, 2002). But, to be successful, we learned that the analysis procedure should be very carefully tuned. A few notes:
(I) The analysis should be limited to names with relatively high frequency, and for each name there should be enough names of brothers and sisters to identify statistical relationships reliably. Once name groups have been identified on such a solid basis, names with lower frequencies could be associated to
these, although uncertainties and misallocations grow rapidly with decreasing numbers.
(2) Because of the severe conditions on name frequencies in our analysis, many CEL types that are identified for the UK by Mateos et al. (2007) do not show up in our analysis. A huge majority (I36 out of 186) of their CEL types have a frequency of less than 10,000 people. It is likely that names in these CEL types cannot be distinguished by a statistical analysis of systematic co-occurrences, but only under the availability of expert knowledge and additional information. On the other hand, the largest CEL types found by Mateos were England ( 31 million), Scotland ( 4.7 million), Ireland ( 3.2 million) and Wales (3.1 million), on a total sample of 46.4 million people. It is within these major CEL types that our analysis provides details related to subcultures.
(3) The name groups have a considerable overlap, with the exception of the culturally very distinct groupings of Western and Arabic and Turkish names. Besides this major division, there are almost no names that are only found in combination with names from their own group. The most complicating are the popular names, which are found in combination with virtually all other names (within the same culture), and obscure otherwise clear relationships. Our approach concentrated on local relations (the nearest neighbours only), utilizing the relatively few prototypical parents that fully follow a subculture naming pattern for their children.
(4) The way the relation between names is defined, is central to any analysis method. The ideal relation measure is symmetric between names and insensitive to the popularity of the names. We believe that our attraction measure fulfils these requirements quite well, although there remains a difficulty in the estimation of the relevant part of the population that would consider particular names for their children.
(5) The name space consists of clusters of names of very different sizes, from strongly related name pairs to much bigger groups of names. It is important not to lose sight of the smaller clusters that often demonstrate interesting details. A hierarchical structure might best represent the supposedly layered structure of the name space. The standard hierarchical cluster techniques fail, however, to produce meaningful results.
(6) The large variation in the size of name clusters does not make it attractive to use a k-nearest neighbours approach since a distance measure built on a fixed number of neighbours endangers the identification of the smaller clusters. A carefully tuned exponential Minkowski weighting of the attraction between a name and a name cluster solves the issue in an elegant way.

Whereas this study has a methodological focus, the application on a large population dataset from both the Netherlands and the UK also allows for some contrasting observations. A very important observation is that the method seems to work equally well for the Netherlands and the UK. Of course, the detailed results are quite different, but the idea that we may learn from parental preferences holds for both countries, and this suggests a general applicability.

As expected, in both countries, clusters emerge of names belonging to specific CEL groups, both at the cluster level and the grand cluster level. In addition, clusters emerge with defining characteristics that are not so obvious from standard classifications or social stratifications of society into groups. For instance, for the UK, beside clusters of typical Scottish, Welsh, Irish, Italian, French, Hebrew, and Arabic names, we found clusters of gems name for girls (Jade, Amber, Crystal, Coral) and a group of names ending in -y for boys (Danny, Ricky, Tommy); for the Netherlands, beside clusters of Frisian, Nordic, French, Italian, English, Hebrew, Turkish, and Arabic names, a cluster for flower names for girls (Iris, Fleur, Roos) and classical Dutch names (Floris, Laurens, Maurits) emerged.

In the UK the group DANIEL, containing I46 traditional names, covered in the 1980s still half of the total sample, but this dramatically reduced to $13 \%$ within one generation. A comparable decline of traditional names is observed in the Netherlands, where it had an earlier start. The clusters JOHANNES and JAN, with 197 traditional names, show a decline from 12.3 to $5.7 \%$ between 1985 and 2004, but these traditional names had a coverage of over $80 \%$ in the middle of the twentieth century.

The decline of traditional names has opened the way for a rich and much more varied naming pattern in both countries, which very clearly indicates different motives and backgrounds of parents. Common tendencies in the Netherlands and the UK are the emergence of clusters with trendy short or abbreviated names, names of gems and from nature for girls, alongside names connected with regional identity and language (Frisian in the Netherlands, Celtic/Gaelic in the UK), foreign names (although they form a substantial larger part in the Netherlands than in the UK), names from the Koran or Bible, and Hebrew names. An interesting feature in both countries is that several clusters have a dominating gender. That implies that parents have a strong gender-related preference. When they name their daughters after flowers, this preference is much stronger than a likely much more varied (and therefore individually less probable) choice for names for their sons.

We have studied the existence of name groups within a limited period of about twenty years. Even in such a relatively short period the increase and decline of groups could be observed. This indicates that, just like names themselves, also name groups have a life cycle. To better understand the origins of name groups, knowledge of their dynamics is necessary: when and where did a name group arise, when was the period of maximum popularity, did a name group emerge from a disappearing group, and so on. We recently acquired a corpus of the given names of the full population of the Netherlands ( 16 million) from the civil registration, covering dates of births throughout the twentieth century, and including family relations and places of birth. With this rich source at hand we hope to unravel the dynamic mechanisms of name groups in more detail.

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invaluable corpora of first names. The opinions expressed in this article are those of the authors and cannot be held to represent the views of the data providers.

## Notes

I Lloyd et al. (2004) use the 188i Census of Population survey and the 1998 Electoral Register in Britain to find out the geographical origin of surnames and the geographical movement of names in time. Dividing Britain in postcode areas, they calculate indices of surnames to map the geographical distribution of (groups) of surnames over the country and show that particular (indigenous) surnames are highly concentrated in some parts of the country. Combining these findings with the information contained in name datasets of the US, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand
makes it possible to track migration flows of the past.
${ }_{2}$ Interestingly, the same type of methodological difficulties (among which decisions with respect to accuracy, coverage, normalization of scores, and setting thresholds for including names) encountered in the studies mentioned above appear in our research.
3 Each of the 1409 names can make a name pair with any of the I408 names, so the maximum number of name pairs is $1409^{*} \mathrm{I} 408$, amounting to 1.96 million name pairs.

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