



**UNIVERSIDAD DE MURCIA**  
**FACULTAD DE LETRAS**

Reactions to Forenames, Hypocorisms and  
Nicknames. A Contrastive English-Spanish Study

Reacciones ante los Nombres, Hipocorísticos y  
Apodos. Un Estudio Contrastivo Inglés-Español

**D<sup>a</sup> Inmaculada de Jesús Arboleda Guirao**

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# UNIVERSITY OF MURCIA

## FACULTY OF ARTS

Doctoral Thesis

Reactions to Forenames, Hypocorisms and  
Nicknames. A Contrastive English-Spanish Study

Ms. Inmaculada de Jesús Arboleda Guirao

**Supervisor: Dr Rafael Monroy Casas**

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# UNIVERSIDAD DE MURCIA

## FACULTAD DE LETRAS

Tesis Doctoral

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**Director: Dr. Rafael Monroy Casas**

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On the outside of the bedroom door there was a plaque that said *Valerie*. On the way up, Jackson noticed that other bedrooms also had names - *Eleanor, Lucy, Anna, Charlotte*. Jackson wondered how you decided on a name for a room. Or a doll. Or a child, for that matter.  
— Kate Atkinson, *Started Early, Took My Dog*



**To my family**



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**INMACULADA DE JESÚS ARBOLEDA GUIRAO**

**Murcia, November 2015**



## Summary in Spanish (Resumen en español)

### INTRODUCCIÓN

La *Biblia* dice que el hombre fue creado por Dios con la habilidad característica de nombrar y hablar (Redmonds, 2004). El interés que los seres humanos tienen en nombrar puede verse en la vida diaria. Por ejemplo, cuando un niño adquiere un nuevo juguete o una mascota, quiere darle un nombre (Olaya-Aguilar, 2014). Ser humano implica tener un nombre (Finch, 2008). Dunkling (1977), Albaigès (1998) y Darlington (2015) se refieren al tema de los nombres como algo *fascinante* pero, a pesar de su interés, se ha considerado como un pasatiempo y no como un propósito primario (García-Cornejo, 2001; Redmonds, 2004). Aunque en épocas recientes el interés en este tema ha aumentado, hasta ahora la mayor parte de la investigación llevada a cabo sobre los nombres tanto en Inglaterra como en España se ha dedicado a la exploración de apellidos y nombres de lugar (Robson, 1988; Postles, 2002; Alomar, 2005; Gamella, Gómez-Alfaro & Pérez-Pérez, 2014).

Autores como Albaigès (1998), Tibón (2002) o Earnshaw (2012) llaman la atención al hecho de que la sociedad y la historia se expresan por medio de los nombres. Los nombres en sí mismos además de las reacciones hacia ellos están repletos de expresividad (Evans & Green, 2006). Muchos factores diferentes pueden estar implicados en la elección de un nombre, por ejemplo, eufonía, moda, tradición familiar, religión, libros, películas, etc. (Withycombe, 1971; Cutler, McQueen & Robinson, 1990; Zittoun, 2004). Este estudio utiliza una perspectiva comparativa para proporcionar más evidencia empírica a la importancia de los nombres, hipocorísticos y apodos en nuestras vidas, explorando más de cerca su riqueza y colorido, reflejados en las reacciones de las personas ante ellos, en dos idiomas diferentes, inglés y español.

## OBJETIVOS

El principal propósito de este estudio es, pues, explorar y analizar las reacciones de un grupo de participantes de los distritos metropolitanos de Murcia (España) y Leeds (Inglaterra) ante nombres, hipocorísticos y apodos de personas. Se han formulado varias preguntas de investigación con el fin de llevar a cabo este estudio:

1. ¿Cuáles son las reacciones suscitadas por los nombres, hipocorísticos y apodos de personas en el distrito metropolitano de Murcia?
2. ¿Qué reacciones han provocado los nombres, hipocorísticos y apodos de persona en el distrito metropolitano de Leeds?
3. ¿Qué relación hay entre las reacciones de nombres, hipocorísticos y apodos de persona en el distrito metropolitano de Murcia y las del distrito metropolitano de Leeds?

Estas preguntas se plantearán analizando los siguientes aspectos:

A. Elección en base a la edad respecto a nombres completos frente a formas acortadas, cambiadas o alargadas

a) Relación entre la edad y la preferencia por una forma de nombre concreta

b) Otros factores relacionados con la preferencia por una forma de nombre

B. Elección respecto a los nombres teniendo en cuenta el sonido

B.1. a) Gusto de un nombre en particular

b) Factores vinculados al gusto de un nombre

B.2. a) Connotaciones graciosas de un nombre en concreto

b) Factores conectados con las connotaciones graciosas de los nombres

B.3. Preferencia en cuanto a gusto por una versión de nombre/ nombre de un par mínimo en concreto

B.3.1. a) Preferencia en cuanto a gusto por una versión de nombre en concreto

b) Factores implicados en la preferencia en cuanto a gusto de la versión de nombre

B.3.2. a) Preferencia en cuanto a gusto por un nombre del par mínimo

b) Factores implicados en la preferencia en el gusto del nombre del par mínimo

B.4. a) Preferencia en cuanto a no gusto por un nombre de sexo opuesto

b) Factores relacionados con la preferencia en el no gusto por un nombre de sexo opuesto

C. La relación entre la elección en base a la edad respecto a nombres completos frente a formas acortadas, cambiadas y alargadas y la elección en cuanto a nombres teniendo en cuenta el sonido (i.e. A & B).

La naturaleza y necesidades de nuestra investigación quedan cubiertas adoptando un diseño complementario u holístico (investigación de métodos mixtos), que implica incluir aspectos de enfoques metodológicos cuantitativos o neopositivistas y cualitativos o interpretativos.

## METODOLOGÍA

Los participantes fueron 425 hombres y mujeres mayores de 25 años cuyo lugar de residencia habitual era el distrito metropolitano de Murcia o Leeds. Se utilizó un cuestionario semi-estructurado con dos versiones, en español e inglés, diseñado por la investigadora. La estructura del cuestionario seguía a Serrano (2008) y consistía en las siguientes partes: 1) introducción, 2) cuerpo de preguntas socio-demográficas y académicas (cinco preguntas y, en los casos en los que fuera necesario, subpreguntas) y 3) cuerpo central de preguntas, es decir, preguntas pertinentes en torno al problema de investigación. El cuerpo central de preguntas del cuestionario estaba dividido en dos conjuntos: al participante se le preguntaba acerca de su elección de diferentes nombres e/o hipocorísticos y/o apodos en base a la edad (pregunta 1) o en base al sonido (preguntas 2, 3, 4, 5 y 6).

En cuanto al procedimiento, el estudio fue llevado a cabo en un periodo de dos años, de noviembre de 2010 a noviembre de 2012. En primer lugar, se escogieron los distritos metropolitanos de Murcia y Leeds. Nuestros participantes fueron entonces seleccionados de entre aquellos que reunían las condiciones previamente mencionadas (muestreo no probabilístico por cuotas). Una vez que los informantes habían sido escogidos, se diseñó el cuestionario con sus dos versiones. Antes de lanzar el proyecto, los instrumentos de investigación fueron revisados por nuestros supervisores de España e Inglaterra, además de examinados en una prueba piloto (Dörnyei, 2007). Se empleó una modalidad de entrevista personal (Rincón, 1991). Esta llevaba unos 10 minutos para cumplimentarla. La participación fue voluntaria a partir de una muestra intencional aleatoria. Los lugares comunes a ambos países fueron calles y mercados. Después de explicar en qué consistía el estudio, el entrevistador entrevistaba directamente a los participantes. El cuestionario semi-estructurado servía de guía para la entrevista cara a cara.

## ANÁLISIS DE DATOS

Una vez que se habían recogido los datos, fueron analizados usando el programa estadístico SPSS 19.0.0 para Windows. Se introdujo en las matrices de datos la información de las variables previamente definidas según la escala por la que eran medidas (nominal y ordinal) y se llevó a cabo un estudio exploratorio y una consulta a expertos. La información fue entonces sometida a los siguientes análisis estadísticos:

-Técnicas de análisis univariado: se mostraron frecuencias y porcentajes. Se hizo uso de técnicas de carácter gráfico como diagramas de barras y sectores.

-Técnicas de análisis bivariado: se elaboraron tablas de contingencia.

-Técnicas de análisis de asociación: Se realizaron tests de asociación con el fin de evaluar el nivel de asociación entre las variables implicadas, asumiendo un 95% de intervalo de confianza y un margen de error del 5% ( $\alpha = .05$ ). El test de ji cuadrado se empleó para determinar si había una relación estadísticamente significativa o no entre las variables implicadas. En aquellos casos en los que se encontraron asociaciones estadísticamente significativas al nivel alfa mencionado anteriormente, se calcularon medidas de asociación: simétricas (la V de Cramer) y asimétricas o direccionales (el coeficiente de Incertidumbre).

Se realizó un estudio cualitativo de la información cuantitativa. Además, se llevó a cabo un análisis puramente cualitativo en el caso de la información verbal proporcionada por aquellos participantes dispuestos a añadir comentarios espontáneos a sus respuestas. El procedimiento analítico de los datos textuales seguido fue el propuesto por Miles y Huberman (1994). Se empleó un enfoque cualitativo mixto (deductivo-inductivo) para la extracción de categorías. Para la segmentación del texto se usó el criterio temático. Se incluyeron paráfrasis y, principalmente, citas textuales, para apoyar los hallazgos. Del mismo modo, los significados que se encontraban

tras las categorías se mostraron en representaciones gráficas, principalmente redes semánticas, que recopilaban y organizaban la información.

## DISCUSIÓN DE RESULTADOS Y CONCLUSIONES

En este estudio hemos analizado las reacciones ante los nombres, hipocorísticos y apodos en los distritos municipales de Murcia (España) y Leeds (Inglaterra), además de la relación entre tales reacciones en ambos lugares, centrándonos en tres aspectos diferentes (A, B & C). Los hallazgos revelan que:

- A. Si consideramos la elección en base a la edad de nombres completos frente a formas acortadas, cambiadas o alargadas, en ambos distritos municipales, cuanto más joven es el participante, más alto es el índice de formas acortadas, cambiadas o alargadas. En todos los casos hay una relación estadísticamente significativa entre edad y preferencia. Sin embargo, otros factores (por ejemplo, religión o belleza) pueden tener también relación con la medida en la que una forma es elegida sobre otra.

Victoria, Vicky u otro es el grupo que tiene más factores en común entre los dos distritos metropolitanos.

- B. Respecto a la elección de nombres teniendo en cuenta el sonido,
  - B.1. La mayoría de los nombres reciben índices positivos en cuanto al gusto en ambos países a pesar de que Murcia tiene porcentajes más altos. Mientras que Ana/Anna es bien acogido en ambos distritos, otros como Jéssica o Jéniffer no gozan de una posición favorable en España, estando relacionado el origen con el hecho de que estos nombres gusten más o menos en ambos distritos metropolitanos.
  - B.2. En Murcia y pedanías los informantes encuentran más connotaciones graciosas que en Leeds y distritos, especialmente como resultado de las diferentes asociaciones evocadas.



B.3. Respecto a las versiones de nombres Antonia-Antonella y Sonia-Sofia/Sophia, la proporción de preferencia es similar en los dos distritos municipales, con tendencia hacia Antonia y Sofia/Sophia, respectivamente. En el último grupo la mayoría de los participantes prefieren el sonido del nombre completo más que un sonido o sonidos en particular.

B.4. Las razones no-peyorativas (simplemente no gustar el sonido) son más comunes en ambos países. El nombre que menos gusta en Murcia y distritos es siempre el equivalente femenino mientras que la elección es más equilibrada en términos de sexo en Leeds y alrededores.

Las parejas de sexo opuesto tienen más factores en común entre los dos distritos.

- C. En cuanto a la relación entre la elección en base a la edad de nombres completos frente a formas acortadas, cambiadas o alargadas y la elección de nombres teniendo en cuenta el sonido (i.e. A & B), se encuentran reacciones emocionales en las que ni la interpretación de las preguntas ni las respuestas son categóricas. La simplicidad de las reacciones de los hombres frente a la complejidad de las reacciones de las mujeres es notable. La asociación es el factor por excelencia, con una clara tendencia a asociar nombres con fútbol y famosos televisivos por parte de los españoles y con literatura por parte de los británicos. Mientras que los informantes españoles parecen estar interesados en la belleza y la religión, los ingleses están más preocupados por la clase social y el sexo. El léxico utilizado por los participantes es muy variado y rico. Los españoles son más directos y explícitos. Los comentarios sobre nombres están llenos de lenguaje expresivo: hay hipérbolos, metáforas, metonimias, símiles, símbolos, simbolismo fonético y juego de palabras.

Uno de los puntos fuertes de este estudio es la riqueza que proporcionan los datos de la entrevista. El hecho de complementar los datos cuantitativos con los cualitativos contribuye en términos de validez (Denzin, 1979). Se explora cada nombre en gran detalle y se extraen generalidades. Los nombres, hipocorísticos y apodos son un tema que nos concierne a todos porque todos tenemos un nombre y necesitamos decidir sobre nombres para niños o mascotas, por ejemplo. Son parte de nuestra vida diaria. Nos ayudan a acercarnos no solamente a los propios nombres sino también a las personas que los llevan o reaccionan ante ellos. Como Tsirópulos (1987), ahora también sentimos la riqueza de los nombres, su VIDA.

#### LIMITACIONES Y SUGERENCIAS PARA POSTERIORES ESTUDIOS

Los resultados obtenidos en este proyecto de investigación nos han ofrecido hallazgos relevantes pero hay ciertas limitaciones obvias.

Sería recordable usar un número más elevado de nombres con el fin de corroborar y validar las conclusiones de este estudio. De este modo, deberían añadirse más formas de nombres (aspecto A) además de nombres, versiones, pares mínimos y nombres de sexo opuesto (aspecto B). También debería realizarse una exploración más exhaustiva de los apodos. Otro enfoque para el estudio podría ser entrevistar al mismo grupo de personas, por ejemplo, aquellas en el distrito metropolitano de Murcia, y presentarles los dos cuestionarios, en inglés y español, para un mayor control de la variable del sonido. Además, para posteriores investigaciones, como Arboleda (2015) se encuentra haciendo, merecería la pena llevar a cabo el análisis de la visión del participante de su propio nombre.

Sería buena idea prestar especial atención a las reacciones de las personas extranjeras o con familiares extranjeros ante los nombres, hipocorísticos y apodos en cada uno de los distritos municipales. También sería de interés para futuros estudios analizar la contribución de la modalidad

de cuestionario, sustituyendo a la entrevista por respuestas escritas por parte del informante, ya que puede sentirse menos cohibido cuando escribe. La revisión de cada cuestionario (inglés y español) por dos o tres expertos podría contribuir con mayor solidez a la validez del estudio. El enfoque de análisis cualitativo necesitaría ser validado en futuras investigaciones ya que el modelo que fue desarrollado inductivamente a partir de los datos es tentativo. Se recomienda el uso de programas como ATLAS.ti.



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## 1. INTRODUCTION

When Tsirópulos (1987) explains how he became interested in people's forenames, he does so in a very poetic way. He relates how one afternoon he was walking through the cemetery because he felt lonely and empty. His eyes came to rest on the gravestones, which showed the names of the people buried there. As he read them, "he felt inside plenitude of names and, surrounding him, a multitude of people" (p. 7). Never before had he felt the richness of names. Not only are graveyards full of names but the whole world is full of names.

The *Bible* states that man was created by God on the sixth day with a significant characteristic: "the ability to name, the ability to speak" (Redmonds, 2004, p. 465). As explained in *Genesis* 2: 18-23, Adam, the first man, named the animals before the creation of Eve. Adam's task was important in that, by giving animals and things a name, they took on a new and more real existence because that existence was for mankind. This is a second creation which complements the first one (as cited by Albaigès, 1998). The interest that human beings have in naming can be seen in daily life. For instance, when a child has a new toy or a pet, he/she wants to give it a name (Olaya-Aguilar, 2014). The name humanises things.

When a child is born, s/he is born naked in every sense. The forename is given in every society at the beginning of one's life (Pommier, 2013). Being human implies having a name (Finch, 2008). Everyone has a name (Liu, 2001) and the name is important because it accompanies the individual throughout his/her life (Kohoutková, 2009). In Coulmont's own words (2011): "your forename (...) pursues you in daily life: at school or work (...), the e-mail address you use includes it" (p. 3, our own translation). As Albaigès (1998, p. 100, our own translation)

observes, “the name [will be] the word the child will hear most often in his/her life”. The very first thing children write is their own name and the name of the people they love. Hanks, Hardcastle and Hodges (2006, p. xi) posit that “it is difficult to imagine a human culture without personal names”. There are names for people, pets, places, hurricanes or even days (e.g. *Viernes de Dolores*- one week before Holy Friday, *Día de la Candelaria* -2<sup>nd</sup> of February, etc.) (Albaigès, 1998). The main question human beings ask themselves is somehow related to names. Human beings want to know who their creator was, that is, His name. Likewise, Homer records his heroes’ names on a stone, Dante asks Virgil about the creatures they meet, the main obstacle to Romeo and Juliet’s love is a name-related problem and, at the moment of death, Hamlet is concerned about his name, which has been harmed (Tsirópulos, 1987).

Dunkling (1977), Albaigès (1998) and Darlington (2015) refer to the issue of names as a *fascinating* and *interesting* topic, even a *passion*. In addition, this subject is seen as surprising and unpredictable (Dunkling, 1977; Earnshaw, 2012). As Dunkling (1977, p. 18) points out, “the game of names has been played for a long time and (...) it has always been worthy of being a spectator sport”. Names have been a “subject that concerns us all” (p. 9). Many writers started writing about names by looking at Adam’s role in naming creatures. However, despite all this interest, this has been an “undeservedly neglected subject” (Redmonds, 2004, p. viii) for many years (Valentine, Brennan & Brédart, 1996). The topic was regarded as a pastime rather than a science. García-Cornejo (2001) explains that scholars who have studied personal names have explored them as an adjunct rather than as a primary purpose. Although in recent times the interest in this subject has grown, until now most of the research carried out on names in both England and Spain, which are the focus of this study, has been devoted to the exploration of surnames and

place names (Robson, 1988; Postles, 2002; Alomar, 2005; Gamella et al., 2014). Moreover, when Redmonds (2004) was working in a school in Nairobi, where children could be addressed by either their surname or their name, he started to think more about English naming practices and realised the inaccuracy of dictionaries, which offered information which differed from that of local records. He holds the view that “most reference works have let us down” (p. xiii).

Authors such as Albaigès (1998), Tibón (2002) or Earnshaw (2012) draw attention to the fact that society and history are expressed by means of names. Faggion (2011) refers to first names, surnames and nicknames used for footballers, who are part of our day by day experience. The language we use in our everyday life is loaded with expressivity and through language individuals can express their reactions. Names themselves as well as the reactions to names are full of this expressivity (Evans & Green, 2006). Many different factors can be involved in the choice of a name, e.g. euphony, fashion, family tradition, religion, books, films, etc. (Withycombe, 1971; Cutler et al., 1990; Zittoun, 2004). This study uses a comparative perspective in order to provide more empirical evidence for the significance of forenames and nicknames in our lives by exploring more closely their richness and colourfulness, as portrayed in people’s reactions to them, in two different languages, English and Spanish.

This paper is divided into several sections. The introduction, i.e. this first section, summarises the present study and the reasons for carrying it out, as well as presenting how it is structured. The following section consists of a review of the literature which has provided a basis for undertaking this project. The third part deals with the main objective and the research questions set. The fourth section includes the definition as well as the operationalisation of some of the terms which will be examined in the study. The fifth section sets out the methodology

employed– that is, who the participants were and which instruments were used, as well as the procedure followed. The sixth part presents the way in which the data were analysed. The seventh section discusses the results in the light of the aspects chosen to analyse. At this point, some conclusions are drawn and the main findings are summarised; followed by an evaluation of the limitations of the study and suggestions for future research. Finally, the sources of references are cited and appendices of relevant material for the research are added. Whenever it is deemed relevant, a summary of the main ideas are included in order to provide the reader with a guide along these lines. The most recent version of APA style (American Psychological Association, 2012) has been followed to a large extent for the writing of this thesis.

To summarise, the *Bible* states that man was created by God with the characteristic ability to name and to speak (Redmonds, 2004). The interest that human beings have in naming can be seen in daily life. For instance, when a child has a new toy or a pet, he/she wants to give it a name (Olaya-Aguilar, 2014). Being human implies having a name (Finch, 2008).

Dunkling (1977), Albaigès (1998) and Darlington (2015) refer to the issue of names as a *fascinating* topic but, despite this interest, it has only been regarded as a pastime and not as a primary purpose (García-Cornejo, 2001; Redmonds, 2004). Although in recent times the interest in this subject has grown, until now most of the research carried out on names in both England and Spain has been devoted to the exploration of surnames and place names (Robson, 1988; Postles, 2002; Alomar, 2005; Gamella et al., 2014).

Authors such as Albaigès (1998), Tibón (2002) or Earnshaw (2012) draw attention to the fact that society and history are expressed by means of names. The names themselves as well as the reactions to names are full of expressivity (Evans & Green, 2006). Many different factors can be involved in the choice of a name, e.g. euphony, fashion, family tradition, religion, books, films, etc. (Withycombe, 1971; Cutler et al., 1990; Zittoun, 2004). This study uses a comparative perspective in order to provide more empirical evidence for the significance of forenames and nicknames in our lives by exploring more closely their richness and colourfulness, as portrayed in people's reactions to them, in two different languages, English and Spanish.





## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Chapter 1**

### **History**

History not only relates to facts but also to people. People's forenames are part of history, the same as people (Tsirópulos, 1987).

#### **1.1 Recent history of facts and people**

##### **1.1.1 England**

With a focus on the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Lambert (2001-2012) maintains that England became the first industrial and urban society. From the time of the Industrial Revolution there was a decline of organised religion. In the 1840s many Irish people settled in England when fleeing from the potato famine. Although in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century an elite ruled England, the situation gradually changed as the vote was given to more men. Families were big and there was a high rate of infant mortality. The father was the head of the family and until 1882 all the wife's properties belonged to the husband. There was a clear difference between subjects taught to girls and boys at school. Whereas upper and middle class boys were sent to public schools and grammar schools, respectively, upper and middle class girls were taught by a governess or in private schools and studied music and sewing. In previous centuries, although they had only been allowed to access to letters, diaries and memories, women had become pioneers in disguising ideas in their writings, mainly from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Taillefer de Haya, 2007). In 1857 divorce became

legal but it was hardly used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Queen Victoria, who reigned from 1837 to 1901, was the monarch who brought great wealth and power to Britain. The Victorian era was a period of industrial, scientific, political and cultural change and distinguished by an unprecedented expansion of Empire (Strachey, 1933; Marshall, 1972). The Coronation of King George V and Queen Mary in 1911 seemed to put on display the splendour of British Empire.

The two world wars (the first 1914 to 1918 and the second 1939 to 1945) were followed by loss of international power and economic difficulty. After 1900 trade was deteriorating as imports cost more than exports. In the 1920s there was a reduction of coal mining as well as the old heavy industries and the growth of science-based industries, which reflected the tendency towards technology, already hinted at before 1914, and which marked the beginning of a modern phase (Medlicott, 1967). Virtual independence was granted to Eire and the textile market in India disappeared. There were two recessions in the early 1930s and then in the 1980s and 1990s. As stated by Medlicott (1967, p. 7), there were “widespread assertions of England’s decline in both stature and status. ‘Gone are the days when the British lion roared and everything trembled’, said Mr. Khrushchev in April 1958”. Marwick (1965) adds “nerves were frayed (...); discontent mounted” (p. 198).

The Conservative administration in the interwar years was bitterly criticised. Frustration was reflected in the suffragette violence and industrial strikes. There was more sympathy with the Labour party, which started the democratisation of British politics. In the first years of peace after WW1 the landed class, the political élite in Edwardian times, had to sell their lands extensively. Although it has always been dangerous to interpret British society as homogeneous, wartime pressures led to greater uniformity amongst social classes in Britain (Marwick, 1965). The lines

between the working and middle class were blurred, much more than ever. In Marwick's own words (1965, p. 305), "the great flux in material conditions, mental attitudes and leisure activities contributed to the blurring of social distinctions". In any case, "Britain was still, as it is today, very much a class-conscious society" (Marwick, 1965, p. 300). In the aftermath of WW2 there was a literature of disillusion. Young men were angry. They were angry and cruel towards women and homosexuals because they thought that society was femininised.

The world was asleep, not dead. A more positive phase began in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. With courage and toughness the country became the British Commonwealth of Nations and forged strong bonds with the United States (Marwick, 1965). Enormous expansion took place in higher education in Britain in the 1960s with the foundation of new universities. The rights and status of women improved in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. More occupations were open to them. By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it was common for women to have careers (Lambert, 2011-2012). Divorce and single parent families were increasingly common. The revolution of mass communication media and a decrease in rural isolation took place. During the 20th century people had more leisure time. In 1936 the BBC started to broadcast, so television began in Britain and became common in the 1950s as it had been suspended during the Second World War. Video recorders, portable TVs and personal computers became usual in the 1980s and 1990s. Marwick (1965, p. 308) maintains that "the influence of the films can be traced in the clothes and appearance of the women and in the furnishing of their houses. Girls cop[ied] the fashions of their favourite film star". For example, in 1934 girls wore Garbo coats and waved their hair imitating Norma Shearer and Lilian Harvey. Cinema was successful in its main objective: to amuse people. It was the means of entertainment par excellence. Many people spent money on records of pop singers, radio sets, televisions, etc. There was an impact of America on British society

(Americanisation). The bikini was invented around 1950. Fashion in clothes changed from there being full and feminine clothes to a more informal style, even mini skirts. Gardening was highlighted as a popular pastime in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, Britain had become a multicultural society by the end of the century. Thomson (1965, p. 275) points out that

the most important cultural and intellectual phenomenon of the years after 1945 was the upheaval (and extensive abandonment) of traditional values, and the quest for new values felt to be more appropriate to life in a rapidly changing, materialistic and scientific civilisation.

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the labour and conservative parties alternated in government. The role of Margaret Thatcher as a Prime Minister is remarkable. From 1979 until 1990 there was the Thatcher Ministry. She was the first female Prime Minister and the longest-serving one. She was one of the most dominant figures in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Britain. The Iron Lady, as she was known as, took control of a country in decline both economically and industrially speaking. As a result of her clear political philosophy, the British economy was revitalised (she introduced poll taxes), the power of trade unions was curtailed, many industries were privatised and many people moved up into the middle class. Capitalism and democracy were achieved thanks to Margaret Thatcher. From 1997 to 2007 another well-known Prime Minister, in this case the leader of the New Labour Party, followed: Tony Blair. He was criticised for his participation in the Iraq War and for allowing immigration rates to rise to unacceptable levels. Nonetheless, he was praised for a steady economic growth and bringing peace to Northern Ireland (Parker, 2011).

The United Kingdom comprises four countries: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland as well as the Channel Isles and the Isle of Man. Scotland, Wales and Ireland had always had more obvious

nationalist demands than England. In Scotland and Wales a regional language is spoken by a considerable part of the population. The nationalist demands of Scotland and Wales had already begun in the 1880s. There was a petition (the Scottish Covenant) demanding a Scottish Parliament in the late 1940s and something similar in Wales, although supported by fewer people, between 1950 and 1955. It was later in the 1960s when there were political consequences: the transfer of new powers to the Scottish Office, the newly established Welsh Office (1964) and the passage of the Welsh Language Act (1967). Later on, the Scottish National Party and the Plaid Cymru were created. The question of Ireland started in 1921. In 1999 Wales obtained its regional government, the same as Scotland and Northern Ireland (Philip, 1999).

### **1.1.2 Spain**

As explained by Tusell (1998-1999), in 1902 there was the regeneration under King Alfonso XIII, in which illiteracy decreased. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century there was a very limited mobility of the population, especially in rural areas. In the 1920s there was an industrialisation of the country. In 1923 the General Primo de Rivera seized power after a military coup. It must be taken into account that after World War One Spain entered the Rif War (1920-1926) in order to preserve its colonial rule over northern Morocco. Those who criticised the monarchy thought this was a waste of money and time. There existed the Poetic Generation of '27 and in the post war there were excellent musicians such as Falla, poets like Alberti and actresses such as Margarita Xirgu. Primo de Rivera ruled as a dictator with the support of Alfonso XIII. The former lacked clear ideas and depended on elite elements, which led to social tensions. Primo de Rivera resigned in 1930. Given that Alfonso was Primo de Rivera's ally, he was also disliked. In 1931 Alfonso XIII had to resign as

Head of State (there was no formal abdication) due to financial problems and unpopularity. The Second Spanish Republic was proclaimed. Prieto and Barranquero (2007) explain that the political and social power of the Catholic Church was great in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. There was a traditional religiosity, as claimed by Machado, the Spanish writer. Whereas in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century there was a support of traditional Catholicism, later there was an anticlerical Spain, which brought about the death of priests. In the Constitution of 1933 anticlericalism was reflected and there was an attack against Catholicism. There began to be erotic shows. In the 1930s the appeal of football grew significantly. The cinema became one of the mass communication media. Listening to the radio became widespread after the 1920s and the press gained in quantity and quality. In 1936 there was a generalised request for autonomy by-laws. Catalan and Basque regionalisms grew at the time.

During the Second Spanish Republic the socialists rose up in revolt, and a trade union, UGT, called for a general strike. This announced a civil war (1936-1939). The Nationalists overcame the Republicans. Alfonso made it clear that he would support the Nationalists and General Francisco Franco as their leader but Franco did not establish him on the throne. In 1941 Alfonso abdicated in favour of Juan, his son. Franco's dictatorship lasted around 35 years (from 1939 to 1975). He defended his interests and those of the Catholic Church. After 1957 there was growth and Spain started to come out of its isolation. Spain signed an agreement with the United States by which it acceded to the United Nations, FAO and UNESCO. The Catholic Church gained in independence. In fact, from that time on saints' names have had an influence in Spanish people. Franco named Juan Carlos (instead of Juan, the latter's father due to his fear of Juan becoming too liberal) as the next head of state in 1969 and Juan Carlos became King in 1975.

After the end of Franco's Dictatorship, democracy started with Adolfo Suárez, the first democratically elected Prime Minister. He was the leader of two political parties: UCD (*Unión de Centro Democrático*<sup>1</sup>) and CDS (*Centro Democrático y Social*<sup>2</sup>). After a very brief government of Calvo Sotelo (1981-1982), a time of social and educational reforms followed under the socialism of Felipe González (1982). However, in 1996 the Right Wing, led by José María Aznar, seized power after the financial and political scandals of socialism. With José María Aznar Spain gained international prestige (Tusell, 1998-1999). After the terrorist attacks of 11 March 2004 in Madrid, which were presumed to be a reaction to Aznar's support of Bush and the Iraq War, socialism returned with José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, a time which was characterised by a very bitter economic crisis and the leader's inability to steer the nation away from that serious crisis. Mariano Rajoy and the Right Wing have been trying to control the situation since 2012 by means of cutbacks.

During the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Málaga, to give an example, was a rural society (Prieto & Barranquero, 2007), similar to that of Murcia, or even less rural. Until 1880 religious marriage was the only accepted form and abortion was forbidden. The husband controlled the wife in terms of power. The former had to protect the latter and the latter had to obey the former. Until the 1900s there were many births and deaths caused by births. In 1890 universal suffrage was given to men but not to women. Marked social differences existed and only some privileged people could attend secondary school or universities. Many women were illiterate at the time: 7% of illiterate women versus 55% of illiterate men. Especially during the 20<sup>th</sup> century important changes for women took place. From the 1920s there was a reduction of fertility, mainly resulting from the changes in society for women: birth control and delay or

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<sup>1</sup> 'Union of the Democratic Centre'.

<sup>2</sup> 'Democratic and Social Centre'.

rejection of marriage. During the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, with the liberal system, subjects in female education were selected in view of women's future role as housewives, mothers or teachers. Illiteracy amongst women was reduced. From 1918 on, women joined trade unions. During the time of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Republic (1931-1939), there were civil marriages, divorce – leading to a firm opposition from the Church, etc. There was again a change (some people say backwards) during the dictatorship although the achievements of females were not forgotten by the regime. Hundreds of women who supported the Republic were put in jail and those who did not respect the new moral code were punished. After the Civil War women who did not support the Franco regime had their heads shaved as punishment for their rebellion. The imposition of this punishment had distinct sexist overtone. There was a double moral standard at the time. Women were praying at home but at the same time they were exploited. Until the end of the dictatorship, it was hard for a female to attend secondary school and especially university because it was expensive. If they did attend, they mainly studied the arts (*Escuela Normal*). There was an important moment for women: 1975, International Women's Year (declared by the United Nations), mainly run by mid and highly educated women. In 1983 the socialist party, which had a special focus on women, took the power. Feminism was institutionalised and this involved “a future full of hope” (Prieto & Barranquero, 2007, p. 209).

## **1.2 History of names**

As defined by Albaigès (1998, p. 19, our own translation), “onomastics or onomatology is the study of proper names”. *Onomastics* is indeed an umbrella term for the plurality of outcomes and approaches of onomastic sciences rather than having a science or theory of names



(Earnshaw, 2011). In Planisi (2005) it is claimed that the study of proper names results from a complex territorial, historical and social reality. Within the study of linguistics, proper names have considerable theoretical and practical importance. Besides, they have a major social importance (Albaigès, 1998). Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language (1976, as cited in Valentine et al., 1996, p. 2) defines a proper name as "a noun that designates a particular being or thing, does not take a limiting modifier, and is usually capitalised in English". In the last few years there has been speculation around a new definition of proper nouns (Giuntoli, 2011).

According to Cutler et al.'s findings (1990, p. 475), English names are in general quite like English nouns. Names are a special subset of the lexicon in some senses and there is controversy as to whether they function like nouns or not. Whereas Cutler et al. (1990) defend the idea that they act as nouns, Semenza and Zettin (1988) explain that language impairment resulting from brain damage can lead to selective loss of the ability to produce proper names whereas the remaining lexical stock is unimpaired. Semenza and Zettin (1988) emphasise the idea that forenames are stored in a different area of the brain from other words. Brennen (1993) considers that, in contrast to other word categories, proper names allow for almost unlimited phoneme combinations. This increases the difficulty of recalling proper names and challenges the assumption that proper names are processed in the same way as common names. In the last decade, the cognitive neuroscience of language has become very interested in the processing of proper names (either first names, place names or brand names) (van Langendonck, 2007; Müller, 2011). There are many studies on impairments.

Anthroponymy<sup>3</sup> is the study of people's names and toponymy<sup>4</sup> studies place names (Albaigés, 1998). People's names and place names are the most cited kinds of proper names. Other kinds of proper names include geographical names, names of institutions, names of newspapers and magazines, titles of books, musical pieces, paintings or sculptures, names of single events, animal names and titles, amongst others. Objects like ships often receive proper names, for example, Jules Verne's famous submarine called *Nautilus*.

For several hundred years a person's name was referred to as *Christian name* but this has been increasingly replaced by other terms such as *given names*, *forenames*, *first names* and *baptismal names* especially now that different ethnic and religious groups are embraced by modern society. In non-Christian traditions the term *personal names* has also been employed (Redmonds, 2004). A given name is "one that is bestowed on a child by its parents or guardians at birth" (Hanks et al., 2006, p. xi). Likewise, in Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2008, p. 560), a forename is defined as "the name which is chosen for you at birth and goes before your family name". A first name is "the first of a sequence of one or more given names borne by an individual" (Hanks et al., 2006, p. xi). Names of people comprise first names and middle names, family names, pseudonyms and nicknames (Grévisse & Goose, 1986).

The study of people's names "is one of the most exciting ones in onomastics" (Albaigés, 1998, p. 66, our own translation). The study of forenames not only brings about pleasant surprises but also its philological, historical and sociological scope is very wide (Tibón, 2002). Actually, Lebel (1946) warns about the idea that anthroponymy is

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<sup>3</sup> It comes from *anthropos*: 'man'.

<sup>4</sup> It comes from *topos*: 'place'.

not an easy science. Until very recently studies in anthroponymy have not been very solid. The study of names has been neglected, for instance, in France until now and there are conflicting opinions as to whether it is due to indifference or ignorance. According to Voitli (1976, p. 5), “personal name studies have often been neglected and not treated as a fully self-contained field of research”. Scholars whose primary interests have been different disciplines: anthropology, history, law, philosophy, sociology, psychology, linguistics, dialectology, etc. have been interested in personal names but they have seen them as an adjunct, that is, auxiliary to the study of other branches (Clark, 1995; García-Cornejo, 2001). For instance, Burnham, Gladstone and Gibson (1969) explored the relationship between schizophrenia and personal names. According to Hargreaves, Colman and Sluckin (1983), “psychologists have not devoted more attention to the study of names; the research literature is sparse and fragmented” (p. 394). The works carried out on French anthroponymy have been done by foreign authors (Lebel, 1946). In addition, onomastics is a barely studied discipline in the Spanish language (Tibón, 2002).

The study of early modern English personal names started seriously in the mid 19th century. Von Feilitzen prepared a dictionary of Old English personal names, the London University College and the University of Lund constructed a corpus of Middle English forenames as well as surnames and at Erlangen a collection of names from parish registers of the whole England from 1600 and 1700 was undertaken. Searle (1897) was the founder of Old English anthroponymy. He provided the impulse to linguists to work on it. He claimed to include all names from Bede to King John. There was a need, though, for a new Onomasticon, useful for both linguists and historians. Before that, studies of onomastics in Britain had been undertaken individually or poorly coordinated and most of them focused on place names and surnames (Robson, 1988; Postles, 2002). Other studies on forenames in English

were Hargreaves et al. (1983), who focused on England and Australia, in particular, staff and students from the Universities of Leicester and Melbourne, respectively. Dunkling (1977) did research into name-usage in Britain, USA, Canada and Australia and explained that her study “enable[d] the reader to stand back from his or her own name and assess it objectively” (p. 9).

Likewise, in Spanish much of the research has been related to surnames (Llur, 2005; Gamella et al., 2014) and toponymy (Pocklington, 1986, with a focus on the Region of Murcia; Lorenzo & Redondo, 1996; Alomar, 2005). Although fewer in number, there were also studies on forenames, most of them dealing with one area, especially Catalonia or the North of Spain, or languages such as Catalan or its dialects (Majorcan, for instance) (Pérez-Rodríguez & González-Vázquez, 1995; Mas i Forners, 2005; Velaza, 2014) and centuries ago (Martínez-Sopena, 1995a, which focused on the Middle Ages). As can be deduced from scholars such as Bas i Vidal (1988), researchers on forenames have often been Catalan. In some cases the study has been limited to one name, for instance, Juan (J.L. Alonso & Huerta, 2000) or Diana and Jéssica (Bravo-Llatas, 2012). Other studies about names with a focus on the Spanish of South America are Espinosa-Meneses (2001) and Ruiz-Zaragoza (2011). It is also worth mentioning as an example of a study on different cultures Ingraham (1997), who offers a very comprehensive guide to the usage of proper names (forenames and surnames).

Despite the importance of works such as Searle (1897), Voithl (1976), Smith-Bannister (1997), Martínez-Sopena (1995a) or Clark (1995), there were weak points too. Voithl (1976) criticises the fact that the post-Conquest material in Searle (1897) is very selective, to which Bradley (1915, as cited in Voithl, 1976) adds that the name-forms included are normalised (sometimes incorrectly) by following the West-Saxon

spelling, the document dates are not provided, many references are omitted and people are hardly ever identified, which results in an unnecessary and confusing multiplication of entries. Irrelevant material is included, especially Continental Germanic names. However, Voitl (1976), like many other scholars, does not “wish to belittle his achievement” (p. 16) as Searle (1897) was a pioneering book written more than one century ago. Voitl (1976) adds that “without his great and still indispensable work OE personal name studies would never have got anywhere” (p. 17). On the other hand, omissions were detected in Smith-Bannister (1997), the exclusion of women being acknowledged by the writer herself as a weak point. In fact, females were hardly represented in reference to Spain either, for example, in Martínez-Sopena (1995a). Albaigès (1998) studied forenames in a corpus which had a male frequency of 80% because the majority of members of FC Barcelona were males. Clark (1995) also acknowledged a weak point: she assumed that the adult’s social status was the same as when a child. In Martínez-Sopena (1995a) and Merry (1995) similar names (e.g. Stephen and Steven), although having different spellings, were studied together. In Abascal (1994) many inscriptions were deteriorated and their reading was often difficult. Without evidence, Dunkling (1977, p. 15) dares to make the following claim: “Older informants would obviously have chosen differently”.

Bassa i Martín, Planisi and Vallès (2006) point out that the topic of onomastics (including toponymy and anthroponomy) has experienced a great increase in the last decades. There are even a series of International Congresses of Onomastic Sciences, each of them concentrated on one category of proper names although providing a prospect of research in the different branches of onomastics, for example, that of 1993 at the University of Trier (Germany), focused on family names (Valentine et al., 1996). This conference, which took place after the 2<sup>nd</sup> International Congress of Onomastic Sciences at Berne (Switzerland), was an urgently

needed initiative and involved the meeting of around twenty researchers of personal names both in the British Isles and outside, mainly Scandinavia. It was aimed at establishing personal contacts among scholars working in the same field and making improvements in not too advanced studies on personal names. Draye of Louvain, the President of the International Committee of Onomastic Sciences, showed great interest in the conference. The interest in the cognitive approach to proper names arose very recently, so no colloquium was devoted to this topic. Moreover, there was a financial crisis looming, which prevented scholars from running the risk of wasting the scarce research resources on this issue.

There are many books on forenames but focusing on origin or the meaning it had at the time which, according to Dunkling (1977), is not the same as today. The majority of books devoted to Spanish forenames present names as isolated items in space and time and they sometimes give wrong or old-fashioned information about etymologies. Etymological dictionaries are very limited and that is why many people do not know the meaning and origin of their names (Tibón, 2002). Tibón's etymological dictionary of forenames in Spain and Latin America (2002) fulfils an urgent need. It includes innovations (e.g. new etymologies, etc.). Faure (2007) is the most complete dictionary of forenames published in Spain and not because of the number of names included but the information provided, which is contrasted and wide. In most cases these dictionaries are "just an onomastic guide for future parents" (Faure, 2007, xii, our own translation).

As for the methodological approaches followed in the research on forenames, studies were mainly based on opinions which were likely to be wrong because they were done on the grounds of impressions rather than statistical information and accurate observations. These opinions, due to

their not being challenged, were accepted as facts. In any case, there are opposing views as to which methodology is better in order to analyse data. Most research has been based on counts (Dunkling, 1977). Besnard and Desplanques (1987) hold the view that research on names should have some statistical backing. In contrast, Clark (1995) suggests that “in order to make socio-economic sense of medieval personal-name records, it is – happily- unnecessary to become embroiled in statistics” (p. 115). On the other hand, Hargreaves et al. (1983) used a Likert scale. Smith-Bannister (1997) carried out some studies in which SPSS was used. E.L. Abel and Kruger (2007) also used chi-square tests by means of SPSS statistical package. Aldrin (2011) used measures of association (V Cramers) and others such as statistical correlation analyses. Likewise, Hargreaves et al. (1983) dealt with correlations. Aldrin (2011) and Krause (2015) combined quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Teguh (2014) only made use of the qualitative approach in order to achieve more detail.

In the past, official documents were examined. In the twelfth century records increased significantly at the same time as name patterns became revolutionised. In the late fourteenth century poll tax returns made it possible to study statistically Christian name usage from the late Middle Ages. Parish registers were useful for comparative studies. What is more, in 1538 King Henry VIII ordered a register of births, deaths and marriages in every parish, including Christian names and surnames (Baring-Gould, 1910). In 1837 the national civil registration of births, marriages and deaths was introduced by the Registration Act and the General Register Officer (GRO, now part of OPCS) was in charge of its administration in the Public Search Room at St. Catherine’s House, in London. They were employed for official purposes and for those people interested in researching their family history. Merry (1995) based her study on this register. Martínez-Sopena (1995a) refers to the idea that at least now computer registers are found for forename examination. Al-Bulushi

(2011) took names from the government records. In Abascal (1994), pre-Christian epitaphs or funeral texts from Hispania were analysed to study anthroponymy. E.L. Abel and Kruger (2007) collected names from a website. Hargreaves et al. (1983) used names from The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian names (Withycombe, 1977). Cutler et al.'s study (1990) was based on dictionaries on first names. Merry (1995) covered a large sample: three quarters of a million babies' names in 1944 and 1954, more than a million in 1964 and around 700.000 in 1974, 1984 and 1994. Kohoutková (2009) dealt with the names that appeared most frequently in the data provided by the National Statistics Institute (INE) in Spain. Clark (1995) studied personal names on the basis of surveys or censuses. Aldrin (2011) included a postal survey and an interview recorded on tape for thematic analysis. Aldrin (2011) made use of a written survey with 621 participants and group discussions with 23 participants in Sweden 2007-2009. Bañón (2004) employed 29 surveys conducted in a neighbourhood from the capital city of Murcia, *La Fama* (Spain), and his participants were between 13 and 18 years old. Espinosa-Meneses (2001) surveyed 75 participants from 3 generations: 25-35 (children), 36-50 (parents) and 51 or over year-old (grandparents) people. This classification does not seem to cover the three groups homogeneously because the age range of the oldest group is significantly wider.

In summary, apart from facts, history also relates to people and, consequently, people's forenames (Tsirópulos, 1987).

When dealing with the history of facts and people, firstly with a focus on England, it must be highlighted that it is the first industrial and urban society (Lambert, 2001-2012). Also remarkable is the fact that middle and upper class women were taught music and sewing in the 19<sup>th</sup>



century and they were pioneers in hiding reflective ideas in their writings, mainly from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Taillefer de Haya, 2007). In 1857 divorce became legal. Queen Victoria, who reigned from 1837 to 1901, was the monarch who brought great wealth and power to Britain. The two world wars (1914-1918 and 1939-1945) were followed by loss of international power and economic difficulty (Medlicott, 1967). In the first years of peace after WW1, social distinctions were blurred, more than ever even though “Britain was still, as it is today, very much a class-conscious society” (Marwick, 1965, p. 300). During the twentieth century, the labour and conservative parties alternated in government (Parker, 2011). A more positive phase started in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. Television, cinema, computers, singers and gardening, amongst others, became part of leisure. There was an impact of America on British society (Americanisation). By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it was common for women to have careers (Lambert, 2011-2012) and England became a multicultural society. Thomson (1965) points out that after 1945 there was an “extensive abandonment of traditional values” (p. 275). The nationalist demands of Scotland and Wales, much more obvious than those of England, had already begun in the 1880s (Philip, 1999).

Now with a focus on Spain, during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century society was mainly rural (Prieto & Barranquero, 2007). In the 1920s there was an industrialisation of the country. Tusell (1998-1999) explains that two dictatorships, with Primo de Rivera (1923-1930) and Franco (1939-1975), were set up between the monarchies of Kings Alfonso XIII and Juan Carlos I. After Franco’s Dictatorship of 35 years, democracy started with Adolfo Suárez. Afterwards, the Left and Right Wings alternated in power. In the 19<sup>th</sup> and first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries there was a support of traditional Catholicism, later there was an anticlerical Spain (note the Constitution of 1933) and during Franco’s

dictatorship the interests of the Catholic Church were defended again. In the 1930s erotic shows became popular, the appeal of football grew significantly and cinema became one of the mass communication media. In 1936 there was a generalised request for autonomy bye-laws. Catalan and Basque regionalisms grew at the time. During the early 20<sup>th</sup> century illiteracy amongst women was reduced and at the time of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Republic (1931-1939) civil marriages and divorce were permitted, which provoked a strong opposition from the Church (Prieto & Barranquero, 2007).

As defined by Albaigès (1998, p. 19, our own translation), “onomastics or onomatology is the study of proper names”. Anthroponymy (which comes from *anthropos*: man) is the study of people’s names and toponymy (*topos*: place) studies place names. People’s names and place names are the most cited kinds of proper names. Until very recently studies in anthroponymy have not been very solid (Lebel, 1946) and many of them have been based on impairments (Müller, 2011). Personal names have been seen as an adjunct, that is, auxiliary to the study of other branches (Clark, 1995; García-Cornejo, 2001).

The study of early modern English personal names started seriously in the mid 19th century. Searle (1897) was the founder of Old English anthroponymy. Before that, studies of onomastics in Britain had been undertaken individually or poorly coordinated and most of them focused on place names and surnames (Robson, 1988; Postles, 2002). Likewise, in Spanish much of the research has been related to surnames (Gamella et al., 2014) and toponymy (Pocklington, 1986). Onomastics is a barely studied discipline especially in the Spanish language (Tibón, 2002). In English forenames Hargreaves et al. (1983), who focused on England and Australia, is worth mentioning. In Spanish Mas i Forners

(2005) is an example and reflects that most studies dealt with Catalan or its dialects. Bassa i Martín et al. (2006) point out that the topic of onomastics has experienced a large increase in the last decades. There are even a series of International Congresses of Onomastic Sciences (Valentine et al. 1996) aimed at establishing personal contacts among scholars working in the same field.

There are opposing views as to which methodology is better to study forenames. In contrast to Clark (1995), according to Besnard and Desplanques (1987), support is needed from statistical sources. E.L. Abel and Kruger (2007) also used chi-square tests by means of SPSS statistical software. Some scholars such as Aldrin (2011) and Krause (2015) combined quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Teguh (2014) only made use of the qualitative approach. In the past official records were examined. Now computer registers are found for forename examination (Martínez-Sopena, 1995a). Other sources are websites (E.L. Abel & Kruger, 2007) or dictionaries (Hargreaves et al., 1983). Kohoutková (2009) studied anthroponomastics on the basis of censuses and Bañón (2004) and Espinosa-Meneses (2001) conducted surveys.

## Chapter 2

### Forenames as words

#### 2.1 The word. An introduction

The human being is not only a creature of *humus*, that is, ‘earth’ (biologically speaking) but also *verbum*, that is, ‘language’, since this is his/her cultural inheritance (Cerezo-Galán, 1979). *The Book of Genesis* in the *Bible* already reflects that the verbum or word has been attached to the human being since ancient times. St John’s Gospel starts like this: “When

all things began, the Word already was. The Word dwelt with God, and what God was, the Word was” (as cited in Ullmann, 1978, p. 3). The language capacity is exclusive to human beings (Evans & Green, 2006). We are free creators as well as prisoners of our language (Reyes, 1990).

## **2.2 Language as a mediating factor**

As pointed out by the Linguistic Philosophers in their Analytic Revolution (started by Humboldt and continued by Ortega y Gasset), language is “the place of mediation between the subject and the object; the point of articulation between the spheres of conscience and reality” (Cerezo-Galán, 1979, p. 20, our own translation), in other words, “linguistic activity actually is a cooperative activity which involves the exchange of intentional objects (such as beliefs, knowledge and desires) amongst beings who consider themselves to be *full* of mind (...)” (Belinchón, Rivière & Igoa, 1992, p. 184-185, emphasis in original, our own translation). Hence, the speaker, the hearer, the context and cognition are involved in language (Ohala, 2010). Human communication is based on our previous knowledge or “cognitive stored schemes with archetypical information” as well as contextual knowledge. In point of fact, Cognitive Linguistics comprises research areas such as the *Dynamic Systems Theory* (DST), which studies language “as a complex dynamic system where cognitive, social and environmental factors continuously interact” (P. Robinson & Ellis, 2008, p. 6).

Muguerza (1979) explains that the linguistic philosophy par excellence is the analytic philosophy, a style of philosophy which dominated the English-speaking countries in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It took some ideas from Marxism and phenomenology. Analytic philosophy arose when bourgeois thought went through a crisis. Analytic philosophers

wondered whether there was something linguistic in metaphysical ideas. The role of philosophers lies between the scientist and the poet (Gómez-Caffarena, 1979). Analytic philosophers were firstly interested in the structure: syntactic relationships; then semantic ones (between signs and meanings), next, pragmatic relations (relations amongst signs, users and context).

### **2.2.1 Between two people, speaker and listener, within a context**

Words are almost always found in context. Language is a means of communication and, as such, its evolution needs to be understood within a social context (Beckner, Blythe, Bybee, Christiansen, Croft, Ellis, Holland, Larsen-Freeman & Schoenemann, 2009). Primates are interactive mammals but human beings are even more interactive. As pointed out by Whitney (1988, p. 131), “one of the most important ways that we use language is in our relationships with other people”.

Some linguists emphasise the importance of context and consider that the word does not have a proper meaning in itself. As stated by Rosetti (1947), only through the context does the word exist and it is nothing without it. In agreement with Bloomfield (1933) and Earnshaw (2011), Ortega y Gasset (1964) emphasise the sociological side of the word: “words are words only when said by someone (...) It is evident that the reality *word* cannot be separated from who says it, to whom it is addressed and the situation in which it occurs” (p. 39, emphasis in original, our own translation). In the same vein, Wittgenstein (1958) and Cerezo-Galán (1979) highlight the idea that the meaning of words comes from outside, not from grammar and vocabulary alone but from the “lived situation” (Cerezo-Galán, 1979, p. 44). Modern semantics has taken the impact of context upon meanings into account.

Ortega y Gasset (1964) holds the view that language is 1) a practical activity (related to social praxis), that is, there is an utterance under a given circumstance, but also 2) an expressive activity which does not merely “use” language but “makes it live” (p. 27). Words suggest, express our emotions: sadness, happiness, aggressiveness, etc. (Turner, 1967). Language is loaded with expressivity: it allows us to express our wishes and thoughts. Evans and Green (2006) add that the way in which we express these wishes reflects who we are and the kind of relationship we have with our addressee. The expressivity of words is something writers, especially poets, know very well. They create a world by means of words (Alonso-Pedraz, 1947). Mukarovsky (1976, p. 237) offers some remarks as for the artistic sign writers use: “the artistic sign, as opposed to the communicative one, (...) does not communicate things...but it expresses *a particular attitude towards things*” (emphasis in original, our own translation).

Ogden and Richards (1969) and A. Gullón (1979) underline the difference between referential (informative) language and emotive language, which complement each other. Bühler (1982) goes further by qualifying that, when considering the relationship between the word and its sender –the word expresses the sender’s inner state and there is a connection between the word and its recipient, three functions of language arise: representation, expression and appeal.

Our choice of words affects the way we make other people feel. The speaker exerts an emotional influence over the listener. Appellative resources are those aimed at “arousing certain feelings in the listener” (Trubetzkoy, 1973, p. 19, our own translation). Sometimes it is very hard to make a distinction between appellative resources and other types, especially expressive. Appellative and expressive resources are what von Lazicius (1935) knows as the *emphatics of the speech*. Expressive and

appellative functions of language have been left aside throughout history. Linguistics has mainly focused on the representative function. The scope of the expressive and appellative functions is limited, as opposed to the representative function, whose scope is very broad. Von Laziczius (1935) is the first linguist to highlight the need for research into these two functions.

Taber and Nida (1971), when alluding to translation, underline the importance of “grasping” the listener’s reaction. What a translator must achieve is the same reaction on the part of the listener. In Hernández-Cristóbal’s own words (2004, p. 147, our own translation), “translating non-codified meanings is one of the biggest challenges for a translator”. Non-codified meanings are linked with the author’s intentions.

### **2.2.2 Between two worlds, mind and reality**

Many things can be made by means of language: it builds a world in between an imaginative and a real world (López-Aranguren, 1979), between mind and reality. This is related to the view of language as “a mass made of wax which one shapes” (Demetrio, 1979, p. 116, our own translation). Gómez-Caffarena (1979) points out that on the base of language there is intuition. Kress (1979, p. 48) believes that “thought and language are intimately related”. In the same vein, G. Lakoff (1987) and Langacker (1987) sustain that language is interpreted by means of mental models (internal representations).

### **2.2.3 Fields of study**

The science of linguistics is aimed at studying language, our means of communication (García-Yebra, 1983). In the 20<sup>th</sup> century the different European structuralisms restricted the scope of linguistics as

compared to the realm it covered during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The restriction mainly came from American structuralism, which is well-known for its rejection of sense or meaning. Nonetheless, Gilson (1974, p. 48) reacts against this restriction and expounds his view on the subject: “Dreaming with a linguistics which deals with language without dealing with its sense is the same as asking for a science not founded on an object”.

Linguists have recently reacted against this restrictive behaviour and have considered linguistics within a broader framework. As Gutiérrez-Ordóñez (1994) upholds, “the study of language lives in a continuous osmosis with other fields of knowledge” (p. 10, our own translation). There are sciences which can be applied to linguistics (Santiago-Guervós, 2005). Thus, areas within the scientific study of language such as semiotics, pragmatics, stylistics or psycholinguistics and cognitive linguistics have been able to thrive. Semiotics examines both linguistic and non-linguistic sign systems. Pragmatics studies language in context. Stylistics explores devices which make language expressive. The preferred object of stylistics is mostly literature (that is why stylistic study is said to link linguistics and literary criticism, that is, the study and evaluation of literature). Psycholinguistics and cognitive linguistics specialise in examining language in the mind. The boundaries of the linguistic science have not been clearly drawn up until now. García-Yebra (1983) sustains that this may be due to the fact that this science is still in a phase of development.

### **2.2.3.a Semiotics**

Semiotics is a discipline or area of study (Eco, 1995). Saussure (1949) emphasises the importance of studying signs within the context of society. The study of signs is a part of social psychology and it is called



*semiology*<sup>5</sup>. Semiology and semiotics are not officially different but, whereas the former is more related to the European tradition, the latter is more Anglo-American although now semiotics starts to generalise. Semiotics became an independent discipline in the early twentieth century. The theory of signs, in which everything stands for something else, seems to be abstract and complex but it is not or should not be like that because it deals with an everyday life phenomenon. The theory of signs or semiotics, which is divided into the branches of semantics (meaning of signs), syntax (combination of signs) and pragmatics (contexts of use of signs), was already foreshadowed by Aenesidemus, a Greek philosopher (Ogden & Richards, 1969) and pioneered in the nineteenth century by the American logician Peirce. Ullmann (1962) talks about many branches of science which have been concerned with signs: anthropology, psychoanalysis, aesthetic theory, philosophy, etc. Signs can be used by animals (from the simple scraping at the door by dogs to the complex signalling of bees) or by human beings.

Signs can be classified in different types, for example: linguistic (i.e. language itself, which is “by far the most important and most articulate form of (...) expression [and] it is bound to hold a key-position in any theory of signs”, according to Ullmann, 1962, p. 15) and non-linguistic (expressive gestures, traffic lights, etc.), intentional and unintentional, systematic (following a pattern or organisation) and non-systematic, etc. Another type of classification has to do with the sense to which they are related. Most signs are only based on one sense but there are others in which more senses are involved. The most differentiated amongst our senses are sound and sight. Language is acoustic and its derivatives such as writing or other communication codes are visual (an exception would be braille, related to the sense of touch). Another even more significant distinction is that between signs which resemble their

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<sup>5</sup> It comes from the Greek *sēmeion* ('sign').

meaning (known as *iconic*<sup>6</sup>) and those which do not (called *conventional*). Dirven and Radden (1999, p. 2) explain that “an iconic sign is similar to the thing it represents”. The distinction among signs is not usually rigid; there are degrees (Jespersen, 1959). In the same way that the BMW logo of a car brand is arbitrary and a picture of an apple- of the computer brand *Apple Macintosh*- is more iconic (Baron, 2009), some words may be more “iconic” than others. Thus, portraits are iconic to a high degree; paintings are iconic “in varying degrees” (Morris, 1946, p. 192), which means that it depends on how much they resemble reality, and the alphabet is conventional because there is no similarity between the shape of the letters and the sounds they stand for. When referring to ordinary spoken language, Ullmann (1962) makes the point that there are words which are conventional, e.g. Albaigés (1998) makes reference to the following passage: “What’s in a name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet” (Romeo and Juliet II, 2, 23, as cited in Albaigés, 1998, p. 21) but others (the case of onomatopoeic words, for instance) are iconic, namely, ‘sniff’ or ‘hiccup’ (see § 2.4 for a more in-depth account).

Peirce takes this idea of the possible resemblance between the sign and its meaning further by making a distinction between three categories of referential associations: icon, index and symbol (Deacon, 1997). In any case, these terms were coined before Peirce and have had different usages by others since then. For Peirce all of them accounted for “the formal relationship between the characteristics of the sign token and those of the physical object represented” (Deacon, 1997, p. 70). There is an icon if a similarity is found between the sign and the object, that is, there are resemblances, e.g. landscapes or portraits. Á propos of the icon,

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<sup>6</sup> It comes from the Greek *eikōn*: ‘image’.

A. Fischer (1999) makes a distinction between auditive iconicity (imitative), articulatory iconicity (relationship between sound/meaning and articulatory gestures to express that) and associative iconicity (sounds related to certain meanings but without a clear imitative relationship between them). Returning to Peirce, the index exists when the sign and the object are somehow causally related or associated in space or time. For instance, a thermometer indicates temperature. Finally, the symbol implies an agreed-upon or conventional relationship between the sign and the object, such as a wedding ring, which symbolises marriage. Deacon (1997, p. 71) issues a warning, “similarity does not cause iconicity (...). Iconicity is a kind of inferential process that is based on recognising a similarity”. The same point can be extended to the rest of referential associations (index and symbol).

Also crucial in semiotics is the semiotic triangle drawn up by Ogden and Richards (1969), that is, the best known analytical model of meaning. It makes a distinction between three components of meaning: symbol (the word itself), thought or reference (mental image) and referent (the object to which it refers) (see Figure 2.1). Ullmann (1978) simplifies this triangle by distinguishing between sense, name and thing. “*Name* is the phonetic and graphic shape of a word; *sense* is the information that the name involves; *thing* is the non-linguistic phenomenon the word refers to” (Ullmann, 1978, p. 8, emphasis in original, our own translation). The name evokes the sense and the sense makes us think about the name. He points out that the shape and the meaning of words are related. This idea is also posited by Flaubert, the French writer, as upheld by Ortega y Gasset (1957, p. 140): “Flaubert said: form arises from the content the same as the heat from the fire”. In the same vein, Jespersen (1929) states that the meaning connected to a given sound can be inquired about from the sound itself and the meaning can lead to the formal expression in which it is “wrapped”. In the early twentieth century Saussure (1949)

coins the terms signifier and signified to refer to the name or form and the sense, respectively. He claims that for most words the sound-meaning pairing has an arbitrary nature (Akmajian, Demers, Farmer & Harnish, 2010).

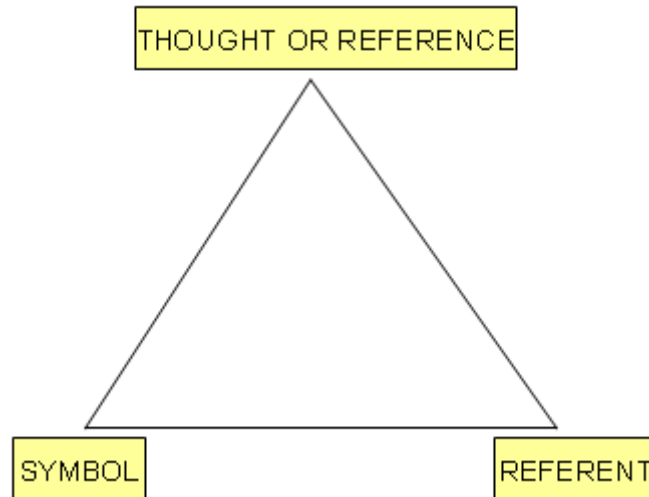


Figure 2.1. Semiotic triangle by Ogden and Richards (1969)

### **2.2.3.b Pragmatics**

The role that pragmatics plays in linguistic studies is undeniable (Yus, 1997). Pragmatics explores the production and interpretation of meaning by looking at the context and our world knowledge (I.K. Taylor, 1990). It deals with the analysis of linguistic elements in terms of the speaker and the listener. Sometimes what is said is different to what is not said but wants to be communicated. A speaker may mean different things at different moments with the same linguistic sequence. It is essential to arrive at a suitable interpretation (Culler, 1982).

The influence of context on word meaning is not only of interest to philosophers and dictionary compilers but also to psychologists. Given

that lexicographers are aware of the importance of setting a word in context to define it, the Oxford English Dictionary (Murray, Bradley, Craigie & Onions, 1888-1928) provides over six million context examples from readers and illustrates the uses of the word in question over the years. As I.K. Taylor (1990, p. 69) puts it: “Context -both linguistic (...) and situational- aids discourse processing by narrowing the domain of interpretation, thus activating an appropriate knowledge structure”.

A key term in pragmatics is the *speech act*. A speech act involves a speaker, a hearer and a state of affairs (Trubetzkoy, 1973). Both speaker and listener need to share the same language. Speech acts are also known as *parole* in French, *performance* in English or *habla* in Spanish (Saussure, 1949), as opposed to language -*langue* in French or *lengua* in Spanish, a more general, abstract and universal concept. Performance refers to the concrete instances of language in use.

### 2.2.3.c Stylistics

According to Fernández (1972, p. 3), “stylistics can be defined as the science of style” (our own translation). Bally, the founder of modern stylistics, underlines the idea that stylistics explores the expression of emotions by language and the effect that language exerts on emotions (Bally, 1921). The aim of stylistics is to explore the individual in the colloquial, familiar or creative sphere, that is, “to go deeper into the intimate sphere, the affective fact, the aesthetic fact (...)” (Castagnino, 1961, p. 15-16, our own translation). In any case, for stylistics, in correspondence with literary criticism, the aesthetic is not the only value found in a piece of work since the historical, cultural, social, ideological and moral values also have a major importance. The words spoken by one person can never be exactly the same as those from another individual because of aesthetic, emotional or intentional differences. As Buffon

(1753) puts forward, “the style is the man himself” (as cited in Muñoz-Cortés, 1999, our own translation). The style of a person is as unique as his/her fingerprints (R.W. Brown & Gilman, 1960). The speaker’s physical appearance, personality, etc. can be reflected in his/her linguistic style, that is, in his/her choice of words and expressions when constructing his/her speech. Jones (1976) and Labov (1972) pinpoint that a person’s speech depends on his situational and socio-cultural context, the tone of the message, time, social class, permanent individual features, internal factors resulting from emotional states, etc. Style can change and can adapt to the circumstances in question (Ullmann, 1978).

When referring to style, not only must we pay close attention to the speaker but also to the listener or reader. As emphasised by Monroy (2001, p. 108), “the stylistic choices are made by the interactants as noticed and interpreted by the listener/reader”. Style is a dynamic process and interpretation can vary depending on the listener or reader’s interest or knowledge. Stylistic significance occurs when it is put into effect by the addressee’s reaction (Jakobson, 1960).

Rhetoric began in ancient Greece but in the 18<sup>th</sup> century it underwent a decline because there was a change of mentality in society which gave rise to Romanticism: the value of “the individual experience versus the established rules (a world of universal and stable values)” (Fernández, 1972, p. 6, our own translation). Nonetheless, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century rhetoric underwent a rebirth which marked the beginnings of Stylistics. The side of Rhetoric which established rules and set artificial labels disappeared but the essence of rhetoric, that is, the need for a rigorous approach to a literary expression, remained. Rhetoric was ornament (Léon, 1993). Bally (1921, 1952) was the first linguist who departed from the concept of stylistics as a literature ornament. His starting point was spoken language.

For some writers such as the French Proust, “style is for the writer what colour is for the painter: a personal (...) question” (as cited in Ullmann, 1978, p. 43). When referring to a writer’s style, it can be the style of his/her own individuality as a writer or his/her belonging to a given artistic school (e.g. Homeric), age (e.g. romantic) or literary genre (e.g. poetic) (Fernández, 1972). In general terms, when referring to writing, style is the particular way in which the writer expresses himself/herself (his mood, life experiences, tastes, knowledge, education, etc.). Greek and Latin authors, such as Aristotle or Cicero, draw a distinction between simple, average and sublime styles. In terms of the language employed, styles distinguish between conceptual and sensorial, musical and non-musical, soft and rough and simple and adorned. Fernández (1972) also makes a distinction between objective and subjective. In relation to this idea, authors’ style may be realistic (representing reality without deforming it) or stylised (in which the reality is selected and changed, deformed by the author). In fact, Ortega y Gasset (1976, p. 36, our own translation) highlights the idea that “to stylise is to deform what is real (...). Stylisation implies dehumanisation”. This stylisation can be idealistic (the beautiful side of reality is represented) or expressionistic (ugly features are emphasised in order to arouse feelings, even with a cathartic intention). In ancient times the style was simple. In modern writing, however, style is characterised by perfection and its quality of excellence. What is clear is that nowadays literary style is much wider and more varied as a result of there being as many styles as authors (Demetrio, 1979).

In translation not only must the content be scrutinised but also the stylistic effect of the message. Words of ordinary use such as *caer*, *clavel* or *aurora* in these popular verses from a well-known Christmas carol (de Góngora, 1969, as cited in García-Yebra, 1983, p. 46) have their

equivalent in any other language (in English they would be translated as fall, carnation and dawn):

Caído se le ha un clavel

hoy a la Aurora del seno:

¡qué glorioso que está el heno

porque ha caído sobre él!

Even so, as upheld by García-Yebra (1983, p. 46, our own translation), “any translation will significantly differ from the charm of the original text and, in the best of cases, its charm will be different”.

A stylistic analysis would consist in examining the effects caused by a given resource (Ullmann, 1978). An empirical science cannot comprise just a procedure in which each person goes deeper into his/her mind (W. Haas, 1954). Ullmann (1978) underlines the idea that for the study of style two approaches were developed: statistical and psychological. Regarding the former, due to the fact that frequencies are a useful resource, attempts have been made to quantify people’s reactions towards emotional suggestions. In relation to this, Ullmann (1962) posits that the idiolect, that is, the language of an individual, is helpful in stylistics and psychology but in the wider sphere of general linguistics it would normally be a means to an end because linguists are interested in establishing a wider norm that can be obtained by using statistical procedures. In the psychological approach, whose main exponent is Spitzer, the process consists in exploring the style until recurrent peculiarities are observed and then the psychological features associated with them are reflected upon. Notwithstanding, this approach has faced serious criticism because a psychological background is not considered to be necessary and on many occasions it is the psychological examination rather than the text itself which really gives impetus to the stylistic analysis (Wellek & Warren, 1949).



### **2.2.3.d Psycholinguistics and cognitive linguistics**

According to Watson (1925), speech is thought. The traditional view (which goes back to Aristotle, at least) is that “language is a tool that functions to communicate thoughts” (Whitney, 1998, p. 115). Vygotsky (1978) upholds the idea that the social communication function comes later. Some experimental data have revealed that language is connected to the mind. For instance, Ullmann (1955) discovers that the ratio of verbs and adjectives is statistically correlated to the emotional stability of a person. Linguistics is one of the cognitive sciences together with psychology, philosophy, neuroscience and artificial intelligence. Each of these disciplines covers different but overlapping aspects of cognition. Psycholinguistics and cognitive linguistics both deal with the connection between language and the mind (Whitney, 1998). Notwithstanding, whereas psycholinguistics is more interested in how the mind controls the working of language, cognitive linguistics explores the way language reflects how the mind works.

Psycholinguistics is considered to be a branch of cognitive psychology. I.K. Taylor (1990, p. 2) defines psycholinguistics as “a marriage of psychology and linguistics, though not necessarily as equal partners”. It studies language behaviour, in particular, how language is perceived and used by real people. Garman (1995, p. 15, our own translation) adds that psycholinguistics deals with language “as a psychological phenomenon and, in particular, language within the individual”. Psycholinguistics is a whole spectrum of disciplines which try to cast light on a complex phenomenon to which linguistics has not paid enough attention in comparison to the exploration of the visual side of language. As argued by Garman (1995), psycholinguistics evinces an interest in processes behind results. That is why this scholar highlights the role of phoneticians for the science of psycholinguistics because they

focus not only on the result of the speech performance but also on the processes behind it, which is reflected in the classical phonetic description of speech sounds based on speech organ movements.

In the 1960s behaviourism declined and psycholinguistics helped cognitive psychology to rise. By the 1970s the psychologists who were interested in language only focused on perceptual or semantic aspects. That is the reason why this period was described as psycholinguistics without linguistics. More recently, the interest in linguistics within psycholinguistics has grown. Chomsky proposed that language was processed in a different part of the brain. When a more modular view of language became increasingly accepted, linguistics played a larger role in psychology whereas when there was a consensus towards the unity of language and other cognitive aspects, the interest of psychology in linguistics was less (Whitney, 1998).

Cognitive Linguistics studies language because “language reflects patterns of thought” (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 5). It deals with “language, communication and cognition” (P. Robinson & Ellis, 2008, p. 3). Cognitive Linguistics is a modern movement (with common principles and perspectives; not a specific theory) of linguistic thought which emerged in the 1970s due to dissatisfaction with formal linguistics. In 1989 and 1990 *The International Cognitive Linguistics Society* and the first journal, *Cognitive Linguistics*, were created. All this “marked the birth of cognitive linguistics as a broadly grounded, self conscious intellectual movement” (Langacker, 2002, p. xv).

During the first half of the twentieth century the idea that language guided thought attracted interest. However, during the second half of the century, this idea lost its interest in linguistics and psychology as a result of Chomsky’s generative grammar and his highlighting of linguistic universals. Linguistic universals are “a set of innate universal

principles that equips all humans to acquire their native language” (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 55). Cognitive linguists are interested in studying general cognitive principles which are common to all human beings. Nevertheless, this does not mean that all languages have the same conceptual organisation as “cross-linguistic variation is widespread” (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 54). Cognitive linguists do not see language as the result of a series of innate cognitive universals but as a “reflection of embodied cognition”, that is, a cognition which is possible to experience. Human experience could be divided into two categories: sensory experience (related to sensory perception, the senses; it was formalised by the late nineteenth century movement referred to as the Gestalt psychology) and introspective or subjective experience (including emotions and consciousness). From a cognitive linguist’s standpoint, we have commonalities in the way we perceive the world because we have a conceptualising capacity but there is also striking diversity. For instance, the way English speakers categorise space and time does not represent the only way to categorise space and time. Thus, cognitive linguists are interested in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, introduced in the 1930s and 1940s. According to this hypothesis, the language we use is related to what we think. Supporters of formal linguistics reject this hypothesis; rather, they endorse universal principles.

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis consists of two parts. The principle of linguistic relativity, which posits that language can influence or shape thought, is the weakest version of the hypothesis. It proposes that variations in languages are mirrored by non-linguistic cognitive differences. Thus, a culture which has two words to refer to two related objects will think about these two objects differently whereas if there is only one word they would think about the two objects more similarly. The principle of linguistic relativity is supported by two lines of evidence. On the one hand, there is the symbolic function of language, which implies

that meaning is often conveyed in a conventional way (an accepted norm in the linguistic community in question). On the other hand, according to Boroditsky (2001, p. 12), “it appears that habits in language encourage habits in thought. Since Mandarin speakers showed vertical bias even when thinking in English, it appears that language-encouraged habits in thought can operate regardless of the language that one is currently thinking for”. This is related to the different lexical concepts of time in English and Chinese: the concepts of *earlier* and *later* as *upper* and *lower* (vertical) in Chinese and *before* and *after* (horizontal) in English.

Some studies have tried to explore whether our thinking is completely determined by language. The principle of linguistic determinism, the stronger version, holds that “people in various cultures think differently because of differences in their languages” (Whitney, 1998, p. 117). Humboldt (1836) also advocates the idea that language determines thought.

Colour processing, apart from being automatic and simple, is a biological process which is unlikely to be different across cultures and provides evidence against linguistic determinism, the strong version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. The fact that Berlin and Kay (1969) state that there are eleven colours from which all languages get their basic colour names gives rise to the claim that there are universal psychologically based principles for colour names. Heider (1972) learns that the Dani tribe in New Guinea, who only use two colour terms, can distinguish between colours which are not represented by different words in their language and find it easier to distinguish focal colours from nonfocal ones, as we do. This would support the idea that colour names are not found to determine colour perception (Hunt & Agnoli, 1991). The weakest version of the hypothesis needs to be tested, though: to ascertain whether naming practices influence how easily we can distinguish or remember colours.

According to Lucy and Shweder (1979), the colours which are more easily coded are more easily remembered. Thus, the weakest version is partially confirmed.

Problem solving may be a better grounding for testing linguistic determinism. Tversky and Kahneman (1981) come up with the point that “the wording of a problem tends to affect people’s choices even when differences in wording do not change the logic of the problem” (as cited in Whitney, 1998, p. 130). This is known as a framing effect. For example, when referring to a disease, although the meaning is the same, talking about the problem in terms of lives saved seems to be more attractive than lives lost. Nevertheless, in a more specific scenario, for instance, eliminating the disease problem, if the wording of a problem leads people to interrelate the options, the framing effect may disappear. In this sense, framing shows evidence of a weak form of linguistic determinism, which can be overcome.

As has been seen with colours and problem solving, particular terms in our language can have an effect on our way of thinking but the relationship between language and thought is complex as many of our thoughts are not completely determined by our language. What is clear is that language and thought are interdependent. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis insists on the idea that language determines thought (linguistic determinism) and each language faces the world in different ways (linguistic relativity) but it does not go beyond this to identify where exactly this happens (Hörmann, 1967). A cognitive linguistic approach is compatible with a weaker form of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis.

The first work related to Cognitive Linguistics dealt with human categorisation. Bruner (1957) and Oakes, Haslam and Turner (1994) insist on the idea that perception involves categorisation. It is a means to gain meaning. According to Labov (1973, p. 342), “linguistics is the study of categories, that is, the study of how language translates meaning into

sound through the categorisation of reality into discrete units and sets of units". G. Lakoff (1987) points out that categorisation plays a major role because it is "the main way we make sense of experience" (p. xi), usually in an unconscious way. It means that we group different things which come from our mind: perceptions, words, etc. Categorisation is "our ability to identify entities as members of groups" (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 168). Human categorisation "should not be considered the arbitrary product of historical accident or of whimsy but rather the result of psychological principles of categorisation" (Rosch, 1978, p. 27). Therefore, the main element in the process of categorisation is human cognition.

Two philosophical traditions are objectivists and experientialists (Mairal, Peña, Cortés & Ruiz de Mendoza, 2012). Objectivists, for example, Chomsky, uphold the view that meaning is componential, that is, it results from the combination of basic components. They maintain that the objects that make up the world have inherent elements which do not arise from their contact with human interaction or context. For experientialists, meaning is not compositional and concepts are described in terms of prototypes. Accordingly, the study of categorisation distinguishes between two approaches: the Classical Theory of Categorisation and the Theory based on Prototypes. In the 1970s the Classical Theory of Categorisation, whose origins went back to Aristotle, dominated. This theory was characterised by a series of features:

-An entity belongs to a category if, and only if, it fulfils a series of (jointly) sufficient and necessary conditions. For instance, the characteristics *being human*, *being female* and *being a minor* are necessary conditions for the category *girl* but each of them on its own is not sufficient to define a girl given that *being a minor*, for example, could also refer to a boy or *being female* may cover a woman as well.

Consequently, they are “necessary and sufficient because they are individually necessary but only collectively sufficient to define a category” (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 251). These conditions have been called semantic primitives or componential features.

-Conditions have a binary nature, that is, a category either has or does not have a given feature (female vs. non-female, etc.). The Classical Theory of Categories has always pervaded the linguistic area of phonology. Binary features are taken for granted by almost all modern theories. This binary structure goes back to structuralist phonologists from the Prague School, who defined phonemes in terms of certain attributes (for example, /b/ as voiced vs. /p/ as voiceless). This linguistic analysis method is known as Componential Analysis, which was very successful in phonology due to its economical nature (being able to define many categories by referring to very few attributes).

-Limits are well-defined (an entity may be female or non-female but not something in between).

-All members within a category have the same status with no members being more central than others (J.R. Taylor, 2008).

The Classical Theory of Categorisation, which was the standard until the 1970s, was then seriously criticised for problems which seemed to be insurmountable. The Componential Analysis posed important problems when applied to semantics (Löbner, 2002). The meaning of some lexical categories could not be reduced to certain binary features such as in the case of two-predicate verbs (e.g. *sell*: someone sells something). Moreover, some relations such as cyclical processes (January, February, March, etc.) could not be explained by means of binary features. Other nuances of meaning could not be grasped either: the verb *kill* implies immediacy and willing attitude and these were not explained by the breakdown [CAUSE] [DIE] (Cruse, 2004). Jaeger and Ohala (1984) questioned the binary nature of distinctive features. They found

that listeners judged features like voice as fuzzy categories, that is, they judged some to be “more voiced” than others. What is more, there existed a strict separation between essential and accidental features (extralinguistic or encyclopaedic elements), the latter not being a part of the semantic definition of the lexical item.

Psychologically speaking, our intuition realises there are common features to items belonging to the same category. The disadvantages of this theory have to do with the difficulty to check that all the items in a category possess the necessary features that all the components must have. It is not clear how the category is going to be selected. Sometimes there are features shared by the members in a category but a different category may also be described by the same features. Or it may also be possible that there are characteristic features not shared by all the members. Fillmore (1982) uses the example of the bachelor to reflect that this theory is not fully adequate. To say that a bachelor is an adult man who is not married does not account for cases such as Tarzan or the Pope. This theory is too strict. Its boundaries are too rigid: one is either a member or not a member. It does not allow for marginal cases. The Classical Theory gives some hints for future good points. From an intuitive and linguistic point of view, we realise there are some items which are better than others within a category (e.g. a sparrow is a clearer exemplary within the category *bird* than a penguin) (Kleiber & Riegel, 1978).

This prospect led a psychologist from the University of Berkeley, Eleanor Rosch, to carry out research in the 1970s and propose an alternative theory of categorisation based on prototypes, which meant an important step ahead in Cognitive Linguistics. The prototype semantic theory implied a revolution (The Roschian Revolution). The liberating effect of this theory was opposed to the radical and traditional Aristotelian classical model of categories, dominant until that moment. Between 1971



and 1978 Rosch wrote in favour of the role of features but she claimed that “these features, taken individually, need not be necessary, nor is the presence of a certain set of features always sufficient for category membership” (J.R. Taylor, 2008, p. 39). In addition, some categories did not have clearly limited boundaries. These findings were soon used by Cognitive Linguistics, where they became a *locus communis*. The effect of this alternative theory was firstly felt in lexical semantics (it played a major role in the research into polysemy) but it soon spread to other linguistic areas such as morphology, syntax and phonology.

The prototype is “a relatively abstract mental representation that assembles the key attributes or features that best represent instances of a given category” (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 249). Thus, the prototype is considered to be a schematic representation of the most salient features related to the given category. A prototype may range from “an ideal exemplary from a category” to the “best use of a word” (Kleiber, 1995, p. 14, our own translation). A gradation exists that demonstrates that some members have more intensity than others, so all the members do not have the same status or “a full and equal grade of belonging” (Rosch, 1975a, p. 544). Prototypical members elicit faster response times than non-prototypical ones.

A member belongs to a category depending on the degree of closeness of that member to the prototype, that is, “the best example of a category” (Mairal et al., 2012, p. 147, our own translation). Thus, a robin is the central example of the category *bird* whereas the penguin is less representative. The penguin is a peripheral member given that it is further away from the prototype. The prototypical bird flies, sings, has wings and a beak. Other examples are *table* and *chair*, which are clear members of the category *furniture*; *carpet*, however, is a less clear member. Linguistically speaking, prototypes are present in hedges, that is, words which make the statement less assertive or forceful. For instance, carols

are the Christmas song *par excellence* (Cuenca & Hilferty, 1999), that is, they are a central member of the category *Christmas songs*. In relation to colour, Rosch (1975b) propounds that for people's cognition there are no clear-cut boundaries between colour features but there are some examples of the category which are clearer than others, that is, they are more prototypical. In fact, in an experiment she carried out with everyday words, subjects had to rate on a 7-point scale (1-7, from very poor to very good) "the extent to which each instance represented their idea or image of the meaning of the category name" (Rosch, 1975b, p. 198). The ratings were highly reliable for the sample.

The origins of the Theory of Prototypes goes back to Wittgenstein (1958) and the concept of family resemblances (*Familienähnlichkeiten*). In his analysis of the category *game*, he found out that all members of the category were related amongst themselves through similarities but they did not all share a common feature. As Wittgenstein (1958, p. 66) puts it, "in ball-games there is winning and losing; but when a child throws his ball at the wall and catches it again, this feature has disappeared". Evans and Green (2006, p. 253, emphasis in original) explain that "while some games are characterised by *amusement*, like tiddlywinks, others are characterised by *luck*, like dice games, still others by *skill* or by *competition*, like *chess*". As sustained by Cauzinille-Marmèche, Dubois and Mathieu (1988), there is not just a set of classification rules but global similarities and co-variations. There are not common features in members but similarities. They have family resemblance in common (Rosch & Mervis, 1975). Austin (1961) applied Wittgenstein's conclusions to his exploration of words and made a distinction between central and non-central senses of words. In particular, his concept of primary nuclear sense was what was later called prototypical or central sense. Zadeh (1965) also contributed to the creation of the Theory of Prototypes by proposing the

idea that limits amongst categories were blurred. Besides, Berlin and Kay (1969) introduced the concept of gradience by making a distinction between focal colours and basic colour terms.

The conception that psychologists may have of prototype semantics may tend towards mental representations and may not coincide with the linguists', who focus on the linguistic sense, the sense of a word. The prototype is a cognitive reference point (Rosch, 1975a), which entails that people must have a competence in order to decide on similarities in terms of prototypes (Coleman & Kay, 1981). The reason why some exemplaries are more ideal than others has to do with our cognitive schema. It is a result of cognitive operations. That is why the prototype is a cognitive image linked to a word.

The Theory of Prototypes is based on two principles: the principle of cognitive economy, that is, "human beings try to grasp the maximum possible information from the environment with the minimum cognitive effort" (Mairal et al., 2012, p. 146, our own translation), which involves human beings grouping similar stimuli into categories instead of storing information about each individual, and the principle of perceived world structure (Evans & Green, 2006). The world has a correlational structure and human beings organise categories by resorting to correlations, e.g. honey is correlated to bees rather than to other animals.

There was a standard prototype theory, formulated in the early and mid 1970s, and a revised model, the result of a change of orientation. The former was the most popular, even nowadays (G. Lakoff, 1987). In the revised model there are many changes with respect to the standard theory, according to Kleiber (1995). The standard prototype theory, although not miraculous, has several good points. It accepts non-linguistic knowledge to be a part of a word sense, something which was previously rejected by the Classical Theory. Our knowledge of the concept which is associated to a given word may be different in the different individuals

(we know by means of our senses and also from books, other people, etc.) but studies conducted (Dubois, 1982, 1983; Cordier, 1980; Cordier & Dubois, 1981) reveal that, despite some disagreements, there is a general consensus amongst people who belong to a community.

Not every scholar would incorporate the prototype theory into the theory of word meaning (Hummel, 1994 and Coseriu, 1990 are an example). They sustain that goodness-of-example ratings would not reflect the structure of concepts but the structure of the world. Coseriu (1990) maintains that this theory does not cover abstract categories and it only focuses on cases which apply to the model. Problems arise, for example, with near synonym cases which overlap in terms of usage but they are associated to different prototypes. For instance, when considering the sense ‘not in contact with’, the preposition *over* functions as a synonym of *above* while with the meaning ‘from one side to the other’, *over* would coincide with *across*. Resemblance is another problem. It is absurd to think that, for instance, “creatures are called birds simply on the basis of their similarity to the prototype” (J.R. Taylor, 2008, p. 43). Accordingly, a penguin is not very similar to the prototype, the robin, but it is a bird and not a bird to a certain degree. Fodor (1998) pinpoints the fact that the prototype does not have any influence on our understanding of expressions because, when expressions are complex, the prototypes of their constituents are not usually inherited. Complex categories, such as *pet fish*, give rise to the guppy effect. The meaning ‘pet fish’ does not emerge from the meaning of its parts (compositionality principle). The prototype of fish would be something like a salmon or a stall and the prototype of pet would be a dog or a cat. In contrast, the guppy, a golden fish living in a container at home, is the prototype of pet fish. Some researchers are of the opinion that idiomaticity or the lack of compositionality is a weakness in this theory (Evans & Green, 2006). The

basis for the informants' judgements when categorising is also criticised. The judgement should derive from the comparison between the real entity and the category itself. Nonetheless, other factors such as the correct form of the category are involved. For instance, despite being similar members of the category, an apple may be seen as more central a member than a rotten apple. Laurence and Margolis (1999) also refer to the problem of ignorance and error. The theory of prototypes does not explain why in some cases we have a mistaken prototype of a given category or we possess a concept but we do not know its properties. For example, an old woman with grey hair is often seen as the prototype of a grandmother but not all women with these characteristics are grandmothers; or the concept of *whale*, which we may believe belongs to the category *fish* but is in fact a *mammal*.

Prototype theories have been used to account for other theories. The theory of prototypes has been applied both to literature and language, amongst others. For example, Serna-Arango (2003) examined Rosch's theory on the literature written by the Argentinian writer Borges. Myers (1995) applied the prototype theory to the issue of polysyllabic morphemes in Chinese. In particular, he supports the idea that some examples are very often disagreed upon as belonging to a certain category. Moreover, Amant (2005) resorted to the prototype theory as a methodology for the analysis of websites. This analysis may help designers create more effective websites for an international audience. In addition, Chang and Chou (2009) highlighted the idea that there is a motivation for a bi-prototype theory, which relates facial attractiveness not to the averages of all faces but to the averages of attractive and non-attractive faces.

Prototypes can be approached from different perspectives. The perspective used by Rosch is semasiological, that is, from word to thing: the prototype is an entity referred to by a word. The perspective from

thing to word is an onomasiological or naming perspective, for instance, when subjects are asked to name a series of colour chips in a colour research. This is usually the basic level in a taxonomy.

Á propos of this, Cuenca and Hilferty (1999) and Evans and Green (2006) mention the vertical dimension of human categorisation, which makes a distinction between *superordinate*, *basic* or *generic* and *subordinate* levels. All the entities are organised in terms of this hierarchy, which is based on the inclusion principle. Thus, the superordinate level such as *vehicle* (higher up the vertical axis) comprises all the items from the lower levels, in this case, *car* (basic or generic level) and *sport car* (subordinate level: the lowest down the vertical axis, which provides more detail) (see Figure 2.2):

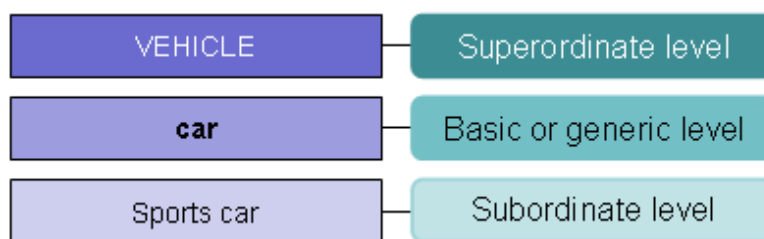


Figure 2.2. Vertical dimension of human categorisation

The classical model of categorisation already took the hierarchical organisation of categories into account but it was not until Rosch, Mervis, Gray, Johnson and Boyes-Braem (1976) that the basic level was acknowledged as the most salient cognitively and linguistically speaking. It is the most inclusive level as “there exist characteristic patterns of behavioural interaction” (Mairal et al., 2012, p. 151, our own translation). If we have to draw a picture of our behaviour with a dog (basic or generic level), it would be an easier task than if we refer to an animal (superordinate level): we would draw a picture of ourselves as if caressing the dog, etc. Therefore, a clear and real image of daily-life references

could be visualised. The terms to refer to categories from the basic level are normally monolexematic, which means that they consist of a single word (bus vs. urban bus). Rosch (1978) holds the view that categories from the basic level are more frequent than the others since in language evolution they emerged earlier. They fulfil the principle of cognitive economy as with a minor cognitive effort much information can be extracted.

As revealed by prototypes, a general cognitive ability all human beings share is attention. The linguistic expression, the conceptual content and the context do not appear alike in the foreground of the listener's attention. Psychology suggests that some elements are more "interesting" than others for the hearer (N.C. Ellis & Robinson, 2008). All this is due to the fact that "language has an extensive system that assigns different degrees of salience to the parts of an expression, reference or context" (P. Robinson & Ellis, 2008). This system comprises fifty basic building blocks or factors, each of which involves a particular linguistic mechanism that increases or decreases attention on a certain type of linguistic entity. Although able to act alone, the basic factors or building blocks also regularly combine and interact. Consequently, if focusing on sounds, some of them are more attractive than others, or sound is more attractive than meaning, family, etc. or not. Learning a language involves these mechanisms. The part of the scene which is focused on is called the figure (which is the dominant shape) and the rest of the scene is referred to as the ground (Evans & Green, 2006). The issue of attention or salience (backgrounding vs. foregrounding of concepts) is given a different name by the different linguists who deal with it: focal attention (e.g. Tomlin, 1995), activation (e.g. Givón, 1990), prototype theory (e.g. G. Lakoff, 1987) or profiling (e.g. Langacker, 1987), amongst others.

A cognitive ability in which the issue of attention or salience is manifested is perception. Perception is a field within cognition and

psychology (Bybee, 2010) because it is the process of gaining understanding and awareness through our senses, our imagination and our intellect, that is, the psyche (Fish, 2009). Porzig (1964) holds the view that the impression a sound conveys not only depends on the sound itself but also on the listener's perception. As suggested by Arboleda (2012, p. 24), "a cognitive bias is the tendency a human being has to arrive at some conclusions on the basis of his/her cognition, not reality itself. Selective perception is one of these cognitive biases".

Regarding selective perception, Vandever, Menefee and Sinclair (2006, p. 7) make the following point: "people selectively interpret what they see on the basis of their interest, background, experience, [...] attitudes" and expectations. Yus (2002, p. 627) states that "the reader is a unique individual with a unique cultural and personal background stored in his/her mind". This is what Sperber and Wilson (1995) would call cognitive environment. Language does not aim to imitate as classic painting does but, if it did, this painting itself would not be totally faithful to the original as two portraits of the same person by two different painters differ. In Arboleda's study (2012) further evidence has been provided to selective perception by stating that the fact that one of her listeners, Listener 2, speaks RP with some regional features, which implies a frequent use of syllabic consonants, including syllabic /m/, together with her mouth injury, makes her more prone to perceiving a syllabic consonant rather than a schwa in others' speech. Besides, Listener 3 is not acquainted with phonetics, so "it is possible that she might think it is more likely and less risky to say that something is there, larger or smaller (i.e. a schwa), rather than there is no vowel at all (i.e. a syllabic consonant)" (Arboleda, 2012, p. 27). Hence, a given phoneme (schwa or syllabic consonant) seems to be "more interesting" to the listener for certain reasons.



One of the factors that attract people's attention is the phonological make-up. In view of Rosch's methodology, Grieser and Kuhl (1989) as well as Kuhl (1991) found that participants rated synthesised vowel sounds as better or worse examples of vowels. It was observed that on some occasions boundaries were blurred: tokens of a vowel gradually became categorised as tokens of a neighbouring vowel. Vowel space does not contain clear limits, the only exception being the point vowels /i, a, u/. In addition, people do not recognise the same number of vowels in every language. Focal values vary considerably as well. For instance, /i/ in English is different from /i/ in French. According to Kuhl (1991), "vowel phonemes are represented as their prototypes. A vowel sound would be judged to be /i/, /e/, or whatever, in virtue of its closeness to the prototype" (as cited in J.R. Taylor, 2008, p. 54). In Talmy's own words (2008, p. 31): "the phonological length of a morpheme or word tends to correlate to the degree of salience that is attached to its referent". This scholar adds that, if words with the same meaning are considered, the longer the form, the more "attractive" in terms of attention. Conversely, one of the Gestalt principles regarding perception is the principle of smallness: the smaller the entity, the more it is perceived as a figure.

Yus (1997) comments on the idea that in our cognition we all have previous knowledge with archetypal information. To stereotype is "the process of ascribing characteristics to people on the basis of their group memberships" (Oakes et al., 1994, p. 1). Tajfel (1969, p. 82) explains that "stereotypes arise from a process of categorisation. They introduce simplicity and order". Stereotypes have an influence on people's evaluative judgments and they simplify social environment (Devine, 1989). Operario, Goodwin and Fiske (1998) maintain that stereotypes lead to intergroup conflict. For example, categorisations of homosexuals as morally deviant or minorities as innately inferior lead to their

marginalisation in Western society. Minorities are often depicted as lazy and incompetent. Women are usually portrayed as emotional and indecisive whereas men are represented as aggressive and independent. Power differences are often reflected in historical dichotomies such as men vs. women, White vs. non-White, etc and they show social inequality. Exaggeration is often linked to stereotypes. If we focus on names, according to A. Ellis and Beechley (1954), children who have unfavourable names may be negatively affected by stereotypes linked to those names. An example of a stereotype is the fact that St. John in Spain is associated with the stereotype of “goodness, patience and even stupid weakness” (J.L. Alonso & Huerta, 2000, p. 23). The representation of bearers of this name in literature may have contributed to the spread of the stereotype.

### **2.3 Types of language**

Traditionally the following oppositions have been drawn up with regard to language: oral vs. written, literary vs. ordinary and literal vs. figurative.

Focusing on the oral vs. written opposition, language is spoken but within its derivatives written language and other communication codes such as braille, morse, etc. or the symbols of logic can be found. All languages have speech (except for dead languages) but not writing. Until print was invented in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, only a minority used the written language (Tusón, 1997). Spoken and written discourses are very different (I.K. Taylor, 1990). Yus (1997) highlights the idea that oral speech seems more involving and personal than written language. Oral speech has more resources than written language, for example, emphasis and rhythm although written language plays with spelling. This scholar also comments

on the idea that techniques have been deployed to provide writing with the “desired speech orality” (Yus, 1997, p. 10, our own translation) in order for it to be “involving” (Akinnaso, 1982, p. 324).

Yus (1997) makes reference to another more recent type of language, computer language, a mixture of written and oral language or verbal and visual language. The web is a social creation (Berners-Lee, 1999). At the beginning the internet was a medium in English, then it became globalised and all languages are now represented. Human beings (especially, young people) have demonstrated a high level of creativity through the use of computers in order to *communicate* with other human beings although the pragmatic competence of computer language is not real despite the advances. Jargons allow for group belonging and separation from other groups. New generations have been brought up with the internet as a tool for information search and interaction with other people (D. Rodríguez, 2010). It should be borne in mind that the knowledge we have for our written and spoken worlds may be different for this dynamic and innovative world. Chat rooms and social networks are replete with this language. People are anxious about the influence the internet is having on themselves and their language.

The influence the internet has on people’s language is not only in terms of grammatical, discourse and lexical features but also orthographic as well as phonetic/phonological characteristics. Crystal (2001) and Yus (2005) explain these features for English and Spanish, respectively. Rapid and immediate messaging is important. Young people are not good at orthography. The abbreviations they use in e-mails and mobile phone texts may harm their language. Since the emergence of the internet, new terms, often playful and ludic, are coined very rapidly. New conventions in spelling can be found, for example, the substitution of <s> by <z> when referring to pirated software, e.g. *gamez*, *serialz*, etc. Other changes in spelling, mainly as a result of teenage use, are, for example, *kool* with <k>

instead of <c>. In fact, <k> is often used as an emphatic prefix, e.g. *k-kool*, as an indicator of *being cool*. There are also words which are written as pronounced, e.g. *sokay* ('it's OK') and varying numbers of vowels or consonants for the expression of deep feelings, e.g. *yayyyyyyyyyyy*. Furthermore, Yus (2005) and Eggins and Slade (1997) include some examples of letter repetition, for example, *Déjameeee verosssss* or *he won and won and won at cards*, as an important discursive marker of intra-group identity.

The use of nicknames (*nicks*) is also typical of chatrooms and e-mail addresses. The choice of nicknames is complex. The difference between traditional and virtual nicknaming is that the latter may be influenced by extraneous factors such as the impositions of the network. Nicknames must be a suitable length, they must not be repeated (they are unique), etc. Besides, real names are not normally used, so real identity is protected. As explained by Crystal (2001, p. 160), "weird and wonderful nicks are very much the norm, and the study of them is going to provide onomastics with a fascinating domain in due course". Classification of nicknames is a problem. Many names are very idiosyncratic and they are often ambiguous or cannot be interpreted. Bechar-Israeli (1996) semantically classifies a corpus of 260 nicknames used in chatrooms. He uses the following categories, amongst others: self, names to do with technology, names to do with flora, fauna, and objects, names to do with famous characters, real or fictitious, names to do with sex and provocation, ludic, sonic, typographically playful and empty (e.g. *so-what*, etc.). There are frequently abbreviations to one letter, e.g. *G* instead of *Grins*.

Regarding the literary vs. ordinary language opposition, the aesthetic properties have been mainly explored in written literary language, specifically in poetry (Carter & Nash, 1990) because there is a

general feeling, engendered a long time ago and becoming almost a truism, that it is only in poetry where “the aesthetic attributes of speech sounds are fully realised (...) on the ground that ordinary language (...) has less recourse to phonoaesthetic and other expressive effects” (Monroy, 2001, p. 93).

In point of fact, Ullmann (1978) considers that one of the areas in which the study of style has been most prolific is phonostylistics, a specialised scientific branch within stylistics (Trubetzkoy, 1973), mainly in referring to literary stylistics. Until very recently phonostylistics was confined to literary language because, as pointed out by Monroy (2001, p. 108), “phonological expressivity could only be the preserve of poetic language”. According to García-Yebra (1983), literary language exerts volitive and emotive effects on listeners. A linguist and phonetician, Grammont (1933), synthesised modern knowledge in the best possible way. His stylistic model was that of an impressive phonetician and sound symbolism was a common feature there. His phonostylistics was limited to the study of substance and form as aesthetic values in an essentially literary discourse. Nonetheless, Monroy (2001) insists on the expressivity found in ordinary language, for instance, in the language of insult, where the resonance produced by the phonological and lexical choice increases expressivity, in contrast to literary language, in which there is “a danger of *over-milking* the significance of certain phonetic patterns” (Monroy, 2001, p. 108, emphasis in original).

Demetrio (1979) points out that in Ancient Greece jokes in comedies needed a certain presence of a vigorous style just as happens with ordinary language, which resulted from the use of compounds and the sonority and strength of the hiatus, amongst other devices. Lorenzo (1971) complains about the fact that research has seldom been interested in ordinary language, although literature has often resorted to it. In literary language, the writer uses ordinary language but he/she tries to avoid

language which lacks aesthetic value. That is why there is always willingness towards style on his/her part (Lapesa, 1964). We are of the opinion that ordinary language is almost as literary as literature and it is natural. It is not consciously searched for but results from our inner self. Consequently, the only distinct difference between literary and ordinary language is that the former is written and the latter is oral.

With respect to the contrast between literal and figurative language, in words traditional linguistics preferred transparent ideas which directly reflected what was in our mind, that is, literal language. Todorov (1978) emphasises the fact that traditional linguists were not concerned with what was considered to be a marginal use of linguistics: figurative language. Within experientialism, subjective uses of language, e.g. metaphors, metonymy (explained in § 2.4), irony (which implies saying the opposite to what is meant), etc., that is, figurative language, are very important and they are considered to be central and not peripheral. Figurative language is expressive language in that it is related to our feelings and circumstances. Poetry is full of these images but artistic prose also makes use of them. Writers need to use figurative language in a natural way, avoiding artificiality. Cognitivists claim that ordinary language is also full of metaphorical, metonymical, hyperbolic uses, etc. (Evans & Green, 2006). Nietzsche and his present-day descendants consider that “there is no proper sense but everything is a metaphor” (Todorov, 1978, p. 14, our own translation) and words can never arrive at the essence of things; they just suggest. Although Delbouille (1961) has warned against whimsical suggestions and some scholars think that the common use of figurative language in everyday life may contribute to its disappearance, in stylistics figurative language is one of the main areas of study. Experientialists and cognitivists reject the existence of a strict

distinction between literal and figurative language, as opposed to objectivists.

#### 2.4 Expressive language devices

All languages have devices which strengthen what a word expresses. A distinction can be made between thought devices and diction devices. Thought devices are more closely related to content. That is the reason why they are less connected to the form, that is, the sounds. Thought devices comprise pathetic and logic devices. Diction devices deal with the position of words and they may involve the addition, omission or repetition of words (Fernández, 1972).

Pathetic devices, which are thought devices, have different names depending on whether they reflect an exclamation (usually including exclamation marks), a desire, etc. but all of them have something in common: the fact that they all express an emotion in an emphatic way. We may also think of stress as a pathetic device (García-Yebra, 1983). Thus, we find the emotive stress, a phonological device, in French e.g. *C'est formidable*, where the stress falls on the first syllable of words which start with a consonant. Proverbs, idioms, morals and similes or comparisons can be included amongst logic devices. Hyperboles, metaphors, metonymies and symbols can be added.

A proverb is “a short sentence, etc. usually known by many people, stating something commonly experienced or giving advice: *The appetite, says the proverb, grows with eating*” (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2008, p. 1143, emphasis in original). An idiom is “a group of words in a fixed order that have a particular meaning that is different from the meanings of each word understood on its own” (p. 714), e.g. *The cat’s out of the bag* instead of saying *The secret is given away*.

The moral of an experience, event or story is “the message which you understand from it about how you should or should not behave” (p. 924). Similes or comparisons are expressions “comparing one thing with another, always including the words *as* or *like*: The lines *She walks in beauty, like the night...* from Byron’s poem contain a simile” (p. 1340, emphasis in original). A hyperbole is “a way of speaking or writing that makes someone or something sound bigger, better, more, etc. than they are” (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2008, p. 709), e.g. *I’ve told you a million times*.

According to Richards (1936), a metaphor is an implicit comparison. In particular, the tenor of comparison (subject) resembles the vehicle (predicate) as they share some attributes, often psychological, which are the basis of the metaphor. For example, the figurative meaning of *My uncle is a lion* (tenor of comparison: ‘my uncle’; vehicle: ‘lion’) implies he is courageous and majestic. Some metaphors are easier to interpret than others. G. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 3) uphold that “[the] metaphor is pervasive in everyday life”. These two scholars point out that we often think and act in ways which have a metaphorical nature. For instance, we conceptualise universities in terms of hierarchies. Hakes (1982) found that from the age of three children very often use metaphors and similes as at this age play is paramount and children are not consciously being creative; they just are. Pollio and Pickens (1980) alert us to the fact that later, at elementary school, when children’s verbal behaviour is dominated by rules, the use of figurative language seems to decrease. It increases in adolescence as a result of cognitive development and wider life experiences. Metaphors enrich language and they show that language is alive and in “good health” (Gómez-Caffarena, 1979, p. 125). Metaphors reveal something about reality that cannot be revealed in any other way.



There is much research into metaphors but less so into metonymy. The metonymy is more specific and objective but it is also frequent in language. G. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 37, emphasis in original) clarify this in the following statement:

metaphor and metonymy are different *kinds* of processes. Metaphor is principally a way of conceiving one thing in terms of another, and its primary function is understanding. Metonymy, on the other hand, has primarily a referential function, that is, it allows us to use one entity to *stand for* another. But metonymy is not merely a referential device. It also serves the function of providing understanding. For example in the metonymy THE PART FOR THE WHOLE there are many parts that can stand for the whole. Which part we pick out determines which aspect of the whole we are focusing on. When we say we need some *good heads* on the project, we are using “good heads” to refer to “intelligent people”. The point is not just to use a part (head) to stand for a whole (person) but rather to pick out a particular characteristic of the person, namely, intelligence, which is associated with the head.

Berberović and Delibegović-Džanić (2013) explored the construction of the figurative meaning of personal names in English and in Bosnian.

Gómez-Caffarena (1979) informs us that recent philosophy does not offer a clear definition of the symbol. On the one hand, it could be seen as a synonym of sign. Nonetheless, Todorov (1978) emphasises the idea that, whereas the sign is direct, clear and univocal, the symbol is indirect. Its nature is inexhaustible, an idea that became common in Romantic thought but it had already been mentioned in ancient times, with Clement of Alexandria and Saint Augustin. That is why another view of symbols can be put forward, that of natural symbols, coming from the imagination, the unconscious. In this sense, the philosopher Wilbur Marshall Urban maintains that the symbol is “an object of intuition, perceptive or imaginative” (Schulman, 1979, p. 234, our own translation).

The symbol is a term used in different contexts such as mathematics, epistemology, semantics, semiotics, the arts (including poetry) and theology, which may give rise to confusion (Wellek & Warren, 1949). They all have in common that what they represent is

something different. Yet, in the origins of the term there seems to be an analogy between the sign and its meaning<sup>7</sup>. In some cases, this sense remains but not in others. For instance, symbols from logic and algebra are the result of social conventions. In fact, a generally accepted definition of symbol provided by Sebeok (1994, p. 33) is linked to the idea of convention: “a sign without either similarity or contiguity, but with only a conventional link between its signifier and its denotata”. However, in religious symbols there is a relationship between the sign and its meaning, usually metaphorical or metonymical, for instance, the Cross or the Lamb. There are often intratextual relationships, for example, the concordance between Abraham and Zacharias (between the Old and New Testament).

Symbols are necessary because we need to talk about ineffable things, for example, Divinity (Todorov, 1978). Cognitive, educative and moral messages lie behind religious texts. In the *Bible* it can be seen that names, and especially, people’s names, are not arbitrary. According to Saint Augustin, the new name Christ gives Simon, *Peter* (meaning ‘stone’), is symbolic. There are many Hebrew names which contain such significance that cannot be translated, for example, *Adam* or *Eve* (people’s names) and *Jerusalem* or *Jericho* (place names). They represent the knowledge of the Creator and the creation itself. On the other hand, symbolism does not offer any justification from the narrative point of view but the audience realises there is a symbolist justification. That is why it was very successful at the time and is still so today. It entails a great complicity between the speaker and the listener. Symbolism involves a language revolution because listeners can dream about apparently meaningless sentences. The listeners need to compensate for the senses which are lacking in each case. The soul overcomes the senses

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<sup>7</sup> It must be taken into account that the Greek verb means ‘to compare’, ‘to join’.

(literal sense). The language resorts to symbols in order to explore new relations between language and reality; they are deeper, more hidden but they are no less real. As pointed out by Gómez-Caffarena (1979, p. 129, our own translation): “if language is born of the symbolic conscience and continually comes back to it, the symbol and the symbolic conscience (...) have their truth”. What is more, symbols are used to achieve a sense of beauty. Nietzsche and his present-day descendants praise the elegance of symbols.

Before *homo sapiens* used language, he possessed reason, that is, he was intelligent but not purely rational because he could choose to use reason or not. Nevertheless, there are no grounds for assuming that *homo sapiens* did not employ symbols, which come from feelings and emotions and not from intellect. Symbolists represent a world beyond senses and they uphold the idea that human beings cannot give a reason for everything. Bousoño (1979) makes the point that “the man (...) tends to *symbolisation* because he tends to live not from the reason but from emotions” (p. 68, emphasis in original, our own translation). This author makes reference to the difference between traditional and visionary or symbolic images. Whereas in the former there is an objective association perceived by reason in an immediate way, in the latter the relationship cannot be attained by reason; it is an emotional association, subjective and irrational. For example, a rainbow and a bird apparently bear no similarity. Yet, the reader can perceive emotional similarities, for example, tenderness in this case. Gómez-Caffarena (1979) does not share with Bousoño (1979) the view of symbolic images as subjective. According to the former, they fall between subjectivity and objectivity, which adds controversy to the discussion of symbols.

When referring to discourse, the philosopher and linguist Todorov (1978) highlights the idea that the sense may be indirect, by means of association or evocation, or direct. The former is related to symbolism. He

makes reference to non-linguistic or extralinguistic and linguistic symbolism. Regarding non-linguistic symbolism, a situation or a gesture may be symbolic. Linguistic symbolism can be lexical or propositional depending on whether it is a word or a proposition, respectively, which guides the symbolic process. Phonetic and graphic symbolisms are also linguistic, and these may be either aural or visual. Linguistic symbolism is easier to manage in that it refers to words written on a page but the associations are complex given that the reader needs to interpret the symbols. The nature of a human being makes him/her able to interpret: "A text or discourse becomes symbolic when, from an interpretation work, we discover an indirect sense" (Todorov, 1978, p. 18, our own translation). Strauss (1988) underlines the idea that interpretation is about our attempt to affirm what the person has said and the way he/she has said it. For the interpretation the immediate sense is not enough. It is just a starting point. In symbolic evocation the interpretation is very rich.

A link can be found between symbols and allegories. Symbols behave like allegories when a real object represents an idea or spiritual concept, e.g. the white lily symbolises purity. The difference between the symbol and the allegory is that, as Dámaso Alonso and Jean Baruzi point out, the symbol does not represent a real sphere member to member but in an overall way (Bousoño, 1950). The symbol is perceived by the reader in a general way, not in a specific way. Todorov (1978) explains that Romantics prefer symbols to allegories but they claim the existence of both of them. There is also a connection between a symbol and a metaphor but the former is "a petrified metaphor" (Serrano-Poncela, 1968), that is, a metaphor turns into a symbol when it becomes fixed and is used repeatedly. In brief, the symbol has an insistent and repetitive nature. Bousoño (1950) also highlights the idea that the object perceived through the symbol is diffused and nebulous. It is spiritual and not

material. As Ibérico (1965, p. 36, our own translation) defined, “the symbol is the expression of human infinity. The world (...) is full of images, feelings (...), etc.”.

Jiménez (1979, p. 12, our own translation), in line with R. Gullón (1979), defines symbolism as “a technique founded on the art of suggestion, at the service of a means of transcendental exploration or penetration and a correlative knowledge method, which in fact converts it into a metaphysics and an epistemology”. Symbolism has always assumed the existence of underlying knowledge (Sperber, 1988). Symbolism originated in France and Belgium as a reaction against Naturalism, Realism, Positivism and social conventions. From the Romantic Movement onwards, Europeans became obsessed with symbols, which had a metaphysical significance. In fact, Emerson mooted the idea that “we are symbols, and inhabit symbols” (as cited in Ullmann, 1962, p. 13). Authentic German Romanticism and French symbolism did not fight against each other but they were complementary. Significant poets fond of symbolism were Wordsworth in England and Baudelaire in France. Symbolism gave rise to some of the best Spanish modernism. The poet Rubén Darío, who introduced modernism in Spain, used symbols and images, which he thought “revealed intuitions which could not be explained by the person who experienced them” (R. Gullón, 1979, p. 22, our own translation). In Spain during the 19<sup>th</sup> century there were two authors who heralded the pervading French aesthetics of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, that is, symbolism (Jiménez, 1979). These authors were Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer and Rosalía de Castro. Bécquer insisted on the ideas of suggestion and the relationship between the language and the soul. Menéndez Pelayo claims that Saint John of the Cross could also be considered to be angelical rather than human (Bousoño, 1979) in that his mystic impulses tended to reject rational impulses. Hence, this writer was more closely connected to the symbolism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century than to his

own 16<sup>th</sup> century. Likewise, Juan Ramón Jiménez discovered a different approach to poetry through symbolism (Nedermann, 1979). Risley (1979) emphasises the idea that Valle-Inclán was one of the leading representatives of symbolist theatre. The dream theory and the myths (Lévi-Strauss' interpretation is the most in depth) are part of symbolism. Freud and Turner introduced unconscious and cryptic symbolism, respectively, because they went even further by maintaining that the answer was not in our intuition but hidden. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century symbolism evolved into new-symbolism or post-symbolism until it was rejected by vanguardism (Jiménez, 1979).

Buxó (1988) explains how symbolism can be classified into two schools: Structural Anthropology and Symbolic Anthropology. Within the former, Lévi-Strauss, who is considered to be the founder of Structuralism, defends the idea that our brain has some universal regulating principles, an idea also supported by Chomsky (2006) in his Generative Grammar. In fact, some symbolists consider that "individuals are innately gifted with multiple universal schemes, with archetypes, which allow them to interpret each symbolic information independently" (p. 14). On the other hand, in Symbolic Anthropology, whose exponents are Turner, Wilson, Geertz and Schneider, amongst others, the meaning of symbols does not derive from any mental operations but action itself. Sperber's Cognitive Anthropology derives from both disciplines, Structural Anthropology and Symbolic Anthropology, but it overcomes their limitations. Sperber is an early proponent of Structural Anthropology but he moves away from Structuralism. Cognitive Anthropology proposes a cognitive model of the mind which combines both biological and cultural aspects of the human being (D'Andrade, 1995). Sperber considers there is an underlying creative activity. Cognitive Anthropology explores the nature of the mind and the relationships between culture and the mind.

The influence of culture is limited to the potentialities or limitations that our mind has. Sperber sustains that universal forms of symbolism have a universal focalisation but fields of evocativeness differ from society to society. He claims variations of symbols exist amongst cultures and individuals. Sperber clarifies, though, that the principles of the symbolic device come from the innate mental equipment and not from experience, so in this sense it would challenge behaviourism (psychology) and cultural relativism (anthropology).

When focusing on symbolism in names, as posited by Trost (1958, as cited in Ullmann, 1962, p. 90), “the German poet Christian Morgenstern cryptically remarks that all sea-gulls look as if their name was Emma”. Novelists can make the decision to give characters names with allegorical meanings, which was usually done in the Spanish Golden Age, where invented names, usually from Latin, descriptive in themselves of the bearer’s qualities, for instance, *Firmio*, meaning ‘with a firm personality’, could be found (Albaigès, 1998; Earnshaw, 2012). There was usually a relationship between the character and the name he/she was given (his/her life and personality). For example, Barton (1984) emphasises the idea that the characters in Ben Jonson’s plays have descriptive names. Jonson belongs to the Golden Age of English Literature, which coincided with Elizabethan Age. Earnshaw (2012) states that another option for novelists is not to give characters symbolic associations, e.g. the name *Elizabeth Bennet* in *Pride and Prejudice*.

Symbolism has been found in the forenames or surnames of characters in the novel *Jane Eyre*, by Charlotte Brönte. Thus, symbolism is suggested in several surnames and names: *Rivers* (St John) links this character to water, in particular, ice, which is how his personality (he was cold) and appearance (he was pale) are represented; *Temple* (Miss), a maternal figure, is a “temple” by whom Jane and her mates at the Lowood school felt protected; *Burns* (Helen) is a passionate girl, especially in the

religious sense (in fact, she literally dies as a result of a fever); *Reed* (Mrs) suggests strictness as *reed* is a tool to punish children, and the name *Bertha*, whose origin is a German word meaning ‘bright’, is ironic in that now she lives in the dark. According to Earnshaw (2012), the fact that a character, *Shirley*, in one of Brontë’s novels, behaved with the freedom of a man also suggests the symbolism of her name, which has been traditionally a male name. In brief, “the use of names with symbolic associations suggests that there is an intrinsic connection” (Earnshaw, 2012, p. 186). On the other hand, Iturrioz (2011) studies symbolism in place names.

Linguistics consists of four main branches: phonology, which studies speech sounds; semantics, the exploration of meaning; syntax, dealing with language structure, and morphology, which covers words and their formation (I.K. Taylor, 1990). In turn, words can be motivated in three ways: phonologically/phonetically, morphologically and semantically, all of which imply stylistic effects. With a focus on the study of speech sounds, Martinet (1962) states the sound unit in language is the phoneme. Speech is made up of physical occurrences, that is, strings of sounds, but it also carries meanings and is therefore, psychological as well. Phonetics and Phonology are interdependent but they are different. The former “studies the acoustic and articulatory aspects of sounds” (Ullmann, 1962, p. 26). In contrast, Phonology considers language to be purely psychological: it is made up of impressions of sounds, words and grammatical features found in our memories where they are at our disposal (Saussure, 1949). García-Yebra (1989) adds that phonetics deals with sounds in their physical sense and it does not see them as linguistic entities. Phonology “investigates their purely linguistic functions” (Ullmann, 1962, p. 26). Hence, phonologists cover semantics and phoneticians do not. In the phoneme theory, which has always played a



major role in general linguistics (B. Bloch, 1948; Jones, 1961; Trubetzkoy, 1973), a difference, for example, whether there is a voiceless or a voiced plosive, may lead to different meanings.

When considering the relationship between sound and meaning, Whitney (1998) maintains that the debate around the nature of language has been intense throughout the whole of human history. Many theories study the genesis of language but there is no definitive answer as to where words came from. In the words of Reilly, Biun, Cowles and Peelle (2008, p. 8), “the ephemeral nature of non-written language makes its origins particularly difficult to study; we simply do not have the equivalent of a fossil record to consult”. Philosophers in ancient times had already discussed this topic in one of the first linguistic debates in Western literature. The Greeks were either naturalists, who supported the idea of an intrinsic link between meaning and sound, that is, both were related “by nature”, or conventionalists, who held the view that meaning was the result of a “social contract”, that is, conventional and arbitrary<sup>8</sup>. In Plato’s dialogue *Cratylus* Cratylus supported the idea of the non-arbitrariness of language, which was not in accordance with Hermogenes (Hörmann, 1967). According to Thomson (2009, p. 126, emphasis in original), Socrates was placed “*between* the conventional and natural views”. The Confucianists in China also debated the topic of the arbitrariness of sound. Most of the Chinese thinkers supported the arbitrariness of the sign.

LeCron-Foster (1978) proposes that evolutionary pressures on linguistic diversity, in particular, lexical and semantic demands, forced a separation between word form and meaning around 50.000 or 75.000 years ago, which caused the arbitrary assignment of words to objects and creates the possibility of an infinite lexicon. This is the traditional view (Christiansen & Kirby, 2003), which supports the idea that “words represent arbitrary strings of sounds assigned ad hoc to concepts” (Reilly

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<sup>8</sup> *Physey* vs. ‘the man’s decision’: *thesei*, respectively.

et al., 2008, p. 3). This assumption is dominant in many modern models of language acquisition and processing, as upheld by Levelt, Roelofs and Meyer (1999). Most of the present-day linguists suggest that the morpheme, which has meaning, consists of phonemes lacking a meaning. Within modern linguistics Saussure (1949) considers language to be a series of necessary conventions. In fact, this scholar finds some exceptions to arbitrariness but regards them as unimportant. Alarcos-Llorach (1966) highlights the arbitrary relationship between the sound of a word and its meaning. The word *arbitrary* may suggest it is a whim. However, each individual belongs to a linguistic community and he/she will need to conform to the conventions in order to be able to communicate with other people. If new words did not result from arbitrariness, only one language would exist.

The fact that there is no connection between meaning and sound does not really need any proof but there are descriptive, historical and comparative arguments which can serve as evidence: if connected, meaning should always be expressed by the same sounds and sounds would always express the same meaning but this is not so. Thus, *flesh* and *meat* are quasi-synonyms in meaning and they do not share any sound. Furthermore, both meaning and sound have changed over time. Moreover, languages often have different words for the same meanings. Note English *meat* but French *viande*. As exemplified by Ullmann (1962), the fact that the word *agua* in Spanish or *eau* in French are employed to refer to the same thing suggests that there is “no intrinsic necessity why this particular substance should be denoted by this particular sequence of sounds” (p. 13). People have been used to those words from childhood.

This arbitrariness seems to occur with many words but motivations can also be found. As stated by Botha (2007), the evolution of signed languages e.g. the recently formed Nicaraguan Sign Language

contributes to the idea that non-arbitrariness is present in language evolution. R.W. Brown, Black and Horowitz (2012) claim that sounds and meanings were arbitrarily connected at the beginning but later phonetic symbolism emerged. Kelly, Morris and Verrekia (1998), amongst others, found that phonological regularities are both exploited by listeners and readers in order to increase the rhythm of language processing because they are sensitive to non-arbitrary aspects of language such as stress placement or word length. In point of fact, Bergen (2004) discovered that there are faster reactions on the part of participants when words are phonoaesthetically related than when they are semantically linked.

Sound symbolism, a phonetic alternative hypothesis to the traditional view, defends the idea that phonemes, which are content-free, convey meaning in certain contexts. Spoken word has a meaning. Phonetic symbolism is when a sound “intrinsically suggests or expresses (...) for natural reasons” (I.K. Taylor, 1990, p. 210). Stenzel (1934, as cited in Hörmann, 1967, p. 293, our own translation) states that “in the sound of the word the meaning already exists”. Magnus (2001) holds the view that human beings show a tendency, which she calls Semantic Association, to assume that words and morphemes are meaning-bearing and subconsciously this tendency also affects the phoneme. This Semantic Association manifests itself as word formation by analogy, for instance, when a child, in talking about a paper, says “smish it down really tight”. The child has created the word *smish* by analogy with *squish* and *smash*. He subconsciously opts for /i/ because of the smaller oral cavity and the greater number of words with /i/ indicating smallness.

Most fields in modern research such as mathematics, astronomy, etc. find their roots in religious and mystical literature. The subject of sound symbolism was sometimes discussed in these types of texts of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, many poets and philosophers liked to use and found evidence

relating to sound symbolism. As stated by Révész (1956), the naturalist Leibniz saw in phonetic motivation the primeval form of speech amongst human beings. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, before World War Two, the work of Grammont, Khlebnikov (a Russian futurist poet who assigned meanings to Russian phonemes), Bloomfield, Sapir, Jespersen and Firth is worth mentioning. After the War, in Europe only Voronin and Zhuravlev (e.g. Voronin, 1969 and Zhuravlev, 1974) dared to publish because most of the thinkers were afraid that such studies would have negative repercussions on their profession. Nevertheless, these two linguists' work had difficulty in reaching the West because of the Iron Curtain. Other notable authors of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were Bolinger, Ertel, Genette, Jakobson, Malkiel and Whissel.

Since the 1920s and 1930s there has been a considerable number of studies, which became increasingly sophisticated, in order to examine sound symbolism and its limits. In the 1950s there was a boom in the exploration of sound symbolism but in the 1970s interest declined until there was a resurgence in the 1990s. In 1993 the first sound symbolism conference was held (Magnus, 2001). The interest in whether language is arbitrary or not returns with the work of neuroscientists such as Ramachandran (2010). The internet enabled people to get to know sound symbolism better. Today interest in it has been revived due to the constant presence it has in the worlds' languages and its emergent appearance in word learning (Kelly, 1992; Saffran, 2003). Language motivation "is a topic which is increasingly attracting interest in the field of linguistics" (Vicente-Mateu, 2008, p. 45) and phonetic motivation is "a recurring theme in psycholinguistic research" (Valentine et al., 1996, p. 24). However, this topic "is likely to be an unbounded field for investigation within different humanitarian sciences" (Glivenkova, Evenko & Kopelnik, 2014, p. 216).

The non-arbitrariness of sounds has been a controversial issue even in the terms coined to refer to the phenomenon. Terms such as *sound* or *phonetic symbolism*, *phonosymbolism* (Malkiel, 1990), *onomatopoeia* (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2006), *phonosemantics* (Magnus, 2001), *phonesteme* (Bergen, 2004)<sup>9</sup>, *phonaesthetics* (Crystal, 1991), *expressive word* (Grammont, 1901) or *natural expressiveness* (Allott, 1995) have been used. Crystal (1991) defines phonaesthetics, which is very close to sound symbolism, as the study of the aesthetic properties of the sound. De Klerk and Bosch (1997) uphold that terms such as *phonaesthesia* and *synaesthesia*, apart from sound symbolism, are controversial by definition. Phonaesthesia is used for words with positive connotations whereas sound symbolism and synaesthetics can be used for words with both positive and negative connotations. Phonostylistics is concerned with sound symbolism. Phonostylistics results from two more specific fields into which phonology is divided: expressive and appellative phonology, which, as seen in § 2.2.1, deal with expressive and appellative phonic resources and very little research has been conducted into it.

On many occasions a more general sound symbolism has been referred to as *onomatopoeia* by authors such as Grammont (1901). Indeed, in more controversial cases, “where onomatopoeia ends and [phonetic symbolism] starts is hard to define” (I.K. Taylor, 1976, p. 329). Humboldt (1836), however, makes a contrast between the imitation of the sound, that is, the onomatopoeia, and sound symbolism. As posited by Abelin (2010), onomatopoeia is a special case of sound symbolism. Sound symbolism is a natural association between sound and meaning and onomatopoeia occurs, specifically, between sound and sound. The fanciful speculations which resulted from the study of onomatopoeias brought this field into disrepute. Due to its being identified with onomatopoeias, although

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<sup>9</sup> It comes from the Greek φωνή *phone*, ‘sound’, and αἴσθημα *aisthema*, ‘perception’; firstly coined by Firth in 1930.

studied since ancient times, the issue of sound symbolism has been seen as irrelevant within linguistic studies. Onomatopoeic and sound symbolic words “are more often confused for nonsense words than are the arbitrary words” (Abelin, 1996, p. 153). On the other hand, sound symbolism is a confusing term. As previously explained, a symbol is “a sign without either similarity or contiguity, but with only a conventional link between its signifier and its denotata” (Sebeok, 1994, p. 33). For sound symbolism to be found, a non-arbitrary relationship must exist between sound and meaning, so the word *symbol* may seem contradictory. Nevertheless, it is necessary to recall the idea, explained previously, that in the origins of the term, bearing in mind the meaning of the verb: ‘to compare’, ‘to join’, there seemed to be an analogy between the sign and its meaning e.g. in religious symbols such as the Cross or the Lamb. Sound or phonetic symbolism is the most popular and recognised term. Within sound symbolism, studies can be found on different dimensions of meaning such as size, shape, distance, quantity or brightness but there is also a more “emotional” dimension. Maybe the term expressive word is more suitable in these latter cases.

Perhaps the most well-known phenomenon of motivation is onomatopoeia although it is by no means the only one. Onomatopoeias have been one of the phenomena which have given rise to a great deal of interest in semanticists. They play a crucial role in the earlier stages of language, the language spoken by primitive peoples and children’s language. Onomatopoeia succeeds in imitating real sounds or movements by means of sounds or rhythm<sup>10</sup>. Poyatos (1994) explains that human beings have a tendency “to imitate sounds and movements from nature, animals, people and the artefacts” (p. 146, our own translation). It is often

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<sup>10</sup> The word comes from Greek *onoma*: ‘name’ and *poieo*: ‘make’ (word-making).

resorted to by poets and prose writers (Ullmann, 1962) and it is very old (it can be found in the *Odyssey*). In the primitive Indoeuropean language there was the skill of associating sounds produced by objects and those from speech. Komatsu (2012) proposes an objective quantification method to study onomatopoeias.

Resemblance exists between the sound of the word and the sound produced by an animal, as exemplified by Ullmann (1962) in the word *cuckoo* in different languages, such as the French *coucou*, the Spanish *cuclillo*, the Italian *cuculo* and also the Russian *kukushka*. This striking parallelism has been called *elementary affinity* because it is not the result of common origins but there is “a fundamental similarity in the way different people hear and render the same noise” (Ullmann, 1962, p. 86). Grammont (1933) defends the universal nature of onomatopoeias and expressive expressions such as redoublements, e.g. *coucou*, *tata*, etc.

However, despite the similarity of perception, scholars insist on the idea that each language has conventionalised them in its own way. Pinker (1994) draws our attention to the fact that even words which resemble their referent, that is, onomatopoeic words, are quite arbitrary and they are based on conventions which are different across cultures. In fact, he maintains that “onomatopoeia...is almost as conventional as any other word sound. In English, pigs go ‘oink’; in Japanese, they go ‘boo-boo’” (Pinker, 1994, p. 152). Likewise, although the French say *cocorico*, the English *cock-a-doodle-doo* or the Spanish *kikiriki*, the crowing of the cock is abstract. Onomatopoeias do not reproduce exactly the exterior sounds and, when hearing them in another language, we cannot understand it if we do not know the language. It can even be said that the crowing of each cock is different and a villager recognises whether it is his/her cock or not. Consequently, some authors like Derrida (1974) defend the idea that onomatopoeias are never purely mimetic but partly conventional and the result may be the danger of mimetic suggestivity.

The natural evolution of language is another cause of the differences between countries in terms of onomatopoeias. Ullmann (1978) points out that motivation, either phonetical or non-phonetical, can be acquired at a given moment in history, for instance, the non-motivated *pigeon* in French vs. the motivated *pīpiōnem* in Latin, which was an onomatopoeia connected to *pīpīre* (to cheep).

Other onomatopoeic words imitate the sound of movement. English is rich in verbs expressing the sound of movement (Poyatos, 1994). Examples of English words which mean rapid movement are *flick*, *flit*, etc. and in Japanese the meaning ‘slow in movement’ is transmitted by words such as *yuruyuru* or *yururi*. These words are onomatopoeic because they imitate the sounds or motions made. The /sn/ sound in initial position may express quick movement (e.g. *snap*), breath noise (e.g. *sniff*) and crawling (e.g. *snake*). Words which start with /gl/ (*glare*, *gloom*, etc.) are related to stationary light whereas those beginning with /fl/ (*flash*, *flick*, etc.) are associated with moving light (Bloomfield, 1933). Philips (2007) studies certain semantic and syntactic aspects of the verbs starting in –gl in English. Cases where the phonetic structure of the word imitates the referent are when the referent is an acoustic experience, e.g. *buzz* or *roar* and when it is a quality, either moral or physical such as *gloom*. The sound symbolism of movement should be more universally acknowledged by linguists and anthropologists because it is related to issues of animacy, an idea supported by Hinton, Nichols and Ohala (1994) as well as Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2006). Actually, this latter scholar has discovered that movement imitatives are very productive ideophones in Basque.

À propos of ideophones, a class of expressions with sound-symbolic properties, covered by Jakobson and Waugh (1987) and Sicoli (2014), amongst others, Diffloth (1972) offers a syntactic and morphological characterisation. Nuckolls (1999) underlines the existence



of ideophones, a widespread form of sound symbolism, although this is disconcerting for anthropologists and linguists. She considers that linguists have been too cautious and, as an anthropologist, she approaches sound symbolism from that standpoint. Nuckolls (2010) argues that ideophones help to express the animism of the Runa (from the Quichua cultural group, in Eastern Amazonian Ecuador) lifeworld. Ideophones occur both in literary (e.g. books for children or comic books) and spoken everyday contexts. Ideophones can also be found amongst pictorial and verbal artists as well as journalists in that “they capture what is aesthetically salient and absolutely true, and what is emotionally riveting and objectively factual” (Nuckolls, 2010, p. 354).

Ideophones include onomatopoeic words such as *arf arf*, which is a dog’s bark, or *thwack*, the sound of a forceful impact. When Quichua people imitate the sounds of trees crashing to the ground, Nuckolls (2010) asserts that this is indeed connected at a cultural level with the aim of communicating. For example, the aspiration of *bl<sup>h</sup>u* imitates the idea of the sudden rupture of the tree when falling to the ground or the vocalic sounds *g<sup>y</sup>auŋ* imitate the prolongation of the creaking sound of a tree. Other devices include repetition and lengthening in order to express resonance or reverberation. She has also discovered that 31 out of 131 birds have names which imitate the sounds they produce. The sound of animals’ names phonaesthetically evokes non-acoustic characteristics such as size or movement (Berlin, 2006). By hearing these sounds, the listener could form an idea of the animal’s physical characteristics. It is frequent amongst languages to find sound symbolism in animals’ names. Although other animals also emit sounds, there has been more research into birds than any other. In Pastaza Quichua, “birds seem to have a special relationship with humans. People often conceptualise themselves as metaphorical birds, especially in love magic songs. It is also the case that birds are considered capable of communicating with people in order to

help them” (Nuckolls, 2010, p. 358). Birds are said to warn people that a dangerous animal or person is approaching by means of their chirping. The sound is metalinguistic because it communicates others’ words. The čikwaŋ bird emits a cry which consists of several repetitions of či when people speak in a truthful way (hence the utterance *Ciertomi ningi*: ‘You speak truly’).

Darwin (1872) explored the sounds which accompany gestures to express our emotions. Iwasaki, Vinson and Vigliocco (2007) confirm that both English and Japanese speakers are sensitive to sound symbolism in terms of mimetic words, especially those for laughing, which mimic the human voice.

Ideophones do not only include onomatopoeic words but also synaesthetic words. As can be surmised from the previous examples, the difference between ideophones and onomatopoeias is that, whereas onomatopoeias are limited to words imitating sounds, ideophones evoke not just sounds but all sensory impressions –taste, texture, smell, etc. (Bühler, 1982). It is here where synaesthesia comes into play in that it allows the association of sounds to other sensory reactions (e.g. visual or tactile). According to Johansen (1945, p. 24), synaesthesia is “the connection of elements coming from different sensory domains”. The word suggests the sense of its meaning, perceived through sight or touch but not hearing, so it implies a psychological ability to transfer the activity of one sense to the scope of another one. Synaesthetic images, in which two senses are related in order to suggest a third one, are used by symbolists to create effect aesthetically speaking (Gicovate, 1979). Schrader (1975) makes the point that Homer and the *Bible* had already resorted to the use of synaesthesia.

Parnesians and symbolists hold the view that the word has a colour (R. Gullón, 1979). In the well-known sonnet *Voyelles*, Rimbaud

attaches a colour to each vowel. Specifically, /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/ are black, white, red, blue and green, respectively. It became the *Manifesto of Symbolism*. The Cuban poet and politician José Martí claims that this colour is visible in our imagination and the aim he sets himself is to paint. For example, in his opinion, blue suggests optimism as well as happiness and violet symbolises death. Étiemble (1968) criticises this association between vowels and colours, a link which he claims to be erroneous, but acknowledges that, even though this fell into disrepute in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the connection still charms some linguists and poets.

Ramachandran and Hubbard (2001) posit the idea that synaesthesia has an influence on language evolution. For example, synaesthetic metaphors such as *I feel blue today* or *... is hot* exist in English. Recent studies worth highlighting on synaesthesia are Callejas, Acosta and Lupiáñez (2007), who found that in the most common form of synaesthesia, grapheme colour, in which words or letters are related to certain colours, words shown in the same colour as the synaesthetic association are processed more quickly and trigger more positive feelings than those words in incongruent colours. Mompeán-Guillamón (2011) studies the association between vowels and colours in non-synaesthetes. Shlyakhova (2015) deals with sound-grapheme-colour associativity in Komi-permyak language. Spence and Gallace (2011), Richer, Beaufils and Poirier (2011) and Bankieris and Simner (2014) conducted research into lexical-gustatory synaesthesia. In particular, the latter concluded that an ice cream labelled *Frosch* is more smooth and creamy than one known as *Frisch*. Mainly taste (more than smell or texture) contributes to explain the associations consumers make between the flavours of the cheese and certain shapes and speech sounds, added to the fact that there is no difference between tasting groups, that is, experts, non-experts or regular consumers (Spence, Ngo, Percival & Smith, 2013). As can be seen, sound symbolism extends beyond the visual modality. Moreover, taste is found

to increase the association between sound and vision, in particular, rounded vowels and rounded images, when the sound is congruent with the last image seen (Stutts & Torres, 2012).

The connection between sound and size is often known as magnitude symbolism. This kind is maybe the best known example of sound symbolism. Most empirical studies on sound symbolism have explored the associations between vowels and size. Many laboratory experiments have been carried out especially focusing on the /i/ vowel (Jespersen, 1933; Chastaing, 1958) but also on other sounds, such as /u/ (Havers, 1947). Sapir (1949, p. 69) explains that “certain vowels and certain consonants ‘sound bigger’ than others”. Magnitude sound symbolism has been explored in Chinese, Thai (Huang, 1969), Korean (Kim, 2008) and several other languages (e.g. Gebels, 1969).

Sapir (1929) states that /i/ is the thinnest letter from both the Latin alphabet and others. In fact, in the *Gospels* Christ claims he has not come to Earth to change anything, not even an “iota” (/i/ in Greek). In *Gulliver’s Travels*, by Jonathan Swift, we find examples of the effect that what the sounds express has on the writer’s choice of names for their characters. In this book, magnitude sound symbolism can be found for example in the place names *Lilliput* inhabited by tiny people and *Brobdingnag* for giants. The adjective *parvus* in Latin was not suitable to convey the meaning in question and was replaced by words such as *petit* in French, *mic* in Rumanian, etc. The adjective *little* has been added in English because it is more expressive than *small*. Furthermore, in English small things start with /t/ (*tiny, tip*) whereas large words begin with /g/ in many cases (*grow, great*). However, superlatives –ísimo indicate the highest degree attained regardless of whether the accompanying adjective has a ‘small’ meaning or a ‘big’ one, e.g. *pequeñísimo* reinforces smallness but *grandísimo* reinforces bigness. Likewise, words such as

*infinito* strengthen bigness. Coseriu's opinion (1962) is that, despite all this, the Spanish speaker is certain about the evocative power of the word *chiquitito*, for example.

Sapir's work (e.g. 1921, 1927, 1929 & 1949) is pioneering on magnitude symbolism. Sapir (1929) asked the informants to relate words only changing in their vowel to objects of different sizes. He found that 80% of informants associated the /i/ vowel to smaller objects and /a/ to bigger objects. Tarte (1974) pointed out an example of cross-linguistic phonetic symbolism between English and Czech, which belong to different language families, Germanic and Slavic, in that they both assign /a/ to large figures and /i/ to small figures. His studies propose a strong correlation between the perception of vowel-size differences and the motor-acoustic similarities and dissimilarities found in the vowel space. Hinton et al. (1994) see the link between high pitch and smallness and low pitch and largeness as deriving from biology. The explanations provided for size sound symbolism are that, in terms of acoustic qualities, [I] and [i] are high-pitched and [A] and [A:] are low-pitched, with a correspondence to the type of sounds emitted by small things such as the mouse or large things such as the lion, which are high- and low- pitched, respectively. In fact, there is a cross-linguistic tendency to link small objects to acute segments and large objects to grave segments (Lapolla, 1994, who experimented with English and Chinese). According to Berlin (2006), the size of individuals within certain linguistic classes is sound symbolic. Thus, smaller birds and fish were given names comprising high front vowels and, in contrast, larger birds and fish were given names including low back vowels. In order to articulate [I] or [i], our mouth openings are small whereas they are big for the articulation of [A] or [A:]. As stated by Mendousse (2012, p. 8), "the actual size or volume of a given stimulus is mimetically connected to the articulatory gesture itself, such as the degree of aperture or volume of the resonance chambers". Nonetheless, as

pointed out by de Klerk and Bosch (1997), “explanations for these phenomena can only be very tentatively offered” (p. 15).

Hence, Ohala (1994) put forward the hypothesis of the frequency code. He moots the idea that the high fundamental frequency of words containing high front vowels /i/ and /ɪ/ are sound symbolic of smallness as well as a wish for the good of the receiver. However, low fundamental frequency sound symbolises largeness, threat and self-sufficiency. He hypothesises that this arises from the physiological changes due to sexual maturation. Ohala (1984) argues that small vocal tracts producing high-pitched sounds typically come from less threatening beings. Actually it is hard to imagine a threatening Tina, for instance. Magnitude sound symbolism “evolved as an adaptation for males to compete against each other for the favour of females” (Nuckolls, 2010, p. 356). It can be implied from Jespersen (1922) that the sound symbolism of /i/ may be linked to the tendency of children to add /i/ at the end of words and the language used by nurses or mothers. This has been very well documented and has led to its recognition as an exception to the idea that the sign is arbitrary.

R.W. Brown (1958) provides a non-biological explanation of size-sound symbolism by upholding that the association between sound and size is learnt from experience. On the other hand, G. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) use their theory of metaphors to explain part of sound symbolism. The conduit metaphor lies behind sound symbolism because linguistic expressions are seen as containers and their meanings are their contents: small containers are expected to have small contents and large containers are assumed to have large contents. Hence, more form is more content. The latter case is what would happen in reduplication (e.g. *She is very, very beautiful*) or lengthening (e.g. *He is bi-i-i-i-i-ig*).

Mendousse (2012) carried out an in-depth psycholinguistic experiment to test the symbolic perception phonetically naïve adult speakers of Southern British English have of the vowel-size differences in their native language so as to determine their implicit phonological knowledge of vowel height differences. A survey questionnaire including a list of 30 randomised nonword minimal pairs with vowel oppositions were presented. The participants needed to choose from the minimal pair which nonword was most likely to mean smaller and which larger, all this within a comic book analogy. All the vowels were different phonologically speaking in terms of motor-acoustic height in order to minimise motor-acoustic variations. In general terms, results were in agreement with Newman (1933) in the case of American English. In fact, Mendousse's participants (2012) felt that the long back rounded vowel [ɔ:] was larger than its long front unrounded counterpart [ɑ:], although the latter had a wider oral cavity as a result of its lower degree of aperture. He claimed that "vowel-size differences are magnified by the coexistence of such features of backness and roundness" (Mendousse, 2012, p. 64).

Thompson and Estes (2011) provided evidence to collate that not only does sound symbolism mark contrasts (e.g. *small* vs. *big*) but also object properties in a graded manner (e.g. *small*, *medium* and *large*). Participants' choices reflected an increasing number of large-sounding phonemes when matching small, medium and large objects, in this order.

The association between shape and sound is often known as geometric symbolism. Köhler (1947) discovered that a vast majority of subjects (from Germany and the USA) associated two meaningless words, *maluma* and *takete*, to two shapes, specifically, rounded and angular, respectively, although, from a rational viewpoint, the possibility of each word belonging to each shape was similar (50%). Additionally, *takete* was said to be brighter, more aggressive and faster while the rounded shape was considered to be more peaceful. Davis (2011) extended the results to

other languages such as Tanganyka. We naturally feel that a jagged shape is more connected to sharp sounds, /t/ and /k/ plus /a/ and /e/. The roundish shape, however, would be associated to the softer /l/, /m/, /u/ and the spelling <oo> (the word used in Davis, 2011, was *uloomu* instead of *maluma*). This idea points to the relationship between the acoustic and visual forms, which is referred to as *physiognomic analogy* by Werner (1953), and hints at an inner expression, at the idea that objects have expressive qualities and, given that they have transcendence, they affect more than one sense. All these studies support the idea that sound symbolism is based on human nature, not on convention. Other scholars use different names to refer to these shapes. For example, Lindauer (1990a & b) uses the term *taketa* and *maluma* while Fox (1935) employs the names *takete* and *baluma*. It seems that final /a/ (instead of /e/) or initial /m/ (instead of /b/) does not affect the presence of phonetic symbolism. The effect was found to be robust, even at cross-cultural levels, but merely at a superficial level.

Other examples of geometric symbolism are found in Magnus (1999), who wrote a dictionary with words which have phoneme clusters conveying certain meanings, e.g. str- meaning ‘linearity’ (*strip*, *string*, etc.) and -ap meaning ‘flat’ (*cap*, *map*, etc.), together giving rise to *strap* (‘a flat line’). Lindauer’s work (1990a & b) may be useful in works on the affective connotations conveyed by phonemes and phoneme clusters such as those in product names in which shape is important, e.g. *chocolate*, *cars*, etc. Ozturk, Krehm and Vouloumanos (2013, p. 173) posit that “some sound-shape mappings precede language learning and may aid in acquisition”.

Although the number of studies is much more limited, Orr (2011) examined sound symbolism in terms of distance: /i/ and /a/-/u/ are appropriate in words indicating closeness and remoteness, respectively.



Piaget also suggests that /i/ indicates proximity (*iki, ika, iku* in Javanese) (Lozano-Díaz, 2005). As for the link between quantity and sound, words beginning with /l/ mean ‘much or many’: *large, load, long, lot*, etc. (Magnus, 1999). On the other hand, a few studies have also been conducted on sound symbolism in terms of brightness. In relation to onomatopoeias, Chastaing (1962) learnt that French school students who did not speak any English were right in matching the words *gleam* to light and *gloom* to darkness. Newman (1933) made an attempt to expand Sapir’s findings (1929) by exploring the feelings for bright and dark. Another study on the connection between pitch and brightness is Marks (2009).

In other studies sound symbolism is not regarded in terms of a specific dimension such as size, shape, distance or brightness, as in the previous cases, thus giving rise to a mixture of dimensions. According to D’Onofrio (2014), when these dimensions combine, the effect of sound symbolism becomes amplified. In general terms, whereas speakers of different languages tend to connect vowels with certain qualities (/i/ and /e/ with small, light and pointed objects and /a/, /u/ and /o/ with big, round and heavy objects), there is not such a neat pattern with consonants (I.K. Taylor, 1976; Spector & Maurer, 2013) although Fort, Martin and Peperkamp (2014) consider that consonants are more important than vowels in the Bouba-Kiki/ Takete-Maluma effect. According to Tarte (1982), low pitch sounds and low back vowels are strongly associated with heavy, slow and masculine characteristics whereas high pitch sounds and high front vowels are linked to light and feminine traits. G.A. Abel and Glinert (2008) put forward the idea that cancer-related medications contain a higher frequency of voiceless consonants: /p/, /t/, /k/, /f/, /s/, etc., which relate to speed, smallness and lightness. Therefore, these medications carry sound-symbolic associations, so one may wonder about the impact this may have on the experience of cancer patients. Another

study shows that sound repetition is associated with completeness, homogeneity and meaningfulness (Vito & Civikly, 2006). In Shrum, Lowrey, Luna, Lerman and Liu (2012), the participants are bilinguals in English and Spanish, English and French and English and Chinese. They prefer words in which there is a match between phonetic symbolism and the characteristics of the product. Nonetheless, this type of research is limited despite its implications for work on the creation of new brand names.

Emotion interacts with language at all levels of structure: sound patterns, lexicon, grammar, etc. and beyond discourse (Majid, 2012). Trubetzkoy (1973) makes reference to “substitute” sounds, which sometimes replace “normal” sounds due to certain reactions, such as disgust, to the corresponding normal sound. When these substitute sounds are commonly found in individual people’s speech, they become personal expressive resources. There is “a symbolism related to less easily defined qualities (pleasant and unpleasant sensations, emotional values etc)” (Allott, 1995, p. 17). In these cases “sound symbolism is even more subtle, yet more powerful, than previously known” (Thompson & Estes, 2011, p. 2403). Valentine et al. (1996) point out that the most remarkable examples of sound symbolism are those which are subtle, not so obvious, and are related to the person’s opinion. The richest forms of phonetic symbolism are found especially with regard to “what a word’s sound actually connotes to a person” (Valentine et al., 1996, p. 26).

More than a century ago, Grammont (1901) expounded his view on the subject: a word is sound symbolic “only if it is felt as such” (p. 125, our own translation). The waves are not only heard but felt. He introduced an element of subjectivity to the phenomenon of sound symbolism. For instance, a word we do not know may seem funny or masculine or feminine (the latter two in the case of users of a language with genderised

nouns) but without knowing explicitly why this could be so (Valentine et al., 1996). Average reactions to phonestemes could be tested statistically but one wonders whether statistics can deal with such an elusive phenomenon. A study which reflects the difficulty of finding a trend in these cases is Klank, Huang and Johnson (1971), who asked Chinese speakers in Taiwan and English speakers in the USA to produce words of size (large-small), speed (slow-fast) and quality (good-bad). A trend was found regarding size (initial vowels convey size) and speed (initial consonants convey speed) but there was no trend for quality.

Most of the studies covering the “emotional dimension” of phonosymbolism deal with voice pleasantness (e.g. Pinto-Coelho, Braga, Sales-Dias & Garcia-Mateo, 2013). Nevertheless, there are also studies on sound symbolism in relation to other areas of pleasantness. Hence, Tsur (2006) connects periodic waveforms to meanings positively assessed and non-periodic waveforms to meanings negatively assessed. He provided the audio links, which is of help.

As to vowels, Whissel (2003), who works on the emotional nature of speech sounds, makes the point that long /i/ tends to be more pleasant while short /i/ is found to be more active. According to Crystal (1995), /ə/ is the most common vowel and /ɪ/ is the most favoured, followed by /æ/, /e/, /i:/ and /əʊ/. Jespersen (1922) maintains that English /ʌ/ is dull and related to unpleasantness or dislike (e.g. *dull*, *humdrum*, etc.). Bolinger (1984) claims that many words containing /u:/ as a primary vowel have negative connotations (e.g. *fool*, *hoot*, etc.).

In relation to consonants, Cicero finds the repetition of /r/ annoying (García-Yebra, 1989). Puyai (2003) explored the connotations of the different liquids used in these two important words sharing meaning, *aurora* and *alba*, from the group of poems entitled *Cántico*, by Jorge Guillén. Roblee and Washburn (1912) moot the idea that the

sonorant /l/, /m/ and /n/ are considered to be more agreeable than the plosive consonants /g/, /t/, and /k/. Both American and Japanese informants consider consonants whose place of articulation is anterior (e.g. /p/) to be more agreeable than posterior ones (e.g. /g/) (Osgood, 1962). Crystal (1995) found that attractive English words contain a great majority of /l/, /m/, /s/, /n/, /r/, /k/, /t/ and /d/ in this order. Shriberg (1970) reveals that different ratings were assigned to four voiceless fricatives: /θ/ rates highest on potency, /s/ on activity, etc.

Bolinger (1984) supports the idea that words including –unk are often related to unpleasantness or awkwardness (e.g. *shunk*, *punk*, *junk*, etc.) and -sl has a meaning related to dirtiness or clumsiness of the issue or a negative view on the morals, e.g. *slang*, *slap*, etc. Staats and Staats (1957) provided evidence that the nonsense syllable YOF was seen as pleasant and XEH acquired an unpleasant meaning. Whissel (2011) studied *Paradise Lost* and her research revealed that this work includes more active and unpleasant sounds than a representative sample of anthologised poetry. Miron (1961) goes further by claiming that the more anterior the vowel or the consonant is, the more it is associated with positive meanings in assessment and negative in power (good-weak) and the more posterior, the more often the association with negative meanings in assessment and positive in power (bad-strong). I.K. Taylor and Taylor (1962) also explored vowels and consonants in terms of pleasantness and warmth, amongst other dimensions.

Emotional language is often found in literature. Guitart (1976) and Mancho (1991), amongst others, are significant in the exploration of sound symbolism in Spanish poems. In English, two examples would be Ming (2007), who highlights the idea that the Victorian habit of reading aloud had an influence on Dickens' writing style, full of onomatopoeias,

sound patternings, prose rhythm, etc., and McLeod (2008), who deals with terror.

Swearing is also an example of emotional language (Nielsen, 2011). Monroy (2001) carried out a study on the phonostylistics of abusive language in Spanish. Within segmental phonostylistics, he focuses on the words *chorizo* and *hijo de puta*. With respect to the former word, a rich symbolic value is attached to the phoneme /tʃ/ as it both conveys an idea of erotic or sexual feeling (note the Spanish words *chocho* –‘feminine sexual organ’- or *pecho* –‘breast’) but also friendliness, as in pet forms such as *Concha* (from *Concepción*) or *Chus* (from *Jesús*). In this case, the most relevant association would refer to an unreliable or shoddy character or action, e.g. *chapuza* (‘shoddy’), *chiflado* (‘barmy’), etc. When compared to the rolled vibrant /rr/, the less phonaesthetically productive /r/ phoneme in Spanish evokes a sense of smoothness, which accompanies the action of stealing, as in the lateral /l/, not present in the rolled variety (e.g. *caricia* –‘caress’- vs. *rizo* –‘curly’). Bruyne (1995) also includes the expressive values of /r/: linear (e.g. *recto*, *regla*, etc.) or circle-shaped (e.g. *redondo*, *rueda*, etc.). According to Monroy (2001), /θ/, the final consonantal phoneme in this word, conveys an idea of roughness or friction, especially when followed by a low or back vowel (e.g. *mazo*, *rizo*, etc.).

Despite being made up of three lexemes (or sometimes two: *hijo-puta*), the expression *hijo de puta* (‘son of a bitch’) behaves functionally as a single semantic unit. In fact, the key derogatory term is *puta* (‘whore’), which can be allocated to almost any noun (life, instruments, animals, men and women, etc.). The word *puta* can be offensive but it can also function in friendly contexts with an acceptable meaning, for example, *¡Qué puta eres!*. We also find the sonority of the mimetic high vowels /i-u/ and the harshness of the voiceless /x/, /p/, /t/. In particular, /x/

is related to the roughness of words such as *bruja*, *lija*, etc. in Castilian Spanish (less so in rural Spanish areas of León and the Canary Islands as well as in South America) and /p/ as well as /t/ are the strongest Spanish phonological elements and connote an idea of abruptness and clipping. Besides, the fact that /p/ is bilabial, in combination with /u/, a cold vowel, gives a sense of unrestrained anger.

The word *payaso* (clown) is also analysed. The voiceless plosive /p/ evokes harshness. The voiced /ɸ/, which shows phonaesthetic variability in Spanish-speaking countries, can be considered either a plosive (Monroy, 1980) or an affricate sound (Alcina & Blecua, 1975). This phoneme evokes pressure, as occurs with the two identical low vowels, which intensifies the harshness of the previous plosive. The final fricative sibilant lengthens the effect of the previous sounds.

Monroy (2001) also adds the case of a voiced plosive (/b, d, g/) + /r/ which, in ordinary speech, has a fricative realisation (/β, ð, ɣ/) but when imbued with emotions it can be produced as a plosive. In particular, both in English and Spanish the nuance of /br/ tends to be negative (*brute*, *bruto*). Something similar happens in the case of /rd/ (*mierda* –‘shit’- or *gordo* –‘fat’), which conveys an idea of unpleasantness or a nebulous feeling but it can also evoke a smooth sensation (e.g. *verde* –‘green’-or *muérdago* –‘mistletoe’). In contrast, /gr/ can have negative (+high back vowel, e.g. *gruñir*, *grueso*) or positive (+low vowel (+ nasal), e.g. *grande*, *gracia*) connotations. He also suggests that nasals are “the most sonorous segments in language” (p. 100). He considers that the fact that two nasals are put together produce “the onomatopoeic effect of a complete fool” (Monroy, 2001, p. 100), as happens with *mamón* (‘scrounger’). The word *montón* is sound symbolic in itself and, with the help of the high-sounding nasal + mid back vowel /o/, the idea of hugeness is conveyed.

In English those words ending in –umble have connotations of vagueness, e.g. *jumble*, *mumble*, etc. As for /k/, Lang (1990, as cited in Monroy, 2001) suggests that this phoneme together with /r/ and /x/ carries negative connotations, transmitting unpleasantness or harshness. Beinbauer (1978) highlights the association of initial /k/ with obscene language (e.g. *coño*, *cojones*, etc.). Schloss (1981) points out that the phonemes /p/ or /k/ are often rude in English. Lancker and Cummings (1999) as well as Yardy (2010) found that swearwords contain a large number of fricative and plosive consonants, especially /f/, /ʃ/ and /k/. In fact, many swearwords in English and French contain /k/. Thirty-eight of the top 200 USA brand names in 1979 started with either <k> or <c> and almost half of the total number include the /k/ sound in the name. The /k/ sound may have other good qualities too: reliability, up-to-dateness, etc. perhaps because it is strong and easy to identify. As a matter of fact, Dawkins (1989) mentions that in the traditional Scottish New Year's Eve song, Auld Lang Syne, the refrain is “for auld lang syne” but in the new version “for the sake of auld lang syne” is sung. He considers that, even when people still sing the traditional version of the song, if some sing the current version, the distinctive sounds, /s/ and /k/, are easy to hear.

In terms of phrasal phonostylistics, Monroy (2001) emphasises the loose rhyme found in *maldita calamidad* /d-t d-ð/). Furthermore, despite /a/ being a neutral vowel, unlike English /ʌ/, the repeated presence of this vowel in this polysyllabic word, *calamidad* (as occurs in *barbaridad*) produces a mimetic effect of annoyance. This can also be seen in an expression like *No me toques los cojones*, where the presence of /o -e o-e ooo-e/ has an echoic pattern.

In some marginal linguistic elements such as neologisms or foreign words, where semantic factors may not have such a significant effect, one may realise the sheer beauty of the phonetic structure. Many creative writers realise the existence of motivation in words where

ordinary people would have found nothing. French romantics were very interested in sound symbolism. For example, the adjective *vrai* suggests a chaste nakedness. Early on in the history of writing there was a connection between meaning and visual shape and there are still writers who are fond of these analogies. Thus, the poet Leconte de Lisle identifies the peacock (*paon* in French) with the sound in such a faithful manner that, if written without an *o*, “he would no longer see the bird spreading out its tail” (Ullmann, 1962, p. 91).

Proper names are also significant here. The sounds could make suggestions to the person. Proust is identified as the developer of a theory of suggestions in proper names. He finds the characteristics of the bearer in the sound and shape of the name. For instance, firstly dealing with names other than forenames, to Proust the word *coutances* suggests a Norman cathedral and the final diphthong [sic] “crowns with a tower of butter” (Ullmann, 1962, p. 90)—which relates the name to the trade of butter, well-reputed in the town. As reported by Marouzeau (1950), many French poets praised the beauty of place names. To Daudet, *Bethlehem* is a sweet and legendary name. When talking about the noises of the Réaumur street -in French *la rumeur de la rue Réaumur*, Romans (1932) says that “the name itself sounds like a song of wheels and walls, like the vibration of buildings and the tremor of concrete under the pavement, and like the rumbling of underground trains” (as cited in Ullmann, 1962, p. 90).

Likewise, Powell (2006) raises the question of whether a connection exists between sound symbolism and forenames. The name *Jane Eyre* functions as symbolic and non-symbolic. There were real Jane Eyres prior to the invention of the character and there is sound symbolism in the surname *Eyre*, which has different associations because its pronunciation is like that of other words: *eyrie*, *heir*, *air*, etc. (Jane



became a rich heir and the connotations of ‘eyrie’ and ‘air’ may suggest her search for freedom when she runs away from Mr. Rochester). Moreover, in *Jane Eyre* Jane “is attracted to the sound of it [the name *Rasselas*], irrespective of its ‘meaning’, or rather, the exotic sound is precisely its meaning” (Earnshaw, 2012, p. 177). This somehow supports the idea of sound symbolism once more. Likewise, the /k/ in Brocklehurst’s surname, another character in this novel, sounds harsh, which suggests the strictness of this man. Other notable examples can be found in literary works such as Oscar Wilde’s *The Importance of being Earnest*, which plays with the forename *Ernest* and the characteristic *earnest*<sup>11</sup>. In addition, Vitali (2011) studies phonosymbolism in names, e.g. in suffixes in Vasco Pratolini’s novels. He noted that all the characters’ names started with the letter M.

One of the first empirical studies dealing with the connotations of people’s names was English (1916), who gave a list of non-words to the 8 participants involved in the study and they had to describe what they thought the person bearing that name was like. For only 5 out of 15 stimuli there was a degree of agreement amongst all the subjects with respect to name connotations. For instance, 6 respondents considered Boppum to be a large and fat man, 5 thought Zethe was a girl and only in the case of Rupzoiyat all the subjects concurred in thinking it was a young man. In a second study the task was reversed and the participants had to give names to faces, resulting in very little agreement. Alspach (1917) examined the connotations of 50 nonsense words in English for one participant 15 months after the first experiment. Consistency could be found in his replies. Some of his responses were: “Snemth- Feeling came at once for a character in Dickens...the shortness of the word seems to signify that you have not much respect for him...Thasp is a miner; a

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<sup>11</sup> That is why other free translations are used: *La Importancia de llamarse Severo* or *La importància de dir-se Franc* (Albaigès, 1998).

worker in metals...Whin is a frail man with a high-pitched nasal voice” (Alspach, 1917, p. 438-439). According to Valentine et al. (1996, p. 25), “these studies suggest that phonetic symbolism does exist for people’s names, but that the mappings between phonemes and meanings might not be one-to-one”. More than one name may be suitable for one face or personality and a sequence of phonemes could have different connotations. It would seem likely that these connotations would be shared by several people but it would be surprising if they were universal. C. Robinson (2013) goes even further by saying that the sound symbolism of names tends to be a subjective affair.

Cook (2002) explored the processes behind the relationship between sound symbolism and music. According to Yardy (2010, p. 10),

the idea that sound can have an affective impact on human listeners is intuitive. A prominent example is that of music, which is well-known for its influence on our emotional states; from heavy metal music that uses abrasive sounding vocals and instruments that can instill a sense of anger, to melodic classical music that can induce a sense of calm.

In fact, Adamson and Holloway (2012) reflect on the fact that music and its meaning play an important role for the families of the deceased in funerals in the UK.

The universality of sound symbolism has been increasingly studied by psychologists but there is no agreement about whether it exists or not. Sound symbolism is a means for more effective communication (Jespersen, 1959) but researchers such as Sapir (1949) tried to discover whether this phenomenon is innate to any individual no matter the language he/she speaks. Sherzer (1993, p. 221) supports the idea that “all languages have some iconicity and motivated symbolism”. Hooke’s Law claims that the relationship between object mass and resonant frequency is inverse. Thus, Hooke’s Law predicts that the resonation of objects with

lower relative mass (for example, a bumblebee) will have a higher frequency than that of objects with higher relative mass such as elephants. This represents the non-arbitrary relationship between vision and audition in that bees buzz and elephants trumpet. This happens even in unrelated languages (I.K. Taylor & Taylor, 1965). Proponents of this theory extrapolate this to words and they claim that the phonological factors which exhibit sound symbolism are vowel height (e.g. *oh* vs. *ee*) and consonant hardness (*k* vs. *l*) (Maurer, Pathman & Mondloch, 2006). According to Lehmann (1986), languages are very similar in their iconic expressions. Examples of cross-linguistic similarities are found. For example, many languages which are not related use the affix <ee> in words to express size distinction or affection (e.g. *teeny weeny baby*).

Nielsen (2011) proposes that the Bouba-Kiki (or Maluma-Takete) effect, “far from being an unimportant linguistic marginalia, is a *bona fide* example of universal sound symbolism that is shared not only by all humans, but that is also likely conserved in some ways across a number of animal species” (p. 153, emphasis in original). Actually, the Bouba-Kiki effect can be found in the Himba of Northern Namibia as well, which has been barely exposed to Western cultural influences (Bremner, Caparos, Davidoff, de Fockert, Linnell & Spence, 2012).

What is more, in many languages dental phonemes occur in demonstrative pronouns whereas nasal and guttural sounds are often found in first person pronouns even when these languages are unrelated (Porzig, 1964). According to Tsuru and Fries (1933), English subjects discovered the meaning of a larger percentage than casual probability of Japanese words they had not seen before, which supports the idea of universal symbolism. Cross-linguistic phonetic symbolism is also supported by R.W. Brown and Nuttall (1959) because the participants made statistically significant correct correspondences between pairs of English antonyms and their counterparts in unknown languages. At least

in four languages the /k/ and /t/ sounds were matched for words meaning *hard*. Furthermore, their antonyms started with /m/. Ertel and Dorst (1965) studied expressive symbolism in 25 languages. Listeners had to decide whether the words produced by native speakers of the languages in question had a positive or a negative meaning. The results yielded significant results of coordination in every language at  $p < .01$ . The regularities of phonetic symbolism could be used by product creators in order to convey a given image (Shrum et al., 2012).

Opinions of the degree of similarity between languages as well as instances of differences across languages and even between regions are also encountered (D. Wright, 2012). R.W. Brown et al. (2012) criticise the results produced by Tsuru and Fries (1933) because they consider that the researchers' choice of words were biased by their knowledge of both languages, English and Japanese. Given that languages have a limited number of phonemes, it is likely that words similar in meaning and phonemes are found in the two languages by coincidence. In a similar vein, Brackbill and Little (1957) claim that when Chinese and English are involved and they are unknown to the subjects, the research is not successful. Research points at the idea that informants should have as few hints as possible at their disposal. In fact, K. Wilde (1958) draws attention to the fact that, when the subjects were asked to indicate freely the impression produced by certain drawings in which feelings had been represented by other people, there were not many matches. Conversely, if they were given words in which the emotions were written, more matches occurred. If presented visually, there was no guarantee of sound symbolism because the subject may match words on the basis of the visual similarity of words (I.K. Taylor, 1976). Westbury (2005) adds that the matching effect was also shown when the words were written within visual frames which were either spiky or rounded, which raises doubts as

to whether sound symbolism is purely a visual phenomenon which matches letter shape to visual object properties. Experimental studies disproving sound symbolism (Bentley & Varon, 1933; Brackbill & Little, 1957) may be due to significant procedural problems in the studies on sound symbolism. In addition, respondents are often aware of manipulations, that is, they are implicitly required to confirm the link between the characteristics of the object and the sound. Therefore, the idea is that sound symbolism helps if subjects know about the dimension of the stimuli in question.

On the other hand, no significant results were obtained by Maltzman, Morrisett and Brooks (1956) to support the existence of sound symbolism between two unfamiliar languages. Only some of the experiments which make use of unrelated languages reveal sound symbolism. The existence of a universal symbolism seems less certain in that tonal language may be separated from non-tonal languages (Allott, 1995). Ethnolinguists have found that sound symbolism is present in all or almost all natural languages but the extent to which it acts as a driving mechanism differs across languages (Berlin, 1994). As commented on by I.K. Taylor (1976, p. 326), “one language may be more susceptible to symbolism than other languages”. Thus, Germanic languages are richer in terms of onomatopoeias than Romance languages (García-Yebra, 1989). Mayan, Navajo and Korean display more sound symbolism than English (Ladefoged & Boradbent, 1957). Phonetic symbolism may depend on language habits. Thus, English speakers may associate /g/ with bigness in connection with words such as *grand*, *grow*, *great*, etc. and /t/ with smallness due to words like *tiny*, *tip*, *teeny*, etc. R.W. Brown (1958) upholds that sound symbolism is the result of learning. In our daily life we find sounds related to physical traits from objects. This has been the most reasonable theory although it may not explain all the cases. If we remember that the field in which sound symbolism is more frequent is the

expressive one, then it may be concluded that it is the result of connotation and not learning. When some correlation is found, the cause remains unclear. Thus, Urban (2011) explored 111 languages and discovered cross-linguistic sound symbolism: words related to ‘lip’ and ‘nose’ were sound symbolic. The former had a higher than average frequency of bilabial plosives and the latter a large number of nasals. This notwithstanding, the reasons were uncovered, as supported by List (1973).

If it is taken into account that the suggestions depend on intrinsic physical properties of sounds or objects, we could claim the universality of sound symbolism but there is no ready-made rationale for other dimensions of meaning such as warmth or unpleasantness (I.K. Taylor, 1976). We may think that rather than showing structural regularities, we have some stereotypical information, for example, the fact that many Bulgarian names end with –ov. There is also a category of proper nouns that seems to have an invariant structure: words ending in –gate refer to government related scandals, which derives from the Watergate scandal when President Nixon was forced to resign. Consequently, as stated by Valentine et al. (1996, p. 28), “there appears to be some sort of universal phonetic symbolism, where phonemes or combinations of phonemes convey the same geometric, affective and tonal qualities to speakers of very different languages. This would apply to proper nouns as well as to common nouns”. However, these scholars add that we should be careful when thinking about human speech as created through pure phonetic symbolism. There is hardly any unequivocal evidence in experiments to support universal phonetic symbolism (UPS). As claimed by de Klerk and Bosch (1997, p. 13), “a clear sound-symbolism relationship in language has yet to be scientifically substantiated”.

The research into sound symbolism has basically worked on existing vocabulary to identify correspondences between certain

phonemes and semantic domains as well as informants' linguistic intuitions on the basis of sounds, images, foreign and nonsense words, etc. Nonetheless, the methodology has improved recently. For instance, now methods are more subtle and experimental controls are better (such as Kovic, Plunkett & Westermann, 2010, who measured sound symbolism behaviourally with response times and neurophysiologically by means of electroencephalography (EEG)).

On the other hand, Parault and Schwanenflugel (2006) maintain that sound symbolism influences English speakers when they learn new words. Imai, Miyazaki, Yeung, Hidaka, Kantartzis, Okada and Kita (2015) also agree that sound symbolism facilitates word learning, in particular, among children. Mutsumi, Kita, Nagumo and Okada (2008) go even further by extending these results to Japanese, not only to English, and specifying that sound symbolism seems to help young children learn verbs.

As has been seen, most of the studies on sound symbolism have focused on Japanese, English (e.g. Tsuru & Fries, 1933 or Lapolla, 1994) and indigenous languages (e.g. Langdon, 1971, on Yuman languages; Sapir, 1968 and Nuckolls, 1996). According to Hasada (2001), it is widely recognised that Japanese is rich in sound symbolism in everyday speech. In most Indo-European languages sound symbolic words are onomatopoeias whereas in Japanese mimetic words (imitations) are more frequent. Sapir (1968) emphasises the fact that in Nootka the consonant alternation expresses the physical and moral characteristics of the people about whom something is being said. In Ecuadoran Quechua the functions of sound symbolism are not only aesthetic but also cognitively and grammatically relevant (Nuckolls, 1996). Dealing with sound symbolism in Spanish from a non-literature standpoint, we find authors such as Montgomery (1979), who examined aspect in the second conjugation, or Malkiel (1990), who diachronically analysed sound symbolism (1979-

1988) and dealt with romance languages such as Spanish or Latin, amongst others, but only with the provision of examples. Studies affecting other languages are R.C.F. Cruz and Fernandes (2004) for Portuguese, Abelin (2010) for Swedish and Magnus (2001), who focuses mainly on English but also covers other languages such as Russian, Albanian, Greek, Indonesian and Catalan.

In addition to thought devices, there are diction devices and word repetition is used as a sort of emphasis. Within this group, reduplication is worthy of mention. This consists of “an immediate repetition, by means of an apposition” (Fernández, 1972, p. 41), e.g. *¡Llueve, llueve; tu neblina que se torne en aguanieve!* (Antonio Machado). Similarly, there is alliteration, a repetition of similar or equal sounds. According to García-Yebra (1989), alliteration could be consonantal, vocalic or mixed although in the Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2008) we find that it affects mainly consonants. Alliteration played a crucial role in ancient Latin literature but less so in Greek. Compounds can also be included amongst diction devices, e.g. *lovely-dumb* (Ullmann, 1978). Todorov (1978) adds another phenomenon, paronymy, also known as *paronomasia* or pun. It is a play on words which requires the consequent intellectual effort on the part of the listener or reader and functions by means of making one word rhyme with another one whose pronunciation is similar but differs in one letter and which results in a different meaning, e.g. *aptitud* (‘aptitude, ability’) and *actitud* (‘attitude’) in Spanish. This contrast is used to produce humour in the context of jokes and satire, e.g. *Allí se vive porque se bebe*. Paronymy apparently comes from the Jewish tradition.

The Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2008) defines rhyme as “a word which has the same last sound as another one” (p. 1225). García-Yebra (1989) qualifies the definition by specifying that



rhyme occurs after the last stressed vowel. Rhyming forms with the forename *Robb(s)* would be *Dobbs, Hobbs*, etc. In writing, the repetition of a word can end up by irritating the reader. Conversely, the regular repetition of sonority after a certain time produces rhythm and this rhythm is an essential part of music, which may please our ear. The pleasure provided by the rhyme depends on the taste of each individual. Furthermore, rhyme helps us to keep the lines in our memory and to perceive a clearer link between words. Prosody, that is, variations in stress, duration, etc., helps to identify and understand words. Rhyme is a modern phenomenon found both in poetry and prose. Greek, Latin or primitive Germanic poetry did not make use of rhyme. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century there was a reaction against rhyme. Klopstock created free verse, which dispensed with rhyme. Nonetheless, rhyme prevails in the lyric.

García-Yebra (1989) explains that rhyme can be of two types: 1) consonant rhyme: where all sounds are equal from the last stressed vowel e.g. *dardo-nardo*; 2) assonant rhyme: where only vowels (not the consonants) coincide from the last stressed vowel e.g. *dardo-clavo*. In French and Italian terminology consonant rhyme is labelled as rhyme and assonant rhyme as *assonance*. Assonant rhyme is common in Spanish, Portuguese and French literature. Worthy of mention as a comprehensive example of all these resources is Feytelberg (2010), who studied sound symbolism, onomatopoeia, alliteration and assonance, amongst others, in Turkish literary texts from the perspective of translation. Nicknames reveal that people play with assonance, alliteration, rhythm and rhyme, as in child-directed speech or early nursery rhymes (de Klerk & Bosch, 1997).

To summarise, *The Book of Genesis* in the *Bible* says human beings are not only creatures of *humus*, that is, ‘earth’ (biologically speaking) but also *verbum*, that is, ‘language’. Language is the place of mediation between speaker and listener, within a context, as well as between mind and reality (Cerezo-Galán, 1979; Ohala, 2010). There are sciences which can be applied to linguistics (Santiago-Guervós, 2005). Thus, areas within the scientific study of language such as semiotics (Saussure, 1949; Ogden & Richards, 1969 and Ullmann, 1978) pragmatics (I.K. Taylor, 1990 and Yus, 1997), stylistics (Bally, 1921, 1952 and Fernández, 1972) or psycholinguistics and cognitive linguistics (see Rosch, 1975 for the Theory of Prototypes and Vandever et al., 2006 for selective perception) have been able to thrive.

Traditionally the following oppositions have been drawn up with regard to language: oral vs. written, literary vs. ordinary and literal vs. figurative. Every system has devices which strengthen what a word expresses. A distinction can be made between thought devices, which are more connected to the content, and diction devices, which are linked to the form. With regard to thought devices, we find pathetic devices, including exclamations and stress (García-Yebra, 1983), and logic devices, including proverbs, idioms, morals, similes or comparisons, hyperboles, metaphors, metonymies (G. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and symbols (Bousoño, 1979).

Linguistics consists of four main branches: phonology, semantics, morphology and syntax (I.K. Taylor, 1990). As Whitney (1998) maintains, the debate around the nature of language has been intense throughout the whole of human history. Hörmann (1967) explains that the Greeks were either naturalists, who supported the idea of an intrinsic link between meaning and sound, or conventionalists, who held

the view that meaning was the result of a “social contract”, that is, conventional and arbitrary.

Sound symbolism, a phonetic alternative hypothesis to the traditional view, is when a sound is said to have an intrinsic and natural meaning (I.K. Taylor, 1990). Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, many poets and philosophers dealt with sound symbolism (e.g. Bloomfield, Jespersen, etc.). Since the 1920s and 1930s there has been a considerable number of research studies. In the 1950s there was a boom in the exploration of sound symbolism but in the 1970s interest in declined until there was a resurgence in the 1990s. In 1993 the first sound symbolism conference was held (Magnus, 2001). There has been a revival of interest in whether language is arbitrary or not with the work of neuroscientists such as Ramachandran (2010). The non-arbitrariness of sounds has been controversial even in the terms coined to refer to the phenomenon (e.g. phonosymbolism –Malkiel, 1990, phonosemantics – Magnus, 2001, phonaesthetics –Crystal, 1991, expressive word – Grammont, 1901, etc.). Sound or phonetic symbolism is the most popular and recognised term. Most of the studies on sound symbolism have focused on Japanese, English (e.g. Lapolla, 1994) and indigenous languages (e.g. Nuckolls, 1996).

Maybe the most well-known phenomenon of motivation is onomatopoeia (Bloomfield, 1933; R. Gullón, 1979; Nuckolls, 2010). Within sound symbolism, different dimensions of meaning such as size (Sapir, 1949), shape (Köhler, 1947), distance (Orr, 1944), quantity (Magnus, 1999) or brightness (Chastaing, 1962) are addressed by different authors but there also exists a more “emotional” dimension. Valentine et al (1996) point out that the richest forms of phonetic symbolism are found especially with regard to what the sound of a word connotes to a person. For instance, a word we do not know may seem

funny without knowing explicitly why this could be so (Valentine et al., 1996). Average reactions to phonemes could be tested statistically but one wonders whether statistics can be used to explore such an elusive phenomenon. Miron (1961) claims that the more anterior the sound is, the more it is associated with positive meanings in assessment and negative in power (good-weak). Monroy (2001) carried out a study on phonostylistics in abusive language in Spanish (the erotic and friendly connotations of /tʃ/, the smoothness of /r/ and /l/, the roughness of /θ/, the harshness of /x/, /p/ and /t/, the onomatopoeic effect of a complete fool of two nasals put together, etc.).

Powell (2006) raises the question of whether there is a connection between sound symbolism and forenames. One of the first empirical studies dealing with the connotations of people's names was English (1916). For example, in literature, in particular, *Jane Eyre*, according to Earnshaw (2012), there is sound symbolism in the surname *Eyre*, which has different associations because its pronunciation is like that of other words: *eyrie*, *heir*, *air*, etc.

As posited by Valentine et al. (1996), the studies conducted reflect that phonetic symbolism exists in terms of names but more than one name may be suitable for one face or personality and a sequence of phonemes could have different connotations. It would seem likely that these connotations would be shared by several people but it would be surprising if they were universal.

With a focus on the other expressive language resource in addition to thought devices, diction devices, word repetition is used as a sort of emphasis. Within this group, it is important to highlight reduplication (e.g. *¡Llueve, llueve*) and alliteration (a repetition of similar or equal sounds). Compounds can also be included, e.g. *lovely-dumb* (Ullmann,

1978). Todorov (1978) adds paronymy (also known as paronomasia or pun), a play on words often used in the context of jokes and satires in which one word rhymes with another one whose pronunciation is similar but differs in one letter, e.g. *Allí se vive porque se bebe*. Rhyming forms with the forename *Robb(s)* would be *Dobbs*, *Hobbs*, etc. In writing, the repetition of a word can prove irritating to the reader. Conversely, the regular repetition of sonority after a certain time produces rhythm and this rhythm is an essential part of music, which may please our ear although it all depends on individual taste. Furthermore, rhyme helps us to keep the lines in our memory (García-Yebra, 1989).

### Chapter 3

#### People's names as a matter of choice

In the past, before there were baptisms and registries, giving a name to one's child was a natural act. As explained by Albaigès (1998, p. 111, our own translation), “during many years the imposition of a proper name on a newly born child was an insignificant act, even rutinary”. There was a time when the naming of the child depended on chance, for example, the saint day of the birth. In the past only Christian names were consulted. In a similar vein, there is the following quotation from Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*: “as careless and as indifferent about the name they imposed upon their child, or more so, than in the choice of *Ponto* or *Cupid* for their dog” (as cited in Cutler et al., 1990, p. 471, emphasis added).

Fortunately, today we reflect more carefully on the name: “indifference has been replaced by interest” (Albaigès, 1998, p. 111, our own translation). Every year millions of couples think about which name they will give their children (Albaigès, 1993). Aldrin (2011) has

discovered that the naming of a child is a process rather than just a single performative act as it involves a series of different states and actions: inspiration, comparison, testing, decision-making, formalisation and a narrative phase in which parents describe the name choice to others. Names reflect choice: dis/like as well as preferences.

The choice of a child's name depends on the "taste" of parents (Albert, 2006). Mabuza (2011, p. 120) suggests that "a person's name being his/her parents' choice should reflect their taste, not his/hers. By law the names for children are given by the mother and father. One does not choose his/her own name. It is always someone else who does that". For the choice of names, nowadays parents take guidance from lists and specialised books (Lemieux, 2005). Many people consult onomastic dictionaries.

According to a survey conducted by BabyCenter (2015a), almost half of the respondent parents chose the name when they knew the gender of the child, 23% knew which name they were going to give their child before conception, 14% made the decision during the last stage of pregnancy and 9% chose it after birth. Giving a name to a child before birth is a common practice among parents nowadays. All this can happen because of the use of scans which let parents know the gender of their child before birth (Finch, 2008).

Sometimes conflicts arise about parents' preferences. In current Western society choosing a name for a child becomes a problem for parents. In Aldrin's study (2011) sometimes the parents disagreed when talking about the choice of their child's name. According to BabyCenter (2015a), although the mother's decision usually takes precedence (23% vs. 12%) normally there is a negotiation between mother and father since they may not agree with each other (as in the case of 33% of respondents). Combes and Devreux (1991) described the negotiations between father

and mother. When there is disagreement, it is normally the mother who chooses (Lemieux, 2005). Typically the mother prevails by using her power of persuasion. Aldrin (2011, p. 257-258) states that “the mother often assumes or is given a role as prime storyteller and that it is primarily her version and impression of the naming that is mediated”. Nonetheless, in Zulu Society, according to Boni-Zungu (2011), the male head is the final authority in giving a name to children. The family’s opinion is also important when deciding the name of the child. On the other hand, BabyCenter (2015a) points out that for more than 60% the difficulty in having to choose a male or female name is equal although there are more people who say it is more difficult to decide upon a boy’s name.

Aldrin (2011, p. 261, our own translation) maintains that “it is always the preferences, values and experiences of the parents that direct the name choice, but equally it is always the child who will carry the name, and other people will, when hearing the name, draw conclusions about the child as well”. This scholar adds that “as the child grows up and becomes an independent individual, the name will be seen more and more in relation to the child and as positioning him or her” (Aldrin, 2011, p. 261-262).

Nevertheless, choosing a name for a child is not only conferring his/her identity but it is also the new identity of the parents (Finch, 2008). Among parents, Aldrin (2011) found discrepancies between their name choice for their child and their likes or preferences. This, she writes, could be due to the fact that parents may have changed their mind about their choice of name or they may have reflected on it in greater depth but this change may also be explained by the idea that talking about one’s child’s name involves a conscious mind effort whereas giving opinions about other names etc. implies an unconscious effort. Freud (1975) embraces the idea that our psyche is made up of the conscious and the unconscious. The latter includes archetypes, linked to our instincts, and they result in

symbols, myths and images when they become conscious and are “filled in” with experience. In any study on names, “we must weigh the freedom of choice against the degree of prescription” (Smith-Bannister, 1997, p. 3).

Dunkling (1976) worked on which names had more sex appeal to young people living in London. Aldrin’s study on forenames (2011) focused on parents’ replies, rather than children’s. Lawson (1974) asked both males and females to express their preferences over women’s names but they dealt with names which, despite being considered to be popular at the time, are old-fashioned now (e.g. *Linda, Joan* or *Sharon*).

### **3.1 Reactions and their emotional side**

M. Bloch (1932, p. 67, our own translation) explains that “the choice itself from baptism names, their nature, their frequency (...) [etc.] are traits that, properly interpreted, reveal currents of thought and feeling”. Feelings about names exist. We have feelings towards our own name (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). In some cases we recognise an emotional reaction and we know why we experience it but in other cases we may not understand it. Many parents leaf through a name dictionary and, if asked why they chose their child’s name, they just say because they liked it.

Sánchez-Migallón (2008) highlights the distinction between the vital and spiritual side of human beings, which are different in their essence but they are interdependent. Wierzbicka and Harkins (2001) state that “emotions are among the least tangible aspects of human experience, yet they exert powerful influences upon our thoughts and actions”. They add that “most, though of course not all, of what we know about people’s inner feelings comes to us via language” (p. 2-3). It is necessary to study



languages in order to explore human emotions because the advances made in this area in the fields of psychology, anthropology and sociology have recognised the significant role language plays in the exploration of emotions. Levontina and Zalizniak (2001, p. 291) underline the idea that “linguistic representation of human emotional life is one of the most important pieces of the linguistic picture of the world”.

Plato divided the soul into three parts and he explains this by means of an allegory: a charioteer who drives two horses. The charioteer represents the rational part of the soul (mind and intellect), related to the head; the white horse, which is noble and obedient, represents the spirited part (will or volition), related to the breast or the heart; and the black horse, which is ugly and disobedient, represents the appetitive part of the soul, related to the abdomen (liver). The black horse would be led by desires, in other words, simple cravings such as thirst or hunger or sexual appetites in order to stay alive. Freud also referred to a tripartite structure of the mind, one of which deals with instincts that need satisfaction (Id vs. Super ego and Ego). In *The Republic*, Plato indicates that this tripartite vision of the soul corresponds to three classes he observed in society: the Guardian class (rational soul), that is, the philosopher governors; the Auxiliary class, such as soldiers and enforces (spirited soul) and the worker class or simple labourers (appetitive soul). Whether one part prevails over another part in his/her soul depends on the person himself/herself (Grube, 2011).

Related to this is the idea that emotions do not just depend on the context but also on the specific individual as different people may react differently to the same situation. There may be different aesthetic reactions to the same referent, even if it is an icon. Some scholars such as Darwin (1872) consider that emotional patterns are inherited. According to van Ginneken (1935), “each person would have a hereditary preference for a given articulation and would choose instinctively (...) those words in

which the corresponding sounds occur” (as cited in Trubetzkoy, 1973, p. 239).

Most of the studies have been conducted in English-speaking environments. Leavitt (1996) analysed emotions from two perspectives depending on whether they were considered to be a matter of nature, where they could be seen as culturally universal (a view supported by the western scholarly tradition), or as a matter of mind, where emotions were seen as different across social and cultural groups.

With regard to the first perspective, the ancient Greeks need to be mentioned as they distinguished between four emotional temperaments on the basis of the dominance of a particular fluid in the body: sanguinary (blood), melancholic (black bile), choleric (yellow bile) and phlegmatic (phlegm) (Zimbardo & Ruch, 1976). The study by Ekman and Rosenberg (1997), for instance, supports this culturally-universal view of emotions in that they claim that their findings would be similar in all human beings and they would not just apply to those from a particular language community.

With respect to the second view, in the 1980s and 1990s it was found that a person’s socio-cultural background plays a major role in conceptualising emotions (Lutz, 1987; Rosaldo, 1980). Wierzbicka and Harkins (2001, p. 9) maintain that “human emotions vary a great deal across languages and cultures” although there are also aspects they share. According to W. James (1890, p. 485), the categorisation of feelings depends on “the introspective vocabulary of the seeker” and this, in turn, depends on his/her culture and the language he/she speaks. Russell (1991) points out that many groups of people do not have a category for an emotion and do not have a word to refer to it. Levontina and Zalizniak (2001) clarify that not having a word for a given emotion in a language does not mean people from that culture have not experienced it but that it

is not salient and that feeling does not warrant having a special name. Thus, Doi (1981) discusses the emotion known as *amae*, which is central in Japanese, but an equivalent cannot be found in other languages. Psychomimes, that is, those words which express inner feelings or mental conditions, are also common in Japanese.

Henry Walton, amongst other psychologists, does not separate emotions from attitudes any more. He considers that attitudes are always accompanied by emotions. The affective dimension “reveals the emotional side of the attitude” (Grammont, 1933, p. 138, our own translation). Jung (2009) makes a distinction between the personal (individual memories and feelings) and collective (common to all human beings) unconscious, the latter existing in that we are social beings and we have relationships amongst ourselves (Tusón, 1988).

### 3.2 Factors involved

Oscar Wilde claims that the matter words use is more valuable than that employed by painters, for instance. As he puts it:

words have not merely music as sweet as that of viol and lute, color as rich and vivid as any that makes lovely for us the canvas of the Venetian or the Spaniard, and plastic form no less sure and certain than that which reveals itself in marble or in bronze; but thought and passion and spirituality are theirs also; are theirs indeed alone (O. Wilde, 2000, p. 252).

We judge a name or accept a product according to a series of factors around (Viedma, 2007).

Forenames identify the bearers by their gender, as a human being and in terms of social or geographical origin, amongst others. The speaker’s socio-demographic characteristics such as gender, age, sexuality, local origins, education or social class play a role in the conversation’s content and form. A person’s language may mark him as male, young, working-class and of a particular regional origin, for

example (Hörmann, 1967). The identification of the person's gender, age, etc. is important in conversation because it guides action and determines strategies (Paoletti, 1998). Aldrin (2011) studied first names and how variations correlate to social variables such as age, education, forms of housing, the gender of the child, etc. She included questions on social background. The macro-societal variables which were given most importance in Aldrin (2011) were age and educational background.

Other social and psychological factors also play a role in identifying names and the people who bear them. This has been very difficult to study quantitatively. As Milroy (1987) claims, "correlating language scores in a systematic way to the various aspects of a speaker's social identity is complex, and is not often attempted" (p. 115). There are different sources of influence each time because they interact with each other. Names and their bearers can be categorised as old-fashioned, trendy or working-class (Aldrin, 2011).

People are not always aware of why they like a given name but they are conscious about how they want to be perceived during a discussion. Dunkling (1977, p. 42) states, "I have been asking parents for many years to tell me why they chose one name rather than another for their child, and have received several thousand letters on the subject". She goes further by saying that

there are those who respect the traditional, and those who demand novelty; there are those whose choice of a name for a child is a defiant challenge to the world, and others who seem to wish for obscurity. These different attitudes are all reflected in the names of the people we meet every day (Dunkling, 1977, p. 18).

Names reflect the complexities as well as the absurdities of human behaviour. Sometimes "there are private reasons for choice, which cannot be recorded in a dictionary" (Hanks et al, 2006, p. xiii). In fact, as Méchin (2006) warned, the choice of a name may be the result of a personal story.

On other occasions the reasons for choice are more public and less personal.

Children's names can be a reflection of religious beliefs, family memories, fashion, family traditions, etc (Withycombe, 1971). Dunkling (1977) reflects on the factors which may have a bearing on the choice of a child's name: pronunciation, initials, euphony, verbal associations, number of names, etymology, selfishness (either on the child's part or his/her parents'), a dated name, new or old name, pet name, spelling, sexual confusion, etc. In the same vein, de Klerk and Bosch (2009, p. 5) point out that there may be "a desire to follow tradition, or to allude to some famous personality from history, literature or religion (...) and (less commonly) the etymology or meaning of the name". With a focus on Shivenḡa, an African language, Mandende (2009) explored the possible influence on the naming process of the following factors: religious, social, economic and political.

Some of the factors which affect the choice of a name are more concerned with the name itself (e.g. sound, spelling, length, meaning, etc.) whereas other factors are a result of the person who chooses the name being a member of a society (e.g. fashion, social class, religion, etc.). Language is a social institution (Trubetzkoy, 1973). Gumperz (1972, p. 16) states that "a speech community is best defined in terms of knowledge of shared values". According to Gardiner (1940), names work differently from common vocabulary because personal names carry a social meaning. As Valentine et al. (1996, p. 16) emphasise, "a name is a social classifying device". Huschka (2011, p. 96) goes further by pointing out that "given names can be perceived as indicators which describe not only the state that a society happens to be in at a given point in time, but also its social structure and the changes it undergoes over time". Name giving is important because it places the child in society (Lallemand, 1978).

BabyCenter (2015a) explains that 8.000 mothers and fathers from 24 Spanish-speaking countries were asked why they had chosen a given name for their child. Apparently, the most common reason was that it had a nice sound, that is, the musicality of the name. In Spain 48% of participants gave this as their primary reason. It was followed by originality (29.9%) and meaning. Around 40% of the respondents said they had not been inspired by anything in particular in choosing their child's name. The rest explained that their source of inspiration was their own name or that of their partner (20%), a relative (13.8%), a book or film (7%) and a celebrity (6%). In the Early Middle Ages names were chosen because of family ties or devotion (Albaigès, 1998).

BabyCenter (2015a) also reports that for Latin American parents or Latin Americans living in the USA the first factor was also sound (40%), followed by meaning (around 35%), giving importance to biblical meanings or those linked with relatives, some of whom were deceased. The third factor for them was originality (30%). Some of the Latin American parents living in the USA highlighted the importance of a name with a good sound in both Spanish and English, added to being understood, not being laughed at and not being easy to change for a nickname. In Mexico the choice of a name was often the result of a more frivolous reason: a special circumstance, the admiration felt for public figures, the fondness for being unique, etc. Nowadays the interest in the meaning of the name is growing there (Ruiz-Zaragoza, 2011).

On the basis of his own experience, Albaigès (1998) explored different factors which may have an influence on name choice: fashion, social class associations, euphony, initials, respectability, originality, gender identification, hypocorisms, birth circumstances, family tradition and nationality.

De Klerk and Bosch (1997) mentioned factors which may influence English-speaking parents when they choose a first name for their child but they did not seem to have obtained empirical data to substantiate these claims. According to a study, British people also seem to be more attracted by nice sounding names than by any other factor (Bryner, 2010). Darlington (2015) explains that most people choose names because of their sound or for having known people with that name. He goes further by saying that “a name is chosen either on ornamental grounds –‘because it sounds nice’ or in honour of some close relative” (p. xiii).

Ameal (2011) dealt with the onomastics of Italian immigrants in Argentina during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century: why parents chose specific names. Aldrin (2011) examined how and why parents had chosen a given first name in Swedish and she included questions to find out. Gönen (2011) explored the reasons for name choice in Turkish. Al-Bulushi (2011) worked on naming practices in Oman. Alleton (1993) points out that Chinese people usually talk about the reasons for selecting a forename. The discourse in China about names is almost as ancient as that of Chinese civilisation.

Aldrin (2011) offers several examples of how the different factors which affect both the name bearer and the name itself interrelate, and points out how, for instance, in Sweden “mothers over 30 years of age and mothers with a university degree seem to act more conservatively than others during the process of naming” (p. 255). Likewise, mothers under 30 years old and without a university education seem to act more originally. This suggests connections between originality, university education and age. Mothers who have not undergone higher education tend to be more inclined to choose foreign names. Another example, also found by Aldrin (2011), is that creativity and conservatism are expressed through choices of both male and female names but with different orientations. In males

conservatism is reflected by linking names to the family and creativity by borrowing names from other languages. Conservatism is displayed in girls' names by the use of Swedish tradition and creativity comes through highlighting aesthetic sounds. However, not only is there an interrelation between the different factors affecting the name bearer and the name itself, but there is also an interrelationship among the factors affecting the own name, for instance, origin and familiarity, originality and fashion, length and simplicity, meaning and religion, etc.

### **3.2.1 Sound and stress**

According to Dunkling (1977, p. 98), "language, including names, consists mainly of speech, not writing". Other scholars insist on the idea that a name is a combination of sound and spelling. Sound is a factor which has been taken into consideration on many occasions. Jakobson and Waugh (1987) talk about the charm of speech sounds. As highlighted by Fernández (1972, p. 11, our own translation), "the ecstasy a man usually experiences when pronouncing or listening to words" has always existed. Form matters as "music enchants our ears" (García-Yebra, 1983, p. 143, our own translation). In translation sometimes leaving the original word as it is seems to be the most viable option because it is so full of affective resonance that it cannot be translated. If translated, it should fit the phonetics in the other language as far as possible (García-Yebra, 1983). However, many people do not recognise a musical note unless they have studied music or have a good ear (Mayoraz, 2009). That is why saying "it has a good sound" is a very subjective expression. When describing feelings, this lack of sound knowledge can cause us to find it very difficult to find words related to sound and that is why we use words derived from



other senses, e.g. *tiene un sonido suave y dulce/ its sound is soft and sweet* (related to touch and taste).

Bloomfield (1943) proposes the idea that in order to study language the first step is to explore form and not meaning because firstly we hear the sound; then we explore in more detail the meaning connected to the sound in question. With a focus on nicknames, de Klerk and Bosch (1997) claim that “the aural impact was usually the deciding factor in name choice, dominant after all other influences had left their mark” (p. 25). In a similar vein, Albaigès (1998) suggests that a name may be perceived to have a pleasant or unpleasant sound depending on other factors such as fashion, place of residence (urban or rural) or degree of originality: “names such as *Elías*, *Sebastián*, *Narciso* or *Eugenio* would sound good in certain urban environments, but would have been rejected thirty years ago for being cacophonous. *Marcelino*, *Laureano*, *Transfiguración* and *Ramona*, considered to have a good sound at that time, are rejected nowadays” (Albaigès, 1998, p. 102, our own translation, emphasis added).

Euphony<sup>12</sup> is “an acoustic pleasant sound resulting from the combination of sounds in a word or (...) within an utterance” (García-Yebra, 1989, p. 316, our own translation). In reference to Ancient Greece, Theophrastus claims that what was pleasant to see was pleasant to pronounce (as cited in Demetrio, 1979). Musicians said that words had a soft sound when they were made up of vowels, alone or with very few consonants, e.g. *Aias* (Demetrio, 1979). More recently, referring to the 1986 Illinois Democratic Primary, Gailey (1986) said that a voter had alluded to the winners’ smooth-sounding names. In Ancient Greece only soft sounds should be used in writing because they transmitted elegance (Demetrio, 1979). Two /n/ or /l/ put together produced a pleasant sound,

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<sup>12</sup> It comes from the Greek *eû* –‘good’- and *phōnē* –‘sound’.

e.g. *Kallístratos*. Sometimes the final /n/ was added for the word to be euphonic. One of the desired qualities in every artistic work was harmony, which is defined as “the pleasant sound produced by the correct and selective word distribution, aiming for an emphasis of musical elements in the language” (Fernández, 1972, p. 24, our own translation).

Lieberson and Mikelson (1995) found a strong link between phonological trends in names and their bearer’s gender. Cutler et al. (1990) and E.L. Abel and Kruger (2007) explain that the phonological distribution for a boy and for a girl chosen by parents is different. Nonetheless, a definitive explanation cannot be provided.

In English there was a trend at the beginning of the last century for names that started with vocalic sounds, for instance, *Amanda* and *Edward*. Later, these names were replaced by names with the sounding consonant /d/ (e.g. *Donald*, *Donna*, etc.). Despite there being no statistically significant differences, nowadays a higher proportion of female names are found to start with a vowel (S.K. Wright, Hay & Bent, 2005).

In 1993 in Barcelona the most frequent vowel among male names is /a/, contrary to the widespread opinion. The /o/ is the ending vowel of only 25.7% of names and it has a weak presence in them. The most chosen male names have fewer /e/, /i/ and /u/ (Albaigès, 1998). The tendencies in female names are more marked. There is more diversity in sound among females (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). Albaigés (1998) further states that the ending in /a/ is very common in the female names (69.2%) given in 1993, a view endorsed by E.L. Abel and Kruger (2007). The /a/ vowel is reinforced in the most frequent female names: *Ana*, *Marta*, *Sara*, *Carla* and *Alba*. The /e/ is very limited in number, with only two names containing this vowel: *Andrea* and *Mireia*. The /o/ is generally rejected and one name containing it, *Mónica*, does not appear until the 25<sup>th</sup>

position. The /i/ and /u/ fully appear in the 12<sup>th</sup> name: *Judit*. E.L. Abel and Kruger (2007) claim that the endings in /i/ and /e/ are typical in female names. Likewise, among dogs the <y> ending occur in half of the most popular female names and 33% of the most popular male names. Lieberman and Mikelson (1995) explain that for both African American and White American people the ending in a schwa almost always indicates it is a girl's name. According to Cowen (2004), a male will be judged as more attractive if the vowels in his name are front (/e/ or /i/). Women want a carer, a provider, not a man with a lot of testosterone. In the case of girls' names the opposite happens: rounder vocalic sounds such as /u/ in a name will be more attractive to men (e.g. *Laura*).

Kawahara (2012) found that in English obstruents appear more often in male names than in female names. According to Lieberman and Bell (1992), consonant ending is more typical among males, especially /d/. Although there are no consistent findings, male names end more in sonorants (l, m, n and r) than female names (Barry & Harper, 2003). Vitali (2011) reflects on Pratolini's novels and his use of names starting with <m>.

It has been shown that a way for a name to sound good is to include consonants that do not naturally exist in that language. That is the reason why many Spanish parents choose names from other languages, e.g. *Erika, Aitor, Julen, Meritxell, Desirée, Ingrid, Kevin* and *Georgina* (Albaigès, 1998). BabyCenter (2015a) found that some people want the same initial for their two children, e.g. *Belén* and *Bianca*. Some authors indicate a relationship between a political and ideological style and preference for certain sounds or sounds with certain characteristics. Graff (2013) posits the idea that liberal parents are more likely to choose names with softer sounds like those with /a/ (*Sophia, Ella*, etc.) whereas conservatives prefer harder sounding names (*Kurt, Kim*, etc.).

The phenomenon opposite to euphony is known as *cacophony*<sup>13</sup> and consists of “the repetition or meeting of several sounds with an unpleasant acoustic effect” (García-Yebra, 1989, p. 316, our own translation). Lack of sonority spoils the sense of the sublime. For example, the word *kopiáisai* (‘to get tired’) has unpleasant sounds, so the adjective is inappropriate to its meaning, that is, such an intense feeling. In Ancient Greece what were known as *rough* consonants (/s/, /x/, /r/ and /f/) also needed to be refrained from connecting two words, e.g. *per flagella* (r + f). The juxtaposition of long vowels and diphthongs, which resulted in rough sounds and a complicated style, needed to be avoided in Ancient Greek theatre (merely short vowels or short vowels combined with long vowels were used). Plays were represented in Attic rather than Doric Greek because in the latter case there were rough sounds and the fact that vowels were often open made it unsuitable for the popular theatre. In order to avoid cacophony, Ancient Greeks recommended that words which resembled each other or were too short or too long were avoided. There was a desire to avoid the repetition of something identical or similar, which even had an effect on the way that languages eliminated syllables or phonemes from words, for instance, *stipendium* instead of *stipipendium*.

When referring to more recent examples of cacophony, in *Temps Perdu*, the French writer Proust focused on whether the sound in question was pleasant or unpleasant. Thus, he preferred the French word *exister* rather than *être* for phonetic reasons and that is why he always used the former instead of the latter. Another example is the cacophonous repetition of /r/: *Al llegar el rústico refirió ruda refriega*. English words have always been criticised for their alleged harshness. According to Graf (1911),

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<sup>13</sup> *Kakós* is ‘bad’ in Greek.

Alfieri, an Italian poet, talked about the sonority of the Italian *capitano*, which is nasalised and deformed in French, *capitaine*, and in the harsh English throats it becomes reduced to *captain*. Tibón (2002) decided not to include in his dictionary saints' names such as *Curcodemo*, *Angadrema*, etc., which are not euphonous, according to him. Albaigès (1998) adds that the names *Arquipo*, *Remigio* and *Telesforo*, which are hidden in the calendar of saints' days, are rejected as choices for naming children for their unpleasant sound. García-Yebra (1989, p. 317, our own translation) adds that "the absence of cacophony is in a sense a first degree of euphony, desirable in all types of texts". However, Demetrio (1979) holds the view that in Ancient Greece elegance was sometimes achieved by means of cacophony, which was used to imitate reality. From that it followed that the role cacophony played was significant.

Regarding vowels, British English has five vowel letters, as does Spanish (/a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/), but it has twelve vowel sounds. In English vowels are not usually pronounced as they are written. Each one can include one or more phonemes, a sound which, if changed, entails a change of meaning. The same can happen in the case of consonants. For instance, *garage* has two –gs but two different phonemes: /g/ for the former and /dʒ/ for the latter. Diphthongs are "groups of two different vowels which always work together, the former or the latter being able to carry stress" (Monroy, 2012, p. 47, our own translation). Triphthongs are "groups of three different vowels which form an only syllable e.g. the Spanish word *estudiÉIS*" (p. 47, emphasis in original). There are differences in the way triphthongs are envisaged by Spanish and English phonologists (Monroy & Hernández-Campoy, 2015), e.g. the first vowel is the most prominent one in English, as with diphthongs (see *hour* vs *buey*, the central one being given more prominence in Spanish). The following tables and figures show the vowels and consonants in Spanish and English.

Table 2.1. Vowels in Spanish (Frías-Conde, 2001, p. 5)

	initial	central	final
close	/i/		/u/
mid		/e/	/o/
open		/a/	

Table 2.2. Diphthongs in Spanish (Frías-Conde, 2001, p. 5)

	/a/	/e/	/o/	/i/	/u/
rising	/ja/	/je/	/jo/		
	/wa/	/we/	/wo/		
falling	/ai/	/ei/	/oi/		
	/au/	/eu/	/ou/		
homogeneous				/wi/	/wi/

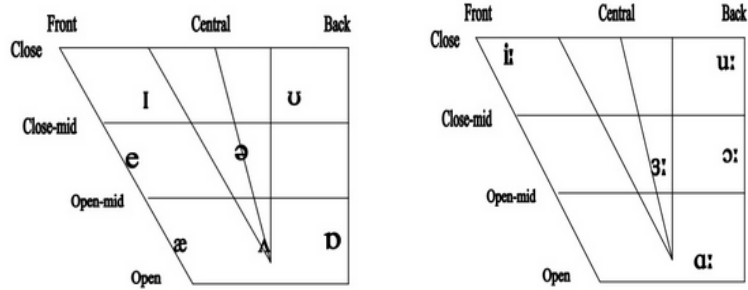


Figure 2.3. Vowels in English (Lagos & Bittner, 2006, p. 1)

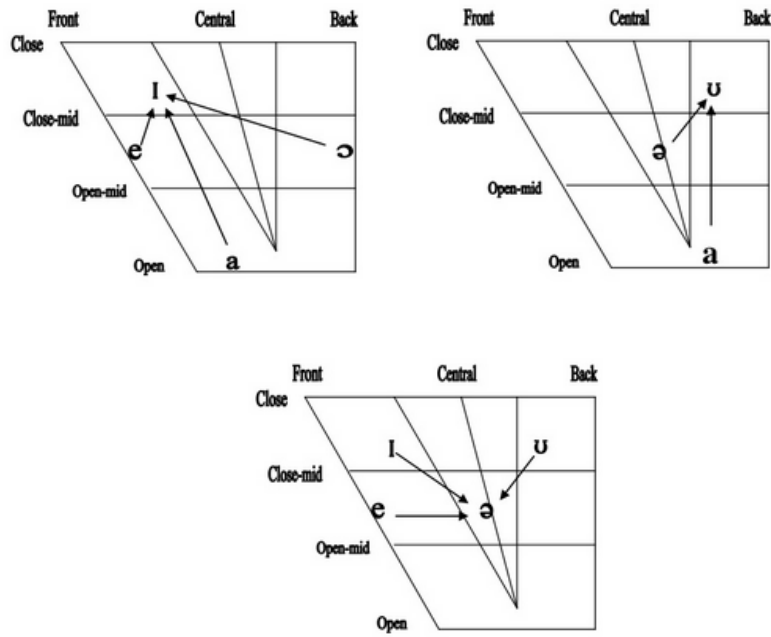


Figure 2.4. Diphthongs in English (Lagos & Bittner, 2006, p. 2)

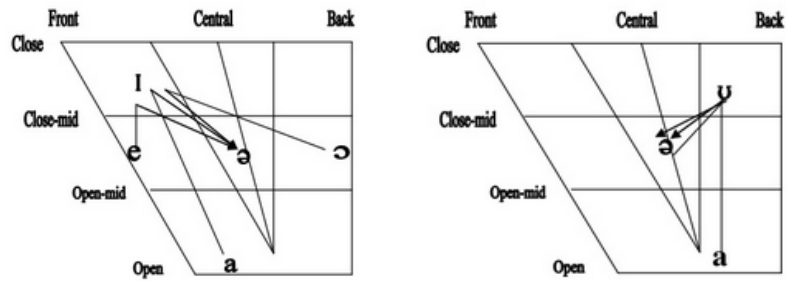


Figure 2.5. Triphthongs in English (Lagos & Bittner, 2006, p. 3)

Table 2.3. Consonants in Spanish (Llisterri, 2015)

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glotal
Oclusiva	/p/ /b/		/t/ /d/		[j]	/k/ /g/		
Nasal	/m/	[ɱ]	[n̪] [ɲ]	/n/	[nʲ] /ɲ/	[ŋ]	[ɴ]	
Rótica múltiple				/r/				
Rótica simple				/r/				
Fricativa		/f/ [ɸ]	/θ/ [θ̺] [s̺]	/s/ [s̺]	/j/	/x/	[χ]	[h]
Aproximante	[β]		[ð]	[ɾ]	[j]	[ɣ]		
Aproximante lateral			[l̪] [ɭ]	/l/	[ʎ] /ʎ̺/			

	Palatal	Labiovelar
Africada	/tʃ/ [dʒ]	
Aproximante		[w]

Table 2.4. Consonants in English (Musk, n.d., p. 2)

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar (Post-alveolar)	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Unvoiced (-V) Voiced (+V)	-V +V	-V +V	-V +V	-V +V	-V +V	-V +V	-V +V	-V +V
Stops (Plosives)	p b			t d			k g	ʔ¹
Fricatives		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ			h
Affricates					tʃ dʒ			
Nasals	m			n			ŋ	
Lateral (approximants)				l				
Approximants	w			r		j	w	



Ullmann (1962) clarifies that in languages such as Czech, Hungarian or Finnish words have the stress on the first syllable, as opposed to Polish, which has the stress on the penultimate, or French, where the stress is on the last syllable. In English the most common word pattern is a bisyllable with initial stress, e.g. *common*, *English*, etc. Monosyllables are almost as frequent as bisyllables. In words of more than three syllables, the antepenultimate syllable carries the stress, e.g. *apology* (Carlson, Elenius, Granström & Hunnicutt, 1985). Slater and Feinman (1985) discovered that disyllabic male and female names usually stress the initial and second syllable, respectively, for instance, *Edward* vs. *Kathleen*, whereas both male and female dog names usually stress the initial one (E.L. Abel & Kruger, 2007). In line with Slater and Feinman (1985), Cutler et al. (1990) point out that more American female names than male have a weak initial syllable e.g. *Amanda*, *Rebecca*, *Patricia*, etc. Female names have significantly more stressed /i/ vowels e.g. *Lisa*, *Beatrice*, etc. but fewer with /ɔ/, /ʌ/ and /ʊ/. Female names are more likely to have /i:/ in stressed vowels, e.g. *Tina*, *Lisa*, etc. In Spanish the stress also favours lengthening. There is a hiatus “when two or more vowels in a row are pronounced without being a unique syllable” (Gili-Gaya, 1961, p. 113, our own translation). Monroy (2008) highlights the idea that the phenomenon of pronouncing a form with a hiatus even though it does not usually have that pronunciation is typical of rustic or vulgar language, e.g. *bo-ina* instead of *boina*.

Stressing a syllable implies increasing the muscular effort in its pronunciation. The syllable in question is more prominent in comparison to other syllables in the word due to the stress. In Spain there is only one stressed syllable and it is referred to as *tonic* or *stressed* in contrast to the rest, which are known as *unstressed* or *atone*. The Greek terminology is used to classify words in terms of stress: tonic and atone; oxytonic, paroxytonic and proparoxytonic. Depending on the position of the tonic or

stressed syllable, Spanish words, like English words, can be classified into (Quilis & Fernández, 1964):

-Oxytonic or acute words (*oxítonas* or *agudas*): when the stress falls on the last syllable: e.g. *cortar* [kortár]. In both English and Spanish monosyllabic words are considered to be oxytonic (e.g. *pen* in English or *fui* in Spanish) (Marín-Candón, n.d.).

-Paroxytonic or plain (*paroxítonas* or *llanas*): when it is the last but one syllable which is stressed: e.g. *mechero* [mecéro]. This is the most frequent in Spanish.

-Proparoxytonic (*proparoxítona* or *esdrújula*), when it is the last but two syllable which is stressed: e.g. *bolígrafo* [bolígrafa].

In Spanish compound words Quilis and Fernández (1964) add that the stressed could even come before, thus being known as *superproparoxitona* or *sobreesdrújula*: e.g. *cómetelo* [kómetelo].

Music is closely related to sound. As Plato states, “music is to the soul what exercise is to the body”. Panksepp (2009) emphasises the emotional power of music, which is linked to the evolution of our cognitive system. Tsirópulos (1987) talks about how he felt the music behind the names written on the graves from the cemetery: “in every grave (...) words, names, voices sound musically” (p. 51, our own translation).

It can be said that “the relationship between music and woman is as old as human history” (Silva, 2007, p. 229, our own translation). According to Robertson (1989), it is believed that women were more musically talented than men in some ancient cultures but they were excluded from it in order to prevent them from achieving too much power. Men thought music was linked to the body, feelings and desire and, as a result, to femininity. Therefore, it could become a trivial activity which needed to be shunned (McClary, 2002). In the European Renaissance only

men could gain access to music (religious music). From the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, with the emergence of opera, women started to consider the possibility of devoting themselves to music professionally. In the Victorian era, women from the bourgeois class could develop their musical gifts through singing or playing the piano, skills which were signs of a good economic status. But this tended to be confined to the domestic sphere. At the time there were not as many women as men dedicated to music professionally, as in the case of literature or painting, but this does not mean they were not gifted. Sometimes they used masculine pseudonyms in order to conceal they were females. Women had a major influence on their children's musical education. From the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, we find a more active contribution from women in the field of music after the foundation of the conservatories and later in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, influenced by the rise of the Feminist movement, mainly from the 1970s.

It can be claimed that men and women listen to music for different reasons. Silva (2007) states that "women tend to use it in order to console themselves when sad and men listen to it as a means of encouragement or so as to feel prouder of themselves" (p. 238, our own translation). The stereotypes of music according to gender preference are slow love songs for girls and rock and heavy metal for boys. Pop music is more popular with women. It is more feminine and sweet; more commercial and conforms more to the demands of society. Since the 1980s in North America rap plays an important role in music. In rap songs women are represented as bitches unless they are relatives or girlfriends. Songs are, therefore, misogynist and aggressive. There are some female followers who do not take the lyrics seriously or do not identify with them. There are few female rap singers, and they fall into two groups: those who use the same ideas and insulting language towards women as the male rap singers such as Missy Elliott or Moss or those who challenge them, for

instance, Queen Latifah or Salt 'N' Pepa. Such stereotypical representations found in popular music have an influence on the people who listen to music.

Surnames were introduced in England after the Norman Conquest in order to group people according to their family or clan or the type of work they undertook and in order to make a distinction between them and others with the same forename (Merry, 1995). All this is well documented. Something similar occurred in Spain: in order to distinguish individuals, surnames started to be used (Albaigès, 1993 and Kohoutková, 2009). In England during the fifteenth century, the use of surnames vastly increased, “at least among persons of some substance” (Baring-Gould, 1910, p. 195). In the sixteenth century the gentry was interested in highlighting their rank and status and surnames started to be used as first names which, according to Camden (1605), was “a legitimate desire by families to ensure the survival of their name” (as cited in Redmonds, 2004, p. 126). Until the eighteenth century the use of surnames as forenames was only reserved for high status people (Smith-Bannister, 1997). From the eighteenth century onwards this practice spread to all levels of society in such a way that women took advantage of it in order to identify the father of an illegitimate child and towards the end of the nineteenth century it was a very popular custom in working-class communities. Many of these first names disappeared over time but others, mainly those of aristocratic origin, remained.

Almost all the countries in the world use a forename freely chosen by parents and a family name or surname. The name should also be euphonic in its own but also in combination with the surname. A factor which undeniably has an effect on the choice of a name “is the sound it has, whether it has a euphonious ring in conjunction with the second name and surname, or whether the abbreviated forms of the name (including

initials) would be acceptable and pleasing to the ear” (de Klerk & Bosch, 1997, p. 5). With a long surname, a short name will have a more pleasing sound. Furthermore, an exotic surname e.g. *Hartzenbusch* can be well combined with exotic names such as *Oscar* or *Ivan*. Rhymes and reiterations should be avoided, e.g. *Ana Santana*, *Rosario Rodríguez* or *Martín Martín Martín* (Albaigès, 1998).

### 3.2.2 Spelling

Jaquith (1979) examined the relationship between graphic and phonological symbolism. Ellefson, Treiman and Kessler (2009) found that children in the U.S. are better than children in England at naming the letters. Children in England tend to begin with sounds. The visual characteristics of the letters may convey messages which may challenge or strengthen sound symbolism (Doyle & Bottomley, 2011). Almost everybody considers that the spelling of a name matters.

Many names can be spelt in a variety of different ways (Redmonds, 2004). Mr. Edward A. Nedelcov, from Canada, collected 779 variants of his surname for the *Guinness Book of Records* (Albaigès, 1998). Forms such as *Catherine*, *Katherine* or *Kathryn* are in frequent use and this may contribute to them all being considered as acceptable spellings although purists may only accept the first two. There are those who claim that all the alternatives are legitimate whereas others would say that options such as *Kathryn* and *Steven*, for instance, are modern inventions and therefore they are not authentic variants of the name. Examples of variants which differ from the norm include, for example, *Micheal* or *Valorie* (Dunkling, 1977).

In general terms, names such as *Miriam* or *Sophia* can have a variety of spellings, e.g. *Míriam*, *Myriam* or *Miryam* for the former and *Sophie*, *Sophia* or *Sofia* for the latter (Albaigès, 1998). Different spellings

can also be found for *Danièle* or *Danielle* (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). Dunkling (1977) raises the issue of long established different spellings: *Catherine* living side by side with *Katherine* and *Erika*, *Karla* or *Karol* with *Erica*, *Carla* or *Carol*, respectively, *Marc* with *Mark*, etc. The <ck> combination can also be used instead of <k>, e.g. *Erick* instead of *Erik* or *Eric*. <k> can also replace <ch> as in *Kristine* instead of *Christine*. There are almost endless permutations such as *Gill* and *Jill*, etc. Likewise, there is a group of female names like *Deborah* and *Debora* or *Sarah* and *Sara*, with different endings (Dunkling, 1977). What is significant though is that the 16 spellings of *Catherine*, for example, all refer to the same name.

Besnard and Desplanques (1987) already foresaw that the ending <ie> (*Noémie*, *Lucie*, etc.) would become common in the 1990s in France. There was a tendency for girls born in 1994 to have an initial <a> (Merry, 1995). Nameberry (2010) discovered that in 2010 names containing an <x> such as *Dexter*, *Max*, *Rex*, etc. were increasing in popularity. The most fashionable consonant was <l>, especially in names with two <l>, e.g. *Lily*, *Layla*, *Delilah*, *Lucille*, etc. In this same year there was also a rise in the popularity of names beginning with an <e> both for boys and girls: *Ethan*, *Eleanor*, *Eva*, *Eloise*, *Eliza*, etc. Similarly, biblical names beginning with <j> such as *Joshua*, *Jonas*, *Jonathan*, *Jacob* and *Jeremiah* were popular.

A change in spelling may be related to the favourite <y> or <ie> ending. Some forms can be written with both spellings, e.g. *Vicky* and *Vickie*. It could be assumed that all names can have both forms but in cases such as *Rosemary* and *Rosemarie*, which come from *Mary* and *Marie*, the pronunciation varies and new names are formed. Other spelling variants include <ey> in pairs of names such as *Tracy* and *Tracey* or *Lesley* and *Leslie*. In names of Greek origin such as *Phoebe*, *Zoe* and

*Chloe* only the <e> ending is needed to produce the same sound as the ending in <ey> but it may not be pronounced correctly. In the future it is feasible that a name such as *Zoe* could be spelt *Zoey* to avoid this. The final <i> is increasing in usage year by year in names such as *Patti*, *Nanci*, etc. The model for such names may originate with common pet names in Europe: *Heidi*, *Trudi*, *Mitzi*, etc. or be taken from a Walt Disney's film: *Bambi*. American place names like *Missouri* or *Miami* may also have had an influence. Internal interchangeability between <y> and <i> can also be found, e.g. *Lynda* or *Linda*. The unnecessary intrusion of <y> in names such as *Jayne* may be due to the influence of well-established names such as *Wayne*. This extra <y> makes the name longer. The same effect is produced when doubling one or more consonants, especially the final one, e.g. *Lynn* instead of *Lyn*.

Dunkling (1977, p. 104) writes that "it is very noticeable that the names of girls take on fancy spellings far more often than boys' names". Albaigès (1998, p. 139, our own translation) makes the same point that "fantasy is a more frequent occurrence in feminine names".

Paulauskaite (2004) upholds that there is an interplay between linguistic and visual information. Unusual spellings may be used to attract attention and perhaps advertising and brand names have had an influence on our fondness for unusual spellings. Those who are fond of grammar or games in *Potential Literature* (LIPO) like looking for names with spelling peculiarities. *Palindromic* names are those which read the same forwards as backwards, e.g. *Ana*, *Ada*, *Nin*, *Oto*, etc. Some celebrities are more memorable because they have palindromic names or surnames, e.g. Carlos *Menem* (former president of Argentina), *Mónica Seles* (tennis player), *Ava Gardner* (actress), etc. (Albaigès, 1998). Inversion of letters (e.g. *Aron/Nora*), the suppression of any part of the name (e.g. *Benamar/Amar*) or modifications in order to produce a nicer sound (e.g. *Lévy/Leval*) are commonly used for pseudonyms (Lapierre, 2006). In ancient times a name

would be interpreted on the basis of its anagram. The word which emerged by rearranging the letters in the name was considered to have a special significance. For instance, a *Brian* may have a good brain or a *Clare* would be clear. The interplay between sound and spelling is also reflected in the fact that some immigrant families change their original name or they use the original but adopt a different pronunciation which would be more typical of the language of the host country where they live. Several European countries allow such changes of name so as to facilitate the integration of immigrants. The transliteration from one language to another language is not easy, though (Salahuddin, 1999; Walkowiak, 2011).

Different spellings of a name are used depending on the language or country. Some claim that the alternatives to orthodox British spellings come from American or other origins. In fact, there are spelling conventions: e.g. British English *colour* vs. American English *color*. Americans tend to prefer *Anna* or *Annie* to *Ann* or *Anne*. The English prefer *Annie*, followed by *Ann/Anne* and *Anna* in last place. For the French *Anne* is also more common than *Anna* (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). *Lesley* is a more common spelling in England while *Leslie* is more likely to be found in America. An American *Katherine* or *Lillie* would probably be a *Catherine* or *Lily* in England. The Scots are especially fond of *Catherine* with its spelling form as *Katherine* or *Kathryn* (Dunkling, 1977). Some Scottish names seem strange in their written form to the English, e.g. the Scottish *Coinneach* for the English *Kenneth*. Black Americans often use Spanish forms of names. *Rosa* is commonly used amongst Black Americans whereas White Americans tend to use *Rose*. *Cornelia*, *Irma*, *Alberta* and *Clarissa* are also common for Black Americans.



In the past the variation of spelling found in the Civil Registry was sometimes due to a whim or ignorance on the part of parents or even a printer's error. This may have occurred in the case of *Alexander*, which had two common pronunciations and spellings in medieval times: *Alisander* or *Alisaunder*, and a shortened form *Sander* or *Saunder*, which remain as surnames such as *Sanders*. The reason for the existence of other spellings can also be explained historically. In Greece *Ekaterina* is used, a form still preserved in Russia; in Latin it was *Katerina* and in Danish it was *Karen* although in England these are all considered to be separate names in their own right. The spelling *Alan* (from *Allan* or *Alen*) has been favoured in England since the 1930s. With regard to *Joseph*, in medieval England the spelling was usually *Josep*, maybe due to an influence from the Italian *Giuseppe*, given that many of those bearing this name were Jews who came from Italy (Redmonds, 2004).

In fourteenth-century England Latin was the language of official documents and that is why it was uncommon to find first names written in the vernacular form. Sometimes the modern pronunciation is closer to the learned version and this leads to the vernacular form not being recognised as such. Spanning from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Líbano (1995) gives information about the variety of Latin names (e.g. *Ferrandi* and *Ferrandus*). Most Latin forms were created by adding <us> to a male name and <a> to a female, e.g. *Ricardus* or *Margareta*. The Latin ending <a> clearly identifies *Philippa* as a female name but the vernacular *Philip* was also employed for girls, which created confusion and additional evidence was needed to establish the gender of the bearer of the name (Redmonds, 2004). There were other Latin forms of names, though, which did not have regular endings, e.g. *Johannes* or *Andreas*. The latter, with this spelling, was typically used for males whereas the ending <ey> was employed for both genders (Hanks et al., 2006). The gender designation of

the final letter of first names is more accurate in males than females (Barry & Harper, 2013).

Among indigenous names from the tenth to the thirteenth-century England there was an alternation or even a loss between <b> and <u> between vowels (e.g. *Lobessa- Louessa*). Often /t/ sonorised and /g/ became voiceless. There was often the gemination or simplification of geminates. The vernacular forms are often not recognisable as proceeding from being a variant of the same name although many of them are well-known today. For example, in *Dick* (from *Richard*) there is a change in the initial consonant and then <ch> is substituted by <ck>. This was so because *Richard* and *Rickard* could be used interchangeably in the Middle Ages (which is reflected in some surnames). The change could also be to <h> instead of <d>, thus, *Hick*, giving rise to a “wide range of alternatives” (Redmonds, 2004, p. 18). With Greek there was a replacement of the original graphic forms by oral forms in transcriptions. Thus, <ph> was substituted by <f> due to the lack of knowledge of the original sound, for example, *Phoebas-Foebas*. There was also the hypercorrection of <cx> instead of <x> (e.g. *Alexander* instead of *Alexander*). Therefore, harmony between the sound of a name and its written appearance was restored.

### **3.2.3 Beauty**

Anthropoid monkeys had hinted at aesthetic emotions in signs. In pre-platonic philosophy beauty was what was suitable for a given aim, a definition provided by Socrates, as well as what brought pleasure to eyes and ears, an innovative definition coined by sophists, who only focused on forms and appearances. These two definitions were rejected by Plato. Regarding the former, Plato claimed that, apart from considering useful

things as beautiful, there were things in themselves which were beautiful. Besides, if what was beautiful was a means of achieving good, it could not be good in itself and beauty was good. With respect to the second definition, Plato maintained that beauty was not confined to what was perceived by the ear or eye (the world of senses) but also virtue, wisdom, good laws, etc. (the world of ideas). In this sense, he coincided with Theophrastus: “the beauty in a word is what pleases the ear or the eye, or what is appreciated by the thought” (as cited in Demetrio, 1979, p. 83, our own translation). What is more, Plato proposed an objective view of beauty as opposed to the opinion that objects were not beautiful in themselves but their beauty depended on people’s reactions (as the saying goes, “beauty is in the eye of the beholder”). This interpretation of beauty in Plato was Greeks’ traditional perspective (Tatarkiewicz, 1987).

Symbolists attached a crucial importance to beauty to such an extent that Rubén Darío, for example, claimed there was a close relationship between ethics and beauty (as cited in R. Gullón, 1979). He held the view that there was a moral duty to challenge ugliness (ugliness would be synonymous with unfairness) in society. For José Martí a relationship existed between poetry and music in terms of beauty (as cited in R. Gullón, 1979). In his view, poetry, like music, was not beautiful in itself but it suggested beauty. As cited in Jiménez (1979, p. 13), “what is breathed in from it [poetry] is more beautiful than what it is in itself”. Ullmann (1978) emphasises the fact that names such as *Ulysses*, *Agamemnon*, *Paris*, *Hector*, *Aeneas*, *Helen* and *Orestes*, amongst others, seemed to have been born to be included in poetry due to their aesthetic charm. A connection can also be established between religion and beauty. God is referred to as being “ardent of beauty” (Guillén, 1979, p. 97). For Muslims beauty is important in names and for them beautiful names are religious names. The *Qur’an* states that “the most beautiful names belong to Allah” (*surat al-A’raaf* 7: 180, as cited in Salahuddin, 1999, p. v).

Some poets mention it is a pity there is not truth in beauty, taking into account that truth is “our relationship with reality” (Gómez-Caffarena, 1979, p. 122).

Harari and McDavid (1973), Harris (1975), Erwin and Calev (1984) as well as Stewart and Segalowitz (1991) found that the attractiveness of the first name has an effect on school grades. Erwin and Calev (1984) also noticed that the name of the teacher has an influence on the marks given to students. Teachers who bore attractive names rated students higher. Kamin (1958) states that the attractiveness of a name may even have an influence on voting preferences. Especially when there is little information about the candidates, the politician who has a more attractive name and surname tends to be voted for. All this may suggest that it is not a good idea to give an unattractive name to a child.

Advertising reflects the ideas of patriarchal society: the importance of preserving beauty and youth for females. Male chauvinism is still prevalent in our society. Many women (and men) fight against the passing of time and they want to remain beautiful and young (Gil, 2007). In fact, history shows that women have always been interested in beauty. During the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century there were secular translations (literature and essays) which searched for aesthetic qualities, written by women, one of whom was Mary, the sister of Sir Philip Sidney (Tailleffer de Haya, 2007).

### **3.2.4 Length**

Quilis and Fernández (1964) define a syllable as the first unit which is larger than the phoneme. Syllables are phonological units but they also have a reflection in writing. They have a nucleus, consisting of one or more vowels, or –as is the case with English- a vowel-like

consonant (Monroy, 2012), that is, there can be one or more phonemes in a syllable. The limits and formation of the syllable have been disputed (see Quilis & Fernández, 1964 for more information about syllables). According to Hayes (2009, p. 2), “English syllable division is not blurry in every instance. When a stressed vowel follows the consonant sequence at issue, syllabification seems pretty clear”, for instance, the word *attract* /ə.'trækt/. Only in the cases in which the second vowel is not stressed, there is ambisyllabicity, whose basic idea is that “some consonants can belong to more than one syllable at a time” (Hayes, 2009, p. 1).

In conversational text in English 84% of words are monosyllables, 12% are bisyllables, 3% are trisyllables and just 1% are polysyllables (Fry, 1947). Baggett and Ehrenfeucht (1982) claim that most names are short. In general terms, shorter names are preferred (Albaigès, 1998; P. Rodríguez, 2014). According to a study conducted by the online dating site *Badoo*, shorter names are found to have greater appeal than longer ones (Styles, 2013, para.3). Shortened spoken names are more often used than longer birth names (Schulz, 2006).

Phillips (1990) points out that male names tend to be phonetically shorter. One of the only gender markers found in English and Japanese is that monosyllabics tend to be masculine (Mutsukawa, 2011) Likewise, in French male names tend to be monosyllables despite French being different from English prosodically speaking, e.g. *Jean, Paul, Luc, Marc*, etc. (Cutler et al., 1990). Wierzbicka (1992) states that women’s names are often bisyllabic Female names are longer than male names, there being more monosyllabic male names statistically significantly speaking (Cutler et al., 1990). Similarly, male hypocorisms tend to be monosyllabic e.g. *Mike, Bob*, etc. whereas hypocoristic female names are usually multisyllabic e.g. *Robbie, Tina, Jenny*, etc. (Cassidy, Kelly & Sharoni, 1999). The same gender-stereotyping trends appearing among human beings are found in dogs, in particular, Golden Retrievers in English-

speaking countries. The names used for female dogs have more syllables and the names of more male dogs are made up of one syllable (E.L. Abel & Kruger, 2007).

Cutler et al. (1990) suggest an explanation for the general tendency for female names to be longer than male names: there is a masculine bias in the English vocabulary with words for male professions or names to be unmarked and the female equivalents formed by means of a suffix (e.g. *author*, *authoress* or *Thomas*, *Thomasina*). There is also a usual precedence of male names when both female and male names are together e.g. *man and wife*, which makes the former -the male one- tend to be shorter.

Regarding short forenames, the shortest name in Spain is *O* (*María de la O*), which derives from the antiphonies which praised the Virgin (*O Sabiduría*). The rest of very short English and Spanish names are usually hypocorisms such as *Jo*, *Vicky*, *Lola*, etc. (Albaigès, 1998; Nameberry, 2010). In contrast to the findings from the study conducted by Badoo (Styles, 2013), Hight (1949) makes reference to the fact that long words, especially those from Latin roots, have more sonority than short words in English. Very long names from Assyrian cultures such as *Nabucodonosor* or *Asurbanipal* have become well-known nowadays. In pre-Columbian cultures in Mexico we find the longest names, e.g. *Nezaualtekololtz* or *Tezopolikyoloht*. An indirect way of making a word longer is by using several names. This is a very common habit in France although in England it is also common to have two names or even more (Dunkling, 1977) and in Spain there are occasionally two names (Albaigès, 1998).

### 3.2.5 Simplicity

Short and simple forenames were in demand in the 1990s. Lemieux (2005) refers to the preference for simple names nowadays, thus rejecting double-barrelled surnames, complicated for administrative purposes. Earnshaw (2012, p. 176) speaks about “a new way of thinking about a young single female including (...) thinking about heroines as ‘plain’”. Ordinary names can function symbolically without it being evident. In fact, he speaks about the ordinariness of the name *Jane* or the surname *Eyre* in the novel *Jane Eyre*. Hence, the plainness of the character is suggested by the simplicity in her forename and surname. The character is plain physically and she is a shy and discrete person who also lacks status and pretence. However, she disguises a strong-willed personality.

### 3.2.6 Meaning

Onomastics is a part of linguistics which deals with meaning (Dager-Nieto, n.d.). In recent times philosophers such as Kripke (1980) have insisted on the idea that proper names do not have a meaning (G. Cohen, 1990b). Other authors such as Frege (1892) state that the meaning of proper names is no other than its external referent. He alludes to the fact that a unique object like Venus can be referred to by using two labels: *morning star* or *evening star*, with two different meanings. Nonetheless, the meaning of proper names is not clearly defined in his work. Theories of proper name meaning do not encapsulate all the possible meanings a proper name can have, e.g. not all words ending in *city* are cities, for example, *Manchester City* is a football club (Valentine et al., 1996).

According to Lévi-Strauss (1962), “the proper name serves at the same time to identify (...), classify and give meaning” (p. 241, our own

translation). Albaigès (1998, p.100, our own translation) claims that “each individual is a bearer with his name of a message that people will have to decode”. He adds that “every name has a meaning” (Albaigès, 1998, p. 208, our own translation). Already in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Camden explained that names were meaningful words. Names were given meanings or significations, as many authors call them, since the very beginning of time. When the *Bible* was more regularly and widely read, biblical names had more meaning than today and certain names made immediate suggestions to people about the characters bearing those names, e.g. *Jeremiah* was a doleful prophet, *Daniel* was an upright judge or *Martha* was always anxious about domestic matters and is the patron saint of housewives (Dunkling, 1977). Moody (1863) studied meanings of Christian names. In the *Bible* *Os* means ‘God’ (*Oswald, Osborn, Osbert*) in Germanic names; *Adam* means ‘virgin earth, given by God, first man’; *Eve* means ‘given by the man, coming from a rib, expelled from Paradise’ (Strus, 1978; Tsiropoulos, 1987) and *John, Johanan*, means ‘Yahve is merciful’ (J.L. Alonso & Huerta, 2000, p. 15).

Valentine et al. (1996) have looked at the reasons why proper names and, above all, people’s names, form the linguistic class which causes most retrieval difficulties in healthy adults. The fact that sometimes it is difficult to trace the meaning of a name (G. Cohen, 1990a) contributes to the difficulty in recalling them. Although in some cultures the relationship between first names and vocabulary words is transparent, for many people names are semantically opaque. In most Western European languages, including English and Spanish, the meaning is not obvious and comes from languages which are not spoken nowadays, e.g. Ancient Greek or Latin (Darlington, 2015). In modern times there are few word-names with a clear meaning such as *June* or *Prudence*. The majority, like *Sarah* or *Catherine*, are only meaningful when one



interprets them as ‘princess’ or ‘purity’ by using a reference book. One writer assumed that the name *Brenda* meant ‘firebrand’ and talked about a dark beauty which aroused a flame of love in every heart. The real meaning was in fact ‘sword’ (Dunkling, 1977). Besides, the meaning of a name can be relative because it may mean different things in different languages (Mabuza, 2011). Among Muslims Arabic is the predominant language in names and this is followed by Persian (Farsi). Given that not all Muslims are familiar with these languages, sometimes they do not know the meanings of names (Salahuddin, 1999).

Hanks et al. (2006, p. xiii) state that “among English speakers (and indeed among speakers of French, German, Spanish, etc.) there is rarely any question of choosing a name for a child on the basis of its meaning”. We “are insensitive to the content” (Albaigès, 1993, p. 9, our own translation). On many occasions the name is chosen without paying any attention to criteria such as what remains in the name forever and ever: its meaning. If we paid attention to it, “we would have gained in understanding, in enjoyment of the beauty of the name, and we would have cooperated in enriching our language” (Albaigès, 1993, p. 11, our own translation). If parents like a name, they will be pleased if the name once had a pleasant meaning but they will not dislike the name if the original meaning was not pleasant, e.g. *Cecilia* (which meant ‘blind’). However, there are exceptions. There are parents who like and choose the name *Sophia* or *Sophie* because of its meaning ‘wisdom’ or *Neil*, which means ‘champion’ (Albaigès, 1998).

Kellas, Ferraro and Simpson (1988) support the idea that meaning has an effect on word recognition. Proper names are sometimes composites of meaningful phoneme strings, e.g. the *van*, *Mac*, *O*, *son* or *ez* beginnings in Flemish, Scottish and Irish names and endings in English and Spanish, respectively, but there are also words which are composites of phonotactic constraints permitted but not meaningful in that sense.

Similarly, people's names in China have elements which carry a meaning. An exhaustive inventory of Chinese forenames cannot be produced though because any meaningful element from Chinese can be used, that is, any morpheme can be part of a forename, e.g. *Kewen* ('science-culture') or *Li* ('perseverance'). In China people, regardless of their educational background or social class, talk about what their name means (Alleton, 1993). Kaluzynska (2011, p. 105) explains that "the meaningfulness of names plays an important social and cultural role in the Chinese naming system". Ghaleb al Zumor (2009) explored Yemeni Arabic personal names in terms of meaning, among other factors.

Names designated qualities (Albaigès, 1993). Most of the meanings given in books on forenames are positive (Albaigès, 1998; Redmonds, 2004; Powell, 2006), e.g. *Leticia* ('happiness'), *Irene* ('peace'), *Fidel* ('faithful'), *Lucía* (*prima luce natus*, 'born with the first day light'), all of them taken from the Spanish here, or *Henry* ('home' –*haim*- and 'power' –*ric*). It may be a desirable quality for life: *Felix*, *Joy*, *Happy*, etc. (Hanks et al., 2006). Ruiz-Zaragoza (2011) studied names whose etymology and meaning are linked to laughter and fun. On the other hand, the invasion of Germanic people in the Western world led to the spread of names expressing values of their culture: war, power, strength, wisdom, etc. e.g. *Ernest* ('strong').

In Spanish onomastic repertoire names of Greek origin are very common. The Greek culture exalted qualities related to refinement and distinction, e.g. *Agnes* ('chaste, pure'). Greek names spread through Western Europe by means of the *Gospels*, which were written in Greek (except for Saint Matthew) and the first Christian Communities. Roman culture also adopted names with a Greek origin. Roman names differed from Greek names in that they often referred to trivial objects, even ironically, e.g. *Avelina* ('avellana'; 'hazelnut'), *Fabius* ('haba'; 'broad

bean'), *Claudius* ('cojo'; 'lame') or *Caecilia* ('ciega'; 'blind') (Albaigès, 1993). These trivial meanings could be found among ordinary people and slaves in Roman culture (Albaigès, 1998). Christianity also brought new meanings to Roman names, e.g. *Renatus* ('reborn in grace').

In Spanish-speaking communities male names are chosen on the basis of the qualities they express such as strength (the first reason given by Spanish parents with 40%), intelligence (the first reason for Latin American parents with 48%) and masculinity (the first reason for Latin American parents living in the USA with 42.8%) (BabyCenter, 2015a). Goodness was another desirable quality. Although intelligence and femininity are the main qualities looked for in female names, for Spanish people intelligence outweighs femininity whereas it is the other way round (60% for femininity) for Latin American parents. Kindness and compassion are the third quality. Dager-Nieto (n.d.) gives a very detailed account of Spanish names and their corresponding meanings according to origin. A similar source in English is Hanks and Hodges (1990). Traditional Chinese names for girls mainly refer to qualities such as being pure, chaste, beautiful, sweet, etc. whereas male names refer to qualities such as being strong, intelligent, active, brave, loyal, etc. (Kaluzynska, 2011). The names given to women are more often chosen on the basis of stereotypes whereas those given to men can express personality. Female names are chosen with less care and have fewer appellations. All this reflects a difference between men and women (Alleton, 1993). In a similar vein, among Muslims, males are usually given names of religious importance or conveying qualities of bravery and manhood whereas females are often given names of Islamic heritage or qualities associated to femininity: virtue, beauty, etc. (Salahuddin, 1999).

There are many Latin names related to animals (*Lope*, *Armentarius*), plants (*Florentinus*) or minerals (*Ferro*). Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century words referring to flowers (*Daisy*, *Primrose*, etc.) and birds

(*Teale, Kestrel*, etc.) have been used as forenames. In the 1870s in the top fifty names *Rose* and *Lily* were to be found, possibly as a result of this new use of flowers as names. In the original use of *Rose* as a name the meaning was the modern ‘horse’. *Lily* was the pet form of *Elizabeth*. They were not flowers. *Susanna*, however, was a well-established name which meant ‘lily’. *Hazel* soon became popular in the USA and the same thing happened with *Violet* (already used in Scotland in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, according to Withycombe, 1977), *Ivy*, *Olive* and *Daisy* in Britain. Later other names were employed in English-speaking countries: *Blossom*, *Cherry*, *Daffodil*, *Daphne*, *Holly*, *Heather*, *Poppy*, *Rosemary*, *Primrose*, *Viola* or *Iris*. The latter seems to have been inspired by *Iris*, the goddess of the rainbow in Greek mythology. *Olive*, *Hazel* and *Holly*, which are tree names, were common. The Italian name *Sylvia*, which came from *silva*, the Latin word for ‘wood’, was also used. An English clergyman commented in 1890 that all children had been given flower names, which reflected sweetness, but there was a superstition around that as flowers had brief lives, so the bearers of the names may not live long either, although the decrease in infant mortality at that time probably helped to avoid such superstitions. Nowadays floral names for babies have increased significantly (Schoenberg, 2014). Both male and female Chinese people are given names related to flowers too, e.g. *Ju Ao* (‘arrogant Chrysanthemum’). One of the only gender markers found in English and Japanese is that flower names are a feminine characteristic (Mutsukawa, 2011). In Spain floral names are also found as forenames e.g. *Camelia*, *Gardenia*, *Magnolia*, *Rosa* or *Violeta* (Kohoutková, 2009). In Latin American soap operas female main characters are often named after flowers (*Margarita*, *Violeta* or *Rosa*) and birds (*Alondra* or *Paloma*).

Recently bird names are becoming fashionable (P. Rodríguez, 2014), particularly amongst celebrities. As pointed out by Gilmore (2010,

para. 15), “they are the latest trend of nature names”, e.g. *Dove*, *Lark*, *Robin*, etc. For example, Nicole Richie and Joel Madden’s daughter is called *Sparrow* and Maura West’s daughter is *Birdie*. Month names are found in society as well nowadays e.g. *June* or *May* (also a shortened form of *Mary*) (Redmonds, 2004).

Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century words meaning precious stones have been used for forenames. At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century there were names such as *Pearl*, followed by others like *Beryl*, *Ruby*, *Opal*, *Crystal*, *Amber*, *Coral* (and *Coralie*), *Amethyst*, *Jet*, *Onyx*, *Jade* and *Diamond*. The original meaning of *Margaret* was ‘pearl’. According to Redmonds (2004), *Beryl* was popular in 1925. Although now it has almost disappeared, it has probably had an influence on the *Cheryls* and *Sheryls* who came later. *Judith* originally meant ‘jewel’ (Dunkling, 1977). In Spain names of precious stones are also used for women e.g. *Esmeralda*, *Gemma*, *Perla* or *Rubí* (Kohoutková, 2009). Jewels are often used as terms of endearment, e.g. *my existence’s jewel*, the same as with sweetness, e.g. *sweetheart*. Jewels are used as names and they are even associated with zodiac signs, e.g. *topaz* (Taurus), *emerald* (Cancer) or *sapphire* (Leo). In South American soap operas female main characters are often named after jewels (e.g. *Esmeralda*, *Perla*, *Topacio*, *Rubí*, etc.).

Place names and surnames are used as forenames in English-speaking countries. Dunkling (1977, p. 63) states that “the creation of ‘new’ first names by transferring surnames continues all the time in the English-speaking world”. Examples for males are *Scott*, *Ryan*, *Ashley* or *Cameron* and for girls: *Kimberly* or *Kimberley*, *Kelly* or *Hayley*. Immigrants to America left England with names such as *Joseph* or *William* but today they bear names such as *Jefferson* or *Madison*. The mother’s maiden name has also been commonly used as a middle name among English speakers in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Hanks et al, 2006). *Leslie* or *Lesley* began as a Scottish place name. It was also used as a surname.

Eventually it became employed as a first name. In England *Leslie* is the most usual male form and *Lesley* the female form, a spelling established by Robert Burns in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Dunkling, 1977). The *-ley* suffix often accompanied place names such as *Beverley* or *Shirley* and it meant different things. In the former example it means ‘stream’ (*lecc*) while in the latter it means ‘an open place in a wood’ (*lea*). Georgia is also a place name and it is still commonly used in the USA although the fame of the song “Sweet Georgia Brown” has contributed to its spread to other English-speaking countries. The name *Virginia* is an American place. The main cities and provinces in China are usually monosyllabic and they are often used for forenames, e.g. *Yansheng* (*Yan* refers to people born in Peking) (Alleton, 1993).

There are parents who choose a title as a first name for their children, e.g. *Duke* (from *Marmaduke*), *Lord* (now used as a surname), etc. We should note the Latin *Regina* (meaning ‘queen’) or the Hebrew *Sarah* (‘princess’). They are social titles, so a British politician ironically said “if enough parents named their children *Lord* or *Lady*, the House of Lords would collapse overnight” (Dunkling, 1977, p. 22, emphasis added). Some parents give their children the name *Doctor*, thus saving them years of work and sacrifice in completing a PhD. Other names such as *Admiral*, *Colonel* or *Captain* as well as religious titles such as *Reverend* or *Rabbi* can also be found.

*John*, *Séan*, *Ia(i)n*, *Giovanni*, *Johann*, *Jean*, *Jan*, *Ivan*, etc. are all “variants of the same name, with the same ‘meaning’” (Hanks et al., 2006, p. xi). Albaigès (1998, p. 22, our own translation) raises the issue of “the concurrences between two different names which end up being one”. *Isabelle* or *Isabel* is a popular form of *Élisabeth* or *Elizabeth* (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). The real origin of *Isabel* was Babylonian and it means ‘adorer of Baal, the Babylonian God’. In order to weaken this

meaning, the Jews considered the name to be an equivalent of the Hebrew *Elisabet* because they have a phonetic similarity. This equivalence is taken for granted today as well (Albaigès, 1998). *Maria*, *Mary* and *Marie* are also variants of the same name (Lebel, 1946). In names often the English form is used alongside the Gaelic adaptation: *Ian* with *John*, *Alistair/Alasdair* with *Alexander*, etc. (Dunkling, 1977).

Despite BabyCenter's (2015a) findings that over half of the participants do not consider that a child's name has an influence on his/her success in life whereas education, values, effort and luck do, Powell (2006) wonders whether the name has an influence on what a person is and will become. Aura and Hess (2010) found that first name features predict many economic outcomes in a person's lifetime. Walter Shandy claims that given names can have an influence on one's personality (Sterne, 1759). Jahoda (1954) revealed that among the Ashanti people of West Africa boys born on Monday committed far fewer criminal offences than boys born on Wednesday, which endorsed the widespread idea that Monday boys were quiet and well-behaved and Wednesday boys were quick-tempered and aggressive. The Romans and the English Puritans shared the belief that names were related to the nature of the people bearing them. The Jewish prayer for the sick reveals that Jewish people attach a person to his/her name (Dunkling, 1977). It was believed that children should live according to the message contained in their names, that is, "bring great honour to [their] Holy Name" (Lyford, 1655). Likewise, when a person has been chosen as Pope, the first question he is asked is what he wants his name to be. The name will depend on his devotions and the line of a former Pope he wants to follow. The favourite names for a Pope are, in their Spanish translation, *Juan*, *Gregorio*, *Benedicto*, *Clemente*, *Inocencio*, *León*, *Pío*, *Bonifacio*, *Alejandro* and *Urbano*. Muslims like their names to have a meaning related to Islam. If they did not have an appropriate meaning, they would not achieve what

Muslims aspire to. Given that the relationship between a man and Allah is that of a master and the servant, names based on servants with the attributes of Allah are welcomed, e.g. *Abdur Rahman*: ‘Servant of the Most Gracious’. *Muhammad* and *Ahmad* are two of the favourite male names and they are given to the Prophet, according to the *Qur’an* (Salahuddin, 1999). In England *Frank* is preferred over its full form *Francis* possibly because of the positive meaning of the word ‘frank’: meaning ‘openness and sincerity’.

Harmency (1932) dealt with the personality of people bearing specific names. Lawson (1974) and Bruning and Albott (1974) explored the personality stereotypes linked to names. In fact, there are cases in which there may not be a correlation between the meaning of the name and the personality of its bearer: “whether it is marvellous coincidence, or whether it is that the name itself has an imperceptible effect upon the character (...), there never yet was any person named *Charles* who was not an open, manly, honest, good-natured and frank-hearted fellow” (Edgar Allan Poe, *Thou Art The Man*, in Poe’s short stories, as cited in Dunkling, 1977, emphasis added). The fact is that Charles Goodefellow is later revealed to be the murderer, so he does not seem to possess the qualities associated with the name *Charles*. When we look at the Spanish name *Juan*, according to the following children’s song, every man whose name is *John* is stupid:

Todos los juanes son tontos:

los meten en un costal

y los suben a la torre

y los echan a volar

(*Cancionero infantil*, as cited in J.L. Alonso & Huerta, 2000, p.41).



In fact, the Spanish expression *juanearse*, especially in Aragon, means ‘playing a joke and mocking someone’. This generalisation long claimed in folklore is explained by Juan Rufo, an author from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, who stated: “[This is] because most men are [stupid] and the majority of them are called *John*” (as cited in J.L. Alonso & Huerta, 2000, p. 15, our own translation, emphasis added). However, as suggested by J.L. Alonso and Huerta (2000), there are intelligent *Johns* as well. On the other hand, the two Johns in the *Bible*, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, are very different in personality and physical appearance, despite both being good people. Whereas Baptist John is rough and uncouth, he has a beard, wrinkled skin and he is bald, John the Evangelist has a soft and delicate image, his hair is long, his skin is smooth and he looks effeminate, hence the childish and sweet lamb attached to him. Even the celebration date is different: 27<sup>th</sup> December for Evangelist John and 24<sup>th</sup> June for Baptist John.

### 3.2.7 Religion and magic

Bécquer posits that religion can create a society and this society can create art, so religion is a source of art: “Catholicism has made use of it- art- as if a powerful interpreter in order to reach deep down into the soul by means of the senses” (as cited in Guillén, 1979, p. 97, our own translation). Giordano (1979) agrees with Bécquer’s idea and adds that sweetness is a reflection of divinity. Love is poetry and religion is an endless and pure love. Bourin and Martínez-Sopena (2010) studied anthroponomastics in the Middle Ages in Christian France, Spain, England and Hungary. Franklin (1986) found no significant link between forename choice and religious and political views, in this case, in fourteenth-century peasants in Thornbury, England. Faure (2007) included names from deities such as *Zeus*, *Thor*, etc. in his dictionary. For Arabs,

“the name of a person is a timeless message” (Al-Bulushi, 2011, p. 9). The word *name* is translated into *ism* in Arabic and it means ‘sublimity’, ‘highness’, ‘mark’, etc. Another example of the spiritual feeling created by names is *Jane Eyre*’s individual revelation, a religious feeling transposed into a secular, personal event; “she is filled with her own name, repeated three times, emanating from ‘Edward Fairfax Rochester’” (Earnshaw, 2012, p. 184).

The first man and woman took their name after being expelled from the Paradise because before there was an immortal undifferentiation (Pommier, 2013). For Christians the forename makes a person a son of God. The true name of each person is the name given at baptism. To baptise is used as synonymous with *to name* (Albert, 2006). As cited in Ross (2006, para. 6), Jesus said “And I tell you that you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church”. The Christian name implies the promise of religious immortality. Baptism implies a second birth and the godfather and godmother assume the role of a father and mother (Burguière, 1984). Of all the sacraments in the Catholic Church, baptism is the best kept (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). As part of initiations rites there can be different name-giving ceremonies which may occur at birth or near birth as in baptism or later in life when new names are adopted (Dunkling, 1977).

From the 4<sup>th</sup> century there was already a Church tradition in names. The early Church, despite the widespread use of Latin, attempted to suppress classical literature and hide pagan classical history. Nowadays in the majority of European languages, over half of the conventional forenames come from Christianity. In the twelfth century the importance of the Church increased in Western Europe. Great abbeys were founded and the ill-fated Crusades undertaken. In post-revolutionary France or pre-revolutionary Russia giving names outside the names set by the Church

was officially sanctioned. Hanks et al. (2006, p. xi) even claim that “agnostics and atheists typically choose names for their children that are common among the sect or religion which they may have rejected but in whose midst they live, rather than totally alien or invented names”. Redmonds (2004) add that “Christian names are historically of great interest because they can tell us much about families, communities and culture in past times” (p. vii).

In the medieval mind women were seen as more devout than men (Clark, 1995). According to Tailleffer de Haya (2007), during the Renaissance the Church told women to obey their husbands and stay at home but, paradoxically, they gave women access to translations of religious texts, which enabled them to take part in the religious controversies taking place at that time. It was the daughter of Edward VI’s tutor, Lady Bacon or Anne Cook, who started translating reformist religious works. She contributed to education because there were no reference books in the Renaissance. Differences between genders in terms of names were found in 1377-83 as the *Bible* was a source for male names much more than for females. Nonetheless, this changed in the sixteenth century as Biblical names were used for both men and women (Redmonds, 2004).

In England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Biblical and French Christian names started to displace ancient vernacular names (Baring-Gould, 1910). The first source for names in England and other English-speaking countries is the *Bible* (Darlington, 2015). According to Withycombe (1977), the Reformation caused the decline of the popularity of non-scriptural saints and their names. Together with the Norman Conquest it implied a major change in name patterns. Puritans felt that the English Reformation had not gone far enough and that the Church of England was too tolerant with practices they associated with the Catholic Church. The Puritans had a great love of sermons and psalms. They gave

names which identified the bearer with a virtue and these were especially given to girls (Boulton, 2002). The most popular ones were *Charity, Faith, Mercy, Prudence, Obedience, Honesty* and *Patience* (Hanks et al., 2006). It was around 1580 when, according to Withycombe (1977), these names became very common. One example is the name *Grace*. It could be found before Puritan influence in certain families although the frequency increased after the growth of Puritanism. *Grace* is associated to divine influence and salvation. Occasionally this name was also used amongst Catholics for boys.

Most Puritans tended to use biblical names. *Rachel, Judith, Ruth, Lydia* and *Rebecca* were first used in the mid-sixteenth century. *Susanna*, “the beautiful wife of Joachim, falsely accused of adultery and saved from execution by the intervention of Daniel” (Redmonds, 2004, p. 145), was another female name commonly found amongst Puritans. Smith (1985) attributed the onomastic revolution to the fact that settlers in New England, in particular, Hingham, were given Old Testament names (90% until the 1740s) as a result of the impact of Puritanism. The fact that many names were taken from the *Bible* increased the number of names coming of Hebrew and Greek origins (Lebel, 1946). The Hebrew culture was an unfamiliar culture but their names have become universally known because of Christianity. *Abraham* was the earliest Old Testament name to be used, followed by *Isaac, Nathaniel* and *Benjamin*. *Joshua, Jonas, Jonathan, Jacob* and *Jeremiah* were less popular but also used. The main prophets are *Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel* and *Daniel* (Monter, 1979).

Other Protestant Churches such as Calvin’s Protestant Reform Church also gave rise to the preference for names from the Old Testament. A few, especially female, names such as *Abigail* have survived or been revived in modern use. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century an *Eve* would more likely be an *Evelyn*, for instance, whereas an *Adam* would be simply *Adam*

(Dunkling, 1977). *Adam* was popular but *Eve* was not because it brought sin to the world (Hanks et al., 2006). Jewish people are also fond of biblical names such as *Sarah*, *Rebecca*, *Leah*, *Rachel*, *Ruth*, *Esther*, *Judith* or *Miriam* and *Isaac*, *Israel*, *Joel*, etc. *Aaron*, who was the brother of Moses, is a Jewish name which is increasingly being used in Britain (Dunkling, 1977). Some names such as *Solomon* are exclusively used by Jews. On many occasions Hebrew female names suggest freshness and charm: *Deborah* ('bee'), *Tamar* ('palm tree') or *Naomi* ('my delight'). There are many more male names than female names in the *Bible* (3000 vs. 170). In some cases women in the *Bible* are not known by their names and their names do not have as many references to God as those of men.

Until the mid 11<sup>th</sup> century, in Spain religious names came from the Old Testament and saints that the Visigoths worshipped (e.g. *Félix*, *Cipriano*, etc.). From the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Catholics adopted Old Testament names but less intensely than Protestants or Jews. *David*, the greatest biblical king of Israel, is one of the most common names among speakers of all creeds. The name was also borne by the patron saint of Wales and two kings in Scotland, which has contributed to its widespread use among Gentiles (Hanks et al., 2006). In Spain during the last decades of the 12<sup>th</sup> century the Gregorian Reform was beginning and the power of the Pope strengthened (Martínez-Sopena, 1995a). At the time evangelical names and those from Roman martyrs and saints from the south of France were used (Martínez-Sopena, 1995b). In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, after the Council of Trent (1545-1563), the Catholic Church promoted names of canonised saints (Monter, 1979). Polish names are usually connected to saints because they are staunch Catholics. In Spain the influence of Roman Catholicism is even more powerful than in Italy. During the Dark Ages Ireland was like Rome in the sense that Christianity was firmly established there. Many Irishmen were bishops and became missionaries in pagan areas. From the 4<sup>th</sup> century Christianity started to penetrate the

Basque Country but this land kept its religious singularity for several more centuries. Christianisation in the Basque Country was a slow process which was delayed even until the 10<sup>th</sup> century. It must be remembered that while Iberia adopted Roman Catholicism, the Basque Country continued to praise animals as deities, the Fire and the Sun, etc.

In England there was a deep interest in the saints from the Middle Ages. It was a “fascination and inspiration to people over the centuries” (Redmonds, 2004, p. 90). The meaning of *Margaret* is ‘pearl’ and it was very popular in the Middle Ages. Its popularity was linked to the legends surrounding St Margaret of Antioch although there was a Saint Margaret of Scotland too. *Margery* (with the alternative *Marjorie*) had the same roots but a different pronunciation (vernacular French). Concerning *Christopher*, there is the legend of Saint Christopher carrying Christ across the stream, thus the meaning is ‘Christ bearer’ and it is a well-known wall painting in many English churches from the fourteenth century onwards. *Nicholas* was widely used (popularly known as *Santa Claus*) in France and England in the tenth century. He was one of the most popular saints at the end of the Middle Ages. Names from non-scriptural saints such as *Denis* or *Laurence* were also used (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987).

New Testament names are very frequent among Christians all over the world and this shows the pervasiveness of Christianity throughout the past two millennia. In contrast, in the Islamic world and Far East New Testament names are rarely used. The most important names in the New Testament are those of the four evangelists: *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke* and *John* as well as the apostles, mainly *Peter*, *James*, *Andrew*, *Thomas*, *Philip* and *Simon*. In Christian belief the Apostles are very important. There are 12 apostles, which is a symbolic number, as with the tribes of Israel. The name *John* was very popular in that it was

non-controversial: it belonged to both a scriptural and non-scriptural saint, it was traditional and found in the *Bible* (Smith-Bannister, 1997). The popularity of *John* increased in the early thirteenth century, maybe as a result of the returning crusaders, although it had been commonly used by eastern Christians. Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist may have contributed to a religious revival as there are many English and Spanish churches which are dedicated to these two saints. Compound names such as *Juan Bautista* (in Spain), *Jean-Baptiste* (in France) or *Giambattista* (in Italy) can be found. *Peter* comes from the Greek meaning ‘rock or stone’ (thus the French *Pierre*, which is the name but also means ‘stone’). It was the name Jesus gave to Simon, son of Jonas, because he wanted him to be the founder of the Christian church. It became very popular as a name from 1086 and especially favoured in the fourteenth century and many English and Spanish churches were dedicated to Saint Peter (Redmonds, 2004). The *Acts of the Apostles* and *Saint Paul’s Epistles* also augmented the stock of Christian names, especially those of females such as *Chloe* or *Priscilla*. *The Scriptures* also talk about archangels: *Michael*, *Gabriel* and *Raphael*, within a higher hierarchy of angels, spiritual beings which obey God’s commands<sup>14</sup> (Albaigès, 1998).

There are fewer saints’ names and fewer significant women in the *Gospels*, which explains why the number of conventional female names is lower than that of male names or why *Mary* has become so popular (Mille, 1922). *Maria Magdalene*, the repentant sinner in Luke 7, is one of the characters who appear. In French the name *Madeleine* is used but the fact is that there is no such personal name in the New Testament but it is a place name. *Martha* and *Elizabeth* (the latter was John the Baptist’s mother) also appear in the New Testament. Other names derive from the

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<sup>14</sup> *Angel* comes from the Greek *aggelos*: ‘messenger’.

folk tradition: *Anne* was the Virgin Mary's mother but there is no evidence to support this in the New Testament.

A great number of European names come from the Church fathers (e.g. *Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, etc.*), martyrs (*Anastasia, Lucy* or *Sebastian*), mystics and visionaries (*Anthony, Francis, Teresa, etc.*), founders of religious orders (*Benedict, Dominic, etc.*), etc. The name *Anthony*, although found mainly between 1538 and 1629, was not very marked in English history, differing in this from Spain. It was probably inspired by St. Antony the Great, the Egyptian ascetic who, despite being known before the Norman Conquest, gained in popularity as a result of the Crusades (Redmonds, 2004). The fact that old Roman names are also borne by Christian saints is almost the only reason they are used nowadays (e.g. *Claudius, Antonius, etc.*).

Veneration of local patron saints is very strong both in England and Spain. In France and Italy there is also a veneration of local and national patron saints, which is an important source for forenames. In the fourth century a person who led a virtuous life was sanctified even if he/she had not suffered martyrdom. The communities who had met the person in question could make him/her a saint without much fuss. Alexander III was the first Pope to restrict the right of canonisation. The person had to be blessed first of all. Hanks et al. (2006, p. xv) state that "in many places in Europe, the name of a local saint is regularly used within a small community". Places and churches were dedicated to these saints. Their protection was invoked. The influence of a Christian name may have been affected by a local church dedication. Each day in the calendar was devoted to the memory of a given saint, normally the date of his/her death (Dager-Nieto, n.d.). It would seem that the name in question is resurrected when it is the name day (Tsirópulos, 1987). There are names



which can be commemorated on several dates because there were several saints with the same name (Dunkling, 1977).

By the end of the Middle Ages, around the year 1400, English parents were being influenced by local name fashions, e.g. *Martin* was mainly a Sussex name (Dunkling, 1977). National patron saints were Saint George of England, Saint Andrew of Scotland, Saint Patrick of Ireland or Saint David of Wales. In some cases, the cult was more widespread, even to other countries, e.g. *Denis*, who was the patron saint of Paris, was also a name widely used in England. Male names from the New Testament were more common in the east and south. In the south east, names from the Old Testament (e.g. *Rebecca*, *Martha*, *Esther*, etc.), virtue names and names of Protestant heroes were more popular because there were non-conformist congregations there. From 1580 to 1640 some eccentric Puritans invented phrase-names such as *Praise-God* or *Hate-Evil* to name people, mainly in southern counties but rarely in the north. Their success was only temporary. In the analysis of poll tax returns of 1377, 1379 and 1381 from Halifax and Leeds, differences could be observed in terms of religious sympathies. Biblical names such as *Samuel*, *Jonas*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Daniel* or *Nathan* were amongst the most popular names in rural areas, as opposed to more urban areas, in particular, Leeds, in which only *Samuel* figured amongst the most common names suggesting that Old Testament names had not made a great impact on Leeds, even by 1590. Only those with “a high national profile” (Redmonds, 2004, p. 143) such as *Matthew*, *Andrew*, *Mark*, *Philip* and *Simon*, were popular in this city at the time. *Michael* was not a common name in 1377-81 but it grew in popularity in the sixteenth century although its expansion was localised due to a particular church dedication in Halifax. Moreover, a family could become fond of a given name. For instance, although after the Reformation names from the *Bible* became popular, the name *Paul* was rarely used in most parts of Yorkshire, only in Morley Wapentake, in

particular, the upland chapel of Heptonstall (the western section of the parish of Halifax), where it was very frequent. No *Pauls* could be found in the eastern section. A family called *The Greenwoods* was fond of that name. In the nineteenth century, when it had more general popularity, this family continued using the name (Redmonds, 2004).

There were female names most exclusively found in Halifax: *Tabitha*, *Martha*, *Sarah*, *Leah* and *Judith*. Likewise, in the 1590s the Puritan name *Gracy* was more popular in rural areas (Halifax) than in the city of Leeds. Nonetheless, *Elizabeth* and *Mary* could be encountered both in Halifax and Leeds. The English-sounding *Ellen* came most probably from *Helen*. Saint Helen was the Emperor Constantine's mother whose dedication was common in the North of England. Local churches dedicated to St. Hilda were also common in North Yorkshire. In France *Jean* was "the male forename par excellence" (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987, p. 129, our own translation) at that time.

For a long time in Spain names were chosen by the priest according to the saint's day of the child's birth, so rare names like *Gelosio* or *Arquipofotino* were selected (Albaigès, 1998). The cult of Saint Leocadia is highly localised in Toledo. According to Mas i Forners (2005), from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the early 17<sup>th</sup> century the name *Margalida* (note it is the patron) was a very frequent female name in Santa Margalida (Majorca). *Jordi* is the patron saint in Catalonia and it is very common there. In the Basque country saints' names are *Txomin*, *Gorka* and *Arantzazu* (Hanks et al. 2006).

Hanks et al (2006, p. xv) explain that "saints can also function as patrons of particular occupations, and we find cases where this, too, influences the choice of a name". For instance, it is not strange to find the daughter of people who love music named after Saint Cecilia. Likewise, Saint Baldomar is the patron of locksmiths in Provence and Iberia. There

are iconographic symbols to represent the saints, for instance, in Spain a shoemaker's tools for Saints Crispín and Cripiniano, a harp or organ for Saint Cecilia or a clover, a symbol of the Trinity in Ireland.

In Christianity for a long time a taboo had existed around holy names. One of the commandments by Moses stated: "You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless who takes his name in vain" (as cited in Udo-Solomon, 2013, p. 81). In 1565 the baptised children's parents had to be persuaded not to give children the names of God, Christ, the Angels, etc. (Yonge, 1863). The name of God was holy for Jews and it was a blasphemy if you uttered it. The law punished by stoning in those cases. The name of God included four letters: YHVH (in Hebrew the vowels were not represented) and it meant "I am who I am" (*Exodus*, 3-14, as cited in Kirkenir, 2014) although others such as *Rabbi Bechal* indicated it meant 'eternity': 'past, present and future'. God was known by indirect names: *el*, *iah* ('he', 'that'). In Hebrew names which invoked God were very frequent and they included the -el ending: *Daniel*, *Raphael*, *Michael*, etc. This has been kept in virtually every religion.

Faure (2007) clarifies that "the name of *Maria* only starts to be used in Europe from the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries onwards as before using the name of Christ's mother was considered to be irreverent, as with the name Jesus" (p. 503, our own translation, emphasis added). *María* was known by names such as *Madre*, *Virgen*, etc. in Spain. Nonetheless, later the taboo against this lack of respect passed (Costarelli, 2012) and, according to Albaigès (1998, p. 218, our own translation), "the name of the Virgin has by a wide margin become the first among those imposed on women in our country, Spain". He adds that "the names of members of the Holy Family have always been very familiar and widespread amongst Spanish people" (p. 244, our own translation).

The name of *Maria* has been a focus of discussion throughout history. It is “a name of uncertain and very discussed etymology” (Faure, 2007, p. 502, our own translation). The Latin form *Maria* was firstly used in the *Bible* to refer to Moses and Aaron’s sister (del Rosal, 2006). The name was not common at the time. Tibón (2002) and Hanks et al. (2006) claim that the consonants in Hebrew were M-R-Y-M (possibly of Egyptian origin) but the name was transcribed with a former /a/ (*Mariam*) in the *Seventy* and in the *Vulgata* as *Maria*, maybe as a result of thinking that the ending –am was the accusative form. In the New Testament it is much more a frequent name, e.g. *Maria* of Bethany or *Maria Magdalene*.

Despite there being several variants of the same name, these variants have a different social history in different countries, e.g. *Maria*, *Mary*, *Marie*, etc. *Maria* was always more favoured in Christian (especially Catholic) countries. In Spain the top position in the Early Middle Ages was occupied by this name. After 1950 the name was in decline but after 1993 its popularity started to rise again (Albaigès, 1998), thus coming back into favour. In England *Maria* came into vogue in 1930. It began to spread in France in the 10<sup>th</sup> century in its usual form, *Marie* (Lebel, 1946). After the 18<sup>th</sup> century there was a great devotion to *Marie* in France. *Marion* has overcome *Marie* in France in recent years (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). The Hebrew version of *Myriam*, with its more traditional spelling *Miriam*, became popular in Alsace and Lorraine and the South-west of France. *Miriam* could also refer to *Maria* in Arabic and it is frequently chosen by parents of Maghrebi origin. In England *Mary* declined in popularity after Reformation due to the associations with Queen Mary. Its popularity seemed to increase later until 1700, though. The name *Marie* is now replacing *Mary* in England and Wales. Males showed a preference for this name (Dunkling, 1977). In England and France *Marilyne* or *Maryline* was more common although modestly used

in 1958 and 1959, which was the moment of glory of Marilyn Monroe. *Marilyne* or *Maryline* is liked by people who dedicate themselves to agriculture (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987; Hanks et al., 2006).

Albaigès (1998, p. 220, our own translation) points out that “Spain is the land of Saint María”. Its devotion had already started in the Middle Ages. A chapel, sanctuary or image of María can be found everywhere in Spain. This gives rise to *María* being the most frequent name not only on its own but also in combination with other names. To achieve distinction in a way compounds were used: *María del Carmen*, *María del Pilar*, *María de las Mercedes*, etc. *María* became just a prefix, the other name achieving a proper entity. The Virgin Mary and her virtues were a guiding light for Catholic women during Franco’s dictatorship in Spain (Tusell, 1998-1999). In England devotion is less intense in that Anglicanism does not allow the invocation but just the worship of the Virgin Mary (Antequera, 2010). The dogma of the Immaculate and her ever-present virginity is repudiated by Anglicans either although nowadays these doctrinal differences between Catholicism and Anglicanism/Protestantism are being renegotiated (Oppenheimer, 2005).

As God is infinite, it has infinite names (Tsirópulos, 1987). Likewise, the Virgin has many different names (Darlington, 2015). Hanks et al. (2006) explain that “in Spain, in particular, a set of female names has grown up associated with different aspects of this cult: names such as *Dolores*, *Mercedes*, *Concepción*, *Presentació*, and *Candelaria*” (p. xiv, emphasis added). They refer to mysteries and states of mind of the Virgin during the passion of Christ. Piety dedications include *Dolores*, *Angustias*, *Purificación*, *Consolación*, *Visitación*, *Socorro*, *Refugio*, *Amparo*, *Soledad*, etc. They began to be used at the time the name *María* was regarded as blasphemous. In some cases, although the original vocabulary was masculine, the names are used in a female form, e.g. *Rosario* or *Pilar*.

In Italy (*Concetta, Assunta*) or Ireland (*Concepta, Assumpta*) similar names can be found but not so frequently.

There are thousands of Marian dedications in Spain (Fernández-Peón, 2008). Sometimes they are only used locally but others are used nationally. If a town has a Virgin of Lidón, many girls in the town will be called *María de Lidón* and this will possibly be reduced to *Lidón*. Nobody has been able to take a census of them because there are nine thousand towns in Spain (Albaigès, 1998). There are even processions in small villages and towns in which the Patrons (Virgins and Saints) parade through the streets surrounded by devout followers. Many studies point out the Marian precedence of female names, for instance, in the Balearic Islands (Bibiloni, 2005) with examples such as *Montserrat, Meritxell*, etc. In Andalusia the names of Virgins such as *Macarena, Rocío*, etc. are not abandoned (Albaigès, 1998). The name day of *María* is the 12<sup>th</sup> of September but each advocacion has its own name day. Today the name *María* has been so frequently repeated in Spain that it is even employed as an equivalent of *woman*. For instance, *mariposa* (*María-posa* given that the children wanted the insect to stop and alight) or *mariquita* (another insect, ‘a ladybird’). In Cordoba a *mariquita* is a synonym of servant, a girl who works in a house.

There are many pet forms and derived variants of Maria although they do not have the same intensity (Albaigès, 1998), e.g. *Mari, Molly*, etc. When the use of this name was forbidden, shortened or pet forms were often employed, especially in England. *May* had been used for a long time as a shortened form of *Mary* although in 1900 it was reinterpreted as the name of the month (Dunkling, 1977). *Molly* (also a pet form of *Margaret*, as in Molly Brown, who survived the Titanic sinking), *Polly* and *Ria* are also hypocorisms of *Mary* in English. *Marion, Mariote*,

*Marionete*, etc. began to spread in France in the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Lebel, 1946). *Mariette* had success in the 1920s and 1930s in France.

The etymology of *Marius*, a name which resembles *Maria*, is uncertain. It is absolutely false that it is the masculine form of *Maria* but many parents especially in Spain have given their children this name by misunderstanding the false etymology of the name. *Marius*, from Latin *Marius*, is the name of a Roman gens who stated they had their origin in the god of Mars. This name was late in spreading to Spain as *Mario*. It is fairly common among Spanish parents. The Spanish *Mariano/a*, from the Latin *Marianus/a*, was the patronymic of *Marius* and there are two Roman martyrs with this name. The Italian *Marianna* and French *Marianne* are made up of *María* + *Ana*. In Spanish, however, the warm welcome of *Mariana* seems to derive from the interpretation of its meaning as ‘related to the Virgin’ (Tibón, 2002; Faure, 2007). In some Spanish languages such as Catalan there is a distinction between *Marianna* (coming from *María* + *Anna*) and *Mariana* (derived from *María*) (J.M. Albaigès, Personal Communication, January 14, 2013).

The Christian use of *Mary* surpasses that of *Fatima*, Mohammad’s daughter, and *Aysha*, one of his wives, among Moslems. Nevertheless, the Christian name which was hardly ever used in English-speaking countries was the name of Jesus himself. This contrasts with the use of the Prophet’s name, *Mohammad*, which Muslims use because it is the most popular male name in Islam. In the mid 1970s the name *Joshua*, the Hebrew version of Christ, came into use in the English-speaking countries although it did not really become popular until the 1990s. It is likely that parents use it because it is a variant of the Greek *Jesus*. Likewise, the name *Christian* was also increasingly being employed at the time (Dunkling, 1977). In Spain, however, *Jesús* barely appeared in medieval documentation probably because using the Saviour’s name was considered irreverent but it was common in compounds as an advocation

to Christ: *Francisco de Jesús, Pedro de Jesús*, etc. Nowadays it is common on its own or in compounds (*Pedro Jesús, Antonio Jesús, Jesús Benito*, etc.) although it is not as frequent as that of the rest of the Holy Family (Albaigès, 1998).

In modern times we have seen the rise of an individualistic consumer culture. Now we live in an “economic individualism and its increasing egalitarianism” (Redmonds, 2004, p. vii). In Western Europe there has been a decline regarding church membership. According to the Social Issues Research Centre (SIRC) (2007), whereas in 1964 74% of citizens from the UK were practising religious people, only 31% were by 2005. There are more practising Catholics than Anglicans in Britain and the overall number will continue to fall (Mazurczak, 2014). In Spain 70% of the population are Catholics and, of that percentage, the rate of practising Catholics is 15.5%, according to a survey from the CIS (Ginés, 2014).

Tsirópulos (1987) states that “the roots of names are lost in the world mysteries” (p. 17). Magic is somehow connected to religion. Primitive people gave so much importance to their names that these could not be uttered and they were concealed from enemies. The person was known by a nickname. In the folk-tale of *Rumpelstiltskin*, if the person’s name was known, he/she lost his/her power (Baring-Gould, 1910). The medieval witch repeated the name of the person she wanted to injure and stabbed his/her name. In Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*, a spell for romantic purposes was also woven by means of repeating the person’s name over and over again while he/she is present, especially at night and with a soft voice so as to produce a hypnotic effect. So powerful was the incantation with a name even in more recent times that, when using the name of the demon, the person controlled the demon and, if invoking a saint’s name, the saint was compelled to listen to the prayer. Besides, if



named after a saint (Roman Catholics), that saint would take care of him/her. Names were seen as omens by Ancient Romans and Greeks (Dunkling, 1977). According to Tacitus, “some names are fortunate, others ill-omened – *fausta nomina*” (as cited by Baring-Gould, 1910, p. 52, emphasis in original), as with the name *Arthur*, which was less used amongst English Christian names due to Prince Arthur’s murder by King John.

As Dunkling (1977, p. 37) explains, “onomancy is a way of foretelling future events and individual destinies by interpreting names as omens”. This has been practised since the 17<sup>th</sup> century but condemned by the last general council. Thorndike (1923) emphasises the idea that the astrologer and doctor from the late sixteenth century Simon Forman claimed it was possible to answer personal questions by using the letters of the person’s first name. According to him, through the parents’ name it was possible to know whether a woman had had previous children with another father or which member of the couple would die first. Among Chinese people there is the traditional idea that the person’s fate is defined by his/her horoscope and the most important sign is the name. The Chinese horoscope can be considered to be a mirror which portrays the cosmic energies in a person. The moon (*Ying*), the sun (*Yang*) and the five agents have an influence on the person’s personality. The person’s energy is represented by means of an animal out of 12 in the Chinese horoscope. His/her place in the Zodiac is determined by the year of birth. The forename may have data from the birth date, which may be seen as information about his/her fate or simply an indication of the importance of the horoscope for the Chinese society. The horoscope looks at a person’s birth date in order to know his/her fate. The moment of birth includes year, month, day and time. The Chinese horoscope is based on moon cycles (therefore, the zodiac cycle is repeated every 12 years) and it has an effect on the life, personality and fate of people. Traditional Chinese

people believe that each person has a fate and this fate determines his/her future but it is not something irreversible. The name can compensate for deficient elements. The elements of nature combine and act in a way that they have an effect on this fate. If a person's horoscope indicates that there are missing agents in the person (water, earth, fire, air or metal), his/her forename could include the missing elements. For instance, a person whose horoscope lacks fire would be called *Yan* ('flame'). A person who experiences adversities throughout his/her life can change his/her name but one must be careful with the change because the consequences may be catastrophic. Since Ancient times, there is a correlation between the 5 agents and 5 musical notes, 5 tastes and even the 5 consonants. The aim is to keep a balance (Alleton, 1993).

### **3.2.8 Association**

The brain is made up of neurons which in themselves do not possess the capacity to know. Knowledge comes from being richly interconnected (Whitney, 1998). Hockett (1960) expounds that since the time of Aristotle, people have thought about knowledge as associations between concepts. Ullmann (1962) upholds that words do not need to appear in connected speech to have meaning. A word on its own has meaning. However, Hörmann (1967) claims that "meaning is (...) knowledge of an association" (p. 289, our own translation). Despite the complexity of language, during the first half of the twentieth century language was explained in terms of associations. In relation to word associations, intertextuality, that is, the reference to another text, is worth highlighting. As pointed out by Montaigne, "the private language does not exist; words belong to everybody; and, therefore, since we engage in the

verbal activity, we evoke previous discourses” (as cited in Todorov, 1978, p. 61, our own translation).

Associations attached to words often have an influence on the impression the word or its sound makes on us. External associations may interfere. When we pronounce a word or think about it, our mind brings others which are associated. Association is a concept from Greek philosophy and later it became crucial for scholars such as Locke or Hume. Associative meaning is a key concept in language psychology. Associative priming is the idea that a word or thought activates other words or thoughts because they are related to the word in question (Marouzeau, 1950). This evocation is in the consciousness of people (Schwartz & Rouse, 1961). Ogden and Richards (1969) maintain that the speaker’s state of mind is often related to semantic changes. Sometimes we share these associations because we belong to the same social group and we have a collective memory. Our experience with each word is related to our cognitive-cultural schemes (Yus, 1997).

In the same way that a common name e.g. *a table* may evoke memories, forenames may also evoke many memories. According to Dunkling (1977, p. 12), “names carry all kinds of associations along with them”. Albaigès (1998, p. 106, our own translation) says “we cannot avoid associating certain names with bearers that we know”. Sometimes prejudices can be connected to names which remind us of previous bad experiences. Hence, if we know somebody named *Daniel* that we do not like, we will unconsciously associate that person to the name in question (Bryner, 2010). This is commonly found among teachers. We admit that when we work with students sometimes we cannot avoid being dragged by our emotions. First impressions, or rather “name” impressions do seem to count: “in a recent study of online dating, there were some individuals who were neglected by dating suitors because of the negative perception of their name. A name can have a big impact” (Herald Sun, 2012).

However, the opposite may occur as well: there are names which in principle you would avoid for your children but they are less disliked if they are borne by a worthy person, e.g. a very pretty *Rafaela*. As stated by Gabarrot (2005-2015), names have an influence when it is the only thing that we know about a person but, after getting to know him/her, that idea may change.

Writers often play around with these associations. For example, in *Three Tales*, in particular, *Saint Julian The Hospitalier* Flaubert compares little Saint Julien to little Jesus not only physically but also in reference to the idea of his future sanctity. When we read a book, a memory we have may “challenge” the memory the writer wants to convey to us. If the writer is effective, he/she may displace our past memory of that name and it will be replaced by the new one (Tsirópulos, 1987).

There are objects which have come from forenames, e.g. *saras*, which are Catalan pies in honour of the French actress Sarah Bernhardt in 1883. A *pamela* is a wide-brimmed sun hat in honour of Richardson’s heroine of the novel of the same name. *Benjamin* is the smallest and favourite child and it refers to Jacob and Rachel’s son in the Bible. A *magdalena*, a sponge cake to dip, is a reminder of the crying of Magdalene in the Old Testament. *Marica* refers to an effeminate man. *Marionetas* are string puppets taken from the French *Marionette*, a diminutive of *Marione* (*Mary*), originating with human-sized sculptures of the Virgin Mary. Saying “Jesús” when someone sneezes seems to come from the Black Death, which affected Europe in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and killed two thirds of the population. Pronouncing the name was a way of welcoming the person into Heaven as in many cases they could not receive the Last Rites. In England, however, they say “Bless you” (Albaigès, 1998).

Carroll (1985) analyses the names proposed by subjects for a building in New York. Many endings –adome, arama, arium, orium, etc. appear. Many of these names are connected to apples (e.g. *The Core of the Apple*) probably due to New York's nickname being *The Big Apple*. Wänke, Herrmann and Schaeffner (2007) claim that the semantic associations of names of hotels played a role in the ratings of consumers assigned prior to the stay. When information about the hotel was added, the effect was reduced although it was still noticeable. In medicine the use of one word or another may trigger different emotional reactions on the grounds of associations attached. According to Vranceanu, Elbon, Adams and Ring (2012), the reactions towards *pain* were more negative than to *discomfort* and *ache* or the word *rupture* produced more negative reactions than *tear* and *defect*. Volkova (1953) found that sentences in which there was an association to something positive resulted in a larger salivation transference than when this association was bad or neutral.

Some names are associated with friends, family or acquaintances. Our society identifies friendship as a private and personal relationship, focusing on individual subjects. According to Requena (1994, p. 1, our own translation), friends “strengthen our own capacity to imagine, know and build up reality. They provide us with an essential feeling of identity and belonging to a group”. Friendship is related to having a “shared interest and a shared world view” (Coates, 1996, p. 22). Homogeneity favours friendship. For example, being of similar age may lead to common interests and, as a result, friendship may develop, although this does not mean there cannot be friendship between people with conflicting interests or characteristics as long as their differences are respected. Friends are freely chosen but they are also a direct consequence of the social context, e.g. the place in which one lives or works, etc. School may be one of these places for children. That is why it can be said “friendship is less freely chosen it sometimes appears to be” (Requena, 1994, p. 3, our

own translation). Hays (1984) observes that young people share affection and ideas with their friends to a greater extent than adults. SIRC (2007) explains that for 65% of the participants friendship is a major part of their sense of belonging, especially now that interconnectedness through technologies and geographic mobility are increasing. Maass, Salvi, Acuri and Semin (1989) dealt with linguistic intergroup bias (LIB), which maintains that we have more positive feelings towards our friends than our competitors. On some occasions it is difficult to make a distinction between friendship and other types of relations, such as those between colleagues, acquaintances or neighbours. The study of friendship has not been the focus of sociologists until now, especially in Spain, maybe because of its connection with the taboo *old-boy network*, known as *amiguismo* in Spanish. Americans consider that the sibling relationship (with brothers or sisters) is the closest one (Tannen, 1993). Willmott (1987) found that working class people seem to worry more about family than the middle classes.

Tebbenhoff (1985) supports the idea that forenames allow us to discover the internal life of the family: the perception of children, the strength of family relations, etc. and how these relations have evolved over time. There are families in which a name is used in every generation, so that name is a symbol of those families with a deep-rooted tradition. Families that follow this pattern “take care that in every generation there is someone with that specific name” (Albaigés, 1996, p.110, our own translation). In other cases the name is alternated after two or three generations in order to avoid confusions. Cabrera (2011) highlights the risks of giving parents’ names to children. Sometimes the aim is to make the child live the life that the parent in question was unable to live.

Giving names derived from the family has been common not only in Spain (Martínez i Teixidó, 1995) but also in England (Postles, 2002). In

Spain, despite Albaigés (1996) showing the importance of family tradition when naming children, he also points out that there have been fewer children bearing any of their parents' names in the last decades than before, which might suggest a decline of tradition in our society. Furthermore, in its study of reasons for choosing a given name, BabyCenter (2015a) concluded that relatives are part of the semantic reason, thus decreasing the importance they are given in the results of its survey.

According to SIRC (2007), although the decline of the family as a focus of belonging in British society is debated and the structure of families has undergone many changes in recent years, it still remains a priority for 88% of the respondents. Nevertheless, the role of social support that family gave in the past is now being increasingly filled by friendship. This contrasts with society in earlier decades when family relationships were regarded as more important than same age relationships (Hörmann, 1967; Requena, 1994).

In France today few children have their parent's name as their first name but as the middle name (either first or second), if they have one, although these are not considered particularly relevant (Vernier, 1999). Fine and Ouelette (2005) claim that there has been a decline of transmission of names in the choice of a name by parents. Now there is more freedom of choice and the family is perceived less as a succession of generations and more as an affective and educational space (Cornellas, 2009). A person's individuality is established over that of their relatives. This evolution affects both forenames and surnames.

Postles (2002) challenges and undermines the bias found in other books on names in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which, being based on literary sources, mistakenly claim that people chose names freely. The trends in names at the time were not based on social or cultural emulation but mostly on the sharing of names with parents or

godparents. Individuality was subordinated to lineage. In some societies, including the English and Spanish and other countries of West Europe (Fine & Ouelette, 2005), instead of parents, godparents chose the name of children and they often gave their own name to them. Kamen (1998) defines baptism as the rite by means of which a child enters a family. As stated by Bossy (1973), godparents were very important throughout English history, mainly in medieval England and during the sixteenth century. Even after the Reformation, the canon law of the Church of England and the *Book of Common Prayer* continued to give a key role to godparents in the baptism of children (there were two godfathers and one godmother for male children and two godmothers and one godfather for female children). Niles (1982) revealed that between 1272 and 1509 86% of children had the same name as at least one godparent. The fact that on most occasions godparents were friends or family retainers and not relatives suggests an open family institution. However, in many early modern societies grandparents were the eldest grandchildren's godparents (Bossy, 1984) and in rural areas many of the godparents were relatives, which points to a situation of lower mobility.

There is not much evidence as to the role of godparents after the mid sixteenth century in England (Boulton, 2002). Nonetheless, their role has not disappeared because of the religious component and their significance for baptism. Godparents continued to be in charge of religious instruction should parents die or fail in their duty. There is evidence of this in diaries and letter-books (Smith-Bannister, 1997). In Spain godparents are still important and ecclesiastical law states they have to fulfil some requirements for baptism. In fact, in some cases godparents have been rejected for being homosexuals (Agencia EFE, 2011). Thus, godparents are supposed to introduce the child into Christianity and to make sure that they live a Christian life and fulfil their obligations.



Mitchell (1978) claims that godparents and parents shared social standing in societies made up of people with similar social standing, e.g. in *compadrazgo*. Nonetheless, this was not so in societies containing distinct class ties between parents and godparents.

In England in the seventeenth century there was a change from naming children after godparents towards naming them after parents, sometimes after the death, even in some cases sharing the name with elder siblings. This was a result of the educative role now transferred to the parent and the opposition of Puritans towards godparenthood as a form of spiritual kinship and their claim that the child entered the Church by virtue of his parents' faith. In baptism Puritans preferred the term *witness*, which became widespread after the early seventeenth century, and they claimed that the child did not have a voice yet (Collinson, 1967). Eldest children were given the name of parents in order to create an additional tie and it was the first child as there was no guarantee that more children were going to be born to the couple in question. Rossi (1965) agrees that being named after the parent was a sign of a positive link between the parent and the child. K. Abraham (1965) states that in certain cultures the child who was given the same name as the parent occupied a special position within the family. He was the main inheritor. The fact of sharing the name with the parent also implied that that name would be used for generations. Thus, in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century amongst Londoners there was an increase from 25% of first sons named after their fathers to 36% reaching a peak of 44% between 1680 and 1719 (Collinson, 1967). Outside England, for example, in Renaissance Florence, Kent (1977) explains that the child was named after his father when the latter died as an indicator of his replacing the father. It seems that girls were less affected by this trend, at least there is not so much evidence (Redmonds, 2004). In the seventeenth century England more girls were given names chosen by parents than named after the godmother or mother.

There are also cases of naming children after a grandparent. In places other than England, in a Greek farming community the children born first were named after paternal grandparents (Bialor, 1967). Likewise, Breen (1982) gives the example of Tuogh, in the south west of Ireland, where first-born children shared the name of the paternal grandparents and second-born children were named after their maternal grandparents. Children in the northern English regions were much less likely to be named after older family members (Smith-Bannister, 1997). In the case of Spain, Martínez i Teixidó (1995) mentions the idea that until the mid 11<sup>th</sup> century, names from ancestors, grandparents or even paternal uncles were chosen. Tsirópulos (1987) explains that

the secret blood link is not enough (...). The name is transmitted from grandparents to grandchildren as a torch which symbolises (...) the affirmation of life continuity, respect towards the past, which the memory of words vivifies (...) (p. 16, our own translation).

During the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the interest was not just in the name but in the attempt to preserve the deceased relative's virtues. A child may be named after a member of a family in the hope that he/she would resemble him/her. Baring-Gould (1910) learnt that either physical or personality similarities could be identified in the two family members. In the fourteenth and fifteenth century middle class of Florence, deceased relatives were remade by repeating their names amongst the newborn children (Klapisch-Zuber, 1985). This took place to such an extent in some places, in particular, South Guinea but also in the East Indian Archipelago, Western Africa and North-Eastern Brazil that the natives devoured the brains of an ancestor from their tribe from whom they wanted to acquire his admirable qualities (Baring-Gould, 1910). Naming after an ancestor with the idea of reincarnation declined later on. Before the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the romanticisation of death it was common for

parents to give a child the sibling's name if the latter had died because they saw death as final, despite appreciating that the living child was unique.

Among the Romans the head of the family gave his name to wife, children and even slaves, e.g. *Marcelinus* or *Marcelianus*, related to *Marcelus*. Later, these relatives or acquaintances acquired their own status. Enumerating the place of the children within a family was also important and gave rise to *praenomina* such as *Secundus*, *Tertius*, etc. Nowadays there are names such as *Quintín*, *Sixto*, *Octavio*, etc., in their Spanish translation (Albaigès, 1998). In China those people who do not have a more elaborate name have the series such as *Dazi Old child*, *Erzi*, *Second child*, etc. (Alleton, 1993).

In England the lists of names between 1350 and 1700 suggest that the use of a first name was not only linked to the family unit but also to kinsfolk, servants, friends and neighbours given that neighbourliness was very important during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Campbell, 1983). A good neighbour helped in business and legal issues and performed the job of nurse, social worker, lawyer, etc. in order to make the village a good place to live. Neighbours were aware of the fact that they would in turn need the same services. In Campbell's own words (1983, p. 386), "the spirit of good fellowship which neighborliness bred permeated and helped to shape the most colourful and attractive features of social relationships".

Recently, some people have named their children after celebrities or fictional characters: "real characters, kings, princesses, important politicians or literary or artistic characters, stars of spectacle or heroes of fiction" (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987, p. 75, our own translation). Influences may range from sports people, actors and singers to writers, characters in films or novels, etc. To offer a few examples, *Albert* became very popular in the 1<sup>st</sup> World War due to the influence of Albert 1<sup>st</sup>, the

King of Belgium at the time. Something similar happened with the names *Brigitte* and *Sylvie* in France (due to the singers Bardot and Vartan, respectively) in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. *Pippi Calzaslargas* or *Pippi Longstocking*, from children's stories, was another influence (Albaigès, 1998) and the recent popularity of the film and book *Twilight* has boosted the names *Edward* and *Bella* (Nameberry, 2010). However, this freedom of naming after celebrities is not enjoyed in all the countries and ages. The origin and meaning of names other than saints (i.e. mythological such as *Héctor*, historical e.g. *Napoleón* or literary like *Ofelia*) are covered by Tibón (2002). When the name of the character or celebrity is already well established, the influence is more difficult to trace (Hanks et al, 2006).

Political preferences or patriotic feelings are sometimes revealed in the name chosen for a child (e.g. *Louis*) (Mille, 1922). As Albaigès (1998, p. 113, our own translation) claims, "politics has always been an inspiring source of anthroponyms". Many centuries ago the influence came mostly from contemporary characters, who are now historical figures. In England, in 1024 Olaf Haraldsson, King of Norway, had a child and, as he seemed likely to die, the priest hastened to baptise him. He was named *Magnus*, inspired by Charlemagne, the greatest of all emperors, the Holy Roman Emperor of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Given that this name was not known to Scandinavians, his father was angry at first but then he was pleased "for he thought that the luck in war, and genius, and spirit, of the great Charlemagne would follow the name and adhere to his son" (Baring-Gould, 1910, p. 50). In connection with Charlemagne is the name *Charles*. *Charles* is the most prestigious name from the Charlemagne cycle as it has constantly been associated with kings. It derives from the Germanic word meaning 'freeman'. It is connected to *carl* or *housecarl*, which was used before the Norman Conquest to refer to the royal bodyguards or household troops. The modern word *churlish*

(from 'churl') derives from the same origin but in contrast it means ungracious. The best known person who bore this name and established popularity of the name in Europe was Charlemagne or Charles the Great. Although the name did not seem to be popular in the fourteenth century, Hanks and Hodges (1990) state that *Charles* was re-introduced into Britain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries thanks to Mary Queen of Scots' son, Charles James, although there is evidence to suggest that northern gentry families had been employing the name for some time. Also, James VI of Scotland and James I of England had sons and grandsons called *Charles*, who later became kings.

*Edward* is another example of this influence. People have always been named after Edward the Confessor, a Saxon King of England and canonised under Henry II. From Old English names only those of important people or saints survived after that period, for example, *Edward* or *Edmund*. The inspiration of the name *Admiral* may have come from Admiral Vernon, who became a national hero due to his capture of Porto Bello in Panama from Spaniards. *James* must also be added to the list. This name was in common use in England in the late Middle Ages and increased its popularity, which was thought to be due to the accession of James Stuart to the throne in 1603 although the influence could also be Saint James of Compostela (Redmonds, 2004). Royal names used to become popular around half a century after the King or Queen in question died (Lord, 2002). The popularity of *Elizabeth*, taken the New Testament, increased by the "enlightened and skilful queen of England who reigned 1558-1603" (Hanks et al, 2006, p. xvi). Its popularity increased again in the 20<sup>th</sup> century because in 1936 it was known that Princess Elizabeth was to become Elizabeth II.

Names borne by members of a Royal family led to the popularity of the name in other countries as well as in England. From an early period names such as *Charles*, *Henri* or *Louis* were well-established in France

because they were borne by kings of France. The name of *Louis* comes from a French saint. Given that Napoleon's marshal accepted the throne of Sweden, the name *Oscar* became a Scandinavian royal name (Hanks et al., 2006). In the Austro-Hungarian Empires and Germany names such as *Rudolf* in Austro-Hungary, *Friedrich* and *Wilhelm* in Prussia, *Ludwig* in Bavaria, *Frank*, *Josef* and *Ferdinand* in Austria, etc. can be found, which are linked to royal and imperial families. *Philippe* is a name brought to France in the 11<sup>th</sup> century by Anne de Russie, Henri 1<sup>st</sup>'s wife, and given to their first son (Lebel, 1946). *Fernando* became common in Spain after the Queen Isabella and Ferdinand's wedding. Among well-established royal names in Spain we also find *Alfonso*, *Rodrigo*, *Carlos* and *Felipe* and other Visigothic names such as *Elvira* and *Gonzalo*. From the mid 11<sup>th</sup> century, names from royalty such as *Urraca*, *Elvira*, *Sancha* and *Ordoño* were found in León and they had considerable social importance (Martínez-Sopena, 1995b). In all these cases Albaigès (1998) sees this as an association not to the person (whom we do not really know as people) but to the figure. Names like *Juan Carlos* have always been a reference point in Spain and *Sofía* or *Elena* have been commonly chosen names for girls although the situation may have changed in the last few months because the reputation of the Royal Family has been tarnished.

Others like *Adolf* have been rejected in some societies such as Great Britain for years due to the Nazi Regime in Germany. During the French Revolution parents gave their children revolutionary or republican names in order to inaugurate their future in the new society. There was a fondness expressed for values and civic virtues such as *Liberté*, *Bastille*, etc. During the years of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Spanish Republic names such as *Libertad* also became widespread. However, they were forced to be changed under the dictatorship. Later, again, during the political transition names such as *Democracia*, *Libertad* or *Constitución* were used adding the catch-all

*María*. After the October Revolution (1917) in the Sovietic Union names like *Ninel* (Lenin backwards) or *Melo* (initials of Marx-Engels-Lenin-October) could be found (Albaigès, 1998).

In our society there are parents who may be influenced by books (Dunkling, 1977). The names given to characters by writers may be the basis for parents' choice (Tsirópulos, 1987). Wide readership and the ability to capture the popular imagination are more important than the literary quality of a work (Hanks et al., 2006). In the fifteenth-century England, for example, there was *The Arthurian Cycle of Legends* and Chaucer's medieval poems such as *Troilus and Criseyde*. The historical Arthur was a shadowy, legendary figure who led British resistance against the Saxon invasions of Britain in the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. Names derived from this cycle of legends were *Gavin (Gawain)*, *Guinevere*, *Lancelot*, *Merlin (Myrddin)*, etc. One of the most successful Arthurian names, *Gawain*, became popular again as *Gavin* in the 1970s spreading to England (mainly the North) from Scotland. Withycombe (1977) considers it was already common in the Middle Ages. There are Welsh names which are still in use and come from *The Mabinogi*, a medieval collection of ancient legends (e.g. *Rhiannon* or *Branwen*). *Oliver* and *Roland* were two popular names from the *Cycle of Charlemagne*, in particular, the twelfth century *Chanson de Roland*, an account of Charlemagne's action in the Pyrenees. The name *Oliver* was brought to England by the Normans and it was also used as a surname. *Oliver* has been in common use in Yorkshire since the twelfth century. Although its use declined a little, there is evidence to suggest it was used in Leeds in the eighteenth century (by several interconnected families in the Wakefield area such as the Tathams and Ripleys). *Oliver* had a recent revival in England after Dickens' *Oliver Twist*, after being in disgrace for its association with Oliver Cromwell (Dunkling, 1977). In the nineteenth century pseudo-medieval names

arising out of books such as Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* became fashionable.

Other names inspired by novels in England were *Wendy* and *Sidney* (Redmonds, 2004). *Wendy*, from Barrie's *Peter Pan* (1904), was probably inspired by a child saying "friendly-wendy". The popularity of the name Sidney in the early nineteenth century was due, according to Hanks and Hodges (1990), to the character of Sidney Carton from Dickens's novel *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859) although there was also an essayist called Sidney Smith at the time. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century there was considerable interest in the Celtic culture and James Macpherson composed ancient epic poems (1762-3) "purporting to be by Ossian (Oisín, Oisein), son of Fingal" (Hanks et al., 2006, p. xiii). These poems were liked by Goethe and Napoleon, amongst others, and some of Napoleon's godchildren were given Ossianic names, e.g. *Oscar* or *Malvina*. Moreover, Scott's novels brought names such as *Roland*, *Nigel*, *Amy*, etc. into use (Kisbye, 1985). Dunkling (1977) also highlights *Lemuel*, which came from *Gulliver's Travels* rather than the Old Testament. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century novelists became important influences on naming habits. At the time, fictional characters in books had the same impact as television characters nowadays. The onomastics of comic and fairy tale characters also had an impact, particularly in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and notably in Spain. Albaigès (1998) explored names such as *Jaimito*, *Capitán Trueno*, *Zipi* and *Zape*, *Lalín*, *Blancanieves*, *Pulgarcito*, *Cenicienta*, etc. They portrayed our environment at the time.

Female names from literature have had a pervasive influence on naming habits. The name *Vanessa* appeared for the first time in a poem by the writer Jonathan Swift, and it has spread all over the world since then. Other writers have popularised specific names, for instance, Samuel Richardson's novels have probably influenced the use of *Pamela* and



*Clarissa*. Henry Fielding's *Amelia*, Paul Leicester Ford's *Janice Meredith*, Browning's *Pippa* or Byron's *Leila* are also worth mentioning. The name *Emma* was reintroduced possibly because of the literary character from Jane Austen's novel. The following are examples of books which include the name in the title: *Jane Eyre*, *Emma*, *Pamela*, *Clarissa*, *Evelina*, *Cecilia*, *Camilla*, *Madeleine* and *Nathalie*. Earnshaw (2012) explains that "prior to the publication of 'Jane Eyre', most of the well-known English novels which have a heroine as the central character use that character's first name alone for the title of the novel" (p. 175). The names of Shakespeare's heroines such as *Rosalind*, *Olivia*, *Juliet*, *Cordelia* or *Viola* have also been used as forenames. This influence is not only confined to English literature but can also be found in Italian (e.g. Zuccoli's *Loredana* in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century). Nevertheless, the phenomenon was long established thanks to Dante's *Beatrice* and Petrarch's *Laura* (Hanks et al., 2006). Similarly, in France Brois Vian has launched *Chloé* and Mistral has coined *Mireille*.

In *Jane Eyre* Jane is reading the book *Rasselas*, which is the name of the hero. The book was originally entitled *The Prince of Abissinia: A tale* and now its title is *The history of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia*, by Samuel Johnson. Maybe this supports the claim that a man, not only a woman, can be addressed directly and with a forename and become the protagonist of a story and the title of a book (Earnshaw, 2012).

There were also classical names such as *Diana*, *Beatrix*, and *Cassandra* -which started to gain in popularity in the late eighteenth century, and *Blanche* and *Cornelia*, which came into vogue in the nineteenth century. In France names from Greek mythology such as *Achille* or *Hercule* have long been freely allowed (Hanks et al, 2006). Similarly, in Spain -in particular, in Majorca, during the 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> century (Renaissance)- there was a tendency towards names from classical culture (Greek and Latin); names such as *Cèsar*, *Claudi*, *Hèctor*, *Paris* or

*Marc Antoni* for males and *Adriana, Diana, Helena, Fedra, Prudència* and *Lucrecia*, amongst others, were fairly common (Barceló & Ensenyat, 2005). The Middle Ages was a time when pride in the family name increased, so the gentry were interested in being related to great figures. For instance, the classical name *Cornelia* or *Cassandra* were in vogue mainly amongst the gentry and were initially employed by members of the gentry and continued within family and small communities. Their popularity did not decay. Names such as *Lucrecia* still seem to be very common especially in Catalonia or Majorca, even amongst young people (note the classical Catalan piece of literature, *Lucrecia*, by Joan Ramis i Ramis and the Majorcan phonetician Lucrecia Rallo Fabra).

Nowadays novel and theatre writers usually use names which we know from our daily life (Albaigès, 1998). When a writer names a character, this name comes from the writer's soul, his/her love for art, his/her creativity. There is a useful literary device of using denotative names, which are more similar to community acts of naming, e.g. nicknaming (Breen, 1982). In a similar vein, the forenames used for characters from literature gave rise to ordinary expressions and metaphors, in relation to traits from their personality. Thus, as the most famous lover in Spanish literature is called *John* (*Don Juan Tenorio*, by José Zorrilla), the common expression *a Don Juan* was coined from it (reminiscent of the expression *a Romeo*, from *Romeo and Juliet*, by William Shakespeare) to refer to successful womanisers (J.L. Alonso & Huerta, 2000; Dromantaité & Baltramonaitiené, 2002). Faure (2007) includes names from historical and literary characters (*Atila, Sherezade*, etc.) in his dictionary.

Hargreaves et al. (1983) mention other reasons for choosing a name such as celebrities in the mass media. Television, films and music, which affect millions of people, have an influence on the choice of

forenames. Merry (1995) wonders whether music, film, theatre, T.V. dramas, sports people etc. have an influence on names but does not offer explanations for this. She mainly sets out the names for readers to speculate on.

According to Hanks et al. (2006), during the 20<sup>th</sup> century the most influential literary work on the selection of English names is Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* (1936), which became a popular film in 1939, whose characters had invented or revived names such as *Scarlett*, *Bonnie*, etc. In that century there have been other films which have influenced the choice of names: the 1956 film *High Society* popularised the name *Tracy* from the late 1950s onwards due to the character of Tracy Lord, played by Grace Kelly. But it was not only fictional characters but also actors who had an impact on naming: *Humphrey* (Bogart), *Marilyn* (Monroe), etc. Withycombe (1971) found that in 1938 in Tottenham London 20% of parents named their children after film stars at the time such as *Gary*, *Shirley* or *Carol*.

Soap operas have also been influential. In the seventies Emma became popular in Britain maybe because of the character Emma Peel in *The Avengers*, a popular T.V. series. The name *Alison*, for instance, is the character played by Mia Farrow in *Peyton Place* (1975) and *Kelly* comes from *Santa Barbara* (Anglo-American influence) (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). The name *Charlene* became popular both in Britain and Australia due to a character played by Kylie Minogue in the soap opera *Neighbours*, from the eighties (Hanks et al., 2006; Darlington, 2015). For working-class parents, the name *Samantha*, which came from a television series, *Bewitched* (1960), became widespread. However, for the middle class in England the use of a name from a television series was not so appealing (Dunkling, 1977). *Jennifer* appears in the American TV series *Pour l'amour du risque* (1981) together with Jonathan. The name *Isabella* possibly grew in popularity in the USA due to the main character

in the film *Crepuscule, Bella* (Chen, 2010). In 1974 there was a famous TV series in Spain, *Heidi*, and the registers began to be full of girls called *Heidi* (Albaigès, 1998). The titles of most Mexican soap operas, which have existed for around 60 years, are women's names e.g. *María Isabel*, *Teresa* or *Rafaela* (Pérez, 2011) given that 85% of the audience are women.

People tend to examine others' behaviour. That is why reality shows like *Big Brother* or programmes about celebrities are so popular (Yus, 2008). For this reason names such as *Ania* became famous in Spain (Arrizabalaga, 2014). Television is very powerful since the image has a very seductive nature and it reaches a wide number of people (Bordieu, 1983). For their public image many actors and actresses may adopt stage names (name and/or surname), different from those their parents chose, e.g. *Frank Cooper* became *Gary Cooper* (Dunkling, 1977).

Music (rock and pop music) has also had an influence on the 20<sup>th</sup> century: many *Johns* and *Pauls* were named after John Lennon and Paul McCarthy (Hanks et al., 2006). Ginger Rogers was responsible for making *Ginger* more commonly used (Dunkling, 1977). One of the vectors which causes a forename to spread is the song (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). There are many influential songs, most of them about girls, e.g. The Beatles' *Michelle* (1965), Gilbert Bécaud's *Natalie* (1964), Serge Gainsbourg's *Laetitia* (1964), Claude Nougaro's *Cécile ma fille* (1962), Julien Clerc's *Mélissa* (1984) or Philippe Chatel's *Émilie jolie* (1980) (Dunkling, 1977). In Spain the musical genre par excellence (Gómez-García, n.d.) is the *paso doble*, which could have an influence on the choice of names.

Sporting events like the Football World Cup have also had an influence when choosing the name of children. Gómez-Montoro (2014) claims that during the dictatorship football was also admired in Spain as a

sign of national identity or an escape valve and nowadays even intellectuals defend it. It is continuously being broadcast on television, which has also led to greater diffusion. Parents take the names of football players because they like them (Albaigès, 1998).

Since time immemorial dogs have played a major role in the life of human beings (Makondo, 2014). Slovenko (1983) emphasises that more than twenty years ago pets (especially dogs) were beginning to be considered as family members, not only companions. As reported by the Southwest Association for Education in Biomedical Research (2011), more than 70% of American pet owners say they are their pet's mum or dad. Some people speak to them as if they were human beings (Horn & Meer, 1984). By the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, pets had been given relatively popular human names such as *Molly*, *Abby*, *Jake* or *Max* although pet owners do not use other popular names such as *Michael*, *Matthew*, *Madison* or *Emily* (Social Security Administration, 2006). In order to increase effective communication between owners and pets, that is, to enable pets to recognise their name and respond faster to their owners, short and clear names are chosen (Albaigès, 1998). Camden (1647, p. 58) calls the attempt to give names of people to dogs, bears and horses "vain absurdity". Names were of absolute necessity to keep things in order (Lyford, 1655). In fact, K. Thomas (1993) highlights the social distance between pets and human beings and he considers pets to be subhuman.

Although some scholars such as Lebel (1946) claim that names do not seem to relate to the circumstances of birth, according to Dunkling (1977), "it occurs to many parents to remember the time of birth in the name" (p. 250). In ancient times it was frequent to name a person according to a given circumstance at the time of birth. Thus, month names such as *April* (or *Avril*), *May* and *June* are common. Nevertheless, when someone is named *August*, the meaning is usually 'venerable' rather than referring to the month. Other less common names but also used are

*March, July and September*. More seasonal names are *Easter* (sometimes a form of *Esther*) and *Christmas*. In Spain *Reyes* may be given to a person born on the Day of the Wise Men or *Natividad* because she was born on the 25<sup>th</sup> of December (Albaigès, 1998) and the same occurs with *Noel* and *Noelia* in the United Kingdom, names which are also used in Spain. There are records of a child born in 1898 called *Mayday* and another one in 1873 named *Midsummer*. *Carol* or *Carole* is often considered to be suitable for girls born at Christmas, when carols are sung, although the name is not linked specifically to this meaning<sup>15</sup>.

The names of the days are occasionally employed as first names by English-speaking parents, e.g. the Scandinavian names *Thor* ('born on Thursday, Thor's day') or *Freya*, for a girl born on Friday. Regarding the time of the day, unlike its Spanish equivalent, *Alba*, *Dawn* has not been a very common name and probably does not bear that kind of significance nowadays. *Dawn* has appealed to English people recently but, according to Dunkling (1977), it does not seem to have become excessively popular. In a sense the name translates into *Lucy* in English or the Spanish *Lucía*, which could originally have been employed for girls born at daybreak. Dunkling (1977) also explains that she met a person named *Night* and, if *Evening* were used, it would be satisfactory in that it could be used in a shortened form: *Eve*.

Moses received his name on the basis of the circumstances of his birth (from the Koptic *Mo*: 'water'; *ushe*: 'saved'). Albaigès (1998) gives the example of *Tristán*. His mother gave him that name because she was sad when giving birth. In cultures such as Native American Indian tribes people are given different names at important moments in their life, e.g.

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<sup>15</sup> A carol began as a round dance and derives from the Latin *corolla*- 'garland'. This name is a shortened form of *Caroline* in many cases which, in turn, is the feminine form of *Charles*.

puberty. This practice also exists in some rural areas of industrialised countries such as Minot-en-Châtillonais, a French village (Zonabend, 1977). Kendall (1980) claims that Yuman Indians have a given name related to the individual circumstance surrounding their death. In Chinese circumstances may be made allusion to in the forename (e.g. *Jianci*- 'health'- because the girl's mother had been ill when giving birth) (Alleton, 1993). Chauke (2015) states that on occasions wars, floods or famines are recorded as personal names among the Vatsonga in South Africa.

As stated by SIRC (2007), there is "a set of associations tied to a specific line of consumer products or services and represent the image that a given brand carries in the mind of current owners and potential consumers" (p. 33). People are now more conscious than ever before about brands (Abelin, 2015). For many British participants, lifestyle choices, including the products they consume, are more important than what they think. In Victorian times "only the privileged elite had access to the 'must-have' brands" (SIRC, 2007, p. 37). Today most, if not all, of us can have access to trendy brand names and "play the same game" (p. 37). Some brand names become so common and well-known that they turn into words in their own right, e.g. *Hoover*, *Durex* or *Martini* (Albaigès, 1998). This is known as genericide (Boucaud, 1990). Martinell-Gifre and Lleal-Galceran (1981) study apotheconomy, a little explored research area of onomastics. With a focus on Barcelona (Spain), the study revealed the connection between forenames as well as pet forms and commercial enterprises. They found that there are more male names for bars and female names for shops.

The euphoria for technologies is present in every aspect of our lives. Thus, people have names such as *Facebook*, especially in Egypt, Australia and Italy (Moreira, 2012). Hurricanes with devastating effects in the United States, the Caribbean and Mexico are baptised by a centre of

observation in Florida, which also studies their evolution and prevents the damage caused. At first they baptised hurricanes with female names but feminists complained and now both male and female names are used, alternating the gender and using alphabetical order (*Alejandra, Benito, Carolina*, etc.) (Albaigés, 1998).

### 3.2.9 Connotation

According to cognitive semanticists, the strict separation that many semanticists, including dictionaries, make between a word's denotation and connotation is controversial. A word's denotation is defined as "the set of entities in the world that a word can refer to" (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 210), in other words, the objective definition. In contrast, connotation, also referred to as *evocation* by Grammont (1933) or *hypertone* by Ullmann (1978), is the meaning a word may evoke in people, that is, emotional and subjective assessment. Thus, although the words *spinster* and *bachelor* refer to a person of the same age and marital status, the connotations are different. Whereas the former connotes an undesirable woman who is beyond marriageable age, the connotations in the latter are those of a man who would be desirable and perennially marriageable. These words give rise to an emotional response, hence the concept of connotation. Words which are normally full of emotive overtones can be used in a more objective manner. Hence, the nostalgic overtones of the word *home* disappear when it is used in *Home Office*, for example. The words chosen by a person need to be suitable not only from a denotative perspective but also in a connotative sense in order to achieve the desired effect on the listener or reader (I.K. Taylor, 1990).

One of the factors where connotation is evident is gender. Whereas in countries such as Germany there is an obligatory match



between the gender of the child and the gender of the name, in the UK, for example, there are some names –sometimes with variations in spelling– which can be used for both genders e.g. *Leslie*, *Vivian*, etc. (Hargreaves et al., 1983). In the UK the use of *Francis* for a man is not very frequent because for girls the counterpart name *Frances* is pronounced exactly the same (Dunkling, 1977). *Nicola* is the Italian form of *Nicholas*, the feminine form being *Nicoletta*. However, the –a ending has convinced English people that it is a female name. Two girls are named *Nicola* each year in England and Wales for every boy whose name is *Nicholas*. In other English-speaking countries, however, the French feminine form *Nicole* is preferred (Dunkling, 1977). Likewise, in the USA sometimes the name *Zoé* has been given to males but it is feminine and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Brontë used the name *Shirley* for a female character despite this having been typically a male name (Earnshaw, 2012). The character was given the name that her father had intended to give his son. Now it is a common female name.

Albaigès (1998) recommends not using completely similar names for both genders in order to avoid ambiguity e.g. *Trinidad* or *Cruz*. In Spain there is “the curious habit of adopting as a complementary name one of the opposite gender (e.g. *Juan María*, *María José*), a custom which seems to come from the French, where it is much bolder with *Felipe-María*, *Carlos-María*, etc.” (Albaigès, 1998, p. 90, our own translation, emphasis added).

Names which can be used both for males and females are advised against French law in cases in which there is sexual ambiguity (M. Bloch, 1932). Recently, in France, Canada and the United States there have been fewer homophones or mixed names, that is, those with the same sound (e.g. *Alix/e*, *Noël/e*, *Yannik*, etc.) for females as for males (Duchesne, 2006). French society nowadays is not so willing to use mixed names for males and females. The number has decreased if compared to 1930. In

France the majority of names which sound alike have differences in spelling to refer to males and females, e.g. *Michel, Michelle* (M. Bloch, 1932).

According to Durán (2007), in Spain there also exist female names with masculine connotations, e.g. *Andrea*, whose etymological meaning is 'virility'. Albaigés (1998) explains that in 1993 the /o/ was rejected in the case of female names as a too masculine vowel. No examples of male names with feminine connotations were provided by Durán (2007). Duchesne (2006) claims that in the United States mannish behaviour in girls is more tolerated than effeminate behaviour in a man.

While in Spanish it is frequent to find a female name ending in –a and a male name ending in –o, in English there are no linguistic principles to tell apart the gender of *John* vs. *Jane* or *Kevin* vs. *Karen*. In English and Spanish there are semi-productive processes deriving female names from male names by means of the addition of a suffix. In French the formation of female names from male names is more productive than in English (Cutler et al., 1990). In Italian there is no problem in creating a female equivalent because usually the inflection indicates it, e.g. *Giovanna* from *Giovanni*. Therefore, the habit of coining *link names*, as they are known as, was French, Spanish or Italian with suffixes which are –some of them- used in the English-speaking countries. The creation of mainly, girls' names, is by adding conventionally used suffixes such as -ina, -etta, -ella, etc., e.g. *Thomasina* from *Thomas* (others such as *Georgina* have been used for centuries) or *Henrietta* from *Henry* (Hanks et al., 2006). In some cases, the /ɪn/ or /ɪnə/, for instance, is a suffix, but in other cases it is part of the name and removing it from *Bettina* or *Sabrina*, for example, does not make *Bet* or *Sabre*.

Male names would be the unmarked case, that is, female names would derive from male in these cases. It is not common to find a male

name deriving from a female name yet feminine adaptations are likely for almost every name. Smith-Bannister (1997) used the term *feminised names* for these male-derived names given to females. Many female names in Christianity derived from male names. This is so because in the last two thousand years or more “European societies have been male-dominated and patrilineal” (Hanks et al., 2006, p. xx). Furthermore, few women appeared in the *Gospels*. Besides, in the past more male names appeared in medieval records because many male names were borne by women. If *Philippa* were written instead of *Philip*, it was just to satisfy the rules of Latin grammar (Dunkling, 1977). In the seventeenth century there was a decline of feminised names for girls. By the 1870s names such as *Harriet*, *Charlotte*, *Henrietta* and *Caroline* had become popular. Nowadays, these names hardly ever appear in the lists of the most popular names (Cutler et al., 1990). Scots were also fond of these feminine forms of male names but only some of them survived (Yonge, 1863).

A great number of female names of French origin are formed by means of the addition of the suffix –ette to the male form: *Henriette*, *Jeannette* (genuinely French), etc. This ending was popular in the 1920s and 1930s in France. In the cases in which the name ends in –i, –iette is used instead, e.g. *Henriette*, etc. (Mille, 1922). This suffix is also employed in English-speaking countries: *Harriette*, *Janette*, etc. Other examples of feminine endings in French also extended to other languages –although in some cases the name formed does not derive from a male name- are –iane (*Éliane*, *Liliane*), –ine (*Jeannine*, *Jacqueline* or, among common words, *heroine*), –ie (*Marie*, *Rosalie*, *Julie*, *Lucie*, *Sylvie*) –the latter being the most common ending for females in French, –elle, –èle or –el (*Danielle*, *Gabrielle*, *Gaëlle*, *Muriel*), –aine, –een (*Nadeen*, *Kayleen*) –ène, –enne (*Madeleine*, *Marlène*, *Charlene*, *Jolene*), –ice (a French ending whose Latin form is –issa, e.g. *Clarice* and *Clarissa*; a name which is likely to have been influenced by the –essa ending is *Vanessa*), –ique

(*Angelique*), -nique (*Dominique, Monique*) or -ienne (*Adrienne, Lucienne*) (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). The popularity of *Belle* in the late last century may have contributed to the use of this suffix for girls. *Bella* was also employed in the past. Their trendiness may be due to phrases such as *the belle of the ball*.

To put all these ideas in context and focusing on France, on the 9<sup>th</sup> of November 1907 the name *Henriette* was rejected in Paris as it did not comply with the law. However, several days later the same local council was blamed for having accepted others of the type: *Georgina, Simone*, etc. and not *Henriette*. *Henriettes* and *Luciennes* exist in large numbers in France now. *Yvette* was accepted in 1911 although there were some conflicts about it in some local councils at the time.

The Latin ending is <a> as in *Anna* from *Ann* or *Maria* from *Mary*. It was not until the 18<sup>th</sup> century that the Latin forms started to be popular in the English-speaking countries. Names such as *Eve, Claire* or *Sophie* were as popular as *Eva, Clara* or *Sophia* and they continued to be popular until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Some names had a Latin look but they were in fact Hebrew, e.g. *Sara* or *Rebecca*. The -a ending had continued to be popular until today and it is a clear indicator of the female gender. For euphony's sake the -ia ending was used in cases such as *Marcia, Patricia, Victoria, Virginia, Olivia*, etc. (Dunkling, 1977). Although there are also common suffixes in English and French (-bert e.g. *Albert, Robert*; -ic or -ick e.g. *Patrick, Eric* or -ien/ian e.g. *Sebastian, Julian*), male names are less amenable to having vogues of certain terminations (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). The Scots seem to have derived names such as *Janice, Janie, Janet, Janette, Janey*, etc. or even *Johanne, Johanna, Shauna, Sheone* or *Shona* from *John*. In Scotland simple conversions from male to female were often made, e.g. *Andrewina* or

*Andrina* from *Andrew* (Dunkling, 1977). *Brenda* is thought to come from Scandinavia as the female form of *Brand*.

According to Thorne and Henley (1975) as well as Coates (1993), there are systematic differences between the language used by women and men. Men and women live in different worlds and this world has an influence on the way they talk. The world is created in the talk. Maltz and Borker (1982) hold the view that there is a complex relationship between linguistic patterns and gender relations: "gender is (...) one of many cultural influences affecting linguistic behaviour" (p. 5). Nichols (1976) states that before the 1950s, only some European studies and others dealing with exotic languages covered the relationship between gender and language usage. At the time women's lives and friendship were likewise unexplored. Since the mid 1970s the interest in women and men's talk has increased significantly. Moreover, "feminist philosophers and theologians have discovered in female friendship a source of inspiration, a model for good human relationships" (Coates, 1996, p. 17). Women's talk (single-sex, for example, Tannen, 1990a & b, or women's talk as opposed to men's) has been studied in terms of conversational strategies but also phonetics, phonology, syntax and morphology. In the 1960s and 1970s quantitative approaches predominated. In fact, statistics is a valuable tool for sociolinguists who explore gender-preferential differences. In the 1970s and 1980s more qualitative research was conducted. In recent years studies are more dynamic, combining both quantitative and qualitative methods.

Oppositionism, that is, the logic of opposites, has deep roots in Western culture, starting with Aristotle, continued by the Judaeo-Christian tradition and arriving at information technology. Dualism is also the result of the religions replacing Greek polytheism and based on the distinction between body/mind, terrestrial/celestial, etc. The habit of thinking in opposites is deeply rooted in thought and language. Oppositionism is used

to represent sexual differences: male/female, men/women and masculine/feminine traits. Focusing on forenames, the fact that dictionaries frequently use titles such as *the proper names of men and women* suggests that a division by gender is often taken into account (Smith-Bannister, 1997).

It is clear that there are physical differences between men and women in terms of height and physical complexity, for example, men are taller, heavier and more muscular. Gherardi (1995) claims that “the strength of the man is complementary to the frailty of the woman (...), his determination (...) to her care (...) and so on (p. 134). Each culture defines the social situation of males and females of the conscious level, so at the unconscious level, in the collective psyche (Jung, 2009), we find the complementary nature of male and female relationships (inseparable opposite pairs). According to Maltz and Borker (1982), boys and girls grow up in different ways, playing differently and relating to each other differently as well. Boys appertain to boys and girls to girls. Coates (1996, p. 37) explains that “women can never just be friends [with men] because of the imposition of heterosexual meaning on such friendships”. According to Val, one of the informants, this is the result of “the heterosocial world view which is dominant in our culture” (p. 38), meaning the primacy of male-female relationships. Evidence for this is shown by the fact that women are still known as *uxor de* or *mulier de* in some cases (Peña-Bocos, Díez-Herrera, García de Cortázar, 1995) although this habit is on the decline in western societies in recent times.

Tusón (1988) and Martín-Rojo (1996) point out that there are differences between men and women in the way they converse. Winstead (1986) stresses the importance of conversation amongst female friends (the power of intimacy) whereas sharing hobbies and goals plays a more significant role amongst male friends (the power of sociability). Aries

(1976) shows that middle-class women in the United States are more prone to talking about personal issues in their conversations than men. According to a teenage boy in Eckert (1993), girls are concerned with “every little relationship, every little thing that’s ever happened, you know” (p. 32). Women pay more attention to family and friends than men. As a result of this interest in relationships, in society women’s talk has been regarded as inferior to men’s and it has been mistakenly called *gossip* but it is girl’s talk.

When English-speaking girls are 14 years old, they talk about holidays, mums and dads, sweets (brownies), boys, embarrassment and dreams. Girls in their early teens talk a lot about boys as part of the construction of their identity and make the transition from being a girl to being a woman. Teenage girls talk about boys also by discussing film stars and singers. Heterosexual vocabulary is used –*hunk, fancy*, etc., which was not employed a few years before. Eder (1985) and Eckert (1993) found that popularity with other females is very important for girls at this age (between 10 and 14) and special importance is attached to friendships with girls. At around 30, women chat about holidays, musical instruments, relationships, pets, etc. Other feminine topics, especially for older women, are recipes, clothes and make-up. Women are more intimate and honest with other women and comfortable with gay men.

Johnson and Finlay (1997) highlight the frequency of the topic *sports* as well as *women* and *alcohol* in men’s conversations. Furthermore, they refer to other men and the possibility of them being gay. They give great importance to demonstrating they are not gay. If a lack of masculinity can be seen in speech or appearance, they try to avoid it. Bradley (1998) revealed that in an Australian aboriginal language men and women choose different case-marking suffixes. In fact, when the speaker in question employs an inappropriate suffix, he/she is told off. This is what one of his male informants said: “I spoke like a woman and

[my mother] yelled at me, “Hey! you are a man, (...) why do you talk like a woman?...I was ashamed” (p. 4). This may be due to the fact that in non-industrial societies gender roles are more rigidly demarcated than in industrial societies.

Maltz and Borker (1982) point out that when teenagers of both sexes, but especially boys, tell jokes, the humour involving teasing, which can be defined as “any playful remark aimed at another person, which can include mock challenges, commands and threats as well as imitating and exaggerating someone’s behaviour in a playful way” (Eder, 1993), could create a positive effect and increase solidarity within the group. This idea is reinforced by Eisenberg (1986). Eder (1993) also insists on the fact that teasing may be used “to mock traditional female behaviour and to experiment with non-traditional gender role behaviour” (p. 27).

Coates (1996, p. 230, emphasis in original) states that “women’s conversation displays not only orderliness but also patterns which could be called *poetic*”. It is said that men use a more vulgar lexis whilst women employ a more “edulcorated” lexis. Words said to be trivial are employed by women (e.g. *lovely*, *divine*, etc.) (R. Lakoff, 2004). Dominant discourses place men as central and women as marginal, the latter only having importance if playing a role that men value, such as mother, partner or daughter.

According to Balbo (1978) or Zanuso (1987), the term *dual presence* was coined in the 1970s by Italian feminists to explore the simultaneous presence of women in private and public spheres given that women were increasingly breaking traditional role models, resulting in the merging of male and female symbolic universes. This was a consequence of the changes which occurred in industrial and post-industrial societies. Although society has changed and now girls in high school talk about their traditional roles but also about new roles (Eckert, 1993), the



traditional roles of women in the domestic spheres and men in the economic marketplace remain similar (Sacks, 1974). Males prefer the public sphere (politics, sports) whereas women are more inclined to talk about topics from the domestic sphere (house, family, etc.). These differences between genders give rise to stereotypes (Tusón, 1988; Martín-Rojo, 1996). For example, there are still stereotypes that women cannot be understood or that men are insensitive. In society men's discursive style is still more highly valued and sometimes women's style is accused of being cheesy. Although cultural stereotypes suggest that women are more talkative than men, most studies challenge this view. D. James and Drakich (1993) indicate that neither approach arrives at a solid conclusion in this respect. Other factors, such as the overall social structure of the interaction, need to be taken into account.

Maltz and Borker (1982) or Tannen (1990a & b) recognise cultural differences between men and women because groups from the same gender are grouped and socialised in the same way, which has an influence on their talk. Boe (1987) considers that the differences between men and women are psychological whereas others claim they are social and related to status (Kramarae, Schulz & O'Barr, 1984). In urbanised Western society studies indicate that women are closer to the prestige pattern. Labov (1961, as cited in Labov, 1972) and Trudgill (1998) think that females employ more standard forms than males. In particular, Eisikovits (1981) shows that in Sydney, Australia, only girls, as adults, tend towards the standard. Arboleda and Monroy (2010) provide further evidence by showing that women use more schwas than men and, in contrast, the speech of males tends to be less careful and more rapid, as shown by their more frequent use of elisions. However, the difference between the genders is slight. Deuchar (1989) considers that the usage of standard and careful linguistic forms by women may be because they feel more vulnerable to criticism and this could be a strategy to avoid

reproach. Females are usually more status-conscious and less secure in their social position (Wells, 1982). Labov (1972) and Trudgill (1974) also claim that women are more insecure linguistically speaking. Linguistically, women tend to hedge more than men “to avoid saying something definite” (Coates, 1996, p. 152). Hyland (1998, p. 1) defines hedging as “any linguistic means used to indicate either a) a lack of complete commitment to the truth value of an accompanying proposition or b) a desire not to express that commitment categorically”. The speech of American women is usually linked with this feature of indirectness although, according to Keenan (1974), it all depends on the culture given that in a Malagasy-speaking village in Madagascar women are direct, in contrast to men. Maltz and Borker (1982) underline women’s tendency to hesitate (*hmm*) or ask questions in conversations.

The popular generalisation is that women are more polite than men (Eckert, 1998). This occurs in Japanese in that a woman’s inferior status is institutionalised and, as a result, their level of politeness increases (Martin, 1964). In contrast, but an exception, Keenan (1974) found that females are less polite than males in a Malagasy village. According to Holmes (1986), in New Zealand English-speaking women pay and receive more compliments than men. R.K. Herbert (1990) shared these findings in his exploration of American English and Polish but only in the receipt of compliments. Kuiper (1991) went further by suggesting that, whereas women prefer compliments to create a sense of solidarity amongst friends, men tend to use insults for this end.

It has been discovered that in some languages, males and females differ in their pronunciation (Coates, 1993 and Byrd, 1994); this happens in Koasati (an American Indian language) (M.R. Haas, 1944). In English, however, the differences are not so clear, at least from a phonetic standpoint, but, apparently, they do exist. For instance, J.L. Fischer (1958)

found that in a New England village, boys and girls use [n] and [ŋ], respectively, for *-ing*. Wells (1982) mentions that differences between the pronunciation of men and women “may depend on prosodic features like intonation and tempo” (p. 21). Females are considered to have more animated voices, i.e. greater variation in intonation, shorter tone units in the speech chain, a broader pitch range and more rising tones.

Linguistic sexism relates to the use of language which discriminates against a person on the grounds of his/her gender. Much research indicates that sexist language may subtly influence our thinking. Khosroshahi (1989) revealed that, when using gender-neutral words, his informants tended to think these words were related to males. Likewise, Briere and Lanktree (1983) used generic references to refer to psychologists, which resulted in the informants rating psychology as a less attractive profession for women. According to R. Lakoff (2004) and Cameron (1990), some people think language is becoming less expressive by insisting on avoiding sexist language. Furthermore, that non-sexist language can distract attention from more important battles against sexist discrimination. In contrast, others believe it is a necessary first step and it may help raise awareness. With reference to forenames, females are traditionally called by their forenames. When hearing a sole surname as a means of address, we instinctively have a tendency to think it is a man. In most well-known 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century English novels, only the unmarried woman’s name is provided or the surname also appears as in *Jane Eyre* but the heroine is better known as *Jane*. However, the surname has more importance in the case of men in these novels: *Mr. Rochester* (with a title) or even *Rochester* in *Jane Eyre* or *Mr. B* in *Pamela* by Richardson, since the character’s surname and title “guarantee his character and substance” (Earnshaw, 2012, p. 175).

Other findings regarding differences or similarities between genders report that multilingualism is more valued by men than by women

(Salisbury, 1962). Another noteworthy result concerning the influence of participants' gender in a variable is that it has no significant effect on vowel-size rankings (Mendousse, 2012). As we grow older, the cartilaginous larynx calcifies and it loses its tonus. The vocalic intensity is reduced. Female voices become more masculine (Grammont, 1933). Fasold's study (1972) includes a disproportionate percentage of each gender, which reflects that it has not been taken seriously as a variable. As Shuy (1970, p. 856) puts it: "women continue to be one of the mysteries of the universe".

In Freud's own words (1975, p. 42): "the germs of the sexual impulses are already present in the new-born child". Sexuality identifies us as sexual beings. Bing and Bergvall (1998) remind us that human beings' sexuality is not only heterosexual. Words such as *bisexual*, *gay*, *lesbian*, *sissy*, *tomboy*, etc. are used and usually have negative connotations. From the 1920s until the 1940s homosexuality was considered to be a pathology and linguistic research into it only focused on vocabulary. Legman (1941) includes a glossary of words exclusively to refer to homosexuality as a perversion (e.g. *fish* in reference to male homosexuality, especially of the effeminate type) and for which no justification is provided. Furthermore, it was included in a medical study of homosexuality. The 1950s and 1960s gave rise to activist struggles for the defence of homosexual rights and research started to be carried out into the language they used. Many activists considered the language of homosexuals was retrograde. In the 1970s and 1980s the Gay Liberationist movement claimed there was a new gay and lesbian community, with a new language. Scholars maintained that there was a homosexual language they knew as *Gayspeak* in the same way as other homogeneous minorities had their own language. Burgess (1949, p. 234) held the view that "homosexual world has its own language,

incomprehensible to outsiders”. All these approaches share the idea that there is a link between language and sexuality, although there has been little research on it. During the 1990s a new generation argued that the Gay Liberationist movement had marginalised those individuals who did not share certain white middle-class values such as Black drag queens.

Lesbian and gay use of language may be different. Just as a language such as English is not spoken in the same way by people of different social classes or regions, so homosexuals share the code but there are meaningful differences in their speech. It is popularly assumed that gay men talk like women and lesbians talk like men. Cameron and Kulick (2003) consider that some linguistic features may be common to all homosexuals, especially lexical items, but it is difficult to generalise. Zwicky (1997) highlights the idea that Western gays affricate plosives /t/ and /d/, resulting in the sound [ts] and [dz]. They also lengthen fricative sounds like /s/ or /z/. According to Cameron and Kulick (2003, p. 136), “lisp is a part of a stereotypical representation of gay men’s speech in English, but in practice (...), not all gay men lisp and not all speakers who lisp are gay men”.

Age is another factor which should be discussed with respect to connotations. Maltz and Borker (1982) or Tannen (1990a & b) recognise cultural differences because groups from the same age are socialised in the same way, which has an influence on their talk. Besides, names may betray a given age. Thus, it is likely that *Beatrice* or *Nellie* were names given between 1900 and 1930 whilst *Judith* or *Sheila* were commonly given in the 1950s (Hargreaves et al., 1983). In the 1970s men in their twenties preferred female names such as *Carol*, *Jennifer*, *Catherine*, *Amanda* or *Claire*. Women of that age preferred male names such as *David*, *Paul*, *Adam* or *Michael*, amongst others (Dunkling, 1977). In Spain some names that were common in our grandparents’ times such as *Paulina* are popular again among the younger generations. It is hard to

find a name which is suitable for a person both as a child and as an adult. In Spanish the use of *D. Francisco* suggests an older age than *D. Paquito*, so we must be careful with nicknames (Albaigès, 1998). The rank of age also plays a major role for Chinese speakers. Depending on the age, the choice of names and their interpretation vary significantly (Alleton, 1993).

In our teens friendship is more intense (Eder, 1993). We see friends everyday and Hay (1984) considers that young people, more than adults, share affection and ideas with their friends. Humour and playful activities play a major role during adolescence (Everhart, 1983; Griffin, 1985). Among children at school there is a pervasive use of humorous devices such as teasing, ironic remarks, dirty jokes, funny stories, etc. (Eggins & Slade, 1997). Corsaro (1985) claims that children create their own culture through play by transforming what is familiar to something new. That is why it becomes unique and fresh. The content of teasing is negative if taken literally but the teaser may give clues to suggest it is done in a playful manner. Miller (1986) also shows that teasing teaches children to play with language and become more creative. After adolescence, in our working lives, we need to make an effort to make friendship flow (Coates, 1996). In adulthood there are fewer friends-friends. Matthews (1983) mentions that it may be possible that an old person idealises friendship. This person is less dependent on friendship as, when losing a friend (which is common in old age), he/she may still consider the possibility of making new friends. On the other hand, some old people stick to a particular friend, so when this friend is missing, he/she becomes resistant to engaging in friendship with other people. Lowenthal and Haven (1968) point out that friendship relations are crucial at this stage of life.

Old and Naveh-Benjamin (2012) state that previous research supports the idea that older adults experience special difficulties in

learning the name of people they meet for the first time. Labov (1961) found that young speakers, especially men, are closer to the island vernacular (in Martha's Vineyard) than middle-aged people (as cited in Labov, 1972). In contrast, Eisikovits (1981) revealed that older mainland women (in New York) use more vernacular speech than young and middle-aged women from the island, which may be due to their relationship to jobs in which standard English is spoken. Although age is not deemed to have a significant effect on vowel-size rankings, as claimed by Newman (1933), other studies show the influence of age in another variable related to language use. Wells (2010) explains that people of different ages may pronounce words differently. For instance, the pronunciation of *poor* as /pʊə/ is becoming old-fashioned and it is preferred by old people. In addition, older people prefer stressing the *con* part in the word *controversy* while young people would favour the stress on *tro*. On many occasions young people avoid certain features in their speech in order not to sound like an older person.

Sex is another important factor to take into account. Del Bass (2011) upholds that "Spanish girls are still influenced by their mothers and grandmothers, who suffered from a dictatorship 40 years ago, and today women are still demanding their sexual freedom and rights to equal those of men" (para. 5). In contrast, in his experience of flirtation, British young women tend to be open in their sexual life. The origin of the name of the state *Virginia* in the USA is Elizabeth I the Virgin Queen (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). Dunkling (1977, p. 119) explains that "a surge in popularity seems unlikely at the present time because attitudes to 'virginity' have changed so drastically in recent years". The name has probably become embarrassing although a girl bearing that name may use pet forms such as *Ginnie* or *Ginger* in England.

Prostitution is the transaction of sex (Clua, 2015). Prostitution, "the oldest profession", as Shelley (as cited in Arboleda, 2009) called it,

had one of its most ill-famed eras in the Victorian age in England. During the postwar, both in Spain and England there was an increase in prostitution, which reflects the bad moral and economic state of society. The reason why women became involved in prostitution was identified as *bad homes*, *bad companions* or *wilful choice* (Nelson, 1972, p. 363), which all derived from a common root: need. The writer G.B. Shaw was a defender of social reform, something he explored in his work *Mrs Warren's profession*. He was interested in showing that society was guilty for the existence of prostitution. The main character in this play, Mrs. Warren, maintains that people were less moral than they claimed (Arboleda, 2009). Sexuality could not be openly dealt with in the theatre because it was a highly controversial issue at the time.

At this time prostitution was well-organised in Europe. There were chains of public houses in England and all over Europe (Brussels, Vienna, Budapest, etc.). As Shaw (1982) puts it, “the house in Brussels was real high class” (p. 248), to which Arboleda (2009) adds that Belgium was the centre of illegal trade in girls. It was said that even the King of Belgium was involved. In public places solicitors deceived young naïve girls or innocent parents into entering the business. One of the most popular procuresses in England was Mrs Mary Jeffries. She became very wealthy as a result of white slave traffic. It was usual that these women were involved in the business in order to build up their fortune but also for excitement, as with Mrs Warren in Shaw's play: “I must have work and excitement, or I should go melancholy mad” (Shaw, 1982, p. 283). The analysis of anthroponymy in the old popular Hispanic lyric suggests that *Teresa* is a name of a prostitute and therefore has sexual connotations (Costarelli, 2012).

As Allett (1999, p. 36) pinpoints, “prostitution [...] is the crystallization of male/female relations, putting into high relief men's



pervasive and persistent desire to dominate women”. In prostitution women depend on men. Arboleda (2009, p. 5, our own translation) adds that “females earn their living when the men are willing to have sex with them”. Mrs Warren’s view of marriage, which is very conventional, reflects that she had been a prostitute for so many years: women need a husband; a female needs to be supported by a male. This scholar suggests that almost all, if not all, women involved in prostitution or white slave traffic as is the case of Mrs Warren would like to be like conventional Victorian middle class women. Although they had been forced to enter the business by circumstances, the thoughts they had when they were unspoiled and innocent remained. The character of Vivie, Mrs Warren’s daughter, rejects prostitution and what it entails. As a result, she does not support marriage either because she perceives a link between prostitution and marriage: “she considers that marriage is just a way of colonising women, like prostitution” (Arboleda, 2009, p. 6, our own translation). Allett (1999) points out that “Shaw was [...] unavoidably experimenting [with feminism] here” (p. 37). In Arboleda’s words (2009, p. 6, our own translation): “Vivie is just a reflection of the kind of woman many Victorian females wanted to be like but which they did not dare to be”. The fact that Vivie rejects both prostitution and marriage “involves a criticism of a male chauvinistic social system” (Arboleda, 2009, p. 6, our own translation). Vivie ascends the professional scale and remains single, which portrays the idea that women do not need the support of men to be successful.

The existence of prostitution has given rise to many words related to sex. In Spanish, Luque, Pamies and Manjón (1997) talk about the analogies of the prostitute with an *animal de carga* (‘pack animal’) by using words such as *jaca* (‘mare’). A prostitute may also be known as *zorra* (‘vixen’), *zorrana* or *zorrupia*, considered insults in Spanish. Conversely, *zorrica*, *zorrilla* and *zorrita* (all derived from *vixen*), for

instance, are not seen as so negative (Guerrero, 2007). Another animal, *perra*, is employed with that sense of insult in Spanish, as in English, in which the word *bitch* is used. To express issues such as sex, swearing and the body (parts and functions), decency and propriety are resorted to. Euphemisms are

the result of a very human attitude which leads us to veil and disguise awkward, offensive or repulsive ideas. It is no more than an effort to be tactful, to avoid shocking people –an effort which may be genuine or feigned and whose effects are short-lived since the hearer will look for the thing behind the word and will soon connect them with each other (Bréal, 1921, p. 100).

Euphemisms are used to “lexically neutralise” (Casas, 1986, p. 35-36, our own translation) and avoid rude or nasty words, e.g. the term *sexual organs* (instead of *testicles* or even worse, instead of the Spanish *huevos* or *cojones* or the English *balls*). Grijelmo (2000) is of the opinion that euphemisms are words which hide the still pervasive influence of a patriarchal society. Speaking about the possible link between sex and gender, Manning (1997) emphasises the idea that men use more direct and “less sensitive” lexis such as *fuck* or *screw* as opposed to women’s more likely use of *make love*, for instance.

A name may suggest personality. Romantic and modern philosophers underline the idea of expressive strength as an essential feature in style, a view put forward by A. Alonso (1947). In a similar vein, Oscar Wilde is one of the many writers amazed at the “power” of the word and he ranks it above the rest of the Arts –music, sculpture or painting (O. Wilde, 2000). A respondent in BabyCenter (2015a) explains that she wants for her baby a name which is as delicate as he/she is now but full of energy when he/she grows up.

Names may have humorous connotations. There are websites which make reference to funny forenames or nicknames, e.g. Nombres y

apodos chistosos (2010). There are rarely used names which can individualise without causing adverse comment, but there are odd names which can “disfigure a child for life” (Dunkling, 1977, p. 255). It is good to have an anecdote or joke to tell at lunch or dinner but not to bear it during your whole life. As Albaigès (1998) says, “a person should not be a joke or a rarity” (p. 104, our own translation). Price and Stern (1984) focus on forenames which should not be given to children. Albaigès (1998) adds that “any possible association (...) is always discovered and used without any piety by the bearer’s school mates” (p. 161, our own translation). Jokes may make their life a misery. Dunkling (1977, p. 257) thinks that “if his name is ridiculed he will come to feel that he himself is an object of ridicule”. Some people even speak about discrimination as a result of one’s name which, according to them, may bring about a lack of self-worth especially in early years at school (BabyCenter, 2015a).

Finch (2008) speaks about forenames which, together with surnames, produce comic effects. For instance, it is funny to find a person named *Dolores Fuertes de Barriga* (‘severe tummy aches’), *Justin Tune*, a chorister of Westminster Choir College (New Jersey, USA) or *Jesús Están Camino* (Very similar to *Jesús está en camino*; ‘Christ is on the way’). The parent should anticipate jokes about names like *Amor*, *Bella*, *Felicísimo*, etc. (Albaigès, 1998). However, it is also true that certain parents give their children ridiculous names because they are not happy with their own names and they want to take revenge on the innocent child (Mille, 1922).

Nowadays all names are accepted by society with certain obvious restrictions unless they have a pejorative connotation (e.g. the name *Judas* is forbidden in Germany) (Oliveri, Sosa-Indicissa & Gamboa, 1997). Pejoratives are expressions employed to insult or express a negative opinion. They convey emotional states (Hom, 2012). In his dictionary, Tibón (2002) excludes names which sometimes have bad connotations,

e.g. *Memo*. In the 1970s the pet form *Jody* (*Jodie*, *Jodi*) eclipsed *Judith* in England. As pointed out by Dunkling (1977), this gets the name away from *Judy*, which by the early nineteenth century was already a slang term for any girl.

There are some words which contain an element of judgement in their meaning, which may be pejorative, e.g. a *hovel*- 'a rude or miserable dwelling-place'. The same happens with words which are evaluative in themselves, for example, *horrible*. Some words have been tainted with derogatory connotations as a result of xenophobia. For instance, the words *slave* in English or *esclave* in French have their roots in the ethnic name *Slav*. Meaning deformations have also been a result of social prejudice. From Latin *villanus* ('inhabitant of a villa') the pejorative *villain* and the French *vilain* (ugly) arise. In contrast, that is, an ameliorating meaning, there is the word *nice* from Latin *nescius*. Likewise, we have neutral terms whose positive or negative meaning depends on the context (e.g. *fortune*).

As Ullmann (1978) points out, there exist pejorative diminutive suffixes (e.g. Italian *poveretto*, from *povero* and Spanish *-ejo/a* or *-eto/a* and *uzo/a* or *-ucho/a* e.g. *aparatito*, *gafotas*, *casucha* from *aparato*, *gafas* and *casa*, respectively). Caballero and Corral (1998) consider *-ajo*, *-ijo*, *-ujo* and *-uco* to convey contempt. According to Monroy (2001), *-ote* is used for pejoratives on many occasions, e.g. *feo-feote*. J.L. Alonso and Huerta (2000) pinpoint the diminutive *Juanete* as a despective form of Juan, thus agreeing with Monroy (2001). This makes sense in that the common noun *juanete* ('bunion') also has a negative meaning. Caballero and Corral (1998), however, do not consider *-ete/o/a* to be contemptuous. Sometimes, after the *-ucho/a* suffix, another suffix is added, e.g. *feo-feucho-feuchillo* or *persona-personaje-personajillo*. Nobile (2010) finds an association between axiological pejorative vs. diminutive affective and the phonological opposition [open] and [closed] vowels (*-accio*, *-azzo*, -

astro vs -uccio, -uzzo, -iccio). When the suffix –uccio is used with verbs it suggests poor quality, for example, *parlare –parlucchiare* (‘speak badly’). Vitali (2011) considers the diminutive suffix –ino pejorative in his novel. According to Morera (1991), until recently in the popular sphere diminutive suffixes such as –ito or -illo were used for children and the town fool as a kind of depreciation, which suggested that they were treated with affection but not giving them much importance, which could also be considered to be somehow pejorative, e.g. –illo is sometimes pejorative (*hombrecillo*, meaning with little importance). J.L. Alonso and Huerta (2000) add the example of *Juanita* which, in Pamplona, for instance, refers to gay men, so it may be used pejoratively.

There are some studies in which words are explored in view of pejorative connotations. Iwasaki et al. (2007) find that /e/ is associated with vulgarity in Japanese. Abelin (2010) refers to pejoratives (e.g. -fj, -fn, -pj, -sl, -kn, -skv, -str, etc.), which are found to have a high frequency in Swedish. Magnus (2001) relates the initial clusters C+r to derogative terms for people in English (e.g. *brute, drunk, prig, tramp, crook, frivol, shrew*, etc.). Pejoratives can also be studied in view of ingroup and outgroup ethnic labels (Sibley, Houkamau & Hoverd, 2011). Although the term *Pākehā*, often employed by the indigenous minority group, the Māori, to refer to New Zealanders of European descent, can be seen as pejorative, results of studies revealed that it is not associated to a negative evaluation of the majority group.

Amongst different types of pejorative connotations, Vigara (1992) talks about vulgar language. In Spanish, for example, vulgar speech may imply phonetic simplification, which causes a distance between sound and spelling, e.g. [‘ande] instead of *adonde*. When a sequence of vowels does not result in a diphthong, the ordinary pronunciation (very frequent) is by means of a synaeresis, e.g. the past participle a(d)o. This feature is not only found in vulgar or popular style but also in the style used by educated

people such as the King. It is becoming a widespread feature (e.g. *constipao*) to such an extent that the pronunciation [aðo] is seen as more formal or even stilted and pompous (Navarro-Tomás, 1961). In the case of Murcian, not only –ado is affected but also –ada. In vulgar language, the two final elements disappear, e.g. *panzada* becomes *panzá* (Hernández-Campoy & Trudgill, 2003).

On the other hand, /s/ is the fricative phoneme in which a larger amount of phonetic variation can be observed (Monroy & Hernández-Campoy, 2015). There are Spanish accents which keep implosive /s/ but in others the /s/ disappears (south of Spain and Mexico in popular language, e.g. [ɔ niɲɔ]) or is replaced by another element, as occurs in the Murcian variety. As pointed out by Jiménez-Cano (2004), in Murcia, when /s/ is followed by a consonant, instead of being replaced, it is assimilated into the following consonant, thus resulting in reduplication, e.g. [ep'pera] for *espera* or [ˈmim-mo] instead of *mismo* (regressive assimilation in both cases). This also belongs to a popular or colloquial style although other scholars consider it to be a vulgar feature, especially in the regions in which the /s/ disappears but not so in those in which the implosive /s/ is kept. *Seseo* is “the lack of opposition between dental and alveolar sibilants” (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1992, p. 133, our own translation) and it is a typical feature of South America and Andalusia and Canarias, in Spain. *Seseo* simplifies the distinction between /s/ and /z/. As Navarro-Tomás (1961, p. 109, our own translation, emphasis added) explains, “in some parts of Andalusia, together with seseo, which gives <c> and <s> the same sibilant sound /s/, *ceceo* exists, which consists of pronouncing <s>, <z> and <c> with the same fricative sound, with a similar timbre to the Spanish /θ/: *solo* (/θolo)”. In theatre and novels, *ceceo* is used as a comic strategy, usually in the speech of rural people.

### 3.2.10 Self-identity

Self-identity is “the awareness of one’s unique identity” (Your dictionary, 1996-2015, para. 1). Albaigès (1998, p. 17, our own translation) points out that “the name contains the being”. The name represents who a person is in his/her life (E. Cruz, 2015). According to Tsirópulos (1987, p. 12, our own translation), “a person’s name forms his/her essence: when entering life he/she faces life as flesh and name”. The name is an essential component of the person and his/her identity (Zonabend, 1984; de Pina-Cabral, 2010; Coulmont, 2011). As claimed by Bryner (2010, para.2), “we’re always trying to think about the first bit of a child's identity”. Forenames “are, in essence, the emblem of our immersion into self, identity” (Earnshaw, 2011, p. 140). As Antaki and Widdicombe (1998, p. 1) put it, “identity (...) is part and parcel of the routines of everyday life”. In fact, some authors such as Dunkling (1977) or Windt-Val (2012) have reflected upon this and leave us with the following ideas: “we feel as intimately bound up with our own names as we do with our reflections in a mirror” (Dunkling, 1977, p. 11), “my name (...) is a reflection of me, like my face in a photograph” (p. 10) or “it is (...) *your* name. You were given it at birth and have every right to use it” (Dunkling, 1977, p. 26, emphasis in original).

Names identify, not only mean (Ullmann, 1962) When pronouncing a name, we need to imagine the person behind because the name is his/her identity. The bearer should be identified by his/her name (Lévi-Strauss, 1962). In Valentine et al.’s own words (1996, p. 28), “in naming a seen person, conceptual processing involves both access to a token address in memory from a recognition unit, and access to descriptive properties that define the person’s identity from this token address”.

We write names with capital letters at the beginning in order to exalt the bearers of those names. We know people from their names. The person may die but as long as the name is in our memory or we write it or pronounce it, the person remains alive. The name lives “when read, heard and communicated” (Tsirópulos, 1987, p. 23, our own translation). The fact that names are still written on the graves implies that the people bearing them lived once and are still alive in some way.

Some works of literature direct the reader to consider issues of the awareness of one’s unique identity. On many occasions there is a self-identification of the character. Thus, the narrative in *Jane Eyre* develops the theme of Jane’s selfhood through management of names (Earnshaw, 2012). That is why, for example, when we find the sentence *jewels for Jane Eyre*, it does not sound natural because the link *Jane-jewels* does not make sense. Jane is too simple to wear jewels. Such self-identification can also be an indicator of realistic self-perception on the part of the novelist, that is, by using his/her own name for a character in the novel, the writer is in some way exploring aspects of his/her own identity or offering clues about the way he/she perceives himself/herself, for instance, *Charles* in *A Tale of Two Cities*, by Charles Dickens, *William* in *Vanity Fair* by William M. Thackeray or *Jane* in *Pride and Prejudice* or *Emma* (B. Herbert, 2011). On some occasions “names may offer a mask under which truth can flourish, either at the level of author or narrator, or provide a protection for identity” (Earnshaw, 2012, p. 187), e.g. with *Jane Elliot*, the new identity of *Jane Eyre* when running away from Rochester, or *Currer Bell*, *Ellis Bell* and *Acton Bell*, initially used by the Brönte sisters (Charlotte, Emily and Anne, respectively) as a pseudonym in order to avoid knowledge of their gender influencing the critical judgement of their writing. As explained by Earnshaw (2012, p. 187), “this is how they introduced themselves to the world”. If a person loses his/her name,



he/she may lose his/her sense of identity, a problem reflected in Pirandello's *The Late Mattia Pascal*, or there is even a nihilist desperation as happens in Kafka's anonymous heroes, who do not have a name or just a letter. This is a reflection of lack of identity (almost like a number) and may suggest that names are a way to strengthen our relationship to the earth (our fear of death, perhaps?) just as baptism strengthens our link with God. God must know and remember our name.

Studies on the self-identification of names are, for instance, Aldrin (2011), who explored forenames from a sociolinguistic and identity-theoretic standpoint. She deals with parents' choices of first names as acts of identity. Aldrin's aim (2011) is "to examine how parents in Sweden at the beginning of the twenty-first century use the process of naming as a resource to contribute to the creation of various identities for both themselves and the child" (p. 4). She demonstrates that the choice of first names by parents "is an important social act" (Aldrin, 2011, p. 4) and this social act creates identities both in them and their children. McKinlay and Dunnett (1998) expound that the study of self and identity has pervaded the social sciences.

The right to have a name is one of the basic rights of the human being. In Western countries, Article 24-2 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights from 1966 states that "every child shall be registered immediately after birth and shall have a name" (as cited in Valentine et al., 1996, p. 6). Names do not cost and are obligatory (Dupâquier, 1981). The Declaration of the Rights of the Child and, more recently, the Convention of the Rights of the Child adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1989 also stress the importance of this right. The background note n°2 of the Convention says that "sometimes, children are even treated as possessions or commodities to be bargained with or traded. In its more extreme forms, the denial of an identity to children has led to slavery, prostitution, discrimination against ethnic

minorities, and forced separation from parents” (as cited in Valentine et al., 1996, p. 6).

Social psychologists, in particular, Nuttin (1985), have studied an intriguing phenomenon called the *name letter effect*, which claims that letters present in a person’s name are more attractive to that person than other letters. According to this scholar, the name is the most unique of all the attributes of the self. This could be supported by the idea that mere ownership of a compound object implies the view of each of its constituents as more attractive. Nuttin (1985) showed two lists of letter pairs to elementary school children and undergraduate students. They had to choose the most attractive letter in each pair (all of them were provided with the same lists). The lists contained letters from their own first name and/or family name and letters from unrelated names. Letters included in their names were more often chosen by each of them. Similarly, in Nuttin (1987), when selecting preferred letters in a random alphabet presentation, participants often selected letters from their own names and found that this was extended to twelve European languages: Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese and Spanish.

Hoorens and Todorova (1988) favoured the *mastery pleasure hypothesis*, which claimed that people experienced a positive mastery effect when first learning to read and write their own first and family name as they were the first items they learnt, and this enhanced their attractiveness throughout life. However, this was not thought to be extended to learning other alphabets because learning to read and write one’s own name is not the first task when learning a language which is not your own. However, when they presented a Cyrillic and Roman letter preference task to Bulgarian students who studied them as foreign languages the name letter effect was found in both alphabets. Therefore,

these results challenged the mastery pleasure hypothesis but supported Nuttin's *mere ownership hypothesis*. The mastery pleasure hypothesis was not supported by Hoorens, Nuttin, Erdelyi-Herman and Pavakanun (1990) either because, according to this hypothesis, the name letter effect would be clearest shortly after learning the skills. Nonetheless, the results did not show a decrease of the effect over the years in the studies of Flemish, Hungarian and Thai children of three different grades at elementary school. Brownlow, Attea, Makransky and López (2007) add that implicit egotism could be identified when the participants thought about one of the items they had self-chosen, their best friend or when they needed a boost to their self-esteem.

Furthermore, language choices we make index our identity (Ochs, 1992) —in other words, the way people use language has some relevance in expressing what they are (Bourdieu, 1983). Sacks (1992) examined the conversational interaction amongst a group of teenagers and realised they talked about the question of identity: who they were and what they did (as cited in Edwards, 1998).

The name is said to identify the person to such an extent that, according to Jespersen and Lévi-Strauss, in the Tropics and the Arctic, a person's forename becomes magical because, after death, it passes on to a person and this person possesses the soul of the dead person: "it is as if these people had the same face, the same body, the same voice" (Tsirópulos, 1987, p. 20, our own translation). In addition, in industrialised countries names are given to children at birth but, in some parts of Africa, for instance, where infant mortality is high, adults wait some time, days, months or even a year. Before that time, the baby is referred to by generic names such as *water baby* (in Bantoo tribes) or *white man* (in Mossi tribes). The baby may just be the incarnation of a spirit which will leave soon (Valentine et al., 1996). Besides, if the real name of the child is known, he/she may be more vulnerable to attacks by

magic or sorcery. Journet (1990) claims that the identity of the baby is uncertain and maintains that one way to protect children against bad spirits is by giving them a derisive name in order to make fate believe that the mother is detached from the baby. For instance, names such as *Kida* ('he is going to die') or *Kayure* ('without name') are typical in Mossi tribes and others when the mother has had several miscarriages and wants to protect her new baby. On the other hand, identity in China is conferred by the personal name or forename. The forename or *ming* is the name par excellence in China. If you talk to a Chinese person about his/her forename, he/she will be pleased (Alleton, 1993).

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, with the rise of globalisation, it is believed that in Britain the sense of belonging is being lost. Neighbourhoods are becoming more impersonal. SIRC (2007) states: "The development of industrial society raised fears that we were losing our sense of community — that the faceless, anonymous sprawl of the world's cities was depriving us of the basic need to feel as though we are part of something bigger than our selves" (p. 8). Sociologists such as Emile Durkheim or Anthony Giddens have explored these fears. Maybe it is not that we have lost the sense of belonging but that we are trying to find new ways of locating ourselves in a society which is changing. Before, belonging was more rigidly marked by class, religion or even gender, sexual orientation and race. Now there is much more freedom to choose the categories (brands, lifestyles, communities, etc.) to which a person belongs.

### **3.2.11 Familiarity and frequency**

Castelli and Zogmaister (2000) highlight the importance of feelings of familiarity in the study of human memory. As pointed out by Scarborough, Cortese and Scarborough (1977) or Bruce (1983), repetition

priming refers to the idea that the stimulus to which there has been a recent exposure is processed more quickly in the case of word and face recognition. Proper names can be the input to cognitive processing. The hidden assumption is that proper names are processed in the same way as common names. Name retrieval depends on the retrieval of identity-specific semantic information. Diary studies, neuro-psychological case studies, learning studies, etc. provide evidence of this. Valentine and Ferrara (1991) refer to this phenomenon as the *familiarity of a name*. We are able to recall the appropriate semantic information about a familiar person or object on seeing its written or spoken name and the other way round as we can produce a proper name on seeing a familiar face or object. The current interest from cognitive psychologists in the issue of the recall of proper names results from the development of research on familiar face processing. Brandt, Gardiner and Macrae (2006) have carried out research on the familiarity of names and Dunkling (1977) works on matching names and faces.

Hargreaves et al. (1983) suggest that familiarity is one of the most important factors in influencing whether we like a name or not. BabyCenter (2015a) explains that there are mothers who repeated the name they liked everyday at home so that fathers ended up liking it. Likewise, listening to a song on repeated occasions may make people respond positively to a name (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). Zajonc (1968) states that “people tend to like names in direct proportion to their familiarity with them –very (...) familiar names being liked most and unfamiliar ones being liked least” (p. 394-395), that is, being exposed repeatedly to a stimulus makes our preference for it increase. This is known as the *mere exposure hypothesis*, which is one of the landmarks of the new experimental aesthetics, and it is also supported by Harrison (1977). Hargreaves et al. (1983) identified a very strong positive correlation between liking and familiarity for names of both genders in

both the English and Australian sample. *David*, *Peter* and *Richard* were the names the participants liked most and they also received high familiarity ratings. The same occurred with *Clare*, *Elizabeth* and *Sarah*. Conversely, *Oswald*, *Balthasar* and *Clarence* for males and *Hilda*, *Ethel* and *Gertrude* for females were the least liked names, with corresponding low ratings of familiarity. In the Australian sample the same pattern emerged although there were some exceptions: *Anastasia* was very much liked but it was the fourth most unfamiliar name for the respondents. Similar cases were *Melanie* and *Camilla*.

In contrast to the mere exposure hypothesis is the popular wisdom that suggests that familiarity breeds contempt. The mere exposure hypothesis has certain limitations because in some circumstances the increase in familiarity has been linked to a decline in popularity (Berlyne, 1974). The inverted-U relationship derives from the work of Wundt in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to Hargreaves et al. (1983, p. 397), “when names are either very unfamiliar or very familiar they are not generally liked very much, but at some intermediate level of familiarity they achieve peak popularity”. There are cyclical vogues. In general terms, parents would be expected to select a name of intermediate familiarity for their children. Then, these names would become more familiar to people, so parents would choose them less frequently and the names would arrive at a level of intermediate frequency once again, which would cause a new cycle of popularity to begin. With *Anastasia*, which is not covered by this hypothesis, what may happen is that “in the case of complex stimuli which are not frequently exposed, for example, the peak of the curve may never be reached because sufficiently high levels of familiarity are not attained” (Hargreaves et al., 1983, p. 399).

These authors have put forward what is known as the *preference-feedback hypothesis*. There are two types of stimuli: those to which

exposure depends on voluntary choice (cultural objects, e.g. clothing fashions, which depend on preferences of consumer groups) or those to which exposure is virtually beyond this voluntary choice (e.g. letters of the alphabet or surnames). First names are part of this first category and are subject to voluntary choice and cultural feedback. Stimuli in the second group may become so familiar that they surpass the peak of the inverted U and decline in popularity. Nevertheless, voluntary choice will prevent those in the first category from achieving such high levels of familiarity. What Hargreaves et al. (1983) propose is that at any given time familiarity and liking for first names would have a positive relationship. However, over a period of time, first names and other cultural objects which are subject to voluntary choice exhibit a cyclical rise and fall of popularity.

According to O'Sullivan, Chen, Mohapatra, Sigelman and Lewis (1988), in the 1986 Illinois Democratic Primary, the explanation that the opposition party and journalists had favoured was that the victory was due to the fact that the winners' names, *Mark Fairchild* and *Janice Hart*, were more familiar Anglo-Saxon names whereas the opponents', *George Sangmeister* and *Aurelia Pucinski*, were ethnic and unfamiliar. Some names are new and others are new only to a particular culture or person but have been known and familiar for a long time to other millions of people (Alleton, 1993).

Familiarity is not a sufficient reason, however, to explain why some exemplaries are more prototypical than others. For example, a chicken would be more prototypical a bird than an eagle because it is more familiar but it is not so. It seems that the idea of the more familiar, the more prototypical is undermined (Mairal et al, 2012).

Within Cognitive Science, the frequency-based theories of language (Bybee & Hopper, 2001) explored how frequency and repetition have an effect on language form as well as its production and perception.

The frequency of occurrence has been the most researched variable. Low-frequency words are found to be processed less easily than high-frequency words both in the visual and auditory modality (Luce, 1986). In fact, Savin (1963) found that, despite background noise, the informants identified high-frequency words better than low-frequency words. Moreover, Bertocini, Bijeljic-Babic, Jusczyk, Kennedy and Mehler (1988) showed that, when presented with novel sets of phonemes, the rate of sucking in young babies increased whereas, if those stimuli were presented again and again, the frequency of sucking was increasingly reduced. McDavid and Harari (1966), Erwin and Calev (1984) and Mehrabian (1992) found a positive correlation between the attractiveness of a first name and the frequency with which it occurred. Harari and McDavid (1973), also confirmed by Erwin and Calev (1984), gave essays to the participants (inexperienced college sophomores and experienced teachers) in order to correct and to grade. The essays were assigned frequent and attractive names (*Lisa, David, etc.*) or infrequent and unattractive names (*Bertha, Hubert, etc.*) randomly. It was shown that the mark of the essay was higher when the name was frequent and attractive than when it was not.

In the early studies dealing with onomastics it was common to pay attention to the frequency of names (Martínez-Sopena, 1995a). Abascal (1994) studied onomastic frequency for Pre-Christian Hispanic names. Frequent prenames (*praenomina*) were *Lucius, Gaius, Marcus, etc.* used in both more latinised and indigenous areas. Gentilics (*nomina*) were, for example, *Iulia, Valeria, Cornelia, Aemilia, Fabia, Caecilia* and *Antonia*, amongst others. It was common for the indigenous and libertos to adopt the gentilic *Iulia*. Gentilics were often used in order to show the changes in the legal situation itself when there was a lack of family referent (Abascal, 1994). According to Mas i Forners (2005), from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the



early 17<sup>th</sup> century, names such as *Antoni*, *Joan* or *Miquel* for males and *Margalida* (note it is the patron), *Joana*, *María* or *Catalina* for females were frequent in Santa Margalida (Majorca, Spain). *Juan*, *Alonso*, *Pero*, *Anton* and *Diego* were also the most frequent names in Spain in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (García-Cornejo, 2001).

Variety of names in the Low Middle Ages was much narrower than nowadays (Albaigès, 1998). Mateos and Tucker (2008) looked at the frequency of forenames, together with surnames found in a telephone directory in Spain in 2004. The most frequent names are *Jose*, *Antonio* or *Manuel* as well as *María*, *Carmen* and *Josefa*. It must be borne in mind that the list does not take age into account. As reported in the *Servicio de Estadística del Ayuntamiento de Barcelona*, in the 1990s *Marcos*, *Jorge*, *Sergio*, *Alberto*, *Daniel*, *Adrián*, *Juan*, *Alejandro*, *David*, *Victor*, *Carlos* and *Pablo* figured amongst the top (i.e. most frequent) male names given to children. Among females the names which ranked first were *María*, *Ana*, *Marta*, *Andrea*, *Cristina*, *Sara*, *Carla*, *Patricia*, *Alba*, *Mireia* and *Judit*, in this order (Albaigès, 1998). Similarly, in 2007 *Daniel*, *Alejandro*, *Pablo*, *David*, *Adrián*, *Álvaro* and *Hugo* are the most popular names for boys and *Lucía*, *María*, *Paula*, *Sara*, *Laura*, *Claudia* and *Irene* for girls (Kohoutková, 2009). Most of the rest of names which were popular in the 1990s also maintained a high position in 2007. Similarly, in 2012 the most frequent names were *Daniel* and *Lucía* (20 minutos, 2013).

The most frequent names for boys and girls in England from the beginning of patriarchal registration until the late seventeenth century reflected regularity of use, especially in the case of men. In all the decades the names *John*, *William*, *Thomas*, *Richard* and *Robert* were present. John had been the most frequent name in history but in the nineteenth century it was overtaken by *William*, the second most frequent name. The high frequency of *John* was not only found in England as the names *Ian* in Scotland or *Ieuan* in Wales or the very frequent surnames *Johnson* or

*Jones*, testify. Male names which were rather infrequent until the late seventeenth century were *Anthony, Francis, Stephen, Philip, Laurence, James* and *Matthew* (Redmonds, 2004). *John* and *William* were also the most common names to be found in Yorkshire before 1825 (Galbi, 2002). *Catherine* in all its spellings (*Katharine, Katherine, Kathryn*, etc.) has always been a frequent name: it has been “a steady favourite in its various guises throughout the English-speaking world” (Dunkling, 1977, p. 234). *Alice, Ann* and *Mary* were the most common names to be found in Yorkshire before 1825 (Galbi, 2002).

Other studies dealing with frequency of names outside Spain and the UK are those by Ameal (2011), who dealt with the onomastics of Italian immigrants in Argentina during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: frequency of names and Besnard and Desplanques (1987), who explored increases and decreases in the frequency of forenames in France. In France, in 1620-1659 there were names such as *Jean, Pierre, Antoine, Bernard* or *Jacques* and *Jeanne, Antoinette, Marguerite, Marie* and *Catherine* (Delord, 1984). Apparently, *Raphaël* had a very modest presence during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. *Marie* has often occupied the top position. *Marie* has always been a very common given name in France (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987).

Brennen (1993) commented that, when learning a name whose phonology is unfamiliar, two steps are required: 1) learning the phonology of it, e.g. new names have novel phoneme strings such as the brand names *Kodak* and *Exxon*; 2) associating the phonology to the person or object. When the name is familiar (the first names or surnames have already been found to refer to other people or objects), only the second step is necessary. Brennen (1993) is, therefore, of the view that familiarity is somehow linked to association but we think that in the latter the focus is the being or object of association rather than the process itself.

In a similar vein, Feldman, Frost and Pnini (1995) discuss that the process of word recognition also involves dividing complex words into the individual morphemes that make it up. When there are high-frequency words, whether these words follow standard phonological rules has no or little importance to naming. Nevertheless, Seidenberg, Waters, Barnes and Tanenhaus (1984) claim that in the case of low-frequency words which follow regular phonological rules (spelling-to-sound correspondence), the recognition is easier than when irregular.

The idea that a regular phonology contributes to word recognition when the word is low-frequent introduces the topic of phonotactics. Native speakers have “strong intuitions about what combinations of sounds or words are possible in their language, and which interpretations can be paired with which combinations” (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 16). Consonants play an important role in the intelligibility of speech and they are much more frequent than vowels in many languages. Perceiving consonants is more complex a process than perceiving vowels. The vowel that follows the consonant in question strongly affects the perception of the consonant, as stated by Liberman, Delattre and Cooper (1952). Sharing manner of articulation but not place is more confusing for perception than the other way round.

With regards to English, Garman (1995, p. 72) writes that “the English alphabet is not phonologically compositional in a direct or absolute way”. The English alphabet does not directly point at English phonemes, unlike Spanish. Garman (1995, p. 67) emphasises the idea that “the way English people write their language has always been a source of intellectual controversy over hundreds of years”. For instance, there is not a symbol within consonants in the English alphabet for the /ʃ/ phoneme. Thus, letter sequences are found for the representation of a phoneme. In the previous example, <sh> or even <ch> would be the corresponding letter sequences. On the other hand, there are some sound combinations which

are seldom or never found in a given position. Thus, /z/ is usually found in middle or final position but hardly ever at the beginning. The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (1952) and Auge and Auge (1954) record just 200 examples.

Spanish has a simple phonological structure (no more than two consonants can precede the syllabic nuclei and only some phonemes can occupy the final position), which may be responsible for considering this language as less complex in terms of symbolic connotations, as opposed to English. Due to the fact that only plosives + liquids are acceptable clusters in Spanish, phonostylistic values found are more stringent than in English, where the number of consonantal clusters is substantial. García-Yebra (1983, p. 114, our own translation) maintains that “the structural clarity of Spanish gives it a great expressive agility”. However, the Expressiveness Principle devised by Wales (1990) is present in all languages and forms, including both the written and spoken language.

Limited research has been conducted on the study of phoneme frequency. Very few languages have been statistically explored in this respect. Tentatively and aprioristically, van Ginneken (1935) formulated a theory about frequent sounds in different languages. Whissel (1999) found an association between the frequency of phonemes in a language sample and that in a word with emotion and tried to discover the source of this link. For example, /l/ appeared twice in the word *lullaby* and was often used in pleasant, soft and passive words. /t/, however, appearing twice in *roar*, was often found in active and unpleasant words.

### **3.2.12 Originality**

Alford (1988), in concordance with Bagshawe (1886), argues that the name has the function of categorising the person but also of

differentiating him/her. The more it differentiates the person, the less it categorises him/her. For some researchers, if the person is given different names, one of them, the nickname, is an individualiser and another one classifies the person socially. Some forenames are more unique than others. The degree of uniqueness varies across cultures. Goodenough (1965) states that, whereas in some communities the categorising property of names is highlighted, in others it is the individualising property which is emphasised. For example, in some villages from the Scottish Highlands the first names used came from a small fixed set of Biblical names (Dorian, 1970), so it was easy to categorise these people as coming from there and as being Christians (Valentine et al., 1996). In contrast, the Ona from South America and the Arana from Central Australia bore unique forenames so as not to awaken the dead.

Ullmann (1978) is of the opinion that words represent types. The person is not alone in the species but others share the name with him/her in most cases (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). Mabuza (2011, p. 120) explains that “we often come across people with identical names and different personalities”. In Western cultures people’s full names include first names and family names which may be shared by unlimited numbers of people. This can make recall difficult. The failure to recall a person’s name can be very embarrassing but it is common in our everyday lives (Valentine et al., 1996).

An example of extreme commonness is found in the name of *Juan*, in Spain, which has always been linked to a nobody, someone who does not have any importance. Thus, we have specific expressions (sometimes without a faithful translation in English), such as *Juan nadie* (‘John nobody’), *Juan del montón* (‘ordinary John’) or *Juan lanas* (‘a simpleton’), which are still very much employed nowadays. Normally a common family name is added, such as *García* or *Gómez*, to emphasise this idea (J.L. Alonso & Huerta, 2000). The name *Juan* also carries

phonetic plainness, which intensifies this commonness. The fact that the name *Pedro* is also related to a nobody (see expressions such as *Perico el de los Palotes*), transferred from Peru, may also support the idea that some current names may be used in common expressions to indicate lack of uniqueness. In English the commonness of *John* also led to the common use of the pet form *Jack* (hence the family name *Jackson*). Likewise, *Tom* and *Dick* signified people of no note (Brewer, 1989). They were people of an ordinary sort (Redmonds, 2004).

A quality searched for by writers is fruitfulness, which is linked to variety and richness in the vocabulary employed in order to avoid monotony. Many writers themselves use pseudonyms (e.g. D’Arouet is Voltaire). The pseudonyms writers (or artists, in general terms) use behave like a kind of mask. We may not like our name or we may choose another one which is more poetic or protects our real name (L.M. Thomas, 2011). This name fights against the other one and the second one usually wins and beats the first one. This may be seen as a victory of creativity (Tsirópulos, 1987). Proper names are constantly being created (Valentine et. al, 1996). In *Jane Eyre* Jane realises there is a girl in Lowood who is reading *Rasselas* and it was “a name that struck me as strange, and consequently attractive’ (*JE*, p. 81, as cited in Earnshaw, 2012, p. 177).

A name may be so original that it may become almost unique. Mabuza (2011, p. 120) states that “people are each unique individuals with their own strengths and weaknesses”. After the disappearance of traditional models, parents wanted to individualise their children: “that’s their child and not another one” (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987, p. 10, our own translation). New proposals of names on the part of parents increasingly reflect more freedom, more creativity (Tsirópulos, 1987). Dunkling (1977, p. 260) adds the following remark: “I know from the letters I receive from parents that many people think of ‘newness’ as a

desirable quality”. Hanks et al. (2006, p. vii) state that “creating new names is now the rage”. According to Alford (1988), there is a correlation between a high level of uniqueness in names and low occurrence of nicknames.

Nowadays parents are concerned about the financial stability in the future, so they are more cautious about having children. There is a tendency for families to have fewer children, in particular, one child per woman in Spain (Larrañeta, 2013) maybe as a result of there being more working women nowadays. Parents are aware that they can find a wider variety of names other than those of relatives for the more limited number of children they have. Democracy was established in the 1970s in Spain (Albaigès, 1998). From that moment on there was more freedom of thought and people may have been willing to choose a more unique name or, at least, give more thought to the choice of names. Albaigès (1998, p. 107, our own translation) explains that “many parents wish to impose names which have never been thought of”.

In England the freedom of choice started in the sixteenth century and strengthened as time passed. Already in early modern English life there was a danger of an individualistic society and naming practice demonstrated to be an indicator of it (Goodenough, 1963). There is a tendency towards individualisation in names consolidated in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century (Lemieux, 2005). Names in England are influenced by America. In England there is no legal restriction in the names given to children in order to avoid the neologisms which invaded the USA and to some extent UK.

A process of name creation widely used in America in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was free invention. This involved “fanciful respelling”, e.g. *Kathryn*, “outright inventions”, e.g. *Tawana*, or combination of syllables from existing names, e.g. *Lolicia*. Black Americans follow this practice for historical reasons. Dunkling (1977, p.

159) explains that “it is completely understandable that black parents should wish to exercise to the full the freedom they have in choosing names for their children” because not long ago they were forced to use an alien naming system. Names of Afro-Americans, West Indians and other Black people contain a large number of invented names both among females and males. European forms such as *Antonio*, often with other spellings, e.g. *Antwan*, are common among Black names (Hanks et al., 2006).

On the other hand, soap operas have familiarised us with imaginative double names from South America, especially Caribbean and Argentinian. In Spain, unlike South America, fantasy names are not very common. In certain places of Castile and Leon there are names which are rare in other regions e.g. *Sicilio*, *Auspicio*, *Arandilla* or *Burgundófora* (Albaigès, 1998). In fact, in Huerta del Rey, in Burgos, El Mundo (2010, August) and Perdiguero-Villarreal (2011) show a small village in Burgos, Huerta del Rey, in which almost every inhabitant bears a unique and rare forename e.g. *Abilio*, *Onesiforo*, *Exuperancia* and *Bernabea*, amongst others. The fact that the inhabitants share their surnames led to confusions on the part of the postman. In order to avoid secrets being divulged and make the postman’s job easier, the townhall officer, after acceptance on the part of parents, decided to name the new-born children like this.

With regard to other cultures, among Muslims, “in the present age of individualism there is a tendency among some parents to select names consisting of uncommon Arabic or Persian words (...) devoid of any real meaning” (Salahuddin, 1999, p. xi). Some of them are inventions, even grammatically incorrect. In Chinese names there is an extraordinary richness. There is a great freedom for the choice of names in parents: material is unlimited (Alleton, 1993).



Brandt et al. (2006) point out that distinctive forenames were better remembered than more common forenames. There are unusual names which may have a positive psychological impact: “sports fans and movie fans have long realised the charm and desirability of an unusual name. (...) You read [Morley Drury (...), Greenville Landsdell, etc.] and felt like going out and throwing rocks at your mother and father for naming you Jim” (Zweigenhaft, 1977, p. 293).

However, we must be careful with this “creativity” as its effects may be contrary to those desired. In some cases giving a child a name which is too imaginative may contribute to abuse (Albaigès, 1993). The imagination of parents in the practice of naming their children has a long history (Merry, 1995). New things are seen as good things but Dunkling (1977) also warns against treating names as consumer goods. The total freedom for the choice of forenames is not desirable (Mille, 1922). The name should not be too extravagant and eccentric (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). All names are acceptable except for those which harm the child (Mille, 1922). Merry (1995) gives the example of Thomas Day, who named his son *Time of*. Rubellin-Devichi (1990) also refers to the case of Mr and Mrs Vaissel who gave their daughter the beautiful name *Aude*. Nonetheless, in French it is pronounced similarly to *eau de vaisselle* (‘dishwater’).

Fortunately, parental eccentricity implies only a small number of cases. In all the countries belonging to the Council of Europe, except for the UK, the law is concerned with the protection of names (Valentine et al., 1996). The judge’s mission is to protect the newly born child against the excessive imagination of parents but it is important that the judge checks whether it is a name from another origin but also borne by a saint, for example, as in the case of *Zaida* (Albaigès, 1998). In some European countries, for example, in France there is the Revolutionary Law of II Germinal VI (I April 1803), which forced parents to give their children a

name from history or calendars (Yonge, 1863; Mille, 1922). Extravagant names have to be avoided according to Act 54 in the Law of Civil Registry in 1984 in Spain (Albaigès, 1998). Luces-Gil (1977) deals with the legal aspect of names.

Rumble (1985) states that by the Middle Ages the naming of women was more varied and less rigid in England. Girls were given more exotic names than males by their parents. For instance, *Grecia*, *Lavina*, *Cassandra*, *Camilla*, etc. were already in existence in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. There was more imagination in choosing names for females. Dunkling (1977, p. 86) explains that “with daughters it was considered more permissible for parents to indulge their romantic whims”. Lord (2002, p. 191) claims that “flights of fancy could be given more rein when naming a girl, but boys’ names had to express the solid traditions of the community and the parents”. Likewise, Merry (1995) confirms that parents have been more conservative when giving names to boys than to girls in the last fifty years. Lieberson and Bell (1992, p. 521) suggest that “the reduced pressure for name continuity between mother and daughter and the tendency to assign a lesser social role to women allows greater creativity in the choice of girls’ names, which are therefore relatively more decorative and open to fashion”. In Spain the same situation seems to occur. In fact, in Catalonia from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries lists of frequent names included 196 different female names but only 156 male names. In the entries there were no female names repeated on every list.

In general terms, there may be an association between education and choice of a more or less original name. Nowadays less educated parents might select unusual names while people with higher education are less original when choosing a name (Graff, 2013). Mainly in the early nineteenth century the more urban Cheshire had a landed patriarchal society, with a strong loyalty to names coming from the family for males,

which was in contrast to the south east (the counties of Kent, Surrey and Sussex). The names given to girls were more conservative in the south east (*Mary, Elizabeth, Sarah* and *Anne*) whereas more exotic names were combined with the former in Cheshire: *Charlotte, Harriet, Emma* and *Henrietta* due to the fact that many gentlemen spent much time in London or travelling abroad and they became more cultured (Lord, 2002).

Similarly, parents of Arabic nationality usually give their male children traditional names such as *Mohammed* or *Karim*. In contrast, names are more varied and less traditional among girls. For instance, names ending in *-a* or *-ia* are used among females although they do not have to be of Arabic origin: *Sonia, Linda, Nadia, Samira*, etc. (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). However, there is no variety among female names in China, which suggests, according to Alleton (1993), that women have a “precarious status” in this country. Giving a name to a girl is not an important issue.

### 3.2.13 Fashion

The more a person is interested in a subject, the more he/she talks about it. Thus, during the First World War French soldiers used weapon-related nicknames, e.g. *machine-guns* to refer to women who had many children. Savater (1979, p. 61, our own translation) points out that “men will manipulate each other and in turn they will be manipulated by the institutional impossibility of choosing our own fate”. The mass media control society with their subliminal propaganda. To challenge this manipulation, one could develop an innovative spirit based on autonomy, a thirst for originality and freedom and a rejection of routine and this implies “a decision to create new values, take power, control (...), manipulate” (Savater, 1979, p. 66, our own translation). People think that the only way you can escape from having things in common with other people

is by not having anything in common with anyone, but it is the other way round: having nothing in common with them means you have more in common with them because you will all act in the same way, struggling to express your difference. When a word which has become expressive is used in common speech, it may lose its emotive strength: “the more often we repeat an expressive term or phrase, the less effective it will be” (Ullmann, 1962). An example is the English word *sport*, which became a part of everyday French speech after the purist Viennet used it in his poems. Other instances come from slogans, which usually enjoy a fleeting popularity, e.g. the word *apartheid* (Ullmann, 1978).

Fashion has a cyclical rhythm (Burguière, 1984). Expressions which become fashionable quickly go out of fashion. Like a chain, we always come to the same start, again and again. As Redmonds (2004, p. xiv) points out: “names have patterns of decline and popularity, and (...) these reflect changing customs within our society”. Besnard and Desplanques (1987, p. 10, our own translation) qualify this idea by adding that “the phenomenon of fashion is precisely born from the tension between originality and conformism”. Albaigés (1996) compares fashion with the Guadiana River. There are names which disappeared in the past and nowadays they start to become fashionable again, maybe as a way to halt their decadence. There are names which “ebb and flow in popularity over time like the sea” (Hanks et al., 2006, p. vii). Dunkling (1977, p. 9) states that “some are like fading movie-stars whose day is past; others suddenly find the spotlight”. Certain names start having “a good sound” at a given time and it is then when they are liked by more people (Albaigès, 1998). An object becomes fashionable due to individual choices and these give rise to a collective reality (Coulmont, 2011). Dunkling (1977) supports the idea that “it is impossible to say *why* fashions change” (p. 16, emphasis in original).

In Western Europe fashion dominated the naming of children in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Bloothoof & Schraagen, 2011). In England, *Hilda*, *Gladys*, *Albert* and *Ernest* were popular in 1900 (Hargreaves et al., 1983). *Valerie* and *Hilary* enjoyed great popularity in the 1930s but have declined again nowadays. In January 1948, in the birth announcements column, *the Times* newspaper started to publish the annual listing of the most popular names. In the 1950s in England and Wales the names *Susan*, *Carol*, *Barbara*, *Linda*, *David*, *Stephen*, *John*, *Michael*, *Alan* and *Anthony* were popular. *Susan*, *Christine*, *Jennifer*, *Janet* and *Carol* were popular in 1950 but less so in 1925. *Dorothy* was popular in 1925 but not in 1950. In the 1970s *Victoria* became fashionable (Dunkling, 1977). After the 19<sup>th</sup> century *Claire* was a rare name. Between 1925 and 1959 it had a modest level of use. Nowadays it has the status of a classic and it is more fashionable. In 1983 it was the top name together with *Sarah*. Hargreaves et al. (1983) explain that the three most liked names in the experiment (*David*, *Andrew* and *Adrian*) obtained higher ratings in the 1975 list than in the 1950 list. Names such as *Benjamin*, *Daniel*, *Emma* or *Rebecca* were popular in England in the 1970s but had not been 30 years previously.

Merry (1995) reveals that “parental choice of girls’ and boys’ names has changed over 50 years” (p. 7). Merry (1995, p. 10, emphasis added) considers that “1994 showed a dramatic turn away from the recent stock of standard names in favour of new entries, many of which have been well-used traditionally such as *Thomas*, *Jack*, *Ryan*, *Joshua*, *Luke*, *Samuel* and *Jordan*”. During the period 1985-1995, the name *Tracy* or *Tracey* became very popular. The name *Charlotte* was “restored to favour in England and Wales and rapidly becoming more popular” (Dunkling, 1977, p. 234). *Louise* was being increasingly used by the English and Welsh. *Lucy* was recently reintroduced in the top 50 in England and Wales. *Sandra* was used in Anglo Saxon countries whereas *Sandrine* was more typical in France (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987; Merry, 1995).

Nowadays Latin names, especially Spanish or Italian, are gaining ground, e.g. *Valentina*, *Cruz*, *Luciana*, etc. *Sophia* and *Sofia* have been used in recent years. *Jonathan* is popular everywhere and perhaps it is replacing *John* because, despite being in the top 50 in the USA and England and Wales, there are signs that its reign is coming to an end (Nameberry, 2010).

In Spain the most popular names in 1363 are the most unpopular ones nowadays, e.g. *Bernardo*, *Berenguer*, *Sancha* or *Tomasa*. The *Instituto Nacional de Estadística* shows that before 1920 and during most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in particular, until 1950 *María*, *Carmen* and *Josefa* were the most often chosen female names. The same occurred with *José*, *Antonio*, *Manuel* and *Francisco* for boys. These names have remained constant throughout centuries but they began as a trend. Between the 1940s and the 1960s new names started to emerge. It was the time in which compound names of *María* began to appear: *María Dolores*, *María Pilar* and *María Teresa*. Among male names compound names starting with *José* and *Juan* (*José Antonio*, *José Luis*, *Juan Carlos*, etc.) also became popular. In the 1970s the favourite male name was *David*. In the 1980s other favourite names appeared: *Javier*, *Sergio*, *Carlos* and *Rubén*. Among female names, in the 1970s *Raquel*, *Sonia*, *Susana* or *Yolanda* were in the top ten and in the 1980s *Patricia*, *Verónica*, *Sara* or *Beatriz*, which were not known before, became popular. In the 1990s compound female names declined in popularity. In 1993 the most remarkable case of an increase of use is *Sandra*. Axel has become consolidated in terms of usage (Albaigès, 1998).

In the last two decades, there has been a change in the most popular names. Nowadays formerly popular names such as *Antonio*, *José*, *Manuel* or *Francisco* do not appear in the top list. The use of traditional names such as *Joaquín*, *Juan*, *Luis*, *Pedro* and *Rafael* for males and

*Carmen, Dolores* or *Josefa* has decreased. These names have been replaced by others such as *Lucía, Paula, Laura* and *Andrea* (BabyCenter, 2015b). *Carlos, Víctor, Adrián, Pablo* and *Alejandro* are other favourite male names nowadays (Albaigès, 1998).

Dunkling (1977, p. 260) points out that old names never disappear: “the old-established names (...) have a high status value for many people because of their age. They are like antique pieces of furniture which still function in a practical way in modern times, but speak of a long heritage”. There are still an overwhelming number of English-speaking people who single out traditional names (Hanks et al, 2006). Traditional names usually have a fixed and agreed gender, pronunciation and spelling. There are long-established names which appear every generation but the number of these names is very small, e.g. *Ann/Anne, Catherine/Katharine, Elizabeth, Laura, Mary* or *Sarah* can be found among females. *Charles, David, Edward, George, James, John, Joseph, Paul, Robert, Thomas* and *William* can be found among males. Some of them may have a new look but preserving linguistic and social traditions (Dunkling, 1977). Some traditional names could be brought back into use. Thus, there is the revival of names which have not been considered for several generations, e.g. *Dorothy, Louise, Alice, Adele, Arthur, Martin, Victor, Walter*, etc.

As can be seen, the popularity of names was constantly changing in the twentieth century. In his studies about fashion and names, Browder (1998) examined the trendiness of the New Age. Cellini (1997) covered contemporary popular first names. Kalkanova (1999) dealt with forenames in Bulgaria since 1970. Merry (1995) worked on the popularity of first names in England and Wales in response to public and media interest. She explored the changing trends in the last fifty years before 1994 (each 10 years: 1944, 1954, 1964, 1974, 1984, 1994) and regional fashions only in 1994. De Klerk and Lagonikos (2004) also studied

changes in trends in South Africa. Names which are always popular among Muslims in Muslim countries are, for example, *Muhammad* and *Ayesha* (the Prophet's wife) (Salahuddin, 1999). Besnard and Desplanques (1987) offered advice on how to deal with changing fashions when naming a child. Pinzur and Smith (2009) concluded that there is no relationship between the popularity of a first name and its bearer's life expectancy.

### **3.2.14 Nicknames**

Many parents avoid names which can be shortened or altered so that the name they give is the one they will use, but it is likely that others will be used too. When a person has been given a nickname from an early age, it is difficult to get rid of it when older (Baring-Gould, 1910). According to de Klerk and Bosch (1997, p. 290), nicknames are "a special subset of words". They may come from a shortening of the person's actual name although at other times they can be derivative or rather whimsical. In fact, there is "linguistic evidence in breaking the rules"; there is an "avenue for creativity" (de Klerk & Bosch, 1997, p. 5). Nicknames imply more freedom than surnames and forenames (Albaigès, 1998). De Klerk and Bosch (1997, p. 5) go on to say that "these names [nicknames] evolve spontaneously among small groups of people who know each other intimately, and are frequently indicative of a need to express particular attitudes and feelings such as warmth, affection (...), solidarity (...), friendship and playfulness (...)". In early childhood these nicknames tend to express endearment and have a humorous flavour but the nicknames attached at school during adolescence can offer a deeper insight into cultural, interpersonal and social relations. Nicknames may show scorn, affection or caprice (Baring-Gould, 1910). Smith-Bannister (1997, p. 19)



supports the idea that “nicknames could be a sign of a close personal relationship and, at the other extreme, a sign of bitter antagonism”. In this latter sense, nicknames could be seen as pejorative, humorous (Antoun, 1968) or even both at the same time (Collier & Brickner, 1970).

As Valentine et al. (1996, p. 16) state, “using a particular label to name a given person denotes something about the nature of the relationship between the speaker and the referred person”. For example, a person may not be known by the same name by his/her peer group and by older or younger people or by those outside his immediate circle. In the case of Murcia, Bañón (2004) comments that in order to address someone, there are cases in which a name is used by relatives but not by friends (e.g. *Antoñico*) or it is used by friends or siblings but not by grandparents (e.g. *Cris* or *Claruchi*). He refers to the case of a young girl called *María*, who is just known by her name by her male friends whereas her female friends use more varied forms, such as *Mery*, *Mariolla* or *Marío*. Her grandmother, however, calls her *Maruja*. In relation to this, although not specifically dealing with forenames, there is also more variability in the case of girls addressing their parents than in the case of boys, who only use *mamá* and *papa*. Girls employ forms such as *papi*, *mami*, *cariñico*, *chirriqui*, etc.

Likewise, the use of one form or another may depend on the emotions felt at that moment. Thus, one girl usually called *Rosa* by her father, if referred to as *Rosa Mari* by him, may interpret it as a sign of anger on his part whereas she does not see any negative attitude if used by her grandmother. When a mother is angry with her daughter, it is unlikely that she will call her *Cris*, for example, but rather *Cristina*, or even her full name (e.g. *María Cristina Cáceres Gutiérrez*) (Olaya-Aguilar, 2014).

A hypocorism is a diminutive or deformation of the name (either a proper or a common name) used in the language for familiarity or affection, e.g. *bici* for *bicicleta*, *bike* for *bicycle*, *Lola* for *Dolores*, *Johnny*

for *John*, etc. (Tibón, 2002). As explained by Pommier (2013, p. 25, our own translation) in relation to *hypokoristikós* ('caressing'), "the hypocoristic process is a simplification or a familiarity (...), for example when we call our friend Jean 'Jeannot'".

Martinell-Gifre and Lleal-Galceran (1981) and Espinosa-Meneses (2001) point out that within abbreviation a distinction must be drawn between apocope, which eliminates the last part, e.g. *Rafa* from *Rafael* or *Will* from *William*, and apheresis, which eliminates the first part, e.g. *Rat* for *Montserrat* (this is more common in Catalan), *Lotte* for *Charlotte* or *Céline*, which is the diminutive of *Marcelline* (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). In Spanish and English apocope is more usual, according to Shamotov (2011), with a greater tendency towards vowel (e.g. *Rafa*) and consonant ending (e.g. *Will*), respectively (Arboleda, 2015). Espinosa-Meneses (2001) also mentions the process of syncopa, which consists of losing intermediate sounds e.g. *Rul* for *Raúl* or *Beta* for *Berta*. In contrast, in Russian it is the first part which is eliminated. Initials are also used as abbreviations in English: e.g. *J* for *Justin* (de Klerk & Bosch, 1997). In the case of Spanish, Martinell-Gifre and Lleal-Galceran (1981) add the use of compounds as well (e.g. *Mabel* from *María Isabel*). When children first learn to talk, they struggle with words of several syllables like *Elizabeth*, so they simplify words (Dunkling, 1977).

The pragmatic value of using the shortened form *Ben* for *Benjamin*, which is the commonly accepted and standardised abbreviation, is not the same as that of employing *Bas* for *Sebastian* (de Klerk & Bosch, 1997). The latter is much more affectionate and marked. That is why names such as *Ben* often add other affectionate forms such as *Benjy* in order to have an additional nuance, which is always present in the form of *Bas*. University students favoured short name forms e.g. *Dave*, *Jim* and

*Tom* although there were exceptions such as *Dan* and *Ed*, whose full forms *Daniel* and *Edward* were preferred (Lawson, 1974).

In some cases in the abbreviated form there are divergences from the original form, e.g. *Chelo* for *Consuelo*, *Lola* for *Dolores*, *Bex* for *Rebecca* or *Hall* for *Harry*. Baring-Gould (1910, p. 44) upholds the idea that “almost all personal names have gone through sad corruption”, e.g. *Bill* for *William*, *Batt* for *Bartholomew*, *Molly* (*Moll* or *Mall* –the latter in certain regional pronunciations) or *Polly* from *Mary*, *Peggy* for *Margaret*, *Ned* for *Edward* or the modern *Tel* for *Terry* (Redmonds, 2004). On many occasions /r/ is dropped: e.g. *Mag* from *Margaret* or *Bid* from *Bridget*. In other cases /r/ is swapped for a /l/ or /d/ (Edgar’s Main Page, 2004-2006). Thus, *Sally* is formed from *Sarah* and in general terms names whose first syllable ended in –r went through an intermediate stage: *Sal*. It would be very uncommon to hear two workmen addressing each other by the full names *Edward* and *Thomas* but more likely by *Ted* and *Tom*. If the longer form were used, it would probably be in order to mock upper-class usage (Dunkling, 1977). Nowadays sometimes there are differences between Fuerteventura, in the Canary Islands, and other places in Spain regarding hypocorisms, e.g. they use *Pancho* from *Francisco* or *Maruca* from *María* (Morera, 1991). Espinosa-Meneses (2001) also mentions the process of mimetism, by means of which the articulatory movements of a sound are spread to another sound e.g. *Lulú* for *Lourdes* or *Lola* for *Dolores*.

Sometimes it is difficult to find a connection between the original name and the hypocorism e.g. *Tula* from *Gertrudis*. *Betty* could be *Elizabeth* or *Beatrice*. *Patty* is said to be the diminutive of *Martha* as it was independent before *Patricia* became popular. *Nelly* could be *Ellen* or *Eleanor*. Although the examples are from Yorkshire, they could be the case in the whole England (Redmonds, 2004). On many occasions the hypocorism is the result of an evolution. For example, for *Eulalia* there was an evolution to *Olalia*, *Olaria* and *Olalla* and, by eliminating the first

part, it turned to *Lalia*, *Lalla* and finally *Laia*. This started in Catalonia but it has spread throughout Spain. From *Alexandra* the commonest female version is *Sandra*, which seems to have passed through the intermediate state of *Alessandra*, in Italian and now *Sandra* is a name in its own right. In some cases the evolution turns to two different names. For instance, the patron saint in Madrid was Saint Isidoro but, in order to distinguish him from Saint Isidoro of Seville, *Isidro* was used (Albaigès, 1998). There even exist arbitrary hypocorisms unrelated to the forename (e.g. *Pichi* from *Nieves*) (Martinell-Gifre & Lleal-Galceran, 1981).

Ullmann (1962) suggests that vowel harmony is related to the fact that “the vowel structure of the stem determines that of the suffixes and inflexions which follow it” (p. 43). Inflectional rules are procedures by means of which morphemes are added to a word, which results in the usage of the word being changed but not the basic meaning. Although diminutives, augmentatives, inflective endings, etc. evoke meanings, they all need the word. Turkish, Hungarian and Finnish are highly agglutinative in that they tolerate a great number of inflexions and suffixes. English is not very productive in terms of inflectional morphology (García-Yebra, 1989). For example, it only has two inflections: singular and plural. Conversely, derivational rules are more prolific in English (Baring-Gould, 1910). Adding a derivational morpheme implies changing the word class in some cases and also combining words into compounds (Whitney, 1998). Appreciative derivation comes from “suffixes added to express affective assessment towards people or things” (Real Academia Española, 2010, p. 163, our own translation).

In relation to names but also to common nouns is the use of diminutives. Diminutive meanings are often conveyed by means of anterior or high consonants or vowels, high tones or consonant alternation

(Ultan, 1971). By focusing on Italian suffixes, Nobile (2010) describes the semantic opposition between {small} and {big} values corresponding to the phonological opposition between [front acute] and [back grave] vowels (-ino vs -one, -etto vs -otto). There are many words formed by adding those affixes, often known as *diminutives*, for example, Italian -ino, -etto and -ello. -Ina in *mamma* (*mamma*) suggests affection and not smallness and when used with abstract nouns, it signals short duration or reduced strength e.g. *sinfonia* – *sinfonietta* (shorter, with fewer instruments). When employed with adjectives or adverbs, it decreases intensity, e.g. *bello- bellino* (similar to ‘cute’). Thus, the diminutive in Italian conveys different but related meanings, so “the category exhibits family resemblance” (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 31). Sometimes the overtone conveyed by a suffix in a language must be transmitted by more words in another language e.g. *donnetta*, which means ‘little woman’.

Thus, the subjective feelings evoked by diminutives can be closeness, contempt, attenuation, etc. although they can also express objectivity such as size, either large or small, e.g. the French -ette ending originally meant ‘small’ as in *kitchenette* or *cigarette*. The alternative Latin version -etta is also used, e.g. *Claretta* or *Charletta*. Cutler et al. (1990, p. 480) suggest that the use of /m/ and /mə/ may be associated to the concepts of ‘small’, ‘sharp’ and ‘bright’. For example, in the case of *Paul*, the base would be Paul and the new name would be *Pauline* or *Paulette* which, in turn, can be in the Latin form *Paulina* or *Pauletta*.

The most popular suffixes for hypocorisms in Spain are -ito, -illo, -ico and -ín, in which a high presence of /i/ can be observed (Morera, 1991). The most common diminutive suffix in present-day Spanish, especially Mexican, is -ito (Zacarías, 2006). Caballero and Corral (1998) hold the view that males are rarely known by diminutives unless the relationship between the people at issue is very close. Names with the Spanish ending -ita e.g. *Anita*, *Lupita*, *Marita*, etc. have been recently

used in the English-speaking world via the USA. Those nouns and adverbs ending in *-s* adopt diminutives such as *-itos/as*, e.g. *Carlos-Carlitos*. When the last consonant in the word is /n/, /r/ or /e/, the ending is *-cito/a*. As Lázaro-Mora (1999, p. 4663, our own translation) remarks, “the diminutive derivation presents an extreme complexity due to the great number of variants adopted”, e.g. *madrecita* but *comadrita* (with the interfixes *-c* and *-ec*). There are even ambiguous cases in which both forms are accepted, e.g. *papito* and *papacito* (for a theory of diminutives ending in *-ito/a*, see Zacarías, 2006). *-Ito* and *-ín* are almost always appreciative.

Although diminutives are more deeply rooted in American Spanish despite the larger presence of Anglo-Saxon names there, the use of diminutives in Spain is very ancient. When expressing admiration for a woman, men used flirting expressions such as *olé tu boquilla* or *qué buen palmito*. Furthermore, the fact that diminutives were very common was reflected in the fact that celebrities were often known by diminutives, e.g. *Conchita* Piquer, *Manolete*, *Evita* Perón, etc. In addition, Virgins with regional nuances are known as *La Moreneta* or *la Pilarica* (Fernández-López, n.d.).

In English the /i/ vowel is present in terms of address which imply endearment: *baby*, *dearie*, *mummy*, etc. Already in the thirteenth century names with diminutive *-y* endings were occasionally found in formal records and it is known they were in colloquial use. It is not known exactly when the *-y* ending was added to names but it seems it was after the stabilisation of surnames as it had little to do with their formation. Varying spellings were employed: *Johne*y, *Johnie*, *Jonye* (the latter was older). However, this topic has not attracted much attention (Redmonds, 2004). The ending *-ie* is more likely to be used for girls in hypocorisms, e.g. *Gracie*, *Ellie*, *Josie*, etc. Likewise, *-y* is more typically found among

girls, e.g. *Jenny*. Something similar occurs in Spanish (Espinosa-Meneses, 2001). No male diminutives formed by adding the *-y/ie* suffix have been found before the 1750s. Lawson (1974) discovered that Davey was generally disliked for sounding weak or passive possibly due to the *-y* ending, strongly associated with girls' names. In fact, data about diminutives and pet forms is mainly found for females. Nowadays nicknames often used for boys are increasingly being employed for girls, e.g. *Sam, Lou, Charlie, Chris, Bobby*, etc. (Nameberry, 2010). This is further supported by the fact that words containing */i/* and */a/* are associated with female and male voices, respectively (Babel & McGuire, 2012). */i/* is avoided in nicknames which already end in */i/*, e.g. *Natalie* would be changed to *Nats* (Cutler et al., 1990). The evidence suggests there are fewer diminutives formed by adding the *-y/ie* suffix in rural areas (Redmonds, 2004).

There are other suffixes in Spanish and English hypocorisms we should bear in mind. *-On*, *-azo*, *-ote* and *-acho* are augmentative suffixes used in Spanish and in many cases they are part of hypocorisms. Sometimes the meaning is not only big size (Lázaro-Carreter, 1971) but intensity (Caballero & Corral, 1998). Monroy (2001, p. 100) suggests that the suffix *-ón* is "the most resounding sequence of the Spanish language". Augmentative forms in Spanish are phonoaesthetic in that they evoke the idea of largeness, volume, etc. There is a nasal followed by this back vowel carrying the primary stress. The suffix *-azo* may also be considered to be a derivation of cause and effect together with the past participle: *-ado/a*, e.g. *pedrada*. More geographically restricted is the suffix *-ales* (Morera, 1991). De Klerk and Bosch (1997) refer to short friendly names formed by the addition of *<s>* or *<z>* as a suffix in English, e.g. *Julia-Jules; Sharon - Shaz*, etc.

Apparently, in English there were more pet forms in the Middle Ages than nowadays. A man called *John* can be known as *Johnny*.

nowadays but before he could be known as *Jen*, *Jan*, *Jon* or with the -kin suffix: *Jankin*, *Jenkin* or *Jonkin*. In fact, the origin of Jack seems to be *Jankin*. Lieberson (2000) explains the expansion mechanism from a root, which gives the possibility of creating new forms from an initial one: *Jane*, *Janette*, *Janice*, *Janis*, *Jaime*, *Jamie*, etc.

De Klerk and Bosch (1997, p. 5) comment that “nicknames are even more likely than first names to reveal predilections for specific sound patterns”. Palatal sounds (/tʃ/, /ʃ/ and /ɲ/) as well as /i/, /e/ and /o/ vowels are very common among hypocorisms in Spanish (Morera, 1991; Espinosa-Meneses, 2001). Hence, for instance, *Chelo*, *Concha*, *Chari* or *Merche* are typical hypocoristic forms (Tibón, 2002). In many parts of South America, unlike Spain, non-diphthongs are preferred in hypocorisms from names such as *Manuel- Manuelito* instead of *Manolito*. According to de Klerk and Bosch (1997), more nasals, liquids and voiceless plosives (/p/, /t/, /k/) occurred in English female nicknames whereas in male nicknames voiced plosives (/b/, /d/, /g/), more energetic, harder and louder, were more usual than in female nicknames. This could be explained in terms of sound symbolism but more evidence to support this is needed. The study also revealed that there was a higher frequency of /t/ and /i:/ among girls and almost 70% of participants whose nickname ended in /i:/ were females. With regard to the stress, in Spanish the appreciative suffix receives it, e.g. *librín* from *libro* or *librillo* (Real Academia Española, 2010). Cutler et al. (1990) also found that words with a weak initial syllable often have diminutives, e.g. *Elizabeth- Betty* or *Liz*, *Sebastian- Seb*, etc.

Hypocorisms are often part of the identity of the people who bear them, in many cases even more than their real name, which is only used for official purposes on some occasions (Morera, 1991; Braga-Riera &



Maíz-Arévalo, 2014). In daily life people commonly use their pet forms, e.g. *Frank* rather than the full form *Francis* in England. In some cases “a short name such as *Max* or *Kim* may be used in its own right, and strangers may wrongly identify it as a ‘short form’ of a longer name such as *Maxwell* or *Kimberley*” (Hanks et al., 2006, p. xx, emphasis added). In Slavonic languages there are no confusions as to whether the form is a full form or a pet form. However, in English *Jack*, for instance, can be a pet form of *James* or *John* or a name in its own right. Likewise, the innovative *Marilyn* was likely to be a linked version of *Mary Ellen* but it was used as an independent name.

Many names that today are considered to be normal first names were regarded as pet forms by our ancestors. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century England pet names were officially considered to be names in their own right. In 1700 the parish registers showed that 2500 girls were listed as *Betty* and 441 were called *Elizabeth*. In 1800, however, there were 335 *Elizabeths* while there were 82 *Betties*. In 1800 names such as *Bella*, *Eliza*, *Elsie* and *Molly* were granted status as full names. Others such as *Cathy*, *Nelly*, *Katia*, etc. also have their own status in the civil registry nowadays. This feature of pet forms being more often names in their own right is more commonly American than British. Less often, although also possible, do we find informal nicknames as official first names, e.g. *Rusty*. Thus, Hanks et al. (2006, p. xx, emphasis added) explain that “nicknames rarely become established as personal names, but pet forms such as *Peggy* and *Bill* can take on a life of their own”. In Dunkling’s own words (1977, p. 86): “pet names had now won their battle of recognition by proving themselves to be an essential part of the living language”.

Estévez (2005) refers to the controversy around the acceptance of certain hypocorisms as forenames in the Civil Registry in Spain, for example, the Catalan *Laia* for *Eulàlia*. An increasing number of people make applications of this kind whether they are allowed or not. Allowance

“depends on the judge” (Estévez, 2005, p. 48). *Agua* for a girl or *Fox* for a boy are legally rejected in Buenos Aires nowadays (La Nación, 2015). Likewise, in 1988 the case of a girl who was going to be named *Lola* was controversial as the judge refused to impose such a name (Albaigès, 1998).

Augusto (2011) deals with pet forms in Portuguese and Dutch. Oscarfloriann (2010) not only provides forenames and their corresponding meanings but also hypocorisms, mainly used in South America. Other studies on hypocorisms are Collier and Brickner (1970) for Mexico, Dorian (1970) for Scotland, Zonabend (1977) for France, Severi (1980) for Italy and Breen (1982) for Ireland. Likewise, Sosiński (2004) explored them in Polish and Shamatov (2011) in Uzbek, Hindi, Russian and English.

Nicknames reveal physical and personal characteristics of the bearers, according to Leslie and Skipper (1990). Bañón (2004) is more specific and, by referring to Spanish, he explains that these nicknames related to physical or personality characteristics (e.g. *cabezón*, *ballena*, *puti*, *loca*, etc.) are often found among young people. On many occasions they contain metaphors or metonymies (Olaya-Aguilar, 2014). In nursery or school nicknames are common, for example, *Reddy* or *Redsy* (in American) and *Ginger* (in Britain) or *Carrots* for the hair, *Goggles* from the eyes, *Nosey* from the nose, *Frowsky* from indifference to outdoor sports, etc. Other nicknames result from a slip of the tongue or a favourite expression: *D’you see?* as *Juicy*. Foreign names coming from the original name are sometimes used, for example, by a boy to address his brother: *Llosef* (to refer to *José*). Some offensive nicknames may come from rhymes, such as *Jack Spratt* due to his revulsion at eating fat, or *Tricky Dicky* (Baring-Gould, 1910).

Nicknames are seen as a sign of healthy social adjustment in Britain and the USA. If the signals of a first name are not positive, it can be replaced permanently by a nickname. Brendon the Voyager, for example, whose baptismal name was *Mobi*, was usually known by his nickname, *Brenain*, due to the presence of the aurora borealis at his birth. In some cases it is difficult to know the origin of the nickname (Baring-Gould, 1910). For instance, Roger de Amandeville, Bishop of Lincoln and one of the compilers of Domesday, was nicknamed *Humfine* and no one can explain why. Normally the nickname was lost with the bearer but on some occasions a person was given the same nickname as ancestors and the significance was often forgotten. According to Journet (1990), a Mossi girl received the name *Sweet head* from her parents, was called *Luck* by her grandfather, *Who does not contradict religion* by her grandmother and *Ramata* (her Muslim name) by the young people in her family, so the diversity of names is larger than in Western countries. In rural areas of Western countries, however, this may also happen and there are fewer females than males who have nicknames. De Klerk and Bosch (1997) focused on English-speaking teenagers living in the Eastern Cape of South Africa and elicited nicknames from Afrikaans and Xhosa, apart from English.

Celebrities are also often known by nicknames, e.g. Frank Sinatra's best-known nickname is *The Voice*. When soccer was first introduced in Brazil in the 1800s by the English, players became known by surnames, that is, in the English manner. However, when football became more popular in Brazil, the use of other nicknames was noticeable, possibly as a result of the high illiteracy rate in this country (Schulz, 2006). Amongst the kings and princesses, especially those of Scandinavian origin, nicknames were common, for instance, Ethelred *the Unready* or Harald *Blutetooth*. Romans had nicknames as well: *Caligula* ('Little Boots') was the nickname by which Caius Caesar was known until

his death or Escipión was known as *The African* after his victories over Hannibal (Albaigès, 1998).

The origin of surnames in England is in a sense related to nicknames. Maybe for this reason Bardsley (1880) refers to surnames by using the term *nickname*. In fact, surnames often came from the main characteristics of the person: physical, moral or mental. For example, *Long* or *Short*, *Dark*, *Redman* or *Trottman* ('a man of trust'). Some people were called after their ancestors; others after their place of residence or trade. The fact that it was often hard to give a surname made some people choose a rather uncomplimentary nickname without realising it was going to continue for generations or absurd names such as the days of the week, the months, the seasons of the Church e.g. *Noel* or *Christmas*, *Easter*, *Paschal*, etc. Even amongst the Jewish communities throughout Germany, florid surnames such as *Lilienthal* ('Vale of Lilies') were created. Sometimes family names and nicknames were mistaken: *Black* could come from the family name *Blacksmith* and not from the colour of the person. Strange names often got altered, for example, *Asparagus*, which became *Sparrow Grass*. Surnames were adapted to what was understood. As long as they were uneducated, people accepted the alteration. Many English accepted French sobriquets without understanding the meaning. There were many names which designated the upper ranks of society e.g. *King*, *Duke*, etc. which were given ironically to men who did not hold any higher position than that of a tradesman (Baring-Gould, 1910).

### **3.2.15 Origin**

The language of a group of people is its soul and the best expression of its personality (Narbarte-Iraola, 1983). Malinowski (1946)

moots the idea that language must be studied together with culture. Hofstede (2001, p. 21) also links culture and language: “Language is the most clearly recognisable part of culture”. Guillén-Nieto (2009) points out that the informants acknowledge the great power that culture exerts on the language we use. In the last decades, Sercu, Bandura, Castro, Davcheva, Laskaridou, Lundgren, Méndez-García and Ryan (2005) have been industrious in their efforts to integrate the visible aspects of a culture in the language curriculum, i.e. the country’s customs and traditions, history, music, art, sports, food, etc. Guillén-Nieto (2009) thinks that the hidden aspects of a culture must also be integrated in language. She emphasises the fact that “undeniably second language acquisition will never be fully accomplished unless students understand the relationship between a speech community’s preferred patterns of non-linguistic and linguistic behaviour and the value orientations that are at the core of a culture” (p. 57).

According to Guillén-Nieto (2005, 2006a & b) and Loukianenko-Wolfe (2008), lack of awareness of cultural aspects on the part of other cultural groups may lead to communication barriers, such as misunderstandings or stereotypes. Lewis (1999) states that the English-speaking Britons have an instrumental orientation, so they may regard Spaniards as irrational and embarrassing. The expressive orientation of Spaniards may make them perceive Britons as cold and even deceitful for not showing their emotions. Britons may see Spanish explicitness as aggressive and rude whereas British implicitness, including the use of hedging and mitigation, may be wrongly seen as a lack of truthfulness by Spaniards. Another way of understanding that sense of implicitness or lack of aggressive expressiveness in the English language is by interpreting it in the context of political correctness, something that people have been aware of in the UK and the USA for decades, unlike in Spain. Therefore, in the United Kingdom there is a tendency to avoid using

pejorative terms especially when talking about other cultures and gender, etc. (Bernstein, 1990; Levine, 2010).

P. Brown and Levinson (1978) comment that politeness is universal but there are variations in terms of strategies and linguistic forms across cultures. For example, Walters (1979) maintains that the Spanish tends towards positive courtesy (in accordance with P. Brown & Levinson, 1978, 1987), which consists of an attempt to make people feel good, e.g. hospitality. This contrasts with British English speakers, who are more inclined to negative courtesy, that is, an attempt to avoid people feeling uncomfortable, e.g. punctuality.

Enfield (2000) highlights the ideas of ethnocentrism and monolingualism, which involve privileging one language over another, as, for instance, in the case of English. Russell (1991) claims that psychologists are interested in all people and not just those who speak English. Whorf considers that there is no reason for English people to be ethnocentric because their language is not the only logical one. Boas (1938), for example, is of the opinion that other cultures which were considered to be primitive are as complex as those in *civilised* Europe. Gordon (1968) sets out the Latin American naming system and explains the differences to the North American system. Besides, he shows that these differences put up barriers of communication between the two peoples. In certain South American countries there are values concerning the “powerful Northern neighbour” (Albaigès, 1998, p. 124, our own translation).

As far as ethnic origin is concerned, Day (1998) analyses the ethnic group. He provides the following definition: “an ethnic characterization of someone is a description of that person as a member of a particular type of social group” (p. 152). The ascription of people to a given social group, in this case, an ethnic group is called *linguistic ethnic group categorisation*.

The categorisation a person may use to refer to another person can be straightforward, that is, by using a lexically obvious ethnic group label such as *Swede*, or it can be more subtle. He states that in some cases people use another person's belonging to an ethnic group to disqualify him/her. Day (1998), in agreement with Certeau (1984), notices that in this case the reaction of the person in the ethnic group is found to be resistance. Day (1998, p. 170) explains that "after all, what is being resisted is not simply some casual joke or triviality: what is at issue is the person's place in the activity of the group and their participation in the life it gives". Bertrand and Shendil (2004) examined the issue of discrimination in the labour market: how white-sounding names are more favoured than black-sounding names in terms of callbacks for interviews, for example.

Mateos (2007) classifies populations into ethnic groups by using people's names. To some scholars, proper names "are among the main communicators of national identity" (Fomenko, 2011, p. 76). The classification of individuals according to their ethnic origin is often possible by looking at their names. Yonge (1863, p. 1) is of the opinion that "we shall find the history, the religion, and the character of a nation stamped upon the individuals in the names they bear". As explained by Valentine et al. (1996), on hearing the names *Michio Yamato* or *Natalia Todorova* it is assumed the bearers of these names are of Japanese and Slavic origin, respectively. Nonetheless, on certain occasions names are common in more than one culture, e.g. *Anne Sinclair* could be found both in France and Britain. Therefore, a name may hint at its bearer's origin or not (it could be a foreign name that has nothing to do with the origin of the individual).

Van Ginneken (1935) offers the hypothesis that each person has his/her origin in different races, so he/she would have different racial traits and, consequently, different articulatory possibilities. If racial traits were

connected to the stronger or weaker presence of certain phonemes in discourse, then the relationship between this presence and preference for given phonemes should be looked at. In a similar vein, nowadays it is difficult to obtain statistics about the evolution of names throughout history in both Spain and England since there is a mixture of origins: names are influenced by the inhabitants who have lived in the country throughout history, the particularities in each region and immigration. In Baring-Gould's words (1910, p. 23), "it is not easy for every man to discover when he came (...). Yet every man must desire to 'look to the rock whence he is hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence he is digged'".

In the case of Spanish onomastics, Roman, Greek, Jewish and Germanic names form part of its repertoire (Kohoutková, 2009). Spanish society, like many others, has been created from a mixture of many civilisations throughout history. The first population in Spain was Iberian. The only name which remains from the Iberians is probably *Indalecio*. This was followed by Roman colonisation and the Roman system is the basis of our onomastic repertoire. *Cognomen* or *nomen gentilicium* was the second name, which indicated the gens or tribe to which the person belonged: *Cornelia*, *Iulia*, etc. (Albaigès, 1998). In Hispania Greek names were more common in Andalusia and the coast of Tarragona. Greek names added exoticism to the urban areas (Abascal, 1994). In the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, the working classes were given Germanic names as well, which made the onomastic repertoire poorer because Hebrew, Greek and Latin names were used less often. Male and female names were more likely to be of Germanic and Latin origin, respectively (Kohoutková, 2009).

Regional names in Spain were forbidden for years but they later re-emerged. They were names which strengthened the sense of belonging to a certain region. When democracy was established in the late 1970s,



names from other languages in Spain recovered their legal status, so it was common to hear of people whose names were *Laia*, *Oriol* or *Sergi* (Catalan), *Mireia* (Catalan variant of the Provençal *Mirèio*), *Jon*, *Begoña*, *Iciar* or *Imanol* (Basque) and *Anxela* (Galician) (Balaguer-Carmona, 2009). A study by the magazine *Ser padres* revealed that the choice of names was homogeneous in every Spanish region except for specific names belonging to the language of that region. For instance, *Ánxel* (*Ángel*), *Bieito* (*Benito*), *Xema* (*Gema*) and *Tereixa* (*Teresa*) for Galicia; *Josep* (*José*), *Jordi* (*Jorge*), *Miquel* (*Miguel*), *Caterina* (*Catalina*), *Susanna* (*Susana*), *Remei* (*Remedios*) or *Elisabet* (*Isabel*) for Catalonia and *Joseba* (*José*), *Koldobika* (*Luis*), *Iñaki* (*Ignacio*), *Gorka* (*Jorge*), *Ainoa* (Virgin in Labourd), *Edurne* (*Nieves*), *Itziar* (Virgin in Deva) or *Izaskun* (Virgin in Tolosa) for the Basque Country. Albaigès (1998) states that “there is a great fondness in Catalonia for the name *Jordi*” (p. 151, our own translation, emphasis added). The case of *Montserrat* as a female name is similar. Basque, which is not related to Indoeuropean language families, is one of the most ancient languages. Narbarte-Iraola (1983) offers a list of some forenames used in Basque, e.g. *Andoni*, *Joseba*, *Gorka*, *An*, *Maita*, etc. It was the first language spoken in the Iberian Peninsula. Alan de Montigni, a philologist, explains that many Basque people do not know that their country and language are very rich and still unexplored.

In recent decades immigration has caused some changes in Spain (Maíz-Arévalo, 2007). In 1994 any language could be used for names (Albaigès, 1998). Tibón (2002) covers foreign names used due to the influence of other countries or Spanish regions, e.g. *Gladys* (Anglosaxon influence), *Yvonne* (French influence) or *Ítalo* (Italian influence). To give an example, during the last few years, names from Euskadi (e.g. *Aitor*, *Ainhoa* or *Iker*), Anglosaxon countries (e.g. *Kevin*, *Jéssica* or *Christian*), Ireland (for instance, *Ian*) or Nordic areas (namely *Erik*) have been

introduced into the Balearic Islands. Islamic, Chinese or Slavik names are also common nowadays (Llur, 2007). In a study carried out on anthroponomastics in the Balearic Islands (Mas i Forners, 2005) a small percentage of Arabic names was also studied. The name *Mohammed* was becoming increasingly popular, which shows the effect of immigration. More working-class people opt for names of Anglo-American origin (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987; Bertrand, 2004), e.g. *Alison, Cindy, Cynthia, Jennifer, Linda, Melissa*, etc, including orthographic changes –the spelling imitating English pronunciation, for instance, *Daiana* for *Diana*, *Brayan* instead of *Brian*, etc. Martinell-Gifre and Lleal-Galceran (1981) give as an example of Anglophone aspirations the form *Patry* in Spain. Nowadays there are more parents who choose a name from a different language but this does not necessarily imply a fondness for the culture in question (Faure, 2007). Referring to the effect of immigration on names, Llur (2007, p. 109, our own translation) claims that “an accurate and in-depth study of these recent changes would be extremely laborious” and he does not see himself “with the strength and willingness to cover it”.

Turning now to the question of English onomastics, we will focus specifically on Yorkshire as an example, as the story of the origin of this county can also be said to be true for the rest of England (Baring-Gould, 1910). The original population was Celtic, and the Angles and Saxons followed. In 790 Yorkshire was invaded violently by the Danes/Jutes, who spread to the Midlands (the former Mercia) and gave rise to numerous place names of Danish and Norse origin. Danes/Jutes even kept their Scandinavian personal designations, which were passed on to until the present day, for example, the surname *Oliver* is similar to the first name *Olaf*. Between the widespread use of Anglo-Saxon names and the Norman Conquest there was a very large gap which ended up with the

almost complete disappearance of Anglo-Saxon forenames. After the mid thirteenth century just some familiar names remained, such as *Edith*, which have undergone a recent revival, or *Alfred* and *Harold*, which became popular in the nineteenth century to the 1920s although they seem old-fashioned in the twenty-first century (Clark, 1995).

The Norman Conquest gave rise to an increase in population and commerce. The Conquest implied a major change in name patterns. The Norman masters brought young men with Norman blood to England. In 1152 Henry Plantagenet married Eleanor of Guienne, the divorced wife of Louis VII of France. Traders, merchants, etc. came into England and both foreign and English names existed side by side. In the twelfth century the name-stock in England was very varied and rich because there were original island names (Old English and Old Scandinavian) as well as those brought by the Normans. In many cases French names, e.g. *Rolle*, became Anglicised i.e. *Raoul*. Thus, the French *Jacques* lived side by side with the English *James*. Names such as *Richard*, *Robert*, *Henry* and *William* became very popular after being introduced by the Normans. Names such as *Alice*, *Matilda* and *Emma* had Germanic origin and they were brought to England by the Normans. During the 300 years of fighting warfare between France and England, there was an incessant flow of people between England and France. Isabella of France, Edward II's wife, introduced French people with surnames from England which were unknown in France.

During the twelfth century Flemings settled in Yorkshire, with the introduction of Flemish names (e.g. *Bowdler*), although most of them were of later introduction, in the sixteenth century. Afterwards, these names spread to Scotland and Wales. Germans also came to the country in the 14th century because they aimed to show the English better methods for mining (they introduced technical terms). The poll-tax from the 14<sup>th</sup> century revealed that there was immigration from other parts of England,

Scotland, Ireland and France. After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, fugitive Huguenots settled in England and later on, Ireland, introducing French names. In 1709, after the order of destruction from Louis XIV, people from the Bavarian Palatinate were given refuge by Queen Anne and brought German names. This was intensified by the arrival of the Hanoverian dynasty, which resulted in the increase of a North Germanic population in England. Likewise, Netherlanders came to England after the accession to the throne of William of Orange (1689). Since the French Revolution (1789-1799), Swedes, Poles and Italians as well as Spanish and Portuguese Jews began to spread across Yorkshire (Baring-Gould, 1910).

In the nineteenth century there was already an increasing influence of names from Scotland, Wales and Ireland although sometimes this is difficult to identify given that the name already had a history in England (Redmonds, 2004). For a long time it has been acceptable that people of Irish origin use traditional Irish names e.g. *Séan* or *Siobhan* or Anglicised forms of these names. Thus, “the Irish name *Siobhán* (Scottish Gaelic *Siubhan*), related to the English *Jane*, has in recent years been Anglicised as *Shevaun* and *Chevonne*; its cognate *Sine* is found in the Anglicised form *Sheena*” (Hanks et al., 2006, p. xvii, emphasis in original). Sometimes there are cases such as *Hamish*, the Scottish adaptation of *James*, thought by Withycombe (1977) to be a pseudo-Gaelic form which should be discouraged. The reason why many parents use these names is to make their children aware of their national heritage (Dunkling, 1977). Nowadays names of Irish, Scottish Gaelic or Welsh origin are more freely chosen for children even if no connections can be established with Scotland, Wales or Ireland.

Until the 1940s, it would have been thought that a person bearing the name of Kevin, which comes from the Irish *Caoimhghin* (‘handsome

at birth'), was Irish by birth but the name began to spread and in the 1960s it reached its peak in England, but its popularity has decreased since then. Likewise, in the 1970s *Ian* was steadily becoming a more popular name among English parents (Dunkling, 1977). In Scotland English names such as *John, James*, etc. coexist with others of Scottish origin such as *Ian, Cameron, Malcolm, Donald, Douglas* or *Gordon*. In the 1950s Scotland was the most notable source for new names in England. The Scottish influence for girls' names was less obvious, for example, in the case of *Janet, Brenda* and *Lesley* in 1950. In 1925 there were Scottish girls' names such as *Kathleen (Catherine)* and *Eileen (Helen), Sheila* or *Muriel*. Scottish and Irish family names had dictionaries by G.F. Black and E. MacLysaght, respectively. However, little has been explored about forenames in terms of their origin in Scotland. From Wales we find *Gladys, Winifred* and *Gwendolen* and for boys *Trevor* (Redmonds, 2004).

The stock of names increased in the Victorian period and the 20<sup>th</sup> century as new names appeared from other parts of the world. This subscribes to the view that, according to SIRC (2007), nationality does not play such an essential role nowadays in Britain as national identities are more flexible and it is common to cross the borders of individual countries –although a third of all the people still attach a strong tie between nationality and their sense of belonging. In Abascal's words (1994, p. 35), "names travel more than people". Names coming from France such as *Jacqueline* or *Ivonne* can be found in England. English-speaking countries have borrowed names such as *Olga, Tamara, Natasha, Nikita* or *Maxim* from Russia since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Dunkling, 1977). Hanks et al. (2006) explain that *Tanya* is a "Russian pet form of Tatiana" (p. 257). Conventional Russian names are usually of Byzantine Greek origin (saints venerated by the Orthodox Church) and, to a lesser degree, borrowed from Slavonic languages. In the second half of the twentieth century, names of Scandinavian origin became fashionable, e.g. *Ingrid* or *Astrid*. There is

little difference between Danish, Norwegian and Swedish names. According to Habibi (1992), the interest in Muslim names increased after the resurgence of Islam and the revitalisation of Muslim culture. In the UK some Arab names became popular in the 1990s. An example is *Yasmin*, which can be found used by people with no connections to the Arab or Muslim world. Dictionaries which deal with names in languages other than English or Spanish are, for instance, Woulfe (1991) and Burgio (1992), who focus on Irish and Italian, respectively.

Cross-cultural studies are important in the field of cognition. Guillén-Nieto (2009) highlights the idea that since the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, the interest in cross-cultural communication has increased, maybe as a result of growing globalisation. However, cross-cultural studies are difficult to conduct (Piaget, 1971, as cited in Dasen, 1974). Most of the cross-cultural studies carried out focus on non-Western culture.

Some languages “tolerate” some sound sequences but do not accept others, which are common in other languages, though. Ullmann (1962, p. 42) explains that “it is common knowledge that words borrowed from a foreign language are often adapted to the phonetic structure of the receiving idiom”. This can be related to the fact that English-speaking preschoolers have a tendency to choose the syllable pattern permitted in their language (Messer, 1967). When a Spanish term exists, it is easy to resist the use of an anglicism. Nevertheless, native Spanish speakers are not always willing to opt for the native term and prefer the anglicism. Many of the informants in Yus (2005) consider anglicisms to be something natural. An editorial from *The Web Magazine* (1996, as cited in Millán, 1997, para. 6, our own translation, emphasis added) makes the following point:

(...) and why should I neglect (...) the search for *relatives* of the omnipresent *correo electrónico* in order not to bore you by always repeating the same words? Should *mailear* or *e-mailear* be

proscribed for their being natural *children* of Shakespeare's language reconverted to Spanish?

In any case, Yus (2005) warns about the current excessive use of anglicisms and calques on the internet, which has caused increasing concern amongst linguists.

According to Aguiar e Silva (1984), the writer often resorts to the origin, history and semantic vicissitudes of the word. Some writers often attach importance to purity. Thus, the lexis needs to belong to their native language and not be borrowed from other languages. There are divergent views as other writers prefer the borrowed term without any alteration. Mackenzie (1939) thinks that foreign words evoke local colour or a sense of exoticism or even snobbism.

The study of the phonostylistics of vowels and consonants in urban, local and general Spanish has been variable. Within the urban sphere, Lope-Blanch (1986) is one of the few who have dealt with this. With a more general scope one would include, for example, Gimeno (1990). Authors with a local concern include Etxebarria (1985), who focused on Bilbao, Hernández-Campoy and Trudgill (2003), who dealt with Murcia, Salvador (1980), studying Granada or Uruburu (1990), who explored Córdoba, amongst others.

The linguist Katrina Maistrenko, with the support of authors such as Frutos Baeza, Pedro Díaz Cassou, Vicente Medina, etc., considers that the RAE's dictionary has incorporated around 400 words of Murcian origin, which suggests a language exists despite not being acknowledged. It is the result of a past in which opinions, habits, lifestyles, etc. have created a system of relations. A distinction must be drawn between *panocho*, the variant in the fertile, irrigated region, a result of Spanish and Moorish and with influence of the Arabic phonetics, and Murcian. Gómez-Ortín (2004) holds the view that Murcian is a regional variant of

Spanish showing certain peculiarities (especially lexically and phonetically speaking) understood by the rest of Spanish speakers.

Different suffixes are ascribed to particular regions. Thus, we would have *-iño* (Galicia), *-illo* (both usual in the centre of Spain and southern areas: Seville, Cádiz, etc.), *-ico* (more typical in the Eastern part: Murcia and Albacete, Navarre, Aragon, etc.) and *-ín* (more typical in the Western part: León, Zamora, Badajoz, etc. and Asturias), *-ino* (Castile and León and Extremadura), *-ejo* and *-ete* (Castile- La Mancha) (Morera, 1991; Gómez-Ortín, 2004). Similarly, in the UK we find variations, for instance, in Yorkshire the pronunciation of the last “i” sound usually turns to “e” as in *nasty- nasteh*. The /t/ at the end of words is usually dropped and replaced with an “uh” sound, the kind of sound you make when lifting something you did not expect to be heavy, e.g. *that- tha[uh]*, a very typical ending in this region. Moreover, /h/ is normally dropped, e.g. *him: /im/*.

On the other hand, specific names from each region were found before the 11<sup>th</sup> century in Spain, e.g. *Pelayo* in Galicia, Asturias or León; *Sancho* in the Basque Country or Navarre, etc. Nonetheless, since the mid 11<sup>th</sup> century, due to migrations, these regional differences became homogenised because of the introduction of Christian names, especially *Pedro* and *Juan*. Although the frequency of use of specific names would tend to be very similar among regions, in the region in question they were a little higher. Thus, in Andalusia in the last years the frequency of use of *Rocío*, for example, would be higher (Albaigès, 1998).

Similarly, Merry (1995) found that in the UK there were more instances of names in some parts than in others. In the 1990s the two most frequent female names in England and Wales were the same as those in Yorkshire and Humbershire: *Rebecca* and *Lauren*. As explained by Merry (1995, p. 47, emphasis added), “*Rebecca* is the number 1 name in England



and Wales overall” but it was more commonly found in northern regions. However, *Ellie* was more popular in these regions than in England and Wales overall. *Jennifer* was more popular in the northwest whereas the names *Eleanor*, *Elizabeth*, *Zoe*, *Georgia*, *Alexandra* and *Louise* were not so frequent in these regions. *Charlotte* was less popular in Wales and *Harriet*, *Alice* and *Georgina* were much more frequent in the south than in the north. Until the 1620s the name *Jane* was more common in the north (*Joan* was barely used there) but during the seventeenth century it became common throughout England. Regarding male names, in the 1990s *Thomas* was the top name in Yorkshire and Humbershire, as well as in England and Wales, but *Joshua* and *Adam* were more popular in these regions than in England and Wales overall. *Robert*, *George* and *James* were more common names in the north. Not so popular in Yorkshire and Humbershire were *George* and *Harry* (Smith-Bannister, 1997).

Origin is also closely related to place of residence. This variable has been a common source of quantitative study but rural dialectologists dealt with it in many non-quantitative studies too. No substantial differences were found in terms of regions, but there were notable cases (Redmonds, 2004). According to Trudgill (1974), in Norwich it was important to explain the situation of the variable (h) because it was dropped there but not in the surrounding countryside. Bramwell (2011) examined differences in rural and urban societies, amongst others, in Scotland. In Spain urbanisation has steadily increased since the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Martínez-Sopena, 1995a) and especially from 1960 on, which “implies a transformation of the traditional rural society” (Prieto & Barranquero, 2007, p. 207). With a focus on forenames, Laliena (1995) made a distinction between urban and rural areas in Spain, in particular, Aragon whilst Denis (1984) explored the frequency of French names occurring in a rural area. In France, in general, the repetition of names found before the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century was disappearing whereas it continued

in rural communities (Lemieux, 2005). Van Poppel, Bloothoft, Gerritzen and Verduin (1999) studied children's names in the rural area of the Netherlands in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

### **3.2.16 Social class**

In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries scholars such as Montaigne or La Bruyère talked about distinctions between social classes (Coulmont, 2011). According to Clark (1995), society consists of a pyramid with a narrow top apex with rich and powerful people. The linguistic habits of people from different social groups may be different (Rosenzweig, 1964). Many studies have shown how there is a link between language used and position in the social hierarchy. In a study focused on Leeds and neighbouring areas and by means of a randomly sampled survey of more than 100 participants, Houck (1968) concluded that linguistic behaviour is closely related to socio-economic class. Gregory and Carroll (1978) make a distinction between two class dialects: U (upper class) and non-U (middle class), whose pronunciations are distinctly different. Adults are more concerned with social status and this has an influence on the type of interaction. Cheshire (1982) states that non-standard forms can usually be correlated to socioeconomic class. Labov (1966, as cited in Labov, 1972) discovered that the likelihood of pronouncing /r/ after a vowel in the English spoken in New York increases when the person comes from a higher social class.

Names can tell us a great deal about social class (Dunkling, 1977). As Albaigès (1998, p. 102, our own translation) claims, "it is a fact that certain names evoke social classes". A first name may indicate things about an individual's socioeconomic status in the same way as a person's accent or dress. Names are often classified according to social status

(Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). Therefore, people from low social classes would tend to name children in a different way. According to Aldrin (2011), spelling, frequency, sound, etymology, associations, etc. are aspects which are found to exert an influence on social positioning. Denis (1984) highlights the habit of giving several names to upper class children both in England and Spain, as suggested by the fact that in Spain Mr. Alfonso de Borbón y Borbón (King Juan Carlos' father) had 89 forenames.

In Britain the choice of names is often determined by social class (Darlington, 2015). Coggle (1993, p. 85) points out that “upper-class English evokes in many people’s minds an image of Hooray Henry’s and Henriettas, chinless wonders, Land Rovers, green wellies and – in the case of the women– Jacqmar scarves and velvet headbands”. The use of names has changed in Britain since the 1930s because there has been a “gradual breakdown of a rigid class system” (Dunkling, 1977, p. 21) although traces of condescension are still present nowadays. However, Monroy (2008) claims that in Spain a person’s speech style tends to be rather connected to his/her level of education nowadays. Therefore, the distinction between educated speech, usually found in people with a higher level of education (although not everyone who has studied to a higher level speaks in an educated way) and non-educated speech (including vulgar and rural speech) can be drawn.

In Spain, according to Albaigès (1998), there have been certain differences between social classes in terms of names. Already in medieval Leon anthroponymy identified the person in social terms (Calderón-Medina, 2011). In fact, years ago an upper class family rejected the name *David* because it was borne by an indigenous person in the town and they preferred *Robustiano* as it was the name of a local political leader. In the past working class rural people had names such as *Demetrio*, *Matías*, *Rita*, *Manuela*, etc. whereas the social and political class in the post war period

bore names like *Camilo, Pilar, Carmen*, etc. Today the influence of the tabloids means that names such as *Tamara, Isabel* or *César* are more closely related to upper classes although both working and upper classes can have children with these names. In films names such as *Ambrosio* are chosen for butlers or drivers (it is not known why), *Tomasa* or *Petra* for the servants and *Angelina* or *Carolina* for the madams (Albaigés, 1996).

In England during the period 1538 to 1700 the most commonly used names amongst the nobility were, in alphabetical order, *Charles, Edward, Francis, George, Henry, John, Richard, Robert, Thomas* and *William*. *John*, however, was given to people of all social classes. Certain names were more typical among the bourgeoisie: classical names such as *Cécile, Bénédicte, Hélène* or *Antoine* (Baring-Gould, 1910). According to Dunkling (1977), the names the upper class in England chose for their children in the 1970s also differed from those generally popular in the country at the time, as reflected in the names which could be found in *The Times*, a paper usually read by middle class, upper class and professional people. For middle and upper-class people there were names shared with the 1538-1700 period such as *Edward, Alexander, William, James, Thomas, Benjamin, Daniel, Richard, Charles* and *Robert*, which often appeared in birth announcements in *The Times*, and suggest that upper classes were more resistant to change. Among working-class parents, names such as *Lee* or *Jason* were popular in England. People from agricultural environments liked names such as *Vanessa, Jennifer* or *Jessica*.

Earnshaw (2012) points out that female names in late eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century English novels often end in *-a*, which implies an Italianate, somehow classical and high social-class association and this presumably suggests that the heroine is young, attractive and of a good social status. In Fuerteventura (Canary Islands) the *-in* suffix is

particularly used for the children from the bourgeoisie (e.g. *Andresín*) (Morera, 1991). An expressive ending, which indicated pedigree, employed by Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians, was *-ing*, e.g. *Alfreding* from *Alfred* (Baring-Gould, 1910). In the mid sixteenth-century the gentry began to use surnames and names with no precedent as first names. These first tokens of individual eccentricity can be found during the Civil War, in the seventeenth century, often gentry inspired, e.g. *Castilian* or *Castiliana* (Redmonds, 2004). Gouge (1634) mentions that *Jack*, the contraction of *John*, was usually given to servants in medieval times. Smith-Bannister (1997) reveals that in the late seventeenth century the poor were increasingly being given biblical names in England. In France Coulmont (2011) explains that in the past names of French origin such as *Pierre* or *Jean* were not to be used by the upper classes because they were borne by merchants. Besnard and Desplanques (1987) add that whereas *Charlotte* was used by the bourgeoisie, *Lydie* was not. *Denis* was common in people devoted to agriculture.

### 3.2.17 Context

Lemieux (2005, p. 163, our own translation) points out that “naming is acknowledging the child as a singular individual, but it is also to inscribe oneself in a family (...), a community”. Simmel (1969) and Tönnies (2004) consider that modern life in cities breaks personal relations amongst people. The mass media are making the control of the society easier but in daily life it is important that people relate to friends, family, colleagues, etc. In modern society human beings are considered to be individuals because we have individual bodies, goals, interests, etc. but we belong to a particular group of individuals in that we are connected through social networks: we are members of a family, neighbourhood, profession, ethnic group, etc. Eggins and Slade (1997) state that “as

socialised individuals, we spend much of our lives (...) interacting with other people” (p. 6). Requena (1994) underlines the idea that “interpersonal bonds are the essence of society” (p. 42, our own translation), “without them we would be nothing; not even human beings” (p. 125, our own translation). SIRC (2007, p. 8) claims that “our lives as individuals only become meaningful through our associations with others”. Some authors such as Watanabe (1993) support the idea that being in a hierarchy links people, so the relationship is close. In fact, Japanese people usually say they are “united” by hierarchy. In a similar vein, names reflect that there is an order in society (Tsirópulos, 1987).

Within the three types of meanings of Systemic Functional Linguistics, interpersonal meaning can be found. This is concerned with roles and relationships between interactants (intimacy, status, contact, etc.). The knowledge a person has of language is more than being aware of semantic, syntactic and phonological rules; it has to do with knowing “how to speak on each occasion” (Milroy, 1987, p. 85), how to transmit and understand meanings of humour, seriousness, politeness, etc. There is also a focus on the situational context (Sankoff, 1972). Hymes (1974) emphasises the importance of social context in linguistic interaction: who speaks to whom, where, when, why and how. A register is a language variety distinguished on the basis of its use (Halliday, McIntosch & Stevens, 1964). López-Aranguren (1979) emphasises that the speech of a university professor, for example, is different from that used by a father or that employed by a man in the street with friends. A person’s speech style may reflect what he/she intends to show at a given moment, depending on the degree of formality, whether formal or informal language (Trubetzkoy, 1973). Monroy (2008) refers to formal language as that in which the speaker is aware of it whereas in informal language he/she pays almost no attention to control language. What is more, formal language is

more impersonal than informal language. Informal language involves a casual conversation and comprises colloquial and familiar languages, both of which are interested in the content rather than the form and are not linked to a specific socio-cultural group.

Poynton (1985) considers that affective involvement may range from nil to high (including school friends or workmates, friends, lovers and family). Family language attaches key importance to affection and the language between the speaker and his/her audience may be not be shared by other members of the community. Nonetheless, in several parts of the world mothers-in-law and even husbands are not addressed by their first names (Dunkling, 1977). When we are children, our life is divided into home, dominated by parents, and the world outside the home: “it’s a strand that remains constant, alongside the flux of the rest of our lives” (Coates, 1996, p. 16).

Age determines the degree of respect in a situation (Gómez-Morón, 2004). Age is one of the dynamic factors which are “negotiated, modified (...) or reinforced in the course of interaction” (J. Thomas, 1989, p. 134). Besides, age seems to be a factor in considering psychological problems derived from social relations (Durkheim, 1967). A link between degree of formality and gender can also be observed in the fact that women became incorporated into working life many years ago, so their language also reflects a degree of formality when necessary (Gil, 2007).

In some African tribes, apart from having a spoken name, people have a whistled or a drummed name (Allan, 1979 and Willmott, 1987). In these tribes even several spoken names are given depending on who the person is with on each occasion (Valentine et al., 1996). In Roman Society, one of the several names people bore was more personal (*praenomen*), the equivalent to our forename, used in more informal contexts (friends or family) but it was only an initial and it was

accompanied by a Roman number according to status within the family (amongst siblings): first, second, third, etc (Tsirópulos, 1987).

In summary, in current Western society choosing a name for a child before birth is a common practice (Finch, 2008) and it may even become a problem for the parents (Aldrin, 2011). The mother's decision usually takes precedence (BabyCenter, 2015a). According to Smith-Bannister (1997), in any study on names, we must explore the degree of freedom and prescription in the choice of the name. M. Bloch (1932) explains that this choice reveals feelings about names. In some cases we recognise an emotional reaction and we know why we experience it but in other cases we may not understand it. Emotions depend not only on the context but also on the specific individual as different people may react differently to the same situation.

We judge a name according to a series of factors around (Viedma, 2007). Forenames may identify the bearers by their gender, age, sexuality, local origin or education, amongst others (Hörmann, 1967). Other social and psychological factors also play a role in identifying names and the people who bear them. Names and their bearers can be categorised as old-fashioned, trendy or working-class (Aldrin, 2011). This has been very difficult to study quantitatively (Milroy, 1987). Names reflect the complexities as well as the absurdities of human behaviour. Sometimes the choice of a name is more private and personal; other times it is more public (Hanks et al., 2006). Some of the factors which affect the choice of a name are more concerned with the name itself (e.g. sound, spelling, length, meaning, etc.) whereas other factors arise as a result of the person who chooses the name being a member of a society (e.g. fashion, social class, religion, etc.). As stated by Lallemand (1978), names place the child in



society.

BabyCenter (2015a) explains that 8.000 mothers and fathers from 24 Spanish-speaking countries were asked why they had chosen a given name for their child. Apparently, the most common reason was that it had a nice sound, that is, the musicality of the name. In Spain 48% of participants gave this as their primary reason, followed by originality (29.9%) and meaning. Around 40% of the respondents said they had not been inspired by anything particular in choosing their child's name. The rest explained that their source of inspiration was their own name or that of their partner (20%), a relative (13.8%), a book or film (7%) or a celebrity (6%). In the Early Middle Ages names were chosen because of family ties or devotion (Albaigès, 1998). In Mexico the choice of a name was often the result of a more frivolous reason: a special circumstance, the admiration felt for public figures, the fondness for being unique, etc. (BabyCenter, 2015a). Nowadays the interest in the meaning of the name is growing there (Ruiz-Zaragoza, 2011). Bryner (2010) explains that, according to a study, British people also seem to be more attracted by nice sounding names than by any other factor. Darlington (2015) agrees that most people choose names because of their sound but he adds that having known people with that name plays an important role as well. Other studies dealing with reasons for name choice in languages other than Spanish and English are Gönen (2011) for Turkish or Aldrin (2011) for Swedish.

Aldrin (2011) offers several examples of how the different factors which affect both the name bearer and the name itself interrelate, and points out how, for instance, mothers under 30 years old and without a university education seem to act more originally. This interconnects originality and university education as well as age. However, not only do the different factors affecting the name bearer and the name itself interrelate, but there is also an interrelationship among the factors affecting the name, for instance,

origin and familiarity, originality and fashion, length and simplicity, meaning and religion, etc.

In the following, we list the factors explored in this Literature Review: sound (see García-Yebra, 1989 for euphony and cacophony as well as Frías-Conde, 2001 for vowels, consonants and diphthongs in Spanish and Lagos & Bittner, 2006 as well as Llisterri, 2015, for vowels, consonants, diphthongs and triphthongs in English; Silva, 2007 accounts for the relationship between music and women; de Klerk & Bosch, 2005 talk about the affinity with the surname) and stress (Quilis & Fernández, 1964); spelling (Albaigès, 1998 and Redmonds, 2004); beauty (Demetrio, 1979); length (Cutler et al., 1990 and P. Rodríguez, 2014); simplicity (Earnshaw, 2012); meaning (Hanks et al., 2006 and BabyCenter, 2015a), religion and magic (Albaigès, 1998 and Redmonds, 2004), association (Requena, 1994, friends; Martínez i Teixidó, 1995, Albaigès, 1998 and Postles, 2002, family; Hanks & Hodges, 1990 and Albaigès, 1998 politicians; Albaigès, 1998 and Hanks et al., 2006, Royal characters as well as literary characters or characters from comics or fairy tales; Barceló & Ensenyat, 2005 and Hanks et al., 2006, classical characters; Withycombe, 1971 and Yus, 2008, celebrities; Besnard & Desplanques, 1987, music; Albaigès, 1998, football players; Dunkling, 1977, Kendall, 1980 and Albaigès, 1998, birth circumstances); connotation (Dunkling, 1977, Tusón, 1988, Coates, 1996, Albaigès, 1998 and Cameron & Kulick, 2003, gender; Hargreaves et al., 1983 and Albaigès, 1998, age; Allett, 1999 and del Bass, 2011, sex; BabyCenter, 2015a, personality; Dunkling, 1977 and Albaigès, 1998, fun; Jiménez-Cano, 2004 and Hom, 2012, pejorative connotations); self-identity (Coulmont, 2011); familiarity (see Valentine & Ferrara, 1991 for the mere exposure hypothesis and Zajonc, 1968 for the preference-feedback hypothesis) and frequency (Redmonds, 2004 and Kohoutková,

2009); originality (Albaigès, 1998 and Hanks et al., 2006), fashion (Merry, 1995 and Albaigès, 1998); nicknames (Baring-Gould, 1910, de Klerk & Bosch, 1997, Bañón, 2004 and Olaya-Aguilar, 2014); origin (Albaigès, 1998 and Hanks et al., 2006) and place of residence (Bramwell, 2011); social class (Coggle, 1993 and Albaigès, 1998); context (Poynton, 1985).



### 3. OBJECTIVES

The main purpose of this study is to explore and analyse the reactions of a selected group of participants from the metropolitan districts of Murcia (Spain) and Leeds (England) to people's forenames and nicknames. Several research questions have been formulated and addressed in order to carry out this study:

1. What reactions are triggered by people's forenames and nicknames in the metropolitan district of Murcia?
2. What reactions are triggered by people's forenames and nicknames in the metropolitan district of Leeds?
3. What relationship can be found between the reactions to the forenames and nicknames in the metropolitan district of Murcia and those in the municipal district of Leeds?

These questions will be approached by analysing the following aspects:

- A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age
  - a) Relationship between age and preference for a given name form
  - b) Other factors related to name form preference
- B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account
  - B.1. a) Liking of a particular forename
    - b) Factors linked to forename liking
  - B.2. a) Funny connotations of a particular forename
    - b) Factors connected to forename funny connotations

B.3. Liking preference for a given name version/ minimal pair name

B.3.1. a) Liking preference for a given name version

b) Factors involved in the name version liking preference

B.3.2. a) Liking preference for a given minimal pair name

b) Factors involved in the minimal pair name liking preference

B.4. a) Disliking preference for a given opposite-gender name

b) Factors related to the opposite-gender name disliking preference

C. The relationship between people's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age and their choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account (i.e. A & B)

The nature and needs of our research are best met by adopting a complementary or holistic design (a mixed methods research), which implies including aspects from both the quantitative or neopositivist and the qualitative or interpretative methodological approaches. As stated by Harden and Thomas (2005, p. 257), "much research in the 'real world' does not fit into neat categorisations of 'qualitative' and 'quantitative'"<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> We are aware that the "fierce paradigm war", as Dörnyei (2007, p. 9) refers to the controversy around the use of quantitative or qualitative methods, already goes back to the Ancient Greece (especially to the figures of Plato and Aristotle) but continues nowadays. There are scholars in the scientific community, for instance, Hughes (1997), who claim that both approaches cannot complement each other, in other words, they are incompatible. Despite their attachment to quantitative strategies, others such as Blalock (1970, p. 45-46) acknowledge the value of qualitative techniques to provide "initial insights", that is, they would be useful for the pre-scientific exploratory research phase but not the scientific phase itself as "findings may be idiosyncratic and difficult to replicate". Nevertheless, in recent years the number of researchers who opt for methodological complementarity, which resulted in the emergence of the mixed methods research (Dörnyei, 2007), has increased considerably as a result of testing that social research has received useful

A non-experimental descriptive correlational design using a cross-sectional sample survey methodology with one group of subjects is employed.

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contributions from both methodologies. Bryman (1988) supports what he calls *the best of both worlds* approach. He also states that “the choice between them has to do with their suitability in answering particular research questions... (...) [or] other technical decisions such as when it is appropriate to use a postal questionnaire” (p. 109). King, Keohane and Verba (1994) are also in agreement with Bryman (1988) in that they endorse the differences between the two approaches are just stylistic.





## 4. KEY TERMS

For the purposes of the present study the terms which need clarification are defined and operationalised below. The concepts are listed in alphabetical order:

**Accent:** Trask (1996, p. 4) defines this word as “a particular way of pronouncing a language, seen as typical of an individual, a geographical region or a social group. Every speaker of a language necessarily speaks it with some accent or other”. The word *accent* will be used with this sense in our study. Another definition provided by this author is “particular prominence attached to one syllabic of a word or phrase by some phonetic means such as stress” (p. 4). Trask (1996, p. 4) also states that, in a non-technical sense, it is also “a loose term for a diacritic, often especially for a diacritic written above a letter, such as the acute accent”. In Spanish diacritics are used to mark stress and they are referred to as *tilde* (Real Academia Española, 2011, p. 2175). In this study, when referring to prominence in a syllable, the word *stress* will be used; when this prominence is reflected orthographically by means of some diacritic, this mark will be labelled as *accent*.

**Assimilation/Mimetism:** As pointed out by Trask (1996, p. 36), assimilation is “any of various phonetic or phonological processes in which one segment becomes more similar to another segment in the same word or phrase”, for example, the pronunciation of *ten pence* as [tempens] where /n/ becomes /m/ because it assimilates in place of articulation to the following /p/. This process may be complete or partial if the sound affected becomes identical to the sound which causes assimilation or only in some features but not others (e.g. place of articulation as in the previous

example). Assimilation can also be regressive or progressive depending on whether the sound segment assimilates to a following sound or a preceding one, respectively. Trask (1996) offers an additional classification of this phenomenon: contact (between adjacent sounds) and distant assimilation (between non-adjacent sounds). This study will focus on examples on complete, regressive and distant assimilation, i.e. the Spanish Memen for Clementa<sup>17</sup>, in which, after the shortening to Clemen, /kl/ completely assimilates to the following consonant, /m/, thus becoming /m/ as well or the English Pippa for Philippa, where after the shortening to Phippa, there is a complete assimilation of /f/ to the following consonant, /p/, becoming /p/ as a result.

In his study of the phonostylistics of abusive language, Monroy (2001) makes reference to the mimetic effect of certain sounds upon others, which gives rise to echoic and alliterative patterns, e.g. *canallada*, with the repetitive low vowel /a/, which contributes to the mimetic effect of sheer annoyance. The definition of mimetism (or mimicry) provided by Real Academia Española (2011) refers to the idea of imitating others' appearance, behaviour, sound, etc. (as occurs in the camouflage of animals). In this research the terms *mimetism* and *assimilation* will be employed as synonyms although the former will be used with an additional meaning: the expressive and general phonostylistic sense provided by Monroy (2001).

**Association (vs. Connotation):** Association is “a feeling or thought that relates to someone or something” (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2008, p. 78) and connotation is “a feeling or idea that is suggested by a particular word although it need not be part of the word’s

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<sup>17</sup> The names analysed in this study will be written without italics due to their constant presence in this thesis although in the Literature Review, if cited as examples, as occurs with many other names, they will be in italics.

meaning, or something suggested by an object or situation” (p. 295). Generally speaking, association is concerned with interconnections and connotation with suggestions.

**Cheesy/ twee:** These were the two terms offered to the participants living in the metropolitan district of Leeds as synonyms of the Spanish *cursi* (similar in form and meaning in both languages). We followed the suggestions made by most of the subjects participating in the pilot study. Several terms were considered. As one person stated,

as for the adjectives - possibly *cheesy* works best for younger British English speakers and *twee* maybe for older UK speakers. For me, *corny* is quite an American word and usually refers to evoking clichéd emotions e.g. a corny romantic movie. We do use it in the UK too, though. I wouldn't use *tacky* to describe a name - for me it refers more to bad taste in clothing or decor. Google *My Big Fat Gypsy Wedding*, a British documentary series broadcast on Channel 4.

The adjectives *cheesy/twee* and *cursi* cover a wide range of related meanings and contexts in which they can be used: “trying too hard (...), inauthentic” (Redhen, 2007, para. 1), something sentimental (Elricky, 2004), showing poor quality or being popular in the past but not now (Bstokes, 2006), aesthetic (hair style, etc.) or entertainment (music, films, etc.) deemed to be ridiculous, often without knowing why (Bill M., 2004) or a cliché (e.g. *on the nose* film dialogues such as “I can't live without you”) (Redhen, 2007). The following summarises the holistic nature of the terms: “[They are] subjective. What seems [cheesy/twee] to me, may be a legitimate and attractive hairstyle to you. What seems [cheesy/twee] to me, may cause you to weep and hug your girlfriend tight” (Redhen, 2007, para. 3) and “anything the speaker doesn't like, which makes it an immensely vague adjective” (Bill M., 2004, para. 2). In our study we are interested in all the nuances evoked by the forenames in relation to these terms, without fixing any boundaries.

**Choice:** The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2008) defines this term as "an act or the possibility of choosing" (p. 238), *choose* being "to decide what you want from two or more things or possibilities" (p. 238). In our study with *choice* we refer to what the participant wants but in different senses. On some occasions he/she chooses a name form or a forename over others because either he/she likes it or dislikes it; on other occasions he/she must select reasons for having made a particular choice and this also implies another choice. At other times the respondent chooses the option of *yes* or *no* depending on whether he/she likes a particular name or not or whether he/she considers it to be funny or not. Sometimes the participant can opt for more than one of the proposed names or he/she can add further options.

**Complete (vs. full) name:** Although generally speaking *full name* is used to refer to both the forename and surname/s, in this study the term will cover just forenames, as these are the subject of the research. Furthermore, full names will be applied to forenames, without any shortening, variation or lengthening. On the other hand, although both *complete* and *full* can be regarded as synonyms (Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2008), in order to make a clear distinction, the term *complete* will be employed to refer to all the component sounds of the name, as opposed to specific sounds, e.g. the specific sounds /n/ and/or /i/ in Sonia vs. the whole Sonia.

**Direct (vs. indirect) association:** One of the definitions that the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2008, p. 395) offers for the term *direct* is as follows: "going in a straight line towards somewhere or someone without stopping or changing direction". On this basis, direct associations can be identified in the comments in which the participant

takes a single step, i.e. just the object of the association itself, e.g. the name Pip reminds several respondents of the main character in one of Dickens' novels, that is, *Great Expectations*. However, when the informant does not maintain this straight line, but "changes direction" and moves a step forward in his/her thinking, we find an indirect association e.g. when the participant says Ernestina reminds her of *goma elástica*, can be identified as one step removed from what she is possibly thinking about. This is owing to the rhyme: Ernestina-*tirachinas* ('catapult'), which is used to "throw objects at a high speed" (Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2008, p. 212).

**Familiarity (vs. frequency):** In some senses familiarity and frequency are closely related concepts and that is why they have been considered as one in the analysis of factors relating to names. Familiarity means having "a good knowledge of something" (Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2008, p. 510) and frequency is "the number of times something happens" (p. 572). A person who lives in a society in which a given name is frequent is usually familiar with that name. Our cognition is sensitive to frequency and familiarity, which both play a major role in linguistic performance (Bybee & Hopper, 2001).

**Fashion:** According to Abel and Kruger (2007), popular names are those which occur at least twice at a given period of time. That is why the concept of fashion is closely related to those of frequency and familiarity.

**Foreign:** One of the definitions provided by the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2008, p. 560) for the term *foreign* is "belonging or connected to a country which is not your own".

Given that the cases of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland are controversial, further clarification is required. Barrow (2013) explains that

England is only one of the three countries making up Great Britain, together with Scotland and Wales. He also comments on the fact that all these countries together with Northern Ireland constitute the United Kingdom, a “country” (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2008, p. 1590). Thus, England would be “a country within a country”. In our study the different component countries within the United Kingdom referred to by our participants, i.e. Scotland, Ireland and Wales, will be analysed in conjunction with other countries outside the United Kingdom such as Poland. Therefore, all of them will be regarded as *foreign*. Similarly, taking Spain as a reference point, *foreign* will refer to other countries outside Spain and aspects related to them.

**Forename cognate (vs. name version):** Given that there is no specific definition of a version and cognate when referring to names, we are going to offer the meaning of these two terms as employed in our study. Although both terms can be applied to names with the same meaning, as defined by Hanks et al. (2006), in this study a cognate will refer to the same name but as used in another language or country, with its corresponding translation, if one exists, e.g. Jéssica (Spanish) and Jessica (English) or Leonardo (Spanish) and Leonard (English). A version will be applied to the same name used in the same country and language although with a different origin (e.g. Sonia/ Sofía or Sophia; Sonia has Russian roots whereas Sofía/Sophia has Greek roots) or form (Aida and Aída; with or without the accent, respectively; Faure, 2007) or sharing the same roots but having an independent status now (e.g. Judith/Judy, where the latter is a pet form which has become an independent name now; Hanks et al., 2006).

**Funny:** Although the term *funny* also has other meanings such as ‘strange’, ‘dishonest’ or ‘unfriendly’, in this study we will concentrate on the meaning “humorous, causing laughter” (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2008, p. 583).

**Gender (vs. sex):** The Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2008) uses gender as a synonym of sex in the following definition: “the physical and/or social condition of being male or female” (p. 596). In our study *gender* will be devoted exclusively to this meaning and the word *sex* will be restricted to the activity: “sexual activity involving the penis or vagina, especially when a man puts his penis into a woman’s vagina” (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2008, p. 1309).

**(Un)Known:** In the section devoted to the Results Discussion, especially in conceptual maps the term *known* is used for those cases in which a specific person or animal, known by the respondent, is referred to whereas when the term *unknown* is used, the reference is to any person with given characteristics (of appearance, age, origin, sexuality, manners/social class) or an animal.

**Length (vs. duration):** In Collins and Mees (2008, p. 276) duration is referred to as “the amount of time taken up by a speech sound”. Roach (2002) considers it to be an essential feature of a sound. Although a word has a given duration, length can vary depending on the listener. Whereas the listener’s impression of “how long a sound lasts for” (p. 23) is typically referred to as *length*, duration relates to the objective measure of time. According to Trask (1996), duration is the phonetic correlate of phonological length. In our study, given that we are referring to people’s impressions, we will talk about length.

**Liking/disliking preference:** Although the first meaning provided by the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2008, p. 1116, emphasis added) for the word *preference* is related to liking, it also states that "if you choose one thing in preference to another thing, you choose it because you like it or *want* it more than the other thing", it is "in preference to something". In our study we use preference in two ways, liking or disliking one name over others, both meaning that you *want* that name over others.

**Middle East(ern)(er):** Davison (1960, p. 665) claims "No one knows where the Middle East is, although many claim to know". According to the Oxford Dictionary (2015), the Middle East is "an extensive area of SW Asia and northern Africa, stretching from the Mediterranean to Pakistan and including the Arabian peninsula", the adjective being Middle Eastern and the derived noun being Middle Easterner. This definition is used in this study and it is in line with that from Davison (1960) in that the Maghreb, which encompasses Morocco, Algeria and Sudan, amongst others, is not excluded. However, in other definitions such as those found in the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2008), only the eastern Mediterranean (including Egypt sometimes) is considered to be part of the Middle East. Habibi (1992) states that Muslims share similar names no matter the exact area.

**Minimal pair:** According to Trask (1996, p. 224), a minimal pair are "two words of distinct meaning which exhibit different segments at one point but identical segments at all other points (...). The two segments which are different must belong to different phonemes", e.g. /f/-/v/ (fat/vat). In our study, *minimal pair* refers to names of different meaning



which can differ in one phoneme, e.g. Lorenza /θ/-Lorena and Millie /t/-Mollie /b/, or more than one, e.g. Clara /kl/-Sara /s/.

**Name form:** In this study a name form includes any “shape or appearance” (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2008, p. 562) of that name, that is, its full form e.g. Victoria in Spanish and English and its shortened, changed or lengthened forms, if any, e.g. Vicky, which includes a shortened (<Vic>) + lengthened (<y>) form, together with a change (addition of <k>, which was not present in the root).

**Nickname:** Given that a nickname is “an informal name for someone or something, especially a name which you are called by your friends and family, usually based on your proper name or your character” (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2008, p. 960), in our study this term will comprise both a) the shortened, changed and lengthened name forms, if any e.g. Bertín from Norberto and Pip from Philip and b) ways of addressing not related to the given name in question and coming from personality, physical appearance, etc. e.g. Ginger (for someone with red hair). In any case, in this study, when looking at them separately, for a) we will specify *shortened, changed and lengthened name forms* whereas for b) we will only use the general term *nickname*.

In order to produce parallel versions in Spanish and English of the title of the PhD thesis, and taking into account that in Spanish the term *nickname* can only be translated as *apodo* and does not include the meaning of ‘shortened, lengthened or changed name form’, two different terms, *hipocorism* and *nickname / hipocorístico* and *apodo* will be used. However, this specification will only be made in the titles and the summaries when two parallel versions in Spanish and English are required.

**Old (vs. old-fashioned):** Although, according to the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2008), both the terms *old* and *old-fashioned* can be used to express a sense of disapproval, in this study the label *old* will be attached only to something or someone "having lived or existed for many years" (p. 987) whereas the idea of censure suggested by "not modern, belonging to or typical of a time in the past" (p. 988) is allocated to *old-fashioned*.

**Opposite-gender name:** In our study with this term we refer to names offered both in the male and female forms, in particular, those in which the female form derives from the male form, e.g. Ernesto-Ernestina in Spanish or Ernest-Ernestine in English.

**Original (vs. common):** Although the term *original* also means "existing since the beginning, or being the earliest form of something" (Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2008, p. 1004), in this study it will be used to mean "not the same as anything or anyone else and therefore special and interesting" (p. 1004). The lack of originality will be referred to as commonness.

**Pet form:** When providing information about each name, Hanks et al. (2006) add, if relevant, pet forms (or pet names) as well as short forms. For instance, from the name *Patrick*, they offer the following examples: *Pat* as a short form and *Paddy* as a pet form. Another example is *Jenny* as a pet form and *Jen* as a short form for the name *Jennifer*. Therefore, the pet name is a form which implies some change from the original (in the case of *Paddy*, a change from <t> to <d>) and/or lengthenings (<y>, together with the doubling of the previous consonant) and shortenings (*Pat*, with the omission of <trick> and *Jen*, with the omission of <nifer>).

In this study, the term *pet form* will focus on cases similar to those found above, especially in the Results Discussion. However, sometimes, mainly in the Literature Review, the term is used generically, without specifying, therefore likely to include just shortened forms.

**Related name:** In the analysis of factors, when using the term, we include the idea of ‘connected’ (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2008, p. 1198) names, in the sense of similarity, either because they are nicknames derived from the name in question (e.g. Ginger, from Virginia or Toñi, from Antonia) or they are other names but resemble the name in question in form (e.g. Hannah, from Anna or Clementina, from Clementa).

**Sound:** Real Academia Española (2011) defines *sound* as “the sensation produced in the ear by the vibration of the bodies, transmitted by an elastic means such as the air” (p. 2091, our own translation). In our study the factor *sound* will comprise all the elements which lead to sound, that is, not only phonemes, but also stress and rhythm.

**Visual arts (vs. Performing arts):** Visual arts can be said to include drawing, painting, architecture and conceptual art whereas performing arts comprise music, dance and theatre (Icarito, 2012). Literature does not seem to be a discipline within these two types of arts but another type of art in itself: literary arts. However, in our study, in order to offer a more straightforward classification, literature will be considered as belonging to visual arts, as they have more characteristics in common.

**Vulgar:** As specified when referring to the adjectives *cheesy/twee*, *vulgar* also covers a wide range of related meanings and contexts in which it can be used: “[It is a] rude term. Crudely indecent. Deficient in taste, delicacy,

or refinement. Uncouth (...). Often used with sexual innuendo's" (Samus, 2006, para.1). Linguistically speaking, Navarro-Tomás (1961) is not very specific about the term *vulgar* but Briz (1996, p. 31, our own translation) offers a definition of *vulgar* as "incorrect or anomalous usages" which do not belong to the standard or regional norm and result from "a low-level language". This idea is contradicted by Monroy (2008), who makes the point that the RAE alludes to adjectives such as *non-refined*, *non-technical* or *ordinary* when referring to *vulgar* but, in contrast to Briz (1996), not to anomalous or incorrect. Monroy (2008) adds that "a unique correct Spanish does not exist" (p. 158). He suggests that vulgar speech is socially stigmatised. In this research we are interested in all the nuances evoked by the forenames in relation to this term (whose form and meaning is similar in English and Spanish), without fixing any boundaries.

## 5. METHODOLOGY

This section has three main parts: the participants, the instruments and the procedure, each of which is devoted to the description of one specific aspect of the methodology of a research project.

### 5.1 Participants

One group participated in this study. It comprised 425 males and females. The requirements for a person to be chosen as a participant were as follows:

-Age: over 25.

-Usual place of residence: the metropolitan district of Murcia or Leeds (either the capital city or the surrounding areas, that is, the *pedanías*<sup>18</sup> in Murcia or the towns belonging to Leeds).

To ensure as much homogeneity as possible, the sample consisted of a similar percentage of participants in terms of gender (although with a higher percentage of females), age and place of residence. Only the number of respondents aged between 41 and 60 years old was slightly larger.

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<sup>18</sup> *Pedanía* is a Spanish term which refers to a small territory which has its own mayor (*alcalde pedáneo*) but is attached to a municipality and dependent on it (Real Academia Española, 2011). As stated by González-Sicilia (2002, p. 243, emphasis in original), “the municipal district of Murcia is made up of the urban centre of the capital city of the Autonomous Region as well as a series of *pedanías*”. In England there is not such a clear term. Therefore, a more ambiguous word, *town*, employed by the own English citizens (Whitepages, 2015) for the same purpose, is used in the present study. Words and phrases such as *metropolitan district*, *municipal district*, *Murcia and pedanías*, *Murcia/Leeds and surrounding areas*, *Leeds and districts*, *Leeds and towns belonging (to the district)*, etc. or even *Spain/England* will be employed interchangeably throughout the text to refer to the whole area. Given that *pedanías* will be used repeatedly in this thesis, when used outside of this footnote, it will be written in italics just once.

The great majority of participants habitually lived in the metropolitan districts of Murcia or Leeds. Respondents whose origins were cities or towns outside the municipal district in question were only found in Spain. In the case of Leeds and towns belonging to this district there were English participants with foreign relatives. There was also a small percentage of foreign informants in the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds (1.4% in the case of the former and 4.9% in the latter). The origins of these participants differed in the two municipal areas. In the case of Murcia they were of Hispanic American origin whereas in the case of Leeds they were Scottish, Irish and Polish. In Leeds and surrounding towns there was also a small group of English participants who had Hispanic American relatives. Furthermore, Irish and Scottish nationalities were not only found among foreign participants but also amongst English respondents who had foreign relatives. In addition, informants of Spanish origin were present in both metropolitan districts, Murcia and Leeds, in that most of the respondents in the former had Spanish nationality, and a limited number of participants in Leeds and surrounding districts were English with Spanish relatives.

The percentage of participants with and without higher education was very similar in the metropolitan district of Leeds but the number of informants without university studies was considerably larger in the metropolitan district of Murcia, the difference between both municipal districts being 21.6%. No experimental mortality took place.

The socio-demographic and academic characteristics of the group of participants in this research are detailed below.

**Descriptive analysis of the sample**

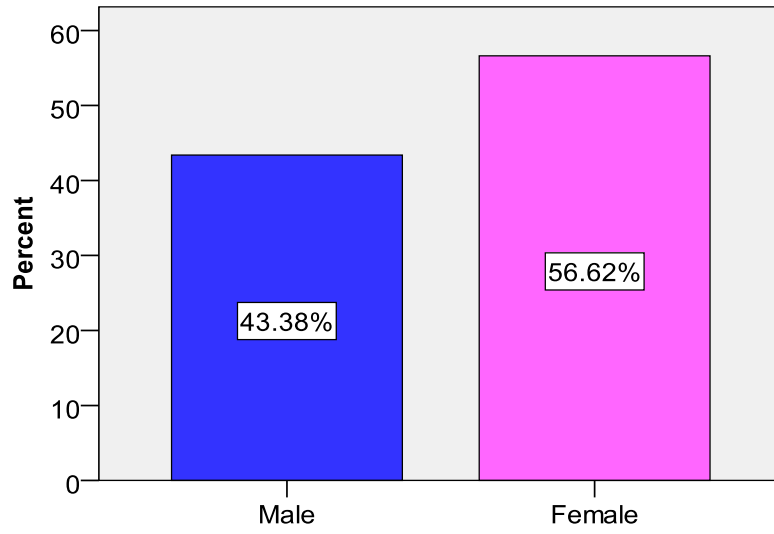


Figure 5.1. Percentage distribution of gender in the metropolitan district of Murcia

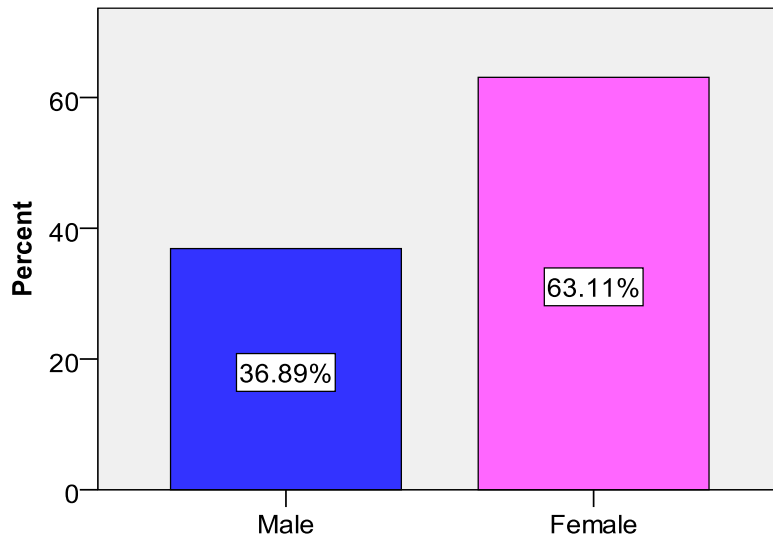


Figure 5.2. Percentage distribution of gender in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Table 5.1. Frequency and percentage distribution of age in the metropolitan district of Murcia

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid 25-40 years old	72	32.9
41-60 years old	76	34.7
61-80+ years old	71	32.4
Total	219	100.0

Table 5.2. Frequency and percentage distribution of age in the metropolitan district of Leeds

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid 25-40 years old	66	32.0
41-60 years old	74	35.9
61-80+ years old	66	32.0
Total	206	100.0



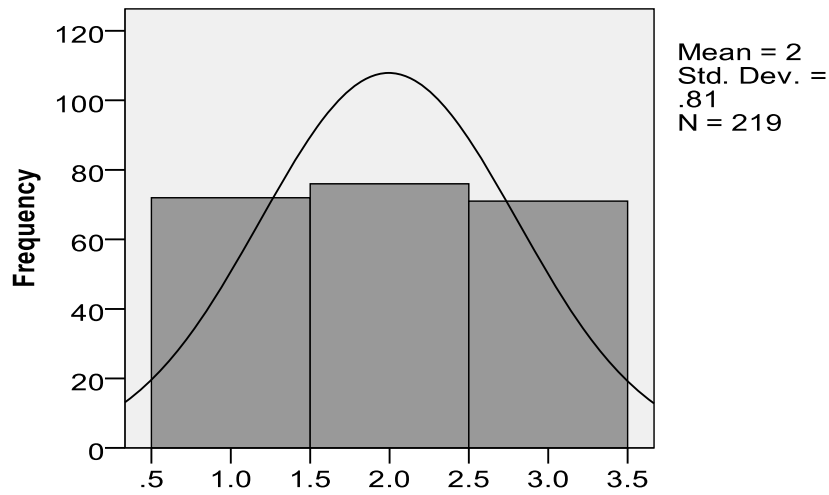


Figure 5.3. Mean and standard deviation of age in the metropolitan district of Murcia<sup>19</sup>

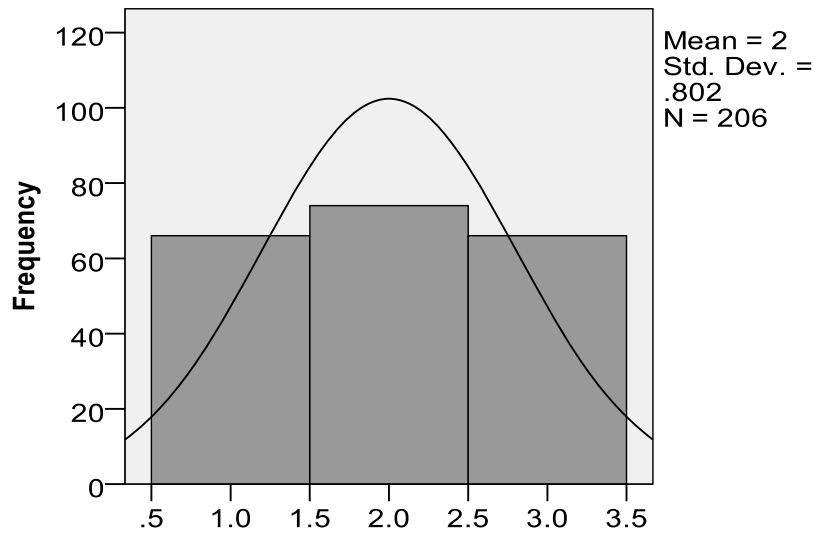


Figure 5.4. Mean and standard deviation of age in the metropolitan district of Leeds

<sup>19</sup> The distribution showed “the bulk of the sample” (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 27) was centred around interval 2 (41-60 years old), both in the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds. The standard deviation, very close to 1, displays a normal distribution (bell-shaped curve) in both cases.

Table 5.3. Frequency and percentage distribution of origin in the metropolitan district of Murcia

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid Spanish_city of Murcia/pedanía	215	98.2
Spanish but other origins in Spain (Catalan, Valencian, etc.)	1	.5
Hispanic American	3	1.4
Total	219	100.0

Table 5.4. Frequency and percentage distribution of origin in the metropolitan district of Leeds

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid English_city of Leeds/town belonging to Leeds	184	89.3
English but foreign relatives	12	5.8
Scottish	3	1.5
Polish	2	1.0
Irish	5	2.4
Total	206	100.0

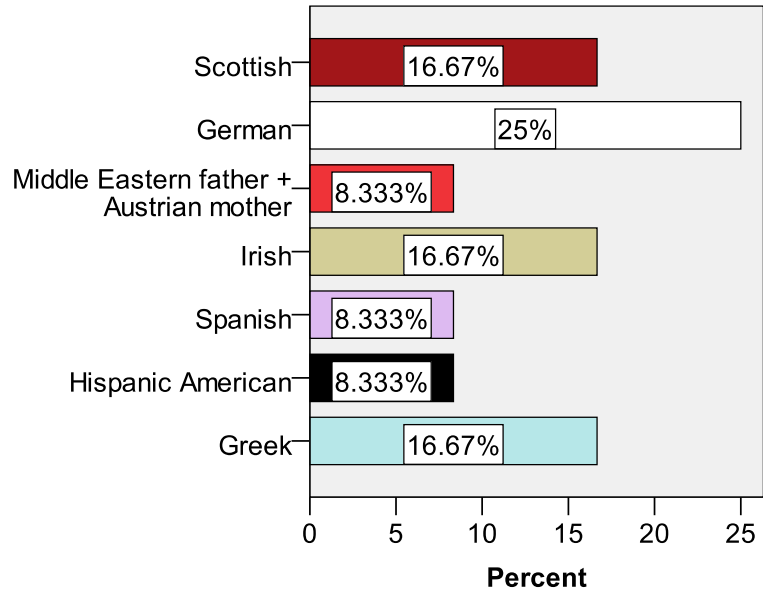


Figure 5.5. Origin of relatives when foreign in the metropolitan district of Leeds

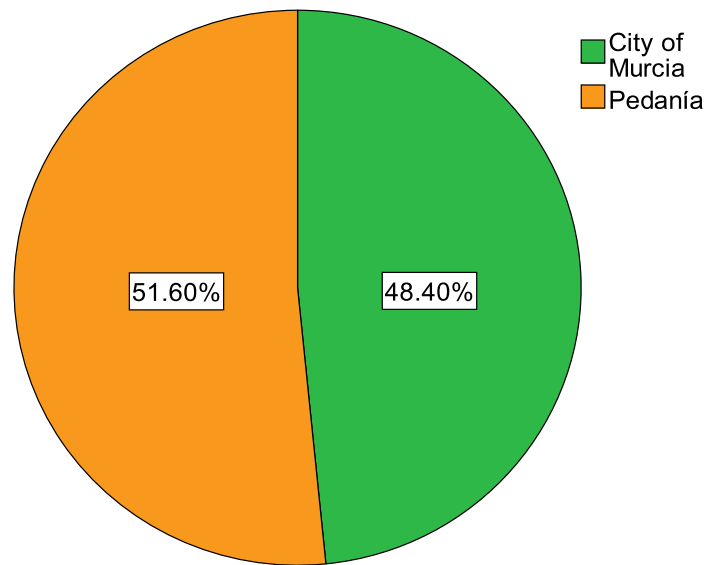


Figure 5.6. Percentage distribution of usual place of residence in the metropolitan district of Murcia

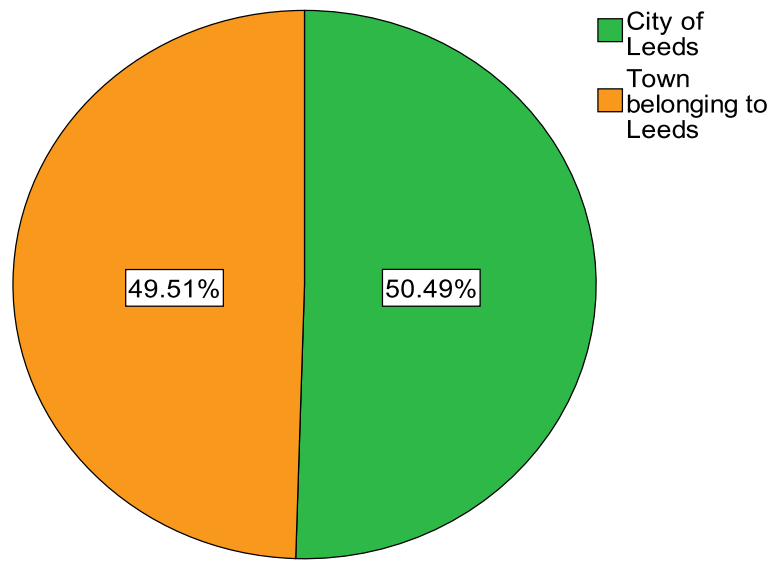


Figure 5.7. Percentage distribution of usual place of residence in the metropolitan district of Leeds

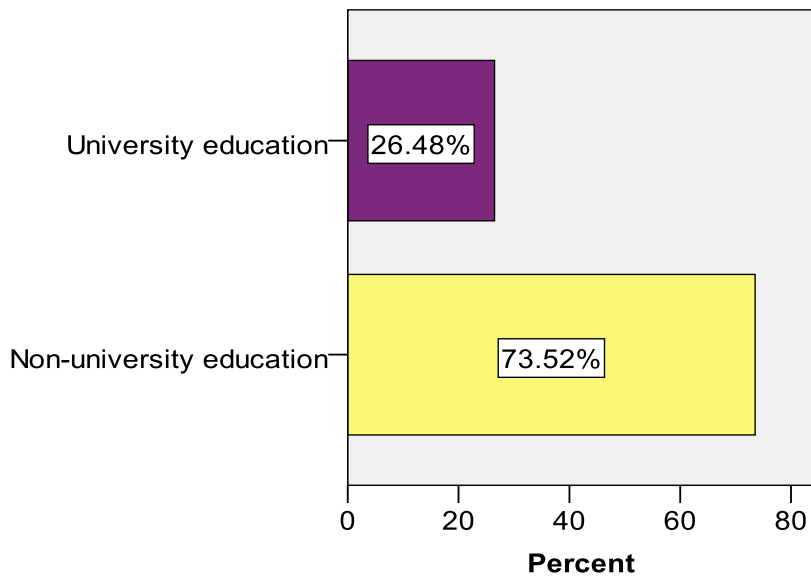


Figure 5.8. Percentage distribution of educational level in the metropolitan district of Murcia

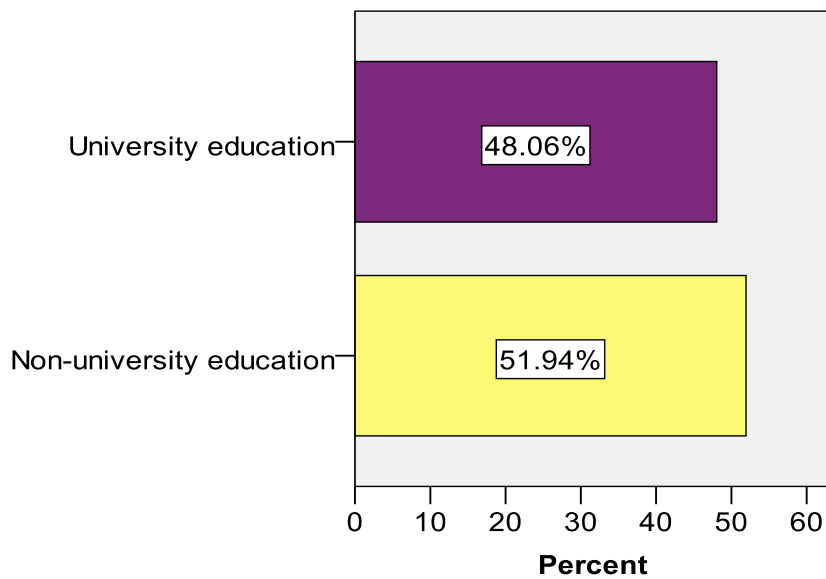


Figure 5.9. Percentage distribution of educational level in the metropolitan district of Leeds

## 5.2 Instruments

One questionnaire with two versions, designed by the researcher herself, was used. The reason for a double version was that the target audience was different. There were variations in forenames as well as different original languages, i.e. Spanish and English, for questionnaire writing. In addition, even the way to pose questions had to be adapted. Whereas in the English language certain subjects are expressed in an indirect way, the Spanish culture is more direct (Pinto & Raschio, 2007), e.g. *like* (English) vs. *querer* (Spanish) or *non-English* (English) vs. *extranjero* (Spanish).

The questionnaire, with the two versions, was semi-structured in that it combined closed-ended (including dichotomous and polytomous

multiple choice questions) and opened-ended questions. The degree of directivity was relatively high, which implied that the level of freedom for the person polled to decide on the way the questionnaire unfolded was low. The leading role was played by the researcher.

The structure of the questionnaire followed Serrano (2008) and consisted of the following parts: 1) questionnaire introduction, 2) body of socio-demographic and academic questions and 3) central body of questions, that is, relevant questions around the research problem. A more detailed explanation of each part is provided below.

1) The questionnaire introduction was designed so that the participants understand the objectives of both the research and the results obtained as well as the authorship. The purpose of this introduction was also to motivate the potential participant by promising anonymity, confidentiality and minimum disruption (see Appendix 1A for the supervisors' endorsement documents).

2) The body of socio-demographic and academic questions (known as *factual questions* according to Dörnyei, 2007) aimed to identify the individual whose answers rendered the predictor or grouping variables for the data analysis plan. These variables may "explain" the phenomenon under study and provided the information for the sample description. Each questionnaire consisted of five questions and, where necessary, some subquestions.

3) The central body of questions elicited responses which supplied the criterion or dependent variables, i.e., the group of analytic units which contained the essential information to meet the objectives. They were those of a larger number (six questions, most questions including several subquestions) and extension and there were opinion and experiential items (Dörnyei, 2007). Each question was accompanied by instructions for

correct completion. For item wording, the rules formulated by Corbetta (2003) and Dörnyei (2007) were followed.

The central body of questions in the questionnaire was divided into two sets: the participant was asked about his/her choice of different forenames and/or nicknames on the basis of age (question 1) or sound (question 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6). The respondent was asked to evaluate name forms in terms of age by allocating a person of his/her age a name appearing in the specific question (either the full name or a shortened, changed or lengthened form) (question 1). The participant was then required to assess the sound of each forename by deciding whether he/she liked it (question 2) or whether he/she considered others to be funny (question 3). The respondent was also asked to assess the sound by choosing which name from the pair presented he/she liked the most (if any), whether in different versions of the same name (question 4) or unrelated names (question 5) as well as which of them he/she disliked the most (if any) in opposite-gender names and the reasons behind, whether pejorative (vulgar or cheesy) or non-pejorative (question 6) (see Appendix 1C for the complete questionnaire and its corresponding versions).

### 5.3 Procedure

The study was conducted over a period of two years, from November 2010 to November 2012. During the first year data were collected in England while information from Spain was gathered during the second year.

First of all, the metropolitan districts were chosen, Murcia and Leeds, because, despite their minor population differences<sup>20</sup>, their rural

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<sup>20</sup> According to López-Borrego (2014) and World Population Review (2015), the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds were 633.000 and 780.000 inhabitants, respectively.

flavour (Calvo-García, 1971) and their accent peculiarities made them appropriate areas for comparative research. Our participants were then selected according to the criteria set out in § 5.1. A non-probability sampling strategy was used. In particular, there was a quota sample, that is, by freely selecting the subjects, the researcher met the quotas she had already prescribed on the basis of relevant parameters (whose distribution was calculated beforehand) from the perspective of the study (Corbetta, 2003; Dörnyei, 2007).

Once our participants had been chosen and after an exhaustive review of the available literature on this or related research areas as well as existing questionnaires, the questionnaire with its two versions was designed (Visauta, 1989). The fact that it was necessary to pose different questions in each version of the questionnaires as a result of cultural differences led to the usage of linguistic mitigating devices such as hedges or euphemisms in the version distributed in England, mainly when factual questions about family, education and nationality issues were involved. As claimed by Connor and Moreno (2005), it should be ensured that what is compared is original and comparable across cultures. Following Dörnyei's approach (2007), the first questions were factual to enable respondents to "feel competent, help them to relax and consequently encourage them to open up" (p. 137).

Also following Dörnyei's approach (2007), before launching the project, the research instruments were revised by our supervisors in Spain and England<sup>21</sup> as well as pilot-tested to ensure they worked properly to collect the data needed. In particular, the questionnaire was pilot-tested with ten individuals with similar characteristics to those of the final

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<sup>21</sup> The PhD thesis supervisor was in charge of revising the questionnaire aimed at collecting the data from Spain whereas the questionnaire aimed at obtaining the information from England was reviewed by the researcher's supervisor during her research stay at the University of Leeds.



sample, with an even ratio of participants living in England and Spain. The questionnaires were checked and modified on the basis of the recommendations made by the participants in the pilot test, which included reducing the number of questions, term specification (e.g. *hypocorism/hipocorístico*) and changing terms (e.g. *cheesy/twee* instead of *corny*).

A personal interview modality was included as this was deemed necessary to foster a climate of confidence and to encourage a deeper level of communication (Patton, 1987; Rincón, 1991). This took about 10 minutes to fill in.

The participation was voluntary from an intentional random selection. The locations common to both countries were streets and markets. This made willingness to participate easier. In Spain, during the first year of data collection, oral authorisation was given for interviews to be conducted in supermarkets, shops and department stores. There were three interviewers: the author of the present PhD thesis and two other people instructed *ad hoc* so as to keep as much homogeneity as possible in the data collection procedure. In England, authorisation was orally granted in university shops but written permission was required in the case of supermarkets and department stores. However, after being presented, no reply (neither positive nor negative) was received. In the case of England there was only one interviewer: the author of this PhD thesis.

After explaining what the study consisted of, the interviewer directly interviewed the participants. The semi-structured questionnaire served as a guide for this face-to-face interview. The interviewer registered the information in the interview guide.

In summary, as far as the methodology is concerned, the participants were 425 males and females over 25 year-old whose usual place of residence was the metropolitan district of Murcia or Leeds. A semi-structured questionnaire with two versions, in Spanish and English, designed by the researcher herself, was used. The structure of the questionnaire followed Serrano (2008) and consisted of the following parts: 1) questionnaire introduction, 2) body of socio-demographic and academic questions (five questions and, where necessary, subquestions) and 3) central body of questions, that is, relevant questions around the research problem. The central body of questions in the questionnaire was divided into two sets: the participant was asked about his/her choice of different forenames and/or nicknames on the basis of age (question 1) or sound (questions 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6).

As for the procedure, the study was conducted over a period of two years, from November 2010 to November 2012. First of all, the metropolitan districts, Murcia and Leeds, were chosen. Our participants were then selected from those who met the conditions previously mentioned (quota non-probability sampling strategy). Once our respondents had been chosen, the questionnaire with its two versions was designed. Before launching the project, our research instrument was revised by our supervisors in Spain and England as well as pilot-tested (Dörnyei, 2007). A personal interview modality was included (Rincón, 1991). This took about 10 minutes to fill in. The participation was voluntary from an intentional random selection. The locations common to both countries were streets and markets. After explaining what the study consisted of, the interviewer directly interviewed the participants. The semi-structured questionnaire served as a guide for this face-to-face interview.

## **6. DATA ANALYSIS**

Once the data had been collected, we proceeded to their analysis. For a better understanding of the analytical process, two independent sections can be identified. The former deals with the quantitative treatment of the information; the latter makes reference to its qualitative treatment.

### **6.1 Quantitative data analysis**

Firstly, the questionnaire was coded. Then, the data matrix was designed by means of the statistical package IBM SPSS version 19.0.0 for Windows (SPSS, Inc., an IBM Company, 1989, 2010). Despite there being a more recent version, the University of Murcia holds a licence for this edition. The information from the variables previously defined according to the scale by which they were measured: nominal<sup>22</sup> and ordinal (see Appendices 2A & B for a detailed account of all the variables) was introduced into the data matrices. These matrices were configured by variables in their columns and by each of the participants in the research (cases) in their rows.

Next, an exploratory data analysis was undertaken in order to screen and clean any possible anomalous data, in other words, errors occurring during the data entry phase. In order to do that, frequencies were calculated for each variable in the study. Moreover, the exploratory study proved useful in ensuring that outlier cases (out of rank) or those which did not meet the characteristics planned were not present (or excluded from) in the data producing sample, for which some graphs such as the stem and leaf plot as well as box plot were used. Also, the exploratory study helped to create new variables from the existence of

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<sup>22</sup> Virtually all the variables were qualitative because the scale used was nominal.

others by grouping different values. During the data objectification procedure, the information was also contrasted with an expert opinion so as to reach the consensus in the analytical procedure.

After the exploratory study and the expert consultation, the data were subjected to confirmatory analyses, for which the statistical procedures used were as follows (Ato & López, 1996; Field, 2009):

-Univariate analysis techniques: For nominal and ordinal variables, frequency and percentage counts were conducted; in the case of ordinal variables, the descriptive statistics: the mean, standard deviation, minimum value, maximum value and range were calculated. Graphical techniques, in particular, bar and pie charts (nominal and ordinal variables) and histograms (ordinal variables) were also employed.

-Bivariate analysis techniques: Contingency tables of different sizes (depending on the number of categories in each variable) were drawn up. In other cases the data were analysed by segmenting the data matrices by groups so as to carry out comparative analyses between such groups.

-Association analysis techniques: Due to the nature of our variables, tests of association were done in order to assess the degree of association between the variables, assuming a 95% confidence interval and a margin of error of 5% ( $\alpha = .05$ ) as a value, typically used in social and human sciences. Pearson's chi-square formula was used to determine whether a statistically significant relationship between the variables involved existed or not and whether the association showing differences might be due to chance.

In those cases in which statistically significant associations were found at the alpha level above, symmetric and asymmetric or directional measures of association were calculated. The former made it possible to interpret the degree or magnitude of the association between the two variables (until how much), one not being dependent upon the other. The

latter provided a measure of the degree in which the error was reduced when predicting the dependent variable on the basis of the independent variable. According to Gravetter and Wallnau (2008), it is the researcher who previously defines which the predictor and criterion variables are in view of the particular research objectives, by trying to determine to what extent the dependent variable can be “explained” by the independent variable<sup>23</sup>.

From all the symmetric measures, the V of Cramer was employed since it offered the possibility of comparing the magnitude of association in tables of different sizes and assumed a value ranging from 0 to 1 inclusive which facilitated the interpretation (Bisquerra, 1989, Ato & López, 1996; J. Cohen, 1988, 1992; Field, 2009; see Table 6.1). From all the directional or non-symmetric measures, the Uncertainty coefficient was applied. This measure was interpreted in terms of the proportionate reduction in error, which was achieved by considering a variable in the prediction of the other one.

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<sup>23</sup> Despite this being a descriptive correlational study with no manipulation of variables and, therefore, no dependent or independent variables as such (Y. Rodríguez, Fonseca & Rivera, n.d.), the fact that symmetric and asymmetric measures of association were calculated on the basis of dependent and independent variables as shown by the SPSS statistical package, has led us to employ these two terms, dependent and independent variables, in our study as well. When carrying out asymmetric or directional tests, the variables acting as predictor, grouping or independent variables in this study were gender, age, origin, usual place of residence and educational level. The rest of the variables intervened as criterion or dependent variables.

Table 6.1. Interpretation of correlation coefficients (Bisquerra, 1989, p. 189, our own translation).

= 0	null
0 - .20	very low
.20 - .40	low
.40 - .60	moderate
.60 - .80	strong
.80 - 1	very strong
1	Perfect

## 6.2 Qualitative data analysis

A qualitative analysis of the quantitative information was carried out by means of a comparative method in the interests of gaining a better understanding of the peculiarities of the phenomenon studied since a mere quantitative exploration could lose this analytic depth.

In addition, a purely qualitative analysis was done in the case of the verbal information provided by those participants willing to add spontaneous comments to the questions. These qualitative data allowed us to enrich the results from the quantitative analyses.

The analytical procedure of textual data followed was that proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994) (see Figure 6.1).

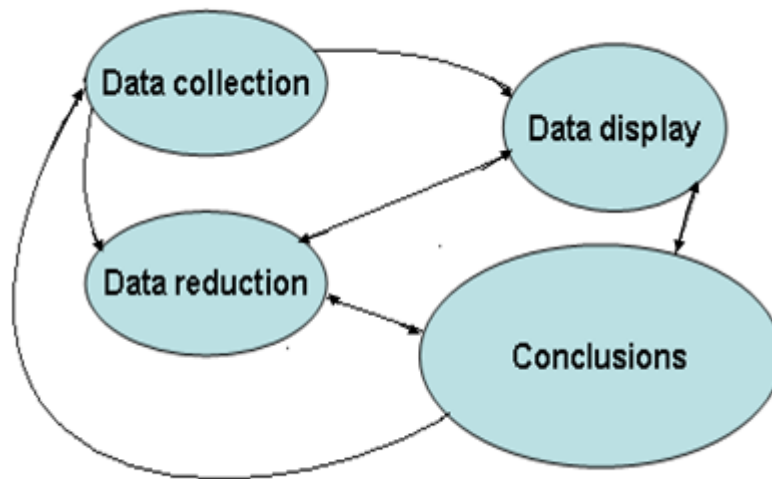


Figure 6.1. Analytical procedure of textual data according to Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 12)

Given that the information collected was in textual form (written-up notes taken by the researcher), data transcription was not needed. The data were reduced or simplified by segmenting the answers and establishing the analytic units.

A deductive-inductive analytical system was employed for the extraction of categories, i.e. a mixed qualitative approach. The metacategories, i.e. the aspects and sub-aspects in the objectives section, were used as a starting point, thus allowing for a deductive analysis. On the other hand, the door was also opened to the emergence of new categories from the interaction with the participants' open-ended comments (inductive process), which are "vivid, nested in a real context, and have a ring of truth that has strong impact on the reader" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 10). Hence, these data have a subjective and experiential component. That is why this qualitative information can be said to have an insider meaning (Dörnyei, 2007). The study developed a grounded theory (Flick, 2004), which was based on the organisation and

classification of factors, derived from the analysis of the data obtained from the participants comments. For the text segmentation the thematic criterium, which always guides the qualitative analysis by allowing for simultaneous category extraction, was used (Bryman & Burgess, 1994; G. Rodríguez, Gil & García, 1996). That is why the researcher's analytic choices play a central role as "the researcher is essentially the main 'measurement device' in the study" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 7).

The codes employed for the representation of categories were textual: words. Paraphrases and, mainly, direct quotes (the participant's exact words which offer the reader the most faithful image of the phenomenon studied, according to Corbetta, 2003) were included to support the findings. Likewise, the meanings behind the categories were shown in graphical representations, mainly networks, which assembled and organised the information making it more accessible for a careful examination and clearer understanding. Thus, an interpretation of the complex reality under study could be made (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and conclusions drawn.

According to Dey (1993, p. 32), "the core of qualitative analysis lies in these related processes of describing phenomena, classifying it, and seeing how our concepts interconnect" (see Figure 6.2).



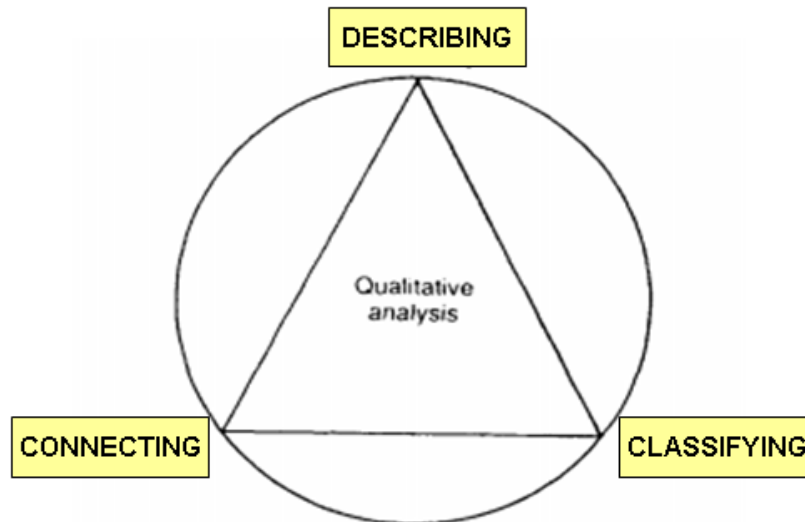


Figure 6.2. Qualitative analysis as a circular process<sup>24</sup> (Dey, 1993, p. 32)

To summarise, once the data had been collected, they were analysed by using the statistical package SPSS 19.0.0 for Windows (SPSS, Inc., an IBM Company, 1989, 2010). The information from the variables previously defined according to the scale by which they were measured (nominal and ordinal) was introduced into the data matrices and an exploratory study and an expert consultation were undertaken. The information was then subjected to the following statistical analyses:

- Univariate analysis techniques: frequency and percentage counts were conducted. Graphical techniques such as bar and pie charts were used.
- Bivariate analysis techniques: contingency tables were drawn up.
- Association analysis techniques: Tests of association were conducted in order to assess the level of association between the variables involved, assuming a 95% confidence interval and a margin of error of 5% ( $\alpha = .05$ ). Pearson's chi square was used to determine whether there was a

<sup>24</sup> The idea of textual analysis as a cyclical process in a constant reconstruction is emphasised by the design of the network in Figure 6.2.

statistically significant relationship between the variables involved or not. In those cases where statistically significant associations were found at the alpha level above, symmetric (the V of Cramer) and asymmetric or directional (the Uncertainty coefficient) measures of association were calculated.

A qualitative analysis of the quantitative information was carried out. In addition, a purely qualitative analysis was undertaken in the case of the verbal information provided by those participants willing to add spontaneous comments to their answers. The analytical procedure of textual data followed was that proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994). A mixed (deductive-inductive) qualitative approach was employed for the extraction of categories. For the text segmentation the thematic criterium was used. Paraphrases and, mainly, direct quotes were included to support the findings. Likewise, the meanings behind the categories were shown in graphical representations, mainly networks, which assembled and organised the information.

## 7. RESULTS DISCUSSION

The findings will be discussed in the light of the following research questions:

1. What reactions are triggered by people's forenames and nicknames in the metropolitan district of Murcia?
2. What reactions are triggered by people's forenames and nicknames in the metropolitan district of Leeds?
3. What relationship can be found between the reactions to the names in the metropolitan district of Murcia and those in the municipal district of Leeds?

These questions will be approached by focusing on the following aspects:

- A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age
- a) Relationship between age and preference for a given name form
  - b) Other factors related to name form preference

The respondents were asked to choose a name to give a friend of their own age. We took into account the claim by Valentine et al. (1996) that using a given label to name a person reflects the nature of the relationship between the people involved, in particular, “[nicknames] evolve spontaneously among small groups of people who know each other intimately (...) to express particular attitudes and feelings such as warmth, affection (...), solidarity (...), friendship and playfulness (...)” (de Klerk & Bosch, 1997, p. 5). A person may not be known by the same name by friends or family (Bañón, 2004), or even by friends of the same age and by older or younger people (Valentine et al., 2006). Gómez-Morón (2004) remarked on the fact that age determines the degree of respect in a

situation. For example, *D. Francisco* may suggest an older age than *D. Paquito* (Albaigès, 1998).

- Victoria, Vicky or other vs. Victoria, Vicky or other<sup>25</sup>

Pearson's chi-square test points at statistically significant differences at an associated probability of .05 amongst age groups in both countries ( $\chi^2=23.096$ ;  $df=2$ ;  $p=.000$  in the metropolitan district of Murcia and  $\chi^2=20.492$ ;  $df=4$ ,  $p=.000$  in Leeds and the surrounding area). Accordingly, a statistically significant association is found between age and preference for one of these name forms: Victoria, Vicky or other. A Cramer's V of .325 in Spain and .223 in England are revealed, which show a low magnitude of association. The error made when purporting to explain preference for Victoria, Vicky or other in terms of age would only be 8% for this group of name forms in Murcia and pedanías and 7% in Leeds and surrounding towns.

Figures 7.1 and 7.2 exhibit that broad differences can be observed between young and old participants in both municipal districts. Around 6 out of 10 25-40 year-old informants singled out Vicky and almost three quarters of 61-80+ respondents opted for Victoria. It must be pointed out that the pet form Vicky seems to be more welcomed by participants over 40 in England than in Spain. Amongst 41-60 year-old informants in Murcia and pedanías the name form whose rate is larger is Victoria and, conversely, in Leeds and surrounding districts the higher ratio is found for Vicky, in both cases with a similar percentage, around 65%. This leads us to surmise that there is a tendency towards Victoria and Vicky in the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds, respectively, as reflected in

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<sup>25</sup> The explanation for the grounds on which the choices of forenames/nicknames were made is given when necessary in Appendix 1B.

the overall choice percentages of these name forms in the two countries (see Figures 7.3 and 7.4<sup>26</sup>).

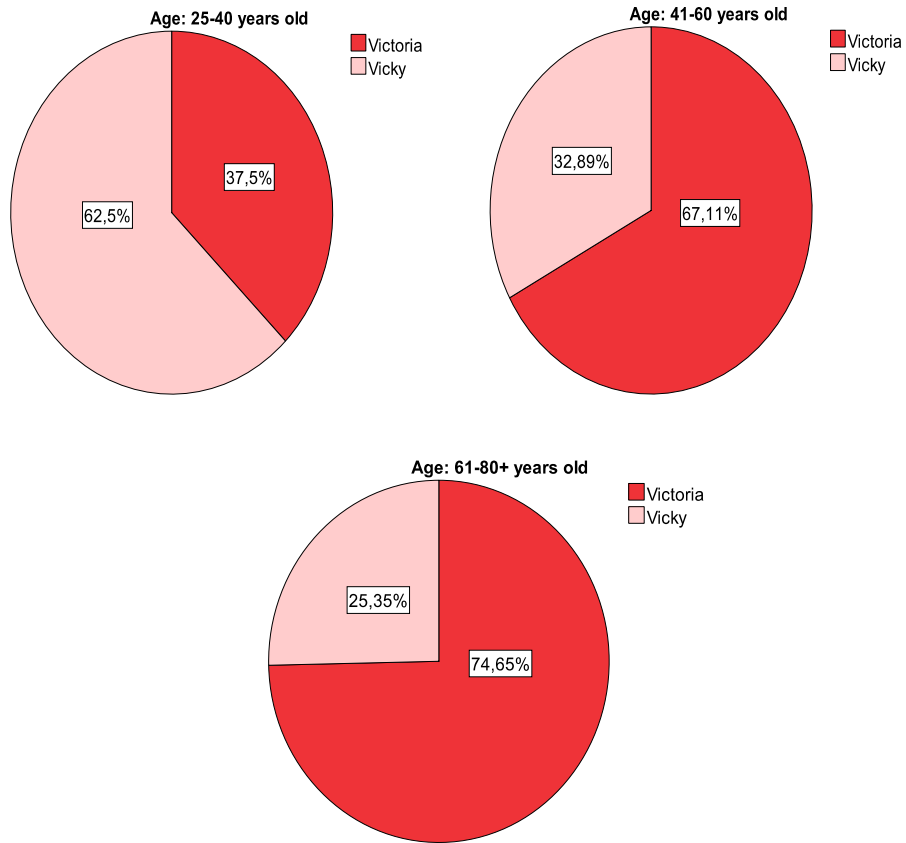


Figure 7.1. Preference for Victoria, Vicky or other in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Murcia

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<sup>26</sup> The colour of the full name and its shortened/changed/lengthened forms will always be the same although the latter will have lighter shades.

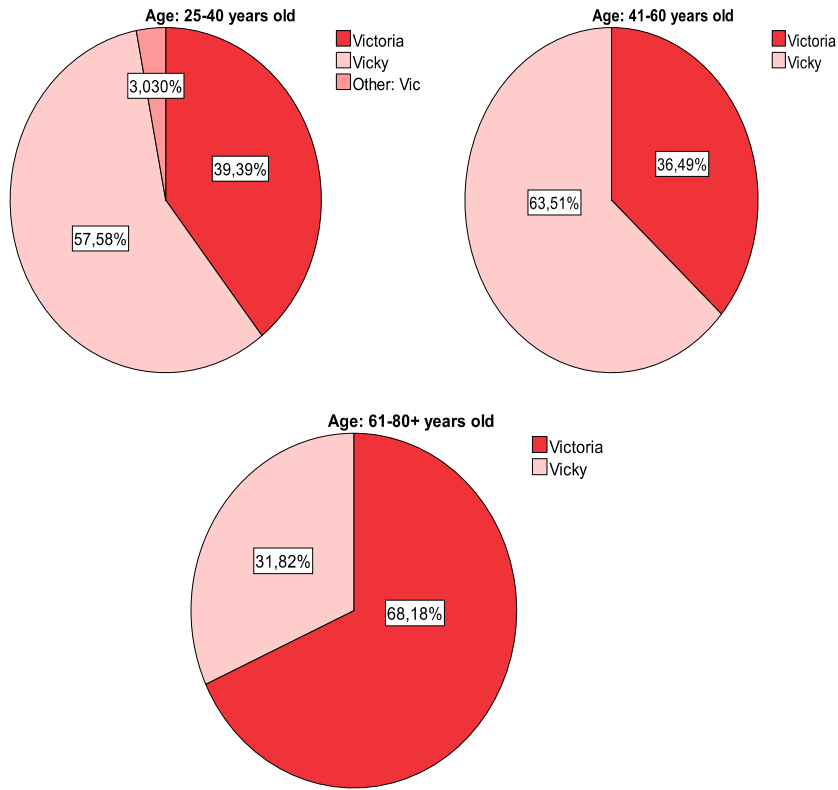


Figure 7.2. Preference for Victoria, Vicky or other in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Leeds

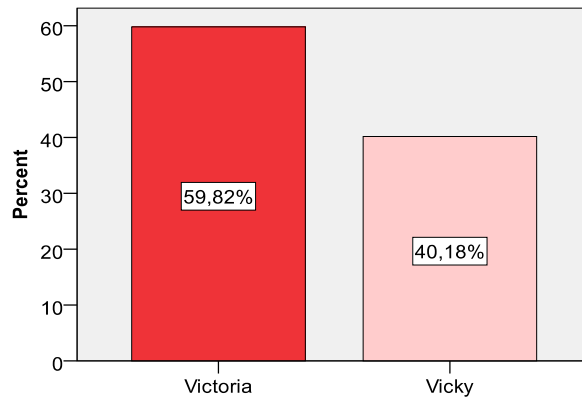


Figure 7.3. Overall preference for Victoria, Vicky or other in the metropolitan district of Murcia

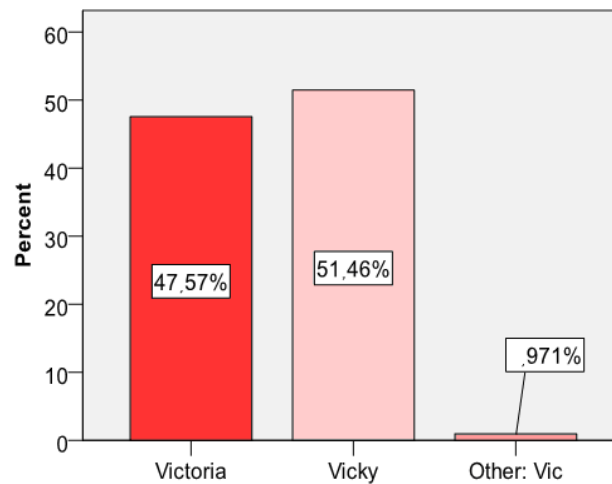


Figure 7.4. Overall preference for Victoria, Vicky or other in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Young people in Murcia and its surrounds, for example, participant 3, stated: “Ahora hay mayor libertad de uso para los nombres y Vicky, que ya conocíamos por los medios de comunicación, trajo aire nuevo cuando llegó a España hace unos años. La manera de escribir Vicky era también chocante”<sup>27</sup>. Democracy was established in the 1970s in Spain (Albaigès, 1998). From that moment on there was more freedom of thought and people may have been willing to choose a more original name or, at least, a more thoughtfully selected name. Dunkling (1977, p. 260) claimed that “many people think of ‘newness’ as a desirable quality”. As we can see in Arboleda (2015), which focused on students, shortened plus lengthened name forms such as Vicky are more often found among English than Spanish participants. In Spain other suffixes are typical: -ito, -illo, -ico, -ín, etc. (Morera, 1991). The spelling <ck> is old-established in England (Dunkling, 1977). The mass media control society with its subliminal propaganda (Savater, 1979). People think that the only way

<sup>27</sup> “Nowadays there is more freedom of usage in terms of names and Vicky, which we already knew via the mass media, brought new air when it came to Spain some years ago. The way of writing Vicky was also startling”.

you can escape from having things in common with other people is not having anything in common with anyone but it is the other way round: having nothing in common with them causes you to have more in common with them. Fashion works like this (Burguière, 1984). The name Vicky has been in vogue for several years. Therefore, our young respondents, children when Vicky was introduced in Spain, opted for this form. For older respondents the adoption of this pet name was not so likely since they had been using another form, possibly Victoria, for years.

The higher rate of middle-aged informants choosing Vicky in the metropolitan district of Leeds is supported by the following comment: “Vicky is a very commonly used and familiar pet form” (participant 75). Mabuza (2011) explained that we often come across people with identical names and the case of Vicky is also that of a pet form commonly found in England. In English diminutives with –y endings could already be found in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, e.g. *Johney*, *Johnie*, etc. (Redmonds, 2004). The familiarity of the –i suffix and the <ck> spelling may explain the preference for Vicky, as suggested by Hargreaves et al. (1983), who highlighted the importance of familiarity in liking a name. As a consequence, it makes sense that in the municipal district of Leeds more middle aged respondents, who cannot be strictly labelled as young or old, chose Vicky than in the municipal district of Murcia.

In relation to the low rate of preference for Vicky among 41-60 year-old participants in Spain, the following comment regarding this pet form is significant: “No me gustan estos Americanismos. Cuando estuve en Londres, vi a gente a la que le decían Vicky. En España es más familiar que otras formas como Victo”<sup>28</sup> (participant 219). In the last decades immigration has brought about a change in Spain (Maíz-Arévalo, 2007).

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<sup>28</sup> “I don’t like these Americanisms. When I was in London I saw people who were known as Vicky. In Spain it is more familiar than other forms such as Victo”.



In 1994 any language could be used for names (Albaigès, 1998). Martinell-Gifre and Lleal-Galceran (1981) put forward the example of Anglophone aspirations such as the use of the form *Patry* in Spain. However, when a Spanish term exists, it is easy to resist an anglicism. In this case, we consider that for Spanish it is difficult to find a shortened or pet form for Victoria other than Vicky. By means of apocope, common in Spanish (Shamatov, 2012), we could have *Vic* (the ending in a consonant for shortened forms is common in English, according to Arboleda, 2015) or *Victo* or *Vico* but none of these are familiar in Spain (the latter is in Hispanic America, as suggested by soap operas such as *Rebelde* or *Rebelde Way* on Spanish TV channels).

Several participants in Leeds and its surrounds (e.g. participant 109) referred to Queen Victoria when they heard the name. It is logical to find a strong presence of this forename and associations with this Queen in England bearing in mind that Queen Victoria was the monarch who brought great wealth and power to Britain. The Victorian era was a period of industrial, scientific, political and cultural change distinguished by a major expansion of the British Empire (Strachey, 1933; Marshall, 1972). As Besnard and Desplanques (1987) stated, associations could be related to queens, kings, princesses and other political figures. Political preferences or patriotic feeling are sometimes expressed in the name chosen for a child (e.g. Louis) (Mille, 1922).

Although the frequency is very low (only two respondents), participants of Polish origin in the metropolitan district of Leeds prefer the full name Victoria (see Table 7.1). Participant 200 stated: “I like Victoria. In Poland we are not keen on pet forms. The spelling is familiar to me”. The point is that *Wiktoria*, the forename in Polish, resembles Victoria in English and, therefore, it is more familiar. This name is often employed without pet forms in Poland and, when used, forms such as *Wika* or *Wiktorka* arise (Sosiński, 2004; Swan, 2009), which do not resemble

Vicky. It appears that, despite living permanently in Leeds and surrounding districts, as in the case of the Spanish informant 219, this participant shows a tendency to choose the syllable pattern permitted in her language, an inclination also shown by English-speaking preschoolers (Messer, 1967). This is in line with O’Sullivan et al. (1988), who claimed that certain candidates in an election won as a result of their names being familiar and having the same ethnic origin as the voters. Nonetheless, the reaction from participant 200 in our study would not be consistent with what some immigrant families do in England: changing their original name to another one or using the original name with a different pronunciation which would be more typical of the host country where they now live (Salahuddin, 1999).

Table 7.1. Preference for Victoria, Vicky or other among participants of Polish origin (metropolitan district of Leeds)

prefer (age)-Victoria or Vicky? <sup>a</sup>			
		Frequency	Valid percentage
Valid	Victoria	2	100.0

a. Origin = Polish

According to Redmonds (2004), the evidence suggests in English there are fewer hypocorisms formed by adding the *-y/ie* suffix in rural areas. In contrast, in our study Table 7.2 reflects that the choice of Victoria or Vicky is almost identical in the city of Leeds and towns nearby, with just a slightly larger percentage of preference for Vicky in the towns. The chi-square test shows that there is no statistically significant association between place of residence and preference for

Victoria, Vicky or other at an alpha value of .05 ( $\chi^2=.182$ ;  $df=2$ , with  $p=.913$ ) in the metropolitan district of Leeds.

Table 7.2. Preference for Victoria, Vicky or other in terms of usual place of residence in the metropolitan district of Leeds

			Usual place of residence (within the metropolitan district)	
			City of Leeds	Town belonging to Leeds
prefer (age)-Victoria, Vicky or other?	Victoria	Count	51	47
		% within Usual place of residence (within the metropolitan district)	49.0%	46.1%
	Vicky	Count	52	54
		% within Usual place of residence (within the metropolitan district)	50.0%	52.9%
	Other: Vic	Count	1	1
		% within Usual place of residence (within the metropolitan district)	1.0%	1.0%
Total	Count	104	102	
	% within Usual place of residence (within the metropolitan district)	100.0%	100.0%	

Figures 7.5 and 7.6 illustrate the factors explored above, which are based on the comments made by the participants in our study<sup>29</sup>. As can be seen, some of these factors relate to the name forms irrespective of the participant's age (explored secondly in this section when referring to each group of name forms). Nonetheless, in other cases a given age is attached to these factors (explored firstly in this section when talking about each group of name forms), on some occasions coinciding those factors with a link to a given age and those without it.

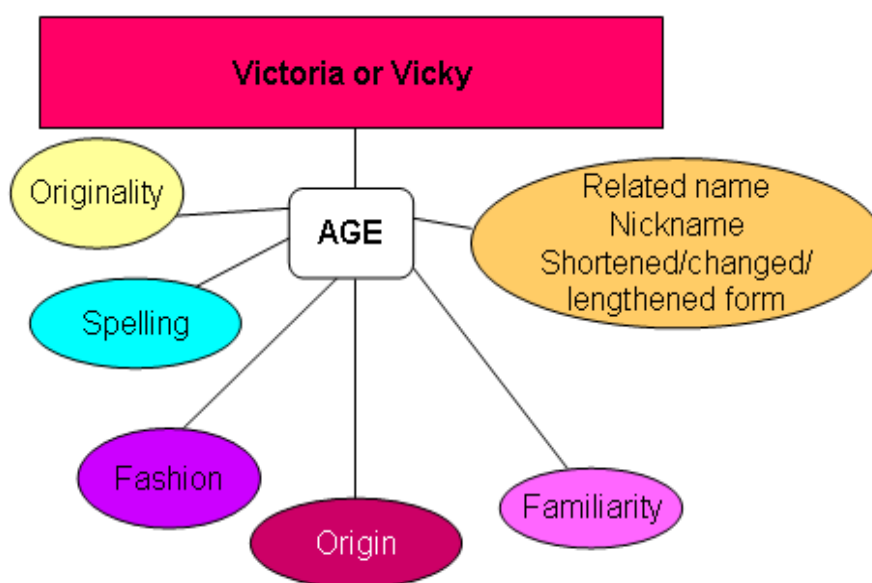


Figure 7.5. Factors based on the participants' comments about Victoria or Vicky in the metropolitan district of Murcia<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Factors which may arise when discussing the results but do not come specifically from the participants' comments are not included in these Figures. For example, in the metropolitan district of Leeds the factor *origin-place of residence* is not mentioned in the respondents' remarks but it is explored in this section with reference to the literature review. Therefore, it is not included in these Figures.

<sup>30</sup> Each factor will be given one identifying colour in this thesis.

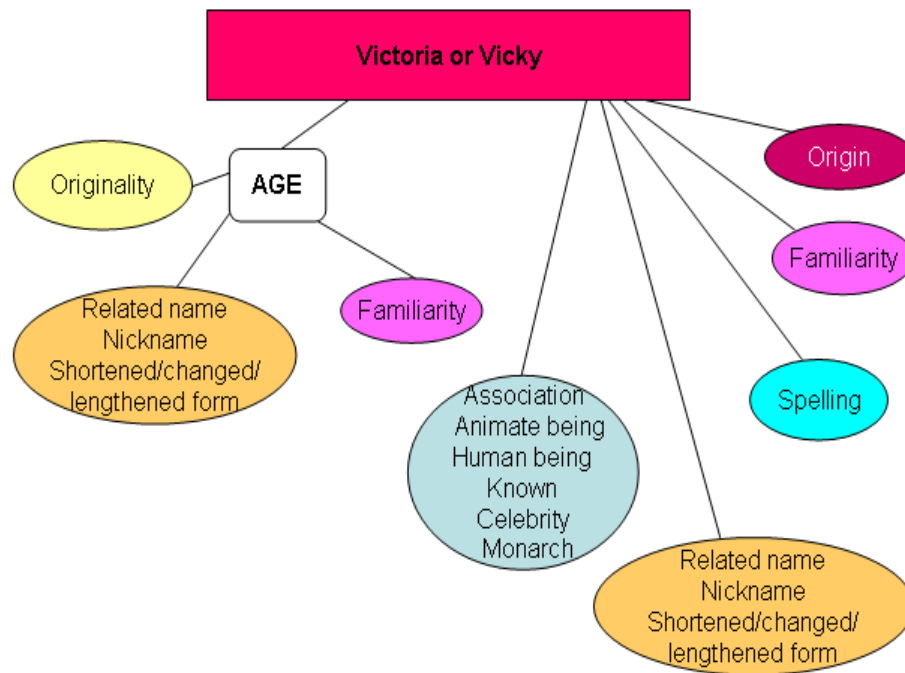


Figure 7.6. Factors based on the participants' comments on Victoria or Vicky in the metropolitan district of Leeds

- María, Maruja or other vs. Virginia, Ginger or other

The preference for María, Maruja or other/Virginia, Ginger or other is statistically associated at a critical value of .05 with being a given age, as revealed by Pearson's chi-square test ( $\chi^2=8.700$ ;  $df=2$ ,  $p$  being .013 in the case of María or Maruja and  $\chi^2=23.907$ ;  $df=6$ , with  $p=.001$  for Virginia, Ginger or other). Cramer's V lies in .199 for the former group and .241 for the latter, so the strength of association is low in both cases –for Virginia and others the Cramer's V coefficient is in the very limit between low and very low according to Bisquerra's interpretation (1989). The value of the Uncertainty coefficient shows that when considering the grouping variable in the prediction of the criterion variable, the margin of error would merely be 4% for the group of María and somewhat larger, 11%, for the group of Virginia.

As expressed in Tables 7.3 and 7.4, in both places the full names, especially María, are preferred by the majority of informants, 7 out of 10 or over, from all age groups. This is equivalent to the general preferences, irrespective of age, which shows a preponderance of the full name in both municipal districts (see Figures 7.7 & 7.8). Returning to Tables 7.3 and 7.4, the difference between Spain and England is that, whereas in Spain the younger the participant, the less the form Maruja is picked, in England the younger the respondent, the more Ginger is chosen.

Table 7.3. Preference for María, Maruja or other in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Murcia

			Age		
			25-40 years old	41-60 years old	61-80+ years old
prefer (age)-María, Maruja or other?	María	Count	65	68	53
		% within Age	90.3%	89.5%	74.6%
	Maruja	Count	7	8	18
		% within Age	9.7%	10.5%	25.4%
	Total	Count	72	76	71
		% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7.4. Preference for Virginia, Ginger or other in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Leeds

			Age		
			25-40 years old	41-60 years old	61-80+ years old
prefer (age)- Virginia, Ginger or other?	Virginia	Count	45	59	60
		% within Age	68.2%	79.7%	90.9%
	Ginger	Count	19	13	2
		% within Age	28.8%	17.6%	3.0%
	Other: Gin	Count	2	0	0
		% within Age	3.0%	.0%	.0%
Other: Ginny	Count	0	2	4	
	% within Age	.0%	2.7%	6.1%	
Total	Count	66	74	66	
	% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

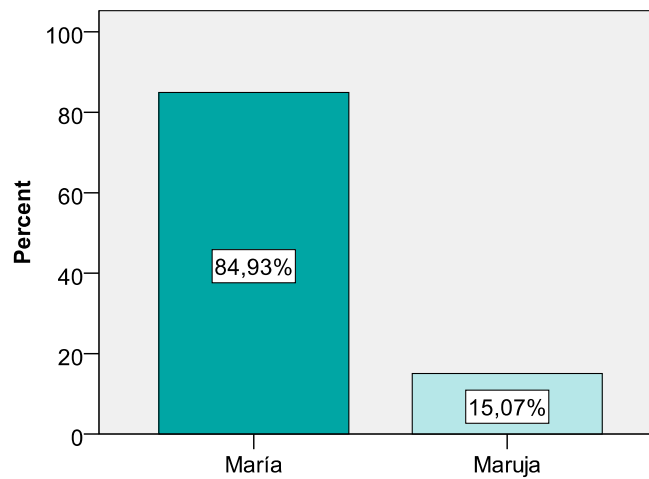


Figure 7.7. Overall preference for María, Maruja or other in the metropolitan district of Murcia

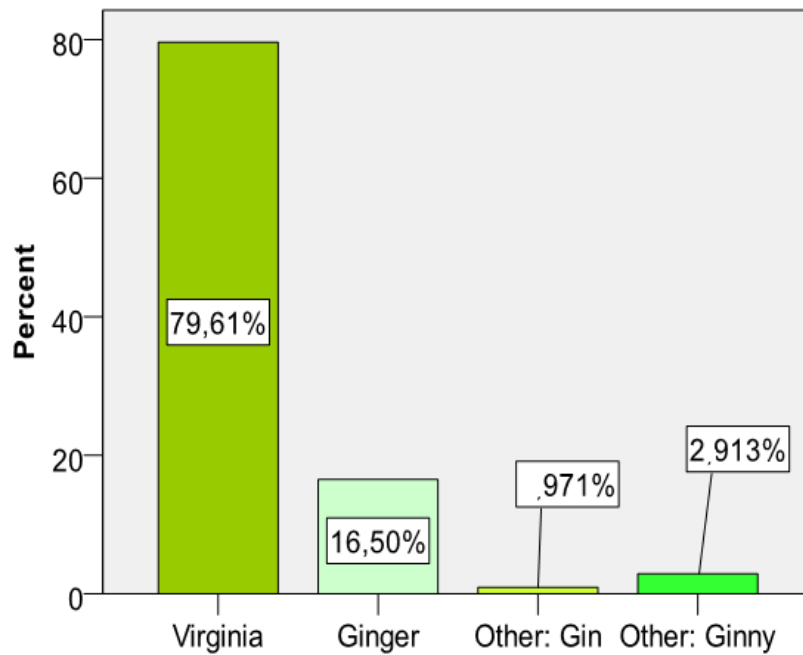


Figure 7.8. Overall preference for Virginia, Ginger or other in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Some 60-80+ year-old women in the district of Murcia (e.g. participant 207) made the following comment: “En mi época Maruja nos era familiar y, después de tantos años, me identifico con el nombre de Maruja pero me gusta más María”<sup>31</sup>. Valentine and Ferrara (1991) referred to the familiarity of a name, affecting the preference for a given name form, in this case, María or Maruja. Since these respondents were young they have been using Maruja; it is “part and parcel of the routines of everyday life” (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998, p. 1, our own translation). The name is a mark of identity (Coulmont, 2011); it “contains the being” (Albaigès, 1998, p. 17, our own translation). In brief, these participants

<sup>31</sup> “In my day Maruja was familiar to us and, after so many years, I identify with the name Maruja but I like María more”.



feel Maruja is their name, as explained by Dunkling (1977). On the other hand, they recognise they prefer María. This is not in concordance with Nuttin's findings (1985) in which it was claimed that letters in a person's name, in this case, the name they use, Maruja, are more attractive to that person than other letters. In general terms, with a reference to Murcia, Bañón (2004) mentioned a girl called María being referred to as Maruja only by her grandmother, which mirrors the clearer tendency towards this name form on the part of the elder generation as compared to the other two age groups in our study.

Some other 60-80+ year-old respondents (e.g. participant 202) made the following observation: "Aquí en el campo a muchas Marías se les conoce como Marujas"<sup>32</sup>, so the possible link between usual place of residence (either city or pedanía) and preference for a particular name form only within the eldest age group was worth exploring. Results suggest that there is no statistically significant relationship between these variables at an associated probability of .05 ( $\chi^2=.043$ ;  $df=1$   $p=.835$ ). In fact, Table 7.5 exhibits that percentages of name choice are very similar between the capital city and the surrounding areas. Although the variable of place of residence has been a common source of quantitative study, no substantial differences were found in terms of regions, according to Redmonds (2004), which agrees with our results here.

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<sup>32</sup> "Here in the country side many [women called María] Marías are known as Marujas".

Table 7.5. Preference for María, Maruja or other in terms of place of residence in the metropolitan district of Murcia among 61-80+ participants

			Usual place of residence (within the metropolitan district)	
			City of Murcia	Pedanía
prefer (age)-María, Maruja or other?	María	Count % within Usual place of residence (within the metropolitan district)	25 73.5%	28 75.7%
	Maruja	Count % within Usual place of residence (within the metropolitan district)	9 26.5%	9 24.3%
Total		Count % within Usual place of residence (within the metropolitan district)	34 100.0%	37 100.0%

On the other hand, the large choice of Ginger on the part of the youngest participants in the metropolitan district of Leeds as compared to the rest of the age groups could be explained by the following remark made by several respondents: “I find Ginger funny” (e.g. participant 4). Actually, sometimes the fact that several 25-40 year-old participants just laughed when the researcher mentioned the name form and then chose it was enough to realise the funny connotations it had. Finch (2008) spoke about forenames which, together with surnames, produce comic effects.

In other cases, young respondents asked and commented: “But Ginger is a different name, isn’t it? It is quite original” (e.g. participant 14). In England the freedom of choice started in the sixteenth century and

strengthened as time passed (Goodenough, 1963). In this country there is no legal restriction in the names given to children in order to avoid the neologisms which invaded the USA and to some extent the UK. Many names that today are considered to be normal first names before were seen as pet forms by our ancestors (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). That is why this young generation is not so aware of the connection of Ginger to Virginia.

Some middle-aged and older informants (e.g. participant 47) made the following statement: “I do not like Ginger. It is similar to the nickname, which is pejorative”. Nicknames reveal physical and personal characteristics of the bearers (Leslie & Skipper, 1990). Baring-Gould (1910) referred to *Reddy* or *Redsy* (in American) and *Ginger* (in Britain) or *Carrots* for the hair. The truth is that red-haired people, especially women, are discriminated against in society (note *gingerism*, a term employed by the British media and referred to by Onstad, 2011, and can even result in violent incidents). Smith-Bannister (1997, p. 19) explained that “nicknames could be a sign of a close personal relationship and, at the other extreme, a sign of bitter antagonism”. In the latter sense, nicknames could be seen as pejorative, humorous (Antoun, 1968) or even both at the same time (Collier & Brickner, 1970). It would seem that the youngest generation in this study tends to see *Ginger* as humorous whereas the eldest groups see it as pejorative or offensive (Hom, 2012). This view does not support the claim made by Baring-Gould (1910), who upheld the idea that nicknames are seen as a sign of healthy social adjustment in Britain and the USA.

Several young informants (e.g. participant 17) remarked that “Virginia is too chaste a name; *Ginger* does not hold these connotations”. The fact that Virginia is the name of a Roman maiden (Hanks et al., 2006) and its meaning in Latin, *virgo*, is ‘virgin, maiden’, may contribute to these connotations. Actually, the name of the USA state Virginia had its

roots in Elizabeth I of England, the Virgin Queen (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). It would seem that Virginia needs a kind of euphemism which “lexically neutralise[s]” (Casas, 1986, p. 35-36, our own translation) the name in an attempt to avoid using it. However, in this case, it is not a nasty or rude word but the opposite, a “too clean” word, according to certain young people.

In relation to this, Dunkling (1977, p. 119) explained that “a surge in popularity [of the name Virginia] seems unlikely at the present time because attitudes to ‘virginity’ have changed so drastically in recent years”. In our view, in agreement, for instance, with del Baas (2011) in his experience of flirtation, young British women tend to be open in their sexual life. Maybe the fact that the main religion in England is Anglicanism, which prohibits the invocation of the Virgin Mary –although it is permitted to worship her (Antequera, 2010)– may impede English people from seeing the virtue of Mary’s virginity as a point of reference. In addition, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and her ever-present virginity is not generally accepted by the Anglican Church although nowadays Catholicism and Anglicanism are trying to reconcile some doctrinal differences (Oppenheimer 2005). Thus, the name Virginia has probably become embarrassing for several informants and that is why other forms such as Gin or Ginny are mentioned. Indeed, the options provided, Virginia and Ginger, are not particularly liked, as acknowledged by many respondents: “I don’t like Virginia or Ginger at all” (e.g. participant 59).

In the metropolitan district of Murcia, the high percentage of preference for María in the three age groups may be related to the following observation made by several respondents: “María es el nombre de la Virgen y debe emplearse como tal, por respeto, sin utilizar

hipocorísticos”<sup>33</sup> (e.g. participant 2). As explained by Albaigès (1998), “the members of the Holy Family have always been very present among Spanish people” (p. 244, our own translation). He also pointed out that “Spain is the land of Saint María” (p. 220, our own translation). A chapel, sanctuary or image of María can be found everywhere in this country. Such is the importance of María that thousands of Marian dedications can be found, either locally or nationally (Fernández-Peón, 2008): *Dolores, Angustias, Purificación, Consolación*, etc. Faure (2007) clarified that “the name of Maria only starts to be used in Europe from the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards as before using the name of Christ’s mother was considered to be irreverent” (p. 503, our own translation). However, once it started to be used, it has “amply become the foremost, among those imposed on women in our country” (Albaigès, 1998, p. 218, our own translation), either on its own or in combination with other names. Today the name María has been repeated so often in Spain that it is even employed as an equivalent term for *woman*. Words derived from María are, for instance, *mariposa* (*María-posa* given that the children wanted the insect to stop and alight) or *mariquita* (another insect, a ladybird).

There are also many pet forms and derivations of María although they do not have the same intensity (Albaigès, 1998). That may be the reason why the full name, María, is preferred in this study, as explained by some of our respondents. What is more, “using a particular label to name a given person denotes something about the nature of the relationship between the speaker and the referred person” (Valentine et al., 1996, p. 16) and the way of addressing someone reflects what the person intends to show (Trubetzkoy, 1973), in this case, respect.

The high percentage of preference for María can also be understood in the light of the following observation, made by some of the

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<sup>33</sup> “María is the Virgin’s forename and it should be employed as such out of respect, without using hypocorisms”.

informants (e.g. participant 184): “Maruja parece peyorativo y suena brusco”<sup>34</sup>. There are words which contain elements of evaluation in their meaning, these elements being pejorative, e.g. *a hovel*- ‘a rude or miserable dwelling-place’ (Ullmann, 1978). This is what we find in the word *Maruja*. Apart from being employed as a hypocorism of María, it has the meaning of “housewife of low education” (Real Academia Española, 2011, p. 1460, our own translation). In addition, Ullmann (1978) and Caballero and Corral (1998) made reference to pejorative suffixes such as -ejo/a, -ucho/a or -ujo/a. The fact that Nobile (2010) found an association between axiological pejorative vs. diminutive affective and the phonological opposition [open] and [closed] vowels (-accio, -azzo, -astro vs -uccio, -uzzo, -iccio) raises the issue of phonological symbolism and phonemes which convey meaning.

The abrupt sound that participant 184 mentioned is connected to the idea of sound symbolism as well. Monroy (2001) referred to the harshness of the voiceless /x/, related to the roughness of words such as *bruja* or *lija* in Castilian Spanish. Besides, the rhyme between *Maruja* and *bruja* (meaning ‘witch’ in English) may contribute to keep the link in our memory (García-Yebra, 1989). The combination with /u/, a cold vowel, conveys a sense of unrestrained anger. The words *brusco* and *abrupt* themselves sound pejorative. In fact, Magnus (2001) related the initial clusters C+r to derogative terms for people (e.g. *brute*, *drunk*, *tramp*, *crook*, etc.) and Monroy (2001) claimed that both in English and Spanish /br/ tends to be negative (*brute*, *bruto*). On the other hand, the lack of sound knowledge many people have, according to Mayoraz (2009), leads to the fact that when describing feelings, we find it very difficult to use words to express sound and that is why we use words from other scopes or related to other senses, present here since the word *brusco* means *rough*

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<sup>34</sup> “Maruja seems pejorative and sounds abrupt”.

(Real Academia Española, 2011, p. 360), which is linked to the sense of touch.

Figures 7.9 and 7.10 depict the factors studied above based on the remarks provided by the respondents in our study.

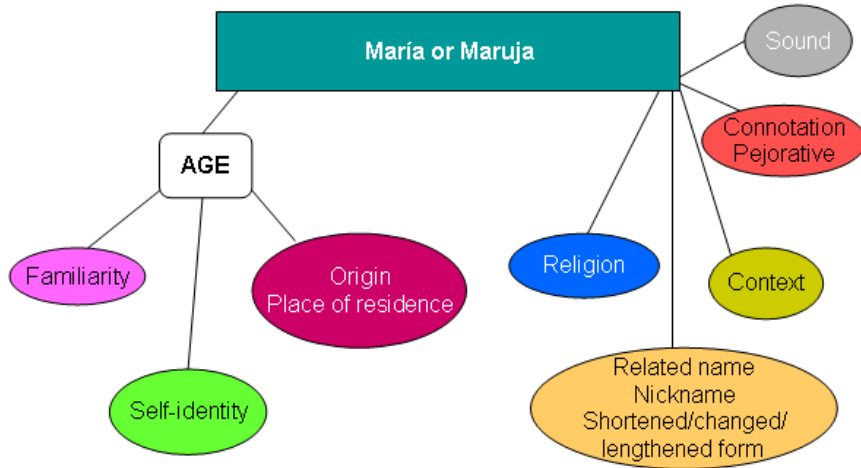


Figure 7.9. Factors based on the participants’ comments about María or Maruja in the metropolitan district of Murcia<sup>35</sup>

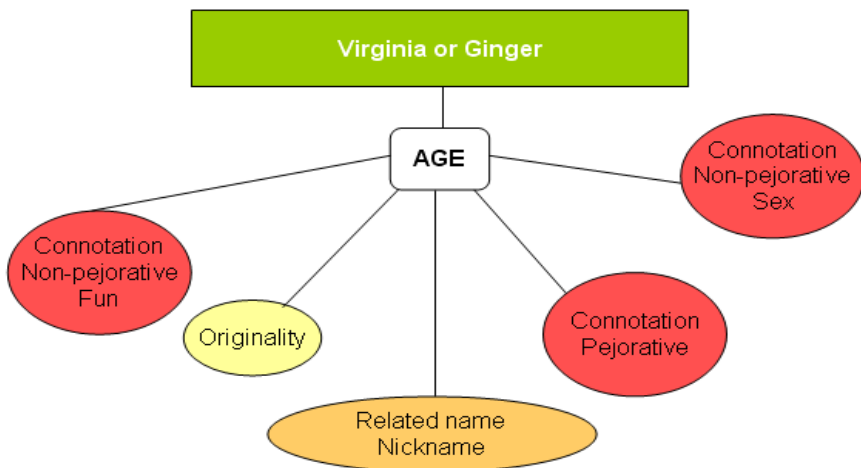


Figure 7.10. Factors based on the participants’ comments about Virginia or Ginger in the metropolitan district of Leeds

<sup>35</sup> The order *Connotation (Non-)Pejorative* in the figures does not apply the usual order *adjective-noun* because *(Non-)Pejorative* is a sub-classification of the category *Connotation*, thus it would be written below.

- Clementa, Clemen, Memen or other vs. Philippa, Phil, Pippa or other

Tables 7.6 and 7.7 suggest that in the two metropolitan districts the older the participant, the more the full names are selected. Almost three quarters of 60-80+ year-old informants opted for Philippa while less than 41% singled out Clementa in that age group. It seems that in Spain the forms Clemen and Memen are willingly accepted with quite a balanced percentage amongst the three age groups (around 40% for Clemen and 30% for Memen) although the fact that the ratio is larger for the youngest respondents (with around 61%) in the case of Clemen must be emphasised. In England, however, Pippa is the only hypocorism which has considerable support, especially in the under 60s, since not even 1 out of 10 participants opted for the other name form proposed, Phil, in any of the age groups.



Table 7.6. Preference for Clementa, Clemen, Memen or other in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Murcia

			Age		
			25-40 years old	41-60 years old	61-80+ years old
prefer (age)- Clementa, Clemen, Memen or other?	Clementa	Count	7	23	29
		% within Age	9.7%	30.3%	40.8%
	Clemen	Count	44	31	27
		% within Age	61.1%	40.8%	38.0%
	Memen	Count	20	22	15
		% within Age	27.8%	28.9%	21.1%
	Other: Clem	Count	1	0	0
		% within Age	1.4%	.0%	.0%
Total		Count	72	76	71
		% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7.7. Preference for Philippa, Phil, Pippa or other in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Leeds

			Age		
			25-40 years old	41-60 years old	61-80+ years old
prefer (age)- Philippa, Phil, Pippa or other?	Philippa	Count	29	38	49
		% within Age	43.9%	51.4%	74.2%
	Phil	Count	5	7	6
		% within Age	7.6%	9.5%	9.1%
	Pippa	Count	31	29	11
		% within Age	47.0%	39.2%	16.7%
	Other: Philly	Count	1	0	0
		% within Age	1.5%	.0%	.0%
Total		Count	66	74	66
		% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The chi-square test indicates that preferences in terms of these name forms bear a statistically significant relationship with age at an alpha level of .05 ( $\chi^2=21.287$ ;  $df=6$  in the case of Clementa and others and  $\chi^2=17.702$ ;  $df=6$  for Philippa and its pet forms,  $p$  being .002 and .007, respectively). The coefficient of Cramer's V is .220 for Spanish and .207 for English, so the intensity of the association between the two variables is low. If we look at the value of the Uncertainty coefficient, the error made when attempting to predict name form preference on the basis of age

would simply be 5% for each group of name forms in the two metropolitan districts.

The general tendency of informants towards Clemen and Philippa, irrespective of age, is displayed in Figures 7.11 and 7.12.

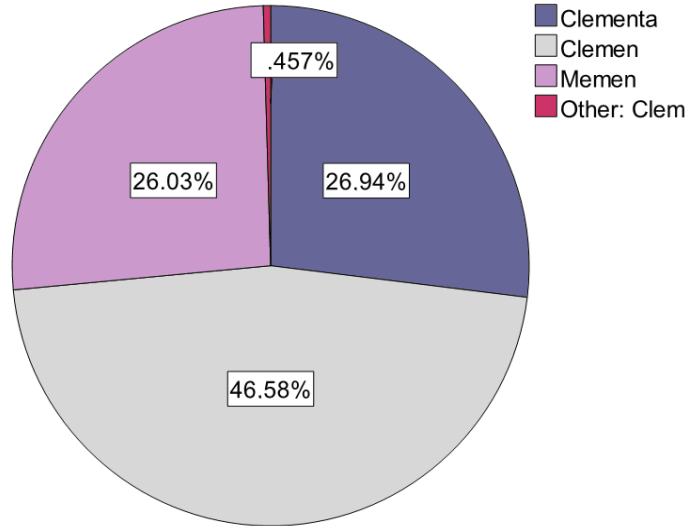


Figure 7.11. Overall preference for Clementa, Clemen, Memen or other in the metropolitan district of Murcia

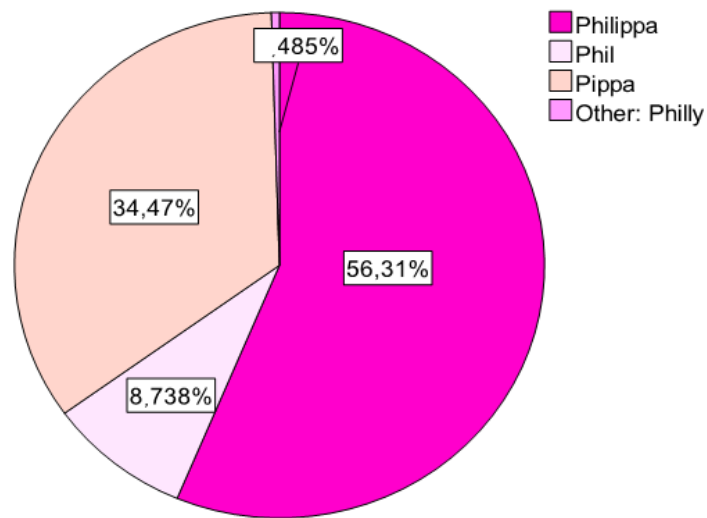


Figure 7.12. Overall preference for Philippa, Phil, Pippa or other in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Several 61-80+ year-old informants from Leeds and its surrounds (e.g. participant 72), who do not like the name Pippa, stated that “Pippa has sexual connotations”. Indeed, in languages such as Italian, Greek and Swedish Pippa is related to sexual acts (Matty Pie, 2006). It would seem that the oldest generation agrees with Bréal (1921) in that decency and propriety should be resorted to when dealing with issues such as sex, swearing and the body (parts and functions). Young women’s reaction towards sex in Britain seems to have changed in recent decades, as stated by Dunkling (1977) and commented on before, but the oldest informants, as in this case, are not likely to have been affected by this change.

Participant 65, to set an example, among others from the oldest generation, added: “When thinking about Pippa, a red-haired young girl comes to my mind”. In the same way that a common name may evoke memories, e.g. *a table*, forenames may also evoke many memories and associations. According to Dunkling (1977, p. 12), “names carry all kinds of associations along with them”. In this case the associations are not with a particular and known person but in general terms and they refer to the person’s appearance and age: a girl who looks young and has red hair. Perhaps this link in our respondent’s mind goes back to a fictional character in a series of children’s books (later a TV series) who has a very similar pet form and red hair, Pippi Longstocking (Albaigès, 1998). The association with this childish character, better kept in the mind of the oldest generation, may contribute to the connection of Pippa with a young age.

In the metropolitan district of Murcia many of the respondents from the three age groups who do not like Clementa referred to this name form as “un nombre feo; su sonido es horroroso”<sup>36</sup> (e.g. participant 23). Langer (1965, as cited in Hörmann, 1967) explained that the behaviour of

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<sup>36</sup> “an ugly name; its sound is awful”.

anthropoid monkeys had already hinted at the presence of aesthetic emotions in signs. The Symbolists attached a crucial importance to beauty and held the view that there was a moral duty to resist ugliness (as cited in R. Gullón, 1979). Apart from being in the name itself, beauty can also be attached to the sound in the name, hence, the adjective *horroroso*, in the sense of meaning “very ugly” (Real Academia Española, 2011, p. 1231). Once more, the lack of sound knowledge leads to a description of feelings related to sound by using words based on other scopes, in this case, beauty. Demetrio (1979) gave an example of unpleasant sounds in Greek which clash with a positive or intense meaning: *kopiátsai* (‘to get tired’) has nasty sounds, so the adjective is inappropriate for its meaning, that is, such an intense feeling. Something similar would occur with Clementa, which means ‘sweet and good’ in Latin (Albaigès, 1998).

Participant 29 stated: “Prefiero Clementina”<sup>37</sup>. The –a ending has been popular until the present day and it is a clear indicator of the female gender (Dunkling, 1977). In Spanish it is frequent to find it (Cutler et al., 1990) in names such as *Laura, María, Rosa*, etc. However, in these cases the names are directly feminine, that is, they do not come from a masculine form as in the case of Clementa. Conventional suffixes such as –ina (from Latin) e.g. *Georgina, Josephina* (Hanks et al., 2006) or –ine (from French) e.g. *Georgine, Josephine*, etc. (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987) have been regularly used to form female names from male names. Faure (2007) only offers the masculine form Clemente in his dictionary of proper names whereas he provides both the masculine and feminine form for Clementino/a. All this could explain why Clementina is preferred to Clementa and it is also suggested by the following comment: “Clementa es un nombre masculino y basto”<sup>38</sup> (participant 184). According to Durán (2007), there exist female names with masculine connotations, e.g.

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<sup>37</sup> “I prefer Clementina”.

<sup>38</sup> “Clementa is a masculine and vulgar name”.

*Andrea*, whose etymological meaning is ‘virility’. In the case of *Andrea*, the masculine connotations come from the meaning and in the case of *Clementa*, these connotations seem to derive from its sound. On the other hand, men are said to use a more vulgar lexis and women are believed to employ a more edulcorated lexis (Coates, 1996), which may be linked to the idea that this masculine name, according to the participant, has vulgar connotations. Monroy (2008) makes the point that the RAE alludes to adjectives such as *non-refined* or *ordinary* when referring to *vulgar*. Given that authors such as Navarro-Tomás (1961) talk about vulgarity in rural speech, the possible association between place of residence and preference for *Clementa* or other could be looked at. Although, as can be concluded from Table 7.8, there is no statistically significant association between the two variables at an alpha value of .05 ( $\chi^2=.3.616$ ;  $df=3$   $p=.306$ ), it is remarkable to find that preference for the name *Clementa* in the surrounding rural areas is almost 20% higher than in the city of Murcia.

Table 7.8. Preference for Clementa, Clemen, Memen or other in terms of usual place of residence in the metropolitan district of Murcia

			Usual place of residence (within the metropolitan district)		Total
			City of Murcia	Pedanía	
prefer (age)- Clementa, Clemen or Memen?	Clementa	Count	24	35	59
		% within prefer (age)-Clementa, Clemen or Memen?	40.7%	59.3%	100.0%
	Clemen	Count	55	47	102
		% within prefer (age)-Clementa, Clemen or Memen?	53.9%	46.1%	100.0%
	Memen	Count	27	30	57
		% within prefer (age)-Clementa, Clemen or Memen?	47.4%	52.6%	100.0%
	Other: Clem	Count	0	1	1
		% within prefer (age)-Clementa, Clemen or Memen?	.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Participant 206 explained: “No considero tan feo el nombre de Clementa porque tengo una amiga que es una persona encantadora. Se llama así porque es el nombre del patrón de su pueblo”<sup>39</sup>. Sometimes emotions can be connected to names which remind us of previous good or bad experiences (Albaigès, 1998). There are names which in principle you would avoid giving your children but they are not so much disliked if they are borne by a worthy person, e.g. a very pretty *Rafaela*. Maass, Salvi,

<sup>39</sup> “I don’t consider the name Clementa so ugly because I have a friend who is a lovely person. She is called that because it is the name of the patron saint of her town”.

Acuri and Semin (1989) dealt with linguistic intergroup bias (LIB), which maintained that we have more positive feelings towards our friends than our competitors. Participant 206 likes Clementa because it is the name of her friend. Probably the respondent's friend city is Lorca. In Lorca (Murcia) Saint Clement is the patron along with the Virgin of Orchard (Virgen de las Huertas) (Fernández-Peón, 2008). Veneration of local patron saints is very strong in Spain. As stated by Hanks et al. (2006, p. xv), "in many places in Europe, the name of a local saint is regularly used within a small community", e.g. the cult of St. Leocadia is highly localised in Toledo. Places and churches were dedicated to these saints and their protection was invoked. There are even processions in small villages and towns in which the Patrons (Virgins and Saints) parade through the streets surrounded by devout followers (Albaigès, 1998).

Unlike Clementa, Philippa is regarded as feminine by many informants: "Philippa seems more feminine than the other options" (e.g. participant 96). Philippa has an -a ending (Hanks et al, 2006) and comes from a masculine form, like Clementa. There is an addition of <a> for the feminine form (Philip- Philippa) and not a change from <e> to <a>, as with Clemente-Clementa, which may contribute to different gender connotations in each case. What is more, in the Middle Ages the vernacular Philip was borne by both genders in England. The change from Philip to the current use of Philippa (so as to satisfy the rules of Latin grammar, according to Dunkling, 1977) may reinforce its femininity. On the other hand, it is logical to think that Phil sounds more masculine because it is a shortened version commonly used for males.

Both in the cases of Clementa and Philippa together with their other forms, the fact that reference has been made to masculine or feminine suggestions leads us to question whether an association exists



between preference for one of these name forms and the respondent's gender.

Table 7.9 reflects that in the metropolitan district of Murcia the name forms of Clemen and Memen were mainly selected by women whereas Clementa was preferred by a larger percentage of men, almost 63%. The small percentage of choice of Clementa by women is surprising if we take into account that there is a majority of female participants in the sample (almost 57%). The chi-square test reveals that for Clementa and its group, the relationship between the two variables, gender and preference, is statistically significant at a critical value of .05 ( $\chi^2=14.687$ ;  $df=3$ ;  $p=.002$ ). Cramer's V coefficient is .259, which shows a low strength of association. The value of the Uncertainty coefficient indicates that the error committed when considering gender in the prediction of preference for one of these name forms would only be 3%. It can be concluded from these results that the more masculine name Clementa, with its abrupt sound in the view of several participants, receives low support from women, in contrast to men's response. The fact that men are more direct and use "less sensitive" lexis (Manning, 1997) seems to extend to sounds including those found in female names.

Table 7.9. Preference for Clementa, Clemen, Memen or other in terms of gender in the metropolitan district of Murcia

			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
prefer (age)-Clementa, Clemen or Memen?	Clementa	Count	37	22	59
		% within prefer (age)-Clementa, Clemen or Memen?	62.7%	37.3%	100.0%
	Clemen	Count	34	68	102
		% within prefer (age)-Clementa, Clemen or Memen?	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
	Memen	Count	23	34	57
		% within prefer (age)-Clementa, Clemen or Memen?	40.4%	59.6%	100.0%
	Other: Clem	Count	1	0	1
		% within prefer (age)-Clementa, Clemen or Memen?	100.0%	.0%	100.0%

With ageing, the cartilaginous larynx calcifies and it loses its tonus, which reduces the vocalic intensity. Hence, the female voice becomes more masculine (Grammont, 1933). Table 7.10 does not show that this masculinity of old women's voice affects the preference for the name Clementa. Another option, Clemen, is greatly preferred by 61-80 year-old females.

Table 7.10. Preference for Clementa, Clemen, Memen or other among 61-80+ year-old participants in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Clementa	9	24.3
	Clemen	20	54.1
	Memen	8	21.6
	Total	37	100.0

a. Age = 61-80+ years old

As opposed to the group of Clementa, Clemen, Memen or other, according to the chi-square test, gender and preference for Philippa, Phil, Pippa or other do not have a statistically significant relationship ( $\chi^2=2.470$ ;  $df=3$ ;  $p=.481$ ). As a matter of fact, the tendencies on the part of men and women are roughly the same for each name form. The only remarkable case is that of Pippa, with almost 40% of difference between the genders, as recorded in Table 7.11. For all name forms females express a greater percentage of choice but it must be noted that the sample includes more than 60% of female participants. On the other hand, it makes sense that the option Philly was added by a woman and is used as a hypocorism of a female name, Philippa, because forms with -y ending are strongly associated with girls' names (Lawson, 1974). Redmonds (2004) explained that no male diminutives formed by adding the -y/ie suffix were found before the 1750s whereas female ones were.

Table 7.11. Preference for Philippa, Phil, Pippa or other in terms of gender in the metropolitan district of Leeds

			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
prefer (age)- Philippa, Phil, Pippa or other?	Philippa	Count	46	70	116
		% within prefer (age)- Philippa, Phil, Pippa or other?	39.7%	60.3%	100.0%
Phil	Count	8	10	18	
	% within prefer (age)- Philippa, Phil, Pippa or other?	44.4%	55.6%	100.0%	
Pippa	Count	22	49	71	
	% within prefer (age)- Philippa, Phil, Pippa or other?	31.0%	69.0%	100.0%	
Other: Philly	Count	0	1	1	
	% within prefer (age)- Philippa, Phil, Pippa or other?	.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

One of the respondents, participant 14, made the following comment: “No me gusta el sonido de Memen”<sup>40</sup>. Maybe this remark could be explained by Monroy’s claim (2001): when two nasals are put together the onomatopoeic effect of a complete fool can be enacted, as in the case of *mamón* (‘scrounger’) or *memo* (‘stupid’), although the effect in Memen is more modest due to the fact that there is no stress in the final syllable. It is important to reflect that the first words learnt by a child: “Mi mamá me

<sup>40</sup> “I don’t like the sound of Memen”.

mima”<sup>41</sup> or “yo amo a mi mamá”<sup>42</sup>, in which the attachment of this consonant to the different vowels (*ma-mi* or *mo-ma-mi*, in these cases) can be seen, are often used to tease foolish people. In addition, in his dictionary, Tibón (2002) excludes names sometimes having bad connotations, e.g. *Memo*. Among Ancient Greeks there was a desire to avoid the repetition of something identical or similar, which even had an effect on the fact that language eliminated syllables or phonemes from words, for instance, *stipendium* instead of *stipipendium* (Demetrio, 1979).

One respondent, in particular, participant 136, commented in reference to Pippa: “It reminds me of literature and the celebrity Pippa Middleton”. The fact is that “real characters, kings, princesses, important politicians or literary or artistic characters, starlets of spectacle or heroes of fiction” (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987, p. 75, our own translation) have an influence on the names chosen. Pippa is the main character of a narrative poem by the Victorian poet Robert Browning, *Pippa Passes* (1841) “in which the heroine is a child worker in an Italian silk mill, whose innocent admiration of ‘great’ people is ironically juxtaposed with their sordid lives” (Hanks et al., 2006, p. 221). Female names are significantly present in literature. Note, for instance, Samuel Richardson’s *Pamela* and *Clarissa*, Fanny Burney’s *Evelina*, *Cecilia* and *Camilla* or Jane Austen’s *Emma*, among others (Earnshaw, 2012).

Nowadays, although there are also well known people in the public eye called Pippa, for instance, the protagonist of the 2009 film *The Private Lives of Pippa Lee* or celebrities such as Pippa Scott (an American actress) and sportswomen like Pippa Funnell (a British equestrian), the major influence comes from Pippa Middleton, Prince William’s sister-in-law. At the time participants responded to this questionnaire, Kate Middleton’s sister was already well-known. T. Abraham (2011) claimed

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<sup>41</sup> “My mum spoils me”.

<sup>42</sup> “I love my mum”.

that, under the influence of this new celebrity, the full name Philippa and Pippa as a pet form or even as an independent name have become top 1 in the top list of hot baby names.

Figures 7.13 and 7.14 illustrate the factors explored above based on the comments provided by the informants in our study.

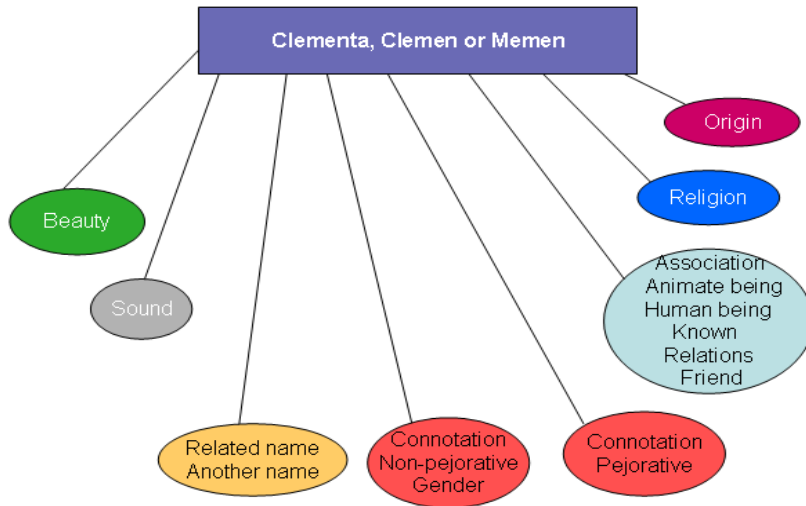


Figure 7.13. Factors based on the participants' comments about Clementa, Clemen or Memen in the metropolitan district of Murcia

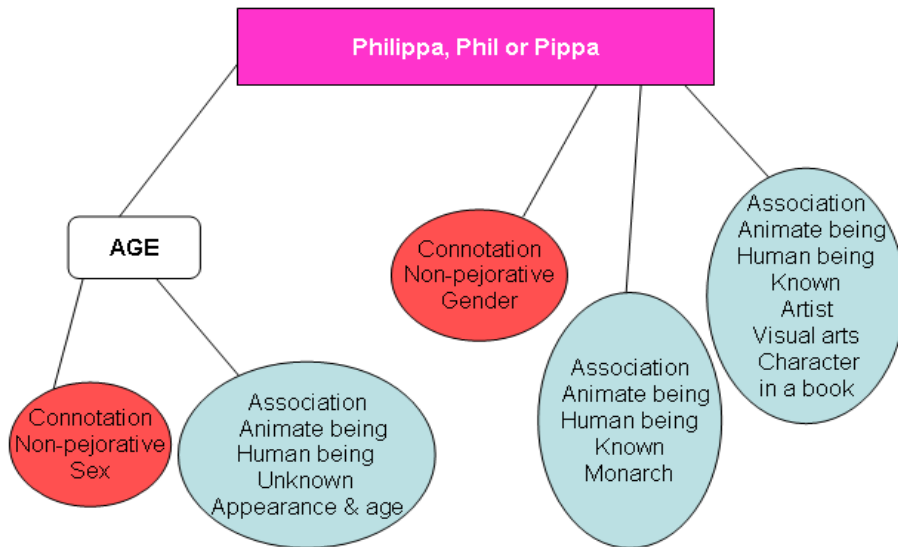


Figure 7.14. Factors based on the participants' comments about Philippa, Phil or Pippa in the metropolitan district of Leeds

- Francisco, Fran, Paco or other vs. William, Will, Bill or other

Tables 7.12 and 7.13 reflect that respondents from the two metropolitan districts share reactions across age groups in some cases but not in others. The preferred forms amongst the youngest participants are, surprisingly, Paco in Murcia and pedanías and, as expected, Will in Leeds and surrounding towns. Nonetheless, the tendency is more pronounced in Britain. Whereas almost three quarters of the 25-40 year-old participants selected Will, only half opted for Paco. It seems that in Spain the other shortened form, Fran, is also accepted by a large ratio of respondents from this age group (almost 32%) but in England Bill is not an option within the 25-40 age group. Being known as Bill appears to be almost lost by the youngest generation, with as little as around 6% endorsement, which consequently increases the use of William in full but, especially, that of Will. The older the respondent, the less Paco and Will are chosen (with the support of not even 2 out of 10 participants within the 61-80 age group). The percentages are quite balanced amongst the different name forms in the middle-aged group in both metropolitan districts. The forms whose ratio excel are Will, as in the case of the youngest respondents, and Fran. Finally, it is important to note that in both countries around half of the oldest participants prefer to use full names: Francisco and William and, curiously, a similar percentage of selection of the form Bill is found amongst 41-60 and 61-80 year-old informants.

Table 7.12. Preference for Francisco, Fran, Paco or other in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Murcia

			Age		
			25-40 years old	41-60 years old	61-80+ years old
prefer (age)- Francisco, Fran, Paco or other?	Francisco	Count	12	23	32
		% within Age	16.7%	3.3%	45.1%
	Fran	Count	23	32	26
		% within Age	31.9%	42.1%	36.6%
	Paco	Count	36	21	13
		% within Age	50.0%	27.6%	18.3%
	Other: Paquito	Count	1	0	0
		% within Age	1.4%	.0%	.0%
	Total	Count	72	76	71
		% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%



Table 7.13. Preference for William, Will, Bill or other in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Leeds

		Age			
		25-40 years old	41-60 years old	61-80+ years old	
prefer (age)- William, Will, Bill or other?	William	Count	14	23	34
		% within Age	21.2%	31.1%	51.5%
	Will	Count	48	30	10
		% within Age	72.7%	40.5%	15.2%
	Bill	Count	4	21	22
		% within Age	6.1%	28.4%	33.3%
Total	Count	66	74	66	
	% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Pearson's chi-square test exhibits that for both groups of names the relationship between the variables age and preference for a particular name form is statistically significant at an alpha value of .05 ( $\chi^2=24.425$ ;  $df=6$   $p=.000$  in the case of Francisco, Fran, Paco or other and  $\chi^2=47.237$ ;  $df=4$ ,  $p=.000$  for William, Will, Bill or other). Hence, age seems to contribute to explain the respondent's selection of a given name form in the case of these particular forenames. Cramer's V shows that the degree of intensity in the association between the two variables is .236 for Francisco and others and .339 for William and the rest. Thus, the association is low for both groups. The value of the Uncertainty coefficient indicates that the error committed when trying to predict the extent to which preference for these two name groups can be "explained"

by age would be 5% and 12% for Francisco, Fran, Paco or other and William, Will, Bill and other, respectively.

In the metropolitan district of Murcia two informants over 60 (in fact, they were around 80 years old) chose different name forms. Participant 90 favoured Paco whereas participant 101 preferred Fran. They both said: “Paco me recuerda al general y dictador Francisco Franco”<sup>43</sup>. This leads us to think that, at the time of the Civil War (it must be borne in mind that they were already alive at that moment), they served with or had relatives who supported different sides: either Nationalists or Republicans, respectively. Moreover, they lived under Franco’s dictatorship and their attitudes towards it seem to have been different. As explained by Tusell (1998-1999), Franco was the head of state from 1936 to 1975. He defended the interests of the Catholic Church. Afterwards, democracy was established with Adolfo Suárez. Albaigès (1998, p. 113, our own translation) pointed out that “politics has always been an inspiring source of anthoponims”.

In the municipal district of Leeds two female informants (participants 37 & 116) stated: “I prefer Will or William; I like their sound better”. Thus, it would be recommendable to determine whether there is a connection between gender and preference for a particular name form in this case.

The chi-square test reveals that indeed a statistically significant relationship exists between these two variables at a critical level of .05 ( $\chi^2=9.072$ ;  $df=2$ ;  $p=.011$ ). Cramer’s V shows that the degree of strength in the association is .210, that is, the association is low. The value of the Uncertainty coefficient indicates that, when considering the grouping variable in the prediction of the criterion variable, the error made would merely be 2%. Lieberson and Mikelson (1995) found a strong link

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<sup>43</sup> “Paco reminds me of the Spanish general and dictator Francisco Franco”.

between phonological trends in names and their bearer's gender although a definite explanation cannot be provided yet. Women are attracted towards a pleasant sound in a name (we must note that these two informants said they opted for Will because this form had a better sound) maybe in connection with the fact that "the relationship between music and the woman is as old as human history" (Silva, 2007, p. 229). Men thought music was linked to the body, feelings and desire and, as a result, with femininity.

Table 7.14 reports that the female rate of choice of William and Will is higher than for Bill (around 25% higher), in other words, the contrast between the choice of William/Will and that of Bill is marked in the female gender. Actually, around 4 out of 10 women favoured Bill whereas around 70% chose William and Will.

These results could be explained by the fact that the starting consonant in Will and William, the preferred forms for women, is a sonorant, in particular, an approximant in terms of manner of articulation whereas for Bill the initial consonant is an obstruent, in particular, a plosive, which supports Kawahara's findings (2012) that in male names obstruents appear more often than in female names in English. Moreover, nowadays more female names are found to start and end with a vowel (Liebersen & Bell, 1992; S.K. Wright et al., 2005). It must be borne in mind that /w/ is a semivowel, which is phonetically similar to a vowel sound although it functions as a syllable boundary rather than as the nucleus of the syllable. The softness of vowels and semivowels (the airflow finds no blockage when the vowel is going to be pronounced) is opposed to the roughness of plosives (complete blockage). The use of vowels for women's names shows that they want a carer, a provider, not a man with much testosterone (Cowen, 2004). As an anecdote and in relation to this point, men and women have different reasons for listening to music. Thus, "women tend to use it in order to console themselves

when sad and men listen to it as a means of encouragement or so as to feel prouder of themselves” (Silva, 2007, p. 238, our own translation). The stereotypes are slow love music for girls and rock and heavy metal for boys. Pop is more popular for women. It is more feminine and delicate.

Table 7.14. Preference for William, Will, Bill or other in terms of gender in the metropolitan district of Leeds

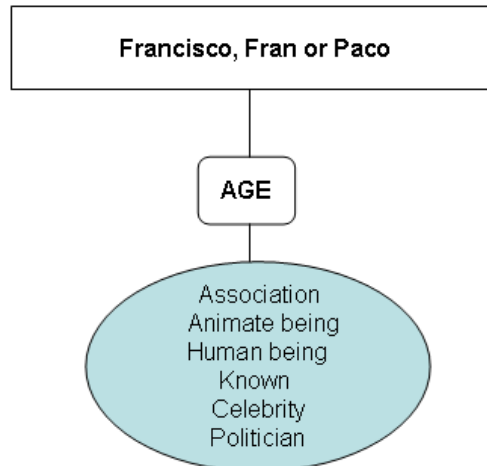
			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
prefer (age)- William, Will, Bill or other?	William	Count	21	50	71
		% within prefer (age)- William, Will, Bill or other?	29.6%	70.4%	100.0%
	Will	Count	29	59	88
		% within prefer (age)- William, Will, Bill or other?	33.0%	67.0%	100.0%
	Bill	Count	26	21	47
		% within prefer (age)- William, Will, Bill or other?	55.3%	44.7%	100.0%

As displayed in Table 7.15, the three respondents who had Scottish origin only chose the option of Bill. This makes sense in that the Scottish *Uilleam* has Bill as a hypocorism used together with *Billie* or *Willie* (RampantScotland, n.d.) (the options proposed in this study are not considered). Bill Clinton, for instance, has Scottish origin.

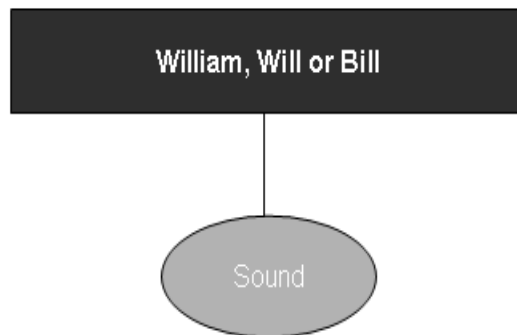
Table 7.15. Preference for William, Will, Bill or other by participants of Scottish origin

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Bill	3	100.0

Figures 7.15 and 7.16 show the factors examined above based on the observations made by our respondents.



7.15. Factors based on the participants' comments about Francisco, Fran or Paco in the metropolitan district of Murcia



7.16. Factors based on the participants' comments about William, Will or Bill in the metropolitan district of Leeds

- Norberto, Bertín or other vs. Philip, Pip or other

The chi-square test reveals that for both groups of names there is a statistically significant association between age and preference for a given name form ( $\chi^2=11.843$ ;  $df=2$  in the case of Norberto, Bertín or other and  $\chi^2=15.315$ ;  $df=4$ , with  $p=.003$  for the former and  $p=.004$  for the latter). The degree of intensity in the relationship between the two variables is .233 for Norberto and Bertín and .193 for Philip and others, which reveals a low association -in the latter, to be exact, it is very close to low if Bisquerra's interpretation of correlation coefficients (1989) is considered. The error committed when trying to predict the extent to which the independent variable could account for the dependent variable would be 4% for the Spanish group of name forms and 13% for the English group. Therefore, the differences amongst age groups in terms of preferences in the case of these name groups are statistically significant in both municipal districts.

As can be seen in Figures 7.17 and 7.18, the younger the informant, the more the pet forms Bertín and Pip were singled out. Notwithstanding, in Britain there was a strong preference for Philip amongst respondents from all ages (with a minimum of 8 out of 10 supporters in each age group) whereas in Spain young and old informants, in a similar ratio (around 65%), favoured Bertín and Norberto, respectively. Another salient point is that in Murcia and pedanías both name forms have an equal percentage amongst the middle-aged. Figures 7.19 and 7.20, which reflect the general tendencies of informants towards the different name forms irrespective of age, further support these results.

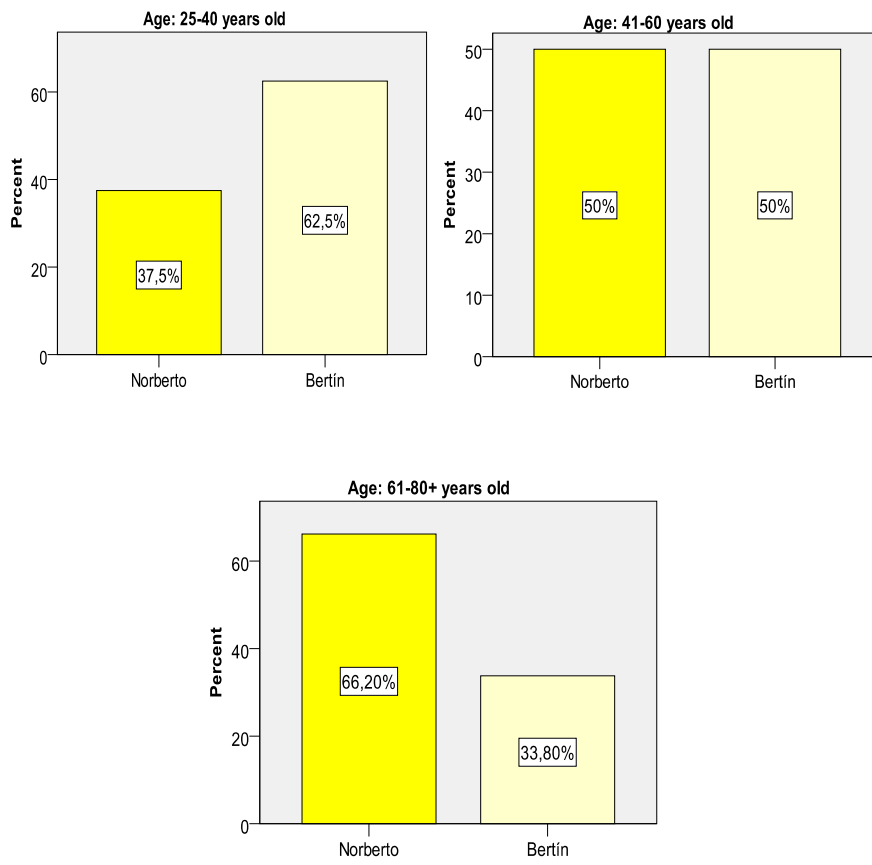


Figure 7.17. Preference for Norberto, Bertín or other in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Murcia

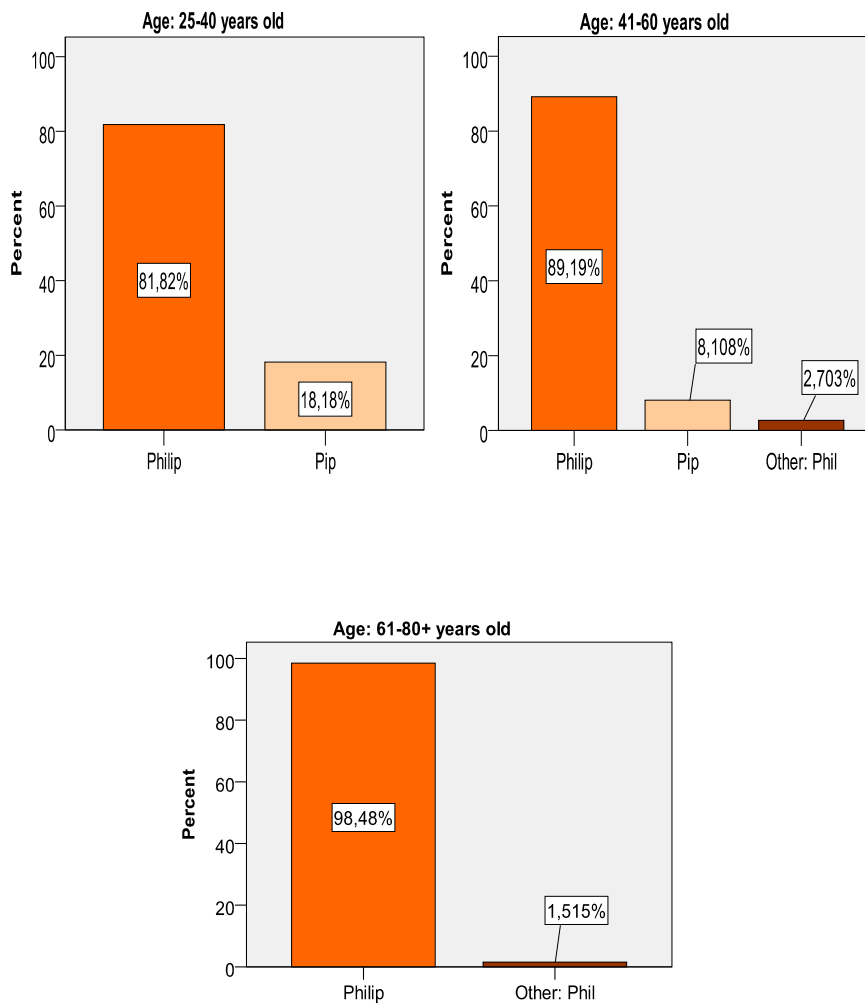


Figure 7.18. Preference for Philip, Pip or other in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Leeds



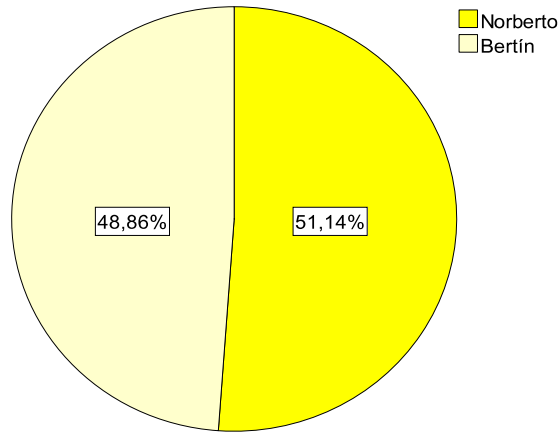


Figure 7.19. Overall preference for Norberto, Bertin or other in the metropolitan district of Murcia

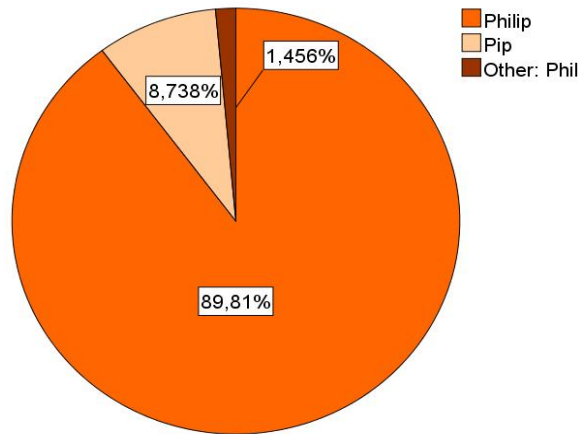


Figure 7.20. Overall preference for Philip, Pip or other in the metropolitan district of Leeds

The tendency towards the shorter form on the part of young informants may be elucidated by certain comments. In the case of the metropolitan district of Murcia, 25 year-old participant 121, for example, stated: “Norberto me recuerda a un abuelete”<sup>44</sup>. It must be remembered that Marouzeau (1950) maintained that associations attached to words

<sup>44</sup> “Norberto reminds me of an old man”.

often have an influence on the impression the word or its sound make on us. In this case, the associations are not with a specific known person but in general terms and they refer to the person's age: grandparents personify an abstract idea, that of age, in that they are usually old. The grandparent may offer the prototype of old people as "the best example of a category" (Mairal et al., 2012). On the other hand, the fact that the respondent employs the *-ete* suffix, rather than sounding despective (Ullmann, 1978) in this case, sounds funny (Real Academia Española, 2010), and fun is something searched out by the younger generation. The origin of this suffix is *-ette*, from French, which implies smallness (e.g. *Annette*, from *Anne*) (Ullmann, 1971) and, in turn, a young age because, physically, the youngest (children being the youngest people par excellence), are the smallest in size.

Some respondents from the middle-aged and eldest group in the municipal district of Murcia, e.g. participant 217, said: "me gusta Bertín porque me recuerda a Bertín Osborne"<sup>45</sup>, a celebrity (a T.V. presenter & singer) who was at the height of his fame in the 1970s. Hargreaves et al. (1983) mentioned people sometimes choose to name their children after media celebrities. The media, which influence millions of people, also affect the choice of forenames.

A 25-40 year-old respondent in the metropolitan district of Leeds (participant 32) acknowledged she would only use Philip "when in trouble". Milroy (1987, p. 85) stated that the person must know "how to speak on each occasion", how to transmit and understand meanings of humour, seriousness, politeness, etc. What the respondent is commenting on is that when the person is in trouble, that is, when the addresser is addressing him in anger, for instance, the affection usually attached to using nicknames (de Klerk & Bosch, 1997) may be lost. This is a common

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<sup>45</sup> "I like Bertín because it reminds me of Bertín Osborne"

situation between parents and their children, usually when the children are young.

Several young informants (e.g. participant 131) who like the form Pip mentioned that “Pip is a funny name. It reminds me of the main character in one of Dickens’ novels and it seems like a name people might give to a small dog”. According to the Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2007), the form Pip is a homonym of the common noun *pip*, meaning “one of the small seeds of a fruit such as an apple or an orange” and “a short high sound, especially one of a series” (p. 1975). The emphasis on a high sound and smallness relates to the biological nature of children, whose voices are high-pitched. Hinton et al. (1994) drew the biological link between high pitch and smallness and low pitch and largeness. In order to articulate [I] or [i], our mouth openings are small. It can be implied from Jespersen (1922) that sound symbolism of /i/ may be linked to the tendency of children to add /i/ at the end of words and the language used by nurses or mothers. Hence, Pip may evoke tininess and, in accordance with this, young age, thus resulting in attracting young people.

The connection between /i/ and tininess suggested above gives sense to the idea that Pip is a funny name, as observed by participant 131. Having fun is something typical of children and the younger generation’s lifestyle and thus considering a name playful is something positive, supporting Ohala’s comment (1994) that with high-pitched sounds there is a desire to make the receiver feel good.

The association between Pip and a small dog may also be linked to the idea of tininess (although, of course, not all dogs are small, but those which are tend to have names in concordance with their size and the depth of their barks, e.g. *Tití* vs. *Beethoven*). The comment that Pip sounds like a small dog’s name also agrees with Ohala’s remark (1984) that high-pitched sounds typically come from less-threatening beings and,

in this case, a dog called Pip does not sound like a threatening dog, with sharp teeth. Taking into account that the role of dogs has changed and now they are family members, even compared to children (they need attention, cares, etc.), rather than working partners (Slovenko, 1983; Albaigès, 1998), the affection developed between the owner and the dog results in names which evoke this kind of feeling, hence /i/ is a common vowel in such names (Morera, 1991). Moreover, as maintained by Albaigès (1998), in order for a dog to be able to recognise its name, this should be short and easy to pronounce and Pip meets these requirements. In addition, as mentioned before, the name under discussion, Pip, sounds funny and some people may think it is not a serious name for a human being, who is considered to be higher on the Great Chain of Being (K. Thomas, 1993).

The main character in one of Dickens' novels participant 131 is referring to is Pip in *Great Expectations*. Although Pip becomes a young man of over thirty in the novel, the strongest association in readers may still be that of a child. Pip gave himself this shortened form because he could not pronounce his full name, Philip. The fact is that literature has become a source of inspiration for names (Hanks et al., 2006). In particular, Dickens was an inspiring writer. The name *Oliver* became popularised in England by Dickens' *Oliver Twist* in the last decades (Dunkling, 1977) and the name *Sidney* also became popular in the early nineteenth century, according to Hanks and Hodges (1990), due to the character of Sidney Carton from Dickens's novel *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859). The naughtiness of the character, Pip, may hint at the tininess and fun suggested before.

As for the sound symbolism in other characters in *Great Expectations*, for example, the name *Joe* is also simple and monosyllabic and it may reflect the intense relationship between these two characters as

Pip has similar characteristics in this sense. The name of *Orlick*, a villain in the story, carries connotations of ‘greasy’ in its last part, *lick* and, in our view, the presence of /r/ before /l/ conveys a sense of unpleasantness, as in the case of /rd/ (*mierda, gordo, burdo*, etc.) (Monroy, 2001). Another type of symbolism, not phonetic but semantic, is found in the name *Estella*, which means ‘star’, suggesting her being out of Pip’s reach. In fact, as a child, she is always climbing things.

It is likely that the name form Bertín has not triggered comments arising out of its sound symbolism because in the case of Bertín Osborne in Spain, the sense of smallness achieved by means of the addition of /in/ is at odds with this celebrity’s manhood. However, if we consider this carefully, the fact that he used to be an attractive flirt may be intensified with the playful /in/ ending, so maybe the name is a strategy to attract the audience’s attention. Many actors and actresses may adopt new names (name and/or surname) different from those their parents chose, e.g. *Frank Cooper* became *Gary Cooper* in order to sound more glamorous and attract the audience’s attention (Dunkling, 1977).

Several respondents from the three age groups in Murcia and the surrounding area compare Norberto and Bertín in terms of their beauty: “Bertín es más bonito; Norberto es un nombre feo”<sup>46</sup> (e.g. participant 23). The general tendency towards Philip on the part of English participants is supported by comments made by many of the respondents, irrespective of age, who also underline the fact that “Philip is a more beautiful name” (e.g. participant 143). It would seem that the idea of finding more beauty in Philip and Bertín could lead us to conclude that beauty is both subjective and objective in a sense: it depends on each person’s reaction, as the sophists said (the object is not beautiful in itself), but the objectivity claimed by Plato (Tatarkiewicz, 1987) can also be found in that many people in this case share the same view regarding both groups of names.

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<sup>46</sup> “Bertín is more beautiful; Norberto is an ugly name”.

It is worth highlighting that the informants who mentioned the idea of beauty in the two metropolitan districts and that of association with Bertín Osborne in Spain are women. This suggests that the deep attachment of the female gender to aesthetic pleasure (Gil, 2007), in which they have always been interested (Tailleffer de Haya, 2007), and the world of celebrities and gossip is not just a stereotype but a reality in the female nature or, at least, an idea they express in their spontaneous comments. Many women resist the passing of time and want to remain beautiful and young, which suggests the influence of a male chauvinistic ideology. The fact that the celebrity is a man contributes to the attraction towards women. The respondents talking about Bertín were housewives, which makes sense in that housewives usually have more access to getting to know and enjoy celebrities through the media.

Other informants, e.g. participant 67, said: “Prefiero Bertín porque es más amanso, más fácil de decir”<sup>47</sup>. Lemieux (2005) referred to the preference for simple names. The fact that it is males who make this comment supports the widely accepted stereotype that men are practical and they avoid complexity. In fact, Tusón (1988) and Martín-Rojo (1996) highlighted the stereotype that women are difficult to understand.

One of the respondents in Leeds and the surrounding district, participant 168, stated that “the name of Pip is like working class to me”. We think that the idea of tininess and non-threatening nature found in Pip and commented on previously may be related to this remark. In a sense the working class may be considered to be weaker, tinier and less threatening than the stronger upper class. As claimed by Marwick (1965, p. 300), “Britain was still, as it is today, very much a class-conscious society”. The sense of rigid social class barriers was even stronger in Victorian England, in which the novel *Great Expectations* was set, and it

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<sup>47</sup> “I prefer Bertín since it is handier, easier to say”.

seems that Pip, the main character, is caught in the same dilemma as our participant. Pip undergoes a dramatic change throughout the book: from a poor little boy, he becomes a rich gentleman. Given that his way of life has changed, his name also evolves:

I want to be a gentleman (...) I am not at all happy as I am.  
I am disgusted with my calling and with my life (Dickens, 1991, p.  
120).

Pip's "great expectations" belittle the name he himself chose. It is too simple (only three letters and even spelled the same forwards and backwards), which undermines the greatness and complex personality he possesses now. Note the word *pipsqueak*, which refers to someone who is insignificant. Denis (1984) highlighted the habit of giving several names to upper class children in England. This may suggest that length contributes to upper class connotations. At the end of the novel Pip loses his fortune. After being corrupted by the fake charm of power and wealth, he learns the value of pure feelings such as friendship (Roberts, 2009). We could surmise two possibilities: either that the informant was thinking about the character of Pip and the novel itself when making the comment or that both the respondent's and Pip's observations about social class are independent and the result of perceiving the suggestions of sound symbolism.

It can be seen that Dickens' novels criticise social class hierarchies. In *Great Expectations* we realise he puts a considerable effort into inventing the names of the characters because they highlight important aspects of their personality and lives (Roberts, 2009). The saying "what you call yourself can determine your fate" can be applied to this book. Maybe the intention of Dickens by using the simplicity of the pet form Pip was, more than suggesting childishness and a low social class, to reflect innocence and true feelings, thus removing the connotations of self-interest and falseness which pervaded the higher

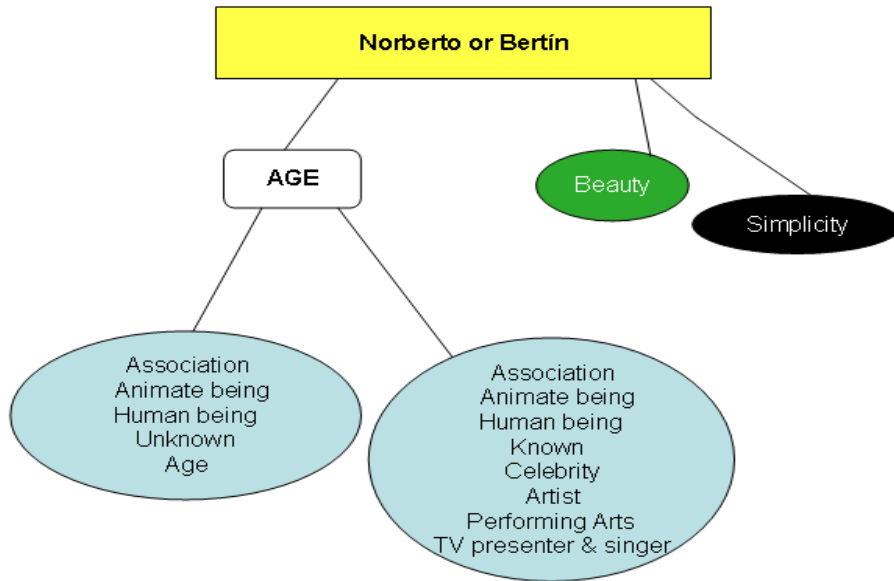
social circles. Indeed, this innocence is part of his true self and, as such, Pip should not dispose of it, as recommended by everyone around him. The name Pip really matches the character in the book if we focus on the definition of the common name *pip* as explained above: the growth as well as maturity of both the seed and the person.

In the metropolitan district of Murcia Bertín does not trigger comments related to social class. However, as commented by Morera (1991), the *-ín* suffix was particularly used for the children from the bourgeoisie (e.g. *Andresín*). This seems to apply to the celebrity Bertín Osborne, who comes from a Spanish aristocratic family. The fact that no participant comments on this may convey the idea that, as suggested by Monroy (2008), Spain is not such a class-conscious society as Britain (Marwick, 1965).

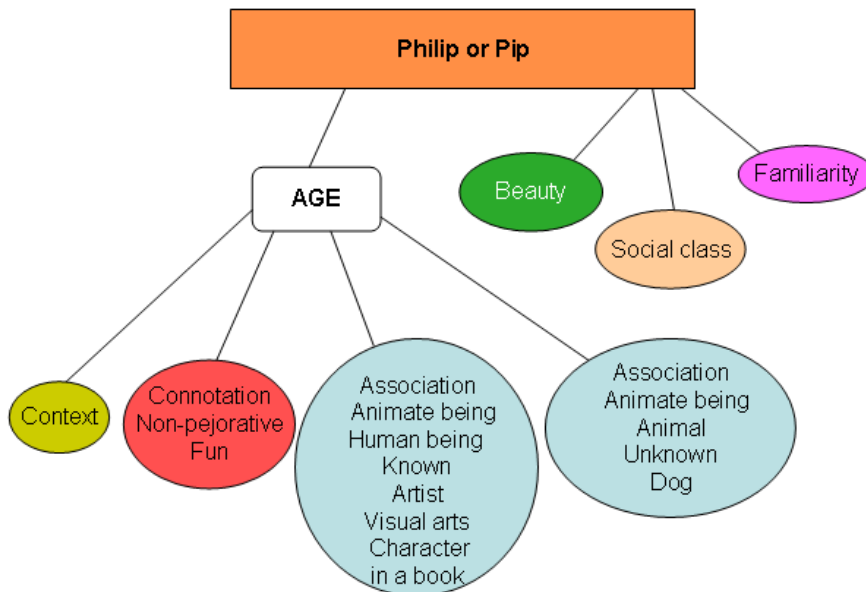
Other respondents, e.g. participant 60, claimed they “have never used Pip”, thus alluding to familiarity or, rather, lack of familiarity in this case. We are able to recall the appropriate semantic information about a familiar person or object on seeing its written or hearing its spoken name (Valentine & Ferrara, 1991). We are of the opinion that, although in the cases of Pip and Pippa there are respondents who made reference to literature, for some participants present-day T.V. celebrities make a name more familiar than a work of literature, despite *Great Expectations* being a classic which has stood the test of time and appealed to generation after generation of readers due to the relevant topics and feelings it deals with, which are in today’s society as well: survival, hard work, self-discovery, loneliness, alienation, ambition, love, etc. Such seems to be the fondness for T.V. celebrities that the name Bertín receives support despite the T.V. presenter and singer Bertín Osborne embodying the Romeo figure of sexist ideology.



Figures 7.21 and 7.22 record the factors previously explored based on the comments our informants made.



7.21. Factors based on the participants' comments about Norberto or Bertín in the metropolitan district of Murcia



7.22. Factors based on the participants' comments about Philip or Pip in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Figures 7.23 and 7.24 show that, in general terms, in both the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds the younger the participant, the higher the rate of shortened, changed or lengthened forms and the older the respondent, the larger the percentage of selection of the full name. Whereas within the youngest generation group shortened/changed/lengthened name forms prevail in most name groups, the oldest generation shows a majority of selection of full names among the different name groups. As Hays (1984) observed, young people share affection and ideas with their friends to a greater extent than adults. In the 41-60 year-old range there is an in-between position, that is, a roughly similar degree of preference for shortened/changed/lengthened forms and full names in a considerable number of cases.

For all name groups in the two countries a statistically significant association is found between age and preference for either the full name or a shortened, changed or lengthened form ( $\chi^2=23.096$ ;  $df=2$  with  $p=.000$  for Victoria and others in Spain,  $\chi^2=16.656$ ;  $df=2$  with  $p=.000$  in the case of Victoria and others in England,  $\chi^2=8.700$ ;  $df=2$  with  $p=.013$  for María, Maruja or other,  $\chi^2=10.502$ ;  $df=2$  with  $p=.005$  in the case of Virginia, Ginger or other,  $\chi^2=18.245$ ;  $df=2$   $p$  being  $.000$  for Clementa and others,  $\chi^2=13.472$ ;  $df=2$  with  $p=.001$  for Philippa and others,  $\chi^2=13.588$ ;  $df=2$  with  $p=.001$  in the case of Francisco, Fran, Paco or other,  $\chi^2=14.002$ ;  $df=2$  with  $p=.001$   $p$  being  $.001$  for William, Will, Bill or other and, finally,  $\chi^2=11.843$ ;  $df=2$  with  $p=.003$  for Norberto, Bertín or other and  $\chi^2=10.061$   $df=2$  with  $p=.007$  in the case of Philip, Pip or other).

Although age seems to be related to the preference either for the full name or a shortened, changed or lengthened form, the factors previously explored which arise from the comments provided by the respondents may also have a bearing on the extent to which one form is chosen over another in the case of a given name group. In all age groups

there is a prevalence of María in the metropolitan district of Murcia and Virginia as well as Philip in the municipal district of Leeds. It should be noted that in Murcia and its surrounds, unlike Leeds and the surrounding areas, if the shortened/changed/lengthened forms are preferred up to the age of 60, there is also a tendency for them to be preferred in the oldest age group, as in the case of Clemen/Memen/Clem and Fran/Paco/Paquito. This could explain why in Spain there is a stronger inclination towards selecting shortened/changed/lengthened forms, although there is not a very marked difference with England. Specific individual taste may also play a role in the choice. For instance, certain informants (e.g. participant 71 in Leeds and its surrounds) underlined the following idea: “All people shorten the names but I do not like shortenings”.

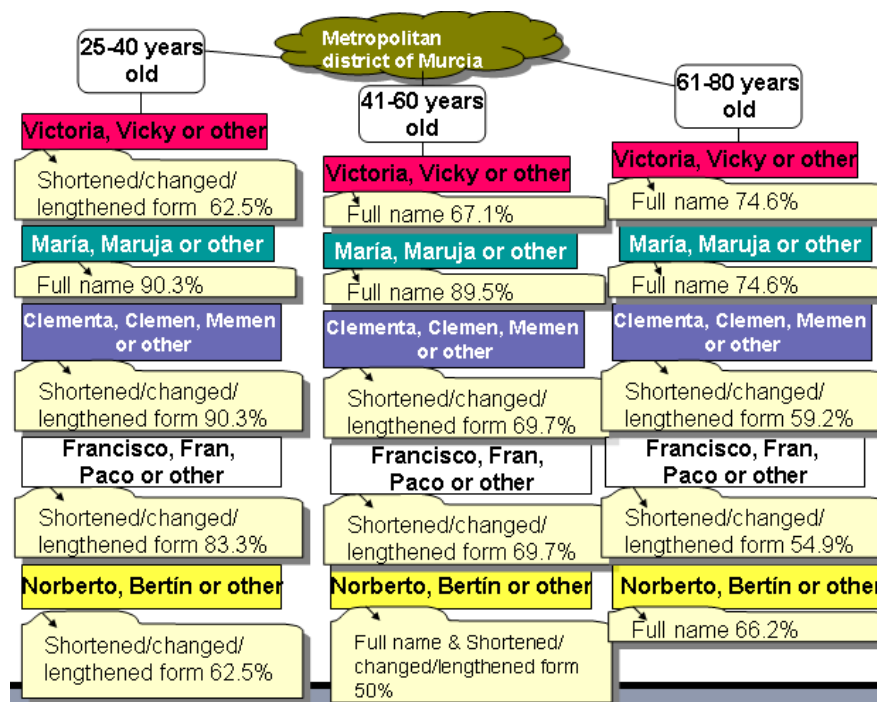


Figure 7.23. Preference (in view of a higher percentage of choice) either of a shortened/changed/lengthened form or the full name in each name group in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Murcia

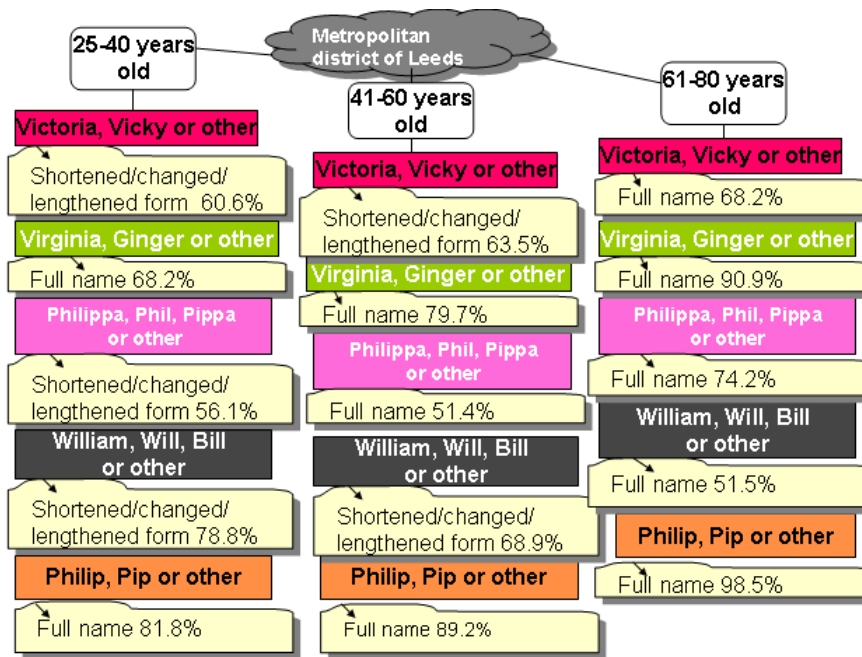


Figure 7.24. Preference (in view of a higher percentage of choice) either of a shortened/changed/lengthened form or the full name in each name group in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Figures 7.25 and 7.26 exhibit that in each pair of name groups (either in English or Spanish) there is always an additional name form proposed by an informant. It is important to note that when the hypocorism is added by a respondent living in the metropolitan district of Murcia, there is usually no addition on the part of a participant living in the municipal district of Leeds. The number of name forms added is either one or two maximum in each case. If we look at the number of shortened/changed/lengthened forms added and respondents proposing them, the metropolitan district of Leeds outnumbers that in Murcia (5 name forms in England vs. 2 name forms in Spain and 14 participants in England vs. 2 in Spain). All the participants adding names in the municipal district of Murcia are men whereas in Leeds and surrounding towns they are women, irrespective of whether they are referring to male

or female names. This need to let their imagination run wild posits the idea of a strong-willed and liberal British woman who fights repression and is in favour of freedom (del Baas, 2011).

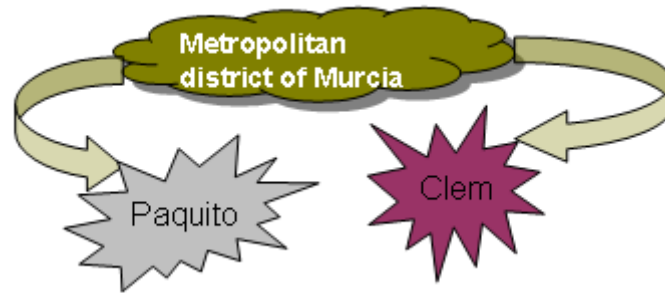


Figure 7.25. Shortened/changed/lengthened forms added by the participants in the metropolitan district of Murcia

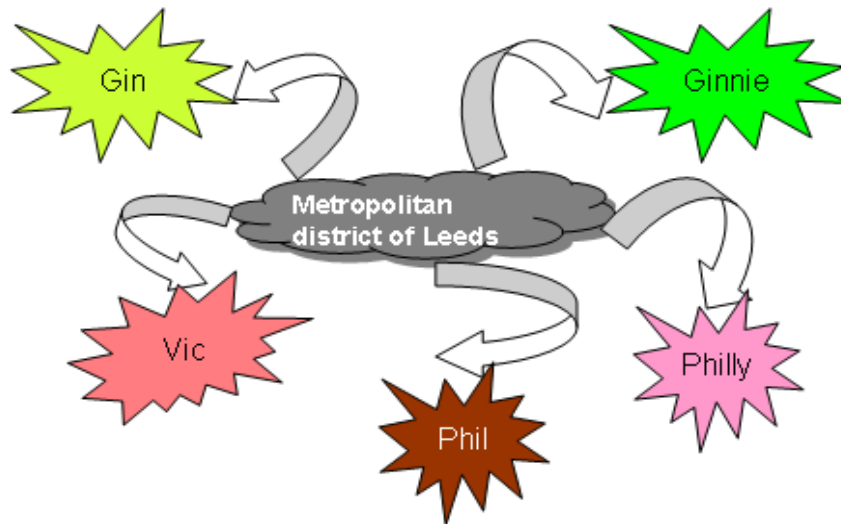


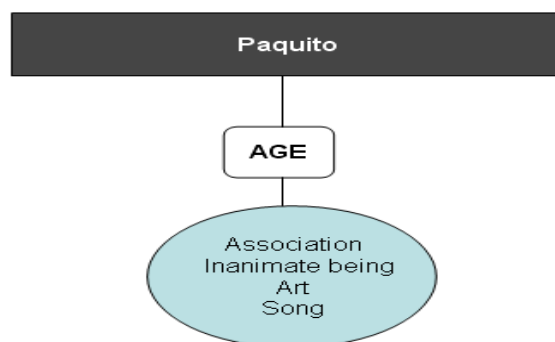
Figure 7.26. Shortened/changed/lengthened forms added by the participants in the metropolitan district of Leeds

A 25-40 year-old Spanish male informant, participant 109, added the pet form Paquito and made the following observation: “Nos recuerda a Paquito ‘el chocolatero’”<sup>48</sup>. The use of a plural pronoun in the comment suggests a funny form of address amongst friends. Names with the –ito

<sup>48</sup> “It reminds us of ‘Paquito el chocolatero’”.

suffix are often used for children (Arboleda, 2015). As stated before when referring to Pip, having fun is something characteristic of children as well as the young generation's lifestyle and the presence of /i/ seems to contribute to this sense of fun and the idea of tininess and youth. *Paquico* would possibly sound more Murcian but it was not this participant's choice maybe because the association with *El chocolatero* is Paquito and not *Paquico*.

Hargreaves et al. (1983) mentioned that association with music is another reason for choosing a name. *Paquito el chocolatero* is a very popular paso doble composed by Gustavo Pascual Falcó, a musician from Alicante, in Spain. Despite being written in 1937, it is still very popular in local festivals, especially those in the south-east of Spain (Valencia, Alicante and Murcia). It should be noted that this respondent lives in the metropolitan district of Murcia, specifically, the pedanías, which tend to celebrate these local festivals much more intensely and enthusiastically. As stated by Muñoz (2008, para. 1, emphasis in original, our own translation), "*Paquito el chocolatero* is the King", referring to its being number one in musical pieces performed live in 2007, according to the SGAE. There have been modern remakes of this paso doble such as that by King Africa, which have contributed to its increased popularity (see Figure 7.27).



7.27. Factors based on the participants' comments related to Paquito in the metropolitan district of Murcia

In both the municipal districts of Murcia and Leeds the overall number of factors arising out of the respondents' comments regarding each of the name groups is quite similar (27 factors in Spain vs. 26 in England, taking into account that the same factor may be repeated in different names and it would be counted as many times as it appears). In Murcia and surrounding areas the name groups which receive more remarks on the part of informants are María, Maruja or other and Clementa, Clemen, Memen or other. In Leeds and districts, however, they are other name groups: Victoria, Vicky or other and Philip, Pip or other. In both Murcia and its surrounds and Leeds and districts comments attached to a given age group are found. The only exception is the Spanish name group Clementa, Clemen, Memen or other and the English one William, Will, Bill or other.

The most recurrent factors arising from the participants' comments in both metropolitan districts among the different name groups are associations with a person, animal or thing, connotations (both pejorative and non-pejorative) and related names (either a nickname, in particular, a shortened/changed/lengthened form, or another name, related to the one in question). All of them are factors which entail several or a wide range of sub-classifications and can be very varied (e.g. Association-Animate being- Human being- Known-Celebrity-Artist-Performing Arts-TV presenter & singer). Maybe the possibility of doing so many classifications of that category is a reflection of its pervasive influence in people's mind and life. The fact that origin is considerably more recurrent among Spanish name groups is also worth mentioning.

The factors in common between each name group (excluding Francisco-Fran-Paco or other and William-Will-Bill or other, which do not have factors in common, possibly due to the limited number of comments elicited) from the two metropolitan districts are shown in

Figures 7.28, 7.29, 7.30 and 7.31<sup>49</sup>. Therefore, only 20% of name groups do not have factors in common. It can be observed that Victoria, Vicky or other is the name group which has more factors in common in the two metropolitan districts and, similarly to the general trend, the most recurrent factor found both in Spanish and English name groups is association. If turning now to those factors in common but with a focus just on those to which a given age is involved, they are not present in 60% of the proposed name groups, that is, 2 out of 6 names have in common factors to which a given age is attached (see Figures 7.32 & 7.33).

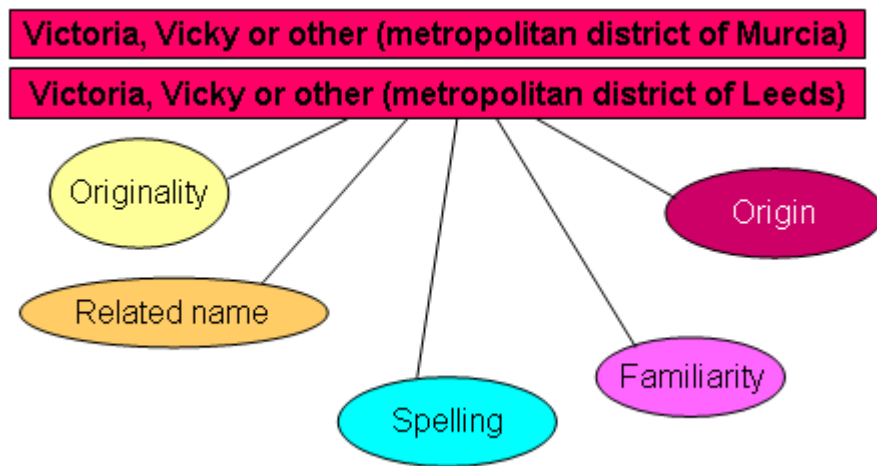


Figure 7.28. Factors in common between Victoria, Vicky or other (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Victoria, Vicky or other (metropolitan district of Leeds) based on the participants' comments

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<sup>49</sup> Just the general label of the factor is paid attention to (e.g. connotation). It is not necessary that the specific label (e.g. non-pejorative- age, within connotation) also coincides in order to be displayed in the figure.



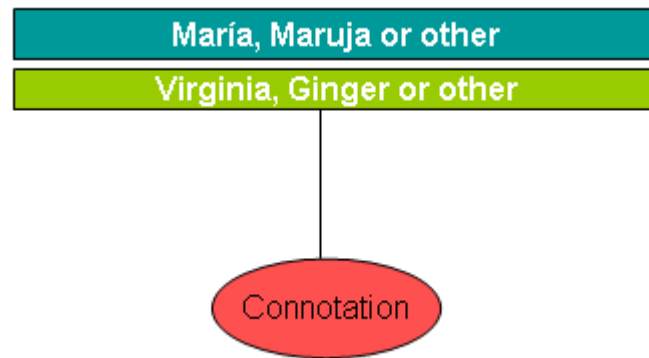


Figure 7.29. Factors in common between María, Maruja or other and Virginia, Ginger or other based on the participants' comments

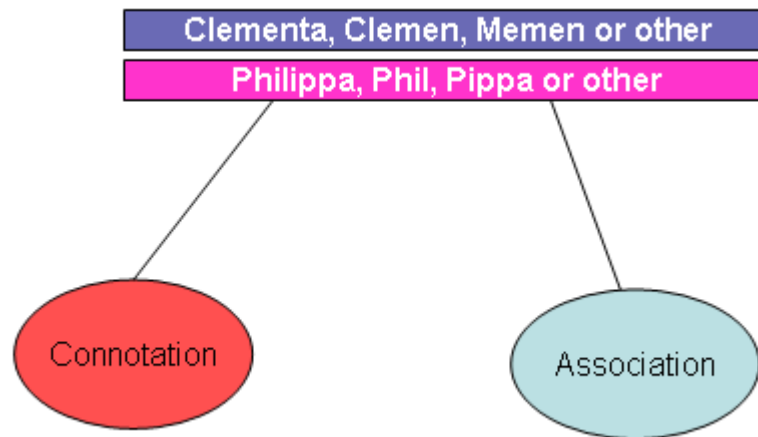


Figure 7.30. Factors in common between Clementa, Clemen, Memen or other and Philippa, Phil, Pippa or other based on the participants' comments

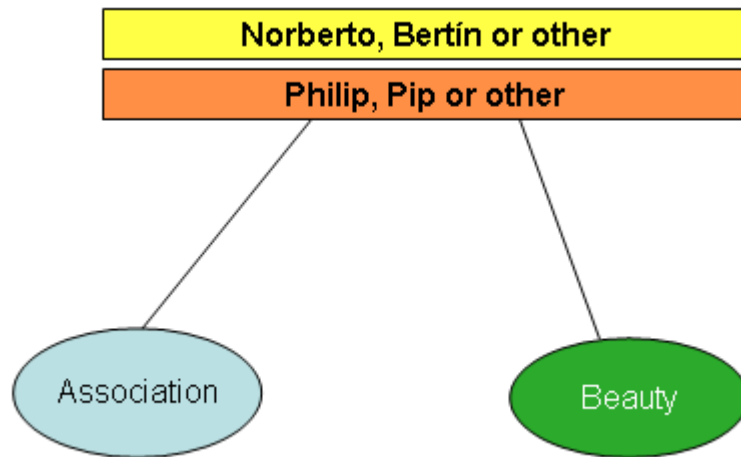


Figure 7.31. Factors in common between Norberto, Bertín or other and Philip, Pip or other based on the participants' comments

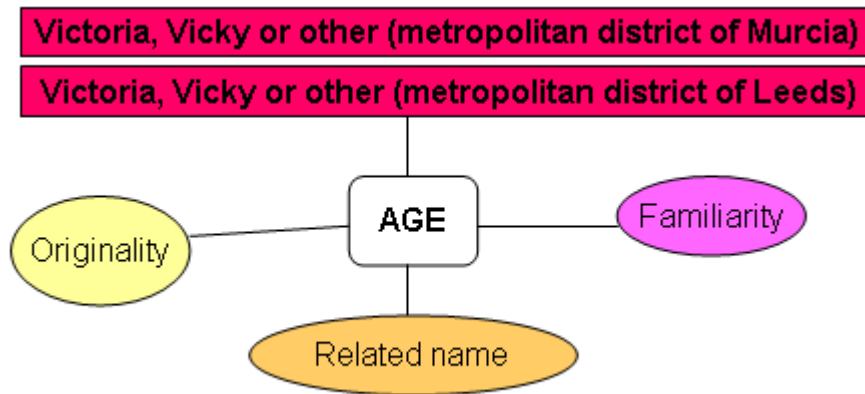


Figure 7.32. Factors in common between Victoria, Vicky or other (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Victoria, Vicky or other (metropolitan district of Leeds) in which age is involved based on the participants' comments

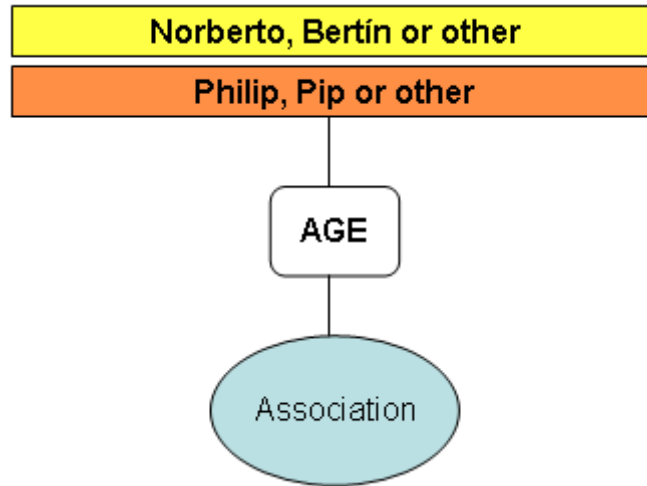


Figure 7.33. Factors in common between Norberto, Bertín or other and Philip, Pip or other in which age is involved based on the participants' comments

B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account

B.1. a) Liking of a particular forename

b) Factors linked to forename liking

If we focus first on female names, starting with the English Tanya and its cognate in Spanish, Tania, it can be seen that the number of people who like it are converse in the two metropolitan districts. Fewer than 4 out of 10 respondents like the sound of the name in Spain. Conversely, a roughly similar ratio dislikes it in Britain (see Figures 7.34 & 7.35).

In the metropolitan district of Leeds Tanya elicits comments related to its origin: "It is like Russian or Ukranian to me" (participant 39). Hanks et al. (2006) confirmed Tanya is a "Russian pet form of Tatiana" (p. 257). Names such as *Olga*, *Tamara*, *Natasha*, *Nikita* or *Maxim* from Russian have been borrowed by the English-speaking countries since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Dunkling, 1977). In contrast, it would seem that lack of familiarity and lack of knowledge are reasons for Tania not to be generally liked in Spain, as surmised from our respondents'

comments: “No me es familiar. ¿Es un acortamiento de Sebastiana?”<sup>50</sup> (participant 67) or “Cuál es el significado de Tania?”<sup>51</sup> (participant 145). Although, nowadays many people do not know the meaning of their name and it is not an important consideration when choosing a name, “we would have gained in understanding (...) and we had cooperated to enrich our language [if taking meaning into account]” (Albaigès, 1993, p. 11, our own translation) (see Figures 7.36 & 7.37 <sup>52</sup> for the factors studied above based on the remarks provided by the respondents in our study).

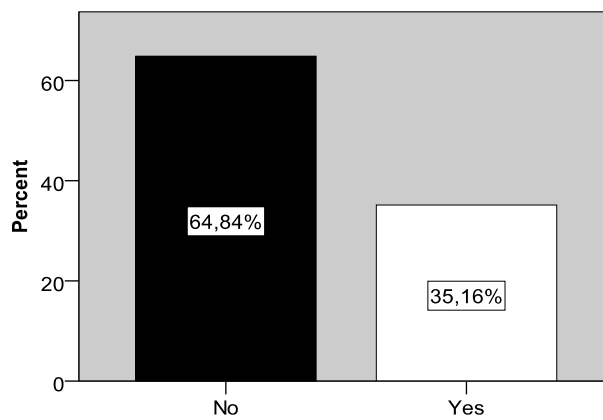


Figure 7.34. Liking of Tania in the metropolitan district of Murcia

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<sup>50</sup> “It is not familiar to me. Is it a shortening of Sebastiana?”

<sup>51</sup> “What’s the meaning of Tania?”

<sup>52</sup> The colours used for forename cognates (e.g. Tania/Tanya; Crispín/Crispin, etc.) in figures will be the same.

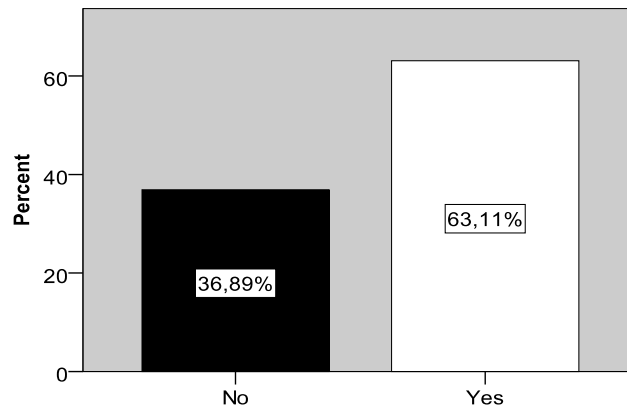


Figure 7.35. Liking of Tanya in the metropolitan district of Leeds

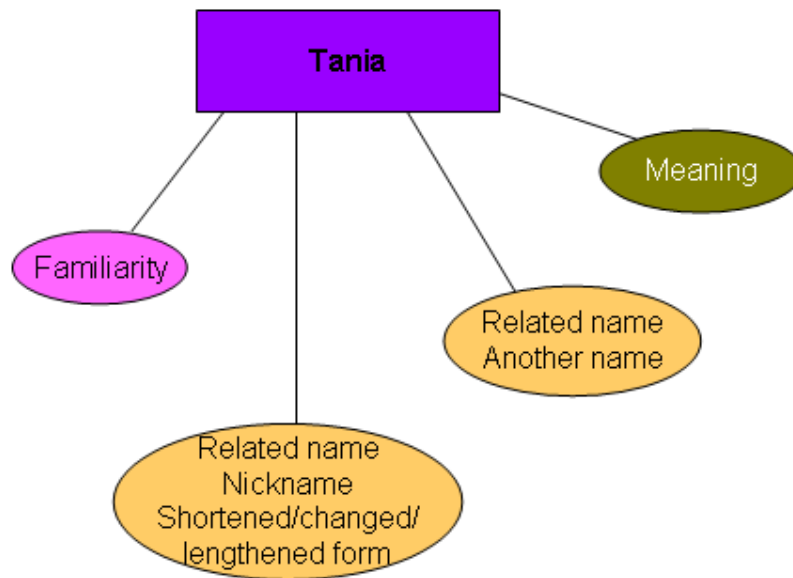


Figure 7.36. Factors based on the participants' comments about Tania in the metropolitan district of Murcia

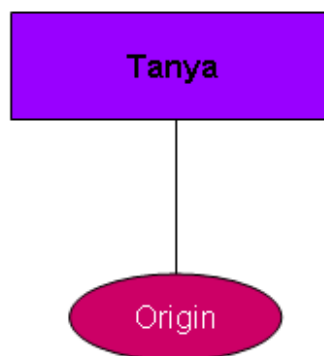


Figure 7.37. Factors based on the participants' comments about Tanya in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Figures 7.38 and 7.39 indicate that whereas for Amanda the number of likes and dislikes is approximately half each in Spain, almost three quarters of participants like Amanda in England.

In both municipal districts Amanda is seen as an old name by some informants (e.g. participant 66 in Murcia and pedanías and participant 98 in Leeds and surrounding towns). As Dunkling (1977) explained, “they are like antique pieces of furniture which (...) speak of a long heritage” (p. 260). In England Hanks et al. (2006) corroborated this view in that this name, from the Latin gerundive: ‘fit to be loved, lovable’, “enjoyed considerable popularity in the mid 20th century” (p. 13). However, according to Faure (2007), Amanda has been becoming fashionable in the last decades in Spain due to English influence. He explains that it is a very common name in the United States. Indeed, as acknowledged by participant 60 in Leeds and its surrounds, Amanda is considered to be “part and parcel of the United Kingdom” and maybe this can be related to the strong liking in this country (see Figures 7.40 & 7.41 for the factors explored above based on the comments made by the informants in our study).

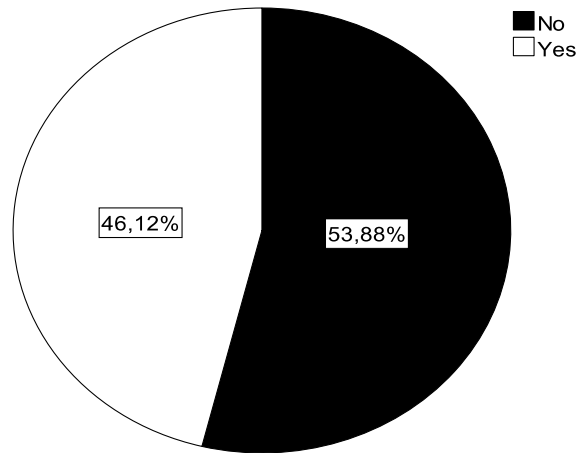


Figure 7.38. Liking of Amanda in the metropolitan district of Murcia

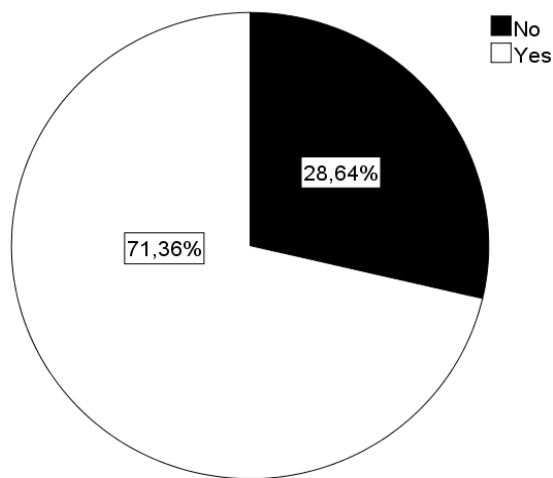


Figure 7.39. Liking of Amanda in the metropolitan district of Leeds

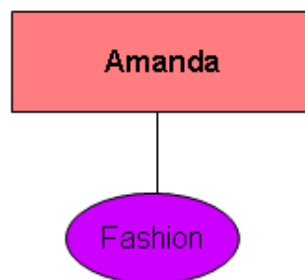


Figure 7.40. Factors based on the participants' comments about Amanda in the metropolitan district of Murcia

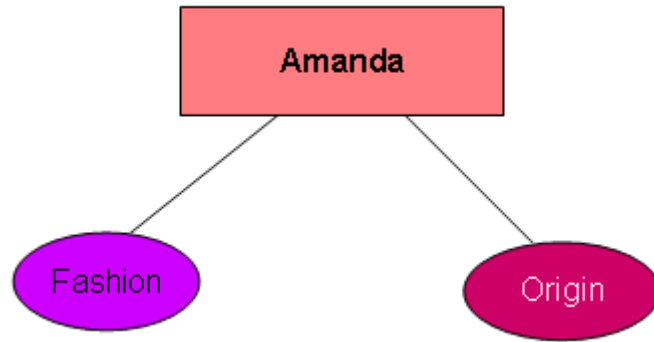


Figure 7.41. Factors based on the participants' comments about Amanda in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Surprisingly, in the case of Vanessa, tastes in both countries are in tandem. There is almost complete coincidence between the two municipal districts, with approximately 60% of participants liking the name, although the percentage is slightly higher (around 1%) in the city of Leeds and surrounding towns (see Figures 7.42 & 7.43).

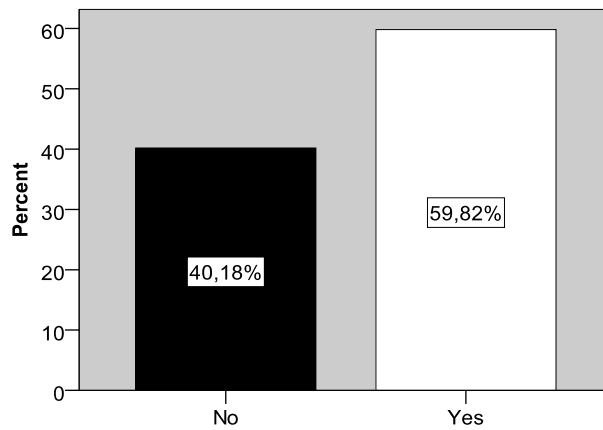


Figure 7.42. Liking of Vanessa in the metropolitan district of Murcia



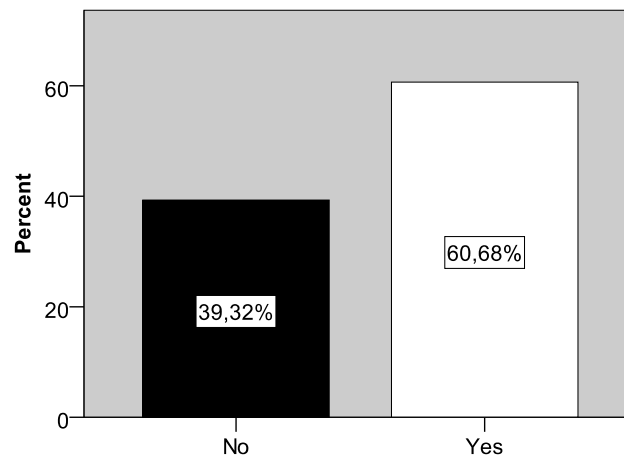


Figure 7.43. Liking of Vanessa in the metropolitan district of Leeds

The fact that several young respondents in Britain, for example, participant 164, stressed the idea that “Vanessa is an old-fashioned name” together with similar reactions towards name liking in both countries leads to an interest in determining whether a statistically significant association exists between age and name liking in this particular case. The chi-square test reveals that in both metropolitan districts, Murcia and Leeds, there exists a statistically significant relationship at a critical value of .05 ( $\chi^2=7.766$ ;  $df=2$ ;  $p=.021$  in the case of the former and  $\chi^2=17.541$ ;  $df=2$ ,  $p=.000$  for the latter). The value of Cramer’s V is .188 for Spanish and .292 for English. Hence, the degree of strength in the association between the two variables is very low and low, respectively. The value of the Uncertainty coefficient indicates that the error committed when considering the independent variable in the prediction of the dependent variable would only be 3% and 7%, respectively. The most marked liking percentages are found in the middle-aged group in Spain, where the percentage of likes is over 71%, and the oldest group in England, where the rate of likes is even higher, over 80% (see Tables 7.16 & 7.17).

Table 7.16. Liking of Vanessa in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Murcia

			Age		
			25-40 years old	41-60 years old	61-80+ years old
1 name_Sp_Like sound-Vanessa?	No	Count	37	22	29
		% within Age	51.4%	28.9%	40.8%
	Yes	Count	35	54	42
		% within Age	48.6%	71.1%	59.2%
Total		Count	72	76	71
		% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7.17. Liking of Vanessa in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Leeds

			Age		
			25-40 years old	41-60 years old	61-80+ years old
1 name_Eng_Like sound-Vanessa?	No	Count	36	32	13
		% within Age	54.5%	43.2%	19.7%
	Yes	Count	30	42	53
		% within Age	45.5%	56.8%	80.3%
Total		Count	66	74	66
		% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

As pointed out by Redmonds (2004, p. xiv): “names have patterns of decline and popularity, and (...) these reflect changing customs within our society”. In Tables 7.16 and 7.17 it can be observed that in England the liking of Vanessa is declining from the oldest to the youngest group and this may contribute to it being seen as old-fashioned, as claimed by some of the informants. In Spain the name also seems to be in decline

although the highest point of the name being liked was later than in England. The fact that Vanessa seems to have spread firstly in Britain may be linked to the idea that it was the Anglo-Irish satirist, essayist and poet Jonathan Swift who coined this name for his friend Esther Vanhomrigh (apparently from the initial part of the surname + suffix *-essa*, maybe coming from the initial part of the forename) (Hanks et al., 2006; Faure, 2007).

Faure (2007) added that the name began to appear in Spain in the 1970s due to the influence of the British actress Vanessa Redgrave but it was Manolo Escobar's choice for his daughter that really contributed to its becoming fashionable. Indeed, a middle-aged man, participant, 41, said: "Así se llama la hija de Manolo Escobar"<sup>53</sup>. Manolo Escobar was a famous Spanish singer of *paso dobles* and an actor. The crowning moment of his career was actually in the 1960s and 1970s. Moreover, Albaigès (1998) explained that the majority of Vanessas in Madrid and Barcelona were born in the late 70s and early 80s, which also coincide with the highest point of the name being liked among our Spanish participants. Again, the link between Spanish males, especially those living in the south-east of Spain, and *paso dobles* and local festivals, as suggested when referring to *Paquito El chocolatero*, is a possibility here.

Another comment yielded in the metropolitan district of Murcia is that "Vanessa me sugiere a la prostitución"<sup>54</sup> (participant 62), thus implying that it is a common name amongst prostitutes. Prostitution, "the oldest profession", as Shelley called it (as cited in Arboleda, 2009, p. 1, our own translation), had one of its most ill-famed eras in the Victorian age in England. The fact that the name Vanessa originated in England and it was brought later to Spain could contribute to the name being related to this profession. Another reason why Vanessa could be considered to be

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<sup>53</sup> "Manolo Escobar's daughter is called that".

<sup>54</sup> "Vanessa brings prostitution to mind".

related to prostitution is that the last part of the name Vanessa may remind this participant, if she is familiar with popular folk lyrics, of the name *Teresa* which, according to Costarelli (2012), is a name of a prostitute in the old popular Hispanic lyric (see Figures 7.44 & 7.45 for the factors examined previously based on the observations made by the respondents in our study).

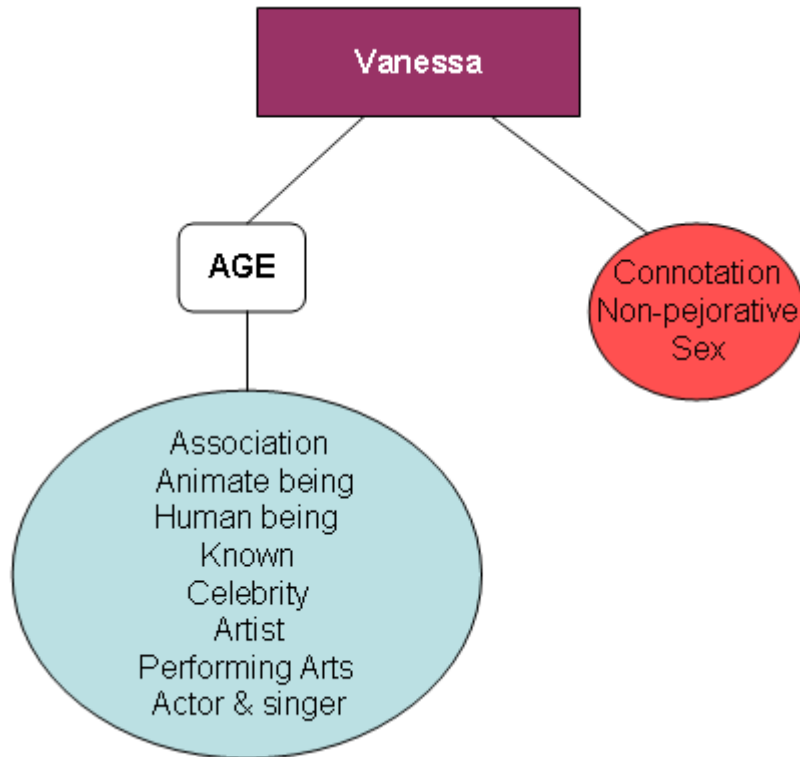


Figure 7.44. Factors based on the participants' comments about Vanessa in the metropolitan district of Murcia

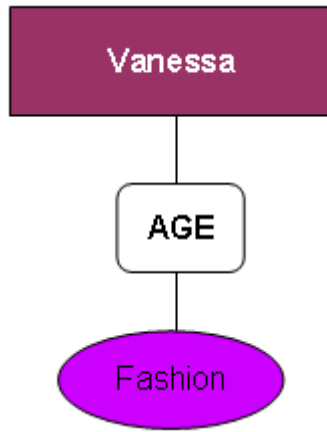


Figure 7.45. Factors based on the participants’ comments about Vanessa in the metropolitan district of Leeds

As observed in Figures 7.46 and 7.47, the sound of the name Rebecca/Rebeca elicits more likes than dislikes in both places, especially in the metropolitan district of Leeds, where the overwhelming majority of respondents, around 9 out of 10, likes this name. These results coincide with those of Arboleda (2015), in whose study Rebecca occupies a very high position in terms of frequency in the list of British students’ names (in general terms among the four age groups: 8-9, 13-14, 18-19, 23-24). In Murcia and surrounding areas, however, the number of respondents who dislike Rebeca is 25% larger than in Leeds and surrounding towns.

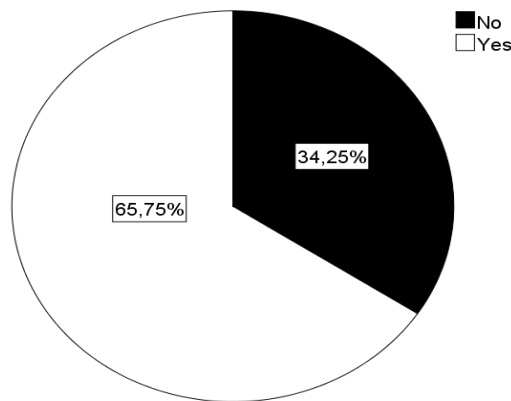


Figure 7.46. Liking of Rebeca in the metropolitan district of Murcia

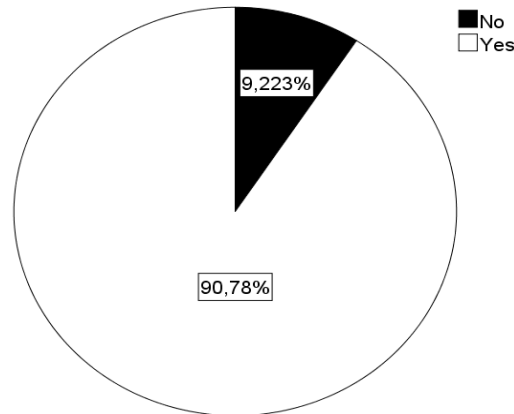


Figure 7.47. Liking of Rebecca in the metropolitan district of Leeds

The English Rebecca prompted observations of the type “Rebecca is a biblical name” (e.g. participant 54). This points to the idea that Spaniards seem to be more Marian whereas British people, when religious, have a greater leaning towards the Bible. Old Testament names are frequently used by Jews and Protestants but not so much by Roman Catholics. The primary source for names in England and other English-speaking countries is the Bible (Darlington, 2015). During the Reformation, Old Testament names became popular and they were very often used by the Puritans in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Faure, 2007). Rebecca, together with other names such as *Rachel*, *Judith* or *Ruth*, was first used in the mid-sixteenth century (Redmonds, 2004). Rebecca was the wife of Isaac (...) and the mother of Esau and Jacob (*Genesis*, XXIV, 15, as cited by Faure, 2007).

The modern use of Rebecca in Europe is due to the English influence. The well-known film *Rebecca*, by A. Hitchcock starring Joan Fontaine, which was based on the novel written by the British writer Daphne Du Maurier, contributed to the spread of the name in England and abroad and the noun *rebeca* began to be used in Spain to refer to a

cardigan as a result of a garment worn by the main character in the film (Faure, 2007). Even Real Academia Española (2011) refers to this film in the first sense of the word *rebeca*. Indeed, in Murcia and pedanías Rebeca generated the following remark: “También es una prenda de ropa”<sup>55</sup> (participant 68), which highlights the fact that Rebeca is a polysemic word. As Albaigès (1998) stated, there are objects coming from forenames, e.g. *pamelas*, wide-brimmed sun hats in honour of the heroine of Richardson’s heroine or *magdalenas*, sponge cakes to dip, which recalls the crying of Mary Magdalene.

Another remark made in Spain was: “Es un nombre cursi pero me gusta”<sup>56</sup> (participant 161). As explained by Tusón (1988) and Martín-Rojo (1996), in contemporary society women’s discursive style is sometimes said to be cheesy. The fact that it is said to be so may suggest they like it being so, as in this case (see Figures 7.48 & 7.49 for the factors explored before based on the comments made by the participants in our study).

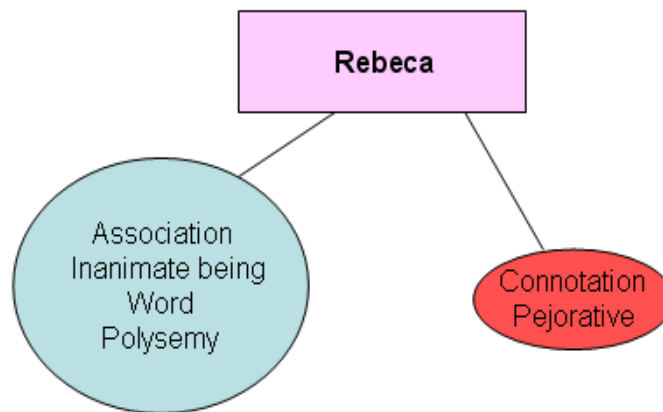


Figure 7.48. Factors based on the participants’ comments about Rebeca in the metropolitan district of Murcia

<sup>55</sup> “It is also a garment”

<sup>56</sup> “It’s a cheesy name but I like it”.

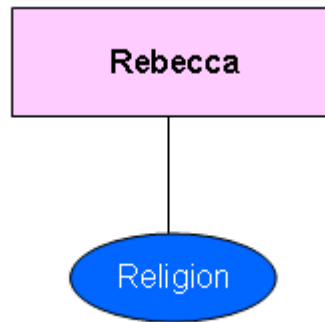


Figure 7.49. Factors based on the participants' comments about Rebecca in the metropolitan district of Leeds

With regard to the name Lydia, Figures 7.50 and 7.51 depict that both English and Spanish respondents express more likes than dislikes. The level of dislike is higher in England, the difference between the two places being exactly 10%.

In the metropolitan district of Murcia the following reflection on the part of a housewife was found: “Una de las colaboradoras de *Sálvame* tiene este nombre”<sup>57</sup> (participant 88). *Sálvame* is a Spanish T.V. programme on celebrity gossip. Note that when talking about the pet form Bertín, it was mentioned that housewives found it easier to get to know and enjoy celebrities through the media. People tend to examine others' behaviour, which is why reality shows like Big Brother or programmes about celebrities are so popular (Yus, 2008; Arrizabalaga, 2014). What can be read between the lines is that the respondent does not specify whether Lydia (referring to Lydia Lozano) is a journalist but refers to her as a collaborator, which puts her in the same league as other collaborators such as Kiko Hernández or Raquel Bollo, who are not journalists. This may suggest that some Spanish people do not even know or care if the collaborator has a university degree or not.

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<sup>57</sup> “A collaborator in *Save me* has this name”.



In the metropolitan district of Leeds, the only observation came from an informant whose name was Lydia: “It is my name, so I like it” (participant 24). Forenames “are, in essence, the emblem of our immersion into self, identity” (Earnshaw, 2012, p. 66). It is curious to find that likes are greater in number in Spain than England if we take into account that Lydia is a Biblical name. It would seem that other factors such as the influence of celebrities may play a more significant role in its popularity. Television is a very powerful seductive force and it reaches a vast range of the public (Bordieu, 1983) (see Figures 7.52 & 7.53 for the factors studied previously based on the remarks made by the respondents in our study).

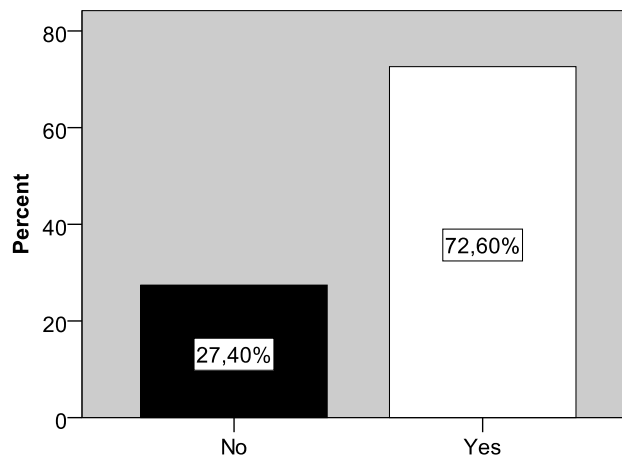


Figure 7.50. Liking of Lydia in the metropolitan district of Murcia

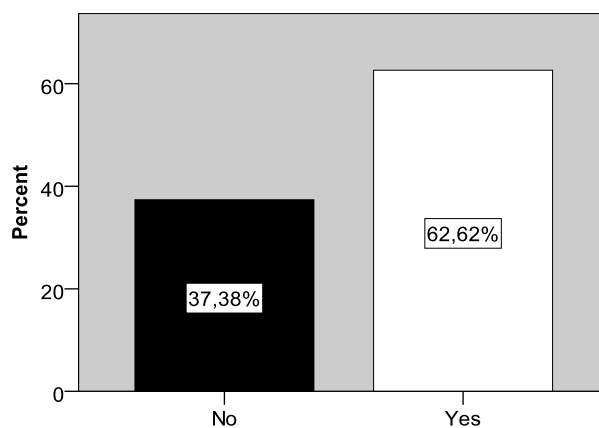


Figure 7.51. Liking of Lydia in the metropolitan district of Leeds

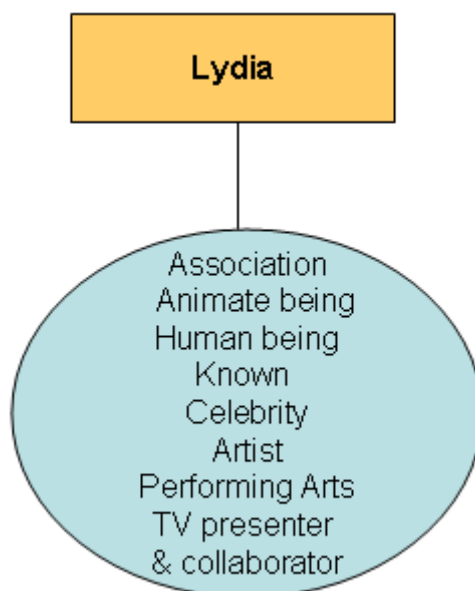


Figure 7.52. Factors based on the participants' comments about Lydia in the metropolitan district of Murcia

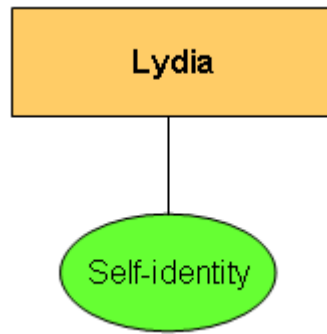


Figure 7.53. Factors based on the participants' comments about Lydia in the metropolitan district of Leeds

As displayed in Figures 7.54 and 7.55, roughly the same number of respondents like the sound of Jennifer in Britain and dislike that of Jénifer in Spain (around 70%).

Most of the informants providing comments in Spain described Jénifer in terms of its origin: “Un nombre de por ahí fuera”<sup>58</sup>(participant 87), a common expression to indicate the name in this case is not Spanish in origin. However, although it is clear that the participant who claimed this does not like the name, as native speakers, we do not think the expression contains pejorative suggestions but it is just colloquial. As a contrast, this respondent emphasises she has a very Spanish name, Carmen.

Other informants were more radical: “Los nombres extranjeros están invadiéndonos; a mí me gustan los nombres normales: los que son cristianos y nos son familiares”<sup>59</sup> (participant 95). Foreign names are seen as non-normal. If we consider that the norm is “an accepted standard or way of behaving or doing things that most people agree with” (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2008, p. 966), then, according to this participant, foreign names are deviations from that standard, that is,

<sup>58</sup> “A name from out there”

<sup>59</sup> “Foreign names are invading us; I like normal names: those which are Christian and are familiar to us”.

Spanish origin. Although informants are not indeed aware of whether names have Christian roots or not, this respondent dared to establish a connection between non-familiarity and non-Christianity. Her view is mistaken in a sense, though, because in the majority of European languages, over half of the conventional forenames come from Christianity (Hanks et al., 2006), including Spain and England. Nonetheless, as explained previously, Spain has devotion to the Holy Family and their names (Albaigès, 1998). It would have been more accurate on the part of participant 95 to have said Catholic instead of Christian because, although Catholicism is a branch of Christianity, the former is associated more strongly with Spain and not Britain (Hanks et al, 2006). However, the respondent is right in the sense that Jennifer does not have Christian roots. Jennifer is “of Celtic (Arthurian) origin, a Cornish form of the name of King Arthur’s unfaithful *Guinevere*” (Hanks et al, 2006, p. 141, emphasis added).

In England the focus is on a usual shortened form, Jenny: “I love its shortened form, Jenny” (participant 93). In English, like Spanish, apocope, that is, the elimination of the last part of the name, is more usual, according to Shamatov (2012) (see Figures 7.56 & 7.57 for the factors examined before based on the comments made by the informants in our study).

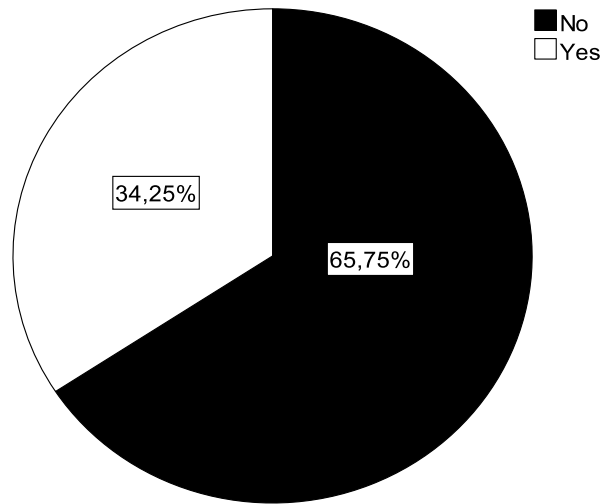


Figure 7.54. Liking of Jéniffer in the metropolitan district of Murcia

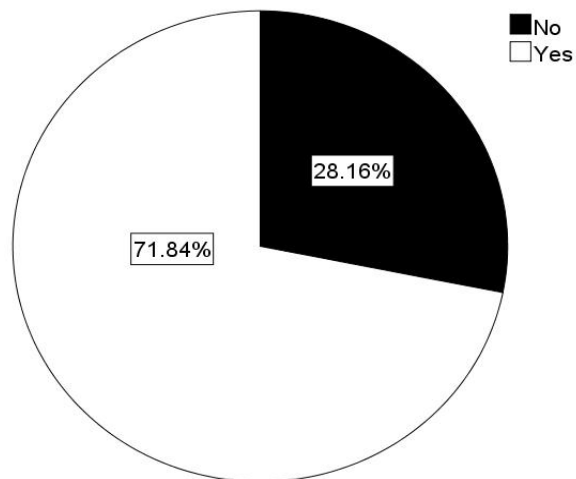


Figure 7.55. Liking of Jennifer in the metropolitan district of Leeds

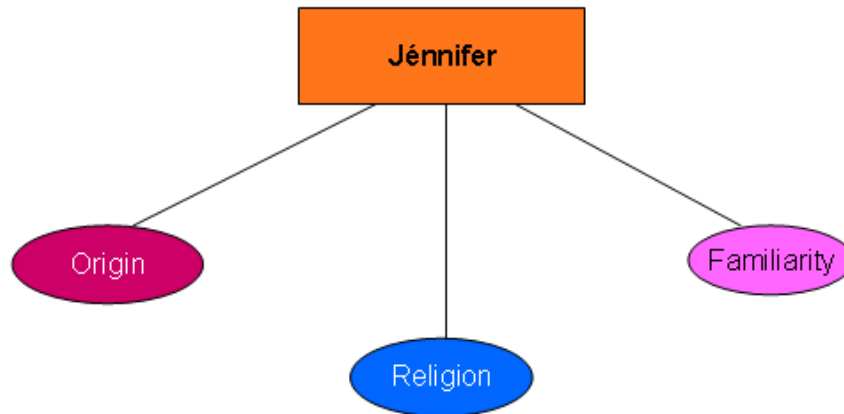


Figure 7.56. Factors based on the participants' comments about Jennifer in the metropolitan district of Murcia

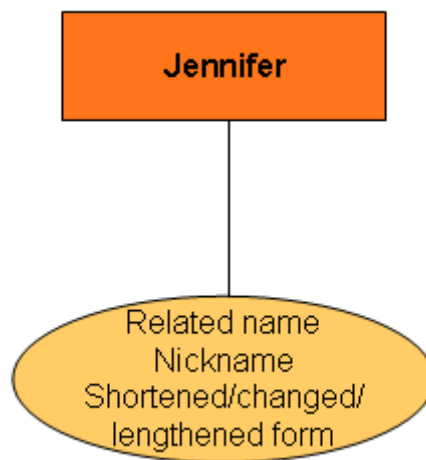


Figure 7.57. Factors based on the participants' comments about Jennifer in the metropolitan district of Leeds

In the metropolitan district of Murcia the name Ana yields more than 96% of support. In Leeds and surrounding towns Anna also generates a very high percentage of endorsement (almost 90%), even more than that of Jennifer, although somewhat lower than in Spain (see Figures 7.58 & 7.59). This is surprising in that the variants *Annie*, *Ann* or *Anne* are preferred over Anna by English speakers (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987)

although it is true that the name itself is a long-established name in England too (Dunkling, 1977).

In Murcia and its surrounds the name Ana is praised for being “simple y español”<sup>60</sup> (e.g. participant 160). Narbarte-Iraola (1983) claimed that the language of a group of people is its soul and the best expression of its personality. In Leeds and surrounding towns, Anna is considered to be “a familiar name in the UK” (participant 60). Hanks et al. (2006) pointed out that Ana/Anna is “in common use as a given name in most European languages” (p. 16) and the sample in Arboleda (2015) shows that Ana/Anna is a repeated female name in the metropolitan districts of both Murcia and Leeds.

Another comment in relation to Anna in England is “I prefer Anna rather than Hannah due to the sound” (participant 54). Despite there being no statistically significant differences, nowadays more female names are found to start with a vowel (S.K. Wright et al., 2005). Anna is the Latinate variant of the Hebrew Hannah. The reference to Hannah when talking about Anna illustrates the use of a rhyme achieved by means of a minimal pair (the two names only differ in one sound, the additional /h/ in Hannah). This recalls question 5 in the questionnaire in our study. Todorov (1978) referred to the expressive language device of paronymy (also known as *paronomasia* or *pun*), which is a word play by means of making one word rhyme with another one whose pronunciation is similar but differs in some letter, e.g. *Allí se vive porque se bebe* (see Figures 7.60 & 7.61 for the factors explored before based on the remarks made by the respondents in our study).

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<sup>60</sup> “simple and Spanish”.

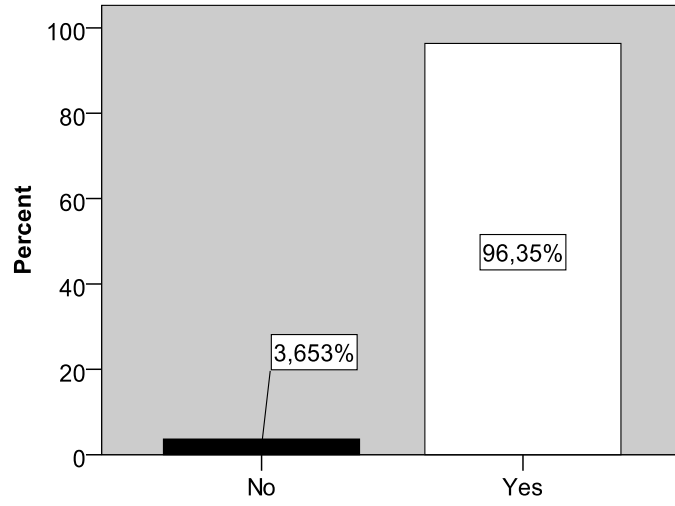


Figure 7.58. Liking of Ana in the metropolitan district of Murcia

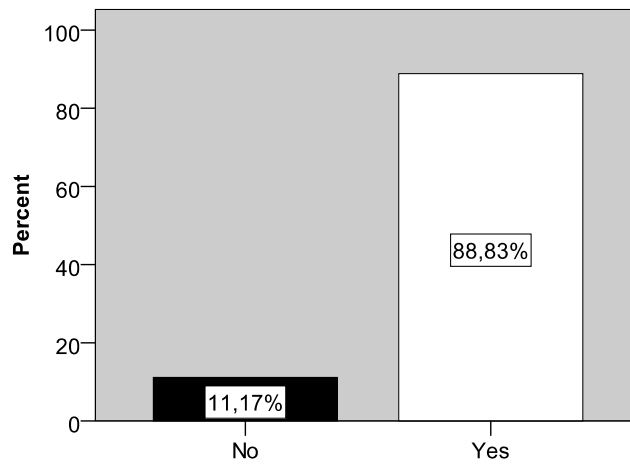


Figure 7.59. Liking of Anna in the metropolitan district of Leeds



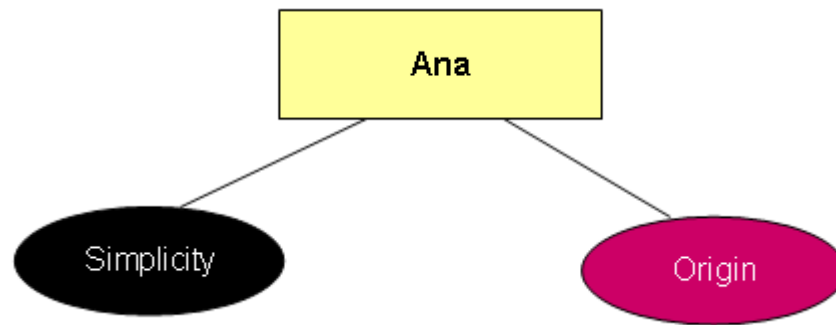


Figure 7.60. Factors based on the participants' comments about Ana in the metropolitan district of Murcia

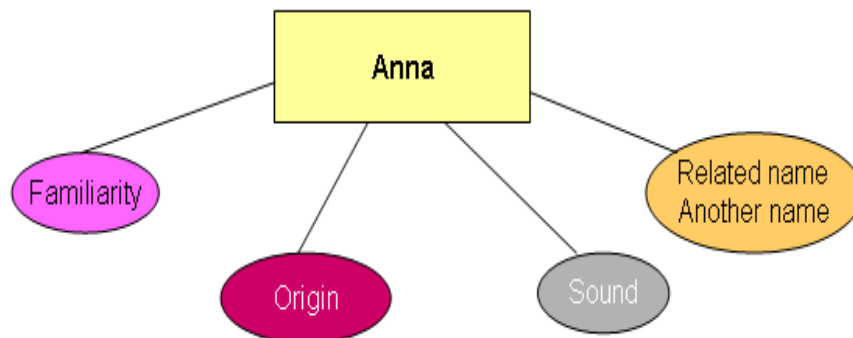


Figure 7.61. Factors based on the participants' comments about Anna in the metropolitan district of Leeds

A case worthy of note is that of the name Gloria. As displayed in Figures 7.62 and 7.63, there are more likes in Spain and dislikes in England. In particular, in the municipal district of Murcia almost 9 out of 10 informants like Gloria and in Leeds and the surrounding area this name is liked by around 3 out of 10 participants.

In the metropolitan district of Murcia Gloria brought about associations such as “me recuerda a Doña Gloria, una maestra del colegio al que fui cuando era pequeño”<sup>61</sup> (participant 100). School is a place in which we spend many years of our life during childhood and adolescence (Requena, 1994) and, in general terms, but also with a focus on school in

<sup>61</sup> “it reminds me of Miss Gloria, a teacher in the school I attended when I was a child”.

particular, “it is unavoidable that we associate certain names with people that we know” (Albaigès, 1998, p. 106, our own translation).

Participant 186 in Murcia and its surrounds makes reference to religion: “Gloria bendita”<sup>62</sup>. The fact that this allusion is made in Spain and not in England may be related to Gloria being present in Catholic songs of praise such as *Gloria in Excelsis Deo* or *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritu Sancto*, in addition to the name making reference to *Sábado de Gloria*, which in English is known by a different name, *Holy Saturday*. However, the main reason for the allusion of “gloria bendita” in Spain seems to be the dedication to a Virgin, *Nuestra Señora de la Gloria*, worshipped in several Spanish towns (Faure, 2007). Indeed, in Spanish there are many expressions containing Gloria which have their roots in religion: *ganarse la gloria* (‘to go to heaven’), *Dios le tenga en su santa gloria* (‘God rest his soul’), *esta piscina es una gloria* (‘this pool is heavenly’), *oler a gloria* (‘to smell divine’), *está que da gloria verla* (‘she looks wonderful’), *sí, gloria* (‘yes, my love!’), *una de las grandes glorias del cine* (‘one of the great figures of the cinema’), etc. (Diccionario Español-Inglés/ English-Spanish, 2000, p. 491).

In contrast, in the metropolitan district of Leeds, the only remark made by several participants from different age groups has to do with the fact that “Gloria is an old-fashioned name” (e.g. participant 130) (see Figures 7.64 & 7.65 for the factors studied previously based on the observations the participants made in our study). This is corroborated by Hanks et al. (2006, p. 112): It “was fairly popular in the 1940s and the 1950s”. However, the chi square test reveals that no difference is found among age groups in terms of liking of this name in the metropolitan district of Leeds at a critical value of .05 ( $\chi^2=2.455$ ;  $df=2$ ;  $p=.293$ ). As

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<sup>62</sup> “Blessed Glory”

displayed in Table 7.18, percentages are very similar in the three age groups.

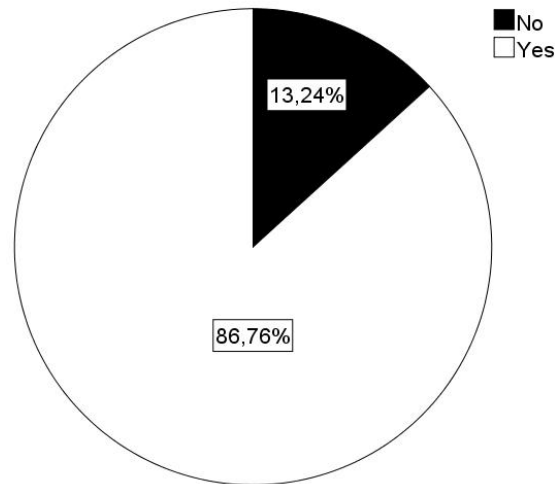


Figure 7.62. Liking of Gloria in the metropolitan district of Murcia

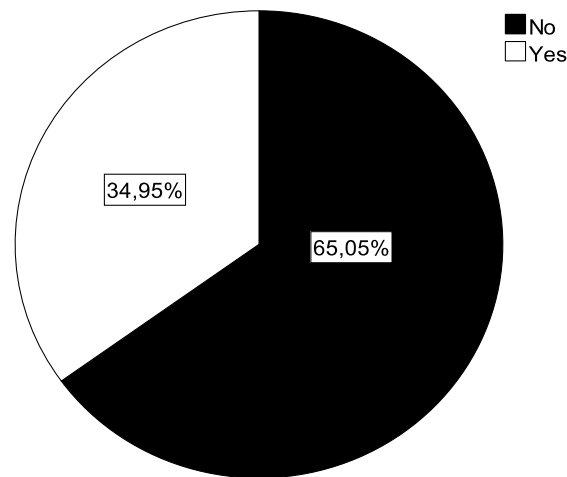


Figure 7.63. Liking of Gloria in the metropolitan district of Leeds

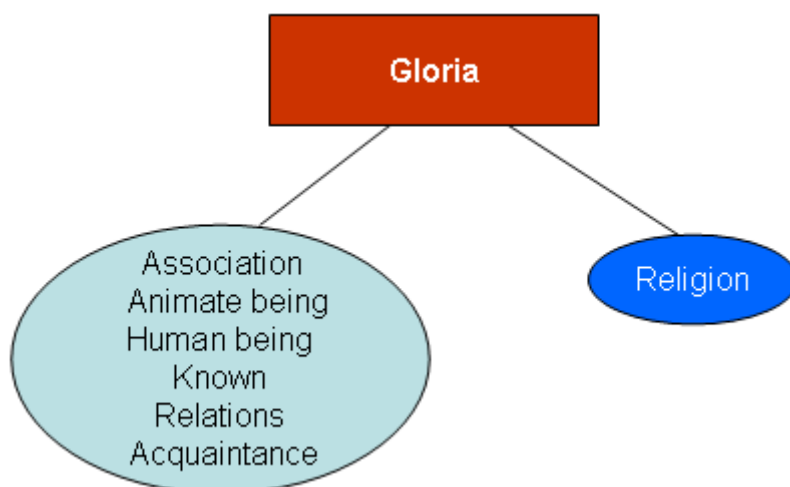


Figure 7.64. Factors based on the participants' comments about Gloria in the metropolitan district of Murcia

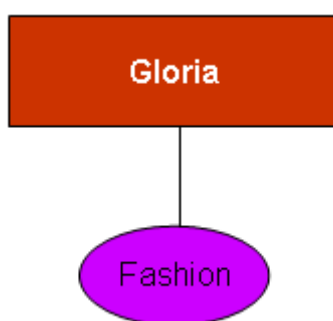


Figure 7.65. Factors based on the participants' comments about Gloria in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Table 7.18. Liking of Gloria in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Leeds

			Age		
			25-40 years old	41-60 years old	61-80+ years old
1 name_Eng_ Like sound- Gloria?	No	Count	46	50	38
		% within Age	69.7%	67.6%	57.6%
	Yes	Count	20	24	28
		% within Age	30.3%	32.4%	42.4%
Total		Count	66	74	66
		% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Regarding Sandra, Figures 7.66 and 7.67 indicate that the borderline between likes and dislikes is not very sharp in terms of percentages in both countries. It is important to highlight, though, that it is in the metropolitan district of Murcia where Sandra is preferred, with the support of more than 68% of participants. Actually, in Spain the name Sandra increases in popularity in 1993 (Albaigès, 1998).

Only in England did this name generate remarks and they were related to the fact that “Sandra is an old-fashioned name” (e.g. participant 34). Respondents making this comment belonged to the youngest age group (see Figure 7.68 for the factors explored before based on the remarks provided by the respondents in our study). Table 7.19 further supports these findings because the younger the participant, the less he/she likes the name Sandra in the metropolitan district of Leeds. The chi-square test demonstrates that a statistically significant relationship exists at an alpha level of .05 between age and dis/liking of the name

Sandra ( $\chi^2=6.132$ ;  $df=2$ ;  $p=.047$ ). A Cramer's V of .173 reveals that the strength of association is very low. The Uncertainty coefficient shows that the error committed when trying to predict the extent to which the criterion variable can be accounted for by the predictor one would merely be 2%.

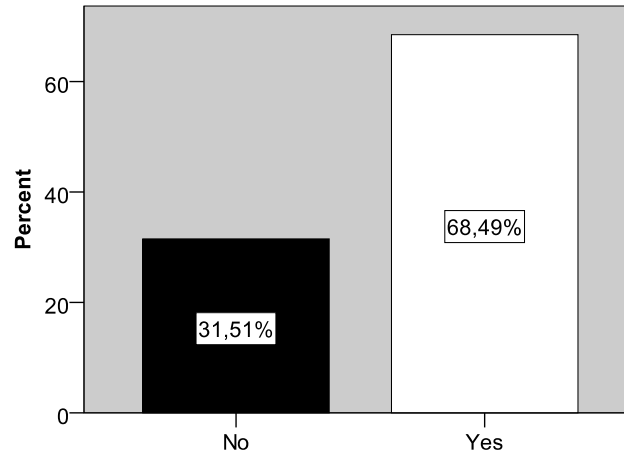


Figure 7.66. Liking of Sandra in the metropolitan district of Murcia

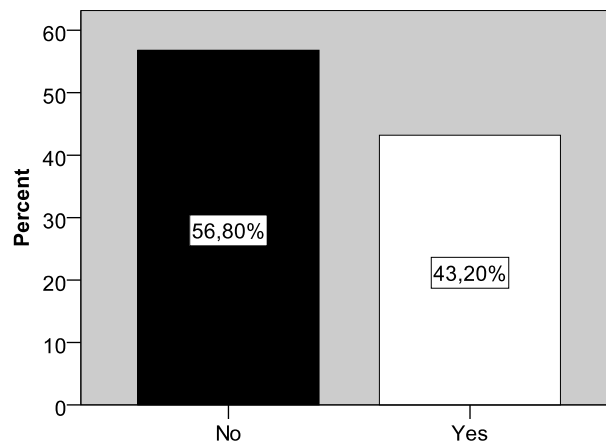


Figure 7.67. Liking of Sandra in the metropolitan district of Leeds

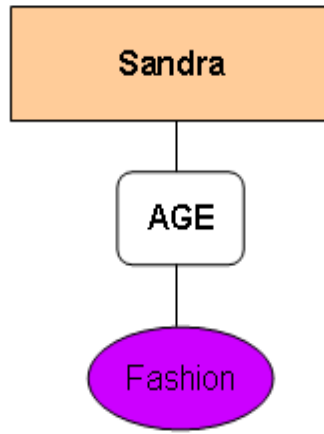


Figure 7.68. Factors based on the participants’ comments about Sandra in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Table 7.19. Liking of Sandra in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Leeds

			Age		
			25-40 years old	41-60 years old	61-80+ years old
1 name_Eng_Like sound-Sandra?	No	Count	44	43	30
		% within Age	66.7%	58,1%	45.5%
	Yes	Count	22	31	36
		% within Age	33.3%	41.9%	54.5%
Total		Count	66	74	66
		% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Concerning Jéssica/Jessica, results in Figures 7.69 and 7.70 suggest that, whereas Jéssica was mainly not favoured in Spain, it was very much liked in England (dislike stands at around 60 and 18%, respectively).

In the metropolitan district of Murcia a respondent referred to Jéssica as “un nombre muy moderno”<sup>63</sup> (participant 68). Dunkling (1977, p. 9) stated that “some [names] are like fading movie-stars whose day is past; others suddenly come into the spotlight”. In this case, Jéssica came into the spotlight only in recent years; it seems to be of a very recent use amongst Spanish people and this may be the reason why it is not very widely liked yet.

Conversely, in Leeds and surrounding areas constant comments were found in relation to its being “an ever-present name in England” (e.g. participant 81). In fact, this name is “apparently of Shakespearean origin” (Hanks et al., 2006, p. 142) and, according to Faure (2007), it is an English name. As can be shown here, there is still an overwhelming number of English-speaking people who single out traditional names (Hanks et al, 2006). The positive view of Jessica is evidenced by its being the name of many participants from the metropolitan district of Leeds in Arboleda (2015) although its frequency position in the ranking of first or full names is not one of the highest in her study.

Participant 189 in Leeds and its surrounds associated the name Jessica “with middle class rather than working class”, which reinforces the idea of names reflecting social class differences. This concurs with Albaigès’ claim (1998) that “it is a fact that certain names evoke social classes” (p. 102, our own translation) (see Figures 7.71 & 7.72 for the factors examined previously based on the comments the participants made in our study).

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<sup>63</sup> “a very modern name”.



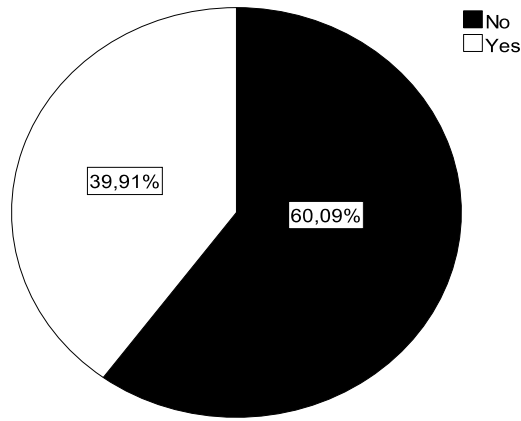


Figure 7.69. Liking of Jéssica in the metropolitan district of Murcia

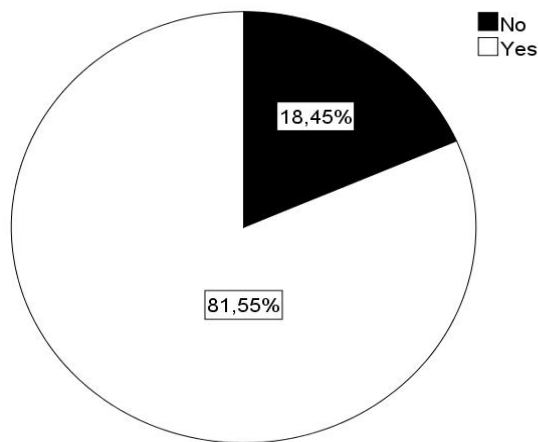


Figure 7.70. Liking of Jessica in the metropolitan district of Leeds

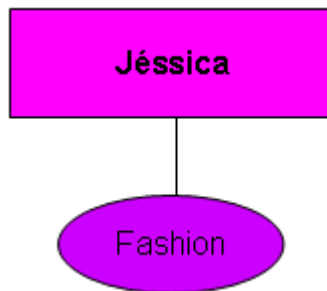


Figure 7.71. Factors based on the participants' comments about Jéssica in the metropolitan district of Murcia

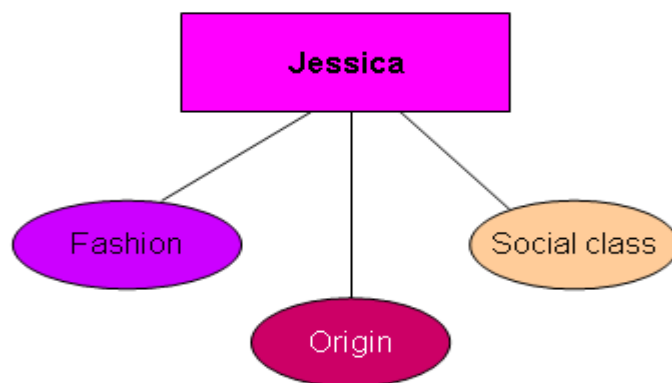


Figure 7.72. Factors based on the participants' comments about Jessica in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Turning now to male names, we will deal first with Lucas. Figures 7.73 and 7.74 show that the percentage of respondents who like the sound of this name is very high and quite similar in both countries, despite being slightly larger in Spain (over 86% in the metropolitan district of Murcia and almost 80% in that of Leeds).

In Spain for some informants the forename Lucas sparked off associations with the equivalent surname (e.g. participant 35) and others found the name funny for its associations with the *Pato Lucas* (e.g. participant 147), who is known as *Duffy Duck* in English, and the mediatic expression used by the Spanish humorist *Chiquito de la Calzada*, *Hasta luego, Lucas*: “Me recuerda a Chiquito de la Calzada”<sup>64</sup> (e.g. participant 144). As Ogden and Richards (1969) explained, sometimes we share these associations because we belong to the same social group and we have a collective memory. The cases of *Pato Lucas* and *Chiquito de la Calzada* are known by those people living in Spanish society.

In England, this name does not evoke so many associations but a few informants who like this name also made an association, in this case, to relatives (e.g. participant 185). Tebbenhoff (1985) proposed the idea

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<sup>64</sup> “It reminds me of Chiquito de la Calzada”.

that forenames allow us to discover the internal life of the family: the strength of family relations, etc. Most of the English comments underlined the fact that “we do not know this name” (e.g. participant 10). This may be so because, according to Hanks et al. (2006), it was not until the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century that Lucas became more popular and there has been a steady rise in popularity since then. Indeed, “Lucas is now also used as an Anglicised form of various Eastern European equivalents”; “it is also the spelling preferred in the Authorised Version of the New Testament, which has had an influence on its selection as a given name” (Hanks et al., 2006, p. 174) (see Figures 7.75 & 7.76 for the factors studied before based on the remarks provided by the informants in our study).

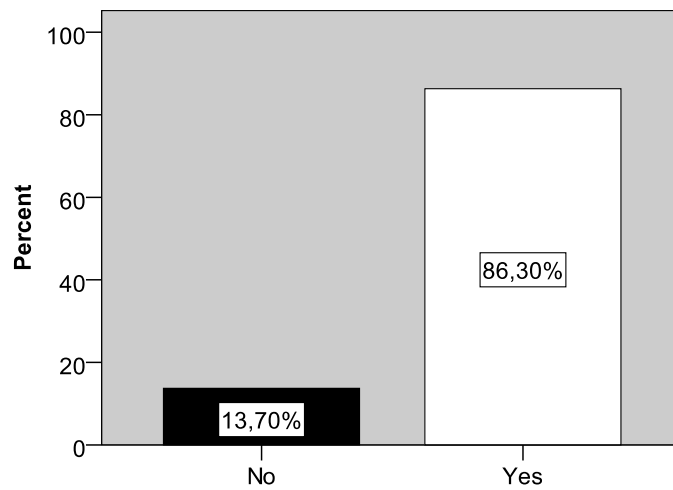


Figure 7.73. Liking of Lucas in the metropolitan district of Murcia

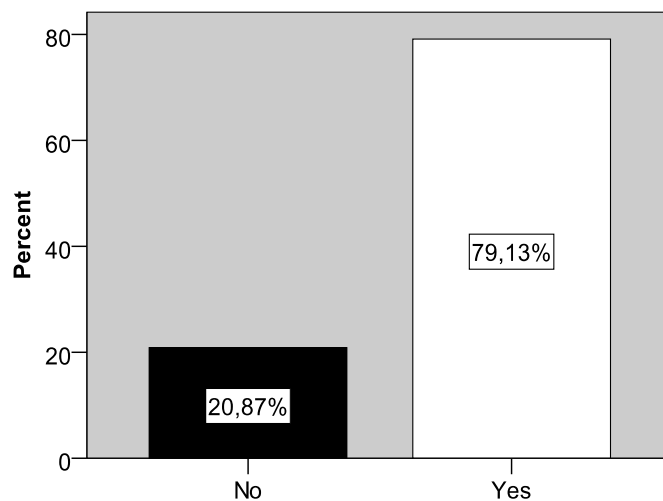


Figure 7.74. Liking of Lucas in the metropolitan district of Leeds

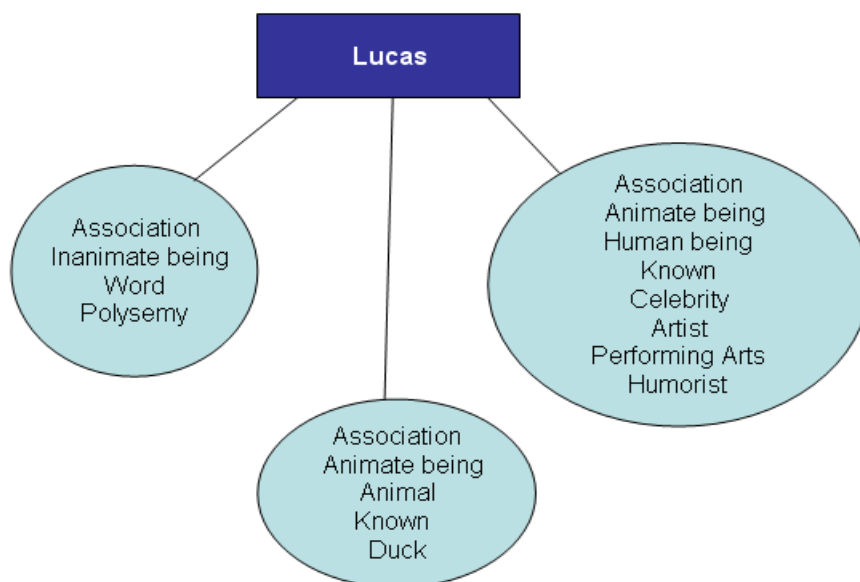


Figure 7.75. Factors based on the participants' comments about Lucas in the metropolitan district of Murcia

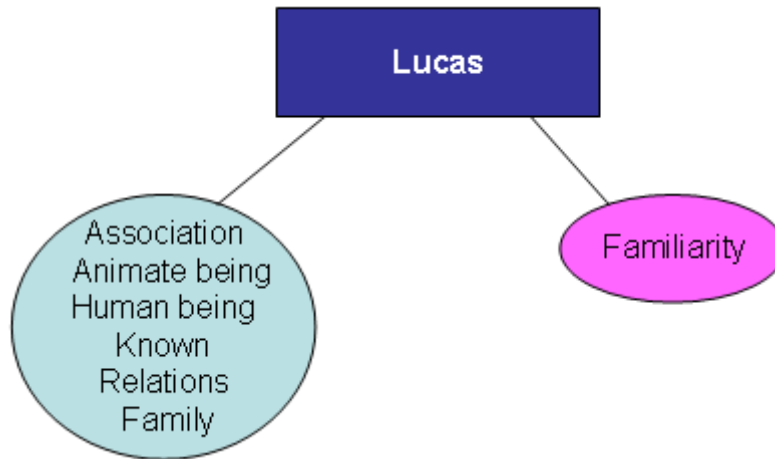


Figure 7.76. Factors based on the participants' comments about Lucas in the metropolitan district of Leeds

With regard to the name Christian, Figures 7.77 and 7.78 display a greater number of participants who like the sound of this forename in both municipal districts but the difference is 17.5%, being larger in Leeds and its districts.

Two remarks were made by our respondents. In England, several informants who like this name (e.g. participant 185) mentioned they were “familiarised with the forename Christian”. In Spain, a housewife liking the name (participant 66) stated that “Christian me recuerda al presentador del concurso *Pasapalabra*, Christian Gálvez”<sup>65</sup>, again reinforcing the link between housewives and TV personalities. It is true that this programme is of a higher quality than others previously mentioned such as *Sálvame* but it is notable that these two programmes are shown in a row on television and, consequently, they belong to the same channel, *Telecinco*, which has been categorised as junk television (Ferrer, 2013) (Figures 7.79 & 7.80 reflect the factors examined before based on the comments our participants made).

<sup>65</sup> “Christian reminds me of the T.V. presenter of the quiz *Pass the word*, Christian Gálvez”

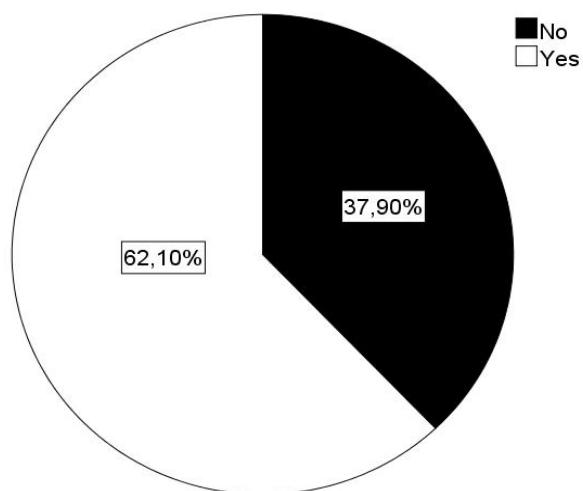


Figure 7.77. Liking of Christian in the metropolitan district of Murcia

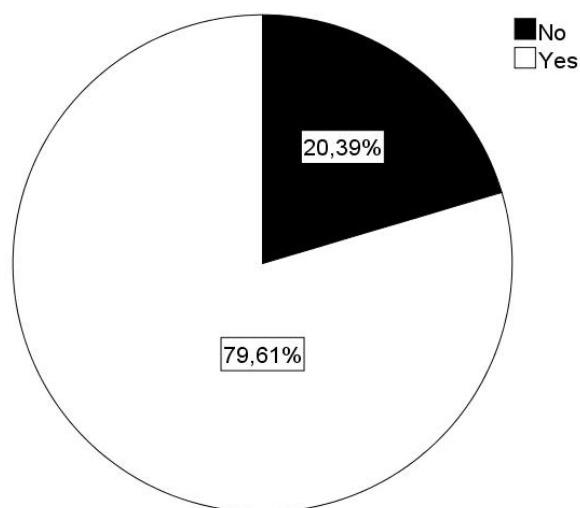


Figure 7.78. Liking of Christian in the metropolitan district of Leeds

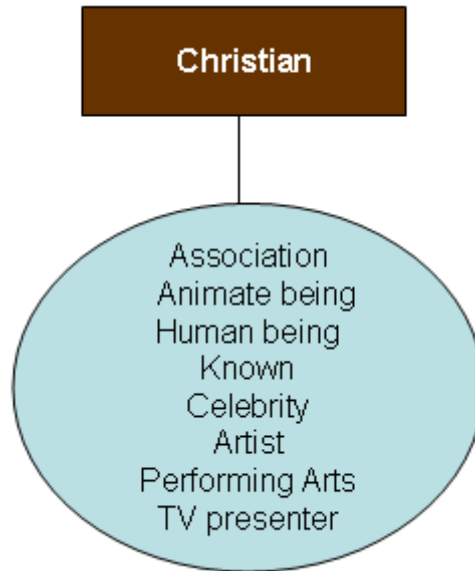


Figure 7.79. Factors based on the participants' comments about Christian in the metropolitan district of Murcia

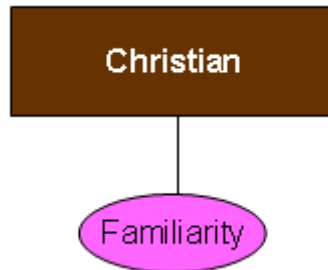


Figure 7.80. Factors based on the participants' comments about Christian in the metropolitan district of Leeds

A very similar case to that of Christian, even with a percentage resemblance, is that of Rafael/Raphael but it is converse since on this occasion the higher ratio of respondents liking the sound of this name comes from the metropolitan district of Murcia (see Figures 7.81 & 7.82). This is surprising in that, according to BabyCenter (2015b), the use of the traditional name Rafael has decreased in Spain in the last few years. It should be noted, though, that Christian receives a higher rating in Spain (3.7% more) than Raphael in England.

Many respondents in Spain who like the name (e.g. participant 68) made reference to the fact that they had relatives called Rafael. Giving names based on the family is common in Spain (Martínez i Teixidó, 1995). In England, one of the informants disliking this forename underlined “it has a strong sound and is difficult” (participant 54). Therefore, this participant paid attention to simplicity and sound, the latter being the first thing we explore when studying language, according to Bloomfield (1943) (Figures 7.83 & 7.84 show the factors studied previously based on the observations coming from the participants in our study).

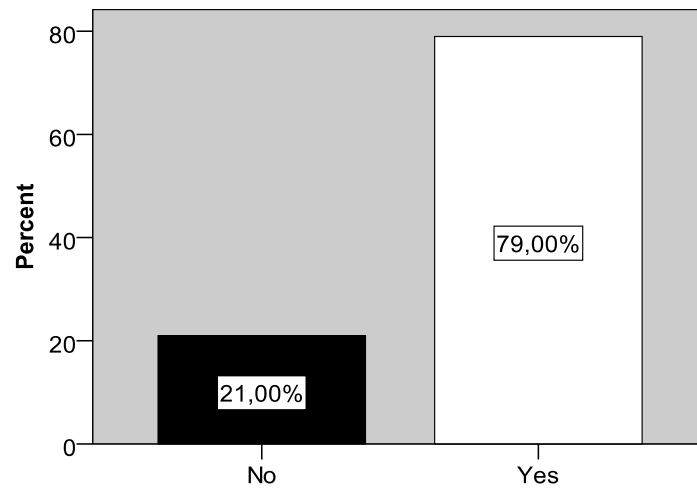


Figure 7.81. Liking of Rafael in the metropolitan district of Murcia



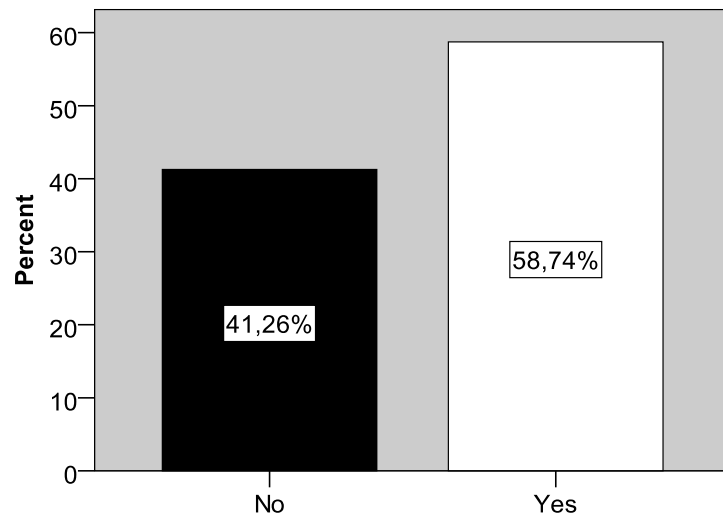


Figure 7.82. Liking of Raphael in the metropolitan district of Leeds

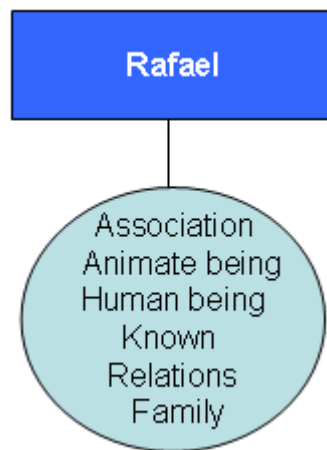


Figure 7.83. Factors based on the participants' comments about Rafael in the metropolitan district of Murcia

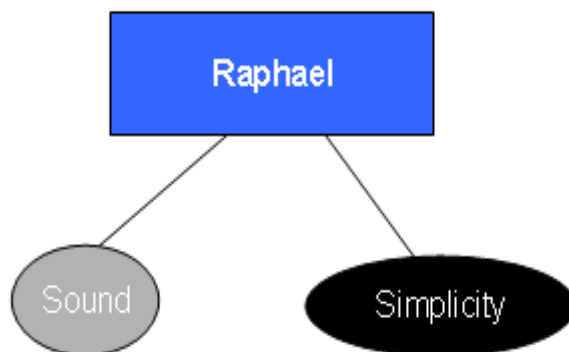


Figure 7.84. Factors based on the participants' comments about Raphael in the metropolitan district of Leeds

However, with the name Jónatan/Jonathan, we find glaring discrepancies between the two municipal districts (see Figures 7.85 & 7.86). Whereas in the capital city of Leeds and surrounding towns not even 2 out of 10 participants dislike the sound of this name, in Murcia and its *pedanías* more than 6 out of 10 informants do not like it. The case is similar to that of Jéssica/Jessica.

Several informants in the metropolitan district of Murcia (e.g. participant 108) referred pejoratively to this forename as “un nombre garrulo”<sup>66</sup>. *Garrulo* is a term which, despite not appearing in the Real Academia Española (2011), is in common usage. It refers to a person living in working-class neighbourhoods, being poorly educated and perceived to have poor taste but usually trying to look modern. Nowadays, the terms *cani* for men and *choni* for women are more fashionable. The word also refers to the aspects derived from these people, as in the case of this quotation. In England, however, many participants described Jonathan as “an ever-present name in England” (e.g. participant 60).

This difference between the two metropolitan districts together with the fact that the respondents referring to Jónathan in a pejorative way

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<sup>66</sup> “a *chav* name”.

in Murcia and the surrounding area (e.g. participant 108) have a university education lead us to examine the possible relationship between the respondent's level of education and his/her dis/like of the name of Jónathan/Jonathan.

Tables 7.20 and 7.21 reflect that, whereas in Leeds and districts the percentages of liking of Jonathan are quite similar whether the respondent has a university education or not, in Murcia and pedanías the percentage of disliking of the name Jónathan is considerably larger when the participant has a university education. This agrees with Aldrin (2011), who found that mothers who have not undergone higher education tend to be more inclined to choose foreign names and also with Besnard and Desplanques (1987), who claimed that more working-class people opt for names of Anglo-American origin.

Thus, the chi-square test reveals that in Spain a statistically significant relationship is found at a critical value of .05 between level of education and liking of this particular name ( $\chi^2=5.963$ ;  $df=1$ ,  $p=.015$ ). According to Cramer's V, the degree of intensity in the association is very low, in particular, .165. The value of the Uncertainty coefficient indicates that the error committed when predicting the extent to which name liking can be "explained" by level of education would just be 2%. In the metropolitan district of Leeds, though, no statistically significant relationship is found between the two variables at the aforementioned alpha value ( $\chi^2=2.409$ ;  $df=1$ ;  $p=.121$ ) (Figures 7.87 & 7.88 depict the factors explored before based on the remarks made by our participants).

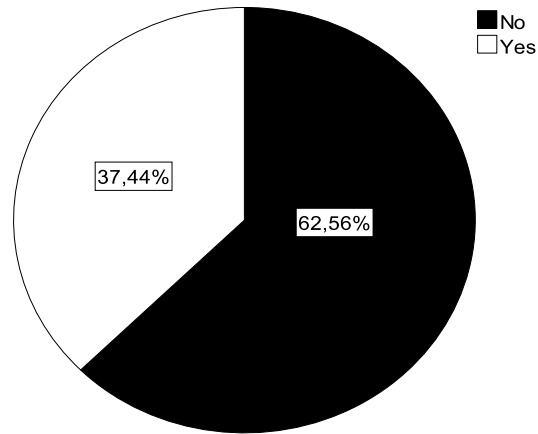


Figure 7.85. Liking of Jónathan in the metropolitan district of Murcia

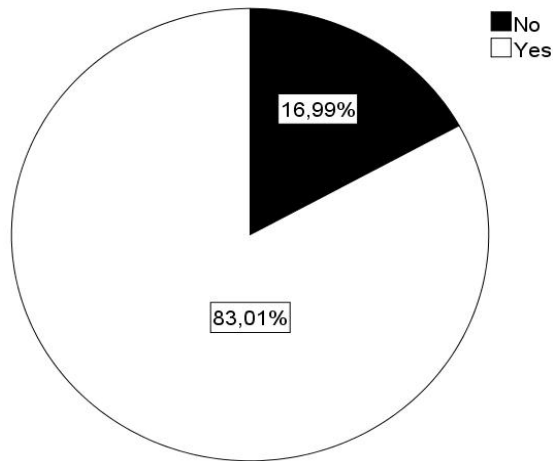


Figure 7.86. Liking of Jonathan in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Table 7.20. Liking of Jónathan in terms of level of education in the metropolitan district of Murcia

			Level of education	
			Non-university education	University education
1 name_Sp_Like sound-Jónathan?	No	Count % within Level of education	93 57.8%	44 75.9%
	Yes	Count % within Level of education	68 42.2%	14 24.1%
Total		Count % within Level of education	161 100.0%	58 100.0%

Table 7.21. Liking of Jonathan in terms of level of education in the metropolitan district of Leeds

			Level of education	
			Non-university education	University education
1 name_Eng_Like sound-Jonathan?	No	Count % within Level of education	14 13.1%	21 21.2%
	Yes	Count % within Level of education	93 86.9%	78 78.8%
Total		Count % within Level of education	107 100.0%	99 100.0%

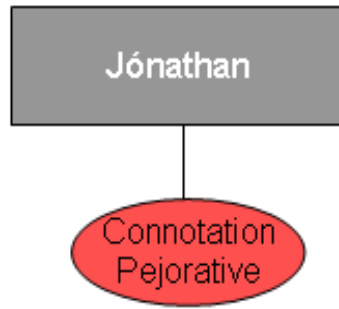


Figure 7.87. Factors based on the participants' comments about Jónathan in the metropolitan district of Murcia

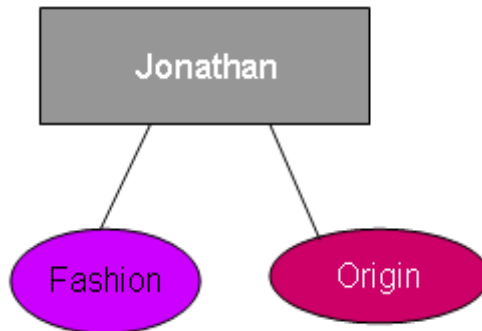


Figure 7.88. Factors based on the participants' comments about Jonathan in the metropolitan district of Leeds

With respect to Raúl/Raoul, Figures 7.89 and 7.90 reveal that in Spain the name is disliked only by around 17% of the respondents. Many informants (e.g. participant 82), especially males, reinforcing the stereotype that football is liked by more males than females, both those who like and dislike the name, remarked “Raúl me recuerda al futbolista del Real Madrid”<sup>67</sup> (even if now he plays for New York Cosmos and Schalke 04 at the time of the interview). Parents name their children after football players because they like them or because their children were born at that moment (Albaigès, 1998). Other informants in our study (e.g.

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<sup>67</sup> “Raúl reminds me of the Real Madrid football player”.

participant 62) praised Raúl for being “un nombre con personalidad”<sup>68</sup>. In a similar vein, romantic and modern philosophers underline the idea of expressive strength as an essential feature in style, as supported by A.Alonso (1947).

In contrast, in England the number of likes and dislikes obtained was the same (half each) for Raoul. Three comments were made regarding this name by English informants. One was as follows: “I like it; it reminds me of one of the main characters in the play *The Phantom of the Opera*” (participant 172). Although the informant mentioned the play and now it has even become a musical, the basis was a novel. Literature became a source of inspiration for names in England (Hanks et al., 2006), as discussed earlier. Another comment was “I don’t like it; it reminds me of the word *owl*” (participant 203). As García-Yebra (1989) maintained, rhyme helps to keep the verses/prose in our memory and to see a clearer link between words. In this case, the respondent does not like this link. The other observation has to do with the fact that participant 55 had “never heard of Raoul”, thus stressing the idea of lack of familiarity. In fact, in Hanks et al. (2006) whereas the Germanic Raúl appears in the section devoted to Spanish names, it is not Raoul but Ralph which is included in the English section (see Figures 7.91 & 7.92 for the factors studied above based on the comments our informants made).

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<sup>68</sup> “a name with personality”.

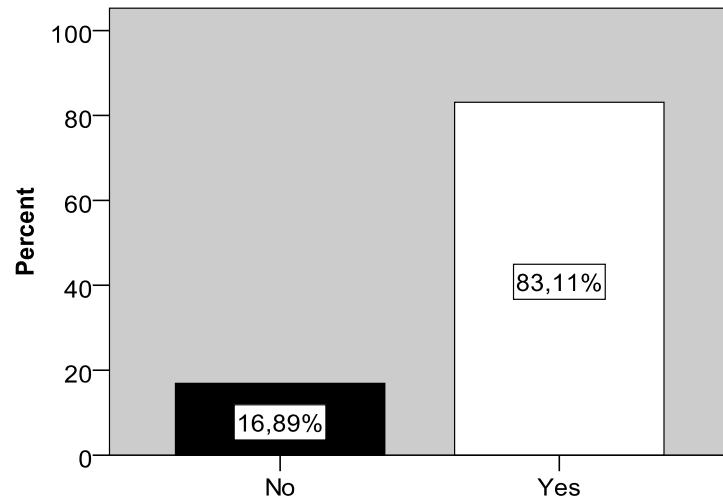


Figure 7.89. Liking of Raúl in the metropolitan district of Murcia

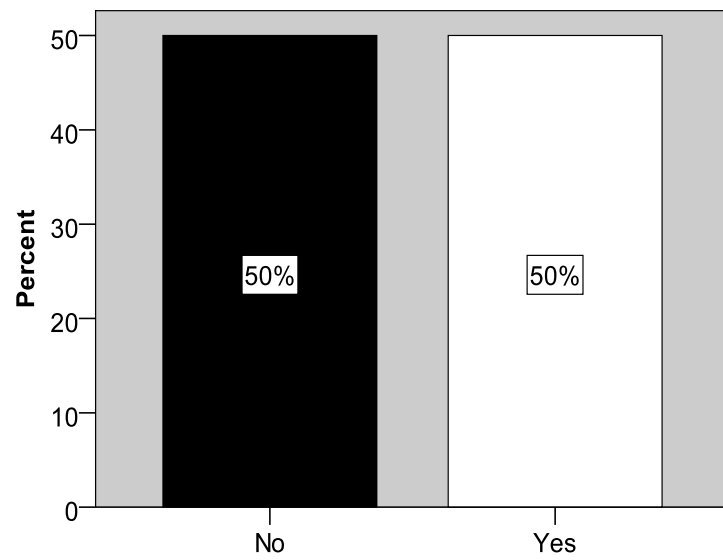


Figure 7.90. Liking of Raoul in the metropolitan district of Leeds



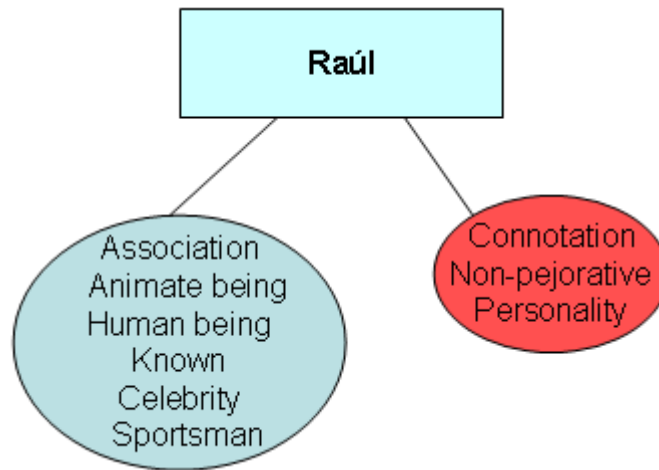


Figure 7.91. Factors based on the participants' comments about Raúl in the metropolitan district of Murcia

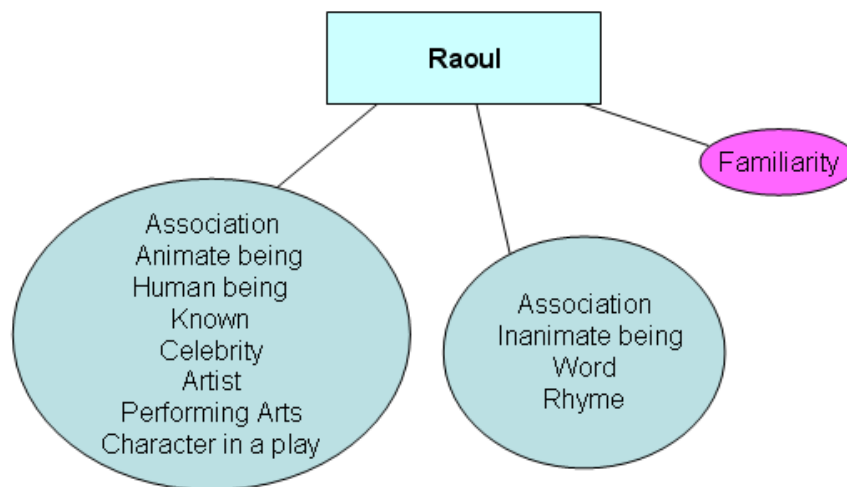


Figure 7.92. Factors based on the participants' comments about Raoul in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Concerning Luis/Lewis, in both places the ratio of informants liking the name is higher than that of those who dislike it. Nonetheless, the percentage elicited in Murcia and its surrounds is over 21% higher than that found in the city of Leeds and surrounding districts, as shown in Figures 7.93 and 7.94.

Some respondents (e.g. participant 24) in the metropolitan district of Murcia warned that “el nombre es muy basto; la gente no pronuncia la /s/ final u omite otras consonantes finales en el habla murciana”<sup>69</sup>, which they dislike. Once more, the word *basto* is used as a synonym of *vulgar*. There are Spanish accents which keep the implosive /s/ but in others such as those in the south of Spain and Mexico in popular speech the /s/ disappears, e.g. [lɔ niɲɔ] or is assimilated into the following sound, as occurs in the Murcian variety when the final consonant is followed by another consonant e.g. [ep-ˈpera] for *espera* (Jiménez-Cano, 2004). There are divergent opinions as to whether these phenomena can be considered popular and colloquial or vulgar speech (Navarro-Tomás, 1961) although, in this case, the participant is especially prone to regarding it as vulgar. Another informant in Spain said: “Me recuerda a Luis Rey de Francia”<sup>70</sup> (participant 186). Names borne by members of the Royal family (e.g. Charles) led to the popularity of the names in other countries as well. This name “is very common in French royal and noble families” (Hanks et al., 2006, p. 173).

In England participant 94 referred to sound, self-identity, origin and related name (Louis and Maurice) in the following remark: “I like the French Louis; my name, Maurice, also sounds French”. Maybe the phenomenon proposed by Nuttin (1985), the name letter effect, in which the letters present in a person’s name are more attractive to that person, could be extended to its sound too. Whereas the pronunciation is /lu:ɪs/ in the English form, Lewis, which is much more common in Britain, it is /lu:i/ in the French name, Louis (in Figures 7.95 & 7.96 the factors

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<sup>69</sup> “the name is very vulgar; people do not pronounce the final /s/ or omit other final consonants in Murcian speech”

<sup>70</sup> “It reminds me of Louis King of France”.

previously explored based on the comments provided by our participants can be seen).

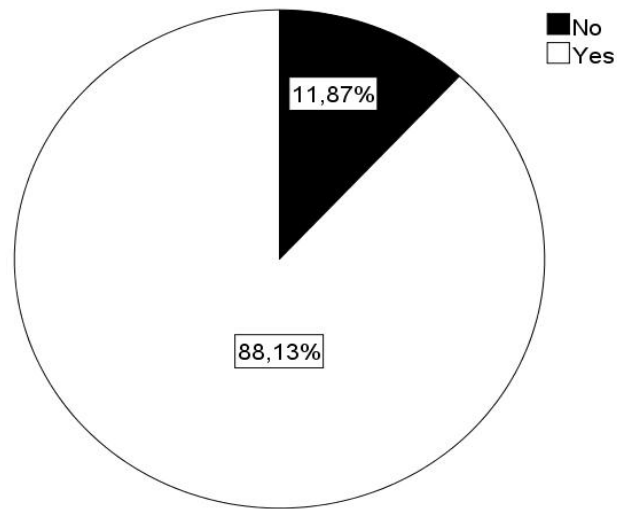


Figure 7.93. Liking of Luis in the metropolitan district of Murcia

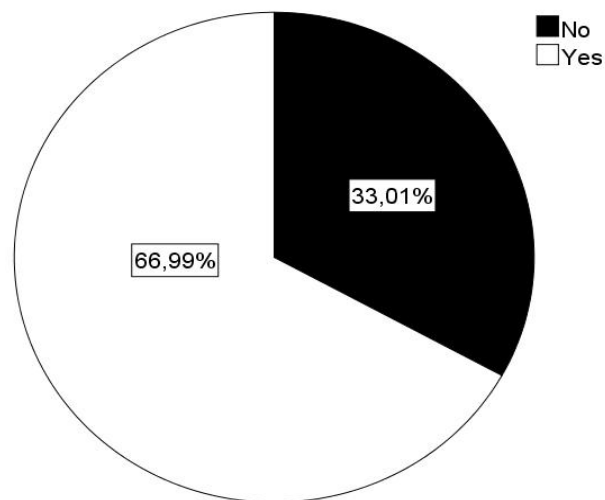


Figure 7.94. Liking of Lewis in the metropolitan district of Leeds

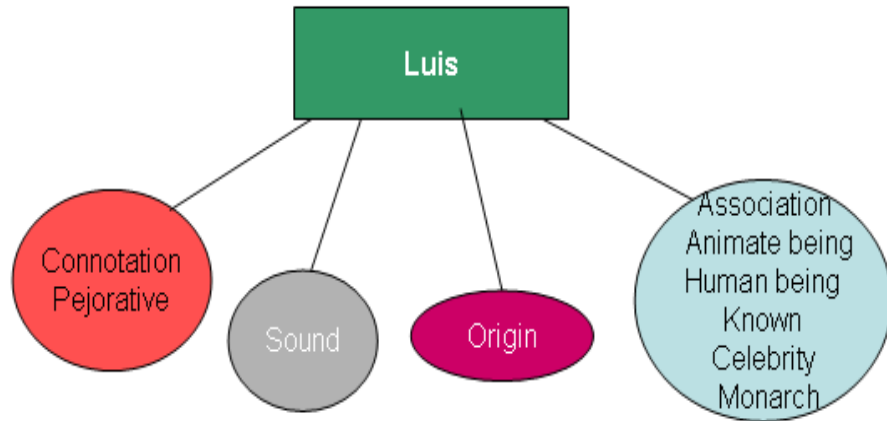


Figure 7.95. Factors based on the participants' comments about Luis in the metropolitan district of Murcia

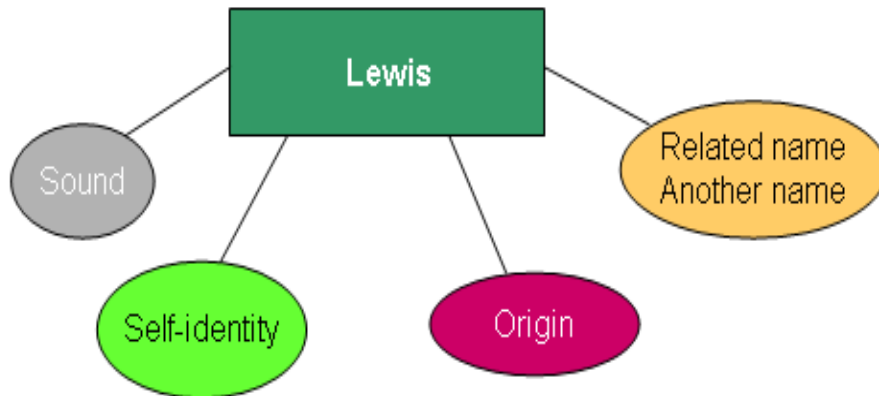


Figure 7.96. Factors based on the participants' comments about Lewis in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Regarding the name Alfredo/Alfred, the level of dislike is around one third in the municipal district of Murcia whereas in the capital city of Leeds and surrounding towns it is more than half, as illustrated in Figures 7.97 and 7.98. The case is similar to that of Sandra.

In the metropolitan district of Leeds several informants stated it is an old name (e.g. participant 94). Participant 10 underlined “Alfie is more modern”. Besnard and Desplanques (1987, p. 10, our own translation)

explained that “the phenomenon of fashion is born from the tension between originality and conformism”. Several English informants (e.g. participant 84) mentioned: “The name Alfred reminds me of King Alfred”, referring to “Alfred the Great (849.899), King of Wessex” (Hanks et al., 2006, p. 9), the first King of the West Saxons. Of Old English names only those of important personalities or saints survived. Apart from Alfred, names such as *Edwin* were revived in the Victorian period. Nonetheless, as Redmonds (2004) pointed out, nowadays they are old-fashioned. In brief, although no comment regarding Alfred itself being an old-fashioned name was made, the name was said to be old by our participants and other more fashionable options derived from Alfred (i.e. Alfie) were proposed.

In the metropolitan district of Murcia, the remarks are mainly about celebrities: “Alfredo me gusta porque me recuerda al actor Alfredo Mayo”<sup>71</sup> (participant 186) and “lo asocio con el actor Alfredo Landa, que me cae gordo; no me gusta ese nombre”<sup>72</sup> (participant 84). Both comments were made by elderly housewives. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century there have been many films and actors in films exerting an influence on the choice of names (Hanks et al, 2006; Darlington, 2015). Alfredo Mayo and Alfredo Landa are both actors from that century (the latter dying recently). The examples put forward here by the two participants endorse Bryner’s claim (2010) that sometimes there are prejudices towards names which remind us of previous bad or good experiences, in this case, a good and a bad experience with Alfredo Mayo and Alfredo Landa, respectively (see Figures 7.99 & 7.100 for the factors explored previously based on the remarks our respondents made).

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<sup>71</sup> “I like Alfredo because it reminds me of the actor Alfredo Mayo”

<sup>72</sup> “I associate it with the actor Alfredo Landa, who I can’t stand; I don’t like that name”

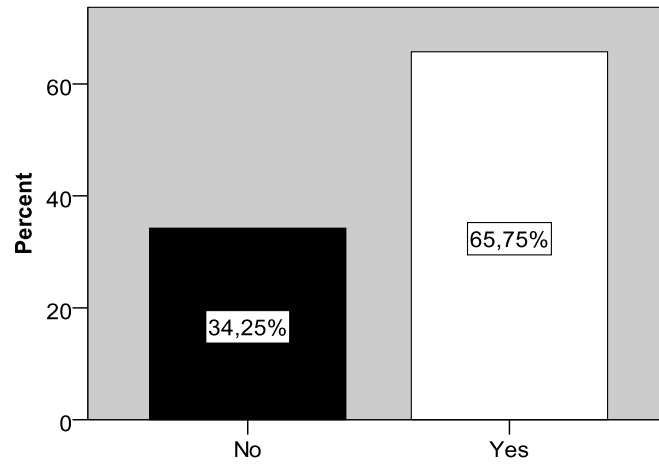


Figure 7.97. Liking of Alfredo in the metropolitan district of Murcia

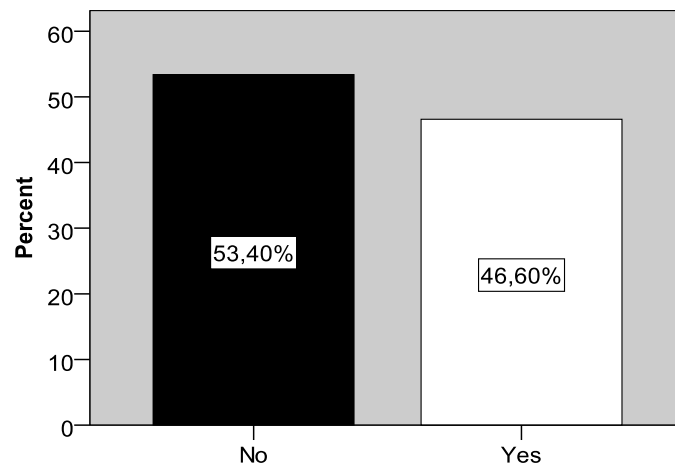


Figure 7.98. Liking of Alfred in the metropolitan district of Leeds

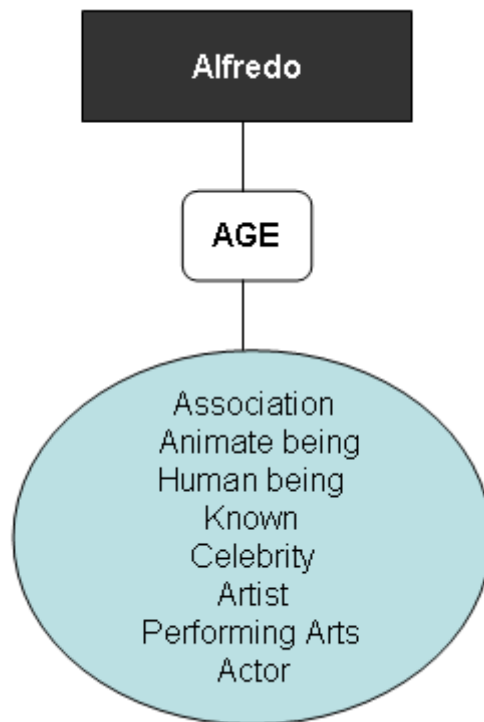


Figure 7.99. Factors based on the participants' comments about Alfredo in the metropolitan district of Murcia

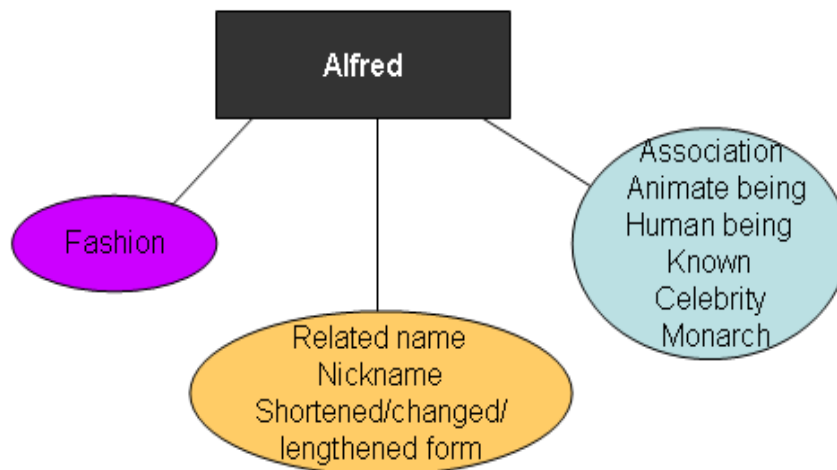


Figure 7.100. Factors based on the participants' comments about Alfred in the metropolitan district of Leeds

As we can see in Figures 7.101 and 7.102, the name Víctor/Victor elicits marked discrepancies between the metropolitan districts under discussion. The case is very similar to that of Jónathan/Jonathan but on this occasion it is in Murcia and pedanías where around 8 out of 10 informants like the sound of the name while in Leeds and surrounding towns less than 4 out of 10 like it. Albaigès (1998) claimed that, together with Víctor, *Carlos*, *Adrián* and *Pablo* are favourite male names in Spain in recent years. According to Dunkling (1977), in the 1970s there was the revival of names which were not considered for several generations, e.g. *Dorothy*, *Louise*, *Alice*, *Adele*, *Arthur*, *Martin*, etc., including Víctor, but its popularity seemed to decrease again later. The observations from the English respondents that “Victor is an old-fashioned name” (e.g. participant 193) seem to back up the results obtained and Dunkling’s remark (1977) (Figure 7.103 reflects the factors examined previously based on the comments made by our respondents).

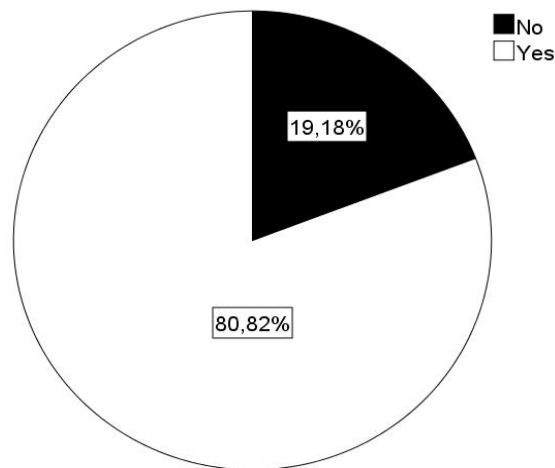


Figure 7.101. Liking of Víctor in the metropolitan district of Murcia



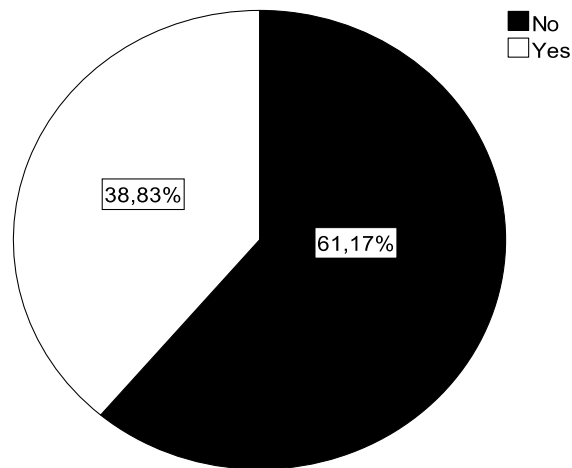


Figure 7.102. Liking of Victor in the metropolitan district of Leeds

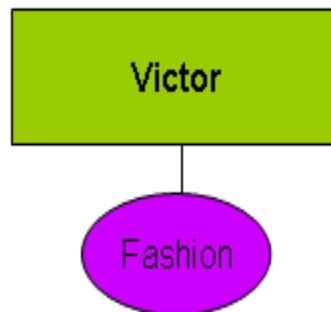


Figure 7.103. Factors based on the participants' comments about Victor in the metropolitan district of Leeds

The name Leonardo yields a higher ratio of likes (around 57%) than dislikes (almost 43%) in Murcia and districts whereas Leonard elicits a larger number of dislikes (around 62%) than likes (almost 38%) in Leeds and surrounding towns, the difference between likes and dislikes being wider in the case of Leeds municipal district, as can be seen in Figures 7.104 and 7.105.

It seems that in both places the name was regarded as an old-fashioned name (e.g. participant 164 in Leeds and surrounding towns and participant 140 in Murcia and pedanías) but in Spain it elicited a more positive response, and in all cases as a result of the associations involved.

Thus, participant 196, with a university education, highlighted “su conexión con el pintor y escultor del Renacimiento Leonardo da Vinci”<sup>73</sup> or in the case of participant 62 “(...) con el actor Leonardo DiCaprio”<sup>74</sup>. Again, the latter comment came from a housewife, younger in this case in correlation to his being a younger actor. The fact that these associations are found in the Spanish participants’ comments is possibly due to the original name being similar in Spanish, Leonardo (Leonardo da Vinci was Italian and Leonardo DiCaprio has Italian origins –his father was Italian).

A Spanish man (participant 82) –again the male gender– related *Lionel* and Leonardo (or he just confused the two names) and stated that “Leonardo me recuerda a Messi”<sup>75</sup>, in association with the footballer playing in F.C. Barcelona, Lionel Messi. As the respondent himself acknowledged, he was a supporter of this team. In the case of Raúl, many people who mentioned him were not supporters of Real Madrid. The fact that the name reminded them of the footballer, whether supporters of Real Madrid or not, may be due to the fact that Raúl was, first and foremost, a Spanish player and a representative of The Spanish National Football Team, although everybody knew which team he had played for most of his career.

Furthermore, participant 161 in Spain made the point that “Leonardo parece un nombre que la gente le podría dar a un perro grande”<sup>76</sup>, possibly as a result of its deep sound (the repetition of /o/), which is converse to the case of Pip, discussed previously. The name Leonardo would not match Albaigès’ suggestion (1998) that names given to dogs should be short and easy to pronounce in order for the animal to identify it (Figures 7.106 & 7.107 exhibit the factors studied previously

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<sup>73</sup> “its connection with the painter and sculptor from Renaissance Leonardo da Vinci”

<sup>74</sup> “(...) with the actor Leonardo DiCaprio”.

<sup>75</sup> “Leonardo reminds me of Messi”

<sup>76</sup> “Leonardo seems like a name people might give to a big dog”

based on the remarks made by our informants in the metropolitan district of Murcia and Leeds).

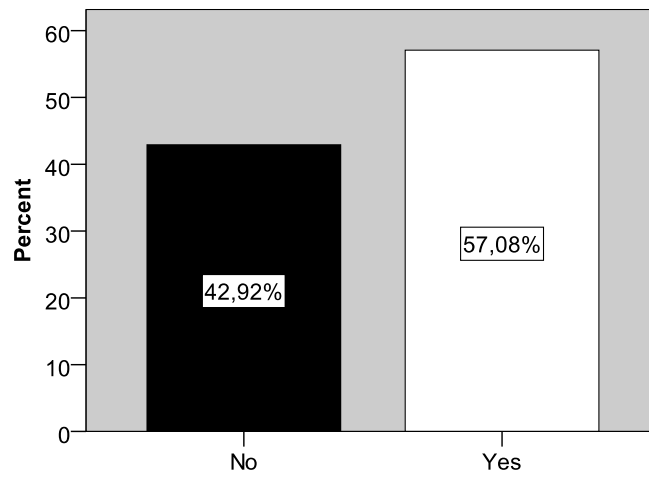


Figure 7.104. Liking of Leonardo in the metropolitan district of Murcia

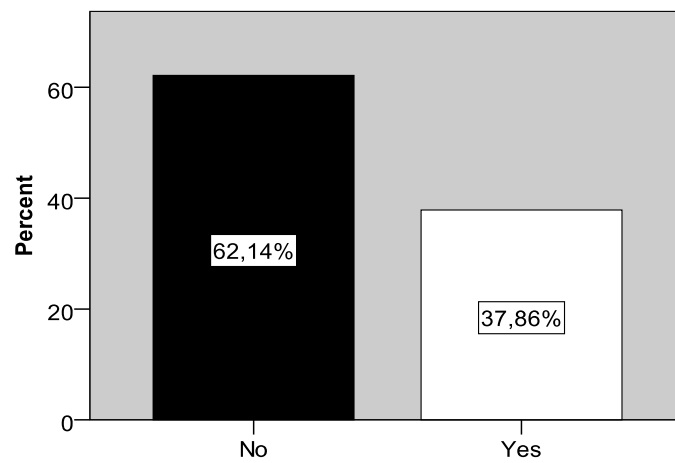


Figure 7.105. Liking of Leonard in the metropolitan district of Leeds

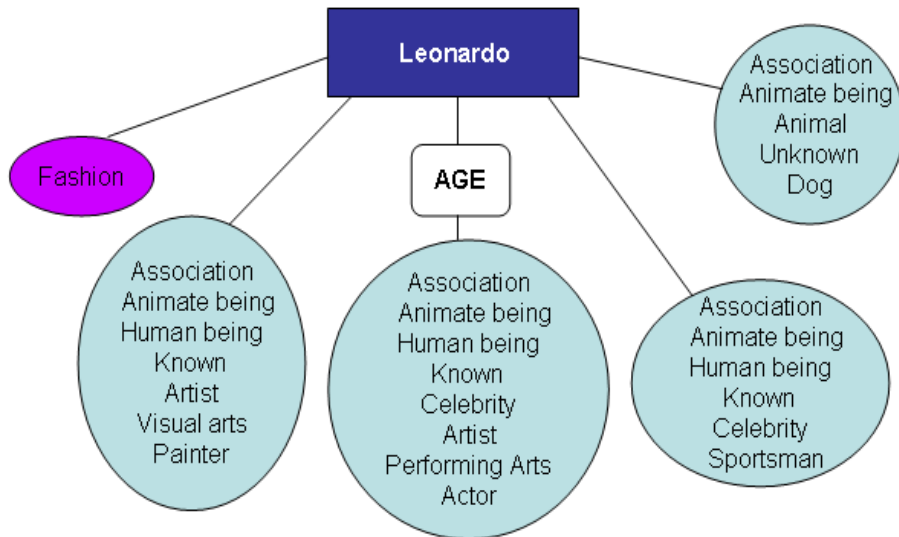


Figure 7.106. Factors based on the participants' comments about Leonardo in the metropolitan district of Murcia

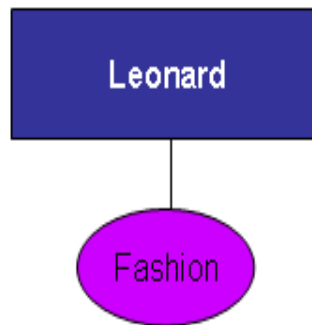


Figure 7.107. Factors based on the participants' comments about Leonard in the metropolitan district of Leeds

The forename Óscar/Oscar is more liked than disliked in both countries, especially in Spain, the difference being 12%, as displayed in Figures 7.108 and 7.109. It is a roughly similar case to that of Rafael/Raphael but Rafael seems to be preferred over Óscar in Spain (the percentage being 8.7% larger).

Oscar only gave rise to remarks in the metropolitan district of Leeds such as “it is a name now in fashion again but I do not like it”

(participant 10). Albaigés (1998) compared fashion with the Guadiana River. There are names which disappeared in the past and nowadays they start to be fashionable again, as in this case.

Moreover, participant 185 stated “it reminds me of the writer Oscar Wilde”. It seems that rather than the Celtic Ossian poems, which generated an interest in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Kisbye, 1985) and were liked by Goethe and Napoleon, among others (Hanks et al, 2006), the influence here is more recent, a writer from the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In a similar vein, participant 16 added “it reminds me of funny characters because there is always one in comedies called Oscar. It is a funny name because of that”. Nowadays, as in the case of Oscar, novel and theatre writers usually employ names from our daily life while in the Golden Age there were invented names, often taken from Latin, descriptive in themselves of the bearer’s qualities, e.g. *Firmio*, with a firm personality (Albaigés, 1998). Maybe the name Oscar itself does not mean ‘funny’ and its sound, for example, does not provoke comic effects but its association with comic characters in theatre may produce this effect. The same happens with *Romeo*, from Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*, which did not originally mean ‘womaniser’ but the fact that the character was a lover has led to the term being coined to mean ‘womaniser’ (J.L. Alonso & Huerta, 2000; Dromantaité & Baltramonaitiené, 2002). This could be similar in the case of Oscar: perhaps its constant use for comic characters in theatre may give rise to it being widely associated with funny connotations in the near future. It must be noted, though, that the latter respondent worked in the theatre (costumes) and she was familiar with this world (in Figure 7.110 the factors studied above based on the observations our informants made are shown).

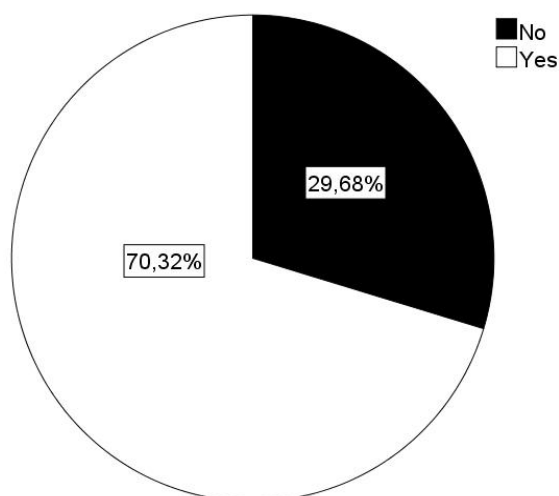


Figure 7.108. Liking of Oscar in the metropolitan district of Murcia

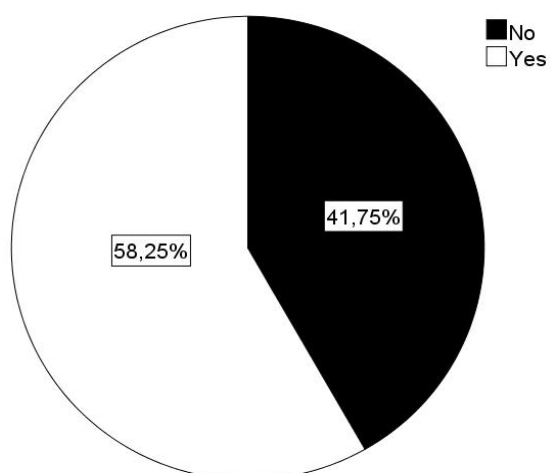


Figure 7.109. Liking of Oscar in the metropolitan district of Leeds

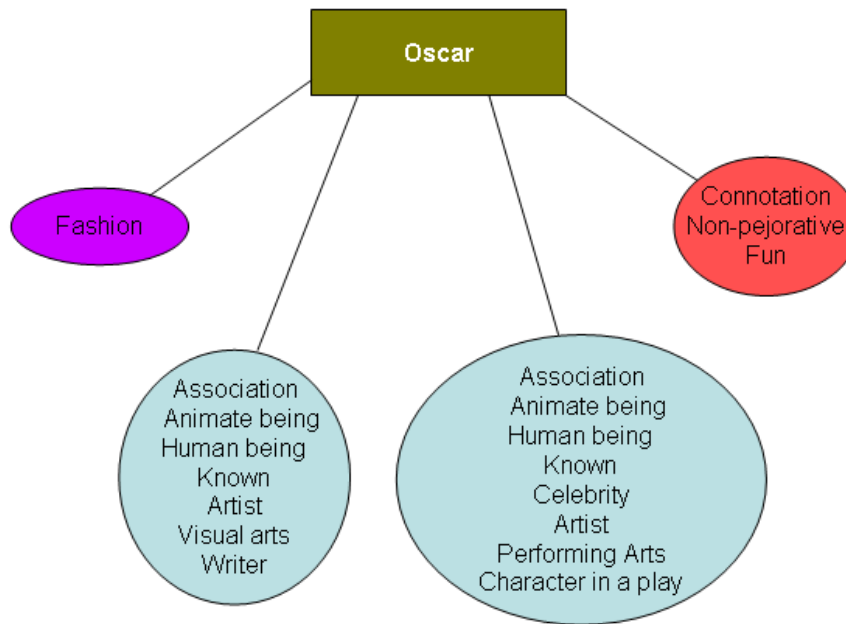


Figure 7.110. Factors based on the participants' comments about Oscar in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Having examined the participants' reactions to each name by comparing/contrasting the two metropolitan districts, Figures 7.111 and 7.112 offer a more general view of the liking of these names. It is found that the majority of names receive positive liking ratings in both countries. From the 20 names presented, only 5 yield liking results below 50% in both municipal districts. In Murcia and districts the percentages tend to be higher in general terms.

These figures also reflect that Ana/Anna is a particularly popular name in both countries, especially in Spain. Lucas is also favourably positioned in the two metropolitan districts. Nonetheless, the position of other forenames radically differs in both countries. Whereas in England Jonathan, Jessica, Jennifer and Amanda occupy a high position, they are low-positioned in Spain. Similarly, Gloria and Victor score high ratings in Murcia and pedanías but not in Leeds and its districts. In Spain two names, Alfredo and Rebeca, have exactly the same percentage. In

addition, Gloria and Lucas are almost alike in percentage terms (over 86% in both cases). Likewise, in England the figures for Jennifer and Amanda closely resemble each other (with over 71%). It is important to note that in this country Raoul has exactly the same number of likes and dislikes. Curiously, in Murcia and surrounding areas almost all the names which yield below 50% of liking ratings are female names whereas in Leeds and districts the question of gender seems to be more balanced.

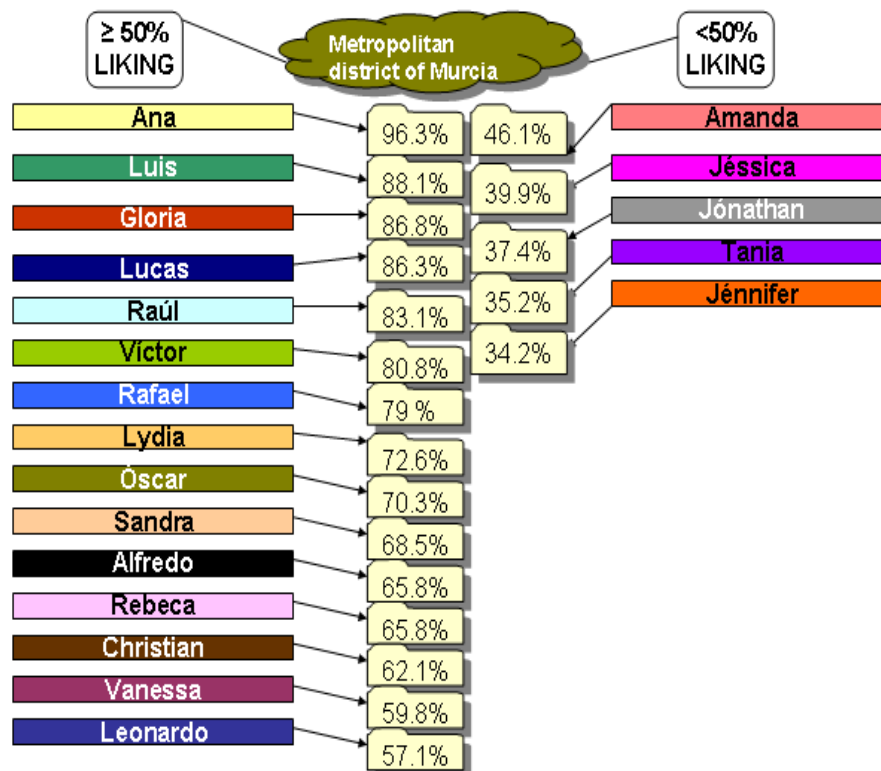


Figure 7.111. Forenames and corresponding liking percentages (above and below 50%) in the metropolitan district of Murcia



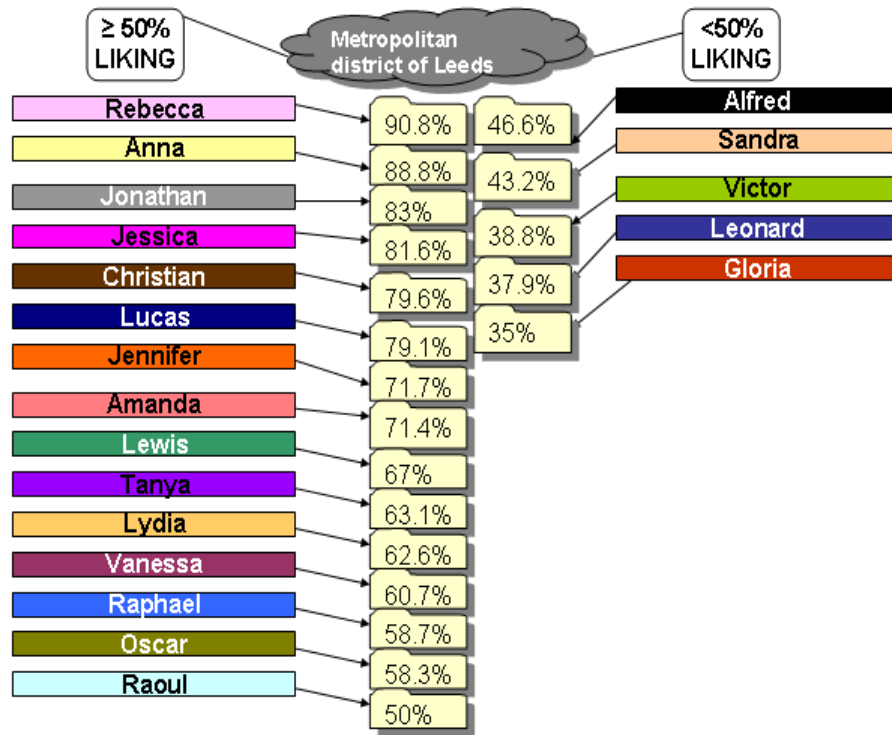


Figure 7.112. Forenames and corresponding liking percentages (above and below 50%) in the metropolitan district of Leeds

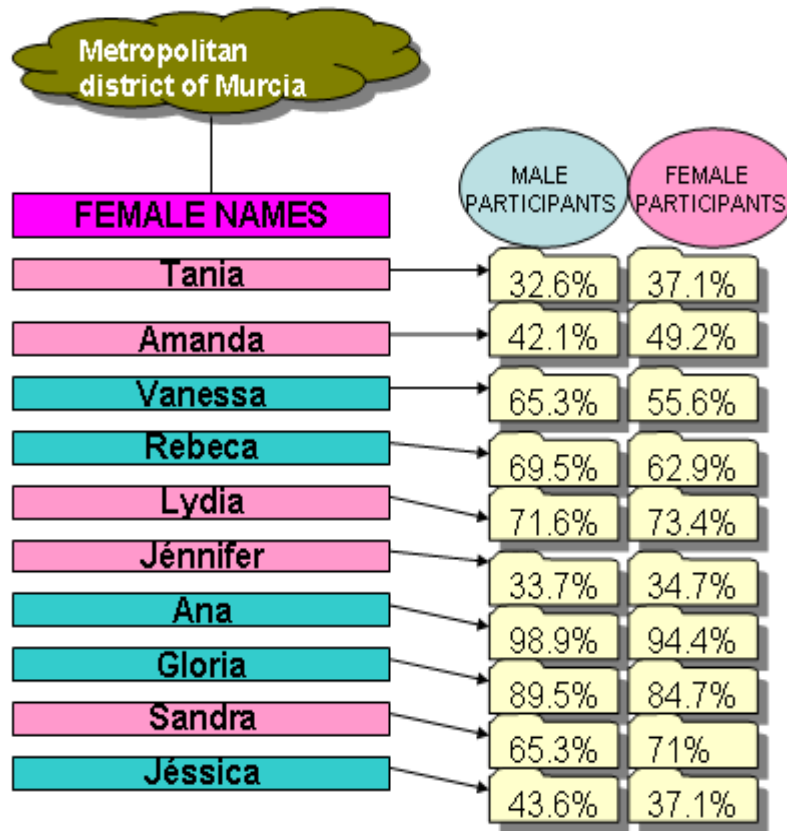
Taking into account that the respondents were both male and female as were the forenames presented, the possible relationship between the participant’s gender and name (either male or female) liking is worthy of consideration. A salient point illustrated in Figures 7.113, 7.114, 7.115 and 7.116 is that for many of the female and male forenames presented in both metropolitan districts the rate of male respondents liking them is higher than that of women. Also notable is the fact that male liking prevails among female names in Leeds and its surrounds whereas male liking prevails among male names in Murcia and districts.

Examining Figures 7.113 and 7.114 in detail, for female names, the percentage of men liking the names is larger for half of them (5 out of 10

names): Vanessa, Rebeca, Ana, Gloria and Jéssica in Spain and in England for most names, 9 out of 10 (except for Lydia).

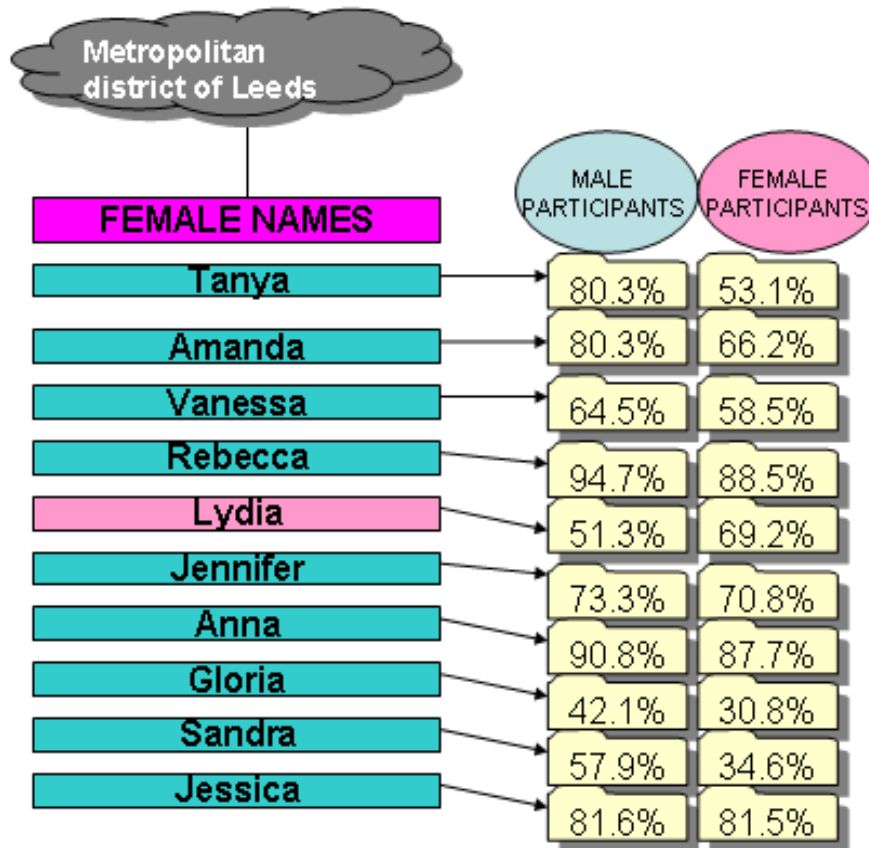
The chi-square test reveals that, whereas differences between male and female respondents in terms of female names are not statistically significant at the alpha value set, .05, in Spain, they are for certain female names in England. In particular, for Tanya, Sandra and Amanda ( $\chi^2=15.225$ ;  $df=1$ ;  $p=.000$ ;  $\chi^2=10.592$ ;  $df=1$ ,  $p=.001$  and  $\chi^2=4.672$ ;  $df=1$ ;  $p=.031$ , respectively) the liking on the part of males in comparison to that of female participants is quite higher. Cramer's V shows that the degree of strength of the association between gender and name liking is low in the case of Tanya and Sandra (with a coefficient of .272 and .227, respectively) and very low for Amanda (with a coefficient of .151). The value of the Uncertainty coefficient indicates that the error committed when attempting to predict the extent to which the dependent variable can be "explained" by the independent variable would be just 6% for Tanya, 4% for Sandra and 2% for Amanda. It is important to note, though, that statistically significant differences between male and female respondents are also found at a critical value of .05 for Lydia in England but, in this case, as previously mentioned, the ratio of women who like this name is higher than that of men ( $\chi^2=6.576$ ;  $df=1$ ;  $p=.010$ ), yielding a very low coefficient of magnitude of association, .179, and an error of just 2% when trying to predict name liking in terms of gender.

The connection of women to the liking of the name Lydia makes sense in that, as Ohala (1984) argued, less threatening beings, in this case, women, who are physically weaker than men, produce or, in this case, feel attracted towards high-pitched sounds. Possibly in relation to this, in Lawson's study (1974) Davey was disliked in general terms for being weak or passive possibly due to the -y ending, strongly associated with girls' names.



7.113. Liking percentages of female names by male and female participants in the metropolitan district of Murcia<sup>77</sup>

<sup>77</sup> The forename will be blue-coloured and pink-coloured when there are more male participants and female participants liking the name, respectively.



7.114. Liking percentages of female names by male and female participants in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Regarding male names, as shown in Figures 7.115 and 7.116, in Spain only a fifth of names, in particular, Víctor and Óscar, are liked by a greater proportion of females than males. In England, the percentage of women who like male names is higher than that of men for half of the male forenames presented: Lucas, Christian, Raphael, Jonathan and Oscar. It can be observed that Óscar/Oscar is the only name which is liked by more women than men in both metropolitan districts.

No statistically significant results are found for the cases of male names in which there is a preponderance of women liking them but

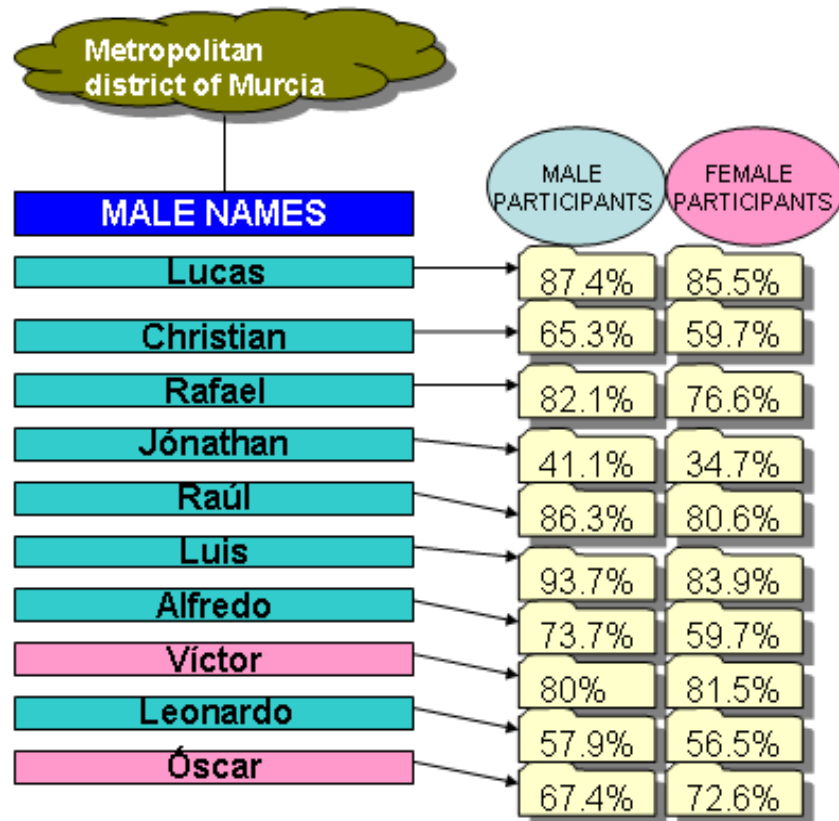
statistically significant results are yielded for certain male forenames liked by a larger rate of men.

One of these names is Alfredo and Alfred in the two metropolitan districts. The chi-square test reveals that there is a statistically significant relationship at a significance value of .05 between the respondent's gender and a liking for this particular name ( $\chi^2=4.686$ ;  $df=1$ ;  $p=.030$  in the case of Alfredo and  $\chi^2=7.694$ ;  $df=1$ ,  $p=.006$  for Alfred). Cramer's V reflects that the degree of intensity in the association between the two variables is .150 for Alfredo and .193 for Alfred, therefore, a very low association -almost low in the case of Alfred, according to Bisquerra's interpretation of correlation coefficients (1989). The value of the Uncertainty coefficient indicates that the error committed when intending to predict the extent to which the criterion variable can be "explained" by the predictor variable would be a mere 2% and 3%.

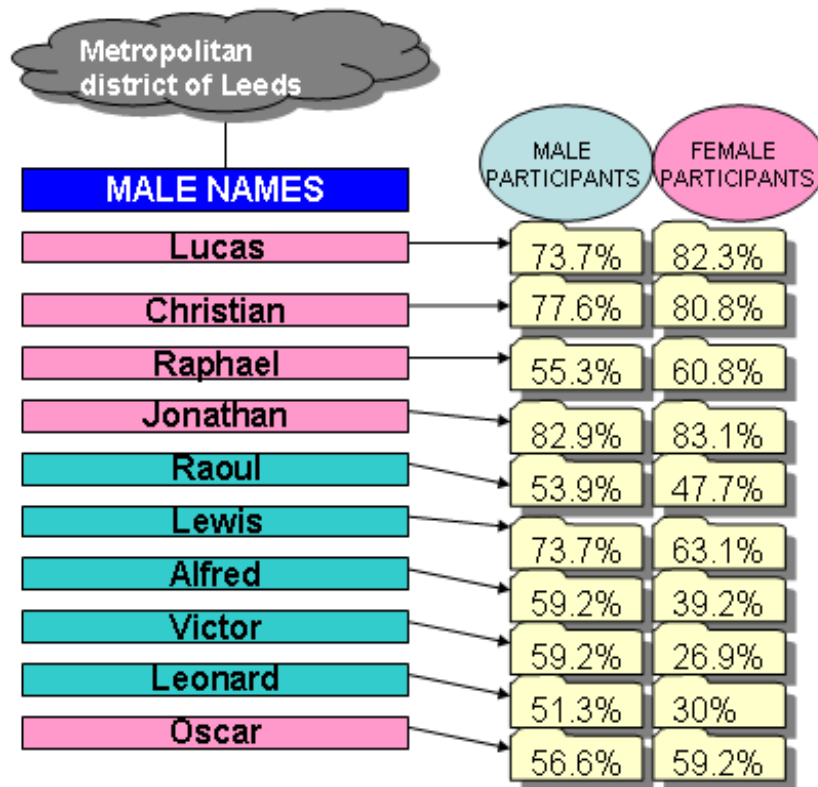
In Spain there is also the case of Luis, in which statistically significant differences are found between males and females ( $\chi^2=4.951$ ;  $df=1$ ;  $p=.026$ ), yielding a Cramer's V of .150. Hence, the magnitude of association is very low. The value of the Uncertainty coefficient when considering gender in the prediction of liking of this particular name would be just 3%.

What is more, in the metropolitan district of Leeds the differences between males and females are statistically significant for Victor ( $\chi^2=21.049$ ;  $df=1$ ;  $p=.000$ ) and for Leonard ( $\chi^2=9.262$ ;  $df=1$ ,  $p=.002$ ). The degree of intensity in the association between the variables gender and name liking is .320 for Victor and .212 for Leonard, which is shown to be low in both cases. The error committed when predicting the extent to which name liking can be "explained" by gender would be just 8% for Victor and 3% for Leonard. It is important to highlight the fact that Victor is liked by a slightly larger ratio of women than men in Spain although with no statistically significant differences whereas in England a larger

percentage of men than women liking Victor is elicited, there existing statistically significant differences.



7.115. Liking percentages of male names by male and female participants in the metropolitan district of Murcia

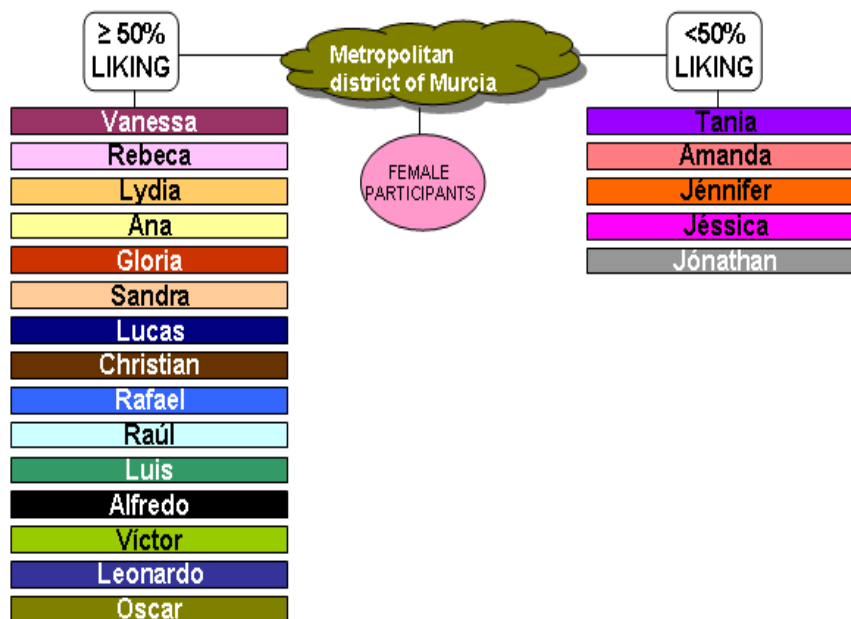


7.116. Liking percentages of male names by male and female participants in the metropolitan district of Leeds

From these statistical results it can be concluded that statistically significant differences can be observed for a higher number of forenames in the metropolitan district of Leeds than in Murcia in terms of gender, both for male and female names. Furthermore, these statistically significant results are mainly elicited when there is a larger ratio of male respondents liking the name in question.

Figures 7.117 and 7.118 show that in Spain the forenames liked above and below 50% do not differ in terms of female and male participants from the general tendency shown in Figure 7.111. Nevertheless, as displayed in Figure 7.119 and 7.120, in England differences between female and male respondents are so wide in some

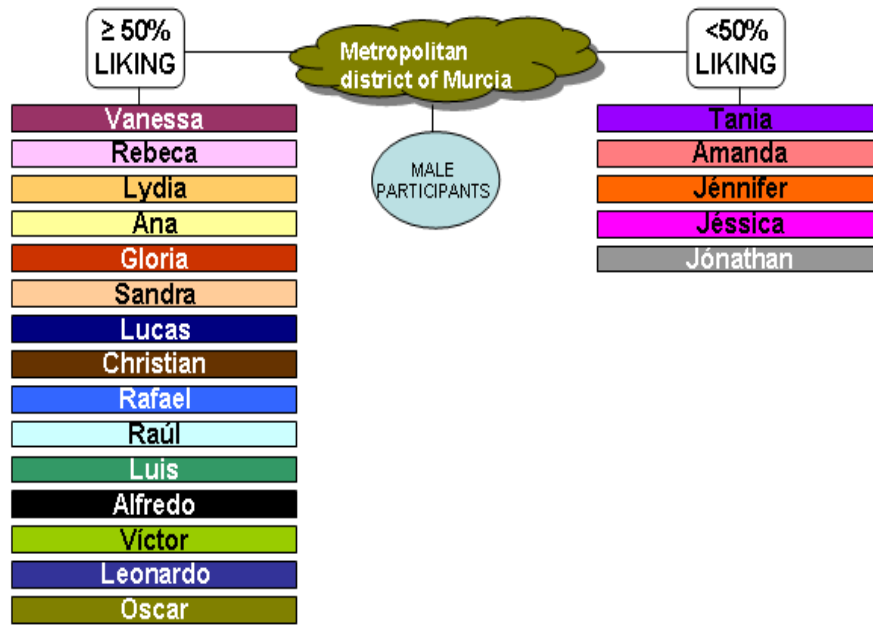
cases that for certain forenames liking is above 50% for male respondents but below this percentage for female informants. This is the case of Alfred, Leonard, Sandra and Victor (with a difference of 20%, 21.3%, 23.3% and 32.3% between genders, respectively). In the municipal district of Leeds men like above 50% all the names except for Gloria. This varies from the general tendency displayed in Figure 7.112, which accords with that of female respondents. The instance of Raoul is special in that the percentage of men liking this name is slightly over 50% and that of women is somewhat less than 50%, so the difference between genders is minimal in this case.



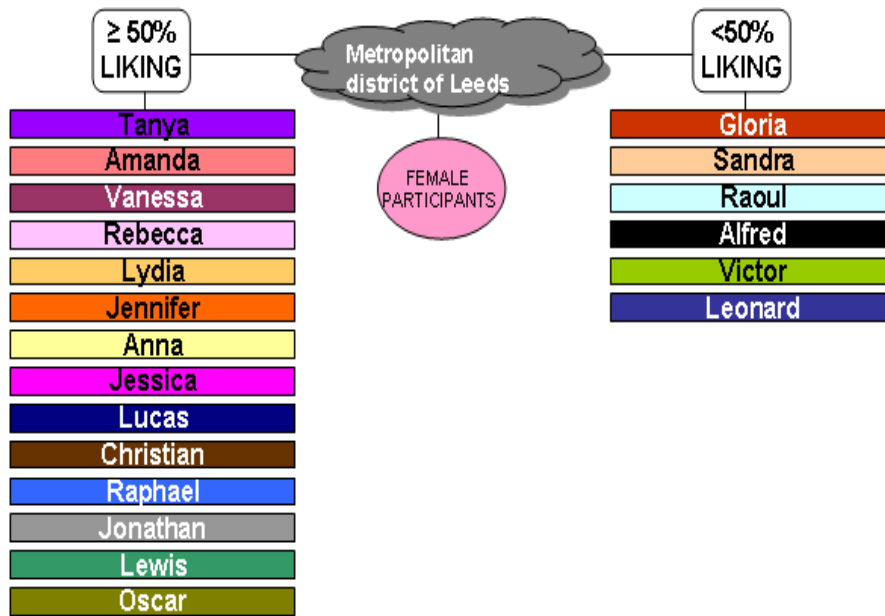
7.117. Liking (above and below 50%) of names by female participants in the metropolitan district of Murcia<sup>78</sup>

<sup>78</sup> The order in which names appear here follows the distribution in the questionnaire and Results Discussion section.

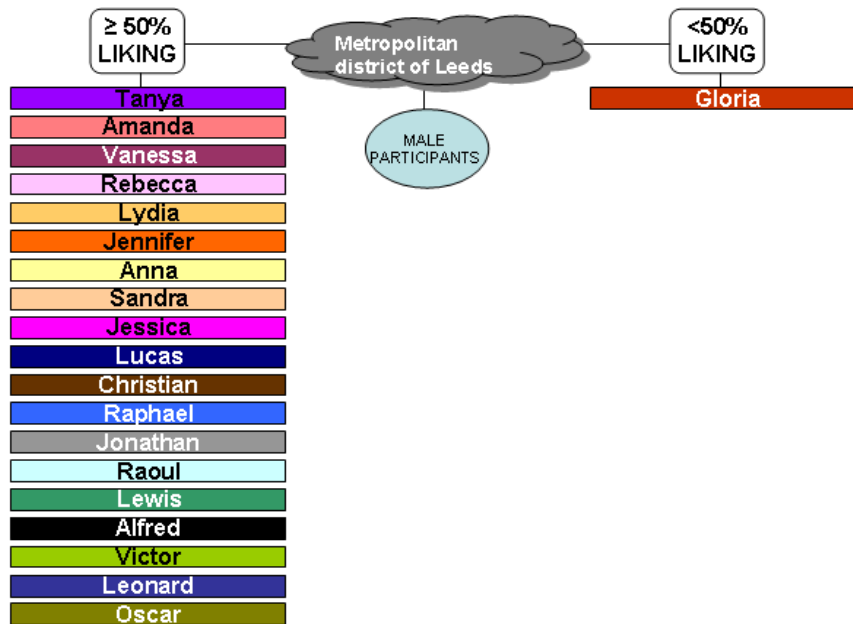




7.118. Liking (above and below 50%) of names by male participants in the metropolitan district of Murcia



7.119. Liking (above and below 50%) of names by female participants in the metropolitan district of Leeds



7.120. Liking (above and below 50%) of names by male participants in the metropolitan district of Leeds

B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account  
 B.2. a) Funny connotations of a particular forename  
 b) Factors connected to forename funny connotations

As shown in Figures 7.121, 7.122, 7.123 and 7.124, respondents from the metropolitan district of Murcia tend to find more fun in the proposed names than those in Leeds and surrounding areas. In Murcia and pedanías the ratio of informants finding fun in the names is very similar in both names, Cornelia and Crispín, specifically, around 60%. In contrast, in the municipal district of Leeds Cornelia elicits more negative responses than Crispin in terms of fun. While more than three quarters of participants do not consider Cornelia to be funny, a little over 63% do not think Crispin evokes any fun.

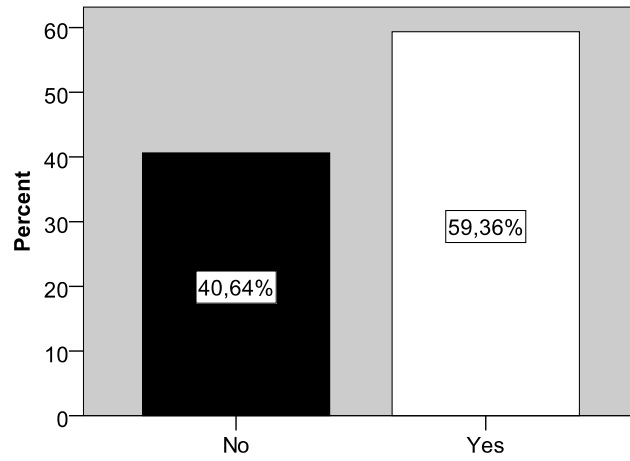


Figure 7.121. Funny connotations of Cornelia in the metropolitan district of Murcia

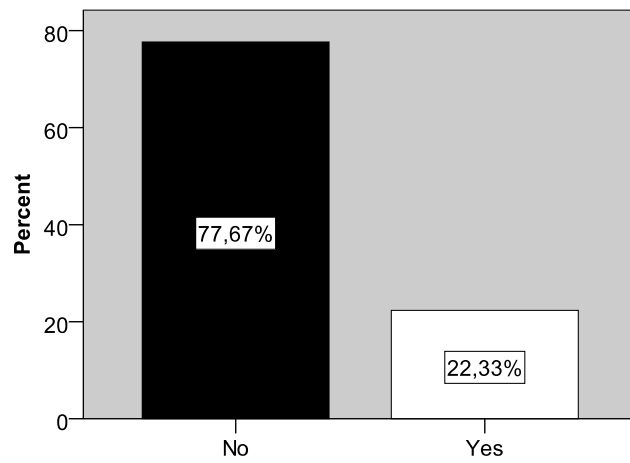


Figure 7.122. Funny connotations of Cornelia in the metropolitan district of Leeds

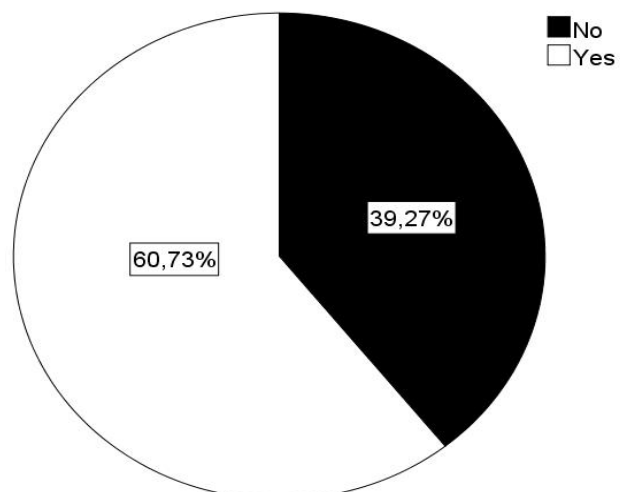


Figure 7.123. Funny connotations of Crispin in the metropolitan district of Murcia

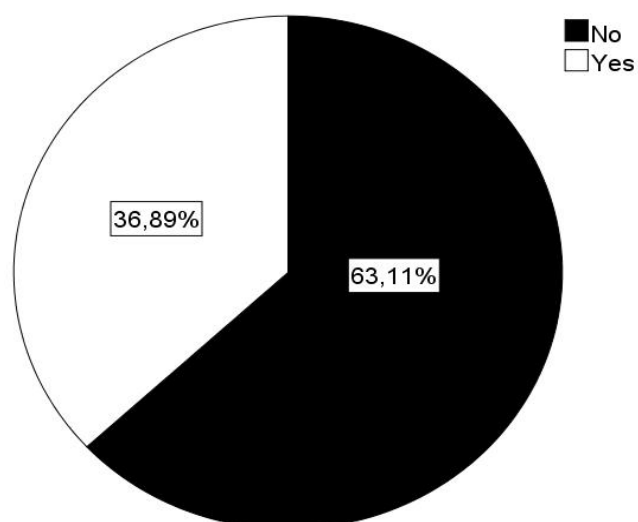


Figure 7.124. Funny connotations of Crispin in the metropolitan district of Leeds

The fact that Cornelia is “an unusual name” (e.g. participant 206 in Spain and participant 26 in England) was underlined in the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds. Apart from originality, there was an association triggered by Cornelia in the two municipal districts: “It reminds me of Roman Emperors”. Hanks et al. (2006, p. 64) corroborated Cornelia is “the Latin feminine form of the Old Roman Family Name Cornelius. It was borne in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC by the mother of the revolutionary reformers Tiberius and Gaius Sempronius Gracchus”. Albaigès (1998) underlined it was the *cognomen* or *nomen gentilicium*, that is, the second name, which indicated the gens or tribe to which the person belonged. The influence of historical characters on names must be noted (Baring-Gould, 1910). In the Middle Ages only the gentry adopted the names of great figures such as Cornelia but then they continued within family and small communities (Barceló & Ensenyat, 2005). Most of the participants who made this comment were people with a university education and, in particular, some of them were secondary school or university history teachers (e.g. participant 19 in Spain and participant 31 in England). Obviously, when this association was made, the name was not considered funny.

Another association, exclusive of the municipal district of Leeds, was, for example, “Cornelia reminds me of vampires from the books I have read” (participant 28), which is possibly in relation to the writer Cornelia Amiri, the author of several books about vampires: *Dance of the Vampires* and *Vampire Highland Fling* (Amiri, 2010-2015). Associations can also be found in Leeds and surrounding areas in the following comments: “It is funny in that it reminds me of *cornea*” (participant 16), “I don’t find it funny; it reminds me of having a painful corn on my foot” (participant .23) or the frequent “it reminds me of the cereal, *corn*; that’s funny” (e.g. participant 162). As can be seen, depending on the word the name is associated with, Cornelia is either found funny or not. A further

association came from a teacher –thus, a person with a university degree: “It reminds me of a Dutch girl” (participant 88), an association involving gender, age and origin. Indeed, this name “was probably brought in by Dutch immigrants” (Hanks et al., 2006, p. 64). Withycombe (1977) specified that *Cornelius* was brought in the sixteenth century by sectaries who had taken refuge in the Netherlands. In Flanders it has a very long history, maybe having English roots. The link with England was due to the enduring trade links with the Continent. The name was also used in a feminine form as Cornelius Prole, a Dutchman, gave his daughter the name Cornelia in 1654. There is no doubt, though, that the fact that it was found in the Bible led to it being chosen by some parents.

In Murcia and the surrounding area, the associations were different: “Me recuerda a *cuerno* y a *cornudo/a*”<sup>79</sup>, a statement often accompanied by a smile (consequently, the respondent found the name funny) and usually coming from males (e.g. participant 34). In fact, “Cornelius (...) [is] possibly a derivative of Latin *cornu* ‘horn’” (Hanks et al., 2006, p. 64, emphasis in original) and Spanish derives from Latin. As Cárdenas (2012) pointed out, the issue of infidelity may give rise to laughter and jokes. It should be borne in mind, though, that, speaking in statistical terms, women suffer from infidelity of men more often than the other way round (Woods, 2012), so maybe for females the question is more serious. Men may brag about their infidelities. Therefore, it makes sense that a smile or laughter accompanies their reactions towards a name they associate with the word *cuerno* or *cornudo* (see Figures 7.125 & 7.126 for the factors examined above based on the comments of our respondents).

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<sup>79</sup> “It reminds me of *horn* and *cuckolded*”

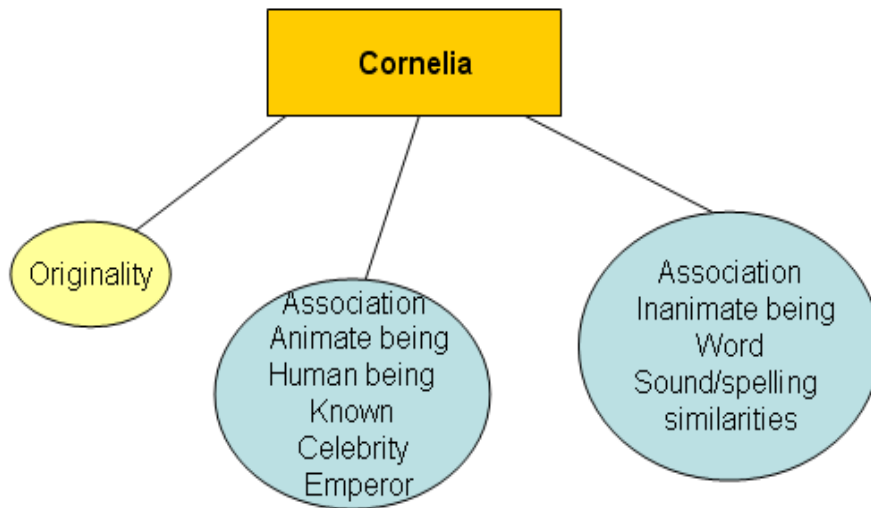


Figure 7.125. Factors based on the participants' comments about Cornelia in the metropolitan district of Murcia

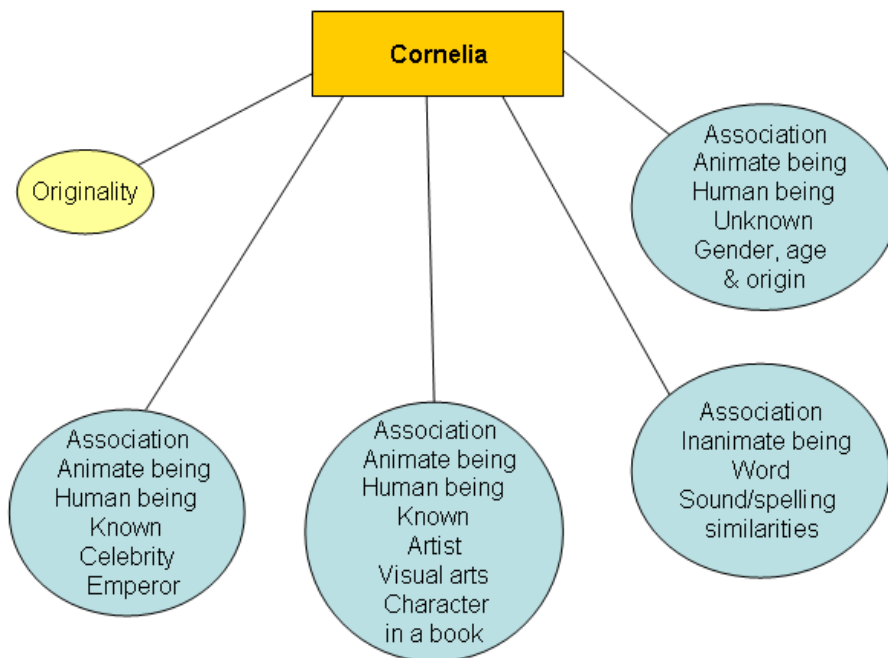


Figure 7.126. Factors based on the participants' comments about Cornelia in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Focusing on Crispin/Crispín, most of the informants who made comments in the metropolitan district of Leeds, strikingly, reflected on the fact that “Crispin is a posh name” (e.g. participant 16), some of them liking it and other not liking it and some of them finding it funny and others not finding it funny. One of the most revealing remarks came from an elderly working-class woman: “I cannot say anything about Crispin; this name does not belong to my social class. It is not in my world” (participant 199). It can be observed from this statement that, especially in old people but even among the youngest generation (many young people commented on the fact that Crispin had upper class connotations) there exist social class connotations and each person seems to “label” himself/herself according to social class and he/she identifies himself/herself with a given status. This supports Darlington’s claim (2015) that in Britain the choice of names is often determined by social class.

Another comment in Leeds and surrounding towns was: “I do not find the name Crispin funny because it resembles the shortening of my name, Christopher” (participant 8). Thus, this respondent did not label Crispin as funny because for both of them, Christopher and Crispin, the shortened form sounds /kɹɪs/. This may suggest that he sees this form as his own name, which is “a reflection of [him], like [his] face in a photograph” (Dunkling, 1977, p. 10).

In the metropolitan district of Murcia many of the informants who found the name funny made reference to different associations, for instance, “se parece a las palabras *crepillo* o *crispado*<sup>80</sup>” (participant 53). *Crepillo* is a special salty biscuit made of paprika, typical of certain towns in Murcia. Another comment was “su asociación con el cómic

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<sup>80</sup> “it resembles the words *crackers* and *twitched*”.



español *El Capitán Trueno*<sup>81</sup> (participant 197). Participant 68 said: “De cachondeo le decimos a un amigo D.Crispín el Amargao”<sup>82</sup>. This latter comment shows confusion about the title of the comedy, which, in fact, is *D. Quintín el Amargao*, Quintín and Crispín being very similar in terms of sound. One informant, a secondary school teacher of Spanish, mentioned the fact that “el nombre es gracioso de por sí”<sup>83</sup> (participant 219). This is supported by 20 minutos (2011). We could conclude he is suggesting that sound symbolism can be perceived in this word. Maybe he is aware of this phenomenon, as a scholar of Spanish language and linguistics. The point is that the associations made reference to here, that is, comics, comedies, etc. may derive from the intrinsic fun of the name. In other words, the character in *Captain Thunder*, for instance, may have been called Crispín as a result of the intrinsic fun found in the name of this character. As explained when discussing the case of Pip, the presence of /i/ has connotations of tininess, affection and a lack of seriousness. Therefore, once more the comment “es un nombre de perro pequeño”<sup>84</sup> (e.g. participant 188) makes sense. Another comment strengthening the idea of tininess and affection is “es un nombre de ecuatoriano”<sup>85</sup> (participant 163). It must be borne in mind that Ecuadorans are stereotyped as short and very affectionate although maybe the reason for this comment can be explained by the following paragraph.

An Ecuadoran respondent pointed out: “Tengo amigos de mi país llamados Crispín y les tengo respeto”<sup>86</sup>. The name Crispín seems to be more common in Ecuador than in Spain where, according to several informants, “no estamos muy familiarizados con él”<sup>87</sup> (e.g. participant 88).

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<sup>81</sup> “its association with the Spanish comic *Captain Thunder*”.

<sup>82</sup> “For a lark we call a friend Mr. Crispin The Bitter”.

<sup>83</sup> “the name is funny in itself”.

<sup>84</sup> “it is a small dog’s name”

<sup>85</sup> “it is an Ecuadoran’s name”.

<sup>86</sup> “I have friends from my country called Crispín and I feel respect for them”.

<sup>87</sup> “we are not very familiarised with it”.

Yonge (1863, p. 1) stated: “We shall find the history, the religion, and the character of a nation stamped upon the individuals in the names they bear”. Crispín is not funny either for a respondent from a town in Spain because it is one of the few Spanish places in which the name is familiar: “Estoy muy familiarizada con el nombre; es el del patrón de la ciudad de Elche, en Alicante, concretamente de los zapateros, y la festividad incluye una romería”<sup>88</sup>. She does not see Crispín from the same perspective as a person who is unfamiliar with the name. As explained by Hanks et al (2006, p. xv), “saints can also function as patrons of particular occupations, and we find cases where this, too, influences the choice of a name”. There are iconographic symbols to represent the saints, for instance, in Spain it is a shoemaker’s tools for St. Crispín and Cripiniano.

Although both the names Crispín and Bertín are very similar in terms of sound and stress, we can surmise that the reason why Crispín has evoked more connotations of sound symbolism is because in the case of Bertín the association with the actor seems to be stronger than the sound symbolic suggestions whereas for Crispín Spanish people do not have such strong associations (in Figures 7.127 & 7.128 the factors previously studied based on the remarks of our informants are displayed).

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<sup>88</sup> “I am very familiarised with the name; it is that of the patron saint of the city of Elche, in Alicante, in particular, of shoemakers, and the festivity includes a pilgrimage”

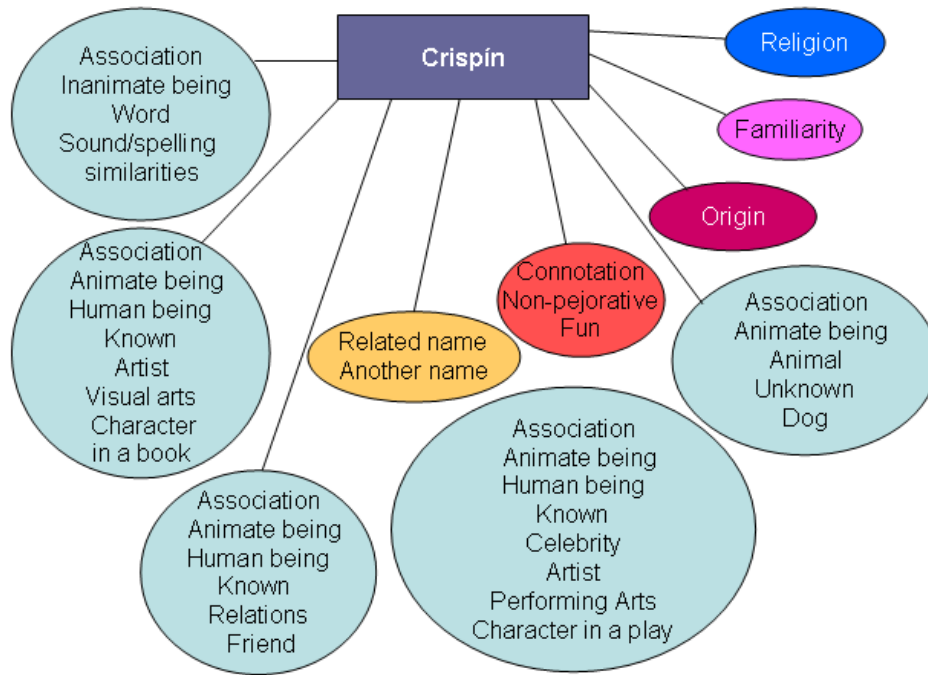


Figure 7.127. Factors based on the participants' comments about Crispín in the metropolitan district of Murcia

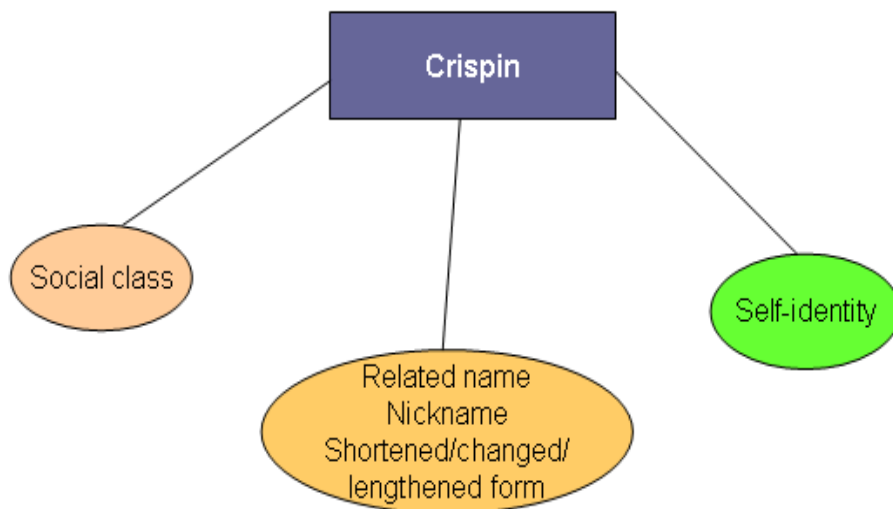


Figure 7.128. Factors based on the participants' comments about Crispin in the metropolitan district of Leeds

In conclusion, results reveal that respondents from the metropolitan district of Murcia tend to find more funny connotations in names than those in Leeds and surrounding districts. In Murcia and pedanías the ratio of informants who found funny connotations in both Cornelia and Crispín is very similar, around 60%. In contrast, in the municipal district of Leeds Crispin elicits more reactions of funny connotations than Cornelia.

Cornelia is regarded as an unusual name in the metropolitan districts of both Murcia and Leeds. It is resonant of Roman Emperors. Other associations commented on in the metropolitan district of Leeds are the word *corn* (the cereal), vampires and Dutch immigrants, the latter in the case of a teacher. However, in Spain there are other associations, especially found funny by men, such as those with the words *cuerno* and *cornudo/a* ('horn' and 'cuckolded'), which brings up the idea of infidelity, boasting on the part of men and a male-chauvinistic society. A higher rate of respondents from the municipal district of Murcia find fun in the sound of the name Crispín if compared to those in Leeds and districts. In fact, whereas funny associations (with other words -even cultural terms, beings or characters from comedies or comics) were made reference to in Spain, possibly in connection with the sound symbolism of the name itself, as suggested by one participant, in England Crispin was mainly attached connotations of social class. There is only one point in common between the two metropolitan districts in terms of this forename: when the name is familiar, participants do not consider it to be funny.

## B.3. Liking preference for a given name version/ minimal pair name

## B.3.1. a) Liking preference for a given name version

## b) Factors involved in the name version liking preference

From Tables 7.22 and 7.23 we can determine a correspondence between the reactions by participants from the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds. Around 7 out of 10 respondents prefer Antonia. The percentage of preference for Antonella, though, is slightly higher in Leeds and the surrounding area. Maybe this is related to the fact that, according to Nameberry (2010) and in reference to English-speaking countries, nowadays Latin names, especially Spanish or Italian, are gaining ground, e.g. *Valentina*, *Cruz*, *Luciana*, etc. although the growth of this popularity seems to be gradual because at least for Antonella, it is not high yet. In fact, in Hanks et al. (2006) Antonella appears within the section devoted to English names and it is not included in that of Spanish or Italian names.

Hanks et al. (2006) claim Antonella is a modern feminine form of *Anton* (a variant of *Anthony*), now common in English-speaking countries. Many websites, however, (e.g. HGM Network, 2009) suggest Antonella is the Italian variant of Antonia. One of the Spanish respondents (participant 35) stated that “Antonella es un nombre italiano”<sup>89</sup>. In a similar vein, a few other informants in Spain pointed out that “Antonella no es un nombre nuestro” (participant 77)<sup>90</sup>, thus underlining the idea of possession, a trait of self-identity: “it is (...) *your* name” (Dunkling, 1977, p. 26, emphasis in original). Another comment which raises similar attitudes is: “En este caso no me importa el sonido; simplemente me gusta Antonia porque es más español y tradicional”<sup>91</sup> (participant 56). Hofstede (2001, p. 21) linked culture and language: “language is the most clearly recognisable

<sup>89</sup> “Antonella is an Italian name”.

<sup>90</sup> “Antonella is not a name of ours”

<sup>91</sup> “In this case I do not mind sound; I just like Antonia because it is more Spanish and traditional”.

part of culture”. Although the use of traditional names decreased in the nineties (BabyCenter, 2015b), a mixture of traditional and original names was found in the twentieth century (Browder, 1998). One informant in the metropolitan district of Murcia proposed a pet form instead of the full name Antonia: “Preferiría Toñi”<sup>92</sup> (participant 17).

On the other hand, it seems that both in Spain and England the number of informants disliking Antonella and Antonia surpasses that of liking both (in Spain there is not a single respondent who likes both forenames) (in Figure 7.129 the factors based on the comments of our respondents are exhibited).

Table 7.22. Liking preference for Antonella or Antonia in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Antonella	51	23.3
	Antonia	165	75.3
	Dislike both	3	1.4
	Total	219	100.0

Table 7.23. Liking preference for Antonella or Antonia in the metropolitan district of Leeds

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Antonella	57	27.7
	Antonia	139	67.5
	Like both	3	1.5
	Dislike both	7	3.4
	Total	206	100.0

<sup>92</sup> “I would prefer Toñi”.

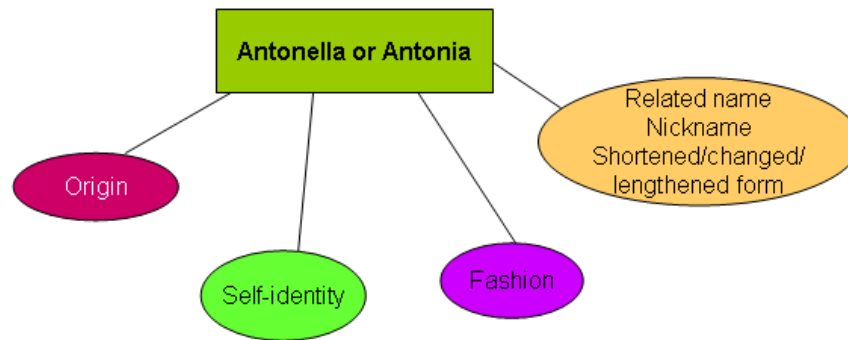


Figure 7.129. Factors based on the participants' comments about Antonella or Antonia in the metropolitan district of Murcia

Tables 7.24 and 7.25 exhibit that preferences differ in the two municipal districts of Murcia and Leeds in terms of the names Judith and Judit/Judy. Whereas the ratio of preference for Judy and Judith are very similar (standing at 46-50%) in Leeds and the surrounding area, the simplified Judit outweighs Judith in Murcia and pedanías with the support of almost 7 out of 10 participants.

Amongst the informants selecting Judy/Judit, the fact that “it is an easier name” (participant 24 in the municipal district of Murcia and participant 143 in Leeds and surrounding towns) was stressed especially by men (reinforcing the stereotype of men being more practical and less complex in comparison to the woman). Other respondents living in the municipal district of Murcia, when opting for the simplified version, Judit, said: “Es un nombre que suena más murciano”<sup>93</sup> (e.g. participant 57). In fact, as Gómez-Ortín (2004) pointed out, Murcian language is Spanish language with certain peculiarities understood by the rest of Spanish speakers. Phonetic simplification, which causes a distance between sound and spelling, is usually found in this variety, affecting –ado/a, final –s, etc. (Monroy & Hernández-Campoy, 2015). In this respect, curiously, participant 70, whose origins were Basque, remarked: “Judit es más

<sup>93</sup> “It is a name which sounds more Murcian”.

original”<sup>94</sup>. We suggest this may be because this informant is used to Basque names, in which /θ/ is a frequent phoneme. Note *Izaskun* (Virgin in Tolosa), which she mentioned as her favourite name, and other female names such as *Zuria*, *Uguzne*, *Itziar* (Virgin in Deva), *Guruzne*, *Aizpea*, etc. (Albaigès, 1998). The Spanish participant 150 referred to the spelling: she prefers the pronunciation with /t /but the spelling <th>. As Redmonds (2004) claimed, almost everybody thinks that how to spell a name matters. As in the case of Antonia and Antonella, both in Spain and England the number of informants disliking Judy/Judit and Judith surpasses that of liking both (see Figures 7.130 & 7.131 for the factors studied based on the remarks by our participants).

Table 7.24. Liking preference for Judit or Judith in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Judit	150	68.5
	Judith	63	28.8
	Like both	1	.5
	Dislike both	5	2.3
	Total	219	100.0

Table 7.25. Liking preference for Judy or Judith in the metropolitan district of Leeds

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Judy	96	46.6
	Judith	102	49.5
	Like both	3	1.5
	Dislike both	5	2.4
	Total	206	100.0

<sup>94</sup> “Judit is more original”.



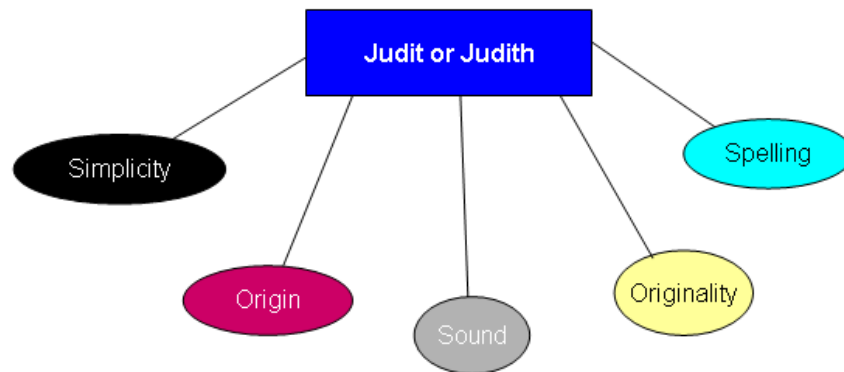


Figure 7.130. Factors based on the participants' comments about Judith or Judith in the metropolitan district of Murcia

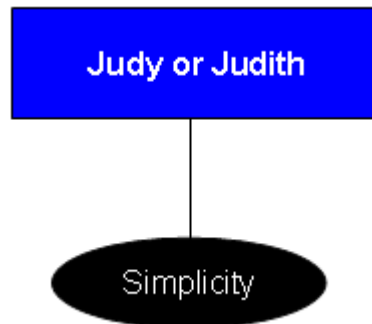


Figure 7.131. Factors based on the participants' comments about Judy or Judith in the metropolitan district of Leeds

The fact that the liking percentage is higher for Judith in England than in Spain may point onto a tendency towards *pure* Biblical names in that country (Darlington, 2015). Judith reached its peak in popularity between the 1940s and 1960s (Hargreaves et al., 1983) and Judy is increasingly being used as an independent name (Hanks et al., 2006). Thus, it makes sense to study the relationship between age and the liking

preference for these two name versions in the metropolitan district of Leeds and compare it to that in Murcia and pedanías.

Tables 7.26 and 7.27 suggest that in both municipal districts the older and the younger the informant is, the higher the preference for Judith and Judit/Judy, respectively. In Spain the highest percentages for Judit are found up to 60 years old. In England percentages of preference are larger for Judith than for Judy amongst the over 40s. It is striking to find that more than 65% of 25-40 year-old respondents opted for Judy even when, according to Dunkling (1977), “by the beginning of the nineteenth century [Judy] had already become a slang term for any girl”. Maybe this is connected with the idea that, as stated in the case of the name Virginia, British young women tend to be open in their sexual life (del Baas, 2011).

The chi-square test reveals a statistically significant relationship between age and preference for these forenames ( $\chi^2=12.730$ ;  $df=6$ ;  $p=.048$  in Spanish and  $\chi^2=18.160$ ;  $df=6$ ;  $p<.006$  in English) at an alpha value of .05. The degree of intensity in the association between these variables is very low for Spain and low for England, with a coefficient of .170 and .210, respectively. The value of the Uncertainty coefficient determines that the error made when trying to predict name preference on the basis of age would be a mere 4% in Murcia and pedanías and 6% in Leeds and districts.

Table 7.26. Liking preference for Judit or Judith in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Murcia

			Age		
			25-40 years old	41-60 years old	61-80+ years old
Versions-Like sound+-Judit or Judith?	Judit	Count % within Age	57 79.2%	54 71.1%	39 54.9%
	Judith	Count % within Age	14 19.4%	20 26.3%	29 40.8%
	Like both	Count % within Age	0 .0%	1 1.3%	0 .0%
	Dislike both	Count % within Age	1 1.4%	1 1.3%	3 4.2%
Total	Count % within Age	72 100.0%	76 100.0%	71 100.0%	

Table 7.27. Liking preference for Judy or Judith in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Leeds

			Age		
			25-40 years old	41-60 years old	61-80+ years old
Versions-Like sound+_Judy or Judith?Eng	Judith	Count	21	41	40
		% within Age	31.8%	55.4%	60.6%
	Judy	Count	43	29	24
		% within Age	65.2%	39.2%	36.4%
	Like both	Count	0	1	2
		% within Age	.0%	1.4%	3.0%
	Dislike both	Count	2	3	0
		% within Age	3.0%	4.1%	.0%
	Total	Count	66	74	66
		% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

With regards to Sonia-Sofía/Sophia, Tables 7.28 and 7.29 display that, while the percentages are quite balanced in Murcia and the surrounding area despite a slight tendency towards Sofía (more than half of supporting cases), in the metropolitan district of Leeds the tendency towards Sophia is much clearer: almost three quarters of the respondents chose this name. In the two municipal districts there are some cases of informants liking both Sonia and Sofía/Sophia, especially in Murcia and pedanías, but not of people disliking the two of them.

Table 7.28. Liking preference for Sonia or Sofía in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Sonia	100	45.7
	Sofía	111	50.7
	Like both	8	3.7
	Total	219	100.0

Table 7.29. Liking preference for Sonia or Sophia in the metropolitan district of Leeds

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Sonia	54	26.2
	Sophia	150	72.8
	Like both	2	1.0
	Total	206	100.0

Regarding remarks in which sound is not a factor, in Spain Sofia elicits positive remarks in relation to its origin and meaning: “Me gusta Sofia por sus orígenes griegos y significado: ‘sabiduría’”<sup>95</sup>, a comment usually made by cultured people and, in particular, teachers (e.g. participant 47). We could conclude this comment suggests that the person in question is not aware of Sonia being the same name as Sofía, thus having a similar meaning. Names designated qualities (Albaigès, 1993). Most of the meanings given in books on forenames are positive (Albaigès, 1998; Powell, 2006). Maybe the respondent highlighted Sofia because of the roots of the name in the Greek language. Moreover, in the Spanish onomastic repertoire names derived from Greek are very common and the Greek culture exalted qualities associated with refinement and distinction.

Another frequent remark, also yielding a positive reaction towards the name Sofia, was: “Me gusta porque nuestra Reina se llama Sofia”<sup>96</sup> (e.g. participant 197). It would seem that, although in recent years the Monarchy, especially the former King, in Spain has been going through a difficult moment, the opinion about Queen Sofia remains unaffected. King Felipe and Queen Letizia’s second daughter bears her grandmother’s name as well.

Another case of an association is that of Spanish participant 94, who said that her favourite name is Sofía because a friend of hers, who was a lovely person and died recently, had this name. According to Requena (1994, p. 1), friends “strengthen our own capacity to imagine, know and build up reality. They provide us with an essential feeling of identity and belonging to a group” (our own translation).

A comment worthy of note, maybe a result of Spaniards’ association of the name Sofia with well-known adults such as the Queen

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<sup>95</sup> “I like Sofia due to its Greek origins and meaning: ‘wisdom’”

<sup>96</sup> “I like it because our Queen is called Sofia”.

or the actress Sofía Loren, is that made by participant 132: “Prefiero el francés Sophie, que es más juvenil”<sup>97</sup>. Hargreaves et al. (1983) stated that names may suggest a given age. Conversely, in England, the name Sophia and Sonia are associated with young and old people, respectively, according to some of our informants: “When I hear the name Sophia, I think of a young girl and when Sonia, an old woman” (e.g. participant 163).

As recorded on Tables 7.30 and 7.31, participants in both countries show a stronger preference for the complete name, no matter the name chosen. Only in 16.4% of cases in the municipal district of Murcia and even fewer, 5.4%, in that of Leeds did the informants opt for a name as a result of any of the phonemes included in it. Another remarkable point here is that only one respondent in Leeds and the surrounding area chose Sonia for its component sound/s. In Murcia and pedanías, however, there is a balance between the number of people who selected Sonia and Sofía as a result of any particular sound in them.

On the other hand, a sound association resulting from a bad rhyme was provided by participant 181 in Spain: “No me gusta Sonia; me recuerda a las conocidas compresas *Ausonia*”<sup>98</sup>. The link is very clearly seen in that, as explained by García-Yebra (1989), there is a consonant rhyme, that is, all sounds are equal from the last stressed vowel. The fact that the name is connected to female menstruation in this case reminds us of Bréal’s claim (1921, p. 100) that human attitude “leads us to veil and disguise awkward, offensive or repulsive ideas”. Furthermore, it should be noted that according to del Bass (2011), Spanish women seem less open-minded in questions of sex and related issues owing to the values and principles which had been inculcated under the dictatorship of the recent

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<sup>97</sup> “I prefer the French Sophie, which is more youthful”.

<sup>98</sup> “I don’t like Sonia; it reminds me of the well-known sanitary towels *Ausonia*”.

past. This quotation also highlights the fact that people are now much more brand conscious than ever before (Abelin, 2015).

Table 7.30. Liking preference for Sonia or Sofia in the metropolitan district of Murcia- complete name or part of the name?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Complete_Sonia	85	38.8
	Complete_Sofía	92	42.0
	Part_Sonia	15	6.8
	Part_Sofía	19	8.7
	Complete_Sonia_Sofía	6	2.7
	Part_Sonia_Sofía	2	.9
	Total	219	100.0

Table 7.31. Liking preference for Sonia or Sophia in the metropolitan district of Leeds- complete name or part of the name?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Complete_Sonia	53	25.7
	Complete_Sophia	140	68.0
	Part_Sonia	1	.5
	Part_Sophia	9	4.4
	Complete_Sonia_Sophia	2	1.0
	Part_Sonia_Sophia	1	.5
	Total	206	100.0



Focusing on those respondents who like (a) particular sound/s of a name, the sound chosen par excellence in both countries is /f/ (<f/ph>) (see Tables 7.32 & 7.33), being the only consonant selected in Leeds and the surrounding area and by far the most popular overall choice in this country with more than three quarters of supporting cases –if /f/ + /i/ are also considered. À propos of this, the respondent who singled out /f/ + /i/, in the municipal district of Leeds qualified his choice: “I like Sophia but without the –phia part being stressed” (participant 91), that is, he likes the /i/ in Sonia and the /f/ in Sophia. Cutler et al. (1994) found that female names have significantly more stressed /i/ vowels e.g. *Lisa*, *Beatrice*, etc. and are more likely to have /i:/ in stressed vowels, e.g. *Tina*, *Lisa*, etc.

It seems that consonants attract our participants more than vowels. The second preferred sound in Murcia and pedanías is the /n/ of Sonia, with 33.4% support (if the combination /n/ + /i/ is added). The Spanish participant 53 selected Sonia in full but made the following comment: “Pienso que la /n/ contribuye a que suene más suave”<sup>99</sup>. A word derived from other senses, in this case, touch, is used here to refer to sound, a very abstract topic and, on many occasions, hardly known (Mayoraz, 2009).

Some of the respondents in Spain praised “el encanto del hiato en Sofía”<sup>100</sup> (e.g. participant 76). Hence, it is surprising to find that the support of the stressed /i/ is a bit weaker than the unstressed /i/ in Spain. A comment made by some Spanish informants was in reference to /i/ –whether stressed or not: they do not like /i/ because they are of the opinion that “la /i/ le quita fuerza y personalidad a los nombres”<sup>101</sup> (e.g. participant 54) (Figures 7.132 and 7.133 display the factors examined based on the comments of our informants from the municipal districts of Murcia and Leeds).

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<sup>99</sup> “I think the /n/ contributes to its sounding softer”.

<sup>100</sup> “the charm of the hiatus in Sofía”.

<sup>101</sup> “/i/ removes strength and personality from the names”

Table 7.32. Liking preference for a particular sound in Sonia and/or Sofia in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	/n/	11	5.0	30.6
	/i/	5	2.3	13.9
	/f/	17	7.8	47.2
	/i/	2	.9	5.6
	/n/ + /i/	1	.5	2.8
	Total	36	16.4	100.0
Missing	System	183	83.6	
Total		219	100.0	

Table 7.33. Liking preference for a particular sound in Sonia and/or Sophia in the metropolitan district of Leeds

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	/i/	1	.5	9.1
	/f/	8	3.9	72.7
	/i/	1	.5	9.1
	/f/ + /i/	1	.5	9.1
	Total	11	5.3	100.0
Missing	System	195	94.7	
Total		206	100.0	

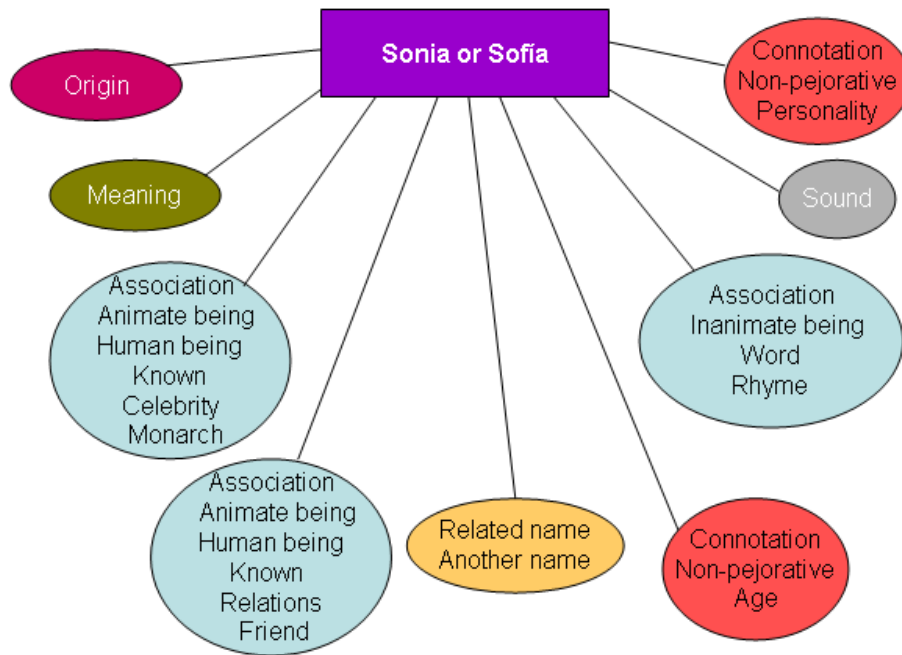


Figure 7.132. Factors based on the participants’ comments about Sonia or Sofia in the metropolitan district of Murcia

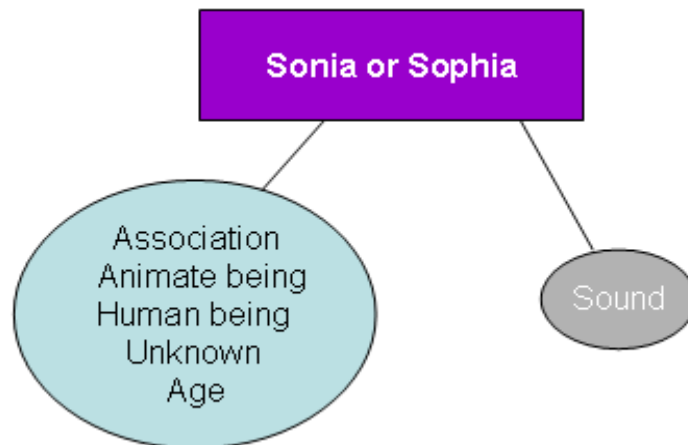


Figure 7.133. Factors based on the participants’ comments about Sonia or Sophia in the metropolitan district of Leeds

With respect to differences between genders in terms of the preferences for either of these two names, Table 7.34 shows that in Spain roughly the same number of men chose Sonia as Sofia, the tendency

towards Sonia being slightly larger. Although percentages are balanced in the case of females as well, the tendency towards Sofia is clearer. The chi-square test indicates that there is no statistically significant relationship between gender and name preference at an alpha value of .05 ( $\chi^2=4.145$ ;  $df=2$ ,  $p=.126$ ) in the metropolitan district of Murcia.

Table 7.34. Liking preference for Sonia or Sofia in terms of gender in the metropolitan district of Murcia

			Gender	
			Male	Female
Versions-like sound +_Sonia or Sofía?Sp	Sonia	Count	48	52
		% within Gender	50.5%	41.9%
	Sofia	Count	46	65
		% within Gender	48.4%	52.4%
	Like both	Count	1	7
		% within Gender	1.1%	5.6%
Total	Count	95	124	
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	

Table 7.35 shows that in England for both men and women the rate of preference for Sophia is higher than that of Sonia but this is especially notable amongst women, with almost 81% support for this name. It is necessary to highlight the fact that the ratio of males opting for Sonia is more than double that of females in the metropolitan district of Leeds. According to the chi-square test, the connection between gender and preference for a given name is statistically significant at the aforementioned alpha value ( $\chi^2=13.247$ ;  $df=2$ ;  $p=.001$ ). A Cramer's V of .254 reveals a low magnitude of association. The error committed when purporting to predict the extent to which the criterion variable can be accounted for by the grouping variable would be 5%.

Table 7.35. Liking preference for Sonia or Sophia in terms of gender in the metropolitan district of Leeds

			Gender	
			Male	Female
Versions-Like sound+_Sonia or Sophia?Eng	Sonia	Count	31	23
		% within Gender	40.8%	17.7%
	Sophia	Count	44	105
		% within Gender	57.9%	80.8%
	Like both	Count	1	2
		% within Gender	1.3%	1.5%
Total	Count	76	130	
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	

Tables 7.36 and 7.37 reveal that, when dealing with those respondents preferring a particular sound of the name, /f/ is the most commonly selected phoneme both for men and women and in the two metropolitan districts under discussion. The ratio found for this sound in England is considerably larger than that in Spain, the lowest in Britain (that of males: 60%) being the highest in Spain (that of males as well: over 64%). In this sense, the reaction of men towards /f/ is similar in both metropolitan districts. Another remarkable point is that Spanish women opted for almost all the sounds, including /n/ and all the varieties of /i/. As opposed to females, who did not choose the /i/ vowel on its own, British males singled out the different variants of /i/ whereas the Spanish men mainly decided on the consonants /f/ and /n/. It would seem that there are more similarities between opposite genders if comparing the two municipal districts. However, no significant differences are yielded between gender and the particular sound opted for either in Murcia and pedanías ( $\chi^2=4.145$ ;  $df=2$ ;  $p=.126$ ) or in Leeds and satellite towns ( $\chi^2=3.438$ ;  $df=3$ ;  $p=.329$ ) at a significance value of .05.

Table 7.36. Liking preference for a particular sound in Sonia and/or Sofia in terms of gender in the metropolitan district of Murcia

			Gender	
			Male	Female
V_Like a particular sound_Sonia or Sofía?Sp	/n/	Count	4	7
		% within Gender	28.6%	31.8%
	/i/	Count	1	4
		% within Gender	7.1%	18.2%
	/f/	Count	9	8
		% within Gender	64.3%	36.4%
	/i/	Count	0	2
		% within Gender	.0%	9.1%
	/n/ + /i/	Count	0	1
		% within Gender	.0%	4.5%
Total		Count	14	22
		% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7.37. Liking preference for a particular sound in Sonia and/or Sophia in terms of gender in the metropolitan district of Leeds

			Gender	
			Male	Female
V_Like a particular sound_Sonia or Sophia?Eng	/i/	Count	1	0
		% within Gender	2.0%	.0%
	/f/	Count	3	5
		% within Gender	60.0%	83.3%
	/i/	Count	1	0
		% within Gender	2.0%	.0%
	/f/ + /i/	Count	0	1
		% within Gender	.0%	16.7%
Total	Count	5	6	
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	

With respect to Aída-Aida, Table 7.38 shows that in Spain the name whose ratio of preference (almost 65%) is larger is Aida, the form without an accent.

An accomplished and well-bred elderly woman who had not been to university (it should be borne in mind that a limited number of our grandmothers' generation had the opportunity to attend university), in particular, participant 77, stated: "Me recuerda al compositor Giuseppe Verdi por su ópera *Aida* y de ahí a Italia<sup>102</sup>. This name is said to have Italian origins although also Arabic ones, with its meaning 'returning, visitor' (Salahuddin, 1999, p. 243).

<sup>102</sup>“It reminds me of the composer Giuseppe Verdi because of his opera *Aida* and, from there, to Italy”.

Another association made by several informants was: “Aída, como la protagonista de la serie de Telecinco”<sup>103</sup> (e.g. participant 27). As can be seen here and in other cases, many associations in our respondents are connected to the Fifth Channel, which seems to suggest the popularity of reality shows and gossip programmes amongst Spaniards. *Aída* is a comedy sitcom, so it would appear that people are trying to choose light TV programmes which help them escape from their everyday problems.

As in the cases of Antonia/Antonella and Judit/Judith, the number of informants disliking Aida and Aída outweighs that of liking both (Figure 7.134 displays the factors studied before based on the remarks of our respondents from the metropolitan district of Murcia).

Table 7.38. Liking preference for Aida or Aída in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Aida	142	64.8
	Aída	72	32.9
	Like both	1	.5
	Dislike both	4	1.8
	Total	219	100.0

<sup>103</sup> “Aída, like the protagonist in the series from The Fifth Channel”.



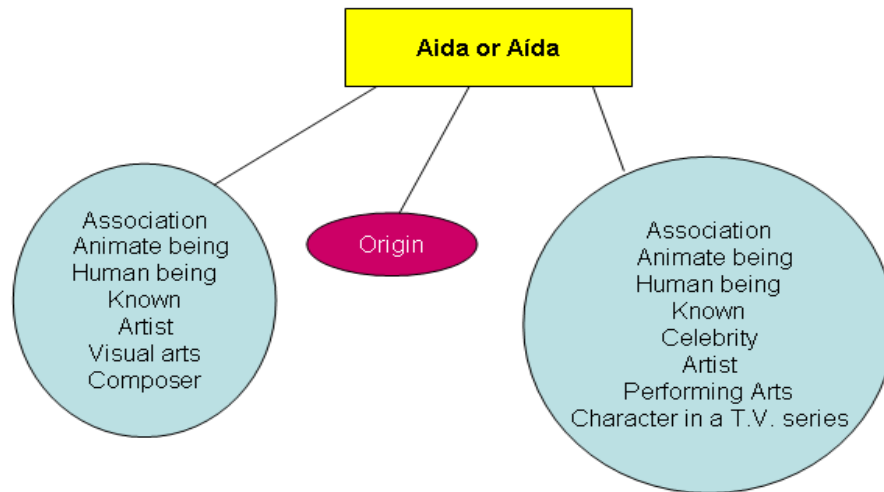


Figure 7.134. Factors based on the participants' comments about Aida or Aída in the metropolitan district of Murcia

Taking into account that Monroy (2008) pinpointed that the phenomenon of pronouncing a form which usually does not have that pronunciation with a hiatus is typical of rustic or vulgar language, e.g. *bo-ína* instead of *boina*, the attitudes towards Aida and Aída expressed by respondents living in the city of Murcia and pedanías is worth exploring. According to Table 7.39, whereas Aida is liked by a very similar number of respondents from the city of Murcia and surrounding areas, Aída produces more conflicting opinions, with more than 6 out of 10 participants from the Murcian pedanías preferring it, which supports Monroy's claim (2008), although no statistically significant results can be obtained in this case at an alpha level of .05 ( $\chi^2=4.787$ ;  $df=3$ ,  $p=.188$ ).

Table 7.39. Liking preference for Aida or Aída in terms of usual place of residence in the metropolitan district of Murcia

			Usual place of residence (within the metropolitan district)		Total
			City of Murcia	Pedanía	
Versions-Like sound+ _Aida or Aída?	Aida	Count	75	67	142
		% within	52.8%	47.2%	100.0%
		Versions-Sounds better-Aida or Aída?			
	Aida	Count	28	44	72
	% within	38.9%	61.1%	100.0%	
		Versions-Sounds better-Aida or Aída?			
Like both	Count	1	0	1	
	% within	100.0%	.0%	100.0%	
		Versions-Sounds better-Aida or Aída?			
Dislike both	Count	2	2	4	
	% within	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%	
		Versions-Sounds better-Aida or Aída?			

B.3. Liking preference for a given name version/ minimal pair name

B.3.2. a) Liking preference for a given minimal pair name

b) Factors involved in the minimal pair name liking preference

A pair which resembles the versions Judith-Judit to some extent although differs in having the /θ/ sound or the absence of it in the mid position instead of the final position is the Spanish Lorena-Lorena. Table 7.40 reveals a general preference for Lorena (the exemplar without /θ/), supported by almost 9 out of 10 informants. Table 7.24 pointed at similar results for Judith-Judit although the difference in the case of Lorena-Lorena is even bigger.

Table 7.40. Liking preference for Lorena or Lorena in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Lorena	25	1.4
	Lorena	194	88.6
	Total	219	100.0

Participant 22, who belongs to the youngest generation, commented on the fact that “Lorena parece nombre de persona mayor”<sup>104</sup> (see Figure 7.135, which reflects the factors examined previously based on the comments our informants from Murcia and pedanías made). In this case, there is an association with a person by reference to her age. In fact, as displayed in Table 7.41, there is a stronger preference for Lorena as the age of the participant increases and a greater tendency towards Lorena the younger the informants are (in this case, the percentage is almost

<sup>104</sup> “Lorena seems like a name borne by an old person”.

identical in the young and middle-aged group). A statistically significant link between age and name preference is found at an alpha value of .05 ( $\chi^2=9.803$ ;  $df=2$ ;  $p=.007$ ). Cramer's V shows that the degree of strength in the association is .212, thence a low association. The error committed when purporting to predict the extent to which the dependent variable would be "explained" by the independent variable would be 6%.

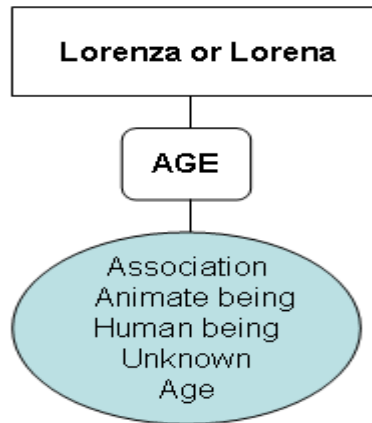


Figure 7.135. Factors based on the participants' comments about Lorenza or Lorena in the metropolitan district of Murcia

Table 7.41. Liking preference for Lorenza or Lorena in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Murcia

			Age		
			25-40 years old	41-60 years old	61-80+ years old
Minimal pair- Like sound+_	Lorena	Count	67	71	56
		% within Age	93.1%	93.4%	78.9%
Lorena or Lorenza?Sp	Lorena	Count	5	5	15
		% within Age	6.9%	6.6%	21.1%
Total		Count	72	76	71
		% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Turning now to the Spanish Marcelino and Marcelo, Table 7.42 shows that the name Marcelo is preferred over Marcelino in the metropolitan district of Murcia. Almost three quarters of participants chose the former.

Marcelino has been more familiar a name than Marcelo in Spain, especially in the past, as suggested by this quote from a person in the 61-80 year-old age group: “Prefiero Marcelino; era un nombre que me era familiar cuando nací”<sup>105</sup> (participant 208), thus once more reinforcing the idea of familiarity and liking (Hargreaves et al., 1983), or “Me recuerda al niño *Marcelino pan y vino*”<sup>106</sup> (participant 5), Marcelino being the main character in a film from the 1950s, which has become even more popular and well-remembered because of the rhyme (García-Yebra, 1989).

Although experience tells us, as Spanish people, that there are not many bearers of the forename Marcelo in Murcia and surrounding areas, it is true that it has recently become more familiar a name due to the increased presence of Hispanic Americans, amongst whom Marcelo is a common name, on Spanish television. In participant 64’s own words: “El nombre de Marcelo parece Argentino”<sup>107</sup>. Valentine et al. (1996) gave the examples of *Michio Yamato* or *Natalia Todorova* as when hearing them it is assumed the bearers of these names are of Japanese and Slavic origin, respectively. Nonetheless, on certain occasions names are normal in more than one culture, e.g. *Anne Sinclair* could be found in both France and Britain, and this is even more applicable in the case of Marcelo, a name which is common among Hispanic Americans but can perfectly fit in among Spanish people too. In fact, the results obtained here are positive and they may point to a good future for the name in our country. We should highlight the soap operas on Spanish television in which Marcelo is found as a name: well-known actors such as Marcelo Buquet or the

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<sup>105</sup> “I prefer Marcelino; it was a familiar name to me when I was born”

<sup>106</sup> “It reminds me of the child *Marcelino bread and wine*”

<sup>107</sup> “The name Marcelo looks Argentinian”.

main character in *Bella Calamidades*, Marcelo Machado. Other examples are the Chilean TV presenter and singer Marcelo Hernández, the Brazilian footballer in Real Madrid, mentioned by the male participant 17: “El nombre me recuerda al futbolista del Real Madrid”<sup>108</sup> (once again, reinforcing the idea of a link between men and football) or the Chilean football players Marcelo Díaz or Marcelo Salas (Figure 7.136 exhibits the factors studied based on the remarks by our participants from Murcia and the surrounding areas).

Table 7.42: Liking preference for Marcelino or Marcelo in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Marcelino	64	29.2
	Marcelo	154	70.3
	Dislike both	1	.5
	Total	219	100.0

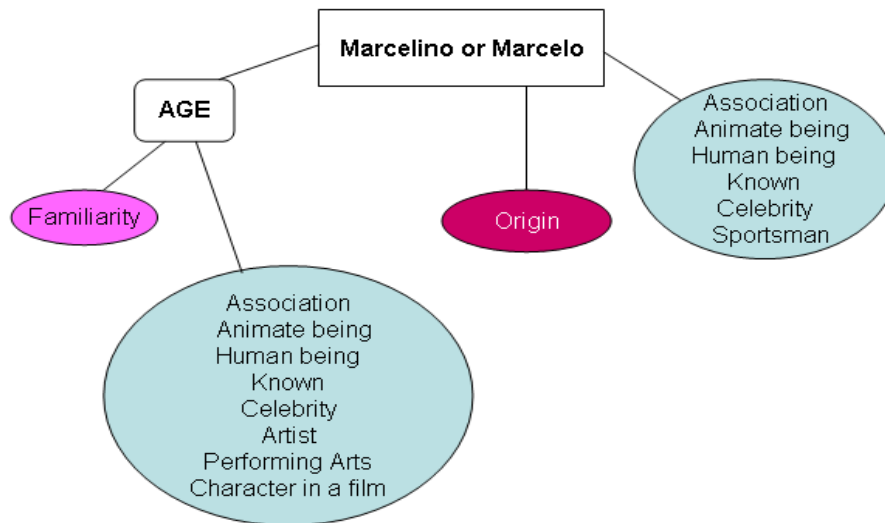


Figure 7.136. Factors based on the participants’ comments about Marcelino or Marcelo in the metropolitan district of Murcia

<sup>108</sup> “The name reminds me of the footballer in Real Madrid”

If taking into account Lawson's study (1974) in which Davey was disliked in general terms for being weak or passive possibly due to the *-y* ending, strongly associated with girls' names, the relationship between gender and name preference is worth exploring in this case. Table 7.43 shows that the general tendency found in Table 7.42 is maintained by both genders, with no statistically significant differences between males and females at a critical value of .05 ( $\chi^2=1.171$ ;  $df=2$ ;  $p=.557$ ). In either case, the approximate 4% of difference between genders reflects an inclination towards Marcelino by male respondents and towards Marcelo by female informants, thus creating a discrepancy with Lawson (1974). The /i/ vowel may be less appealing to females in this case precisely due to its link with femininity, thus creating the loss of maleness.

Table 7.43: Liking preference for Marcelino or Marcelo in terms of gender in the metropolitan district of Murcia

			Gender	
			Male	Female
Minimal pair-Like sound+_Marcelino or Marcelo?Sp	Marcelino	Count	30	34
		% within Gender	31.6%	27.4%
	Marcelo	Count	65	89
		% within Gender	68.4%	71.8%
Dislike both	Count	0	1	
	% within Gender	.0%	.8%	
Total	Count	95	124	
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	

Regarding the names Millie and Mollie, Table 7.44 shows that in the municipal district of Leeds virtually the same results are found for both Millie and Mollie in terms of preference. One can see in Table 7.45 that there are similar reactions on the part of both men and women, with a slight inclination towards Mollie by men and towards Millie by women –

this time, to some extent supporting Lawson's claim (1974) that /i/ is associated with girls' names- but there are no statistically significant differences ( $\chi^2=2.558$ ;  $df=3$ ;  $p=.465$ ).

Table 7.44. Liking preference for Millie or Mollie in the metropolitan district of Leeds

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Millie	98	47.6
	Mollie	100	48.5
	Like both	3	1.5
	Dislike both	5	2.4
	Total	206	100.0

Table 7.45. Liking preference for Millie or Mollie in terms of gender in the metropolitan district of Leeds

			Gender	
			Male	Female
Minimal pair-Like sound+_Millie or Mollie?Eng	Millie	Count	36	62
		% within Gender	47.4%	47.7%
	Mollie	Count	39	61
		% within Gender	51.3%	46.9%
	Like both	Count	0	3
		% within Gender	.0%	2.3%
	Dislike both	Count	1	4
		% within Gender	1.3%	3.1%
Total	Count	76	130	
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	



As for Sara and Clara, in Tables 7.46 and 7.47 it can be seen that, as in the case of Sonia and Sofia/Sophia, the percentages are reasonably balanced for the metropolitan district of Murcia, with a slight tendency towards Sara, but the preferences differ more markedly in England, with almost 7 out of 10 respondents opting for Clara. Both in the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds there are participants who like and dislike the two names.

Table 7.46. Liking preference for Sara or Clara in the metropolitan district of Murcia

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid Sara	116	53.0
Clara	100	45.7
Like both	2	.9
Dislike both	1	.5
Total	219	100.0

Table 7.47. Liking preference for Sara or Clara in the metropolitan district of Leeds

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid Sara	59	28.6
Clara	141	68.4
Like both	4	1.9
Dislike both	2	1.0
Total	206	100.0

Several respondents (e.g. participant 1) from Murcia and surrounding areas associated Sara with a celebrity: the journalist Sara Carbonero, Iker Casillas' partner. Casillas was considered to be the best goalkeeper in the world and was the Captain of Real Madrid and The

Spanish National Football Team at the time. Iker and Sara became a fashionable couple after their televised kiss when the Spanish team won the World Cup in 2010 (El Mundo, 2010, July). Albaigès (1998) explained that events like the Football World Cup have an influence on choosing the names of children. All this may contribute to the name Sara being trendier nowadays. It became well known and popular in the 1990s and Kohoutková (2009) also stated that it was still one of the top female names in 2007 (see Figure 7.137 for the factors previously examined based on the comments from our informants from the municipal district of Murcia).

The cases of Clara and Sara in the metropolitan district of Leeds are rather controversial but of interest at the same time. Most of the participants connect Sara to the upper class: “It seems to be from the upper class” (e.g. participant 162) “probably because of /a:/ in *BATH* in the RP of the south (as distinct from that of the north) of England” (C.Upton, Personal Communication, November 7, 2012). As a matter of fact, participant 117 pinpointed that his wife is called Sara and she rejects the pronunciation of /a:/ in the first syllable “for sounding posh”, so she pronounces it as in Sarah (/eə/ or /ɛ:/; the typical pronunciation). Indeed, to give an example, Labov (1966) found that the likelihood of pronouncing /r/ after a vowel increases when the person is from a higher social class, so the link these participants propose between a word pronunciation and social class makes sense. The association between Sara and the upper class may contribute to explain the limited ratio of participants who prefer Sara to Clara.

Other informants, although few, commented that they see Sara and Sarah “just as spelling variants” (e.g. participant 185). As Redmonds (2004) explained, each name can have different spellings. This is supported by the following:

They are simply spelling variants. The /ɛ:/ pronunciation is the more usual here [in Leeds], though /ɑ:/ is also heard fairly frequently. In my experience the differences in pronunciation are unconnected with the differences in orthography (C.Upton<sup>109</sup>, Personal Communication, November 7, 2012).

Most of the informants referred to the lack of frequency nowadays of the name Clara. Thus, in participant 117's own words: "Clara is a relatively infrequent name". The fact that Clara is not frequent nowadays (therefore, our respondents may not be familiar with any child or teenager bearing this name and its "more modern" pronunciation, /eə/ or /ɛ:/) may contribute to the attachment to the "older" pronunciation, /ɑ:/. We must bear in mind that all the respondents here are over 25, so they may be more familiar with the previous use of /ɑ:/ in Clara. Several informants (e.g. participant 17) also pointed to "Sarah being the most frequent name in Britain".

Arboleda's study (2015) gives further evidence to the frequency/infrequency of these names. She refers to a statistical examination of the frequency of these names amongst all University of Leeds students in 2010 and the Project Officer from S & P hinges on

There were 4 Claras (1 was non British; she was actually Spanish) and 64 Saras (23 were non-British, several Italian & Spanish and also a number from Indian/Arabic, so probably not 'really' the same name). For comparison there were 521 Sarahs, 181 Claires and 83 Clares (P.Coles, Personal Communication, November 8, 2012).

In Arboleda's study on the frequency of full names and first names it is only the Sarah variant which is repeated amongst her student informants of all age groups (8-9, 13-14, 18-19, 23-24) (it elicits the same number of cases as the Spanish Sara). There are no Saras amongst the respondents living in Leeds and surrounding areas. Also in correspondence with the Project Officer from S&P, there are no Claras amongst Arboleda's (2015)

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<sup>109</sup> We must remember Prof. Upton is a specialist in English phonetics and lives in Leeds. His proposals are found in Upton, Kretzschmar and Konopka (2003).

student participants. A few instances of Claires are found (Claire, Claire Louise and Rosemary Claire).

P.Coles' findings point to the high frequency of Sarahs as opposed to the lower number of Saras, added to the fact that almost half of the Saras came from Romance language countries, in which the Greek form was adopted (Hanks et al., 2006). In Arabic countries the standard version was also Sara, but, as surmised by P. Coles, in this case this name did not refer to Abraham's wife and Isaac's mother but to "the wife of the Prophet Ibrahim" (Salahuddin, 1999, p. 324).

The versions of Clara are not as frequent as Sarah and its versions. The French form, Claire, "introduced in Britain by the Normans" (Hanks et al., 2006, p. 57), later abandoned and revived in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, seems to be the most common, followed by Clare, "the normal English vernacular form of Clara during the Middle Ages and since" (p. 57). The fact that, amongst the very low number of Claras, one is Spanish makes sense in that, as a Romance language country, we have adopted the "post-classical Latin name" (p. 57).

One may wonder whether, if Clara (/ɛ:/ or /eə/) and Sarah (/ɛ:/ or /eə/) were compared, Sarah as the most usual and socially neutral version, would have had a higher preference rate, so the results may have been different.

We suggest that, when a person is deeply attached to a given name (especially when the individual or his/her family are involved), no matter which version it is or the remaining associations it evokes, he/she would show preference for this name. In point of fact, 5 of our informants mentioned that Sarah was their name and that is why they liked Sara (e.g. participant 31). Participant 95, a male in the 41-60 year-old age group, also referred to a pet form: "I like my mum's forename, Sarah, and also her pet form, Sally, so I prefer Sara". The pet form Sally for Sara/h still

exists amongst elderly women, as in this case, but nowadays Sally is usually an independent name (Hanks et al., 2006). This further supports the phenomenon proposed by Nuttin (1985), the name letter effect, in which the letters present in a person's name are more attractive to that person. We could also add the letters of a beloved person's name (Figure 7.138 displays the factors studied before based on the remarks from our participants from Leeds and the surrounding areas).

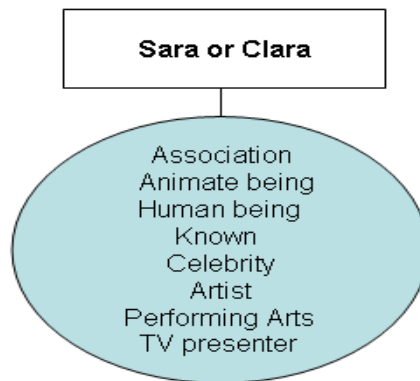


Figure 7.137. Factors based on the participants' comments about Sara or Clara in the metropolitan district of Murcia

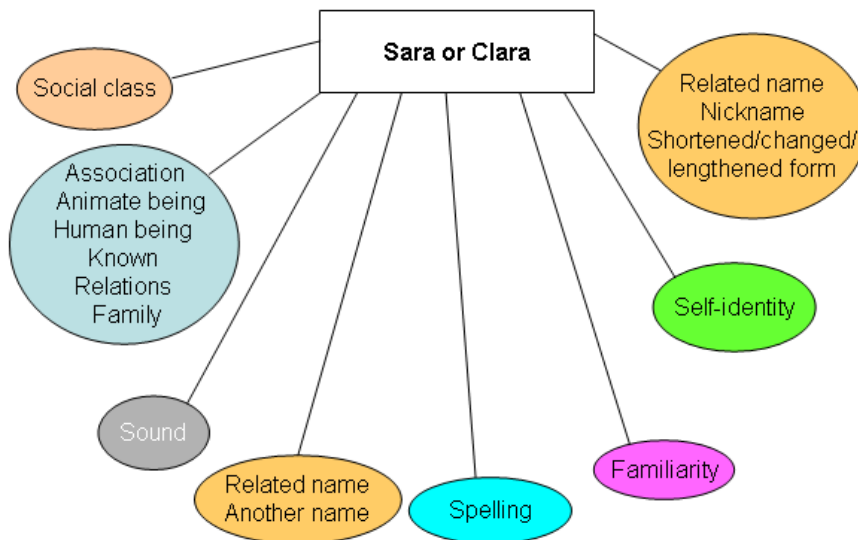


Figure 7.138. Factors based on the participants' comments about Sara or Clara in the metropolitan district of Leeds

A comparable case to Sara and Clara is Zoe and Chloe in English. Only two people dislike both names. Again, /k/ overcomes the alveolar fricative, in this case, /z/, with almost 64% of support (see Table 7.48). In a random sample of 80 cases (see Figure 7.139), it can be observed that around half of the participants chose the names sharing phonemic features/phonemes from the couples presented, that is, Sarah and Zoe (sharing place and manner of articulation, an alveolar plosive, and differing in voicing: voiceless vs. voiced) and Clara and Chloe (sharing the phonemes /k/ + /l/). Consequently, although in one half there is coincidence (the respondent who prefers Sara prefers Zoe and the one who who prefers Clara prefers Chloe), it cannot be claimed that the large percentage of Clara and Chloe or the lower rate of Sara and Zoe is due to these phonemic features/phonemes. Accordingly, one could wonder whether the preference for /k/ would prevail over the frequent and socially neutral Sarah in its most common version, <a> being pronounced /eə/ or /ɛ/. This aspect needs further research.

Table 7.48. Liking preference for Zoe or Chloe in the metropolitan district of Leeds

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Zoe	71	34.5
	Chloe	131	63.6
	Like both	2	1.0
	Dislike both	2	1.0
	Total	206	100.0

Sara (1) or Clara (2)	Zoe (1) or Chloe (2)
1	1
2	2
2	2
2	1
2	2
1	2
2	2
2	1
2	2
2	1
1	2
1	1
2	1
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2	1
2	1
2	2
1	2
2	2
2	1
2	1
2	2
2	2
2	2
2	2
2	2
2	2
1	2
2	2
1	1
1	2
2	1
2	1

Figure 7.139. Coincidence/non-coincidence between phonemic features/phonemes in participants' preference over Clara or Sara and Chloe or Zoe<sup>110</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Highlighted in blue and white will you find non-coincidence and coincidence, respectively.



As reflected in Figures 7.140 and 7.141, preferences are similar between the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds regarding two name versions (out of 3): Antonia-Antonella (with a preference for Antonia) and Sonia- Sofia/Sophia (with a preference for Sofia/Sophia).

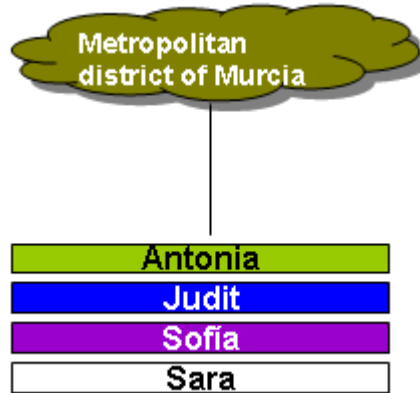


Figure 7.140. Liking preference for name versions/minimal pairs in the metropolitan district of Murcia

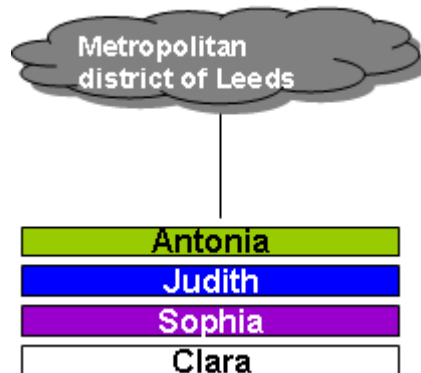


Figure 7.141. Liking preference for name versions/minimal pairs in the metropolitan district of Leeds

B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account.

B.4. a) Disliking preference for a given opposite-gender name

b) Factors related to the opposite-gender name disliking preference

A stark contrast can be noted by comparing Tables 7.49 and 7.50. In the metropolitan district of Murcia Ramona is by far the most disliked name in terms of sound with more than 96%. However, in Leeds and surrounding areas the rate of dislike of this name is the lowest (not even 2 out of 10 respondents selected Ramona) and the highest ratio belongs to Ramone, the male form, with more than a third of cases. In fact, the only negative comment regarding Ramona made by respondents in Leeds and districts was as follows: "It reminds me of the word *moaner* –someone who complains a lot" (participant 69). The percentages of the rest of options (like both & dislike both) are quite similar in each metropolitan district. It is striking to find that in Leeds and surrounding towns around a quarter of respondents indicated an equal assessment of the two names.

Table 7.49. Disliking preference for Ramón or Ramona in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Ramón	6	2.7
	Ramona	211	96.3
	Like both	1	.5
	Dislike both	1	.5
	Total	219	100.0

Table 7.50. Disliking preference for Ramone or Ramona in the metropolitan district of Leeds

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Ramone	76	36.9
	Ramona	38	18.4
	Like both	50	24.3
	Dislike both	42	20.4
	Total	206	100.0

Familiarity is referred to in the remarks from our informants in the two metropolitan districts. One of the participants in the metropolitan district of Murcia dislikes both names because “ninguno de los dos me es familiar”<sup>111</sup> (participant 81). Conversely, participant 188 in the municipal district of Leeds likes both: “My husband has Italian relatives, so I have become familiarised with these names”. Despite both being Spanish names, there may be reasons for associating Ramona with Italy rather than Spain: the similarity in sound to *Romina* (note Romina Power, the Italian singer), the famous portrait by the Italian painter Leonardo da Vinci, *Mona Lisa*, the common origin of both Italian and Spanish (Romance languages) or the familiarity of this name due to celebrities such as the Romanian-Italian actress, singer and politician Ramona Badescu or the actress Ramona Milano, who comes from an Italian family.

The Spanish participant 15 was born on the 31<sup>st</sup> of August, when the festivity of St. Raymond Nonnatus takes place. That is why she identified the other option, Ramona, instead as the most disliked one:

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<sup>111</sup> “neither of them is familiar to me”.

“Prefiero la forma masculina porque nací el día de ese santo”<sup>112</sup>. Although some scholars such as Lebel (1946) claimed that names do not seem to relate to circumstances of birth, according to Dunkling (1977), “it occurs to many parents to remember the time of birth in the name” (p. 250). For instance, a person may be called *Reyes* because of being born on the Day of the Wise Men or *Natividad* in the case of being born on the 25<sup>th</sup> of December (Albaigès, 1998).

Participant 96 in Murcia and districts chose Ramona because “Ramón fluye mejor”<sup>113</sup>. Curiously, participant 128 in Leeds and surrounding areas opted for Ramone for the same reason: “Ramona flows better”. Rhythm is an essential part of music. As Plato said, “music is to the soul what exercise is to the body”.

Tables 7.51 and 7.52 show that in both Spain and England most of the informants (7 and 8 out of 10 informants in the metropolitan district of Murcia and Leeds, respectively) dislike one of the forenames presented simply because they do not like the sound of it (non-pejorative reasons; see Figures 7.142 & 7.143). Whereas the only pejorative connotation in Murcia and pedanías is basically that the name is vulgar (with almost 28%), in Leeds and surrounding towns the pejorative adjective mentioned more often is *cheesy/twee*, although only in around half of the cases of *vulgar* in Spain. This implies that pejorative reasons were selected in fewer cases in Leeds and districts (with the choice of not even 2 out of 10 respondents vs. 3 out of 10 in Murcia and pedanías).

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<sup>112</sup> “I prefer the male form because I was born on that saint’s day”

<sup>113</sup> “Ramón flows better”.

Table 7.51. Reasons for disliking preference in the cases of Ramón or Ramona in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	vulgar	60	27.4	27.6
	cheesy/twee	4	1.8	1.8
	dislike sound+	153	69.9	70.5
	Total	217	99.1	100.0
Missing	System	2	.9	
Total		219	100.0	

Table 7.52. Reasons for disliking preference in the cases of Ramone or Ramona in the metropolitan district of Leeds

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	vulgar	5	2.4	4.4
	cheesy/twee	17	8.3	14.9
	dislike sound+	92	44.7	80.7
	Total	114	55.3	100.0
Missing	System	92	44.7	
Total		206	100.0	

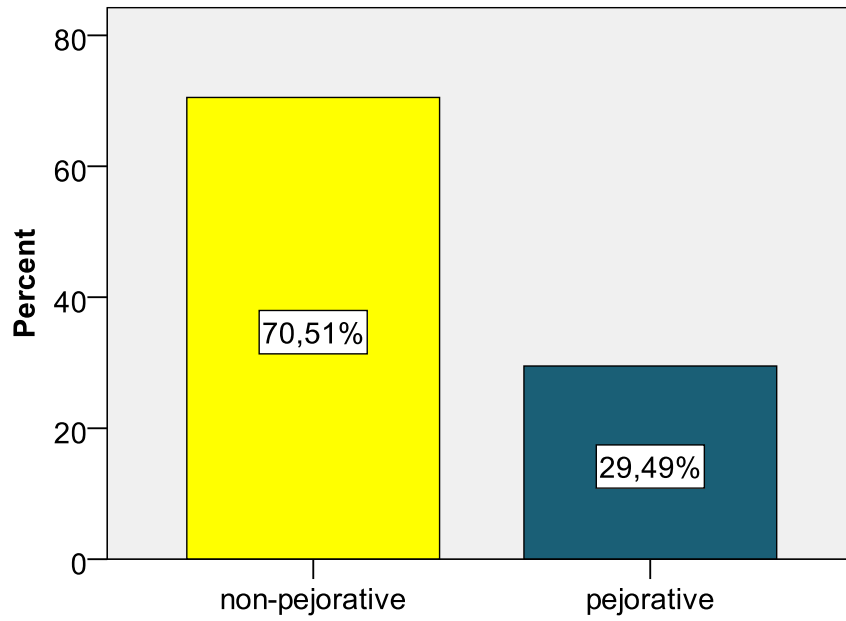


Figure 7.142. Reasons for disliking preference in the cases of Ramón or Ramona in the metropolitan district of Murcia- pejorative or non-pejorative?

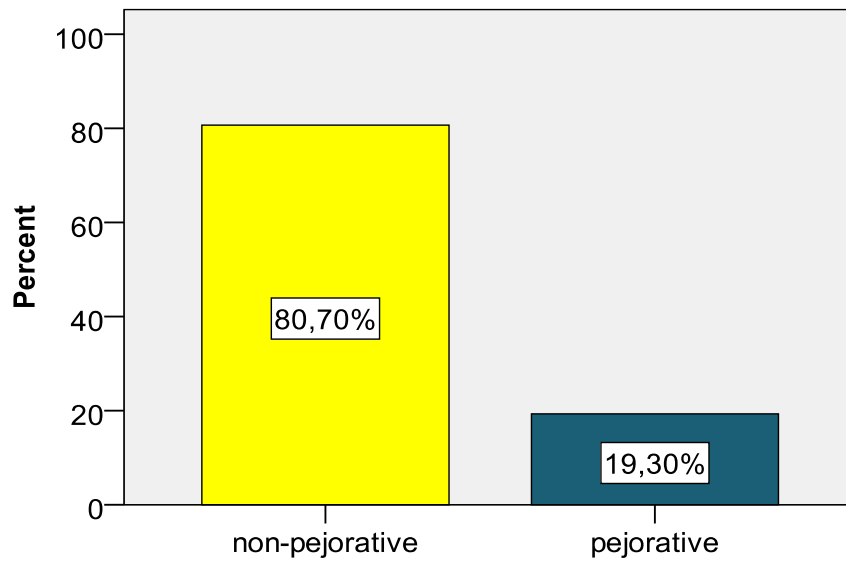


Figure 7.143. Reasons for disliking preference in the cases of Ramone or Ramona in the metropolitan district of Leeds- pejorative or non-pejorative?

In Spain for both Ramón and Ramona, the dislike of the sound is followed by the *vulgar* adjective in terms of percentages (see Tables 7.53 & 7.55). The considerable percentage of vulgarity as a reason for disliking Ramona is supported by the following comments: “Su sonido es demasiado fuerte para una mujer. Es muy masculino”<sup>114</sup> (e.g. participant 65), which may be the result of the *-ón/ona* ending, an augmentative suffix which is phonoaesthetic in that it evokes the idea of largeness (Monroy, 2001), even reinforced by the presence of a back vowel carrying the primary stress. That is why this does not seem to convey the stereotype of a woman: fragile, delicate, sweet, sensitive, etc. (Barragan, 2011) but rather that of a man. Although gender connotations may not be considered to be pejorative in general terms, in this case they are for these participants.

Another idea could contribute to this sound symbolism: the association of Ramona with words such as “*pechugona*”<sup>115</sup> (participant 47) or “*jamona*”<sup>116</sup> (participant 80), which rhyme with the forename. Indeed, in Spanish there is a word play between *jamón* and *jamona*, the former being “the flesh from the pig’s back leg” (Real Academia Española, 2011, p. 1313, our own translation). Participant 108 added that “[estas palabras] aparecen en la canción popular, *Ramona*”<sup>117</sup>. All these connotations and associations may also give rise to the following comment made by participant 39: this name gives the impression that “la mujer está gorda”<sup>118</sup>. In Köhler (1947), among other studies, the meaningless word *maluma* was associated with rounded shape, which is considered to be geometric sound symbolism. Tarte (1982) explained that low back vowels are strongly associated with heavy characteristics. This may also suggest a

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<sup>114</sup> “Its sound is too strong for a woman. It is too masculine”

<sup>115</sup> “big-bosomed”

<sup>116</sup> “a buxom woman”

<sup>117</sup> “[these words] appear in the folk song, *Ramona*”.

<sup>118</sup> “the woman is fat”.

stereotypical association between women and beauty, beauty coming from the fact of being thin (Barragan, 2011). In Arrizabalaga (2014) it is suggested that these associations may give rise to this name being disliked in Spain. In a similar vein, participant 217 in Murcia and its surrounds stated that “Ramona es un nombre feo y se asocia a la bruja de los cuentos”<sup>119</sup>. Albaigès (1998) insisted on the idea that fairy tale characters had an impact on names, especially in the 20<sup>th</sup>-century Spain, e.g. *Blancanieves*, *Pulgarcito*, *Cenicienta*, etc. Therefore, it is not surprising this informant referred to them (Albaigès, 1998).

In England in both the cases of Ramone and Ramona, the dislike of the sound is followed by the *cheesy/twee* adjective in terms of percentages (see Tables 7.54 & 7.56). The presence of these two reasons together with the lack of the *vulgar* adjective among our participants’ comments makes sense if we take into account that neither the augmentative suffix nor the folk song referring to the voluptuous woman exists in English. Another very different song called *Ramona* is known in England (Hanks et al., 2006), as pointed out by the elderly respondent 200: “There is a song whose title is *Ramona*”. The song he may be thinking about could be the 1928 song *Ramona* or Bob Dylan’s *To Ramona*. Although it makes sense that the informant who made this comment was from the oldest age group, another respondent from the youngest age group also mentioned love connotations: “Ramona seems romantic” (participant 93). The 1928 song is based on the adventure-romantic novel by Helen Hunt Jackson and Bob Dylan’s *To Ramona* is also a love song.

Other suggestions about the names being *cheesy/twee*, in this case with Ramone, can be identified by participant 129: “Ramone reminds me of a gay man”. Just as Cameron and Kulick (2003) claimed that gay men

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<sup>119</sup> “Ramona is an ugly name and it is associated with the witch from fairy tales”.



share linguistic features, some names may “suit” certain people better depending on their sexuality (Figures 7.144 & 7.145 depict the factors studied above based on the remarks provided by the respondents in our study).

Table 7.53. Reasons for disliking preference in the case of Ramón in the metropolitan district of Murcia

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid vulgar	2	33.3
dislike sound+	4	66.7
Total	6	100.0

Table 7.54. Reasons for disliking preference in the case of Ramone in the metropolitan district of Leeds

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid vulgar	2	2.6
cheesy/twee	11	14.5
dislike sound+	63	82.9
Total	76	100.0

Table 7.55. Reasons for disliking preference in the case of Ramona in the metropolitan district of Murcia

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid vulgar	58	27.5
cheesy/twee	4	1.9
dislike sound+	149	70.6
Total	211	100.0

Table 7.56. Reasons for disliking preference in the case of Ramona in the metropolitan district of Leeds

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid vulgar	3	7.9
cheesy/twee	6	15.8
dislike sound+	29	76.3
Total	38	1000

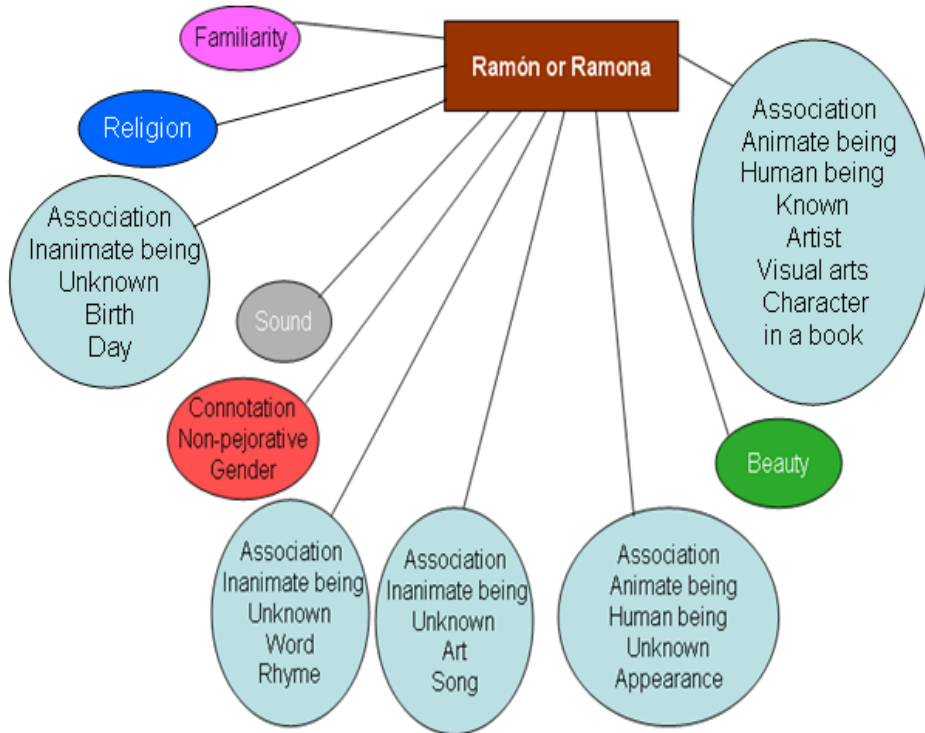


Figure 7.144. Factors based on the participants' comments about Ramón or Ramona in the metropolitan district of Murcia

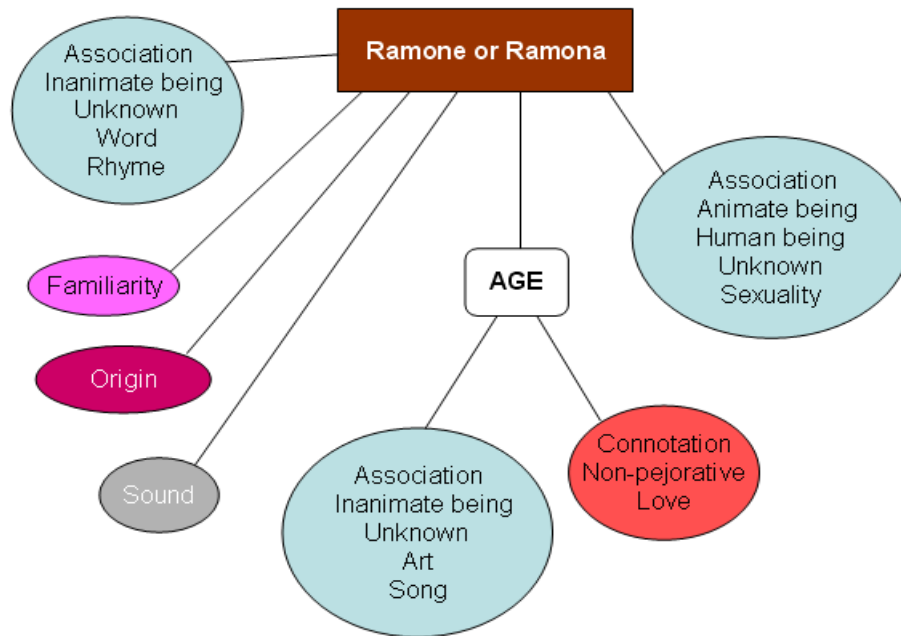


Figure 7.145. Factors based on the participants' comments about Ramone or Ramona in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Tables 7.57 and 7.58 show that in the municipal districts of Murcia and Leeds the most disliked name in terms of sound in this group is Ernestina/Ernestine. In both places we find similar comments such as “no estoy familiarizada con este nombre”<sup>120</sup> / “it is not a familiar name” (e.g. participant 53 in Murcia and adjoining areas and participant 84 in Leeds and districts, respectively) or “es demasiado largo y complejo”<sup>121</sup> (e.g. participant 70 in Spain) and “it is complicated; it is like a tongue twister! It should be shorter” (e.g. participant 16 in England). Hanks et al. (2006, p. 92) seemed to uphold this idea by describing Ernestine as “an elaborated feminine form of Ernest”. Cutler et al. (1990) suggested an explanation for the general tendency for female names to be longer than male names: there is a masculine bias in the English vocabulary with words for male professions or names to be unmarked and the female

<sup>120</sup> “I am not familiarised with this name”

<sup>121</sup> “It is too long and complex”

equivalents being formed by means of a suffix (e.g. *author*, *authoress* or *Thomas*, *Thomasina*).

Another unfavourable reflection, in this case, in Spain, was as follows: “No me gusta Ernestina; me recuerda a goma elástica”<sup>122</sup> (participant 28). Possibly, unconsciously, the respondent had the rhyme *Ernestina-tirachinas*<sup>123</sup> in mind, a *tirachinas* or catapult being used to “throw objects at a high speed” (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2008, p. 212).

In the metropolitan district of Leeds the rate of respondents who selected Ernest is 13% higher than in Spain. Perhaps as a result of both names, Ernest and Ernestine, eliciting a considerable percentage of disliking, there were certain informants who opted for *Like both* and *Dislike both* (almost 29%) in this municipal district. Regarding Ernest, it is in Britain where the commonly found remark “Ernest is an old-fashioned name” (e.g. participant 45) is found. The name Ernest “was introduced into England in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by followers of the Elector of Hanover, who became George I of England” (Hanks et al., 2006, p. 92). Participant 13 in Leeds and surrounding areas pointed out but not in a negative sense on this occasion that “Ernest is a name found in literature”, maybe in connection with the 20<sup>th</sup> century American writer Ernest Hemingway or the Victorian play by the Irish Oscar Wilde, *The importance of being Earnest*, in which there is a word play with Earnest-Ernest, whose pronunciation is alike in English. As a matter of fact, Hanks et al. (2006) mentioned that “the variant spelling, Earnest, has arisen by association with the modern English adjective *earnest*” (p. 92), possibly as a result of this play.

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<sup>122</sup> “I don’t like Ernestine; it reminds me of an elastic band”

<sup>123</sup> catapult

Table 7.57. Disliking preference for Ernesto or Ernestina in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Ernesto	13	5.9
	Ernestina	206	94.1
	Total	219	100.0

Table 7.58. Disliking preference for Ernest or Ernestine in the metropolitan district of Leeds

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Ernest	39	18.9
	Ernestine	108	52.4
	Like both	23	11.2
	Dislike both	36	17.5
	Total	206	100.0

As shown in Tables 7.59 and 7.60, around three quarters of informants in the cities of Murcia and Leeds as well as surrounding areas dislike the name in question simply because of its sound (non-pejorative reasons; see Figures 7.146 & 7.147). This reason is followed by the pejorative *cheesy/twee*, with a similar percentage in both countries (around 20%). A very low rate of informants (5% in Spain or even less in England) dislikes one of the names proposed for being vulgar.

Table 7.59. Reasons for disliking preference in the cases of Ernesto or Ernestina in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Vulgar	11	5.0
	Cheesy/twee	40	18.3
	Dislike sound+	168	76.7
	Total	219	100.0

Table 7.60. Reasons for disliking preference in the cases of Ernest or Ernestine in the metropolitan district of Leeds

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	vulgar	5	2.4	3.4
	cheesy/twee	32	15.5	21.8
	dislike sound+	110	53.4	74.8
	Total	147	71.4	100.0
Missing	System	59	28.6	
Total		206	100.0	

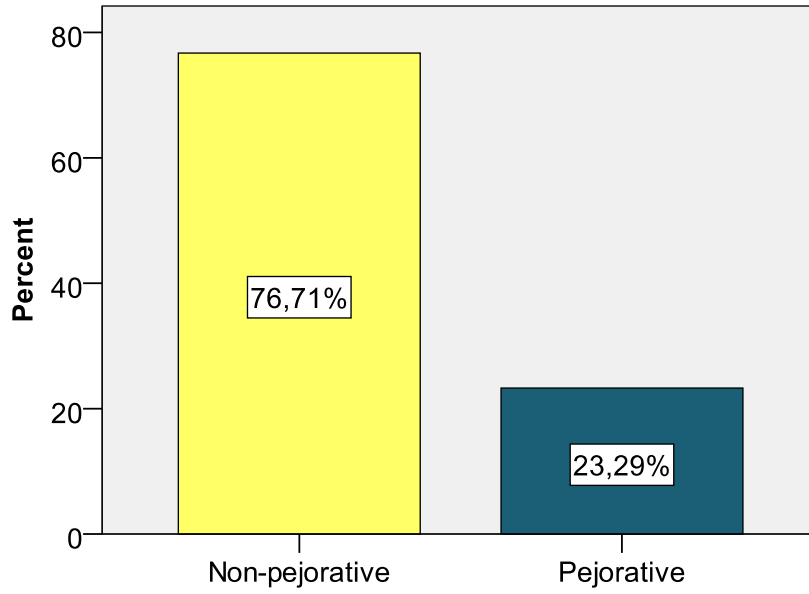


Figure 7.146. Reasons for disliking preference in the cases of Ernesto or Ernestina in the metropolitan district of Murcia- pejorative or non-pejorative?

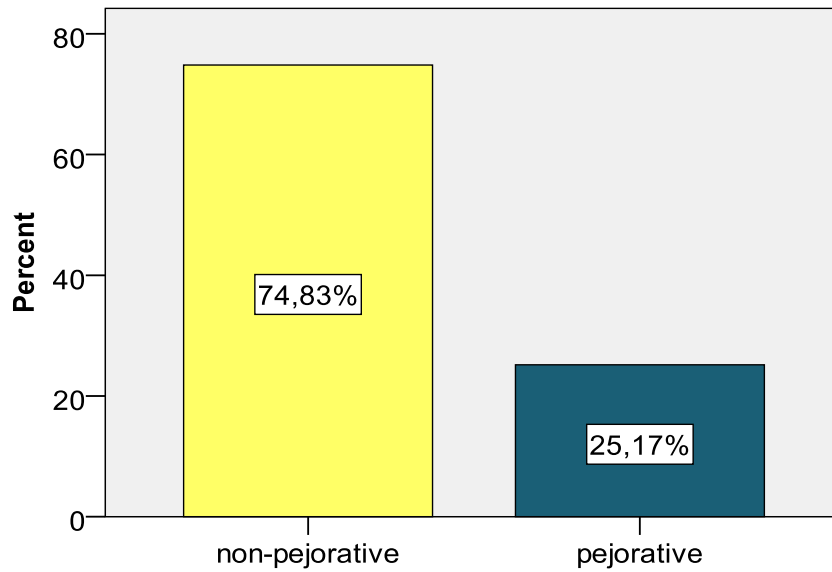


Figure 7.147. Reasons for disliking preference in the cases of Ernest or Ernestine in the metropolitan district of Leeds- pejorative or non-pejorative?

It can be observed in Tables 7.61, 7.62, 7.63 and 7.64 that some salient points are that Ernesto and Ernest produce more answers of *vulgar* than Ernestina/Ernestine both in Spain and Britain. In Spain no *cheesy/twee* answers are obtained for Ernesto while in Leeds and districts these exist for Ernest. Ernestina and Ernestine elicit a considerable number of *cheesy/twee* answers in the two metropolitan districts but especially in Leeds and adjoining areas.

Table 7.61. Reasons for disliking preference in the case of Ernesto in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Vulgar	1	7.7
	Dislike sound+	12	92.3
	Total	13	100.0

Table 7.62. Reasons for disliking preference in the case of Ernest in the metropolitan district of Leeds

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	vulgar	4	10.3
	cheesy/twee	3	7.7
	dislike sound+	32	82.1
	Total	39	100.0

Table 7.63. Reasons for disliking preference in the case of Ernestina in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Vulgar	10	4.9
	Cheesy/twee	40	19.4
	Dislike sound+	156	75.7
	Total	206	100.0



Table 7.64. Reasons for disliking preference in the case of Ernestine in the metropolitan district of Leeds

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid vulgar	1	.9
cheesy/twee	29	26.9
dislike sound+	78	72.2
Total	108	100.0

Those who dislike Ernestina for being cheesy/twee made the related observations: “Ernestina es un nombre repipi”<sup>124</sup> (participant 5), “suscita cachondeo” (participant 34)<sup>125</sup>, “es un nombre exageradamente femenino”<sup>126</sup> (participant 79) or “parece de clase alta”<sup>127</sup>, all of which were made in Murcia and pedanías.

WordReference (2015) considers the meaning of ‘twee/cheesy’ for *repipi*. The name itself seems to convey emotional states (Hom, 2012). In our view, the word *repipi* could be interpreted in two different but related senses. On the one hand, as found in Real Academia Española (2011), it is said of a know-all person, especially a child, who uses words which are not typical of his/her age and/or pronounces them in an affected way. On the other hand, in our experience, especially with reference to girls, *repipi* suggests posh girls whose manners, clothes, etc. may look affected. Real Academia Española (2011) also underlines the fact that, when rare or eccentric, something could cause laughter. Maybe the unusualness and complexity of both this name and the behaviour of *repipi* children and “posh” girls may contribute to finding this name *repipi* and bringing about teasing. And, as Albaigès (1998) claimed, “a person should not be a joke or a rarity” (p. 104, our own translation). It must not be

<sup>124</sup> “Ernestine is an affected/la-di-dah name”

<sup>125</sup> “it arouses teasing”

<sup>126</sup> “it is an exaggerately feminine name”

<sup>127</sup> “it looks as if it were from a high social class”

forgotten that there is an overwhelming majority of respondents who dislike this name more than Ernesto.

The ending *-ín/ina* can be a suffix added to a forename (e.g. *Diego-Dieguín*). In the case of Ernestina, the ending is an intrinsic part of the name (Hanks et al., 2006). These suffixes for names often contain an /i/ vowel (note *-ito/a*, *-illo/a*, *-ico/a*, etc.) and, in general terms, *-i* vowels, especially in positions where they do not go unnoticed, as in this case, strengthen femininity (Lawson, 1974; Espinosa-Meneses, 2001), often leading to exaggeration. We may think that these respondents' view is that a woman is a woman in her manners, attitudes, etc. and does not need to reinforce to this extent her femininity in her name as it could produce an undesirable effect.

On the other hand, the *-ín/ina* ending or similar (Morera, 1991) and the /i/ vowel may also be connected to poshness, either women belonging to the nobility or well-off families. The following offer some examples: celebrities such as *Caritina* (Caridad) Goyanes or *Pitita* (Esperanza) Ridruejo, *Tita* (Carmen) Cervera (Baroness Thyssen), *Chabeli* (Isabel) Iglesias Preysler, or anonymous people, namely, *Juanitina* (Juana) and *Piti* (Pilar) (see Figures 7.148 & 7.149 for the factors examined previously based on the comments from our respondents from Murcia and pedanías and Leeds and districts).

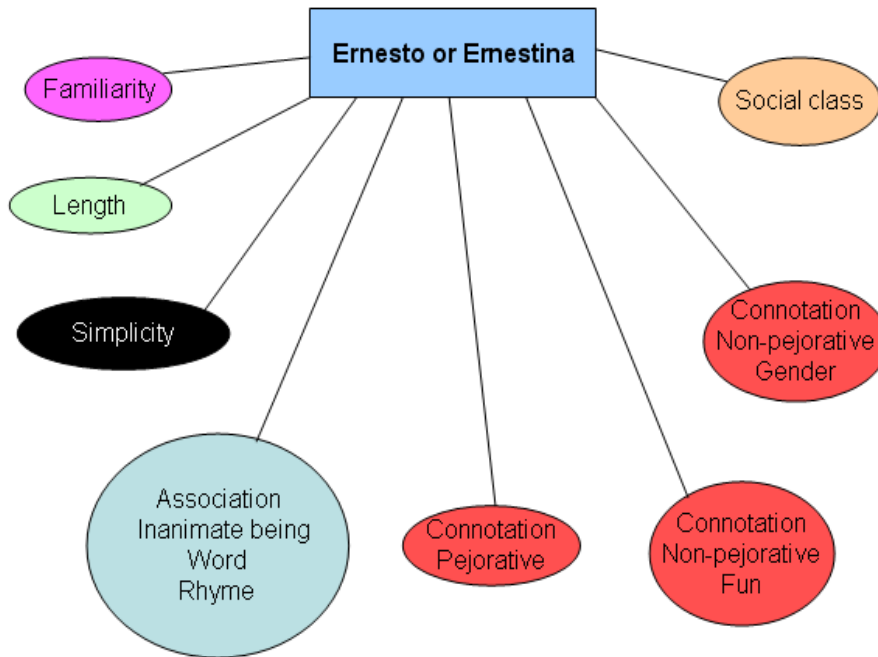


Figure 7.148. Factors based on the participants' comments about Ernesto or Ernestina in the metropolitan district of Murcia

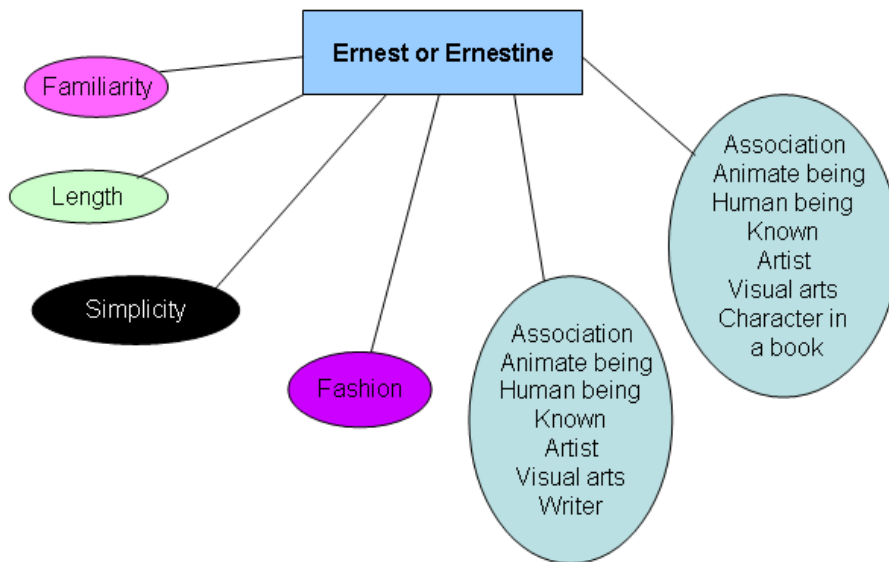


Figure 7.149. Factors based on the participants' comments about Ernest or Ernestine in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Tables 7.65 and 7.66 reveal a striking contrast between the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds. Whereas more than 8 out of 10 informants dislike the sound of Carlota the most in Spain, only slightly over one respondent out of 10 dislikes that of Charlotte in England. In Leeds and districts over one third (as opposed to the 11% in Murcia and surrounding areas) selects Charles as the most disliked name of those proposed. In brief, between the two names, people in Spain and Britain like Carlos and Charlotte the most, respectively. On the other hand, more than 44% of the participants living in the municipal district of Leeds like both Charles and Charlotte (a much higher percentage than that in Spain, the difference being roughly 38%). Furthermore, only in Leeds and adjoining towns are there informants who dislike both names.

Table 7.65. Disliking preference for Carlos or Carlota in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Carlos	24	11.0
	Carlota	180	82.2
	Like both	15	6.8
	Total	219	100.0

Table 7.66. Disliking preference for Charles or Charlotte in the metropolitan district of Leeds

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Charles	71	34.5
	Charlotte	29	14.1
	Like both	92	44.7
	Dislike both	14	6.8
	Total	206	100.0

In Murcia and districts a remark about Carlos was as follows: “Carlos está bien porque es un nombre corto y más familiar que Carlota”<sup>128</sup> (participant 77). According to Albaigès (1998) and P. Rodríguez (2014), shorter names are preferred.

Carlota does not trigger such positive comments. For instance, participant 147 made a claim which suggests polysemy: “No me gusta. Me recuerda a la zanahoria valenciana”<sup>129</sup>. The fact that not only this respondent but a few more made this comment reflects that they are aware of the Valencian lexis (the Region of Murcia and the Valencian Community are close to each other) and know that in that community the word *carlota* is a synonym of *carrot*, the difference being that the carrot is purple and the *carlota* is orange, according to Metido en un Jardín (2012). As a matter of fact, the technical term from which it derives is *Daucus carota* (Marín-Martínez, 2007). Real Academia Española (2011) only considers that the meaning of *carlota* is a pie and it comes from Charlotte, George II’s wife, which seems to be usual if bearing in mind that *sara* is a Catalan pie in honour of the French actress Sarah Bernhardt in 1883, for instance (Albaigès, 1998).

It is necessary to add that, although Carlos is preferred to Carlota, there is one positive comment for Carlota and a negative remark about Carlos: “Carlos es demasiado corto; la –ota de Carlota le da potencia y personalidad”<sup>130</sup> (participant 54).

In England the name Charlotte is defined by informants of different ages as having conflicting although positive qualities: “An old name, strong but feminine; it is quite sexy and playful sounding” (e.g. participant 22). Dunkling (1977) supported the idea that old names have a high status value for many people because of their age. Its sound, in

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<sup>128</sup> “Carlos is good because it is a short name and it is more familiar than Carlota”.

<sup>129</sup> “I don’t like it. It reminds me of the Valencian carrot”.

<sup>130</sup> “Carlos is too short; the –ota in Carlota gives it power and personality”.

particular, the final written <o>, together with a long vowel, /a:/, and the harshness of the voiceless plosive /t/, added to its meaning (it comes from Charles, “akin to the Old English *ceorl*, ‘man’” (Hanks et al., 2006, p. 52, emphasis in original) may contribute to a sense of strength and personality, which is also found in the case of Carlota, at least according to one informant. We must bear in mind, though, that Charlotte is the “French feminine diminutive of Charles” (p. 52), which may have a hand in it being viewed as feminine. Smith-Bannister (1997) used the term *feminised names* for these name versions of male names given to females.

The fact that the name seems sexy may be connected to Monroy’s claim (2001) regarding /tʃ/ in Spanish: (e.g. *chocho* –‘feminine sexual organ’, *pecho* –‘breast’, etc.). We suggest that this could be extrapolated to the own affricate, the postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ and the alveolar fricative /s/ and /z/ in English as well. Thus, we have /tʃ/ e.g. *lecherous*, /ʃ/ e.g. in *schlong* –‘male genitalia’, *shagging* –‘making love’, *luscious* or *smasher* – a gorgeous girl, etc. and /s/ in words such as *sex*, *sexy*, *seductive*, *lascivious*, etc. All of them seem to convey an idea of erotic or sexual feeling. The same sounds would also evoke friendliness, as in pet names: e.g. *Sasha*, the “English spelling of a Russian pet form of *Alexander* and *Alexandra* (Hanks et al., 2006, p. 242), including /ʃ/, or *Kats* –from *Katherine*, *Cloz* – from *Chloe*, etc., including /s/ and /z/ (Arboleda, 2015). This would concord with the name Charlotte being seen as a playful name by some respondents and has connotations of fun and high spirits.

Another curious remark regarding Charlotte came from participant 168 in Leeds and districts: “Charlotte reminds me of frizzy hair due to a film I saw in 2007”. This individual is not thinking about cakes or desserts (meanings of the common noun *charlotte*). We guess she is referring to the American film *Charlotte’s Web*, based on the children’s

novel of the same name by E.B. White and released in the UK in 2007 (its release in America was in 2006). The main characters are a pig and a spider whose name is Charlotte. A quotation from the film evidences the link: “Frizzy hair. That sad feeling” (Subzin, 2012).

Only one comment arose concerning Charles and it was negative: participant 9 explained that she knew “lots of objectionable acquaintances named Charles”. Hence, if we know somebody (named Charles, in this case) that we do not like, we will unconsciously associate that person with the name in question (Bryner, 2010).

As seen in Tables 7.67 and 7.68, both in Spain and England the majority of the participants dislike one of the forenames owing to their just not liking the sound of it (non-pejorative reasons). Nonetheless, the rate of this is more than 20% higher in Murcia and pedanías, surpassing 87%. Although a similar but, at the same time, low ratio of respondents in the two countries consider the selected name to be vulgar (with the support of not even 1 out of 10 participants), 3 out of 10 respondents opted for *twee/cheesy* in England as opposed to less than 6% in Murcia and districts, which contributes to the increase of pejorative reasons in England (see Figures 7.150 & 7.151).

Table 7.67. Reasons for disliking preference in the cases of Carlos or Carlota in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Vulgar	14	6.4	6.9
	Cheesy/twee	12	5.5	5.9
	Dislike sound+	178	81.3	87.3
	Total	204	93.2	100.0
Missing	System	15	6.8	
Total		219	100.0	

Table 7.68. Reasons for disliking preference in the cases of Charles or Charlotte in the metropolitan district of Leeds

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	vulgar	4	1.9	4.0
	cheesy/twee	30	14.6	30.0
	dislike sound+	66	32.0	66.0
	Total	100	48.5	100.0
Missing	System	106	51.5	
Total		206	100.0	

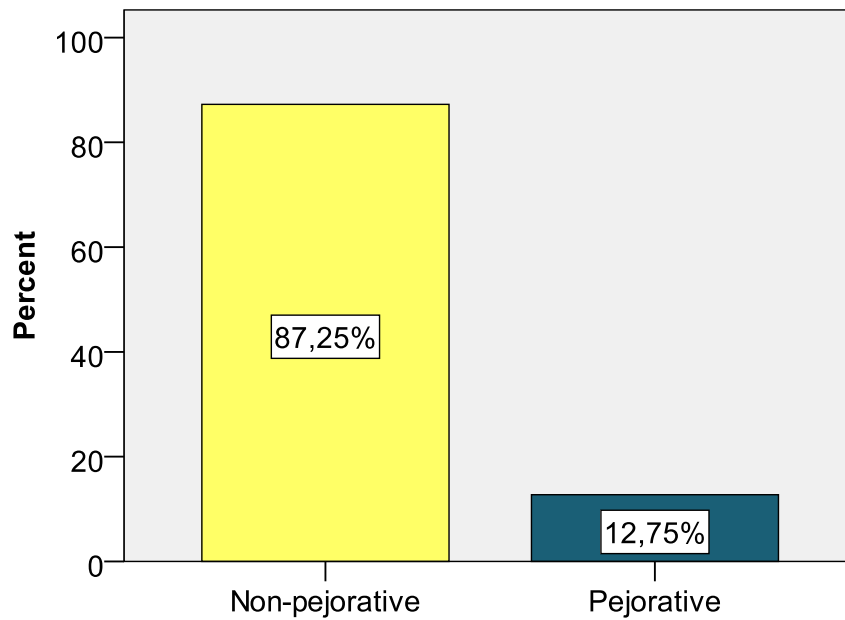


Figure 7.150. Reasons for disliking preference in the cases of Carlos or Carlota in the metropolitan district of Murcia- pejorative or non-pejorative?



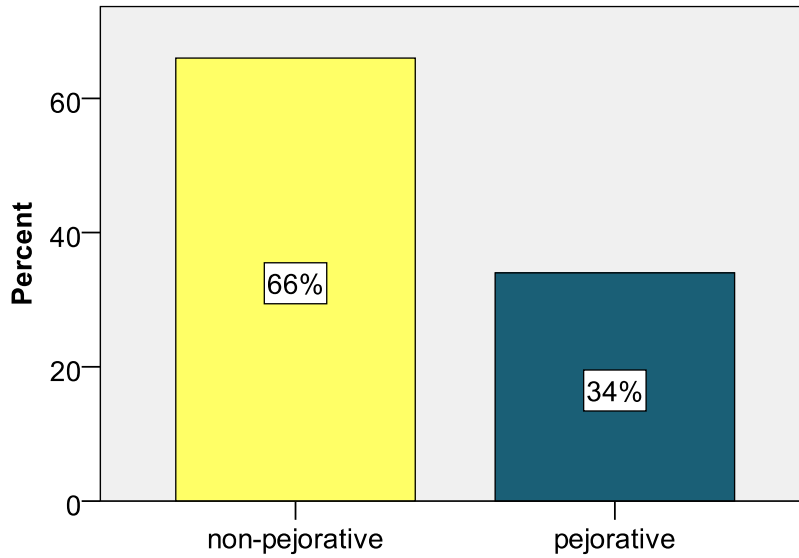


Figure 7.151. Reasons for disliking preference in the cases of Charles or Charlotte in the metropolitan district of Leeds- pejorative or non-pejorative?

The difference between Carlos and Carlota in Spain in terms of reasons given for disliking the sound of one of them is basically that the adjective *twee/cheesy* is taken into account only for Carlota (see Tables 7.69 & 7.70).

Carlota prompted a few observations regarding the twee/cheesy nature of the name. Participant 52, who was a teacher, said: “Me recuerda a un personaje de una novela del Romanticismo”<sup>131</sup>. It must be noted that there is a novel, *Werther*, by Goethe, preceding the Romantic period and influencing it, whose main character is called Carlota. Participant 10 added: “Es un nombre de niña pija”<sup>132</sup>. Apart from there being Queens called Carlota (e.g. Carlota de Saboya, Carlota Joaquina de Borbón, Carlota Isabel Diana, the latter being Prince William’s daughter, etc.), the name has been increasingly used by upper class families. Examples would

<sup>131</sup> “It reminds me of a character in a novel from Romanticism”.

<sup>132</sup> “It is a posh girl’s name”.

be Carlota Casiraghi (Caroline of Monaco's daughter) and the deceased 18 year-old Carlota Cantó, Tony Cantó and Eva Cobo's daughter. Her parents are both actors. Likewise, the famous series *La que se avecina* portrays a posh mother, Maite Figueroa, who loves designer clothes. She is known as *La Cuqui* (remember the pet forms mentioned above: *Piti*, *Pitita*, etc., in which the /i/ vowel was present and also suggested social class) and she has a daughter called Carlota. As can be seen, all the examples from recent times (Carlota Casiraghi, Carlota Cantó and La Cuqui's daughter) coincide with a young woman. Given that the name is becoming increasingly popular in Spain, it is easier to see such connections.

For Carlos, some respondents referred to the fact that “si Carlos se pronuncia con el acento murciano, no me gusta y es vulgar”<sup>133</sup>. We must remember that the implosive /s/ disappears in the south of Spain in popular language, e.g. [lo nɪɾɔ] (Monroy, 2008) and a related phenomenon, the assimilation into the following consonant e.g. [ep-ˈpera] for *espera*, is said to belong to a popular or colloquial style although other scholars consider it to be a vulgar feature. That is why it is not strange that some people consider the loss of the /s/ in Carlos as vulgar.

One of these *vulgar* answers for the name Carlota is that “es como una mujer gorda”<sup>134</sup> (e.g. participant 83). The -ota ending can then be added to the -ona in Ramona to suggest a heavy weight because, as stated by Lázaro-Carreter (1971), -ote/a is an augmentative suffix. Köhler (1947) explained that /o/ is related to rounded objects. We must bear in mind that -ota and -ona are close to each other (the only difference is that of /n/ vs. /t/). Tarte (1982) explained that low back vowels are strongly associated with heavy characteristics. According to D'Onofrio (2014), /a/ and /o/ are

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<sup>133</sup> “if Carlos is pronounced with the Murcian accent, I don't like it and it is vulgar”.

<sup>134</sup> “She is like a fat woman”.

associated with big, round and heavy objects. Although we naturally feel that a jagged shape is more connected to sharp sounds such as /t/ (Davis, 2011), the vowels seem to exert a greater influence here. Maybe the fact that there is not such a neat pattern with consonants (I.K. Taylor, 1976; Spector & Maurer, 2013) may also contribute to this despite the claim made by Fort et al. (2014) that consonants are more important than vowels in the Bouba.Kiki/ Takete-Maluma effect. If we consider examples such as *palabra-palabrota* ('word-swearword'), an expressive (pejorative) intention is attached (see -eto/a, another pejorative suffix according to Monroy, 2001). Therefore, in this case, both the augmentative and the pejorative sense could contribute to it being rejected. Other more "feminine" names, excluding the -ota part and/or including /i/, are preferred, if the choice were offered: "A mí me gusta mucho más Carla que Carlota"<sup>135</sup>(participant 38) or "Carolina sí"<sup>136</sup> (participant 79).

Table 7.69. Reasons for disliking preference in the case of Carlos in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Vulgar	1	4.2
	Dislike sound+	23	95.8
	Total	24	100.0

Table 7.70. Reasons for disliking preference in the case of Carlota in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Vulgar	13	7.2
	Cheesy/twee	12	6.7
	Dislike sound+	155	86.1
	Total	180	100.0

<sup>135</sup> "I like Carla much more than Carlota"

<sup>136</sup> "Carolina I do (like)".

Conversely, *twee/cheesy* is much more present as a reason in the replies from informants living in Leeds and surrounding towns, especially regarding Charles (see Tables 7.71 & 7.72). In point of fact, the name Charles kindles reflections such as “it is a posh-sounding name” (participant 16), “it is pompous” (participant 69), “it is upper class” (participant 60) or “it reminds me of Prince Charles” (participant 51).

Names such as *James, Edward, Thomas, Alexander, William, Benjamin, Daniel, Richard, Charles* and *Robert* often appear in *The Times* and reflect that upper class people are more resistant to change (Dunkling, 1977). During the period 1538 to 1700 one of the most frequent names amongst peers was Charles (Baring-Gould, 1910). As explained by Hanks et al. (2006, p. 52), Charles has always been associated with leaders. It derives from the Germanic word meaning ‘freeman’. It was related to *carl* or *housecarl*, which was employed before the Norman Conquest to refer to the royal bodyguards or household troops. The best known person who bore this name and established the name’s popularity in Europe was Charlemagne or Charles the Great, the Holy Roman Emperor from the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

Although the name seemed to lose popularity in the fourteenth century, Hanks and Hodges (1990) pointed out that Charles was re-introduced to Britain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries thanks to Mary Queen of Scots’ son, Charles James, although there is evidence to suggest that northern gentry families were using the name before that time. Moreover, James VI of Scotland and James I of England had sons called Charles, who later became kings. Among the pretenders to the Stuarts throne we find Bonnie Prince Charlie.

Although there are no comments related to social class about Charlotte in our study, Besnard and Desplanques (1987) added that the female counterpart was used by the bourgeoisie (Figures 7.152 & 7.153

display the factors studied before based on the remarks from our informants from the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds).

Table 7.71. Reasons for disliking preference in the case of Charles in the metropolitan district of Leeds

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid vulgar	2	2.8
cheesy/twee	23	32.4
dislike sound+	46	64.8
Total	71	100.0

Table 7.72. Reasons for disliking preference in the case of Charlotte in the metropolitan district of Leeds

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid vulgar	2	6.9
cheesy/twee	7	24.1
dislike sound+	20	69.0
Total	29	100.0

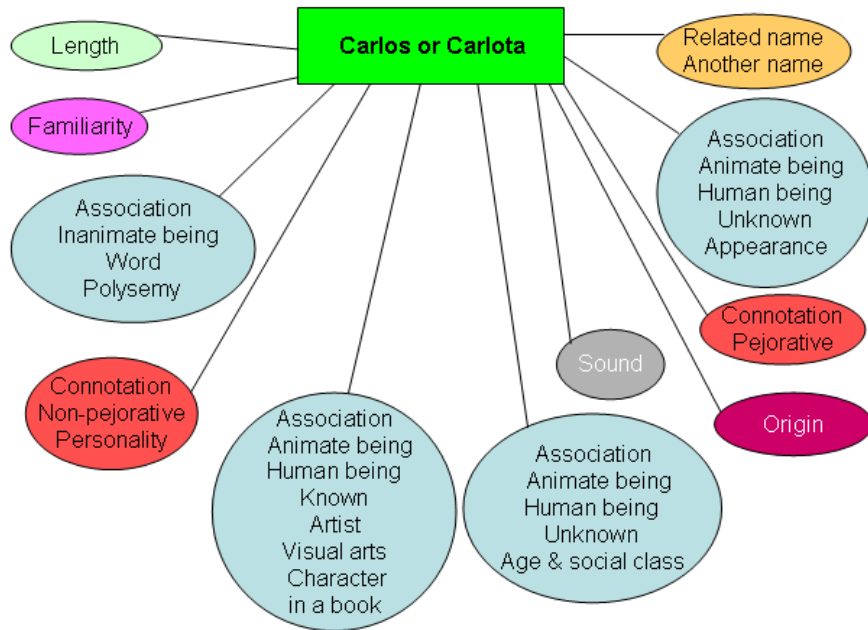


Figure 7.152. Factors based on the participants' comments about Carlos or Carlota in the metropolitan district of Murcia

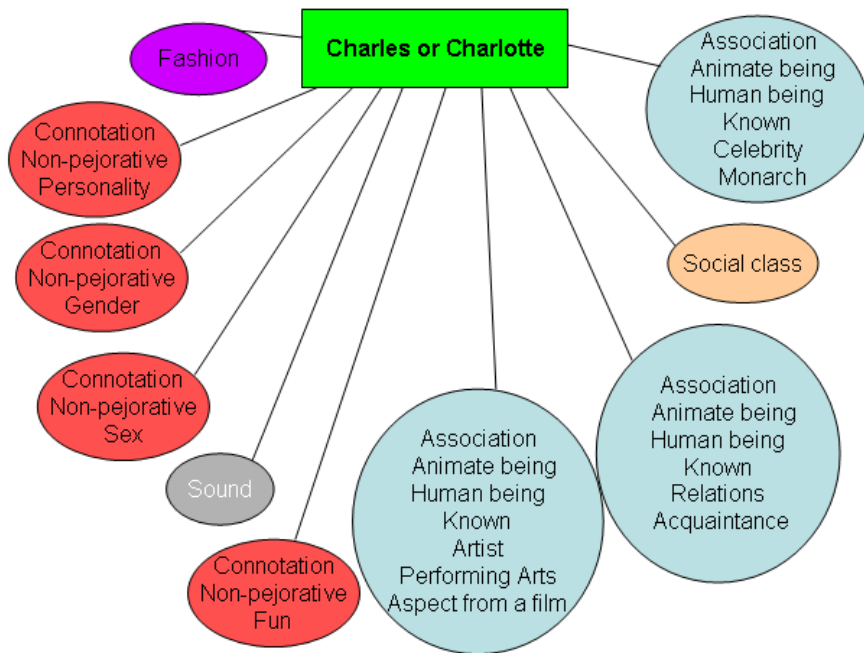


Figure 7.153. Factors based on the participants' comments about Charles or Charlotte in the metropolitan district of Leeds

From Tables 7.73 and 7.74 we can conclude that, although the sound of the female name Micaela/Michaela is most disliked in both places, the degrees of preference in Murcia and surrounding areas deviate from those in the municipal district of Leeds. Whereas in Spain more than 9 out of 10 informants selected Micaela as the most disliked name, thus leading to a low percentage of selection of Miguel and *like both*, in England the choice of disliking Michaela (with almost half of support cases) is closely followed by that of liking both names (with almost 35%). Besides, there are 10% more informants who opted for Michael in Leeds and surrounding towns and only in the municipal district of Leeds are there cases of dislike of both Michael and Michaela, although these are few.

Table 7.73. Disliking preference for Miguel or Micaela in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Miguel	9	4.
	Micaela	202	92.2
	Like both	8	3.7
	Total	219	100.0

Table 7.74. Disliking preference for Michael or Michaela in the metropolitan district of Leeds

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Michael	29	14.1
	Michaela	98	47.6
	Like both	71	34.5
	Dislike both	8	3.9
	Total	206	100.0

The name Michaela yields positive comments in England. Hence, participant 85, who liked it, made a remark in relation to the possible origin of the name: “It sounds Italian; I like its musical rhythm”. It makes sense in that, as claimed by Nichol (2011), -ella is an Italian suffix. Note, for example, the Italian name *Donatella* (from *Donato*). Names such as *Angelo* or *Angela*, *Aniello* or *Aniella*, *Raffaele* or *Raffaella*, are well-known Italian names (Hanks et al., 2006). Michaela is the “Latinized feminine form of Michael” (p. 194) and Italian comes from Latin. Rhythm in music pleases our ear (García-Yebra, 1989). Music is related to sound. Micaela also receives positive reflections in Spain: “Si el nombre femenino hubiera sido Miguela, habría sido peor porque sugiere mayor masculinidad”<sup>137</sup> (participant 2), in other words, at least Micaela is not as close to the male forename Miguel as Miguela.

It can be seen in Tables 7.75 and 7.76 that, once more, in both countries at least three quarters of participants dislike the name in question simply because of its sound. In spite of that, when comparing both municipal districts, it is in Leeds where pejorative reasons are more numerous (see Figures 7.154 & 7.155), especially in terms of *cheesy/twee* answers, which surpass the 15% of choice.

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<sup>137</sup> “If the female name had been Miguela, it would have been worse because it suggests greater masculinity”



Table 7.75. Reasons for disliking preference in the cases of Miguel or Micaela in the metropolitan district of Murcia

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Vulgar	15	6.8	7.1
	Cheesy/twee	14	6.4	6.6
	Dislike sound+	182	83.1	86.3
	Total	211	96.3	100.0
Missing	System	8	3.7	
Total		219	100.0	

Table 7.76. Reasons for disliking preference in the cases of Michael or Michaela in the metropolitan district of Leeds

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Vulgar	11	5.3	8.7
	Cheesy/twee	20	9.7	15.7
	Dislike sound+	96	46.6	75.6
	Total	127	61.7	100.0
Missing	System	79	38.3	
Total		206	100.0	

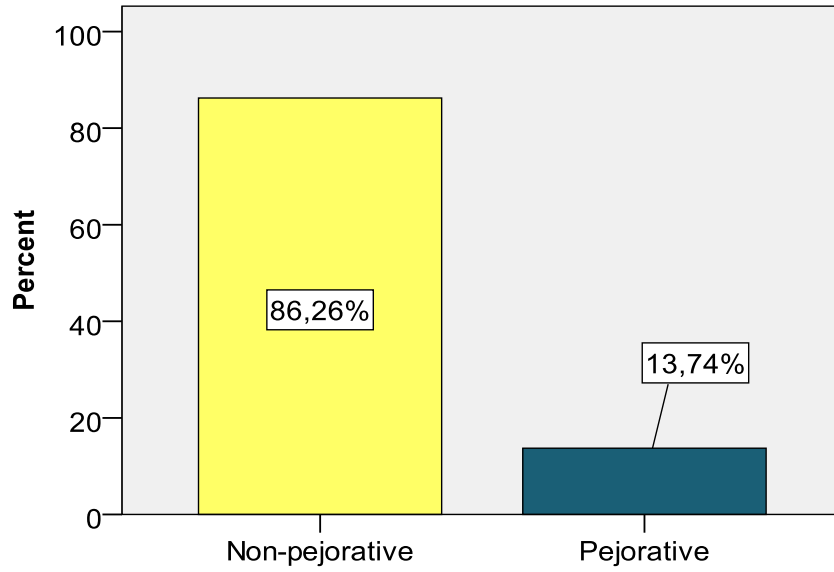


Figure 7.154. Reasons for disliking preference in the cases of Miguel or Micaela in the metropolitan district of Murcia- pejorative or non-pejorative?

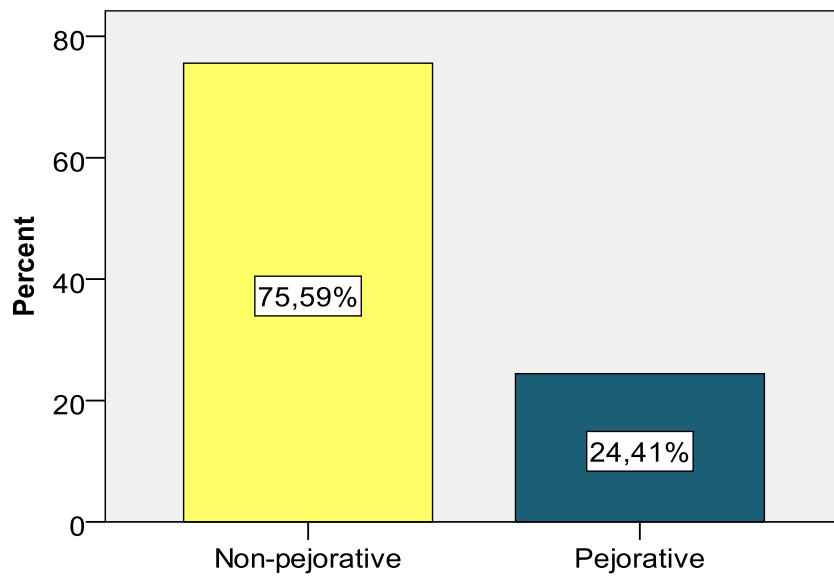


Figure 7.155. Reasons for disliking preference in the cases of Michael or Michaela in the metropolitan district of Leeds- pejorative or non-pejorative?

Tables 7.77, 7.78, 7.79 and 7.80 indicate that the male name elicits more pejorative answers in Spain and the same occurs with the female name but in England.

Table 7.77. Reasons for disliking preference in the case of Miguel in the metropolitan district of Murcia

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid Vulgar	2	22.2
Dislike sound+	7	77.8
Total	9	100.0

Table 7.78. Reasons for disliking preference in the case of Michael in the metropolitan district of Leeds

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid Vulgar	1	3.4
Cheesy/twee	2	6.9
Dislike sound+	26	89.7
Total	29	100.0

Table 7.79. Reasons for disliking preference in the case of Micaela in the metropolitan district of Murcia

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid Vulgar	13	6.4
Cheesy/twee	14	6.9
Dislike sound+	175	86.6
Total	202	100.0

Table 7.80. Reasons for disliking preference in the case of Michaela in the metropolitan district of Leeds

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Vulgar	10	10.2
	Cheesy/twee	18	18.4
	Dislike sound+	70	71.4
	Total	98	100.0

For Michaela, although the *cheesy/twee* answers are superior to the *vulgar* ones in England (the percentage being around 8% higher), from those participants who consider this name vulgar, a few remarks are as follows: “It is a chavvy name” (participant 164) and “Michaela suggests rough people” (participant 60). It can be the case that the origin of these suggestions are the own spelling <ch> or the sound /ʃ/ or /k/. The correct pronunciation of Michaela is with /k/ although many people pronounce it with /ʃ/. The own word *chavvy* in English and the Spanish *choni* or *cani* remark these sounds. In both languages /tʃ/ or /ʃ/ would not only convey eroticism or playfulness as in Charlotte but an unreliable or shoddy character or action; thus, if going further, a pejorative characteristic, e.g. e.g. *chapuza* (‘shoddy’), *feúcho* (with the –ucho/a suffix, from ‘ugly’) in Spanish (Morera, 1991; Monroy, 2001) or *chump* (‘silly’) and *chichi* (‘cheesy/twee’) in English.

It is only in the metropolitan district of Leeds where informants singled out the *cheesy/twee* option in the case of the male counterpart Michael. More than 22% of respondents attached the *vulgar* label to Miguel. This appears to be linked to the idiom proposed by several

informants: “Miguel está más visto que el tebeo”<sup>138</sup> (e.g. participant 12), reinforcing the idea of *vulgar* as a synonym of *ordinary* (Real Academia Española, 2011; Monroy, 2008). J.L. Alonso and Huerta (2000) also added the commonness of the name Juan, who has even been linked to a nobody, someone who does not have any importance (Figures 7.156 & 7.157 exhibit the factors examined previously based on the comments from our respondents from the municipal districts of Murcia and Leeds).

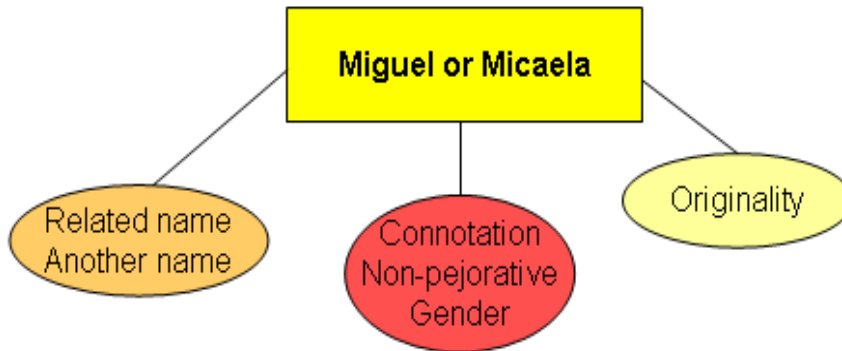


Figure 7.156. Factors based on the participants’ comments about Miguel or Micaela in the metropolitan district of Murcia

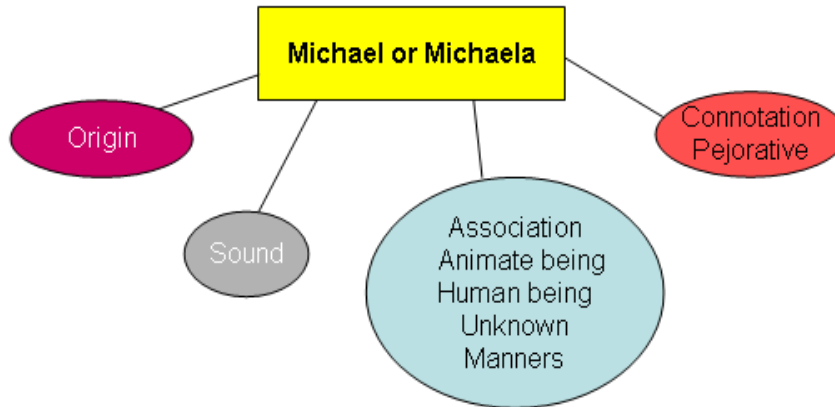


Figure 7.157. Factors based on the participants’ comments about Michael or Michaela in the metropolitan district of Leeds

<sup>138</sup> “Miguel is as old as the hills”

In general terms, as seen in Figures 7.158, 7.159, 7.160 and 7.161, it can be asserted that in both metropolitan districts, when deciding on the name respondents dislike most, non-pejorative reasons, that is, simply disliking the sound, are more common than pejorative ones, that is, referring to it as being vulgar or cheesy. However, the adjective *cheesy* is chosen more often in England while Spain opts more frequently for the adjective *vulgar*. Also remarkable is the fact that in the metropolitan district of Murcia the female counterpart is selected in all the cases as the most disliked name whereas in the municipal district of Leeds the negative reactions towards male and female names are equal. There is one half of choice of the female name and another half of the male name. In addition, the percentages of the chosen names are always very high in the case of our Spanish informants while for the English respondents percentages are distributed among the different options despite the clear tendency towards a given name.

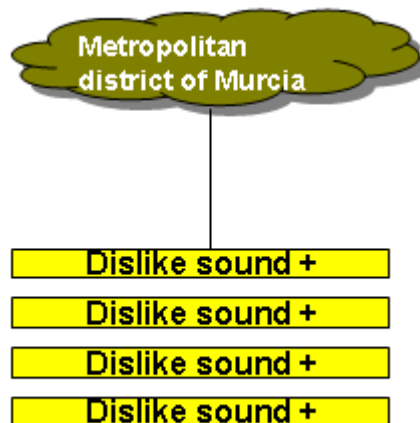


Figure 7.158. Reasons for disliking preference in opposite-gender names in the metropolitan district of Murcia

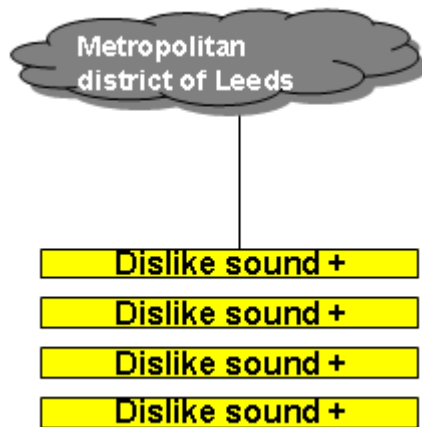


Figure 7.159. Reasons for disliking preference in opposite-gender names in the metropolitan district of Leeds

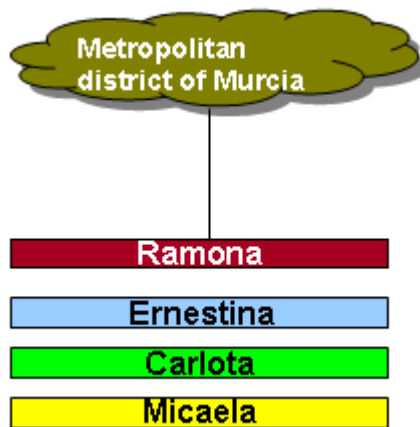


Figure 7.160. Disliking preference for opposite-gender names in the metropolitan district of Murcia

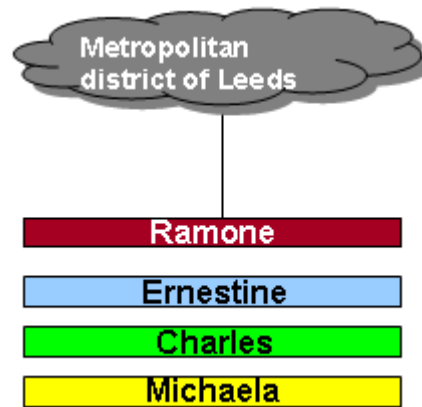


Figure 7.161. Disliking preference for opposite-gender names in the metropolitan district of Leeds

It can be observed from Figures 7.162 and 7.163 that in half of the cases, in particular, for a coincident pair of names in both countries: Ramón-Ramona and Ramone-Ramona and different pairs: Ernesto-Ernestina and Charles-Charlotte in the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds, respectively, our informants seem to give more negative responses to names of their own gender than participants from the opposite gender, in other words, female participants assess female names more unfavourably than male respondents and male informants rate male names worse than female informants. However, the difference between male and female informants is minor in these cases.

In most of the remaining cases the respondents dislike the sound of a name of an opposite gender more than that of a name of their own gender. The variation between men and women is more marked in the cases of Carlos-Carlota and Ernest-Ernestine whereas there is only subtle variation in the case of Miguel-Micaela. For Carlos-Carlota in Spain, Pearson's chi-square test even points at statistically significant differences at an associated probability of .05 amongst gender groups of informants ( $\chi^2=12.535$ ;  $df=2$ ;  $p=.002$ , with a Cramer's V of .239, which implies a low



magnitude of association, and the error made when purporting to predict the dependent variable in terms of the independent variable would only be 5%) and for Ernest-Ernestine in England, despite there being no statistically significant differences at the alpha level above ( $\chi^2=7.004$ ;  $df=3$ ,  $p=.072$ ), results are worth highlighting.

The case of Michael-Michaela is an exception because both names are regarded negatively by women rather than men whereas men are more neutral in that the percentage of liking both is quite high.

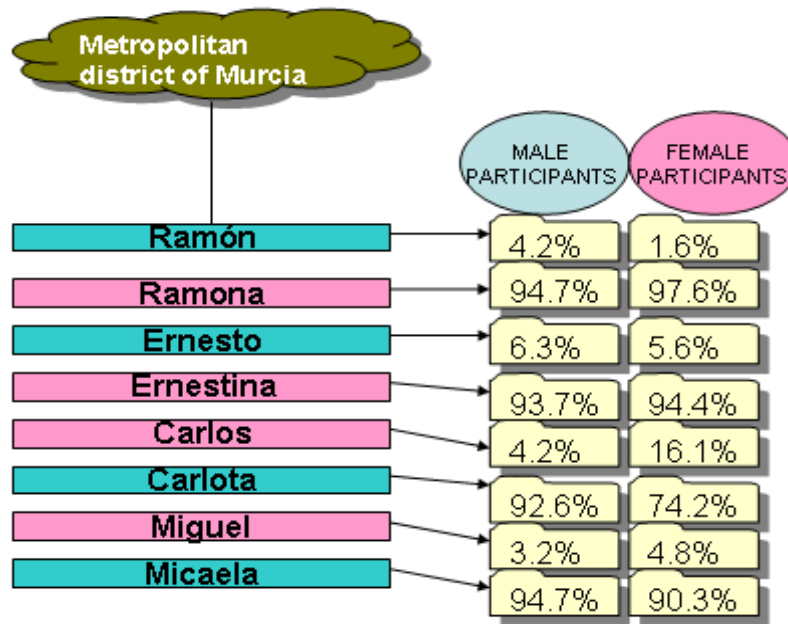


Figure 7.162. Disliking percentages by male and female participants in the metropolitan district of Murcia<sup>139</sup>

<sup>139</sup> The forename will be blue-coloured and pink-coloured when there are more male participants and female participants disliking the name, respectively.

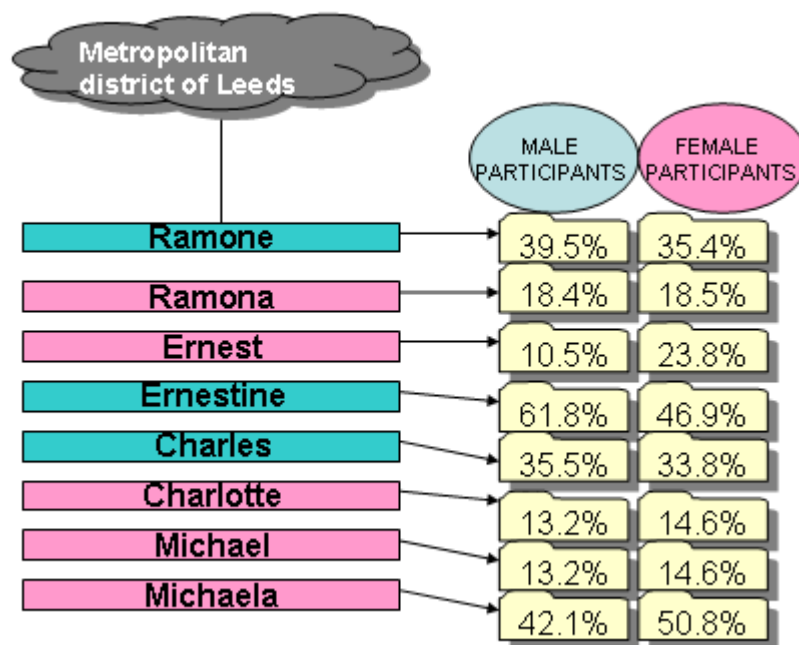


Figure 7.163. Disliking percentages by male and female participants in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Taking into account that, according to Aries (1976) women are prone to talking about personal issues in their conversations and their style can even be said to be cheesy (Tusón, 1988; Martín-Rojo, 1996), the relationship between gender and selection of the *twee/cheesy* option merits closer attention.

Figures 7.164 and 7.165 reveal that in both metropolitan districts for three quarters of names the choice of this adjective by female participants surpasses that of males by 25-35%, even doubling it in some cases. The coinciding pairs in both countries are Ernesto-Ernestina/ Ernest-Ernestine and Carlos-Carlota/Charles-Charlotte. Ramone-Ramona in England and Miguel-Micaela in Spain also reflect a higher percentage of females selecting the *cheesy/twee* option. Only their counterparts, Ramón-Ramona and Michael-Michaela, indicate a larger number of men giving the *cheesy/twee* answer. Thus, in both countries and for most name

pairs the tendency is for more women than men to dislike one of the names due to its cheesy/twee character. This tendency is further evidenced by the fact that regarding aspect B1, a comment about a name being cheesy (Rebeca) came from a woman too.

Nonetheless, regarding the figures of men disliking the names more than women because of their twee/cheesy character, in the English case (Michael-Michaela) the percentages of disliking males and females are fairly balanced and in Spain (Ramón-Ramona), despite there only being males, the frequency is very low (just 4 people).

It must be noted that the cheesy/twee option was only selected in the case of Ramona (not Ramón; see Table 7.55). We should remember that this female name, which includes an augmentative suffix, received comments referring to its being too strong a name for women, amongst other similar observations, so it would be strange to find people, especially females, who think Ramona is cheesy/twee. Curiously, all the men who chose the adjective *cheesy/twee* for Ramona do not hold a university degree and are lorry drivers (participants 30 & 123), builders (participant 124) and hauliers (participant 125). There is a popular expression in Spanish which says “Tienes voz de camionero” (‘You sound like a lorry driver’/ ‘You have a gravelly voice’), by referring to women who have a rough voice or have a cold, which emphasises the manliness of lorry drivers. This idea is further supported by the fact that lesbians with masculine manners are referred to as *camioneras*, although this term is not so trendy now (Ortega-Román, 2008). We suggest that it is the “manliness” of these professions and, in turn, the people doing these jobs, which may explain their *cheesy/twee* answers for the name Ramona but, in general terms, and for names which are “more neutral”, the tendency is for women to use these words more than men.

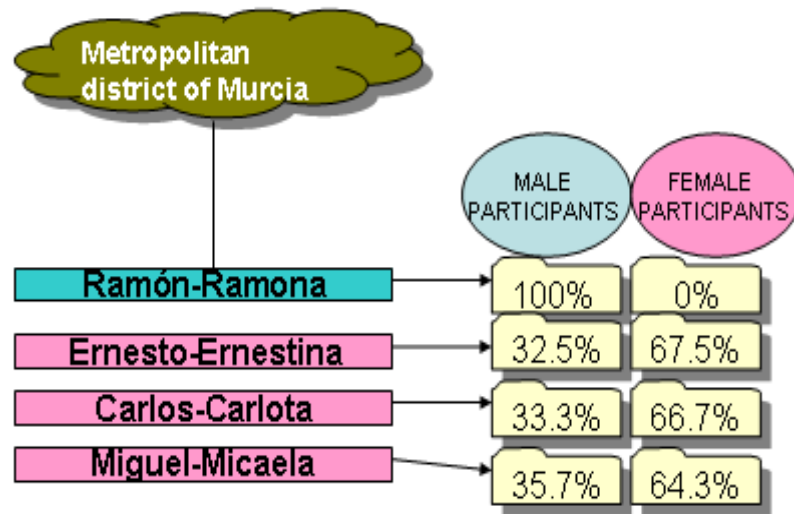


Figure 7.164. *Cheesy/twee* answers by male and female participants in the metropolitan district of Murcia

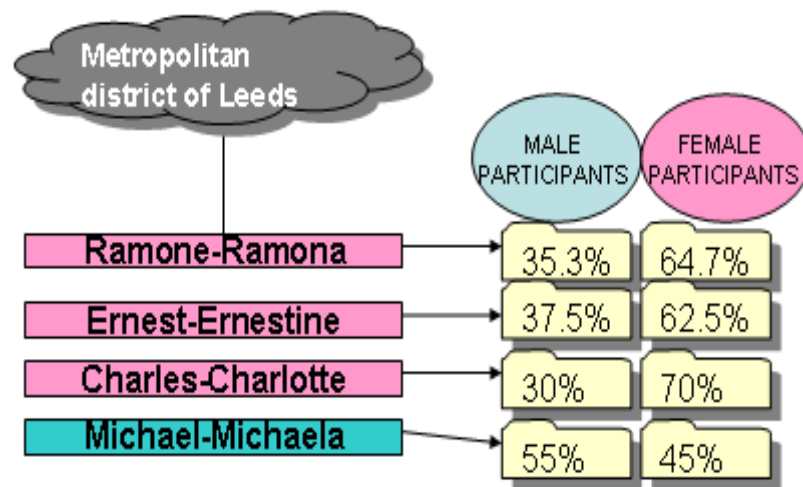


Figure 7.165. *Cheesy/twee* answers by male and female participants in the metropolitan district of Leeds

The overall number of factors arising out of the respondents' comments about each of the name groups is moderately larger in Spain (108 factors in Spain vs. 85 in England, taking into account that the same factor may be repeated in different names and it would be counted as many times as it appears). The number of factors is notably lower in England when discussing aspect B2 (funny connotations) and B3 (name versions). The names Victor, Oscar, Antonella-Antonia, Millie-Mollie and Zoe-Chloe from Leeds and districts do not elicit remarks from participants. In Murcia and surrounding areas the name groups which receive more comments are Leonardo, Crispín, Sonia-Sofía and especially the male-female counterparts Ramón-Ramona, Ernesto-Ernestina and Carlos-Carlota. In Leeds and districts, these pairs (Ramone-Ramona, Ernest-Ernestine and Charles-Charlotte) also elicit the highest number of comments together with Cornelia and Sara-Clara. In both Murcia and its surrounds and Leeds and districts comments made by a given age group can be found.

The most recurrent factor arising from the participants' comments in both metropolitan districts is association. In Spain connotation (especially in aspect B4, opposite-gender names) and origin are also preeminent. In England fashion (mainly in aspect B1: liking of particular forenames) and social class are also worthy of mention. The factors found in common in each name or pair (excluding Tania/Tanya, Vanessa, Rebeca/Rebecca, Lydia, Jéniffer/Jennifer, Gloria, Sandra, Christian, Rafael/Raphael, Jónathan/Jonathan, Antonella/Antonia, that is, almost 40% of names or pairs, which do not have factors in common) from the two metropolitan districts are shown in the figures below. It can be observed that the opposite-gender pairs Ramón/Ramone-Ramona, Ernesto/Ernest-Ernestina/Ernestine and Carlos/Charles-Carlota/Charlotte have more factors in common in the two metropolitan districts and, as found in the general trend, the most recurrent factor in common in

Spanish and English names and pairs is association. There are no names or pairs with factors in common in which a given age is a consideration.

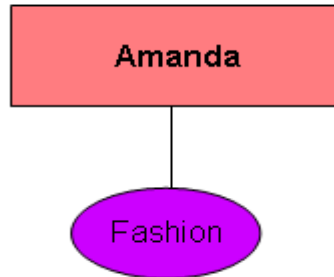


Figure 7.166. Factors in common between Amanda (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Amanda (metropolitan district of Leeds) based on the participants' comments

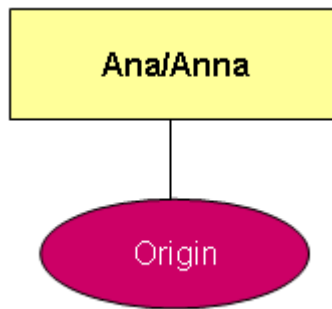


Figure 7.167. Factors in common between Ana (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Anna (metropolitan district of Leeds) based on the participants' comments

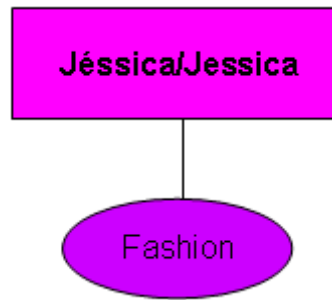


Figure 7.168. Factors in common between Jéssica (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Jessica (metropolitan district of Leeds) based on the participants' comments

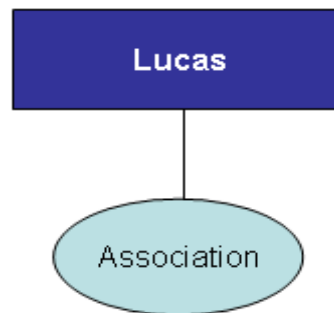


Figure 7.169. Factors in common between Lucas (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Lucas (metropolitan district of Leeds) based on the participants' comments

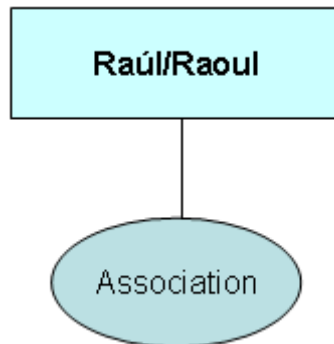


Figure 7.170. Factors in common between Raúl (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Raoul (metropolitan district of Leeds) based on the participants' comments

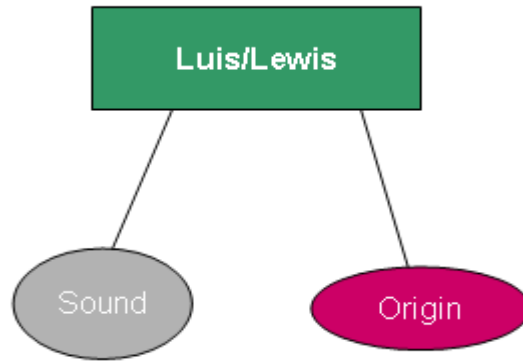


Figure 7.171. Factors in common between Luis (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Lewis (metropolitan district of Leeds) based on the participants' comments

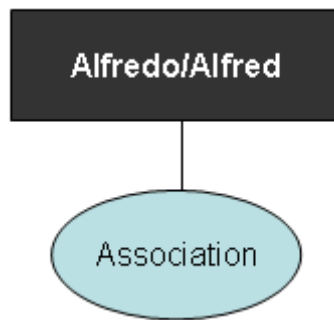


Figure 7.172. Factors in common between Alfredo (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Alfred (metropolitan district of Leeds) based on the participants' comments

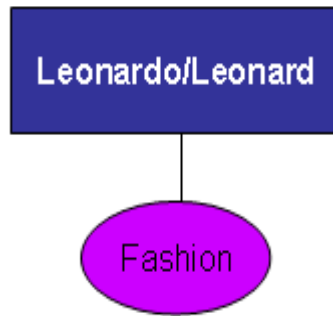


Figure 7.173. Factors in common between Leonardo (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Leonard (metropolitan district of Leeds) based on the participants' comments



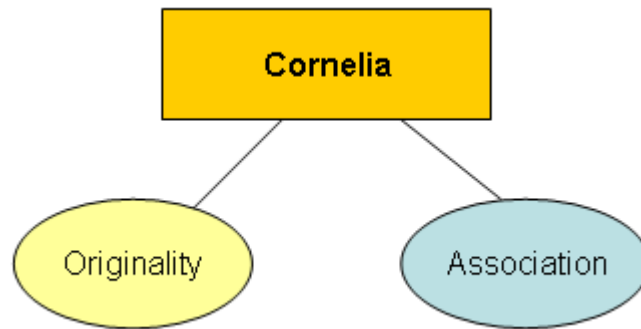


Figure 7.174. Factors in common between Cornelia (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Cornelia (metropolitan district of Leeds) based on the participants' comments

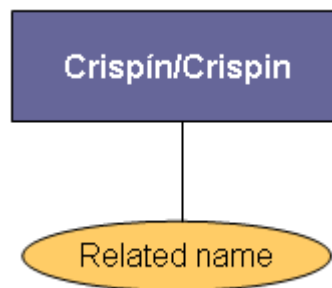


Figure 7.175. Factors in common between Crispín (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Crispin (metropolitan district of Leeds) based on the participants' comments

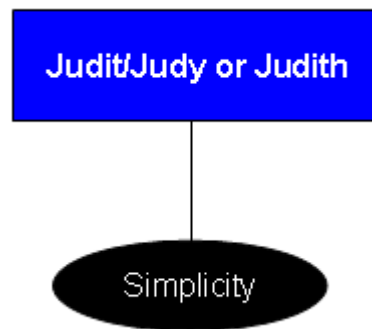


Figure 7.176. Factors in common between Judit/Judith (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Judy/Judith (metropolitan district of Leeds) based on the participants' comments

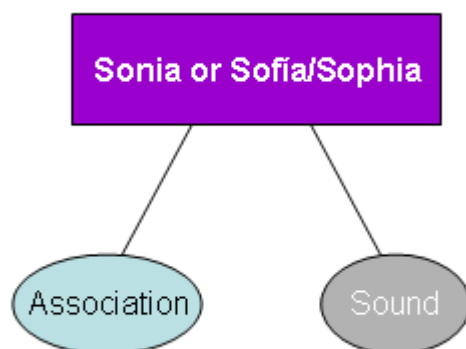


Figure 7.177. Factors in common between Sonia/Sofia (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Sonia/Sophia (metropolitan district of Leeds) based on the participants' comments

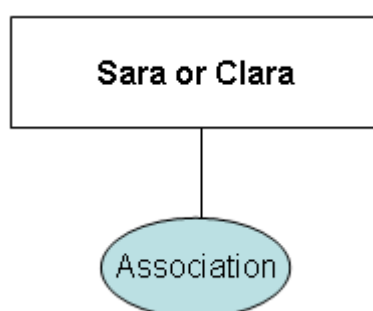


Figure 7.178. Factors in common between Sara/Clara (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Sara/Clara (metropolitan district of Leeds) based on the participants' comments

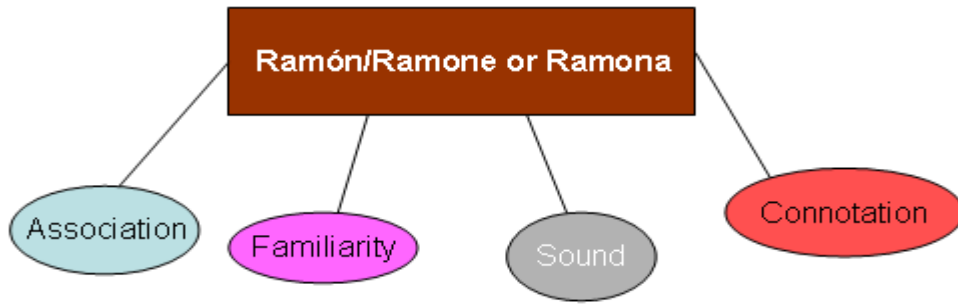


Figure 7.179. Factors in common between Ramón/Ramona (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Ramone/Ramona (metropolitan district of Leeds) based on the participants' comments

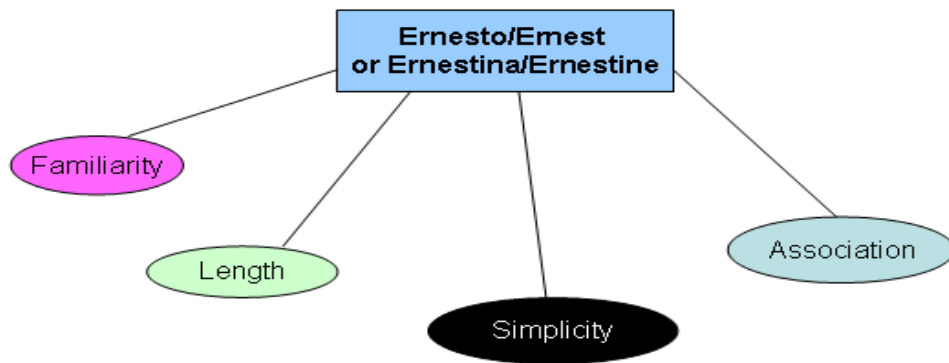


Figure 7.180. Factors in common between Ernesto/Ernestina (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Ernest/Ernestine (metropolitan district of Leeds) based on the participants' comments

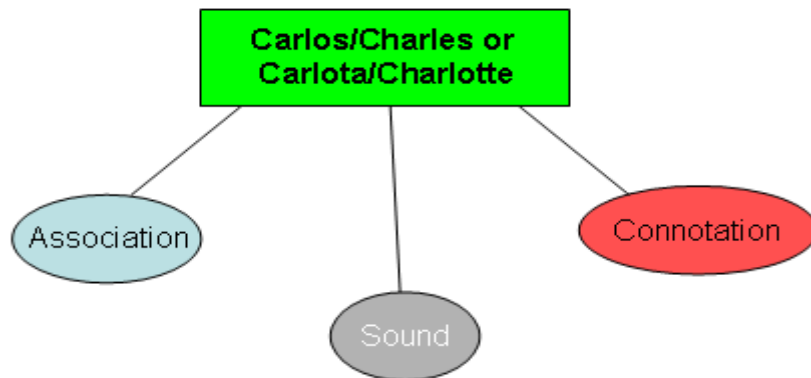


Figure 7.181. Factors in common between Carlos/Carlota (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Charles/Charlotte (metropolitan district of Leeds) based on the participants' comments

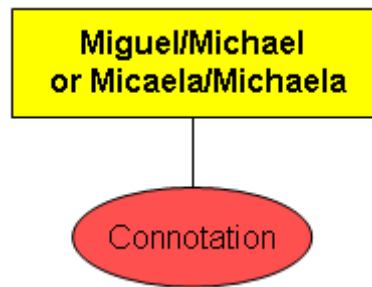


Figure 7.182. Factors in common between Miguel/Micaela (metropolitan district of Murcia) and Michael/Michaela (metropolitan district of Leeds) based on the participants' comments

If we look at the liking/ disliking of both names under scrutiny (e.g. Judith and Judy or Judit or Ramón or Ramone and Ramona) (aspects B3 -1 & 2- and B4), it can be concluded that, although in both metropolitan districts there are many coincidences (for example, there is no disliking of both Sofía/Sophia or Sonia), in Leeds and its surrounds the number of names in which there are liking and disliking cases of both names is higher than in Murcia and districts. In other words, in England the number of respondents who like both names and dislike both names is significantly higher than in Spain. For instance, whereas no cases of disliking both names are found for Carlos and Carlota (there is only liking of both names), there is liking/disliking for both Charles/Charlotte.

C. The relationship between people's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age and their choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account (i.e. A & B)

M. Bloch (1932) and Besnard and Desplanques (1987) state that we have emotional reactions towards names. Moreover, according to Henry Walton, among other psychologists, an attitude always reveals an emotion (Grammont, 1933). Words such as *startling*, *love*, *keen on*, *interesting*, *wonderful*, *charm* or *don't like* frequently occur in our informants' comments when giving their views on the proposed names. There are even respondents who make extreme comments such as "anybody who gives this name should be killed", thus grossly exaggerating their negative view of the name in question.

Apart from the use of such words or phrases, the fact that many respondents from Spain and England made the point that "although at first you may not feel attracted towards the name, you may become used to hearing it so much and eventually like it" (e.g. participant 73 in Spain or participant 150 in England) contributes to the claim that names elicit emotions. A feeling of love can arise suddenly, when someone starts loving a person without having had much contact with him/her or, as often happens not only in couples but also in family relationships or among friends, the feeling may arise out of contact. In fact, there is a similar saying in both Spanish and English: "Con el roce, nace el cariño" and "Loving comes by looking"<sup>140</sup> (Molina-Plaza, 2012). What happens in the case of love seems to be similar in the case of names, thus supporting the

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<sup>140</sup> Both the Spanish and English saying make use of words connected to the senses, as occurred in the case of names (*brusco*, *rough*, *suave*, etc.), in particular, touch and sight, respectively. This may be so because names and sayings are part of everyday life and according to cognitivists, figurative language plays a central role in ordinary language (Evans & Green, 2006).

claim that some kind of feeling or emotional reaction lies behind taste in names.

Only two male participants (one from each municipal district) made the following general comment: “I am not a person of emotions and feelings but rather of instincts” (participant 30 in Spain & 125 in England). These respondents provided an answer to all our questions, so if feelings and emotions were not involved in their choice, as they claimed, then it must have been their instincts which played a role.

This can be related to one of the soul parts Plato refers to in the Republic and is also found in Phaedrus. He designates it the appetitive soul, characterised for being led by desires, simple cravings to stay alive such as thirst or hunger or sexual appetites and closely associated to the worker class or simple labourers (Grube, 2011). These two participants are a lorry driver and a haulier, respectively.

There is a common stereotype (Yus, 1997) of lorry drivers and hauliers being led by instinct and it is thought to be typical of construction workers on building sites to make flirtatious remarks to passing. Likewise, lorry drivers very often have posters of naked or semi naked women in their cabs. This stereotype seems to apply in the case of these two respondents’ view of names, which is affected by their view of life. However, this does not imply that all bricklayers, lorry drivers or hauliers would be affected in this way because, as Plato himself acknowledged, it is a tendency and whether this part prevails over the others in his/her soul depends on the individual himself/herself.

The attachment to the parts of the soul proposed by Plato can also be applied to the other participants, who seem to be led by feelings of a higher rank since the rational and spirited part are located in the mind and heart, respectively (Grube, 2011), and this makes sense in that, as stated

before, cognition (a mental process; Whitney, 1998) and feelings are present in name choice.

Despite providing an answer, as requested, there are many cases in which the participant qualifies his/her reply in the sense that there are names which he/she does not like at all or he/she likes some names to a greater degree than others.

Thus, in reference to the group of the Spanish Norberto and the group of the English Virginia (e.g. participant 57 in Spain and 131 in England), some informants acknowledged that they like neither the full name nor the pet forms. Likewise, many participants insisted on offering degrees –“I love the name Jessica” (participant 81 in Leeds and surrounding areas), “Tania no está ni bien ni mal”<sup>141</sup> (participant 158 in Spain), “Raoul is acceptable” (participant 89 in England), etc. In the same vein, participant 62 in the metropolitan district of Murcia stated: “Me gusta Sara pero no se lo pondría a mi hija”<sup>142</sup>, which implies that, although she likes the name, it is not such a favourite as to be part of her life by giving her child this name. We can gather from these comments, for example, that Jessica is more prototypical to participant 81 in England than Tania to participant 158 in Spain (see Figures 7.183 & 7.184). As Rosch (1975) proposed, all members of a category do not have the same intensity but there exists a gradation. A member belongs to a category depending on the degree of closeness of that member to the prototype, that is, “the best example of a category” (Mairal et al., 2012, p. 147, our own translation).

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<sup>141</sup> “Tania is neither good nor bad”

<sup>142</sup> “I like Sara but I would not give it to my child”

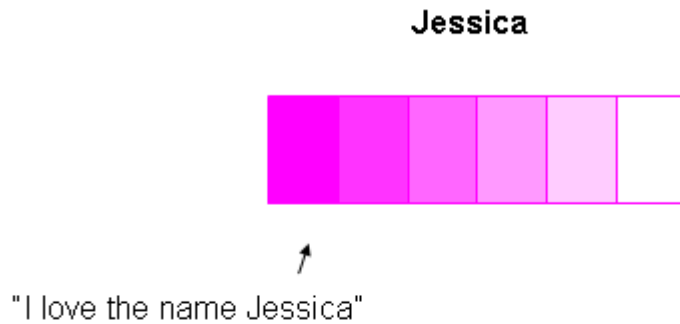


Figure 7.183. Liking of the name Jessica by participant 81 in Leeds and surrounding areas

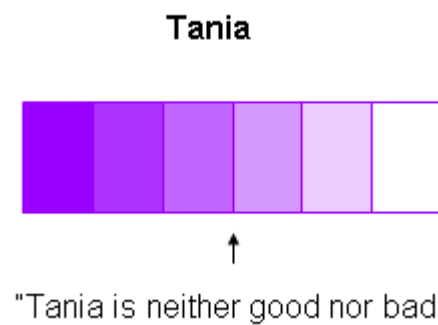


Figure 7.184. Liking of the name Tania by participant 158 in Murcia and surrounding areas

The statement "I like Sara but I would not give it to my child" suggests that there seems to be a difference between the participant's tastes in general terms and the choice of a name for her child. This is corroborated by Aldrin (2011), who added that talking about one's child's name involves a conscious mind effort whereas giving opinions about other names etc. implies an unconscious effort. In other words, the respondent does not have to choose an only name but just freely give her opinion on each of them. In this case the participant is offered specific



names whereas when choosing a child's name all possible names can be considered.

In spite of being asked to assess on the basis of age (aspect A) and sound (aspect B), the respondents do not always seem to interpret the questions in this way. Only in certain cases do we notice the basis on which they are assessing and from these cases we can conclude that there are four ways in which the questions have been appraised:

1) The participant evaluates the name/s in terms of a factor or factors other than age or sound. This is the case of four informants in our sample. For instance, the Spanish participant 160 specifies that he is not going to answer on the basis of age or sound because these factors make no difference to him. He remarks: "Voy a elegir lo que me guste porque me da igual que el nombre encaje con la edad o no"<sup>143</sup>. Normally, the respondents who opt for this begin their reflections on name forms by wondering about other aspects such as the degree of intimacy in the relationship between the friends asked about in the questionnaire (e.g. participant 60 in the municipal district of Murcia) or the name form the hypothetical friend himself/herself would like to be known by (e.g. participant 71 in Leeds and surrounding districts). Similarly, with reference to sound, the Spanish participant 160 adds: "No me importa el sonido; el nombre Ana, por ejemplo, sólo me gusta porque es simple y español"<sup>144</sup>. Other factors such as simplicity and being of Spanish origin seem to be more important than sound for this respondent.

We conclude that the number of informants is so low because the questions consist of age and sound assessment, so finding a participant who makes it explicit that the answer will not address the question posed, directly, is not common.

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<sup>143</sup> "I am going to choose what I like because to me it makes no difference that the name suits the age or not".

<sup>144</sup> "I do not mind the sound; I just like the name Ana, for example, because it is simple and Spanish".

2) The informant answers only on the basis of age/sound. The reason is that the person feels he/she must reply to the heading of the question, independently of any additional comments he/she wants to make. In particular, three participants: 94 and 101 from the metropolitan district of Murcia and 89 from Leeds and surrounding areas clarify they are going to answer on the basis of age and sound. For instance, the Spanish participant 94 says that her favourite name is Sofia because that was the name of a friend of hers who died some years ago but she makes explicit that she prefers the sound of Sonia, which is what is being asked about, so her answer is “Sonia”. Likewise, participant 101 states: “Yo preferiría otro pero, como tengo amigas de mi edad que lo usan, opto por éste”<sup>145</sup>.

3) The participant assesses the name under discussion in terms of age/sound or/and an/other factor/s. He/she states that sound and age are reasons of equal status as others and they should not enjoy any privilege for being specified in the item. We find cases in which the person bases his/her answer merely on age/ sound for a given name and for other names he/she makes reference to an/other reason/s. Sometimes he/she mentions age/sound and other reasons at the same time. In other words, the age/sound grounds play a more or less significant role in the decision depending on the specific name. Thus, participant 54 in the municipal district of Leeds refers just to sound when discussing the name Anna (“I prefer Anna rather than Hannah due to the sound”) but alludes to religion when talking about Rebecca (“Rebecca is a biblical name”) and combines sound and simplicity when referring to Raphael (“It has a strong sound and is difficult”).

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<sup>145</sup> “I would prefer another one but, as I have friends of my age with this name, I opt for this one”

4) Finally, the respondent does not separate age/sound from other factors when providing an answer. Several participants explain this is what occurs in their case: when they think about a name, they attach other suggestions to its sound or age connotations. Therefore, sound/age connotations and other factors are interrelated. In the respondent's mind the name is a whole: a series of phonemes which may trigger different suggestions and feelings, as proposed by Jespersen (1929), Bloomfield (1943) or Ullmann (1978). It gives the impression that the case of Sonia and Sofia or Sophia, in which the majority of informants in both countries opt for the complete name when having to decide between two name versions differing in several phonemes, reflects that this way of thinking seems to dominate in most people. From the informants' gestures and emphasis placed when speaking, we infer the majority of the informants were surprised when asked to choose specific phonemes as if it should be taken for granted that they liked the whole name. Moreover, they added comments related to other factors playing a role in their choice. In participant 197's own words, from the municipal district of Murcia: "Por supuesto, Sofia como tal, el nombre completo. El sonido de ese nombre completo me recuerda a nuestra Reina, que se llama Sofia<sup>146</sup>" (see Figure 7.185 for an outline of the four cases just explained).

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<sup>146</sup> "Of course, Sofia as such, the complete name. The sound of that complete name reminds me of our Queen, who is called Sofia".

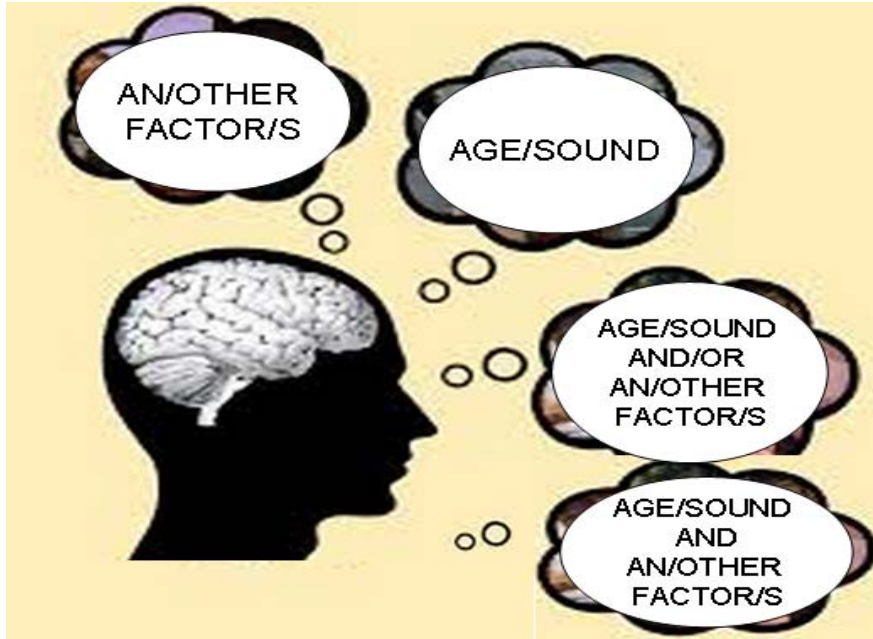


Figure 7.185. Basis for participants' assessment (when possible to trace)

When the informant limits him/herself to deciding on a name without identifying his/her reflections explicitly on that choice or he/she does not give any hints of this, it is impossible to guess the cognitive procedure he/she has followed (Evans & Green, 2006). This may be due to the fact that the person him/herself does not even know and, accordingly, his/her words do not reveal it. In some cases, he/she does not know and makes this explicit: "I don't know why I like one name more than another". What is clear from the previous exploration is that on many occasions we find a combination of factors, as pointed out in the Literature Review's discussion of factor interrelationship albeit from a different perspective.

Returning to the following comment made by many participants from the two municipal districts: "Although at first you may not feel attracted towards the name, the ear may become used to hearing it so much and eventually like it", it would seem that the cognitive procedure

which lies behind the respondent's choice (see Figure 7.185 again) can be dissected. Although some participants may not think about sound when assessing the name or they may assess it in terms of other factors, what is true is that the first and most usual contact the person has with the name is by the sound. If everyday my mother says to me: "Inma, do this" or "Inma, where are you going?", my sister, for instance, may end up liking my name or disliking it as a result of familiarity with it (another factor) but the first contact with the name was through hearing it. This is supported by Bloomfield (1943), who said that in order to study language the first step is to explore form and not meaning because firstly we hear the sound; then we explore in more detail the meaning connected to the sound in question.

As shown in Figures 7.186 and 7.187, the overall number of comments provided by respondents in the two metropolitan districts is similar, with not even 20% of difference (152 comments in Spain vs. 126 comments in England) (see Figure 7.190 for an account of comments, factors and aspects in each metropolitan district, which is the basis of Figures 7.186 & 7.187). In both municipal districts the factor of association holds the highest position although the number of comments related to association is around a third higher in the metropolitan district of Murcia. Again, this factor is the most recurrent one in common if each counterpart name, pair or group is compared in the metropolitan district of Murcia and Leeds, as seen above. Connotation, sound, related name and familiarity also occupy a favourable position, quite similar in the two countries. The most remarkable cases of difference between the municipal districts are religion and social class. Whereas religion is a consideration for our participants' minds in Spain, it is almost inexistent in England, and the reverse is true with social class, a factor which shows up in England but has almost no presence in the comments provided in Spain. Origin and fashion should also be added since the number of comments about the

former in Murcia doubles that in Leeds and the number of remarks about the latter in Leeds doubles that in Murcia. The other factors: beauty, length, originality, meaning, simplicity and context have a modest presence both in Murcia and Leeds.

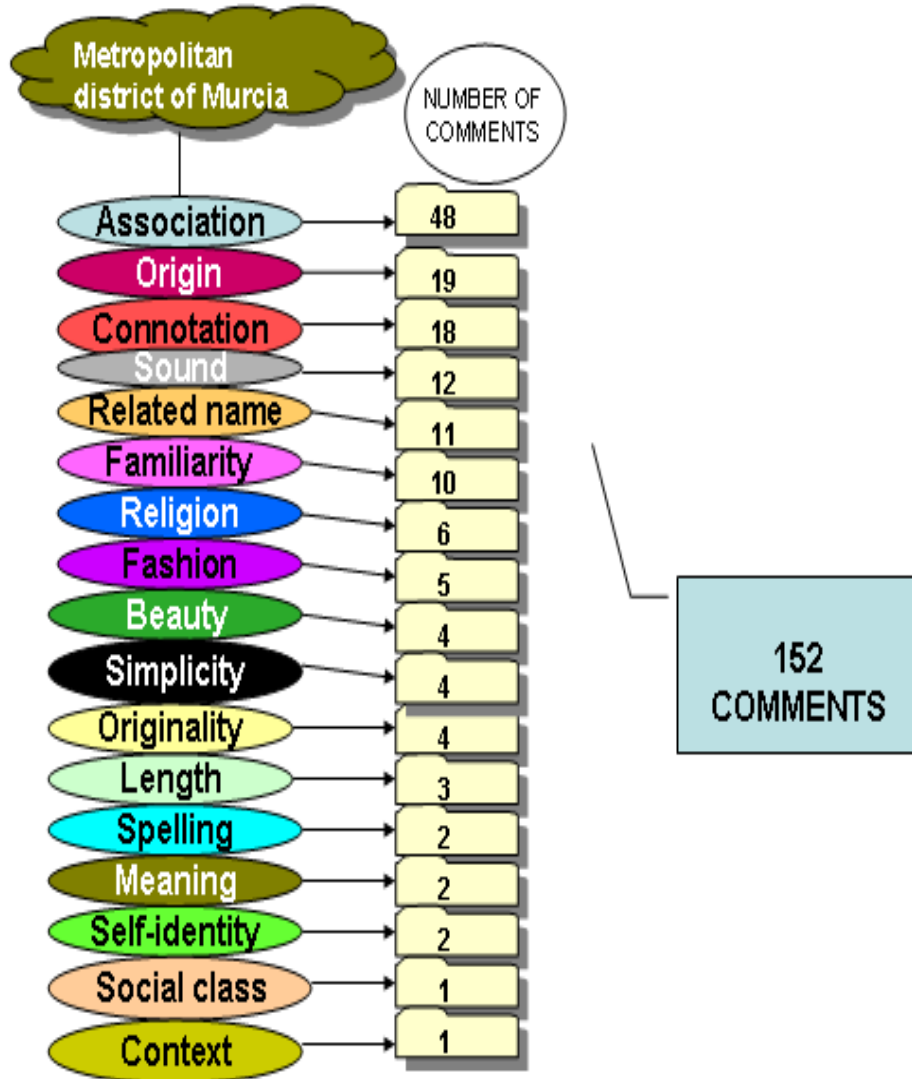


Figure 7.186. Overall ranking of factors based on participants' comments in the metropolitan district of Murcia

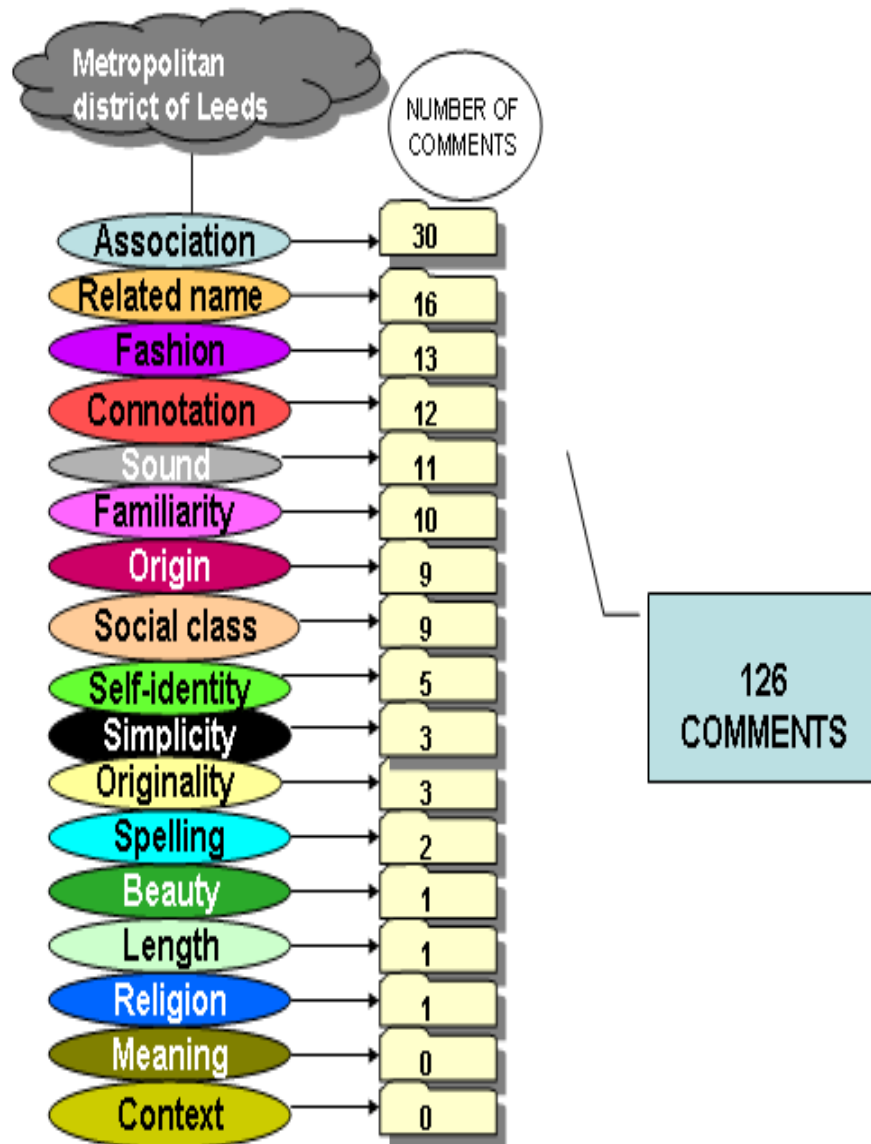


Figure 7.187. Overall ranking of factors based on participants' comments in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Figures 7.188 and 7.189 show that, just as the overall number of comments provided by informants in the two metropolitan districts showed around a 20% of difference, with a lower percentage in England, the number of remarks regarding both aspects A and B in Leeds is around 20% lower than in Spain. A comparison of the two aspects explored in the study in view of the different factors in the two metropolitan districts demonstrate that the same factors having a high position in the overall ranking continue being top (i.e. association, connotation, related name, etc.). In terms of differences among aspects, surprisingly, beauty, which did not hold a high position in general terms, is top in Spain when referring to aspect A, that is, the issue of full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms generate a significant number of comments about beauty in comparison to many other factors. This number of comments is even greater than in reference to aspect B, the sound of names, despite there being more names to speak about in the latter. In this respect, most factors have a pervasive presence with regard to aspect B than in reference to aspect A. A case which needs highlighting here is that of connotation, which has a more balanced presence in the two aspects in England whereas in Spain the difference between the aspects is more striking.

Name groups from aspect A have 20% more factors in common between the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds than specific names or pairs from aspect B. The presence of factors in which age is involved is much lower with respect to aspect B than A (see from Figure 7.28 to Figure 7.33 and from Figure 7.166 to Figure 7.182).



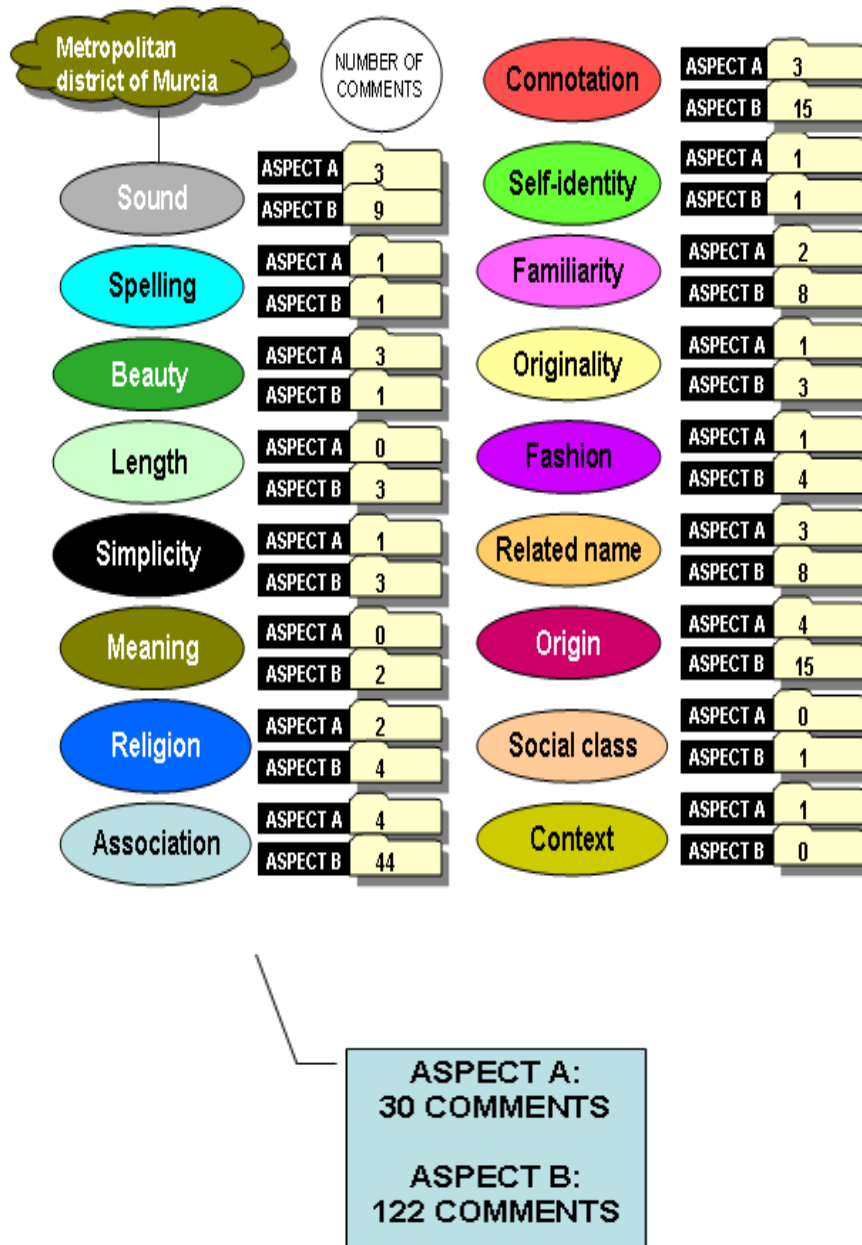


Figure 7.188. Number of comments from participants organised in view of factors and, in turn, aspects A & B in the metropolitan district of Murcia

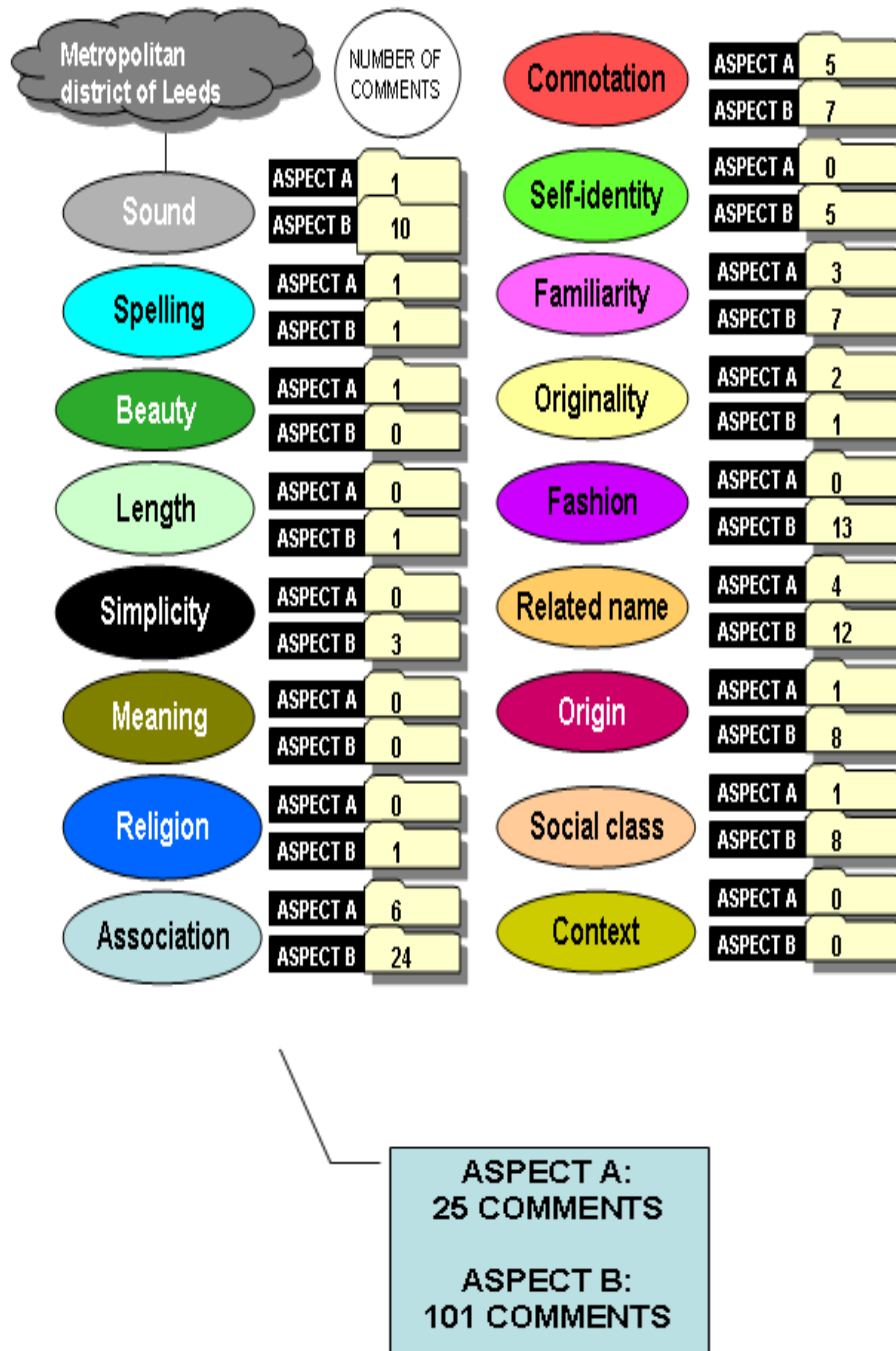


Figure 7.189. Number of comments from participants organised in view of factors and, in turn, aspects A & B in the metropolitan district of Leeds

Figure 7.28 demonstrates that Victoria-Vicky (almost identical in Spanish and English) had more factors in common between the two metropolitan districts in aspect A. In aspect B, however, the opposite-gender pairs Ramón/Ramona, Ernesto/Ernestina and Charles/Charlotte exceeded the rest in this sense. This shows that having a more or less similar form does not play a role in the number of factors in common found between the two municipal districts (see Figures 7.179, 7.180 & 7.181).

Now Figure 7.190 will be explored in detail and tendencies from the two metropolitan districts in view of the different factors will be presented<sup>147</sup>.

It would seem that participants prefer referring to sound and spelling in general terms instead of alluding to one sound or letter in particular. In fact, respondents only refer to particular sounds when explicitly asked to do so (the case of Sonia or Sofia/Sophia) but here only a small number of participants did not opt for the complete name. In both Spain and England the references to sound in our respondents' comments are concerned with sound in general terms (e.g. "I don't like the sound of Memen") but also with pronunciation of specific sounds ("People do not pronounce the final /s/"), or stress ("The charm of the hiatus in Sofia"), especially with regards to accents ("If Carlos is pronounced with the Murcian accent, I don't like it) and the relationship of sound and music ("I like its musical rhythm") (Quilis & Fernández, 1964; Cutler et al., 1990; Panksepp, 2009).

Spanish participants make more comments in relation to beauty (e.g. ugly or beautiful names) and associations with people's appearance

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<sup>147</sup> Given that this exploration of tendencies will mainly cover quotations mentioned before, these comments, from the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds, will be included in English, the language used for the writing of this thesis, and this will also be applied to Figure 7.190. However, when the quotation appears for the first time, the original language will be kept.

are also more common among their remarks (i.e. “The woman is fat” or “She is like a fat woman”, in reference to Ramona and Carlota, respectively). Therefore, it would appear that Spaniards are more concerned about beauty and appearance. Curiously, both comments refer to a woman, which reflects the importance of preserving beauty and youth for females, suggesting that male chauvinism is still prevalent in Spanish society. Many women (and men) fight against the passage of time and they want to remain beautiful and young (Gil, 2007). Furthermore, most comments were made by women, which suggests the interest aesthetic pleasure has for the female gender (Tailleffer de Haya, 2007).

Taking up Savater’s idea (1979) and the view that the more a person is interested in a subject, the more he/she talks about it, it seems that whether the name is short or long is not a feature that particularly worries our informants as can be surmised from the number of comments made about length. The same point could be made about other factors such as spelling, self-identity, context or meaning. Our informants are concerned about length especially in cases in which there could be an excessive length and it may be a problem, such as those female names derived from male names (Smith-Bannister, 1997) formed by the addition of suffixes (Dunkling, 1977; Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). This is also discussed by Albaigès (1998), Styles (2013) and P. Rodríguez (2014).

Paradoxically, a very limited number of people make comments related to length and simplicity when choosing either a full name or a shortened, changed or lengthened name form on the basis of age (aspect A). There are other factors playing a role both in the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds. Our informants pay more attention to length and simplicity when discussing cases in which no different name forms are offered (aspect B).

The majority of cases of allusion to simplicity come from men, thus promoting the stereotype of men being more simple and practical versus the complexity of women (Tusón, 1988; Martín-Rojo, 1996). Similarly, one male participant, 112, stated “names are an issue which concerns women”. In addition, the only percentage or the largest one of participants liking or disliking both names or opting for particular sounds very often comes from women, as in the case of Sonia and Sofía or Sophia. In our study it took more time for females to decide on a name, which showed it is something that matters to them and which needed to be reflected upon. These more “complex” or more thought through answers from women, which upholds the stereotype of their greater psychological complexity, stand in contrast to the simplicity searched for by males. This is also supported by BabyCenter’s observation (2015a) that the mother’s decision usually takes precedence at the moment of choosing a child’s name. When there is disagreement, it is normally the mother who chooses (Lemieux, 2005). Typically the mother prevails by using her power of persuasion. Aldrin (2011, p. 257-258) stated that “the mother often assumes or is given a role as prime storyteller and that it is primarily her version and impression of the naming that is mediated”.

The case of the Spanish participant 39 is worth mentioning, however. Women’s names seem to attract his attention and he is minutely detailed when giving his opinions on them. Apart from selecting Sofía on the basis of /f/, he adds other versions such as *Soraya-Zoraida*, from which he would opt for the latter because he likes the beginning /θ/, which he claims to be original and strong; or *Regina-Reina*, choosing the former because he likes the strength of the mid /x/. This is a special case in that the man in question acknowledged he was gay. It is popularly assumed that there are traits in common between women and gay men and men and lesbians (Zwicky, 1997).

We can conclude from the remarks provided by the participants in the metropolitan district of Murcia that, apart from being a stronger influence, the presence of religion is more varied than in Leeds. Hence, whereas the only comment in England is in reference to the Bible, which reinforces the idea of it being the first source for names in England and other English-speaking countries (Darlington, 2015), in Spain local saints, pilgrimages or processions and Virgins are mentioned. Although veneration of local patron saints is also strong in England (Hanks et al., 2006), the custom of pilgrimages seems to be better established in Spain not only with saints but also with Virgins: “Spain is the land of Saint María” (Albaigès, 1998, p. 220). However, devotion is less intense in Anglicanism (Antequera, 2010).

Given that the only comment in which the factor of context is found has a religious nuance, it is significant that this was made by a Spanish respondent. Due to the taboo around holy names in Christianity, many pet forms and derived versions of Maria (e.g. *Mari*, *Molly*, etc.) were used although not with the same intensity. This was so especially in England. Maria was always more favoured in Catholic countries such as Spain (Albaigès, 1998). In any case, in all the comments related to religion, the saint, Virgin or biblical character appears as a full name (Clementa, María, Rebecca) both in Murcia and Leeds, which reflects that after taboos disappeared, there were no problems in naming not only saints but also Virgins. The knowledge a person has of language influences “how to speak on each occasion” (Milroy, 1987, p. 85), how to transmit and understand meanings of humour, seriousness, politeness, etc., as in this case, respect for the Virgin by using her full name.

In both the municipal districts of Murcia and Leeds we find direct associations (e.g. “Raúl reminds me of the Real Madrid football player” or “It reminds me of the writer Oscar Wilde”) and also indirect associations

(e.g. “It reminds me of Chiquito de la Calzada” or “Cornelia reminds me of vampires from the books I have read”) although the number of direct associations is larger.

Sometimes we have associations in common because we belong to the same social group and we have a collective memory. Our experience with each word is related to our cognitive-cultural schemes (Yus, 1997). This is what happens in the case of many of the associations found in the respondents’ comments. For instance, Spain is a country in which the “king of sports” is football and this is clearly reflected in the observations made by informants, who associate the names proposed with footballers who play or have played in Real Madrid (i.e. Marcelo, Casillas –Sara Carbonero’s partner- or Raúl) or F.C. Barcelona (i.e. Messi). Gómez-Montoro (2014) claimed that in Spain during the dictatorship football was also admired as a sign of national identity (it is not unbelievable if we take into account that origin plays a major role among Spanish informants) or an escape valve and even intellectuals defend it. It is continuously being broadcast on television, which has also led to greater diffusion. Television is very powerful (Bordieu, 1983).

In a related vein, T.V. celebrities and light entertainment shows appear to be clearly present in our informants’ minds (e.g. T.V. presenters or collaborators such as Christian Gálvez, Lydia Lozano or Bertín Osborne, comedy programmes like *Aída*, etc.). Although there are grounds for acknowledging that the stereotype of men and football and women (in particular, housewives) and T.V. celebrities as well as light entertainment is also supported in this case (Tusón, 1988; Martín-Rojo, 1996), it can be extended to the whole of society in general terms, as explained by Gómez-Montoro (2014). Likewise, in Spain actors and films (e.g. Leonardo di Caprio, Alfredo Mayo, Alfredo Landa, *Marcelino Pan y Vino*, etc.) often make an appearance in comments, which reinforces the idea of need for entertainment through films and television.

In contrast, our participants in the metropolitan district of Leeds seem to be attracted towards books rather than towards television. In their comments literary works such as Dickens' *Great Expectations*, Browning, *Pippa Passes*, Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest* or Amiri's *Dance of the Vampires* and *Vampire Highland Fling*; plays like *The Phantom of the Opera* and writers such as Oscar Wilde or Ernest Hemingway are explicitly mentioned or suggested. In fact, Dunkling (1977) refers to the influence of books on parents when naming their children. This supports Europa Press (2013) in that television is watched more often in Spain than in England, something which starts in childhood.

Furthermore, the respondents in each country demonstrate associations which are very particular to their context. Thus, the song of *Ramona* elicits different associations. Whereas our Spanish participants are familiar with a folk song of that name with all the associations and connotations implied, our English informants know a romantic song from 1928 based on the adventure-romantic novel by Helen Hunt Jackson or Bob Dylan's *To Ramona*, a love song. Likewise, it makes sense that the name Sonia only elicits comments in relation to a brand name of sanitary towels in Spain because it is where they are known and sold and it would not be logical to find that the name Francisco reminds people of the dictator Francisco Franco (Tusell, 1998-1999) or a name brings to mind the paso doble, the Spanish musical genre par excellence (Gómez-García, n.d.), in a country which is not Spain. Moreover, even within the same country associations can vary depending on a specific context such as the city or town. Thus, the name Crispín is seen from a different perspective by a person from Elche, Alicante, one of our participants, and another from Murcia, even though they are close geographically, given that it is the name of the patron saint in Elche.



In the two districts, there are certain associations which are put forward by cultured people (not only people who have been to university but cultured people in general terms –we must remember that in the past possibilities of going to university were fewer, as explained by Prieto & Barranquero, 2007). These tend to be related to historical aspects (monarchs or governors, especially current ones), e.g. Queen Sofía in Spain, Queen Victoria, Prince Chales or King Alfred in England, Louis King of France and Cornelia and its association with a Roman Emperor or a Dutch person, or art (literature, painting, theatre, etc.), especially old, e.g. Carlota and its association with a novel from Romanticism, Aida and its association with opera or Leonardo and its association with a painter. Of these associations, those which are less known to the general cultured public (others than Leonardo da Vinci or Verdi's *Aida*, for example) usually come from teachers. However, it is important to note that, when the area is more specific, the profession of the participant becomes also more specific and connected to the area in question. Hence, the remark about Roman Emperors in the case of Cornelia was made by secondary school or university history teachers or the relationship between the name Oscar and comic characters in theatre was seen by a respondent who had worked in the theatre (costumes).

In aspect A in all cases the younger the respondent, the larger the rate of shortened, changed or lengthened forms. Whether this rate is higher or lower will depend on other factors. In aspect B, however, age proves to be related to the liking/preference of a given name especially when the factors of fashion (in particular, a name being old fashioned) and age associations (a name may be associated with an old woman, for instance) are involved. Actually, most chi-square tests in these cases show a statistically significant association between age and name liking/preference at an alpha value of .05 (see Tables 7.17, 7.18, 7.19 & 7.41 for the names Vanessa, Gloria, Sandra and Lorenza-Lorena). Chi

square tests were conducted of other female names (in order to keep homogeneity of gender) in which these factors did not appear in the comments made by the respondents and they revealed that no statistically significant association was found at the alpha level mentioned above in two other random cases: those of Ana/Anna ( $\chi^2=3.628$ ;  $df=2$ ;  $p=.163$  and  $\chi^2=3.088$ ;  $df=2$ ;  $p=.213$ ) and Lydia/Lydia ( $\chi^2=.394$ ;  $df=2$ ;  $p=.821$  and  $\chi^2=4.165$ ;  $df=2$ ;  $p=.125$ ), in the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds, respectively (see Tables 7.81, 7.82, 7.83 & 7.84). This does not mean that when there is no comment in relation to fashion or age associations there is no relationship but what is evident is that, when these comments are present, the probability of there being a link between age and name liking/preference is clear.

Table 7.81. Liking of Ana in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Murcia

			Age		
			25-40 years old	41-60 years old	61-80+ years old
1	No	Count	5	1	1
		% within Age	8.1%	2.0%	1.9%
Like sound- Ana?	Yes	Count	57	50	52
		% within Age	91.9%	98.0%	98.1%
Total		Count	62	51	53
		% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7.82. Liking of Anna in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Leeds

			Age		
			25-40 years old	41-60 years old	61-80+ years old
1 name_Eng	No	Count	11	7	5
		% within Age	16.7%	9.5%	7.6%
_Like sound- Anna?	Yes	Count	55	67	61
		% within Age	83.3%	90.5%	92.4%
Total		Count	66	74	66
		% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7.83. Liking of Lydia in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Murcia

			Age		
			25-40 years old	41-60 years old	61-80+ years old
1 name_Sp	No	Count	16	11	14
		% within Age	25.8%	21.6%	26.4%
_Like sound- Lydia?	Yes	Count	46	40	39
		% within Age	74.2%	78.4%	73.6%
Total		Count	62	51	53
		% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7.84. Liking of Lydia in terms of age in the metropolitan district of Leeds

			Age		
			25-40 years old	41-60 years old	61-80+ years old
1 name_Eng _Like sound- Lydia?	No	Count	31	26	20
		% within Age	47.0%	35.1%	30.3%
	Yes	Count	35	48	46
		% within Age	53.0%	64.9%	69.7%
Total		Count	66	74	66
		% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

An opinion widely expressed by our participants is that “names are not vulgar, cheesy/twee, ugly, etc. in themselves; they become so when attached to people” (e.g. participant 14 in England and participant 80 in Spain). A similar question could be posed to the eternal dilemma: Which came first, the chicken or the egg? Are the names shaped by their bearers or are they evocative in themselves? A simile could be drawn between the bearer and the form, the “wrapper” (signifier) vs. the name and the meaning, the content inside that wrapper (signified) (Saussure, 1949; Ullmann, 1978), that is, the existence or not of sound symbolism (LeCron-Foster, 1978; I.K. Taylor, 1990). We think that the name evokes meaning, feelings, etc. to a greater or lesser extent to the respondent depending on the listener’s profile (Vandevveer et al., 2006), that is, the respondent himself/herself. Vandevveer et al. (2006) claim that “people selectively interpret what they see on the basis of their interest,

background, experience, [...] attitudes” and expectations. As stated by Gabarrot (2005-2015), names have an influence when it is the only thing that we know about a person but, after getting to know him/her or when we have other experiences or interests, that idea may be modified.

Sexual connotations seem to be more widely present in the metropolitan district of Leeds than in that of Murcia. When referring to names such as Virginia, Charlotte or Pippa, our informants refer to their being chaste, sexy or having sexual connotations, respectively. Young women’s reaction towards sex in Britain seems to have changed in recent decades, as stated by del Baas (2011), and they seem to be more open in their sexual life. We must not forget that the main religion in England is Anglicanism and the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and her ever-present virginity is not generally accepted by the Anglican Church (Antequera, 2010). Moreover, England has been a democratic country longer than Spain, so freedom of thought and action were likely to be more pervasive in English ways of thinking in general terms.

With reference to originality, participant 79 in the municipal district of Murcia draws a comparison between some of the names proposed in this study (e.g. Clementa, Lorenza, Ernestina or Micaela) and the unusual names found in some parts of the Autonomous Community of Castile and Leon, which she considers to be “nombres maravillosos<sup>148</sup>”. We must remember that El Mundo (2010, August) and Perdiguero-Villarreal (2011) show a small village in Burgos, Huerta del Rey, in which almost every inhabitant bears a unique and rare forename e.g. *Burgundófora, Ataúlfo, Lupiciano*, etc.

It would seem that the term *shortening* is used as a synonym for pet form by our informants. Thus, one respondent wonders whether Tania is a shortened form of Sebastiana when, in fact, the shortening would be *Tiana* or *Tana* and not Tania (as there is a change of vowel position).

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<sup>148</sup> “wonderful names”.

Likewise, in English an informant explains that she likes the shortened form of Jennifer, Jenny. Again, the respondent is right in saying that the form is shorter but there is also a lengthening by means of the addition of the suffix <y> (/i/). Obviously, such an analysis requires a previous detailed study which is difficult to carry out in a rapid and spontaneous oral survey of non-linguists.

Comments regarding international origins are found more frequently among our English informants (e.g. Polish, Russian/Ukrainian, French, Italian, etc.) than among our Spanish participants. This makes sense since contemporary Britain is said to be multicultural (Marwick, 1965; Mustad & Langeland, n.d.) and there is a respondent from Poland among the Leeds participants. However, the tendency of Spanish participants is to mention Hispanic American origins (e.g. Ecuador or Argentina) and especially other regions or towns within Spain (e.g. Valencia or Alicante). Both these regions and Hispanic America share their language, Spanish, and many Hispanic Americans live in Spain (in fact, there were some informants of Hispanic American origin). Furthermore, several participants were from other Spanish regions but were visiting Murcia at the time of the interview. This could imply that in Spain the Spanish culture (Albaigès, 1998) is highly valued. It must not be forgotten that regional aspects (e.g. names, word pronunciation, etc., as explained by Lope-Blanch, 1986 and Balaguer-Carmona, 2009) attracts interest in Spain.

In both Spain and England we find cases in which several factors are combined e.g. familiarity and spelling (“The spelling is familiar to me”). In fact, even within the same factor, another factor may be involved. For instance, association with a person may be association in the sense of age (e.g. “Norberto reminds me of an old man”) or social class (e.g. Carlota “is a posh girl’s name”).

Both in the municipal districts of Murcia and Leeds there are comments in which several subclassifications of the same factor can be found. Thus, in England we have the following remark: “Pip (...) reminds me of the main character in one of Dickens’ novels and it seems like a name people might give to a small dog”, in which the factor of association refers to 1) Animate being- Human being- Known- Artist- Visual arts- Character in a book; 2) Animate being- Animal- Unknown- Dog. In Spain another example is: “Is it a shortening of Sebastiana?”, in which the factor of related name has to do with 1) Nickname- Shortened/changed/lengthened form; 2) Another name.

Likewise, a name, pair or group may elicit different comments suggesting the same factor. For instance, in Leeds and its surrounds several comments regarding social class were made about the same name, Charles: “It is a posh-sounding name” and “it is upper class”. In Murcia and districts the factor of familiarity appears in these two examples referring to the same name, Crispín: “We are not very familiarised with it” and “I am very familiarised with the name”.

Moreover, there are always comments which include several factors e.g. “It is complicated; it is like a tongue twister! It should be shorter” (simplicity & length; Ernestine) (England) or “An ugly name; its sound is awful” (beauty & sound; Clementa) (Spain). Other remarks only involve one factor, e.g. “A collaborator in *Sálvame* has this name” (association; Lydia) (Spain) and “Gloria is an old-fashioned name” (fashion) (England).

As can be seen, sometimes the respondents make more comments on one name and on another name they do not comment or comment less or the comments comprise fewer factors. This recalls Savater (1979) and the idea that the more a person is interested in a subject, the more he/she talks about it and that some elements are more “interesting” than others for the hearer (Evans & Green, 2006; Ellis & Robinson, 2008). For

instance, when referring to a name, for some people fashion may be the figure (dominant shape) and for others fashion may be the ground.

The lexis used by participants is very varied and rich, especially in reference to certain factors. Thus, when dealing with social class, its importance in England (Darlington, 2015) is reflected in the degree of detail offered (Savater, 1979), the number of words, very varied, used in relation to social class. References to all social classes are given: working class, middle class and upper class. Our participants have referred to the idea of social class when discussing names such as Jessica, Sara, Crispin or Charles. They connect Sara, Crispin and Charles to the higher class and that is why words such as *pompous* or *posh* are used. It would seem that names which, according to participants, belong to the upper class are stronger in terms of the number of comments elicited which, again, underlines their concern with social class and, in particular, belonging/not belonging to the upper class. So important is the sense of consciousness of belonging/not belonging to this higher class that one of the informants applies a particular and small sphere in life, i.e. social class, to a large and vital one, an individual's personal world, by saying "[this name] is not in my world".

It is of note that, when speaking about fashion, for the same meaning, whereas Spanish participants use *traditional*, English respondents employ *ever-present*. The different word reflects a different way of approaching the same phenomenon. When the name has existed in that country for a long time, Spanish people talk about tradition and English people seem to avoid that word. The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2008) explains that *traditional* is "following or belonging to the customs or ways of behaving that have continued in a group of people or society for a long time without changing" (p. 1544). The fact that Spain went through a dictatorship during many years (Tusell,



1998-1999), with democracy being established in the 1970s (Albaigès, 1998), while in England freedom has a longer history, may have contributed to a more “conservative” lexis.

The variety of words found in relation to familiarity in England is wider than that in Spain. Participants in Leeds use words such as *hear*, *use* or *know* while respondents in Murcia opt for the most typical *familiar* and its derivations (e.g. *familiarised*). In this case the reason for use of a richer vocabulary is less clear because the factor has the same presence in the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds in number of comments. However, sometimes it is not a question of quantity (number of comments) but of quality and the fact that there is even one remark about a factor related to familiarity, frequency (“Clara is a relatively infrequent name”) in England may contribute to understanding why vocabulary about familiarity is richer in this country. It is also of interest to find that in both cases, Spain and England, negative forms are often used to refer to this factor. Thus, forms such as *never*, *neither* or *not* appear, that is, when participants in both metropolitan districts mention the factor of familiarity, they frequently do it in the sense of a name not being familiar.

The way of referring to self-identity is also different in the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds. Whereas our informants from Leeds and its surrounds make a recurrent use of the first person singular possessive determiner i.e. *my*, our respondents in the municipal district of Murcia do not seem to be so self-referential as there are no instances as such but rather the use of the first person plural possessive pronoun i.e. *ours* is used in one case. This may be a feature derived from ideas of ethnocentrism and monolinguoctrism, which involve privileging one language, in this case, English, over another (Enfield, 2000). In this respect, Russell (1991) added that psychologists are interested in all people and not just those who speak English. Whorf considers that there is no reason for English people to be ethnocentric because their language is

not the only logical one. If English people are so self-centred about their language, which may enhance their self-confidence, they may also be self-centred about a linguistic aspect, names, theirs in particular. Other comments which may reflect this ethnocentrism is the use of the terms *United Kingdom* and *England* indiscriminately, which may imply that what is said about England can also be extended to the whole country including Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, (Philip, 1999) even though this may not be the case. This may point to a tendency to ethnocentrism in England.

The fact that Spanish and English participants use different words to refer to the same factor, beauty, is worthy of note. Spanish respondents mention the word *ugly* on several occasions whereas English informants, when referring to it, just use the word *beautiful*. This could be related to the expressive orientation of Spaniards (Lewis, 1999). Spanish people are explicit, which may make them appear aggressive and sometimes rude.

Another example of this is the use of more direct phrases such as *too short, too long, too masculine or an exaggeratedly feminine name* on the part of Spanish respondents whereas our British informants opt for mitigations, again supporting Lewis (1999), such as *it should be shorter*, which makes use of a comparative form in order not to refer directly to the feature: being long or excessively long.

Our Spanish participants also use very explicit terms such as *foreign, invading or a name from out there*. Likewise, although aspect B.4 reflects that in both England and Spain names trigger pejorative connotations on participants, even more in England, English people do not seem to speak so openly about these pejorative connotations unless they are asked about them, possibly as a result of their tendency towards mitigations as opposed to the directness of Spaniards. Thus, in the cases of Maruja, Clementa, Rebeca or Carlos words such as *pejorative, vulgar* or

*cheesy* are used in our respondents' spontaneous comments. Another way of understanding that sense of implicitness or lack of aggressive expressiveness in the English language is by interpreting it in the context of political correctness, something that people have been aware of in the UK and the USA for decades, unlike in Spain. Therefore, in the United Kingdom there is a tendency to avoid using pejorative terms especially when talking about other cultures, gender, etc. (Bernstein, 1990; Levine, 2010).

On the other hand, in talking about simplicity, in England and Spain not only is the word *simple* employed but also *easy* vs. *complicated*, *complex* or *difficult* (or its variants in Spanish). The word *amanoso* ('handy') is also mentioned and this usage is revealing in itself because it is of Murcian origin (Gómez-Ortín, 2003). In standard Spanish the word *manejable* would be used with a similar meaning.

Without referring to any particular name, several 25-40 year-old participants in the two metropolitan districts explain that they prefer the spelling <k> instead of <c>, for instance, if they could choose. They cite examples such as *Kameron* or *Kassandra*. This may be owing to the influence of the internet on people's language. Crystal (2001) and Yus (2005) explained these features for English and Spanish, respectively. Since the emergence of the internet, new terms, often playful and ludic, are coined very rapidly. Rapid and immediate messaging is important. Young people ignore the traditional rules of orthography. One change in spelling is using <k> instead of <c> in words such as *kool*. In fact, <k> is often used as an emphatic prefix, e.g. *k-kool*, as an indicator of 'being cool'.

Cognitivists claim that ordinary language is full of metaphorical, metonymical, hyperbolic uses, etc. (Evans & Green, 2006) (note Fernández, 1972 and thought devices). As the issue of names is so ever

present in our everyday life, the language used to talk about names also gains in expressivity.

Hyperboles and idioms can be traced although there are not many cases. A respondent uses a hyperbole in reference to the name Clementa: “People who give a child this name should be killed”, thus grossly exaggerating their intense negative view of the name in question. Several idioms are mentioned by informants: *más visto que el tebeo* (‘as old as the hills’) to refer to Miguel or *part and parcel* of the United Kingdom, for Amanda, in order to emphasise the idea of commonness/ lack of originality and origin.

As examples of metaphors (some of them are found in Murcia and districts while others are from Leeds and its surrounds), the following quotation can be highlighted (Richards, 1936): “Foreign names are invading us”, this being a name-as-war metaphor (tenor of comparison: names; vehicle: war) in which the bellic word *invade* is used. The comment “Vicky (...) brought new air when it came to Spain some years ago” also portrays air as originality/lack of originality depending on whether it is new air (originality) or not (tenor of comparison: originality/lack of originality; vehicle: air). Another quotation is: “Ramón/Ramona flows better”, in which the music/sound-as-water metaphor can be found. As explained by the Real Academia Española (2011), liquids and gases flow. Words and music can also flow.

There are many more cases of similes or comparisons (Fernández, 1972) than metaphors. In fact, it is the expressive language device par excellence in our study. There are so many examples that only a few of them can be cited. For instance, quotations which comprise words such as *like* (together with *seem* or *look* or in its own), *como* or *parecer* are “Ernestine is *like* a tongue twister”, “Aída, *como* la protagonista de la serie de Telecinco”, or “Leonardo *parece* un nombre que la gente le

podría dar a un perro grande”. Other instances make use of the word *remind* or *recuerda*: “Paco me *recuerda* al general y dictador Francisco Franco” or “It *reminds* me of the writer Oscar Wilde” although the Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2008) only talks about expressions having *like* or *as* being comparisons or similes.

Although research has given less attention to metonymies than to metaphors (G. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), in our study many metonymies are found, in particular, indirect associations. Thus, for example, in “It reminds me of Chiquito de la Calzada”, Lucas reminds this informant of the humorist who is well known for the expression “Hasta luego, Lucas” but the participant does not say the expression itself. Another metonymy is “Cornelia reminds me of vampires from the books I have read”, in which there is an association within another association because the participant does not remember the writer directly but something the writer writes about, the characters in her books: vampires. The comment “Its association with the Spanish comic *Captain Thunder*” in reference to Crispín also hides a metonymy in that the respondent remembers the comic as a whole or the main character although he is indeed thinking about another character in it, Captain Thunder’s friend, Crispín. The quotation “It reminds me of the composer Giuseppe Verdi because of his opera *Aida* and, from there, to Italy” evokes associations with a composer and, in turn, this composer is Italian.

The remark “I don’t like these Americanisms. When I was in London I saw people who were known as Vicky” includes a term, *Americanism*, which functions as a metonymy since the respondent is probably not only referring to the United States but also, at least, to the United Kingdom given that she is talking about London. It seems that the capital city, London, is taken for the whole, that is, any other countries in which English is spoken as a first language, i.e. the United States, in this

case. Maybe a more suitable term here would be Anglicism, which refers to English in general terms.

Another metonymy can be traced among nicknames. Olaya-Aguilar (2014) explained that metonymies and metaphors are common among young people's nicknames. In particular, *cerebrito*, a hypocoristic form of 'brain', describes an intelligent person. The fact that a part (the brain) is used to refer to the whole, the person, gives rise to a metonymy.

One Hispanic American respondent in the metropolitan district of Murcia makes the following comment: "Si me preguntaras por nombres de telenovela como Esmeralda, una protagonista con ojos verdes, te diría lo mucho que me gusta ese nombre"<sup>149</sup> We must remember that in Hispanic American soap operas the main female characters are often named after jewels (as well as birds or flowers), as in this case, or others such as *Topacio*, *Rubí*, *Perla*, etc. Earnshaw (2012) explained that novelists could give their characters names with allegorical or symbolic meanings (e.g. *Christian* in *Pilgrim's Process*). Likewise, soap opera writers can use allegorical names such as *Esmeralda* borne by a woman with green eyes, like the precious stone, the emerald. Furthermore, the protagonist is blind, which makes the effect of her beautiful green eyes even stronger. Other examples of symbolic or allegorical words, mentioned before in relation to simplicity, are the words *amanoso*, *maneja* or *handy*, which come from *hand* or *mano* in English and Spanish, respectively.

Examples of sound symbolism, in particular, synaesthesia are also found in our informants' comments. In the metropolitan district of Murcia, in the quotation "Maruja seems pejorative and sounds abrupt" —the latter being *brusco* in Spanish, although referring to sound, there is a link with

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<sup>149</sup> "If you asked me about names from soap operas such as Esmeralda, a protagonist with green eyes, I would tell you that I like that name a lot".

the sense of touch because, according to Mayoraz (2009), we find it very difficult when describing feelings to use words to express sound and that is why we use words from other scopes. Likewise, in the comment “I think the /n/ contributes to its sounding softer” –the latter being *suave* in Spanish, there is a reference to the sense of touch, in this case, the opposite in terms of texture (*brusco* vs. *suave*). Although in English the words *abrupt* or *soft* can also be used with the same connection to the sense of touch, no comments by English participants are found in this study, which may suggest that synaesthesia could be more present in Spaniards’ minds although there is much more research to be done on this question. Moreover, the sense of touch seems to be stronger than other senses despite it being possible to say that a sound is ‘sweet’ (taste) or ‘brilliant’ (sight), for instance. In any case, we find comments in which the name is said to be beautiful or ugly in the two metropolitan districts. We may infer that the connection is between sight and sound (it is normally the sound which is beautiful or ugly if saying that the name is like that because spelling may need a more explicit reference). As Bloomfield (1943) explained, in order to study language the first step is to explore form and not meaning because firstly we hear the sound.

Cases of size, shape and especially emotional sound symbolism are found in this study. Regarding size or magnitude sound symbolism, several informants associate the names Pip and Crispín with small dogs and Leonardo with big dogs. Hinton et al. (1994) drew the biological link between high pitch (the sound produced by less threatening beings, in Ohala’s words, 1984) and smallness and low pitch and largeness. In order to articulate [I], our mouth openings are small whereas for [O] they are big. Dogs called Pip or Crispín do not sound as threatening (dogs with sharp teeth) as a dog called Leonardo. The comment which links Crispín to Ecuadorans also reinforces the idea of tininess given that the stereotypical image of people from this country is a short person. What is

more, it makes sense that the name Pip attracts the youngest generation in that it evokes tininess and, in accordance, young age.

In relation to magnitude sound symbolism, geometric sound symbolism is found. Cases such as those of Ramona or Carlota can be found here. Some respondents associate these names with fat women. The augmentative suffixes *-ona* and *-ota* (Lázaro-Carreter, 1971; Monroy, 2001) convey the idea of largeness. Köhler (1947) explained that /o/, /a/ and /m/ are related to rounded objects. Tarte (1982) agreed that low back vowels are strongly associated with heavy characteristics. According to D'Onofrio (2014), /a/ and /o/ are associated with big, round and heavy objects. Although we naturally feel that a jagged shape is more connected to sharp sounds such as /t/, the vowels seem to exert a greater influence here. Maybe the fact that there is not such a neat pattern with consonants (I.K. Taylor, 1976; Spector & Maurer, 2013) may also contribute to this despite the claim made by Fort et al. (2014) that consonants are more important than vowels in the Bouba.Kiki/ Takete-Maluma effect.

The emotional dimension of sound symbolism seems to be the strongest one found in this study. This emotional sound symbolism connects sound and other factors, especially connotation (e.g. "It is playful sounding) but also origin ("It is a name which sounds more Murcian") and social class (e.g. "It is a posh-sounding name"). On many occasions it is not necessary to explicitly mention sound to guess that there is sound symbolism, that is, that a sound intrinsically suggests or expresses (I.K. Taylor, 1990). Thus, when an informant says that Raúl is "a name with personality", the reason for this comment may possibly be that its sound suggests personality. However, on other occasions it is not easy to identify sound symbolism and the reason for finding, for instance, romantic connotations in the English Ramona may be a song rather than the sound of the name.



As will be explored below, this emotional sound symbolism could be general and be extrapolated to the two countries (e.g. sound symbolism in terms of gender connotations as in the acceptance of harsh names with voiceless fricatives such as the male Rafael but not the female Lorenza) or particular in each country or even region (e.g. sound symbolism in terms of origin, thus resulting in pejorative connotations as in the Spanish /dʒ/ or /ʒ/ in Jónathan or /s/ in Carlos). It can be even more particular, as reflected by one participant's idiosyncratic comment: "Most of these names sound as if I were in heaven".

In general terms, names with strong sounds such as an initial /t/ or voiceless fricatives e.g. /f/ (labiodental) are favoured when they belong to males (e.g. Raúl/Raoul or Rafael/Raphael). In the case of female names, these harsh (Monroy, 2001; Yardy, 2010) voiceless fricatives (/f/, /θ/, /h/ and /x/, that is, labiodental, dental, glottal and velar, respectively) do not receive much approbation e.g. Lorenza vs. Lorena, Hannah vs. Anna or Maruja vs. María). The fact that Judith and Sophhia, despite the presence of this sound, attract the attention of a significant number of English informants may be due to other influences such as its being biblical (Judith) or more trendy (Sophia). Likewise, the accent (e.g. Aída vs. Aida) or the stress (Sophia vs. Sophie, for instance) does not seem to be so favoured for female names either, possibly also because of the harshness evoked.

Plosives seem to be more favourably received among female names if these plosives are "softened" by a sonorant or a vowel, which make them better regarded, for instance, /kl/ (plosive + sonorant, an approximant) in Clara. Similarly, Clementa, in which the last consonant, /t/, is a plosive, is more acceptable as Clementina, in which /t/ becomes softer by means of another nasal and a vowel, /i/. Again, there are priorities and, if it is a question of having to choose between Clementa-Clementina, possibly the latter would be selected but, between Ernesto-

Ernestina or Cristina-Ernestina, the former would be likely to receive more support due to another factor: length or an excessive femininity (Ernestina comes from the male Ernesto whereas Cristina is not a male derivation, according to Tibón, 2002). Normally, the reaction on the part of respondents is more positive if the female name derived from the male one has some differences. For instance, Micaela would possibly be better received than Miguela because the change in the voice of the velar plosive (from voiced /g/ to voiceless /k/) implies a change between the two forms. However, although nasals are good to soften names for girls, an onomatopoeic effect is not good (for *mamón* –‘scrounger’- or *memo* –‘stupid’- the effect of a fool is enacted) (Monroy, 2001). If we find sounds which are usually more attached to males such as /o/ in women’s names e.g. Ramona or Carlota, masculinity is identified by many respondents or, if they consider this presence positive, they would comment on the connotations of personality found in the name. On the other hand, if the name is male, a derivation and, in particular, this “more typical” and softer ending for female names (Lawson, 1974), -ino, is not very much liked. Thus, Marcelo is preferred over Marcelino.

It can also be suggested that, in the same way that harsher or softer sounds are seen as more fitting for male and female names, respectively, these same sounds are preferred by men and women, respectively. Thus, forms such as Bill (with an initial plosive) are preferred by male respondents while women like William or Will (with an initial approximant). It has been claimed that the types of music men and women listen to can also highlight their responses to these different types of sounds: while women listen to sweet slow love songs, men listen to heavy metal or songs which encourage them and make them feel prouder of themselves (Silva, 2007).

It would seem that names that look foreign in Spanish, which, according to Llisterri (2015), start with the palatal fricative /j/ or affricate /tʃ/ -the latter would be used if preceded by a pause, nasal consonant or lateral consonant (e.g. Jéssica, Jónathan and Jénifer, from the English /tʃ/), receive less endorsement on the part of our respondents in the metropolitan district of Murcia whereas they are favoured in Leeds and surrounding districts. Something similar occurs in the case of the ending -ella or -ela (i.e. Antonella or Micaela/Michaela), which is less liked in both countries than the other option proposed (i.e. Antonia and Miguel/Michael) possibly, among other reasons, as a result of the fact that this last part of the name seems to have foreign roots, so origin may once again be a factor.

The findings in our study point at an emphasis of the pejorative connotations of the consonants /k/ and in Spain /x/ or /tʃ/. The names Michaela /k/ and Jonathan /j/ or /tʃ/ are said to be chavvy in England and Spain, respectively. A Spanish respondent mentions that the name Rebeca, also with /k/, is cheesy as well. Moreover, for chavs, the term *cani* is used in Spanish. Therefore, the idea of pejorative connotations of /k/ in both countries seems to be backed up. /s/ can also generate pejorative connotations in Spain but only in the south of the country as, when the implosive /s/ disappears in popular language (Monroy, 2008), names such as Carlos or Luis may be seen as vulgar. For the consonant /tʃ/ several more possibilities of sound symbolism are found in this study. For instance, there are pejorative connotations as a result of words such as *choni*, *chav*, etc. or sexual connotations in names such as Charlotte, in concordance with others such as *chocho*, *pecho*, *lecherous*, etc., as claimed by Monroy (2001).

A sense of playfulness and affection are achieved mainly by means of the /i/ sound in suffixes (e.g. -ín as in Bertín; -ito as in Paquito;

-ie/y/i as in Alfie) in shortened, changed and lengthened forms as well as nicknames. The consonants /s/, /z/ or /ʃ/ in English, /ɲ/ in Spanish or /tʃ/ in both (e.g. Bex /ks/, Julz, rambunctious, Toñi or Parra chico) also contribute to these connotations. It should be noted that the place of articulation of many of these consonants is alveolar, palato-alveolar/postalveolar and palatal and the manner of articulation is especially fricative and affricate but also nasal.

All the shortened, changed and lengthened forms (and their combinations) are presented in Figures 7.191 and 7.192. Some of them were suggested by the respondents à propos of the names they were asked about in the questionnaire and the rest were mentioned by the participants even if they were not related to these names (on some occasions the names they mentioned were their own names, other names they liked, etc.).

In both languages shortened forms are commonly found as hypocorisms. There are many cases of shortened forms in which the first part of the name remains, as Shamatov (2012) argued, especially in Spain (affecting both genders: e.g. Javier- Javi or Victoria- Victo) and among male names in England (e.g. Daniel- Dan). For female names in England cases seem to be more varied, not always affecting the initial part of the name e.g. Virginia- Gin –mid part- or Elizabeth- Beth –final part.

As a result of Spanish being syllable-timed and English being stress-timed, a noticeable difference is that whereas most shortened forms in English make the shortening in such a way that the ending is a consonant (e.g. Olivia- Liv), in Spain most of them end in a vowel (e.g. Elena- Ele). The only shortened form ending in a consonant in Spain, i.e. Clem, is mentioned by a young informant. Young people tend to be more daring and innovative in their daily life. The fact that the structure found in the Spanish Clem is similar to that of Gin, Vic or Phil, for instance, in

the municipal district of Leeds (shortened form ending in a consonant) may indicate an imitation of the English language and the idea that anglicisms are something natural, a view held by many of the informants in Yus (2005). In English the number of consonantal clusters is substantial (García-Yebra, 1983), so maybe this is related to the presence of consonants as an ending sound in shortened forms.

Also remarkable in terms of differences between the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds is the fact that, as pointed out by de Klerk and Bosch (1997) and Arboleda (2011), initials (e.g. Thomas James- T.J.) are ways of shortening names by English people, especially if there are two while, as Martinell-Gifre and Lleal-Galceran (1981) show, in Spanish more than initials are used to shorten compound names (e.g. Juan Manuel-Juanma).

One of the sounds used for hypocorisms in Spain, which does not exist in English, is /ɲ/. As Baring-Gould (1910) explained for cases such as *Chelo* for *Consuelo*, in the case of Toñi there are divergences from the original form in the abbreviation. In fact, there is also a palatalisation, in this case with the palatal nasal /ɲ/ (Espinosa-Meneses, 2001). The only changed form in our English sample is that of Sarah- Sally, in which the changed form implies /r/ being replaced by /l/ (Redmonds, 2004; Edgar's Main Page, 2004-2006).

Suffixes such as -ito or -ete, among others (Morera, 1991), can be used for lengthenings in Spanish (e.g. Francisco- Paquito or Antonio-Tonete). In English the use of suffixes seems to be very recurrent. One of the suffixes is -s or -z/za in spelling (de Klerk & Bosch, 1997). It would seem that these suffixes are more widely used by young people because the respondents clarified this idea when citing the examples, in agreement with Arboleda (2011). The pronunciation would vary depending on whether a voiceless or voiced sound precedes. For instance, Ems would be pronounced /z/ because the preceding sound is /m/, voiced. The same

would happen with Jules which, although there can be a choice in writing (either <s> or <z>), would always be pronounced with /z/, like the case of Emma. However, Bex hides the pronunciation /ks/ because of the preceding voiceless /k/.

One of the informants, Tasmia, whose father is a Middle Easterner, refers to her nickname as Taz. The fact that she has a Quranic name suggests the strength of Islamic religion (Salahuddin, 1999). Some Arab names become popular in the UK in the 1990s (Habibi, 1992). Her adaptation to the British culture is shown by means of the nickname adopted (Ullmann, 1962).

The -i vowel seems to be present in both languages, Spanish (e.g. Pilar- Pili) and English (e.g. Virginia- Ginnie). In English there is variety in the spelling (<i><y><ie>) although the former does not seem to be so common. In Spanish the influence of English has already led to the use of <y> but not yet <ie>. In English combinations of suffixes (e.g. Farrah-Fazzy) can also be found. The presence of /i/ as a suffix appears to be more widely spread among females. Only Alfie is mentioned for a man and, according to Hanks et al. (2006, p. 9), Alfie is a pet form of the Old English name Alfred but is “now popular as an independent given name” too. In fact, de Klerk and Bosch (1997) revealed that there was a higher frequency of /i/ and /i:/ among girls.

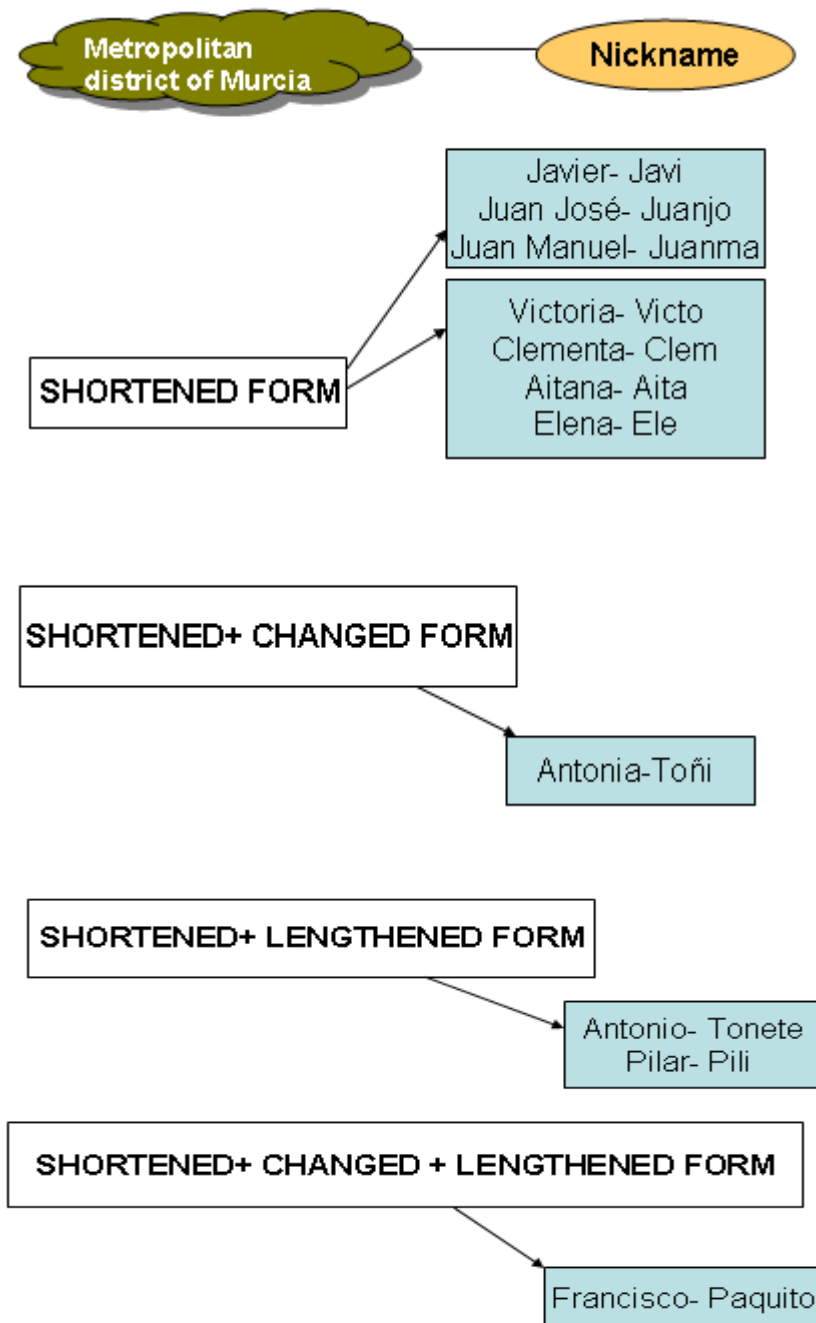


Figure 7.191. Shortened, changed and lengthened forms (and combinations) added by the participants in the metropolitan district of Murcia

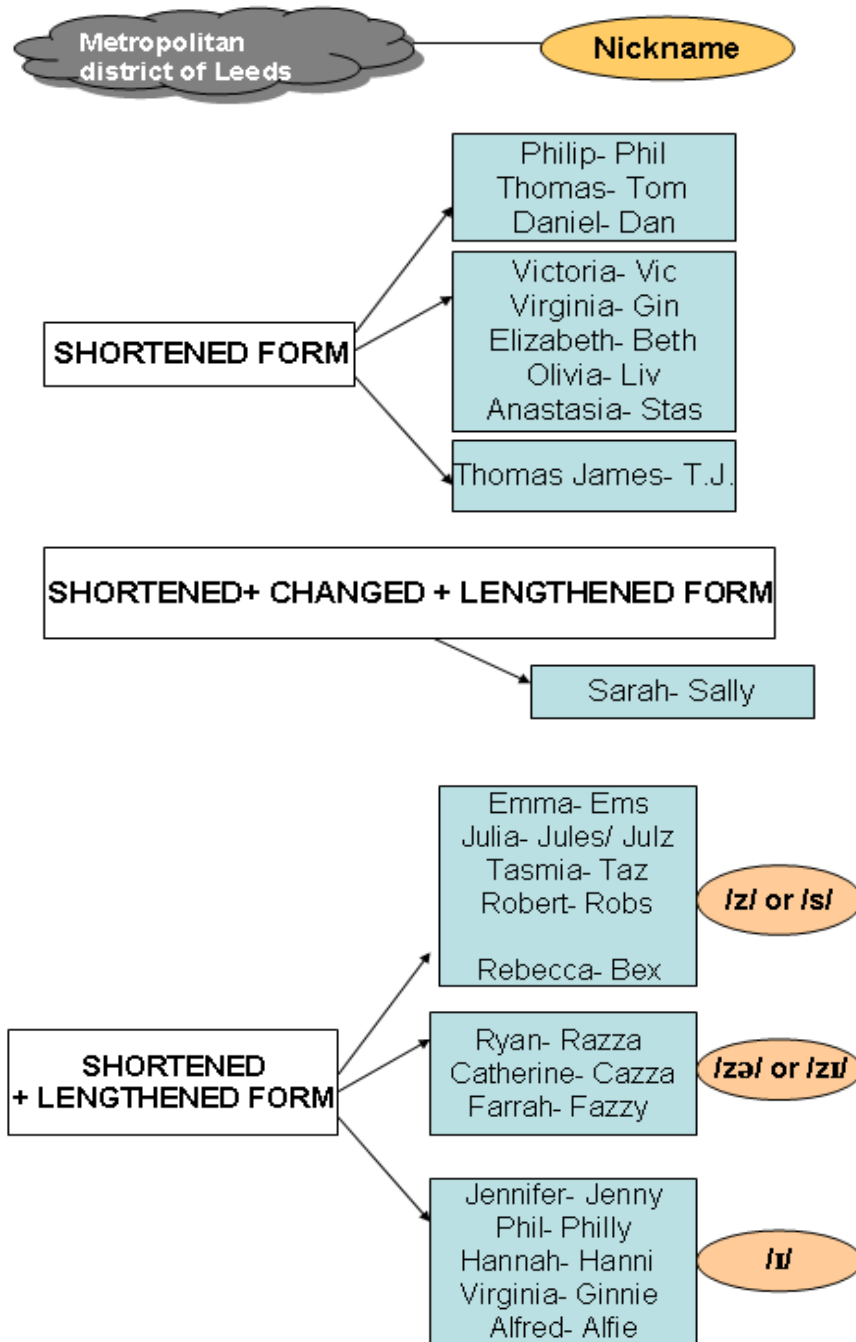


Figure 7.192. Shortened, changed and lengthened forms (and combinations) added by the participants in the metropolitan district of Leeds



Regarding nicknames, both in Spanish and English nicknames coming from surnames or physical/personality traits are the most frequent categories (see Figures 7.193 & 7.194). Curiously, the origin of surnames in England is in a sense related to nicknames. Maybe for this reason Bardsley (1880) referred to surnames by using the term *nickname*. In fact, surnames often came from the main characteristics of the person: physical, moral or mental. In Spanish there is one example of a surname accompanied by an adjective to indicate that there are two men with the same surname, father and son (e.g. *Parra chico*). There are similarities in nicknames related to physical and personality traits both in Spanish and English: *risitas* and *giggles* or *rubia* and *blondie*.

It would seem that the use of nicknames which could be regarded as derogatory, although they can also be pejorative and humorous at the same time (Collier & Brickner, 1970), is more common in Spanish e.g. *foca* ('fat'- from 'seal') or *zorrica* ('bitch'- from 'fox') and, in agreement with Bañón (2004), more frequently used by the youngest generation. A prostitute may also be known as *zorra* ('vixen'), *zorróna* or *zorrupia*, which are considered insults in Spanish. Conversely, *zorrica* (the one we find here), *zorrilla* and *zorrita* (all derived from *zorra*, that is, 'vixen'), for instance, are not seen so negatively (Guerrero, 2007). It would seem that animals are used for nicknames not only in terms of sex but also other aspects such as weight.

It can be observed that the category present in the person's mind comes from the basic level (Rosch et al., 1976) given that it is the most salient cognitively and linguistically speaking. If we have to draw a picture of our behaviour by referring to a seal (basic or generic level), it would be an easier task than if we refer to an animal in general terms (superordinate level): we would draw a picture of ourselves as if playing with the seal, etc. Therefore, a clear and real image of daily-life references

could be visualised. The terms to refer to categories from the basic level are normally monolexematic (Mairal et al., 2012).

One of the nicknames proposed for girls in Spanish is *pelirroja*, which appears to be as natural as *blondie* for Spanish people unlike in English, where it is seen as pejorative (Onstad, 2011).

Suffixes (-y/ie, -s, -ico/a, -ito/a, etc.) are added to these nicknames as in the case of hypocorisms. The word *beanie* comes from *beanbag*, which is “a small bag filled with dried beans which is used as a children’s toy” (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2008, p. 114). In English there are rhyming nicknames, which are not so common in Spanish. The instances of rhyming nicknames have a consonant rhyme (e.g. *Hannah Banana*).

The fact that we find two examples (i.e. Parra chico and rambunçious) of the palatal affricate (Spanish) and palato-alveolar/postalveolar fricative (English) (/tʃ/ and /ʃ/, respectively) reflects a sense of playfulness and affection, as noted by Morera (1991). Palatal sounds are very common among hypocorisms in Spanish (e.g. /ɲ/) (Morera, 1991; Espinosa-Meneses, 2001), which seems to apply to English too (in English /tʃ/ is a palato-alveolar or postalveolar affricate). One of the respondents in Spain makes the following comment: “Paula es el nombre del bebé de mi amiga. Es precioso”, the pronunciation used by the participant for <c> in *precioso* being /tʃ/, possibly to evoke this playfulness and affection present when talking about or to children.

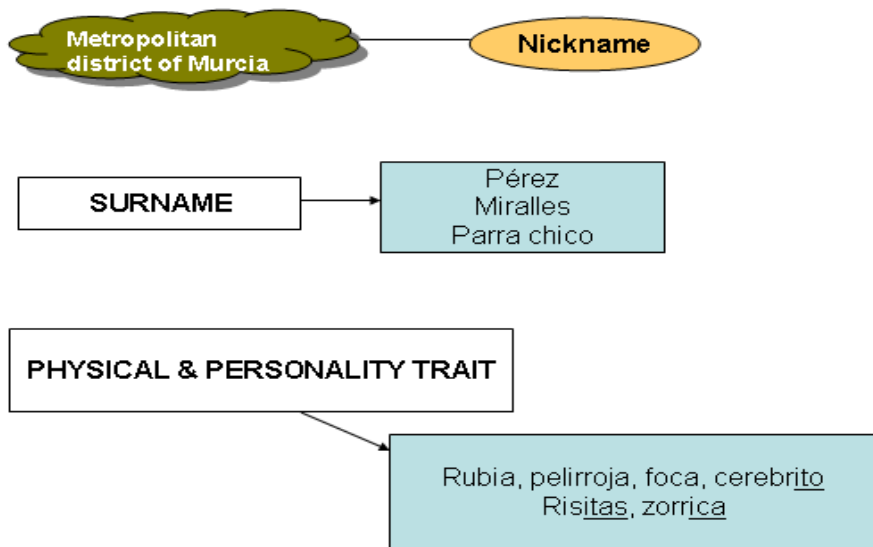


Figure 7.193. Nicknames added by the participants in the metropolitan district of Murcia

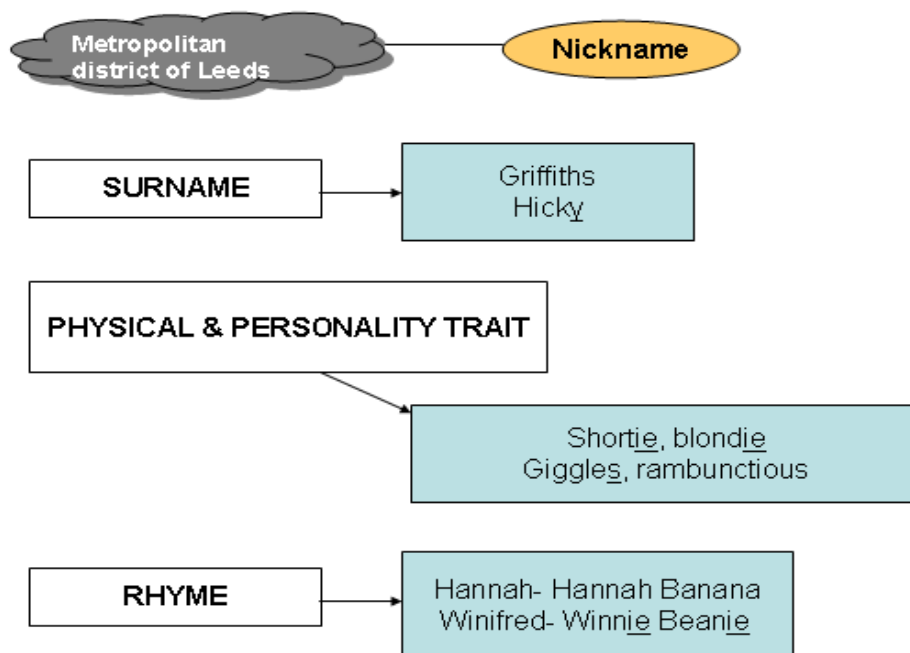


Figure 7.194. Nicknames added by the participants in the metropolitan district of Leeds

In this study a tentative contribution to the issue of the universality of sound symbolism is that in names size and shape sound symbolism seem to be more universal (I.K. Taylor & Taylor, 1965; Nielsen, 2011) whereas emotional sound symbolism, although having universal points, implies particularities too.

Our participants also play with words (note Fernández, 1972 and diction devices). They raise the issue of polysemy by making reference to other meanings of the name although examples of this have been found only in Spain. Thus, our respondents allude to the Valencian carrot when mentioning Carlota, the surname when talking about Lucas or a garment (a cardigan) if referring to Rebeca. There are also cases in which not an equivalent but a word which resembles the name (either in terms of sound or spelling) is raised in the respondent's comments in both countries. For instance, in Spanish Cornelia is a reminder of *cuerno* and *cornudo* ('horn'), Crispín elicits references to words such as *crispillo* or *crispado* ('crackers' and 'twitched', respectively) and in English Cornelia reminds informants of a cornea or a painful corn on someone's foot. Rhymes are also found in the two languages as in Leeds and its surrounds Raoul and Ramona bring to mind the words *owl* and *moaner*, respectively, and in Murcia and districts Sonia reminds people of the sanitary towels Ausonia, Ramona of the words *jamona* and *pechugona* and Ernestina is connected to *tirachinas* ('catapults'). Whereas all the cases found in Spain and one in England (Ramona- *moaner* /məʊnə/) are instances of the consonant rhyme, one in England is an example of an assonant rhyme (García-Yebra, 1989) (Raoul: /raʊ'u:l/ vs. *owl*: /aʊl/, according to Wells, 2000). The fact that rhyming nicknames in English had a consonant rhyme too makes us conclude that most of the rhymes in this study are consonant. Apart from contributing to humour, this word play makes it easier to identify and remember words.



**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. "Maruja seems pejorative and sounds abrupt"
2. (Clementa)-"An ugly name; its sound is awful"
3. "I don't like the sound of Memen"

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Luis)-"The name is very vulgar; people do not pronounce the final /s/ or omit other final consonants in Murcian speech"
- 2- (Judit)-"It is a name which sounds more Murcian"
- 3-(Judit/Judith)-She prefers the pronunciation with /t /but the spelling <th>
4. (Sonia)- "I think the /n/ contributes to its sounding softer"
5. "The charm of the hiatus in Sofia"
6. (Sonia/Sofía)-"/i/ removes strength and personality from the names"
7. "Ramón flows better"
8. (Ramona)-"Its sound is too strong for a woman. It is too masculine"
9. "If Carlos is pronounced with the Murcian accent, I don't like it and it is vulgar"



**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. "I prefer Will or William; I like their sound better"


**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. "I prefer Anna rather than Hannah due to the sound"
2. (Raphael)-"It has a strong sound and is difficult"
3. (Lewis)-"I like the French Louis; my name, Maurice, also sounds French"
4. "I like Sophia but without the -phia part being stressed"
5. His wife is called Sara and she rejects the pronunciation of /a:/ in the first syllable "for sounding posh", so she pronounces it as in Sarah
6. "Ramona flows better"
7. (Charlotte)-"An old name, strong but feminine; it is quite sexy and playful sounding"
8. (Charles)-"It is a posh-sounding name"
- 9, 10<sup>150</sup>. (Michaela)-"It sounds Italian; I like its musical rhythm"

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<sup>150</sup> Two numbers are provided when, in a comment, the factor appears twice with the same or different (e.g. sound/stress/music; familiarity/frequency; spelling similarities/character in a play association, etc.) senses. In this case, sound and music, in particular, the sound of a given origin and its musical rhythm, appear in the same quotation.



**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. "Nowadays there is more freedom of usage in terms of names and Vicky, which we already knew via the mass media, brought new air when it came to Spain some years ago. The way of writing Vicky was also startling"

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1-(Judit/Judith)-She prefers the pronunciation with /t /but the spelling <th>


**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. "I like Victoria. In Poland we are not keen on pet forms. The spelling is familiar to me"

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Sara and Sarah)-"Just as spelling variants"

.....

Beauty

Metropolitan  
district of Murcia

**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. (Clementa)-“An ugly name; its sound is awful”
2. “I don't consider the name Clementa so ugly because I have a friend who is a lovely person. She is called that because it is the name of the patron saint of her town”
3. “Bertín is more beautiful; Norberto is an ugly name”

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. “Ramona is an ugly name and it is associated with the witch from fairy tales”





**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. "Philip is a more beautiful name"

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

NO COMMENTS

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Length

Metropolitan  
district of Murcia

**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

NO COMMENTS

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Ernestina)- "It is too long and complex"
2. "Carlos is good because it is a short name and it is more familiar than Carlota"
3. "Carlos is too short; the -ota in Carlota gives it power and personality"

Metropolitan  
district of Leeds

**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

NO COMMENTS

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Ernestine)-"It is complicated; it is like a tongue twister! It should be shorter"

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Simplicity



Metropolitan  
district of Murcia

**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. "I prefer Bertín since it is handier, easier to say"

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Ana)- "Simple and Spanish"
2. (Judit)- "It is an easier name"
3. (Ernestina)- "It is too long and complex"



**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

NO COMMENTS

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Raphael)-"It has a strong sound and is difficult"
2. (Judith)-"It is an easier name"
3. (Ernestine)-"It is complicated; it is like a tongue twister! It should be shorter"

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Meaning

Metropolitan district of Murcia

**A. People’s choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

NO COMMENTS

**B. People’s choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. “What’s the meaning of Tania?”
2. “I like Sofía due to its Greek origins and meaning: ‘wisdom’”

Metropolitan district of Leeds

**A. People’s choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

NO COMMENTS

**B. People’s choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

NO COMMENTS

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**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. "María is the Virgin's forename and it should be employed as such out of respect, without using hypocorisms"
2. "I don't consider the name Clementa so ugly because I have a friend who is a lovely person. She is called that because it is the name of the patron saint of her town"

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Jénnifer)-"Foreign names are invading us; I like normal names: those which are Christian and are familiar to us"
2. "Blessed Glory"
3. (Crispín)-"I am very familiarised with the name; it is that of the patron saint of the city of Elche, in Alicante, in particular, of shoemakers, and the festivity includes a pilgrimage"
4. (Ramón)-"I prefer the male form because I was born on that saint's day"



**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

NO COMMENTS

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. "Rebecca is a biblical name"

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Association

Metropolitan  
district of Murcia

**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. "I don't consider the name Clementa so ugly because I have a friend who is a lovely person. She is called that because it is the name of the patron saint of her town"
2. "Paco reminds me of the Spanish general and dictator Francisco Franco"
3. "Norberto reminds me of an old man"
4. "It reminds us of Paquito 'el chocolatero'"

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Vanessa)-"Manolo Escobar's daughter is called that"
2. (Rebeca)-"It is also a garment"
3. (Lydia)-"A collaborator in *Sálvame* has this name"
4. "It reminds me of Miss Gloria, a teacher in the school I attended when I was a child"
5. (Lucas)-Associations with the equivalent surname
6. Associations with the *Pato Lucas*
7. (Lucas)- "It reminds me of Chiquito de la Calzada"
8. "Christian reminds me of the T.V. presenter of the quiz *Pass the word*, Christian Gálvez"



9. They had relatives called Rafael
10. “Raúl reminds me of the Real Madrid football player”
11. (Lewis)-“It reminds me of Louis King of France”
12. “I like Alfredo because it reminds me of the actor Alfredo Mayo”
13. “I associate it with the actor Alfredo Landa, who I can’t stand; I don’t like that name”
14. “Its connection with the painter and sculptor from Renaissance Leonardo da Vinci”
15. “(…) with the actor Leonardo DiCaprio”
16. “Leonardo reminds me of Messi”
17. “Leonardo seems like a name people might give to a big dog”
18. (Cornelia)-“It reminds me of Roman Emperors”
19. (Cornelia)-“It reminds me of *horn and cuckolded*”
20. (Crispín)-“It resembles the words *crackers* and *twitched*”
21. (Crispín)-“Its association with the Spanish comic *Captain Thunder*”
- 22, 23. “For a lark we call a friend Mr. Crispin The Bitter”
24. (Crispín)- “It is a small dog’s name”
25. “I have friends from my country called Crispín and I feel respect for them; their name does not cause me laughter”
26. “I like it because our Queen is called Sofia”
27. Her favourite name is Sofia because a friend of hers, who was a lovely person and died recently, had this name
28. “I don’t like Sonia; it reminds me of the well-known sanitary towels *Ausonia*”
29. “It reminds me of the composer Giuseppe Verdi because of his opera *Aida* and, from there, to Italy”
30. “Aída, like the protagonist in the series from The Fifth Channel”
31. “Lorenza looks like a name borne by an old person”
32. “It reminds me of the child *Marcelino bread and wine*”

33. “The name reminds me of the footballer in Real Madrid”
34. Associated Sara with a celebrity: the journalist Sara Carbonero, Iker Casillas’ partner
35. (Ramón)-“I prefer the male form because I was born on that saint’s day”
36. The association of Ramona with “big-bosomed” and “a buxom woman”
37. “[These words] appear in the folk song, *Ramona*”
38. (Ramona)-“The woman is fat”
39. “Ramona is an ugly name and it is associated with the witch from fairy tales”
40. “I don’t like Ernestine; it reminds me of an elastic band”
41. (Carlota)-“I don’t like it. It reminds me of the Valencian carrot”
42. (Carlota)-“It reminds me of a character in a novel from Romanticism”
43. (Carlota)-“It is a posh girl’s name”
44. (Carlota)-“She is like a fat woman”



**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. Refer to Queen Victoria when they hear the name
2. "When thinking about Pippa, a red-haired young girl comes to my mind"
- 3, 4. "It reminds me of literature and the celebrity Pippa Middleton"
- 5, 6. "Pip is a funny name. It reminds me of the main character in one of Dickens' novels and it seems like a name people might give to a small dog"

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Lucas)-An association, in this case, to relatives
2. (Raoul)-"I like it; it reminds me of one of the main characters in the play *The Phantom of the Opera*"
3. (Raoul)-"I don't like it; it reminds me of the word *owl*"
4. "The name Alfred reminds me of King Alfred"
5. "It reminds me of the writer Oscar Wilde"
6. "It reminds me of funny characters because there is always one in comedies called Oscar. It is a funny name because of that"
7. (Cornelia)-"It reminds me of Roman Emperors"
8. "Cornelia reminds me of vampires from the books I have read"
9. (Cornelia)-"It is funny in that it reminds me of *cornea*"
10. (Cornelia)- "I don't find it funny; it reminds me of having a painful corn on my foot"
11. (Cornelia)-"It reminds me of the cereal, *corn*; that's funny"
12. (Cornelia)-"It reminds me of a Dutch girl"

13. “When I hear the name Sophia, I think of a young girl and when Sonia, an old woman”
14. His wife is called Sara and she rejects the pronunciation of /a:/ in the first syllable “for sounding posh”, so she pronounces it as in Sarah
15. “I like my mum’s forename, Sarah, and also her pet form, Sally, so I prefer Sara”.
16. (Ramona)-“It reminds me of the word *moaner* –someone who complains a lot”
17. “My husband has Italian relatives, so I have become familiarised with these names”
18. “There is a song whose title is *Ramona*”
19. “Ramone reminds me of a gay man”
20. “Ernest is a name found in literature”
21. “Charlotte reminds me of frizzy hair due to a film I saw”
22. “Lots of objectionable acquaintances named Charles”
23. “It reminds me of Prince Charles”
24. “Michaela suggests rough people”

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Connotation



Metropolitan  
district of Murcia

**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. "Maruja seems pejorative and sounds abrupt"
- 2, 3. "Clementa is a masculine and vulgar name"

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. "Vanessa brings prostitution to mind"
2. (Rebeca)-"It's a cheesy name but I like it"
3. (Jónathan)-"A chav name"
4. (Raúl)-"A name with personality"
5. (Luis)-"The name is very vulgar; people do not pronounce the final /s/ or omit other final consonants in Murcian speech"
6. (Crispín)-"The name is funny in itself"
7. "I prefer the French Sophie, which is more youthful"
8. (Sonia/Sofía)-"/i/ removes strength and personality from the names"
9. (Ramona)-"Its sound is too strong for a woman. It is too masculine"
10. "Ernestina is an affected/la-di-dah name"
11. (Ernestina)-"It arouses teasing"
12. (Ernestina)-"It is an exaggeratedly feminine name"
13. "Carlos is too short; the -ota in Carlota gives it power and personality"
14. "If Carlos is pronounced with the Murcian accent, I don't like it and it

is vulgar”

15. “If the female name had been Miguela, it would have been worse because it suggests greater masculinity”




**A. People’s choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. “I find Ginger funny”
2. “I do not like Ginger. It is similar to the nickname, which is pejorative”
3. “Virginia is too chaste a name; Ginger does not hold these connotations”
4. “Pippa has sexual connotations”
5. “Pip is a funny name. It reminds me of the main character in one of Dickens’ novels and it seems like a name people might give to a small dog”

**B. People’s choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. “It reminds me of funny characters because there is always one in comedies called Oscar. It is a funny name because of that”
2. “Ramona seems romantic”
- 3, 4, 5, 6. (Charlotte)-“An old name, strong but feminine; it is quite sexy and playful sounding”
7. (Michaela)-“It is a chavvy name”

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Self-identity

Metropolitan  
district of Murcia

**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. "In my day Maruja was familiar to us and, after so many years, I identify with the name Maruja but I like María more"

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. "Antonella is not a name of ours"



**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

NO COMMENTS

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Lydia)-“It is my name, so I like it”
2. (Lewis)-“I like the French Louis; my name, Maurice, also sounds French”
3. “I cannot say anything about Crispin; this name does not belong to my social class. It is not in my world”
4. “I do not find the name Crispin funny because it resembles the shortening of my name, Christopher”
5. Sarah was their name and that is why they liked Sara

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Familiarity



Metropolitan  
district of Murcia

**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. "I don't like these Americanisms. When I was in London I saw people who were known as Vicky. In Spain it is more familiar than other forms such as Victo"
2. "In my day Maruja was familiar to us and, after so many years, I identify with the name Maruja but I like María more"

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Tania)-"It is not familiar to me. Is it a shortening of Sebastiana?"
2. (Jéniffer)-"Foreign names are invading us; I like normal names: those which are Christian and are familiar to us"
3. (Crispín)-"We are not very familiarised with it"
4. (Crispín)-"I am very familiarised with the name; it is that of the patron saint of the city of Elche, in Alicante, in particular, of shoemakers, and the festivity includes a pilgrimage"
5. "I prefer Marcelino; it was a familiar name to me when I was born".
6. (Ramón/Ramona)-"Neither of them is familiar to me"
7. (Ernestina)- "I am not familiarised with this name"
8. "Carlos is good because it is a short name and it is more familiar than Carlota"



**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. "Vicky is a very commonly used and familiar pet form"
2. "I like Victoria. In Poland we are not keen on pet forms. The spelling is familiar to me"
3. "Have never used Pip"

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Anna)-"A familiar name in the UK"
2. (Lucas)-"We do not know this name"
3. "Familiarised with the forename Christian"
4. "Never heard of Raoul"
5. "Clara is a relatively infrequent name"
6. (Ramone-Ramona)-"My husband has Italian relatives, so I have become familiarised with these names"
7. (Ernestine)-"It is not a familiar name"

.....



**A. People’s choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. “Nowadays there is more freedom of usage in terms of names and Vicky, which we already knew via the mass media, brought new air when it came to Spain some years ago. The way of writing Vicky was also startling”

**B. People’s choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Cornelia)-“An unusual name”  
 2. “Judith is more original”  
 3. “Miguel is as old as the hills”

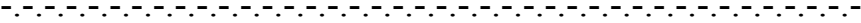


**A. People’s choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. “Vicky is a very commonly used and familiar pet form”  
 2. “But Ginger is a different name, isn’t it? It is quite original”

**B. People’s choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Cornelia)-“An unusual name”





Fashion



Metropolitan  
district of Murcia

**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. "Nowadays there is more freedom of usage in terms of names and Vicky, which we already knew via the mass media, brought new air when it came to Spain some years ago. The way of writing Vicky was also startling"

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Amanda)-Seen as an old name
2. (Jéssica)-"A very modern name"
3. (Leonardo)-An old-fashioned name
4. "In this case I do not mind sound; I just like Antonia because it is more Spanish and traditional"



**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

NO COMMENTS

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Amanda)-Seen as an old name
2. "Vanessa is an old-fashioned name"
3. "Gloria is an old-fashioned name"
4. "Sandra is an old-fashioned name"
5. (Jessica)-"An ever-present name in England"
6. (Jonathan)-"An ever-present name in England"
7. (Alfred)-It is an old name
8. "Alfie is more modern"
9. "Victor is an old-fashioned name"
10. (Leonard)-An old-fashioned name
11. (Oscar)-"It is a name now in fashion again but I do not like it"
12. "Ernest is an old-fashioned name"
13. (Charlotte)-"An old name, strong but feminine; it is quite sexy and playful sounding"

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Related name

Metropolitan  
district of Murcia

**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. "I don't like these Americanisms. When I was in London I saw people who were known as Vicky. In Spain it is more familiar than other forms such as Victo"
2. "María is the Virgin's forename and it should be employed as such out of respect, without using hypocorisms"
3. "I prefer Clementina"

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

- 1, 2. (Tania)-"It is not familiar to me. Is it a shortening of Sebastiana?
3. "For a lark we call a friend Mr. Crispin The Bitter"
4. "I would prefer Toñi"
5. "I prefer the French Sophie, which is more youthful"
6. "I like Carla much more than Carlota"
7. "Carolina I do (like)"
8. "If the female name had been Miguela, it would have been worse because it suggests greater masculinity"



**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. "Vicky is a very commonly used and familiar pet form"
2. "I like Victoria. In Poland we are not keen on pet forms. The spelling is familiar to me"
3. "But Ginger is a different name, isn't it? It is quite original"
4. "I do not like Ginger. It is similar to the nickname, which is pejorative"

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. "I love its shortened form, Jenny"
2. "I prefer Anna rather than Hannah due to the sound"
- 3, 4 (Lewis)-"I like the French Louis; my name, Maurice, also sounds French"
5. "Alfie is more modern"
- 6, 7. "I do not find the name Crispin funny because it resembles the shortening of my name, Christopher"
8. His wife is called Sara and she rejects the pronunciation of /a:/ in the first syllable "for sounding posh", so she pronounces it as in Sarah
9. (Sara and Sarah)-"just as spelling variants"
10. Sarah was their name and that is why they liked Sara
- 11, 12. "I like my mum's forename, Sarah, and also her pet form, Sally, so I prefer Sara"

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Origin

Metropolitan  
district of Murcia

**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. "Nowadays there is more freedom of usage in terms of names and Vicky, which we already knew via the mass media, brought new air when it came to Spain some years ago. The way of writing Vicky was also startling"
2. "I don't like these Americanisms. When I was in London I saw people who were known as Vicky. In Spain it is more familiar than other forms such as Victo"
3. "Here in the country side many [women called María] Marías are known as Marujas"
4. "I don't consider the name Clementa so ugly because I have a friend who is a lovely person. She is called that because it is the name of the patron saint of her town"



**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Jénnifer)-“A name from out there”
2. (Jénnifer)-“Foreign names are invading us; I like normal names: those which are Christian and are familiar to us”
3. (Ana)-“Simple and Spanish”
4. (Luis)-“The name is very vulgar; people do not pronounce the final /s/ or omit other final consonants in Murcian speech”
5. (Crispín)-“It is an Ecuadoran's name”
6. “I have friends from my country called Crispín and I feel respect for them”
7. (Crispín)-“I am very familiarised with the name; it is that of the patron saint of the city of Elche, in Alicante, in particular, of shoemakers, and the festivity includes a pilgrimage”
8. “Antonella is an Italian name”
9. “In this case I do not mind sound; I just like Antonia because it is more Spanish and traditional”
10. (Judit)-“It is a name which sounds more Murcian”
11. “I like Sofía due to its Greek origins and meaning: ‘wisdom’”
12. “I prefer the French Sophie, which is more youthful”
13. “It reminds me of the composer Giuseppe Verdi because of his opera *Aida* and, from there, to Italy”
14. “The name Marcelo looks Argentinian”
15. (Carlota)-“I don't like it. It reminds me of the Valencian carrot”



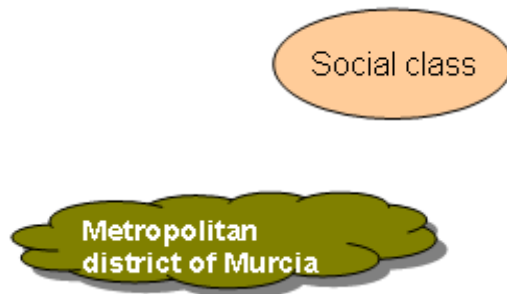
**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. "I like Victoria. In Poland we are not keen on pet forms. The spelling is familiar to me"

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Tanya)-"It is like Russian or Ukrainian"
2. (Amanda)-"Part and parcel of the United Kingdom"
3. (Anna)-"A familiar name in the UK"
4. (Jessica)-"An ever-present name in England"
5. (Jonathan)-"An ever-present name in England"
6. (Lewis)-"I like the French Louis; my name, Maurice, also sounds French"
7. (Ramone-Ramona)-"My husband has Italian relatives, so I have become familiarised with these names"
8. (Michaela)-"It sounds Italian; I like its musical rhythm"

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**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

NO COMMENTS

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Ernestina)-"It looks as if it were from a high social class"



**A. People's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age**

1. "The name of Pip is like working class"

**B. People's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account**

1. (Jessica)-"With middle class rather than working class"
2. "Crispin is a posh name"
3. "I cannot say anything about Crispin; this name does not belong to my social class. It is not in my world"
4. (Sara)-"It seems to be from the upper class"
5. His wife is called Sara and she rejects the pronunciation of /a:/ in the first syllable "for sounding posh", so she pronounces it as in Sarah
6. (Charles)-"It is a posh-sounding name"
7. (Charles)-"It is pompous"
8. (Charles)-"It is upper class"

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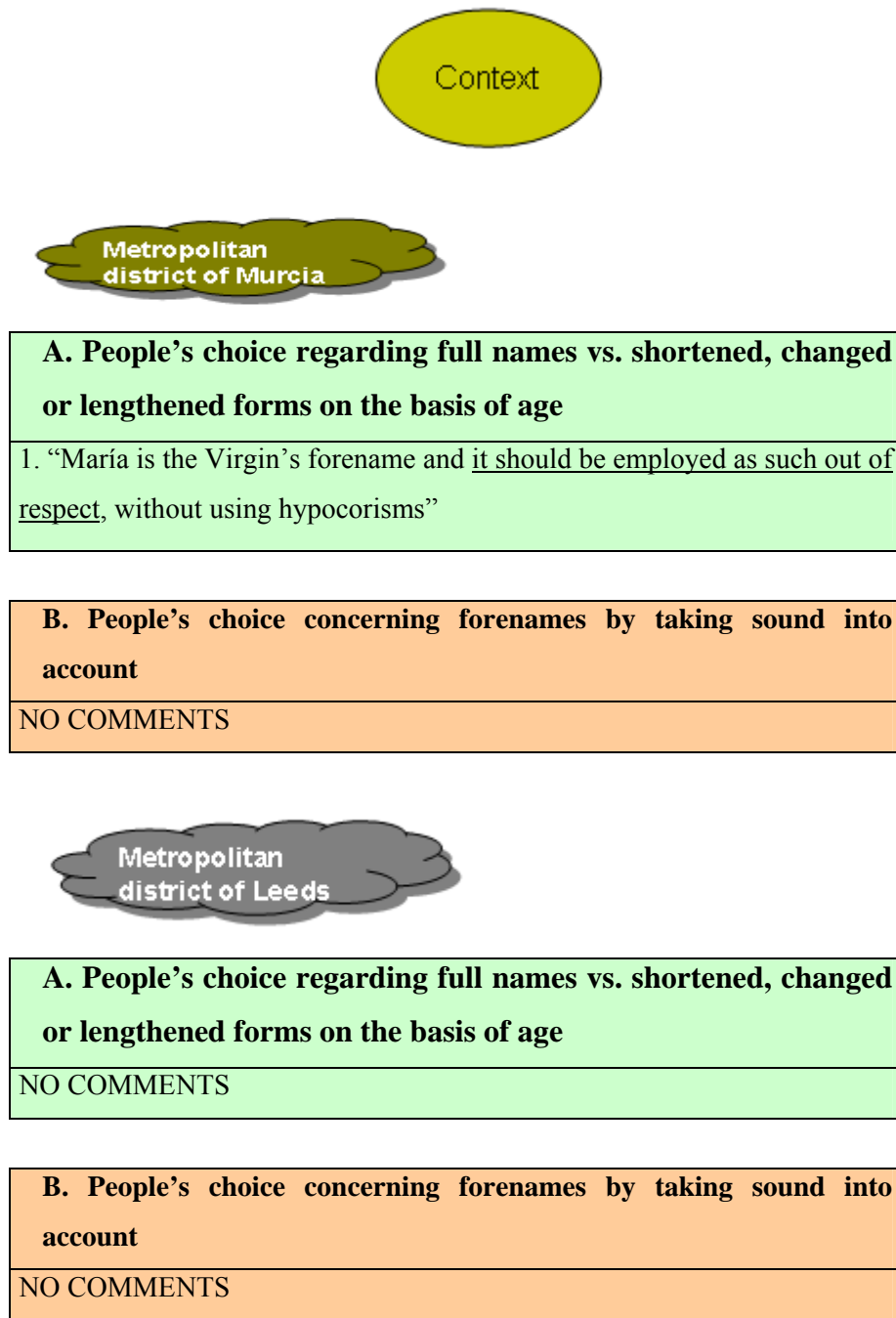


Figure 7.190. Generalities from the two metropolitan districts in view of the different factors

In summary, for aspect A the respondents were asked to choose a name to give a friend of their own age. According to Valentine et al. (1996), family or even friends of different ages would use different names to refer to the same person. In both the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds, in general terms, the younger the participant, the higher the rate of preference for shortened, changed or lengthened forms. In the 41-60 year-old age range there is a roughly similar degree of preference for shortened/changed/lengthened forms and full names in a considerable number of cases. For all name groups in the two countries a statistically significant association is found between age and preference for either the full name or a shortened, changed or lengthened form. Although age seems to be related to preference, other factors mentioned by respondents such as religion or beauty may also have a bearing on the extent to which one form is chosen over another e.g. in all age groups there is a prevalence of a liking for María and Philip in the municipal districts of Murcia and Leeds, respectively.

The majority of forenames in aspect B.1 receive positive liking ratings in both countries. In Murcia and districts the percentages tend to be higher in general terms. Ana/Anna is favourably positioned in the two metropolitan districts. Nonetheless, in England Jonathan, Jessica, Jennifer and Amanda occupy a high position but they hold a much lower position in Spain. Origin seems to be related to the positive or negative liking ratings of these names in the two municipal districts. In Murcia and surrounding areas almost all the names which yield below 50% of liking ratings are female names whereas in Leeds and districts the question of gender seems to be more balanced. For many of the female and male forenames presented in both metropolitan districts the rate of male respondents liking them is higher than that of women. Also notable is the fact that male liking of female names prevails in Leeds and its surrounds whereas male liking of

male names predominates in Murcia and districts.

In the names proposed for aspect B.2, respondents from the metropolitan district of Murcia tend to find more funny connotations than those in Leeds and surrounding districts. In both countries Crispín/Crispin elicits more reactions of funny connotations than Cornelia. Whereas the association of Cornelia with Roman Emperors is common in both Murcia and Leeds, other associations are different in the two countries (e.g. sound/spelling similarities to the words *corn-* the cereal- in England or *cuerno-* 'horn'- in Spain). As for Crispín/Crispin, while associations with comedies or comics occur in Murcia (maybe as a result of the sound symbolism found in the name), connotations of social class are made reference to in Leeds. There is only one idea in common between both countries: when the name is familiar, participants do not consider it to be funny.

With regards to aspect B.3., the rate of preferences between the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds is similar regarding two name versions (out of 3): Antonia-Antonella (with a preference for Antonia) and Sonia- Sofía/Sophia (with a preference for Sofía/Sophia), in the latter group the participants showing a tendency towards the sound of the complete name rather than towards a sound or sounds in particular.

In general terms, in both metropolitan districts, when respondents are deciding on a name they dislike most, aspect B.4, non-pejorative reasons, that is, simply disliking the sound, are more common than pejorative ones, i.e. referring to it as being vulgar or cheesy. However, the adjective *cheesy* is chosen more often in England whereas Spain opts more frequently for the adjective *vulgar*. Also remarkable is the fact that in the metropolitan district of Murcia the female counterpart is selected in all the cases as the most disliked name while in the municipal district of Leeds one half of the choices is the female name and the other half is the male name.

In addition, the percentages of the chosen names are always very high in the case of our Spanish informants while for the English respondents percentages are distributed among the different options despite the clear tendency towards a given name.

In both countries and for most name pairs the tendency is for more women than men to dislike one of the names due to its cheesy/twee character. This tendency is further evidenced by the fact that regarding aspect B1, a comment about a name being cheesy (Rebeca) came from a woman. It must be taken into account that, according to Aries (1976) women are prone to talking about personal issues in their conversations and their style can even be said to be cheesy (Tusón, 1988; Martín-Rojo, 1996). Therefore, it makes sense that they use the words twee/cheesy more often than men.

If we look at the liking/ disliking of the two names under scrutiny in aspects B3 and B4, in England the number of respondents who like both names and dislike both names is significantly higher than in Spain. For instance, whereas no cases of disliking both names are found for Carlos and Carlota (there is only liking of both names), there is liking/disliking for both Charles/Charlotte.

In the relationship between people's choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age and their choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account (i.e. aspects A & B), words such as *love*, *charm* or *don't like* frequently occur in our informants' comments, thus supporting M. Bloch (1932) and Besnard and Desplanques' view (1987) that people have emotional reactions towards names. There are many cases in which the participant qualifies his/her reply in the sense that there are names which he/she does not like at all or he/she likes some names to a greater degree than others. As Rosch (1975) proposed, a member belongs to a category depending on the degree of



closeness of that member to the prototype or the best example of that category (Mairal et al., 2012).

In spite of being asked to assess on the basis of age (aspect A) and sound (aspect B), the respondents do not always seem to interpret the questions in this way. It is only in certain cases where we become aware of the basis on which they are making their judgements. The participant evaluates the name/s 1. in terms of a factor or factors other than age or sound; 2. on the basis of age/sound; 3. in terms of age/sound or/and an/other factor/s; 4. does not separate age/sound from other factors. As can be seen, on many occasions we find a combination of factors. Although some participants may not think about sound when assessing the name or they may assess it in terms of other factors, the first and most usual contact the person has with the name is through the sound. This is supported by Bloomfield (1943), who said that in order to study language the first step is to explore form. When the informant limits him/herself to deciding on a name without identifying his/her reflections explicitly about that choice or he/she does not give any indication, it is impossible to identify the cognitive procedure he/she has followed (Evans & Green, 2006).

In both municipal districts the factor of association holds the highest position although the number of comments related to association is around a third higher in the metropolitan district of Murcia. Connotation, sound, related name and familiarity also occupy a favourable position, quite similar in the two countries. The most remarkable cases of difference between the municipal districts are religion and social class, almost inexistent in England and Spain, respectively. Victoria-Vicky had more factors in common between the two metropolitan districts in aspect A. In aspect B, however, the opposite-gender pairs Ramón/Ramone-Ramona, Ernesto/Ernest-Ernestina/Ernestine and Carlos/Charles- Carlota/Charlotte exceeded the rest in this sense. This shows that having a more or less

similar form does not play a role in the number of factors in common found in the two municipal districts.

Regarding tendencies about the different factors from the two metropolitan districts, it would seem that participants prefer referring to sound and spelling in general terms instead of alluding to one sound or letter in particular. Our informants are concerned about the length of a name especially in cases of excessive length, in particular, female names derived from male names (Smith-Bannister, 1997). More comments related to international origins are found in Leeds, which could be explained by the more multicultural society (Mustad & Langeland, n.d) whilst Hispanic origins are evident in the remarks made in Murcia (Albaigés, 1998). Apart from being a stronger influence, the presence of religion in people's responses to names is more varied in Murcia than in Leeds. Whereas the references in Leeds are biblical (Darlington, 2015), in Spain local saints, pilgrimages or processions and Virgins are mentioned (Albaigés, 1998).

Sexual connotations seem to be more widely present in the comments made in the metropolitan district of Leeds (e.g. Virginia, Charlotte or Pippa), which may be because women there tend to be more open in their sexual life (del Baas, 2011). Spanish participants make more comments in relation to beauty and associations with people's appearance, which suggests that Spaniards are more concerned about beauty and appearance, especially in relation to women. This reflects the importance given to preserving beauty and youth for females in Spain and demonstrates that male chauvinism is still prevalent in this society (Gil, 2007). The majority of cases of allusion to simplicity come from men, thus reinforcing the stereotype of men being more simple and practical versus the complexity of women (Tusón, 1988; Martín-Rojo, 1996). The fact that one male participant said that "names are an issue which concerns women" together with the fact that the only percentage or the largest one of

respondents liking or disliking both names or opting for particular sounds very often comes from women and it took females longer to make decisions indicated that names matter to them (BabyCenter, 2015a).

In both the municipal districts of Murcia and Leeds we find direct associations (e.g. “Raúl reminds me of the Real Madrid football player”) and indirect associations (e.g. “Cornelia reminds me of vampires from the books I have read”) although the number of direct associations is larger. Given that we have a collective memory (Yus, 1997), Spaniards, for instance, have some associations in common. Thus, Marcelo, Raúl and Leonardo remind participants of Real Madrid and Barcelona football players (in Spain the “king of sports” is football; Gómez-Montoro, 2014) and Lydia, Christian, Bertín and Aída remind them of T.V. celebrities and light entertainment shows. In contrast, our participants in the metropolitan district of Leeds seem to be attracted by books rather than by television (e.g. literary works such as Dickens’ *Great Expectations* and writers such as Oscar Wilde are explicitly mentioned or suggested). Other associations are particular to the country and even a region e.g. references to the paso doble in Spain, in particular, the south-east (Gómez-García, n.d.) or the name Crispín in Elche because of his being the patron saint. In both Spain and England we find historical and artistic associations e.g. Cornelia and its association with a Roman Emperor, which are put forward by cultured people.

An opinion widely expressed by our participants is that “names are not vulgar, cheesy/twee, ugly, etc. in themselves; they become so when attached to people”. We think that the name evokes meaning, feelings, etc. to a greater or lesser extent to the respondent depending on the listener’s profile: background, experience, interests, etc. (Vandevveer et al., 2006). In both Spain and England we find cases in which several factors are combined e.g. familiarity and spelling (“The spelling is familiar to me”). In

fact, even within the same factor, another factor may be involved. For instance, association with a person may be association in the sense of social class (e.g. Carlota “is a posh girl’s name”).

The lexis used by participants is very varied and rich. When dealing with social class, its importance in England (Darlington, 2015) is reflected in the degree of detail offered (Savater, 1979) regarding social classes, especially the upper class. There are a large number of words used to refer to and talk about social classes and they are very varied. The conservatism in Spain (the recent dictatorship must be noted) is reflected in the use of the term *traditional* when referring to fashion as opposed to the word *ever-present* in England. The recurrent use of the first person singular possessive determiner in Leeds (“my name”) to refer to self-identity may be understood in the light of ideas of ethnocentrism and monolinguoctrism (Enfield, 2000). On the other hand, the explicitness and aggressiveness of Spanish is reflected in the use of words such as *ugly*, *too long*, *invading*, *foreign*, *pejorative*, *vulgar*, etc., which contrasts with the mitigations and political correctness in English (Levine, 2010). Several 25-40 year old participants in the two metropolitan districts explain that they prefer the spelling <k> instead of <c>. This may be owing to the influence of the internet on people’s language (Crystal, 2001; Yus, 2005).

Comments about names are full of expressive language. Thus, “Ramón/Ramona flows better” comprises the music/sound-as-water metaphor (Richards, 1936). Ernestine “is like a tongue twister” is an example of simile or comparison (Fernández, 1972). Metonymies are found, in particular, indirect associations: e.g. “it reminds me of Chiquito de la Calzada”, in which Lucas reminds this informant of the humorist who is well known for the expression “Hasta luego, Lucas” but the participant does not say the expression itself. An example of a symbol would be the green eyes in the protagonist of a soap opera, *Esmeralda*, whose name

stands for a precious stone, the emerald.

There are many references to sound symbolism, including synaesthesia, e.g. “I think the /n/ contributes to its sounding softer” (sense of touch). Cases of size (associations of the names Pip and Leonardo with small and big dogs, respectively; Hinton et al., 1994) and shape sound symbolism (associations of the names Ramona and Carlota with fat women; Lázaro-Carreter, 1971; Monroy, 2001) are found.

The emotional dimension of sound symbolism seems to be the strongest one in this study. It connects sound and other factors, e.g. connotation (e.g. “It is playful sounding). This emotional sound symbolism could be extrapolated to the two countries (e.g. sound symbolism in terms of gender connotations as in the acceptance of harsh names with voiceless fricatives such as the male Rafael but not the female Lorenza) (Yardy, 2010) or particular in each country or even region (e.g. sound symbolism in terms of origin, thus resulting in pejorative connotations as in the Spanish /dʒ/ or /j/ in Jónathan or /s/ in Carlos in Murcia) (Monroy, 2008). This sound symbolism can be even more particular, as reflected by one participant’s idiosyncratic comment: “Most of these names sound as if I were in heaven”. In nicknames a sense of playfulness and affection are achieved mainly by means of the /i/ sound in suffixes (e.g. -ito as in Paquito; -ie/y/i as in Alfie), alveolar, palato-alveolar/ postalveolar and palatal fricatives/ affricates/ nasals (e.g. Bex /ks/, Julz /z/, Toñi /ɲ/, Parra chico /tʃ/ or rambunçious /ʃ/).

A tentative contribution to the issue of the universality of sound symbolism is that in names, size and shape sound symbolism seem to be more universal (Nielsen, 2011) whereas emotional sound symbolism, although having universal points, implies particularities too.

Our participants also play with words (Fernández, 1972). The issue of polysemy is raised in Spain, e.g. Carlota as a name and as the Valencian

carrot. There are also words which resemble the name (either in terms of sound or spelling), e.g. Cornelia reminds informants of *cornea* (English) and *cuerno* (Spanish). Rhymes are also found in the two languages, e.g. Sonia reminds Spanish participants of the sanitary towels Ausonia and Raoul brings to mind the word *owl* in English (García-Yebra, 1989).

## CONCLUSIONS

In this study we have explored the way people react to forenames and nicknames in the metropolitan districts of Murcia (Spain) and Leeds (England) as well as the relationship between such reactions in both places by focusing on three different aspects (A, B & C). The results obtained suggest that:

- A. As far as choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age is concerned, in both municipal districts, the younger the respondent, the higher the rate of preference for shortened, changed or lengthened forms. In the 41-60 year-old age range there is an in-between position (showing a roughly similar degree of preference for shortened/changed/lengthened forms and full names) in a considerable number of cases. In every name group in the two countries there is a statistically significant association between age and preference. However, other factors mentioned by participants such as religion or beauty may also have a bearing on the extent to which one form is chosen over another, e.g. the prevalence of a liking for María (in Murcia and pedanías) and Philip (in Leeds and districts) in all age groups.

Victoria, Vicky or other is the name group which has more factors in common between the two metropolitan districts.

- B. With regard to people's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account,
  - B.1. Most of the forenames receive positive liking ratings in both countries although in the metropolitan district of Murcia percentages are higher in general. Whereas names such as Ana/Anna are welcomed in both countries, others such as Amanda, Jéssica or Jénifer are not favourably positioned in

Spain (in fact, in this country most names which yield below 50% of liking ratings are female names). Origin seems to be related to the positive or negative liking ratings of these names in both municipal districts.

B.2. In Murcia and pedanías respondents find more funny connotations than in Leeds and districts although Crispín/Crispin rates the highest in the two countries. Most of the associations triggered are different for English and Spanish participants (e.g. sound/spelling similarities to the words *corn* –the cereal– for the former or *cuerno*- ‘horn’ for the latter) and social class connotations are only attached to the name Crispin in English.

B.3. Regarding the name versions Antonia-Antonella and Sonia-Sofía/Sophia, the rate of preferences is similar in the two metropolitan districts, with a tendency towards Antonia and Sofía/Sophia, respectively. In the latter group most of the participants prefer the sound of the complete name rather than a sound or sounds in particular.

B.4. Non-pejorative reasons (i.e. simply disliking the sound) are more common in both countries when respondents choose names they dislike most although the adjectives *cheesy* and *vulgar* are used more often in England and Spain, respectively. The most disliked name in Murcia and districts, with a high percentage, is always the female counterpart while the choice is more balanced in terms of gender in Leeds and its surrounds. The tendency is also for women more than men to describe names as cheesy in the two countries.

The opposite-gender pairs Ramón/Ramone-Ramona,  
Ernesto/Ernest-Ernestina/Ernestine and Carlos/Charles-



Carlota/Charlotte have more factors in common between the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds.

- C. With regard to the relationship between people's choice of full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age and their choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account (i.e. A & B), emotional reactions can often be identified in which neither the way of interpreting the questions nor the answers are categorical. Men are shown to be simple and practical whereas women can be regarded as more complex. Association is the factor par excellence amongst informants from both municipal districts although the tendency towards associating names with football and T.V. celebrities on the part of Spaniards and literature on the part of Britons is clear. Spanish respondents seem to be more interested in beauty (especially women) and religion whereas English informants are especially concerned about social class and sex. The lexis used by participants is very varied and rich. Apart from showing themselves to be more conservative, Spaniards are more direct and explicit than the politically correct Britons. Comments about names are full of expressive language. There are many examples of hyperboles, metaphors, metonymies, similes, symbols, sound symbolism (synaesthesia together with size, shape and, especially, emotional sound symbolism) and word play (polysemy; sound/spelling similarities; rhyme).

One of the strengths of this study is the richness provided by the interview data. According to Corbetta (2003), it would be impossible to collect this information without this social interaction between the researcher and the participant, simply with a questionnaire. In Patton's words (1990, p. 290), with these spontaneous comments we can "catch the complexity of their perception and individual experiences" In fact, the participants do not limit themselves to the names proposed but they give a

more vivid picture of names by referring to their own names or others that occur to them. The complementation of quantitative and qualitative data contributes in terms of validity, as explained by Denzin (1979). Each name is explored in great detail in this study and generalities are also drawn.

Forenames and nicknames are an issue which concern us all because we all have a name and we often need to decide on a name for a child or a pet, possibly at least once in our lifetime. This is a very multidisciplinary study (linguistic, social, psychological and stylistic) which is entertaining to read despite its inordinate length. Names are part of our daily life and this is a commonplace topic about which we all have something to say. They help us to become closer not only to the own names but also to people bearing them or reacting to them. Names have a story behind. This is summarised in the following revealing quotation:

“Be still. Remember my name. It is the label that is attached to me. It is the one thread that is sewn through this entire story. Your story or my story – it is only the stitching that changes. The want is the thing that drives us. Trust me: I have a story to tell.”  
— Richard Payment, *For Want of Wonders*.

After undertaking this in-depth exploration we understand much better what Tsirópulos (1987) said, which was cited at the beginning of this project and with which we would like to bring these conclusions to a close: like him, now we also feel the richness of names, their LIFE.

To summarise, in this study we have analysed the reactions to forenames and nicknames in the municipal districts of Murcia (Spain) and Leeds (England) as well as the relationship between such reactions in both places by focusing on three different aspects (A, B & C). The findings reveal that:

- A. With a focus on choice regarding full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age, in both

municipal districts, the younger the participant, the higher the rate of shortened, changed or lengthened forms. In every case there is a statistically significant association between age and preference. However, other factors (e.g. religion or beauty) may also have a bearing on the extent to which one form is chosen over another.

Victoria, Vicky or other is the name group which has more factors in common between the two metropolitan districts.

B. With respect to people's choice concerning forenames by taking sound into account,

B.1. Most of the forenames receive positive liking ratings in both countries despite Murcia having larger percentages. Whereas Ana/Anna is welcomed in both municipal districts, others such as Jéssica or Jénifer are not favourably positioned in Spain, origin being related to the positive or negative liking ratings of these names in both metropolitan districts.

B.2. In Murcia and pedanías respondents find more funny connotations than in Leeds and districts, especially as a result of the different associations evoked.

B.3. Regarding the name versions Antonia-Antonella and Sonia-Sofia/Sophia, the rate of preferences is similar in the two municipal districts, with a tendency towards Antonia and Sofia/Sophia, respectively. In the latter group most of the participants prefer the sound of the complete name rather than a sound or sounds in particular.

B.4. Non-pejorative reasons (simply disliking the sound) are more common in both countries. The most disliked name in Murcia and districts is always the female counterpart while the choice is more balanced in terms of gender in Leeds and its

surrounds.

Opposite-gender pairs have more factors in common between the two metropolitan districts.

- C. With regard to the relationship between people's choice of full names vs. shortened, changed or lengthened forms on the basis of age and their choice concerning forenames taking sound into account (i.e. A & B), emotional reactions are found in which neither the interpretations of questions nor the answers are categorical. The simplicity of men's as opposed to the complexity of women's reactions is notable. Association is the factor par excellence, with a clear tendency towards associating names with football and T.V. celebrities on the part of Spaniards and literature on the part of Britons. Whereas Spanish respondents seem to be interested in beauty and religion, the English are more concerned about social class and sex. The lexis used by participants is very varied and rich. Spaniards are more direct and explicit. Comments about names are full of expressive language: there are hyperboles, metaphors, metonymies, similes, symbols, sound symbolism and word play.

One of the strengths of this study is the richness provided by the interview data. The complementation of quantitative and qualitative data contributes in terms of validity (Denzin, 1979). Each name is explored in great detail in this study and generalities are also drawn. Forenames and nicknames are an issue which concern us all because we all have a name and we need to decide on names for children or pets, for instance. They are part of our daily life. They help us to become closer not only to the own names but also to people bearing them or reacting to them. Like Tsirópulos (1987), now we also feel the richness of names, their LIFE.

## **LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

The results obtained in this research project have provided us with some important findings, but there are limitations which need to be highlighted.

Although in this study a representation of names for each aspect and sub-aspect has been achieved, a more substantial number of exemplars should be used in order to confirm these conclusions. Thus, more name forms (aspect A) as well as forenames, name versions, minimal pair names and opposite gender names (aspect B) should be added, with a special emphasis on name form cognates such as Victoria-Vicky or minimal pairs like Clara-Sara. A more extensive exploration of nicknames should be carried out too. In addition, in a study of this nature, in which each name is very particular, a kind of “world” in itself, which, from a different standpoint, could be considered to enrich the project, it is more difficult to arrive at generalities. For instance, Amanda-Amanda are cognates in English and Spanish, the same name, a translation, but in terms of sound they are not totally equal because the phonetic system in both languages is different. Therefore, it would be impossible to compare reactions towards completely alike exemplars. The richness in this study is that it starts from a linguistic aspect, an equality in meaning (they are cognates), and sound similarity/difference (Which name do you prefer in terms of sound: Amanda or Amanda?) in order to arrive at many other social, psychological and again, even linguistic conclusions. A further focus for the study could be to interview the same group of people, for instance, those in the metropolitan district of Murcia, and present them with the two questionnaires, one in English and one in Spanish. Logically, their answers to the Spanish questionnaire would be much richer because, even if the names are less known, they are in their own language.

Nonetheless, in this case the variable of sound would be more effectively controlled. Moreover, for subsequent research, the examination of the respondent's view of his/her own name or a name he/she would give his/her own child (instead of a set of names, as in this case) would be worth conducting. In fact, Arboleda (2015) is carrying out a parallel study with 915 students (primary, secondary and university students) in which the focus is the participants' own names.

Apart from Spanish and English people, there are others of foreign origin or whose relatives are foreign and in this study few comments have been made by these participants in particular. Therefore, it has been hard to extract much information about them. It would be a good idea to pay special attention to the reactions from foreign people or people with foreign relatives towards forenames and nicknames in each of the municipal districts. It would also be of interest for future studies to analyse the contribution of the questionnaire modality. Although the researcher-respondent interaction would be lost and a factor of laziness might be involved, the participant may feel less ill-at-ease when asked to give written responses. Despite the questionnaires in this study being supervised by two linguistic experts (one for the Spanish questionnaire and another one for the English questionnaire), the review of each by two or three experts could add a more substantial contribution towards validity. The qualitative analysis approach would need to be validated in future research as the model which developed inductively from the data is only tentative. The model used in this study could generate new hypotheses and factors arising from the informants' spontaneous comments could lead to predictor variables in a subsequent study. It is recommendable that software such as ATLAS.ti is used to carry out such an analysis.

In summary, the results obtained in this research project have provided us with some important findings, but there are obvious limitations.

Using a more substantial number of name exemplars would be recommended in order to further substantiate and validate the conclusions of this study. Thus, more name forms (aspect A) as well as forenames, name versions, minimal pair names and opposite-gender names (aspect B) should be added. A more extensive exploration of nicknames should be carried out too. Another focus for the study could be to interview the same group of people, for instance, those in the metropolitan district of Murcia, and present them with the two questionnaires, in English and Spanish, for a closer control of the variable of sound. Moreover, for subsequent research, as Arboleda (2015) is presently doing, the examination of the respondent's view of his/her own name would be worth conducting.

It would be a good idea to pay special attention to the reactions from foreign people or people with foreign relatives towards forenames and nicknames in each of the municipal districts. It would also be of interest for future studies to analyse the contribution of the questionnaire modality, replacing the interview with respondents' written responses, since the participant may feel less ill-at-ease when writing. The review of each questionnaire (English & Spanish) by two or three experts could offer a more substantial contribution towards validity. The qualitative analysis approach would need to be validated in future research as the model which developed inductively from the data is only tentative. The use of software such as ATLAS.ti could be advisable.





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## **APPENDICES**



**APPENDIX 1:  
DATA COLLECTION**

- A. Supervisors' endorsement documents
- B. Explanation for the grounds on which the choices of forenames/nicknames were made
- C. Complete questionnaire and its corresponding versions



**RAFAEL MONROY CASAS, CON DNI 9653416V, CATEDRÁTICO DEL DEPARTAMENTO DE FILOLOGÍA INGLESA DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE MURCIA,**

**INFORMA:**

Que necesitando **Dña. Inmaculada de Jesús Arboleda Guirao**, con DNI 23291767N, recoger datos para la realización de su tesis doctoral sobre nombres de persona bajo mi supervisión, ruego tenga a bien prestar su colaboración para que la doctoranda pueda realizar dicha labor del modo más satisfactorio.

Murcia, a 10 de noviembre de 2011

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'Rafael Monroy Casas', written over a horizontal line.

Rafael Monroy Casas (Professor)  
University of Murcia  
(Murcia –Spain)

From: **Professor Clive Upton**

School of English  
University of Leeds  
Leeds LS2 9JT

Tel +44 (0)113 343 4740  
Fax +44 (0)113 343 4774  
Email [c.s.upton@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:c.s.upton@leeds.ac.uk)



28 October 2010

To whom it might concern

**Inmaculada Arboleda**

The above-named person is a doctoral student at the University of Murcia, Spain.

She is currently on attachment to the School of English at the University of Leeds, from where she is carrying out fieldwork to collect information on English forenames. This letter is written to introduce her to you, to confirm her bona fides as a linguistic researcher, and in hopes that you will be willing to help her in her work.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "C. Upton".

Clive Upton  
Professor of Modern English Language



**APPENDIX 1B**

- Victoria, Vicky or other vs. Victoria, Vicky or other

Victoria and its pet form Vicky have been chosen because they are both found in the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds. In other words, the two forms, Victoria and Vicky, in England have their cognates in Spanish. The full name and its pet form are very similar in terms of pronunciation (with the idiosyncratic phonetics of each language) and alike in spelling in the two countries. The spelling used for Vicky has been the most usual one, with <ck> and <y> (Dunkling, 1977). This pet form is made up of a shortened (<Vic> from Victoria) + lengthened (<y>) form, together with a change (addition of <k>).

- María, Maruja or other vs. Virginia, Ginger or other

These two groups of name forms are not cognates but they have been chosen due to their similarities in some senses. They are both female; María and Virginia are full names and they suggest the same meaning: ‘maiden’ or ‘virgin’; Maruja and Ginger are shortened + lengthened name forms (with a change in Ginger, with the addition of <g>) and they may put forward pejorative connotations: Maruja is a homonym of a Spanish word which means ‘gossip’, usually associated with low-educated housewives (Real Academia Española, 2011) and Ginger was “originally a nickname for someone with red hair” (Hanks et al., 2006, p. 111).

- Clementa, Clemen, Memen or other vs. Philippa, Phil, Pippa or other

These two groups of name forms are in tandem because they are both female; Clementa and Philippa are more usual in their masculine form (Tibón, 2002; Hanks et al., 2006); Clemen and Phil are shortened forms (from the initial part of the name) and Memen and Pippa are special shortened forms, having a mimetic or complete regressive distant assimilation (Espinosa-Meneses, 2001; Mott, 2011) in initial position where /kl/ (Clemen) and /f/ (Phippa) or /l/ (Lippa) completely assimilate to /m/ (Memen) and /p/ (Pippa), respectively. Espinosa-Meneses (2001) talks about the process of mimetism, by means of which the articulatory movements of a sound are spread to another sound, e.g. *Lulú* for *Lourdes* or *Lola* for *Dolores*.

- Francisco, Fran, Paco or other vs. William, Will, Bill or other

These groups of name forms resemble in that they are both groups of common male name forms (Tibón, 2002; Hanks et al., 2006); Francisco and William are full names; Fran and Will are shortened forms (from the initial part of the name) and they are commonly believed to be popular amongst the youngest generation; Paco and Bill are shortened + changed forms (with consonant change: /p/ instead of /f/ -together with the omission of /r/- for Paco –Francisco-Fraco- Paco- and /b/ for /w/ in the case of Bill –William-Will-Bill) and the commonly held view is that they are often preferred by the eldest. Although it makes sense that the pet form Paco derives from the full form Francisco (in fact, according to Albaigès, 1998, *Phranciscus* changed to *Phacus* and *Pacus* and from that we have the Spanish Paco), there exist other popular but less serious

theories. For instance, Saint Francis of Assisi was referred to as *Pater Comunitatus*, hence Pa-co. Nonetheless, the widespread illiteracy during the 12<sup>th</sup> century made it almost impossible to think of abbreviations. Another theory comes from the form Paquito, a malformation used by children still unable to pronounce the word correctly as a result of speech difficulty (from Francisco, Paquito) (El Potro, 2009).

- Norberto, Bertín or other vs. Philip, Pip or other

The points of resemblance found between these two groups are that they are both male and held by famous characters: the Spanish singer, actor and T.V. presenter Bertín Osborne and the main character, Pip Pirrip, in a Victorian novel written by Charles Dickens, *Great Expectations* (1861) (Hanks et al., 2006); Norberto and Philip are full names; Bertín and Pip are pet forms in which the /i/ vowel is present (either, as explained by Morera, 1991, within a suffix e.g. /in/ in Bertín or not e.g. Pip). There is a shortened +lengthened form in the case of Bertín (Norberto- Berto-Bertín) and shortened + changed form for Pip (Philip- Phip- Pip).

- Sara-Clara (English)

The pronunciation proposed to the participants in this study was /a:/ in the first syllable in both cases (thus, the difference only being /kl/ vs. /s/), by following Jones (2006) and after talking to several British people and consulting Wells (2000).

A friend from London knowledgeable in phonetics had said to me that, in her experience, Clara was more likely to rhyme with Sara and not with Sarah in that the typical pronunciation of the former was /a:/ and the latter was /eə/.

In their corresponding dictionaries recording a modern and broader version of RP: BBC pronunciation, Jones (2006) and Wells (2000) offer the /eə/ pronunciation for Sarah and both /ɑː/ and /eə/, in this order, for Sara. Jones (2006) qualifies:

When more than one pronunciation of a word is given, the order of the alternatives is important. The first pronunciation given is believed to be the most usual one although the distance between the alternatives may vary, with some alternant forms rivalling the first-given in perceived frequency while others may be a more distant second (p. vii).

The remarks provided by several respondents casted further light into the pre-questionnaire comments. Two 25-40 year-old informants (one woman and one man) as well as a middle-aged female, all of them with university studies, agreed with our friend from London in that, although they have heard Sara with /ɑː/ and /eə/ (similarly to Sarah) in the first syllable, their “instinct” would be to pronounce it with the former.

Something similar would occur in the case of Clara, according to the previous informants. They would pronounce it with /ɑː/. However, Upton embraces the following theory of what occurs in the case of Clara:

The pronunciation of Clara is a slightly different matter. /ɑː/ is an older pronunciation: it might be that *some* people still have this pronunciation applied, but it would be unusual nowadays. I'd associate it with Victorian times rather than with the present day, and it would, I believe, have been much the norm then. Today, to the extent that the name is used (and it isn't very frequently found now), by far the more normal pronunciation would be with /ɛː/ (or /eə/ in the more old-fashioned transcription favoured by my competitors), which results in many people using this pronunciation when reading older texts when /ɑː/ might be more appropriate. The order in which transcriptions appear in our dictionary doesn't indicate preferences or frequencies (Introduction, p.ix), though a user can feel safe using the first of any pair or group given. The title deliberately features the word *current*, hence the omission of /kɫɑːrə/ (above) (C. Upton, Personal Communication, November 7, 2012, emphasis in original).

Wells (2000) agrees with Upton in that he offers /ɛ:/ (or /eə/) as the main pronunciation for Clara but goes further by suggesting that /a:/ is used when employing Clara as a foreign name.

Besides, according to the friend from London, both Clara and Sara were uncommon nowadays. The spellings Sarah and Claire were the most typical spelling in the UK. In 1983 Claire was the top name together with Sarah (Hargreaves et al., 1983).

- Zoe-Chloe

Both are Greek in origin and are found frequently nowadays (Hanks et al., 2006)—especially Chloe, which is one of the names repeated in Arboleda (2015). They are a minimal pair in that the difference between them is the initial /z/ vs. /kl/.

- Ernestine

Both forms, e.g. *Georgine* and *Georgina*, *Josephina* and *Josephine*, etc. are used but one predominates. Thus, *Georgina* is more frequent than *Georgine* but *Josephine*, Ernestine, etc., are more usual than the forms ending in *-ina* (Besnard & Desplanques, 1987). That is why Ernestine has been chosen instead of *Ernestina* in English.

**APPENDIX 1C****Questionnaire (Spanish)**

Estimado/a Sr/a:

(Mi nombre es Inmaculada Arboleda. Soy licenciada en Filología Inglesa y estudiante de doctorado en la Universidad de Murcia)<sup>151</sup>. Estamos realizando una investigación sobre las reacciones de las personas ante nombres, hipocorísticos (formas familiares o afectivas como *Lola*, de *Dolores*) y apodos. Su colaboración es muy importante para que llevemos a cabo el estudio. Aunque el cuestionario está por escrito, se hará como entrevista. No hay respuestas correctas ya que hay preguntas sobre sus opiniones. Puede añadir todos los comentarios que quiera contestando dichas preguntas. Responderemos a todas las dudas que puedan surgir durante la entrevista. No llevará más de 10 minutos cumplimentarla y esperamos que le resulte amena pues se trata de un tema muy popular en nuestra vida diaria. El anonimato y confidencialidad están garantizados. Adjunto una carta de mi Director de tesis, el catedrático Rafael Monroy Casas, del Dpto de Filología Inglesa, Universidad de Murcia, en el que respalda mis intenciones investigadoras. Le reiteramos nuestro agradecimiento más sincero por su colaboración. Facilito mi dirección de correo y teléfono móvil a continuación en caso de que esté interesado en obtener más datos acerca de la investigación o conocer los resultados del estudio.

*Inmaculada Arboleda Guirao*  
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móvil: 676 89 31 21

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<sup>151</sup> When the interviewer was the author of this PhD thesis, the first sentence (between brackets) was also read.

**🚩 Marque y añada sus datos personales:**

**Sexo:** V  M

**Edad:**

25-40

41-60

61-80+

**Lugar usual de residencia:**

Murcia

Pedanías (Algezares, La Alberca, etc.)

**Origen**

-Español

- Español de Murcia y pedanías
- Español de fuera de Murcia y pedanías (por ej. Cataluña, Valencia, etc.)
- Español con padres extranjeros   
Explica brevemente (por ej., madre brasileña, padre irlandés):  
\_\_\_\_\_

-Otro origen

¿Cuál? \_\_\_\_\_

**Nivel educativo:**

Universitario

No universitario

**1. De cada grupo, marque o añada QUÉ NOMBRE PREFERIRÍA para llamar a un/a AMIGO/A de la misma EDAD que USTED.**

DE MUJER

A. a)Victoria b)Vicky c) Otro- ¿Cuál? \_\_\_\_\_

B. a)María b)Maruja c) Otro- ¿Cuál? \_\_\_\_\_

C. a)Clementa b)Clemen c)Memen d) Otro- ¿Cuál? \_\_\_\_\_

DE HOMBRE

A. a)Francisco b)Fran c)Paco d) Otro- ¿Cuál? \_\_\_\_\_

B. a)Norberto b)Bertín c) Otro- ¿Cuál? \_\_\_\_\_

**2. Marque si le GUSTA o DISGUSTA CADA UNO de estos NOMBRES basando su respuesta en el SONIDO:**

DE MUJER

A. Tania

SÍ

NO

B. Amanda

SÍ

NO

C. Vanessa

SÍ

NO



D. Rebeca

SÍ

NO

E. Lydia

SÍ

NO

F. Jénifer

SÍ

NO

G. Ana

SÍ

NO

H. Gloria

SÍ

NO

I. Sandra

SÍ

NO

J. Jéssica

SÍ

NO

## DE HOMBRE

A. Lucas

SÍ NO 

B. Christian

SÍ NO 

C. Rafael

SÍ NO 

D. Jónathan

SÍ NO 

E. Raúl

SÍ NO 

F. Luis

SÍ NO 

G. Alfredo

SÍ NO

H. Víctor

SÍ

NO

I. Leonardo

SÍ

NO

J. Óscar

SÍ

NO

**3. Marque si le resultan GRACIOSOS los siguientes NOMBRES basando su respuesta en el SONIDO:**

A. Cornelia

SÍ

NO

B. Crispín

SÍ

NO

**4. Para cada pareja, marque qué NOMBRE le GUSTA MÁS o si le DIS/GUSTAN AMBOS, basando su respuesta en el SONIDO:**

A. a) Antonella (nota: se pronuncia como en italiano: con dos “l” por separado)

b) Antonia

- c) Le gustan ambos
- d) Le disgustan ambos

B. a) Judit

- b) Judith (nota: la “th” suena como “z”)
- c) Le gustan ambos
- d) Le disgustan ambos

C. a) Sonia [n - i ]<sup>152</sup>

- b) Sofia [f - í ]
- c) Le gustan ambos
- d) Le disgustan ambos

Si es por algún SONIDO CONCRETO, rodeelo/s. Si es por el SONIDO del NOMBRE COMPLETO, rodee todo el nombre (ej. a) Juan [j - u]  
b) Iván [i- v])

D. a) Aida

- b) Aída
- c) Le gustan ambos
- d) Le disgustan ambos

**5. Para cada pareja, marque qué NOMBRE le GUSTA MÁS o si le DIS/GUSTAN AMBOS, basando su respuesta en el SONIDO:**

- A. a) Lorena
- b) Lorenza

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<sup>152</sup> A combination of phonology/spelling was used when referring to sounds in the metropolitan districts of Murcia and Leeds because most of the participants were not likely to be acquainted with phonetics and, when looking at the questionnaire, they would understand better what they had to do if using this combination.

- c) Le gustan ambos
- d) Le disgustan ambos

B. a) Marcelino

- b) Marcelo
- c) Le gustan ambos
- d) Le disgustan ambos

C. a) Sara

- b) Clara
- c) Le gustan ambos
- d) Le disgustan ambos

**6. Para cada pareja, marque qué NOMBRE le DISGUSTA MÁS o si le DIS/GUSTAN AMBOS, basando su respuesta en el SONIDO:  
¿Por qué? Marque A), B) o C)**

A

- a) Ramón    b) Ramona    c) Le gustan ambos    d) Le disgustan ambos

RAZONES A) vulgar B) cursi C) le gusta menos el sonido

B.

- a) Ernesto    b) Ernestina    c) Le gustan ambos    d) Le disgustan ambos

RAZONES A) vulgar B) cursi C) le gusta menos el sonido

C.

- a) Carlos    b) Carlota    c) Le gustan ambos    d) Le disgustan ambos

RAZONES A) vulgar B) cursi C) le gusta menos el sonido

D.

a) Miguel b) Micaela c) Le gustan ambos d) Le disgustan ambos

RAZONES A) vulgar B) cursi C) le gusta menos el sonido

Gracias por su colaboración



**Questionnaire (English)**

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Inmaculada Arboleda. I have a Bachelor's Degree in English Studies and I am currently a PhD student at the University of Murcia, Spain. We are carrying out a research project on the reactions of people to forenames, hypocorisms (familiar or affective forms such as *Lizzy*, from *Elizabeth*) and nicknames. Your collaboration is very important for us to be able to conduct the study. Although the questionnaire is written, it will be done as an interview. There are no correct answers as these are questions about your opinions. You can add all the comments you like answering those questions. We will answer any doubts that may arise during the interview. It will take no longer than 10 minutes to complete and we hope you will find it enjoyable as this is a very popular topic in everyday life. Anonymity and confidentiality will be guaranteed. A covering letter from my supervisor at the School of English, University of Leeds, Prof. Clive Upton, is attached, in which he endorses my credentials as a *bona fide* researcher. We reiterate our sincere thanks to you for your collaboration. Below my email account and mobile phone number are included in case you are interested in receiving further information about this research or in knowing the results of the study.

*Inmaculada Arboleda Guirao*

E-mail: [inma.arboleda@um.es](mailto:inma.arboleda@um.es)

Mobile phone number: 676 89 31 21

**🚩 Tick and add your personal data:****Gender:** M  F **Age:**25-40 41-60 61-80+ **Usual place of residence:**Leeds Towns belonging to Leeds (Otley, Calverley, etc.) **Origin**-English 

- English from Leeds and districts
- English from outside Leeds and districts (Newcastle, London, etc.)
- English with non-English relatives

Explain briefly (e.g. Brazilian mother, Irish father):  
\_\_\_\_\_-Other origin 

Which one? \_\_\_\_\_

**Level of education:**University Non-university



**1. From each group, tick or add WHICH NAME you WOULD PREFER to call a FRIEND of the same AGE as YOURSELF.**

FEMALE

A. a) Victoria b) Vicky c) Other- Which one? \_\_\_\_\_

B. a) Virginia b) Ginger c) Other- Which one? \_\_\_\_\_

C. a) Philippa b) Phil c) Pippa d) Other- Which one? \_\_\_\_\_

MALE

A. a) William b) Will c) Bill d) Other- Which one? \_\_\_\_\_

B. a) Philip b) Pip c) Other -Which one? \_\_\_\_\_

**2. Tick if you LIKE or DISLIKE EACH of these NAMES, basing your response on their SOUND:**

FEMALE

A. Tanya

YES

NO

B. Amanda

YES

NO

C. Vanessa

YES

NO

D. Rebecca

YES

NO

E. Lydia

YES

NO

F. Jennifer

YES

NO

G. Anna

YES

NO

H. Gloria

YES

NO

I. Sandra

YES

NO

J. Jessica

YES

NO

MALE

A. Lucas

YES

NO

B. Christian

YES

NO

C. Raphael

YES

NO

D. Jonathan

YES

NO

E. Raoul

YES

NO

F. Lewis

YES

NO

G. Alfred

YES

NO

H. Victor

YES

NO

I. Leonard

YES

NO

J. Oscar

SÍ

NO

**3. Tick whether you find these names FUNNY basing your response  
on their SOUND:**

A. Cornelia

YES

NO

B. Crispin

YES

NO

**4. For each pair, tick which NAME you LIKE MOST or whether you DIS/LIKE BOTH, basing your response on their SOUND:**

A. a) Antonella (note: it is pronounced as in Italian, with two individual “l”)

- b) Antonia
- c) Like both
- d) Dislike both

B. a) Judy

- b) Judith
- c) Like both
- d) Dislike both

C. a) Sonia [n - i ]

- b) Sophia [f - i ]
- c) Like both
- d) Dislike both

If you like it because of (A) PARTICULAR SOUND/S, encircle it/them.

If it is owing to THE SOUND OF THE COMPLETE NAME, encircle the whole name (e.g. a) Stephan [f- a] b) Steven [v- e])

**5. For each pair, tick which NAME you LIKE MOST or whether you DIS/LIKE BOTH, basing your response on their SOUND:**

A. a) Millie

- b) Mollie
- c) Like both
- d) Dislike both

- B. a) Sara  
 b) Clara  
 c) Like both  
 d) Dislike both

- C. a) Zoe  
 b) Chloe  
 c) Like both  
 d) Dislike both

**6. For each pair, tick which NAME you dislike MOST or whether you DIS/LIKE BOTH, basing your response on their SOUND: Why? Tick A), B) or C)**

A

- a) Ramone    b) Ramonaa    c) Like both    d) Dislike both

REASONS A) vulgar B) cheesy/twee C) dislike sound more

B.

- a) Ernest    b) Ernestine    c) Like both    d) Dislike both

REASONS A) vulgar B) cheesy/twee C) dislike sound more

C.

- a) Charles    b) Charlotte    c) Like both    d) Dislike both

REASONS A) vulgar B) cheesy/twee C) dislike sound more

D.

a) Michael    b) Michaela    c) Like both    d) Dislike both

REASONS A) vulgar    B) cheesy/twee    C) dislike sound more

Thanks for your collaboration







**APPENDIX 2:  
DATA ANALYSIS**

**A.** Detailed account of the variables (Spanish)

**B.** Detailed account of the variables (English)

**APPENDIX 2****A**

FILE: METROPOLITAN DISTRICT OF MURCIA

NAME	LABEL	VALUES	MEASURE	NUMBER OF QUESTION (QUESTIONNAIRE)
Case	Questionnaire number	None	Scale	
Gender	Gender	1= Male 2=Female	Nominal	Pre-question (body of socio-demographic and academic questions)
Orig	Origin	1=Spanish_city of Murcia/pedanía 2=Spanish but other origins in Spain (Catalonia, Valencia, etc.) 3=Hispanic American	Nominal	Pre-question (body of socio-demographic and academic questions)
Resid	Usual place of residence (within the metropolitan district)	1=City of Murcia 2=Pedanía	Nominal	Pre-question (body of socio-demographic and academic questions)

Age	Age	1=25-40 years old 2=41-60 years old 3=61-80+ years old	Ordinal	Pre-question (body of socio-demographic and academic questions)
Edu	Educational level	0=Non-university education 1=University education	Nominal	Pre-question (body of socio-demographic and academic questions)
Victoria_oth	Prefer (age)- Victoria, Vicky or other?	1=Victoria 2=Vicky 3=Other: Vic	Nominal	Question 1 (central body of questions)
María_oth	Prefer (age)-María, Maruja or other?	1=María 2=Maruja	Nominal	Question 1 (central body of questions)
Clementa_oth	Prefer (age)-Clementa, Clemen, Memen or other?	1=Clementa 2=Clemen 3=Memen 4=Other: Clem	Nominal	Question 1 (central body of questions)
Francisco_oth	Prefer (age)-Francisco, Fran, Paco or other?	1=Francisco 2=Fran 3=Paco 4=Other: Paquito	Nominal	Question 1 (central body of questions)

Norberto_oth	Prefer (age)-Norberto, Bertín or other?	1=Norberto 2=Bertín	Nominal	Question 1 (central body of questions)
Compl_shchalength_Vic	Full or shortened/changed/lengthened form? Sp_Victoria_other	1-Full name 2-Shortened/changed/lengthened form	Nominal	Question 1 (central body of questions)
Full_shchalength_Mar	Full or shortened/changed/lengthened form? Sp_María_other	1-Full name 2-Shortened/changed/lengthened form	Nominal	Question 1 (central body of questions)
Full_shchalength_Cl	Full or shortened/changed/lengthened form? Sp_Clementa_other	1-Full name 2-Shortened/changed/lengthened form	Nominal	Question 1 (central body of questions)
Full_shchalength_Fr	Full or shortened/changed/lengthened form? Sp_Francisco_other	1-Full name 2-Shortened/changed/lengthened form	Nominal	Question 1 (central body of questions)
Full_shchalength_Nor	Full or shortened/changed/lengthened form? Sp_Norberto_other	1-Full name 2-Shortened/changed/lengthened form	Nominal	Question 1 (central body of questions)
NL_Amanda	1 name_Sp_Like sound-Amanda?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of

				questions)
NL_Vanessa	1 name_Sp_Like sound-Vanessa?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Rebec	1 name_Sp_Like sound-Rebeca?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Lydia	1 name_Sp_Like sound-Lydia?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Jénnif	1 name_Sp_Like sound-Jénnifer?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Ana	1 name_Sp_Like sound-Ana?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Gloria	1 name_Sp_Like sound-Gloria?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Sandra	1 name_Sp_Like sound-Sandra?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Jéssica	1 name_Sp_Like sound-Jéssica?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)

NL_Lucas	1 name_Sp_Like sound-Lucas?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Christ	1 name_Sp_Like sound-Christian?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Rafael	1 name_Sp_Like sound-Rafael?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Jónath	1 name_Sp_Like sound-Jónathan?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Raúl	1 name_Sp_Like sound-Raúl?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Luis	1 name_Sp_Like sound-Luis?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Alfredo	1 name_Sp_Like sound_Alfredo?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Leon	1 name_Sp_Like sound_Leonardo?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Oscar	1 name_Sp_Like	1=No	Nominal	Question 2

	sound_Óscar?	2=Yes		(central body of questions)
Fun_Cornelia	Find_funny_Cornelia?Sp	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 3 (central body of questions)
Fun_Crispin	Find_funny_Crispín?Sp	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 3 (central body of questions)
V_Sound_Antone_oth	Versions-Like sound+_Antonella or Antonia?Sp	1=Antonella 2=Antonia 3=Like both 4=Dislike both	Nominal	Question 4 (central body of questions)
V_Sound_Judit_oth	Versions-Like sound+_Judit or Judith?Sp	1=Judit 2=Judith 3=Like both 4=Dislike both	Nominal	Question 4 (central body of questions)
V_Sound_Sonia_oth	Versions-Like sound+_Sonia or Sofía?Sp	1=Sonia 2=Sofía 3=Like both 4=Dislike both	Nominal	Question 4 (central body of questions)
V_Cp_Sonia_oth	V_like sound+_Sonia or Sofía-Complete name or a part?Sp	1=Complete_Sonia 2=Complete_Sofía 3=Part_Sonia 4=Part_Sofía 5=Complete_Sonia_Sofía	Nominal	Question 4 (central body of questions)



		6=Part_Sonia_Sofía 7=Complete_Sonia- Part_Sofía 8=Part_Sonia- Complete_Sofía		
V_Part_Sonia_oth	V_Like a particular sound- Sonia or Sofía?Sp	1=n <sup>153</sup> 2=i 3=f 4=í 5=n+f 6=n+í 7=f + i 8=i+í	Nominal	Question 4 (central body of questions)
V_Sound_Aida_oth	Versions-Like sound+_Aida or Aída?Sp	1=Aida 2=Aída 3=Like both 4=Dislike both	Nominal	Question 4 (central body of questions)
MP_Sound_Lorena_oth	Minimal pair-Like sound+_Lorena or Lorenza?Sp	1=Lorena 2=Lorenza 3=Like both 4=Dislike both	Nominal	Question 5 (central body of questions)
MP_Sound_Marcelino_oth	Minimal pair-Like	1=Marcelino	Nominal	Question 5

<sup>153</sup> Given that the statistical package did not allow for phonetic symbols, a combination of spelling/phonology was used for the data analysis in the two metropolitan districts.

	sound+_Marcelino or Marcelo?Sp	2=Marcelo 3=Like both 4=Dislike both		(central body of questions)
MP_Sound_Sara_oth	Minimal pair-Like sound+_Sara or Clara?Sp	1=Sara 2=Clara 3=Like both 4=Dislike both	Nominal	Question 5 (central body of questions)
G_Sound_Ramón_oth	M/F_Dislike sound+_Ramón or Ramona?Sp	1=Ramón 2=Ramona 3=Like both 4=Dislike both	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)
G_Reas_Ramón_oth	M/F_Reason dislike sound+_Ramón or Ramona-vulgar, cheesy/twee or simply dislike sound+?Sp	1=vulgar 2=cheesy/twee 3=dislike sound+	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)
Pejor1	M/F_Reason dislike sound+_Ramón or Ramona-pejorative or non-pejorative?Sp	0=Non-pejorative 1=Pejorative	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)
G_Sound_Ernesto_oth	M/F_Dislike sound+_Ernesto or Ernestina?Sp	1=Ernesto 2=Ernestina 3=Like both 4=Dislike both	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)
G_Reas_Ernesto_oth	M/F_Reason dislike sound+_Ernesto or Ernestina-	1=vulgar 2=cheesy/twee	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of

	vulgar, cheesy/twee or simply dislike sound+?Sp	3=dislike sound+		questions)
Pejor2	M/F_Reason dislike sound+_Ernesto or Ernestina-pejorative or non-pejorative?Sp	0=Non-pejorative 1=Pejorative	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)
G_Sound_Carlos_oth	M/F_Dislike sound+_Carlos or Carlota?Sp	1=Carlos 2=Carlota 3=Like both 4=Dislike both	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)
G_Reas_Carlos_oth	M/F_Reason dislike sound+_Carlos or Carlota-vulgar, cheesy/twee or simply dislike sound+?Sp	1=vulgar 2=cheesy/twee 3=dislike sound+	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)
Pejor3	M/F_Reason dislike sound+_Carlos or Carlota-pejorative or non-pejorative?Sp	0=Non-pejorative 1=Pejorative	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)
G_Sound_Miguel_oth	M/F_Dislike sound+_Miguel or Micaela?Sp	1=Miguel 2=Micaela 3=Like both 4=Dislike both	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)
G_Reas_Miguel_oth	M/F_Reason dislike sound+_Miguel or Micaela-vulgar, cheesy/twee or simply	1=vulgar 2=cheesy/twee 3=dislike sound+	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)

	dislike sound+?Sp			
Pejor4	M/F_Reason dislike sound+_Miguel or Micaela- pejorative or non- pejorative?Sp	0=Non-pejorative 1=Pejorative	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)

**B**

## FILE: METROPOLITAN DISTRICT OF LEEDS

NAME	LABEL	VALUES	MEASURE	NUMBER OF QUESTION (QUESTIONNAIRE)
Case	Questionnaire number	None	Scale	
Gender	Gender	1= Male 2=Female	Nominal	Pre-question (body of socio-demographic and academic questions)
Origin	Origin	1=English_city of Leeds/town belonging to Leeds 2=English but foreign relatives 3=Scottish 4=Polish 5=Irish	Nominal	Pre-question (body of socio-demographic and academic questions)
Eng_for_relat	Origin of relatives when foreign	1=Greek 2=Hispanic American 3=Spanish 4=Irish 5=Middle Eastern father +	Nominal	Pre-question (body of socio-demographic and academic questions)

		Austrian mother 6=German 7=Scottish		
Resid	Usual place of residence (within the metropolitan district)	1=City of Leeds 2=Town belonging to Leeds	Nominal	Pre-question (body of socio- demographic and academic questions)
Age	Age	1=25-40 years old 2=41-60 years old 3=61-80+ years old	Ordinal	Pre-question (body of socio- demographic and academic questions)
Edu	Educational level	0=Non-university education 1=University education	Nominal	Pre-question (body of socio- demographic and academic questions)
Victoria_oth	Prefer (age)- Victoria, Vicky or other?	1=Victoria 2=Vicky 3=Other: Vic	Nominal	Question 1 (central body of questions)
Virginia_oth	Prefer (age)-Virginia, Ginger or other?	1=Virginia 2=Ginger 3=Other: Gin	Nominal	Question 1 (central body of questions)

		4=Other: Ginny		
Philippa_oth	Prefer (age)-Philippa, Phil, Pippa or other?	1=Philippa 2=Phil 3=Pippa 4=Other: Philly	Nominal	Question 1 (central body of questions)
William_oth	Prefer (age)-William, Will, Bill or other?	1=William 2=Will 3=Bill		Question 1 (central body of questions)
Philip_oth	Prefer (age)- Philip, Pip or other?	1=Philip 2=Pip 3=Other: Phil		Question 1 (central body of questions)
Full_shvarlength_Vic	Full or shortened/changed/lengthened form? Eng_Victoria _other	1-Full name 2-Shortened/changed/lengthened form	Nominal	Question 1 (central body of questions)
Full_shvarlength_Vir	Full or shortened/changed/lengthened form? Eng_Virginia _other	1-Full name 2-Shortened/changed/lengthened form	Nominal	Question 1 (central body of questions)
Full_shvarlength_Phi	Full or shortened/changed/lengthened form? Eng_Philippa _other	1-Full name 2-Shortened/changed/lengthened form	Nominal	Question 1 (central body of questions)
Full_shvarlength_Will	Full or shortened/changed/lengthened	1-Full name 2-	Nominal	Question 1 (central body of

	form? Eng_William_other	Shortened/changed/lengthened form		questions)
Full_shvarlength_Phil	Full or shortened/changed/lengthened form? Eng_Philip_other	1-Full name 2- Shortened/changed/lengthened form	Nominal	Question 1 (central body of questions)
NL_Tanya	1 name_Eng_Like sound- Tanya?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Amanda	1 name_Eng_Like sound- Amanda?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Vanessa	1 name_Eng_Like sound- Vanessa?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Rebec	1 name_Eng_Like sound- Rebecca?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Lydia	1 name_Eng_Like sound- Lydia?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Jennif	1 name_Eng_Like sound- Jennifer?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Anna	1 name_Eng_Like sound-	1=No	Nominal	Question 2



	Anna?	2=Yes		(central body of questions)
NL_Gloria	1 name_Eng_Like sound-Gloria?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Sandra	1 name_Eng_Like sound-Sandra?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Jessica	1 name_Eng_Like sound-Jessica?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Lucas	1 name_Eng_Like sound-Lucas?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Christ	1 name_Eng_Like sound-Christian?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Raphael	1 name_Eng_Like sound-Raphael?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Jonath	1 name_Eng_Like sound-Jonathan?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Raoul	1 name_Eng_Like sound-Raoul?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of

				questions)
NL_Lewis	1 name_Eng_Like sound-Lewis?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Alfred	1 name_Eng_Like sound_Alfred?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Leon	1 name_Eng_Like sound_Leonard?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
NL_Oscar	1 name_Eng_Like sound_Oscar?	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 2 (central body of questions)
Fun_Cornelia	Find_funny_Cornelia?Eng	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 3 (central body of questions)
Fun_Crispin	Find_funny_Crispin?Eng	1=No 2=Yes	Nominal	Question 3 (central body of questions)
V_Sound_Antone_oth	Versions-Like sound+_Antonella or Antonia?Eng	1=Antonella 2=Antonia 3=Like both 4=Dislike both	Nominal	Question 4 (central body of questions)
V_Sound_Judy_oth	Versions-Like sound+_Judy or Judith?Eng	1=Judy 2=Judith	Nominal	Question 4 (central body of

		3=Like both 4=Dislike both		questions)
V_Sound_Sonia_oth	Versions-Like sound+_Sonia or Sophia?Eng	1=Sonia 2=Sophia 3=Like both 4=Dislike both	Nominal	Question 4 (central body of questions)
V_Cp_Sonia_oth	V_like sound+_Sonia or Sophia-Complete name or a part?Eng	1=Complete_Sonia 2=Complete_Sophia 3=Part_Sonia 4=Part_Sophia 5=Complete_Sonia_Sophia 6=Part_Sonia_Sophia 7=Complete_Sonia-Part_Sophia 8=Part_Sonia-Complete_Sophia	Nominal	Question 4 (central body of questions)
V_Part_Sonia_oth	V_Like a particular sound_Sonia or Sophia-Complete name or a part?Eng	1=n 2=i 3=f 4='i 5=n+f 6=n+'i 7=f + i	Nominal	Question 4 (central body of questions)

		8=i+'i		
MP_Sound_Millie_oth	Minimal pair-Like sound+_Millie or Mollie?Eng	1=Millie 2=Mollie 3=Like both 4=Dislike both	Nominal	Question 5 (central body of questions)
MP_Sound_Sara_oth	Minimal pair-Like sound+_Sara or Clara?Eng	1=Sara 2=Clara 3=Like both 4=Dislike both	Nominal	Question 5 (central body of questions)
MP_Sound_Zoe_oth	Minimal pair-Like sound+_Zoe or Chloe?Eng	1=Zoe 2=Chloe 3=Like both 4=Dislike both	Nominal	Question 5 (central body of questions)
G_Sound_Ramone_oth	M/F_Dislike sound+_Ramone or Ramona?Eng	1=Ramone 2=Ramona 3=Like both 4=Dislike both	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)
G_Reas_Ramone_oth	M/F_Reason dislike sound+_Ramone or Ramona-vulgar, cheesy/twee or simply dislike sound+?Eng	1=Vulgar 2=Cheesy/twee 3=Dislike sound+	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)
Pejor1	M/F_Reason dislike sound+_Ramone or Ramona-pejorative or non-pejorative?Eng	0=Non-pejorative 1=Pejorative	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)

G_Sound_ Ernest_oth	M/F_Dislike sound+_Ernest or Ernestine?Eng	1=Ernest 2=Ernestine 3=Like both 4=Dislike both	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)
G_Reas_ Ernest_oth	M/F_Reason dislike sound+_Ernest or Ernestine- vulgar, cheesy/twee or simply dislike sound+?Eng	1=Vulgar 2=Cheesy/twee 3=Dislike sound+	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)
Pejor2	M/F_Reason dislike sound+_Ernest or Ernestine- pejorative or non- pejorative?Eng	0=Non-pejorative 1=Pejorative	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)
G_Sound_ Charles_oth	M/F_Dislike sound+_Charles or Charlotte?Eng	1=Charles 2=Charlotte 3=Like both 4=Dislike both	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)
G_Reas_ Charles_oth	M/F_Reason dislike sound+_Charles or Charlotte- vulgar, cheesy/twee or simply dislike sound+?Eng	1=Vulgar 2=Cheesy/twee 3=Dislike sound+	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)
Pejor3	M/F_Reason dislike sound+_Charles or Charlotte- pejorative or non- pejorative?Eng	0=Non-pejorative 1=Pejorative	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)
G_Sound_ Michael_oth	M/F_Dislike sound+_Michael	1=Michael	Nominal	Question 6

Michael_oth	or Michaela?Eng	2=Michaela 3=Like both 4=Dislike both		(central body of questions)
G_Reas_ Michael_oth	M/F_Reason dislike sound+_Michael or Michaela -vulgar, cheesy/twee or simply dislike sound+?Eng	1=Vulgar 2=Cheesy/twee 3=Dislike sound+	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)
Pejor4	M/F_Reason dislike sound+_Michael or Michaela- pejorative or non- pejorative?Eng	0=Non-pejorative 1=Pejorative	Nominal	Question 6 (central body of questions)