

Bible Belt Onomastics or Some Curiosities of Anti-Pedobaptist Nomenclature

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IN 1947 MRS. HOYETTE WHITE, a former teacher and the mother of five fair daughters, graduated from Oklahoma City University. At the same time one of the aforesaid daughters, Norvetta, graduated from Oklahoma A. and M. University with a fine arts degree in piano and voice; a second daughter, Yerdith, graduated from Classen High School in Oklahoma City, where she distinguished herself as a clarinet player in the school band and as a member of the swimming team; a third, Arthetta, finished her work at Wilson grade school; and a fourth, Marlynn, did not graduate from anywhere, but got into the newspaper anyway. Mother Hoyette's fifth daughter, Wilbarine, had already graduated in 1943 from Oklahoma City University and married a man prosaically named John.

Even in Oklahoma such a clutch of euphoniously named females as Hoyette, Norvetta, Yerdith, Arthetta, Marlynn, and Wilbarine seems to have been noteworthy, if not the actual occasion for the newsworthiness of the White family, for the feature writer in the Oklahoma City *Daily Oklahoman* (May 19, 1947, p. 1) asks, "Wondering where they got those names?" and goes on to give Mrs. White's explanation:

When my mother saw I looked so much like my father, she made a girl's name out of the family name Hoyt and called me Hoyette. That started the names.

When I named my own girls, I wanted names no one had ever had and names nobody would ever want. So I made them up.

On St. Valentine's Day, 1948, Mr. and Mrs. Finis Finch of Oklahoma City had been married almost sixty-eight years. It was evidently the opinion of the feature editor of the same newspaper cited above that this almost incredibly prolonged Darby-and-Joan ex-

istence qualified them as authorities on romantic love, and they were accordingly the subjects of an interview by one of the paper's feature writers. The entire family of the Finches at that time included five children, twenty-two grandchildren, thirty-seven great-grandchildren, and four great-great-grandchildren. It is not surprising that the Reverend Mrs. Finch, a preacher in the Holiness Church, had difficulty in remembering some of the children's names. She complained as follows: "They don't use old-fashioned names that are easy to remember. They name them things like Linda and Treva, Mickey Gail and Suevella and —" turning to her husband — "What is Eddie Sue's boy's name?" (Feb. 14, 1948, p.1.)

One more illustrative quotation, and then to my muttens. The speaker this time is the eminent Senator Rayburn of Texas, as reported by Mr. Drew Pearson: "I was named Sam, not Samuel. We don't believe in putting on airs in our family." (Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 16, 1955. p. 11.)

Here we may see three leading factors in American name-giving: the desire to be unique, to be fashionable, and to be folksily democratic. We shall encounter yet others as we proceed.

In a youth agreeably misspent *in partibus infidelium*, I was little conscious of the tendencies in name-giving with which I am here concerned. It is true that names which were thought strange or amusing did in those days occasionally come to one's attention, but they were almost invariably cited as *curiosa* and equated with naïveté, inferior social standing, and ignorance. They were more or less sporadic even on the social level at which they were believed most likely to occur and were regarded as the creations of those who led drab and lowly lives — the onomastic *bijouterie* of the under-privileged.

It was not indeed until my translation, fairly late in life, first to the southwestern and later to the southeastern sector of the Bible Belt — in Mencken's classic definition, as utilized by M. M. Mathews in the *Dictionary of Americanisms*, "those parts of the country in which the literal accuracy of the Bible is credited and clergymen who preach it have public influence" — that I first became aware of such names in high places. To what extent the onomastic mores with which I am here concerned have become nationwide I do not really know. Mr. Thomas L. Crowell in *American Speech* (XXIII [1948], 265—272) contributes some very fruity specimens from

Washington, a city which has a more or less transient population, and has collected similar examples in New York City. Menken also cites a good many from outside the Bible Belt. It is likely that the isoglosses demarcating the Fancy Names Belt have by now spread considerably beyond the limits of the Bible Belt. Two World Wars have brought hosts of anti-pedobaptists from the hills to the towns and cities, where their fecundity has shown no signs of abating. Their places of worship have moved from deserted stores to gaudy, neon-illuminated erections and, among the more sophisticated, to tabernacles of neo-Gothic and colonial meeting-house architecture. But the moral, social, and ecclesiastical customs of the rural Bethels linger on, as do also the naming habits of the remoter areas, despite increasing prosperity, superficial sophistication, and considerable distinction in business, politics, and the professions on the part of many. In the towns of the inland South and even to a large extent in the cities, the pastors of these formerly more or less obscure religious bodies¹ have retained much of the public influence which they and their predecessors had in the hill country, but unlike the pedobaptist men of God whom they have displaced in prestige, they exert no influence over the name-giving habits of those committed to their charge. The naming of Christians is no part of their ghostly office.

According to the 1958 *World Almanac*, the total Christian church membership in this country is 98,014,954 (excluding the Christian Scientists, who release no figures.) Of these, 26,011,499, or considerably more than a fourth, do not practice infant baptism. These have their greatest strength in the inland South. The effect of these circumstances peculiar to our American religious life in the matter of name-giving is obvious. Where name-giving is no part of the sacrament of baptism, and where consequently a clergyman with some sense of traditional onomastic decorum has no say, individual taste and fancy may run riot — and usually do. It is highly unlikely

¹ The Baptists were of course never obscure in American life. But there are now, according to my friend and former student, the Reverend James Sims, himself a Baptist pastor, at least 117 other anti-pedobaptist denominations among the 272 listed in the 1956 *World Almanac*. (Of still others he was not sure.) The groups most prominent in the inland South, in addition to the various Baptist bodies, are the Assemblies of God, the Churches of Christ, the Disciples of Christ, Jehovah's Witnesses, the Churches of God, the Pentecostal Assemblies, and the Church of the Nazarene.

that any man of God, even though the canons of his church were not explicit in the matter, would consent in the course of his sacerdotal duties to confer upon hapless infants such names as Buzz Buzz, Coeta, Merdine, Aslean, La Void, Arsie, Phalla, and Raz — all legal names borne by Bible Belters of repute. And it is certain that Ima Hogg, the *grande dame* of Houston society, whose father was once governor of Texas, was so named without the connivance of any anointed priest.

One result of the increasing numbers and prestige of anti-pedobaptists has thus been, ironically enough, the decline of the Christian name in what is certainly the most self-consciously and vocally Christian of all lands, where God's name is minted into the very currency and He runs on all sides of every political campaign. It has also, incidentally, given rise to a new type of urban Christianity, quite unlike anything ever known in Europe and probably never before known even in this nation under God.

The proud bearers of the names which I shall shortly begin to cite are all, unless otherwise specified, Christian Caucasians of good standing in their communities — people of sufficient importance that their engagements, their marriages, their parturitions, and, alas, their deaths are recounted fairly fully on "society" pages and in full-length obituaries in the newspapers,² which are a veritable onomastic treasure-trove. Other important sources have been class lists, yearbooks, official lists of voters and of property owners, telephone directories, and commencement programs. These last have provided entertainment and instruction during many commencement addresses by atomic physicists, business executives, industrialists, generals, and presidents of neighboring colleges and universities panting after yet another honorary doctorate to add to their string. Many of my handsomest specimens were collected under such otherwise depressing circumstances. It should be obvious that the names culled from these sources are not those of the underprivileged, the economically depressed, or whatever the current term for "poor and lowly" happens to be. Nor are such names to be regarded as nicknames, since they appear in formal and digni-

² Among my richest sources are the *Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman*, the Norman (Okla.) *Transcript*, the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, and the Gainesville (Fla.) *Sun*.

fied surroundings — those in the commencement programs being obviously the same as those which appear in Old English calligraphy on diplomas.

The formal and official use of diminutives by adults is quite common in the Belt. The most popular of these diminutives is Billy (with “clear” *l*), usually masculine, though considered perfectly appropriate for women also, with Bobby, Johnny, and Jimmy — also bisexual — running slightly behind. In a single year (1950), no fewer than eighteen Billys, including two Billy Joes, two Billy Genes, and one feminine Billye, received degrees from the University of Oklahoma. In addition, there were four Willies.³ At the University of Florida in the same year, three Billys graduated from a single college, Business Administration.

So prestigious is Billy, in fact, that one of Florida’s representatives in Congress, Hon. Donald Ray Matthews, has adopted the name, using the official style D.R. (Billy) Matthews. It is unlikely that many of his constituents are even aware that *Billy* is merely a *nom de guerre*. For similar reasons, doubtless, Rev. Dr. Billy Graham long ago abandoned the full form of his name, which happens really to be William. (“We don’t put on airs in God’s family.”) Diminutive forms occur frequently in combination with clipped forms, as in the previously mentioned Billy Joe and Billy Gene, and with non-hypocoristic forms, as in Billy Donald, Larry Leroy, and Jerry Roscoe.

I have collected scores of printed instances of diminutives and apparent diminutives used as legal names by adults, some of them adults of advanced years, some recently gone to their Great Reward. Most of these are commonplace enough (like Dannie, Davie, and Maxie), most are bisexual, and some are diminutives by virtue of their endings, without being necessarily derivative. Only Zippie (Mrs. Billy), Sippie, Vandie, Watie, Beadie, Lamie, Collie, Cossie, Ossie, Carlie (Mrs. Bobby), Omie (f.), Fonzy, Lonzie, Lokie, Mammie, Toppy, Schiley, Mealy, Bussie, Jadie Obie (m.), Nicy, Dicey, Ledgie, Raffie, Dilly, Coarsey, Sugie, Urksey, Skeety, and Ripsie seem to me particularly noteworthy, though I confess to a personal fondness for the comparatively conventional Early Bill and Jody Elijah.

³ The preferred spelling of the *W*-form seems to be *Willie* rather than *Willy*.

Inasmuch as these diminutive forms occur in the most formal and dignified contexts, usually preceded by honorific, often with no front or middle initial, and sometimes with second name in full form, it is generally safe to assume that they are legal names. Occasionally, however, a newspaper item like "Mr. and Mrs. Bobby _____ are announcing the arrival of a son, Robert Craig" (*Sun*, Sept. 13, 1951, p. 4) leads to a somewhat different conclusion. Perhaps we may infer that the right to use the seemingly less dignified and presumably more "democratic" diminutive form is the father's prerogative. We can hope that, reversing what used to be the normal procedure, young Robert Craig will wax in folksy virtues to such an extent that he too may in time merit the juvenile form of his name which apparently symbolizes complete acceptance by one's fellows. Then he will really "belong."

Nor does the Bible Belt perceive any incongruity in the prefixing of professional, ecclesiastical, or political honorifics to diminutives and apparent diminutives. Dr. Billy and Dr. Lonnie are respected physicians in northern Florida. Dr. J. Ollie,⁴ a native of Georgia, is president of a well-heeled anti-pedobaptist university in southern Florida. Hon. Toby, formerly a judge, is now one of Oklahoma's representatives in Washington. Hon. Jimmie is State Auditor for Arkansas. Hon. Eddie became a member of the Oklahoma State Legislature in an election in which Hon. Billy Joe was defeated despite his onomastic advantage. Hon. Zollie is Texas' Secretary of State. Hon. Charley is a member of the Florida State Senate and a former governor of the state. Hon. Jodie was re-elected chairman of Florida's Jackson County Commission in 1956. The full name of the mayor of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, is Hon. Offie Lites. Rev. Dr. Billy Graham, the most glamorous of the anti-pedobaptist theologians, has already been alluded to. My collectanea include such lesser luminaries as Rev. Ikie, Rev. Willie Lee, Rev. Woody, Rev. Jimmy, Rev. Tommy, Rev. Johnny, and Rev. Sister Lessie, all entrusted with the cure of souls in northern Florida and southern Georgia, of which northern Florida is, because of its settlement history, a cultural as well as a linguistic extension.

⁴ The *J* stands for John. The preference for the style *J. Ollie* to *John O.* may indicate the superior standing of the diminutive, the feeling that *John* is lacking in distinction, or the prestige in America of an initial letter, preferably *J*, at the beginning of a name.

Clipped forms, although lacking the connotations of eternal juvenility possessed by the diminutive forms, are perhaps even more redolent of bonhomie and camaraderie — qualities highly regarded in our democracy. Judging from the contexts in which they occur, these also must be regarded as legal names. The assumption is strengthened by the fact that they are sometimes used in combination with a more formal designation, as in John Bob, Leslie Ike, and Guss [*sic*] Herbert. I have already cited Congressman Rayburn's statement that in his family to name a child Samuel rather Sam would have been regarded as putting on airs. Many of Hon. Sam's contrymen would seem to be at one with the Rayburn family. Oklahoma used to be represented in the U.S. Senate by Hon. Josh Lee, who in 1942 failed of re-election. He was opposed in the primary by two other Josh Lees, one a furniture dealer and the other a farmer. The state is now represented in the Senate by Hon. Mike Monroney,⁵ and in the House by Hon. Ed and Hon. Tom, along with the aforementioned Hon. Toby. In the same legislative body Texas has, in addition to Hon. Sam Rayburn, Hon. Jim, Hon. Jack, and Hon. Joe. Representing Tennessee are Hon. Joe and Hon. Tom. Georgia, whose Secretary of State is Hon. Zack, is represented in Congress by Hon. Phil. Similarly with the hieratic title. There is no need to multiply examples; I shall content myself with citing the (doubtless inadvertently) alcoholically named Rev. Dr. Tom Collins (his full name), who is Moderator of the Jacksonville Baptist Association.

The extent to which this ordinary use of what were formerly considered nicknames has gone is indicated by the fact that 190, or more than 10 percent, of the 1,517 June graduates of the University of Oklahoma in 1950 bore names which were diminutives or clipped forms. This figure does not include hypocorisms unconnected etymologically with traditional names, coinages — the sort of "fancy" names to be discussed later — and names which were once regarded as nicknames but have long been commonly used as ordinary legal names, such as Ray, Betty, Harry, Frank, Don, and Bert.

Often a hypocoristic name becomes so closely identified with a person that it is customarily inserted in parentheses after his legal

⁵ Originally Aylmer Stillwell Monroney and no anti-pedobaptist, he now uses the style A. S. Mike Monroney.

given names or initials. This retention of what in some instances must be by-names acquired in school is by no means confined to the Bible Belt though it is probably of more frequent occurrence in anti-pedobaptist civilization than in the Sodoms and Gomorrah of the Atlantic Coast. I must confess that I was brought up suddenly by the following item from the Gainesville *Sun* (Oct. 1, 1952, p. 5): "Friends of Mr. A. W. (Poopy) Roundtree, Sr., will be interested to know that he is recuperating following an operation in Lake City." Similar, if less colorful, specimens, all taken from printed sources, are Tootie, Tucky, Bus, Tiny (male principal of an elementary school), and Lefty. Hon. Juanita (Skeet), a former mayor of High Springs, Florida, is now languishing in durance vile at the State Penitentiary for moonshining activities. Hon. E. L. (Tic) Forester is a representative of Georgia in the U.S. Congress. Rev. Charles E. (Stoney) Jackson came into national prominence some time back as a participant in one of the TV quiz shows. Hon. J. Emory (Red) Cross represents his home county in the Florida State Legislature; his hair is not red.

The use of a parenthetical *derivative* nickname in one's formal style is of course not unusual among popular men, e.g., Hon. W. A. (Bill), the style of a Florida State Senator whose name is actually William. Sometimes, however, a popular man may use a nickname which is derivative from some name other than his own, for example, Hon. Harold L. (Tom) (former Chief Justice of the Florida Supreme Court), Rev. A. A. (Bob), who is pastor of the Ramona Boulevard Baptist Church, Jacksonville, and Rev. H. G. (Pat), who is pastor of a drive-in church, succeeding Rev. Jimmy. Judging by the frequency of their occurrence in such contexts, Pete and Pat seem to be overwhelming favorites. That the style is not limited to the Bible Belt is indicated by its adoption by the Governor of California, Edmund G. (Pat) Brown.

I am convinced that such forms as Buddy, Bubba, Bud, Buck, Sonny, Bunnie, and Buster, which occur with an almost nauseating frequency, are legal names, not merely alternate names like those cited just previously, since they appear alone in formal connotations without quotation marks. They are frequently preceded by honorifics, as in an account of a reception following a large church wedding at which Mrs. Buddy was "floor hostess" — whatever that is — and Mrs. Buster greeted guests. (*Times-Union*, Feb. 20, 1949,

p. 11.) The ceremony might have been performed either by Rev. Buck or by Rev. Buddy, both of whom are in my files, but I regret to say that it was not. A third-generation Buddy is indicated in "A.O.M. 2-c. Buddy E. C. Kelly III, son of Mrs. Clara Kelly and the late Mr. Buddy E. C. Kelly, Jr."⁶ A new trend may be indicated by the fact that a Mr. and Mrs. Buddy named their son Ronald Eugene (*Times-Union*, Aug. 18, 1958, p. 22) and a Mr. and Mrs. Sonny named theirs Randy Allen (*loc. cit.*).

Because they share a certain indefinable folksy quality which is highly regarded in the inland South, I have grouped the following names, some of them derivative forms, together; all are borne by substantial citizens: Lum, Dub, Teet, Quince, Zack, Zeph, Zeb, Clem, Wash, and Sim. Had I never been privileged to live in the Bible Belt, I should have thought to this day that their only existence was in the literature of backhouse humor. *Ish*, though it had no previous associations for me, seems to me nevertheless to have the same homely, down-to-earth flavor. It is borne by Hon. Ish W. Brant, Superintendent of Public Instruction of Duval County, Florida (the county seat of which is Jacksonville), who has the additional distinction of being governor of the Florida District of Kiwanis International. When Hon. Ish was merely a candidate for the political office which he now holds with grace and distinction, his campaign slogan was "Ish Is Everybody's Wish." His opponents were Mr. Coke L. Barr and Mrs. Iva Sprinkle.

Many a Bible Belter who is a democrat by conviction boasts a title as given name. Etymologically Leroy, with principal stress on the first syllable in Bible Belt pronunciation, belongs here, but it is doubtful that parents who so name their male offspring are aware of its dynastic meaning. I have collected a Leroy King, and so has Mr. Crowell (*Am. Sp.*, XXIII, 272), along with Roy King and Leroy Prince. From royalty and the peerage come Hon. Czar D. Langston, a high-ranking official of the State of Oklahoma, listed in the current *Who's Who in the South and Southwest*; King Pharaoh (d. *aet.* 65, *Times-Union*, Sept. 22, 1951, p. 3), Queen Adina (d. *aet.* 81, *ibid.*, Aug. 21, 1951, p. 10), and Queen Victoria, whose surname is Cambridge (*Sun*, July 2, 1958, p. 8); three Princesses; Hon. Prince Preston, U.S. Congressman from Georgia, and Prince

⁶ This gem appeared in the Gainesville *Sun*. The cutting is in my possession, but I carelessly neglected to take down the date.

Albert, a Floridian whose only distinction known to me other than his name was his involvement in a minor automobile accident (*Sun*, Oct. 4, 1953, p. 12); Regent Gaskin, who is a Master of Education; Rev. Dr. Duke McCall, who is President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; Baron Darvis, a Bachelor of Arts in Education; three Ladies — Lady Grace, Lady Jane, and Lady Percy; and one baronet — or perhaps he is only a knight — Sir Maud. More democratically inclined were the parents of the gentlemen named President (*Sun*, April 15, 1956, p. 26), Electer (*Sun*, May 6, 1958, p. 1), and Chancellor Irving (M.S. in Agriculture, Univ. of Florida, 1951). The family doctor has perhaps been honored in the names of four Docs, one of them a Dr. Doc, whose dissertation subject was “Refinement of an Instrument to Determine Certain of the Working Patterns of School Principals” (Gainesville, Fla., 1956).

The armed services have been a prolific source of names. My collections include General Phillips and Lieutenant Tisdale, who were inducted into the army as privates at Knoxville, Tennessee (*Times-Union*, March 11, 1952, p. 5); Major General Williams, who at the age of 17 enlisted in Birmingham, Alabama, as a member of the Marine Corps, explaining to reporters that his parents decided to name him something “everybody else wasn’t” (*Times-Union*, Jan. 11, 1958, p. 17); and General Morgan, who died in Waycross, Georgia, in 1952, survived by a son named Colonel. But it is unnecessary to multiply examples of generals who have never heard the roar of cannon fire; I have many more. I consider General Salor [*sic*] (*Sun*, Sept. 24, 1954, p. 8) and General Ulysses Grant (his full name) who graduated from the University of Florida in 1956 with a B.S. in Education, to be my prize specimens. I pray that General Grant does not encounter discrimination if he is now practicing his chosen profession in the Confederacy. Colonel and Major are also popular, but I have only a single Cap, a single Ensign, a single (aforementioned) Lieutenant, and, it is perhaps needless to say, no Sergeants, Corporals, or Privates. Bishop and Judge occur a number of times, but these are probably family names, particularly the first when borne by anti-episcopalians. Missie Frankie was a first-year student in the University of Florida in 1957–58, and may well now be a sophomore for all I know.

When one has the same surname as a great man or woman, the temptation to confer his or her given name (or names) upon one’s

offspring — and in the case of the aforementioned General Ulysses Grant, a title as well — is for many Bible Belters practically irresistible. (In the examples which follow I shall of course be required to give surnames.) Enrollment records at the University of Florida since 1900 disclose the fact that its student body has included, as is to be expected, a good many Robert E. Lees, along with a number of Andrew Jacksons and Benjamin Franklins. My researches in the newspapers and telephone directories have brought to light Lon Chaney, Gloria Swanson, Jefferson Davis, Woodrow Wilson, George K. Washington and his daughter Martha, William H. Taft, Dick Whittington, and Josh Billings. When Abe Lincoln of Oklahoma City made a contribution to that city's United Fund, the fact was considered newsworthy by the Associated Press (*Sun*, Dec. 4, 1958, p. 7), but no Oklahoman would consider it anything out of the ordinary, for in that state alone Daniel Boone, Oliver Cromwell, Joe E. Brown, Mae West, Joan Crawford, Brigham Young, Al Jennings, Will Rogers, Huey Long, Jack Dempsey, William Cullen Bryant, and Robert Burns have all aspired to, and some have held, political office. As Secretary of the American Dialect Society, I was always delighted to receive a cheque for the subscription of the University of Texas signed by, of all people, Jesse James, Texas State Treasurer. Bryan Jennings, of Norman, Oklahoma, Lee Grant, formerly of the University of Florida, and De Leon Ponce, late of Jacksonville, Florida, present interesting anomalies.

The practice of naming children from celebrities is of course universal, only the choice of celebrity having any sociological interest. The classical influence is strong in the Bible Belt, e.g., Euclid, Orion, Marcus Tony, Plato, Corydon, Amazon (m.) Hana-bal [*sic*], Julius Cicero, Virgil Q., Ovid, Solon, and Leda. The French ending *-ous* in Latin names (and Hebrew names which have come to us via Latin) is found in Arelious, Olynthous, Romulous, Julious, Lucious, and the like. Omer and Ector, the French forms used in Middle English times and later replaced in educated usage by the classical forms with *h*, survive in the Southern hills and their settlement areas. Omar, as in the name of General Omar Bradley (b. in Missouri), is no Mahometan name, but merely a spelling of Omer and usually so pronounced. The Book of Books holds its own with Amanuel [*sic*], Jacob, the aforementioned King Pharaoh, John the

Baptist, Dorcas, Nazarine [*sic*], Hezekiah [*sic*], Zadok, Hosea, Malachi, Juda, and Lazarous [*sic*]. An Onan who graduated from the University of Oklahoma in 1950 and another of the same name who died in Florida in 1954, aged 74 (*Times-Union*, Jan. 23, 1954, p. 7) were apparently not named from the ungallant gentleman in the 38th chapter of *Genesis* — at least it is to be hoped not; I think it more likely that the name in question is an independent creation of parental fancy.

Belles lettres, the drama, and music are represented in my files by Casanova (b. 1950), Amber Marteen, two Romeos, Trilby, two Ouidas, Thais, Melba, Orlando, Tiny Tim, Oberon (f.), two Annie Lauries, Ivanhoe Elizabeth, St. Elmo, Kathleen Mavourneen, Tom Mix, Rob Roy, and, strange as its occurrence in a Deep-South Caucasian may seem, Othello. Tommy Tucker, Tom Sawyer, and Buster Brown are the full names of adults. Geographical names include Cuba (and Cubie, which may represent an old-fashioned pronunciation), which I should have supposed to be bisexual, though the two specimens which I have are male; Persia (f.) Savanah [*sic*] (f.), Utah (m.), Arizona (m.), Missoura [*sic*] (f.), and Venice (m.).⁷ Botavia [*sic*] and Odessa are probably to be explained as fanciful creations rather than place names.

A number of bisexual names have already been cited. Lee, Pat, Jo(e), Robin, and Lynn are doubtless given to boys and girls indiscriminately all over the country nowadays, and can hardly be considered Bible Belt names. The following names, which are usually feminine or which one would expect to be feminine, are borne by males in the inland South: Paulyne, Pearlie, Delories, Fay, Adell, Ardelle, Ellie, Bonnie, June, Junell, Merrilett Jessie, Loice, Jewell, Bernice (also Burnice), Ivy, Buna Joe, Pink, Jonice, Dixie, Beryl, Nance, Bronzell, Alvine, Nolia, Cledith, Dee, Elizie, Gayle, Rae, Ovida, Jackie Jo, Sam Ella, Laurie, Carman, Verdell, Juadean, Lorraine, Sharon Lee, Amander, Berta, and Euzema, Jr. Conversely, the following apparently masculine names are borne by females: Terry (also -ie, -i), Gil, Stacy, Tracy, Bobbie, Laddie, Mick, Mickie, Ira, Bennie, Benjie, Mackie, Willie, Jimmie, Tommy, Kimberly Ann, Kelley, Nigel, Vincent, Juan, Billie Joe, Danny, Deane,

⁷ Crowell, *Am. Sp.*, XXIII, 270, has many more specimens of geographical names used as given names.

Don, Page, Toni, Maxie, Montez, Nathan, Sandy, Glen, Sammie, and Henri.⁸ The popularity of LaVoid and LaVerne, both bisexual, I am totally at a loss to explain. It may be that some of these onomastic reversals of sex may be due to the desire to name a male child after his mother, or a female child after her father. A number of names borne by females are somehow formed from the given name of a male relative, usually the father, e.g., Julie Anne (dau. of Julian), Phillele, Lloydene, Gina (dau. of Gene), Basilene (dau. of Alfred Basil), Charlsie, Dennisteen, Donita (dau. of J. Don), Elmerine, Johnita (dau. of Johnny), Orvillyne, Harolyn (dau. of Harold), and Methadene (dau. of Metha).

When, like Mrs. Hoyette White, quoted at the beginning of this paper, people set out to make up names, they tend to follow certain well-established principles. Pure root creations, some of which will be cited later, are somewhat less common than creations with conventional affixes. Blends and compounds occur fairly often, such as Sherliana, Jamesvee (f., perhaps from James V., father's name?), Beneva (Ben + Eva?), Neldagae, Bettijane, Joashley (m.), Texanna, Charlouise, Vickianne, Loiciebelle, Kalynn, Annijane, Alimae, Jimton (f., civil defense chairman for the Arlington Woman's Club of Jacksonville, *Times-Union*, Nov. 24, 1957, p. 49), Marijac, Marynelle, Marytom, Suellen, JoNez (Joe + Inez?), and Joella. The highly ingenious ChaRu (*Sun*, Nov. 16, 1952, p. 14) is probably a combination of Charles with Ruth or Ruby; in any case, the father's name is Charles. When bisexual Lugene (or Lougene) is a girl's name it is probably a blend of Lou and Gene, both of which are also bisexual. As a boy's name it may possibly be a riming form of Eugene, which is very popular in the South. The opposite tendency occurs in Joe Cephus, Emma Lena, Fitch Gerald, Cad Walder, Do Remus, Cull Pepper, Shir Lee, and Hezzie Kiye.

The riming principle just alluded to doubtless accounts for such curiosities as Jenneth, Jarold, Flemuel, Arlyslle (f.), Veryl (m., suggested by Beryl, common among Bible Belt males?), Vernice (bisexual), Rinda, Valcom, Dolive, Taura (f.), Burtis, Lurtis, Hertis, Burnest, Bernon, Harl, Bloria, Glennard, Verton, Floyce, Dorma, Derl, Verl, Flarain (m., suggested by bisexual Lorraine?), Lomer,

⁸ This last is also cited by Crowell, *loc. cit.*, p. 271, along with other bisexual names which I have not encountered.

Mevelin, and Delain. Occasionally there may be internal instead of initial change, as in Zenokia, which was almost certainly suggested by Zenobia.

I hasten to cite a few miscellaneous whimsicalities, all full names, which have appealed to me for one reason or another: Oleander Lafayette Fitzgerald III, Ed Ek, Shellie Swilley, Early Hawaiian McKinnon, Sandy Gandy, Earl Curl, Jr., Percy Nursey, Rev. Fay de Sha (m.), Lovie Slappey, Esperanza Le Socke, Pamela Gay Day, Staff-Sgt. Mehogany Brewer, Girlie Burns, Fawn Grey Trawick Dunkle, Alure Sweat (f., sister of Alfa, Alta, Sabry, and the late Cleveland Sweat [*Times-Union*, Feb. 12, 1958, p. 22]), Bloomer Bedenbaugh, Martha Magdalene Toot, Okla Bobo, and Melody Clinkenbeard. The last-cited given name may be bisexual, for a fellow townsman of Miss Clinkenbeard's is Hon. Melody Reynolds, an officer of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Norman, Oklahoma. The same bisexuality seems to be characteristic of Memory: Hon. Memory Martin is lieutenant governor of division 6, Florida Kiwanis district, as well as a former school teacher and principal; my files also disclose Memorie Frances Griner, whom I take to be female from the spelling of the second name. Hon. Cowboy Pink Williams, former Lieutenant Governor of Oklahoma, was defeated to succeed himself in 1958 despite a style which should have endeared him to all Southwesterners. It is possible that Cowboy Pink is merely a *nom de guerre*, but the hon. gentleman is so listed in the 1958 *World Almanac* and in the *Britannica Yearbook*.

In the whimsies which follow I omit surnames: Dawn Robin, Kitty Bit, Lance Amorus, Lovely, Charme, Greek (f.), Pearl Garnet, Dimple, Dixie, Pixianne, Cherry, Orchid Favia (f.), Rose Bud, Satire, Fairy (a missionary of the Church of the Nazarene to Africa, *Times-Union*, Jan. 26, 1952, p. 6), Acid, Buzz Buzz, Tyty, Hubert Herbert, Kae Rae, Mary Sunshine, Boysy, Madonna Ruth, Delyte, Doe, Dovey, Echo, Edelweiss, and Brunette (who turned out to be a blonde). The children of Mr. Stanford Bardwell, a realtor and a graduate of Louisiana State University, and his wife Loyola, are Stanford, Jr., Harvard, Princeton, Cornell, Auburn, and the twins Duke and T'lane. When the Bardwells go on holiday they travel in a specially equipped school bus called the "Collegiate Caravan." (*Times-Union*, Aug. 29, 1954, p. 13.)

The following combinations of given name and surname represent the conscious, if misguided, humor of parents with no priestly hand to guide or restrain them, though some are doubtless to be attributed simply to parental naïveté: Pleasant Weathers, Honey Combs, French Crown, Golden Gamble, Royal Child, Goode Carr, Early Priest, Robin Starling, Paris Singer, Paris Miracle, Etta Turnipseed, Summer Robbins, Shari Glass, Fannie Bottom, Love Snow (f.), Rocky Mountain, Alto Hooten, Early Wages, Drew Swords, English Piper, Candy Barr, and Minor Peeples. Everyone has by now doubtless heard of Dill L. Pickle, of Rolling Fork, Mississippi, who grew up to be a pickle salesman for Paramount Foods, a Louisville concern. Less widely publicized are Never Fail of Oklahoma City, who did fail to graduate from Harding Junior High School in that city (*Sun*, May 26, 1950, p. 7) and Dr. Safety First of Tulsa, Oklahoma. I have elsewhere recorded Bunker Hill, Charming Fox, Ima Fox, Diamond Queen, France Paris, Jack Frost, Winter Frost, Merry English, Erie Lake, Pinky Bottom, Virgin Muse, and Fairy Guy, among a good many other such jocular and would-be jocular names (*American Speech*, XXIII [1947], 263). It seems to me unlikely that any of these names — and they are legal names, not nicknames — were conferred in the course of administering the sacrament of baptism.

The bulk of my collection comprises what for want of a better term we may call made-up names — many of them root creations, some with prefixes like *Le*, *La*, *De*, and *Du* (used without the slightest reference to gender, as in *La Don* [m.] and *Le Vaughn* [f.], and suffixes like *elda*, *etta*, *eta*, *dean*, *ine*, *ena*, *elle*, and others, which usually designate females, though I have some in *ell(e)* which are borne by males.

So that the full beauty of these manifestation of the linguistic fancy of a people unhampered by ecclesiastical or civil authority or by onomastic traditions may be savored, I have arranged a few from my collection in octosyllabics. When I began to do this, I expected very little, but what has emerged has, it seems to me, a certain poetic quality, along with a certain power of allusiveness in its *Klang*-associations. *Metris causa* — i.e., because I needed a few monosyllables — I have had to include some names which more properly belong in other categories.

1

Yerdith, Virtus, Frow, LaDonna,
Nishie, Alderine, Zollie, Conna;
Garalene, Methalene, Ethelyne, Fal,
Bennilene, Gatsey, Ripsie, Ral.

2

Dolliree, Jetteree, Mauderie, Flem,
Nubit, Wogan, Omria, Kem;
Pheriba, Yuba, Twylah Jo,
Ovidetta, Zava Roe.

3

Leos, Cubie, Dicie, Metha,
Shi, Revonie, Sag, Uretha;
Arsie, Kissie, Bussie, Missie,
Yada, Telka, Clell, Elissie.

4

Ozena, Madula, Oleta, Zippie,
Ozella, Schiley, Florine, Rippie;
Amorus, Onan, Coeta, Pasco,
Reion, Merkin, Jeline, Vasco.

5

Incia, Phenis, Phalla, Icy,
Idlene, Birdene, Ala, Nicy.
Rectus, Dilly, Dally, Nil;
Mosco, Oco, Rumbo, Zill.

6

Stobo, Chlorine, Bamma, Floyce,
Willamane, Voncile, Thair, La Voice;
O'Leita, La Gita, Ludille, La Coy,
Arnetta, Loonis, Fanida, Hoy.

7

Shira, Reva, Terrayne, Aslean,
Etrelle, Mardelle, La Nan, Rudine.
Zazzelle, Glathu, Lavora, Troy,
Colonys, Wylodean, Cy, La Joy.

8

Alfa, Alto, Shyne, Arveta,
Pledger, Mortis, Cance, La Nita;
Anys, Cyrese, Bink, Eloyde,
Verdine, Merdine, Pink, La Void.

9

Raysal, Quintelle, Raz, Zerene,
Estyl, Bytha, Bevelene;
Boysy, Lugen, Lavator, Lake,
Eskaleen, Lueverine, Voline, Flake.

10

La Vada, La Voime, Donrue, La Nelle,
Kartaleen, Avalene, Zan, Jamelle;
Ronaleen, Darlene, Denna Fo,
Japnel, Oynel, Wynell, Bo.

11

Vivett, La Carl, La Bruce, La Don,
La Vondus, Burtis, Joette, Lavon;
Zedro, Velpo, Bryna Lee,
Zefferine, Windell, Zim, La Mee.