

The Japanese Naming System

Morphology and Semantics of Individual Names

Anja Maria COLLAZO

Abstract

The present study analyses the morphological and semantic aspects of Japanese individual names and aims to provide a synchronic insight into the same naming system at two different points in time.

The first half is dedicated to the names of the common people in the 18th and 19th century. Therein, different name creation patterns are observed for male and female names. Male names employ productive onymic suffixes and are created according to a bipartite principle. Female names show prosodic restrictions, but also have complex inner structures. Furthermore, a low type-token-ratio is observed, indicating a high degree of uniqueness in the pre-modern naming system, possibly related to customs of name magic and name avoidance. Finally, a comparison of the different names types (childhood names, adulthood names and female names) shows that they are differentiated through morphological rather than semantic criteria.

The second part then aims to classify the contemporary Japanese naming system and explores the most popular names of the years 1990 to 2014. For these, a gender-specific usage of onymic affixation is observed, which indicates a formal naming system. At the same time, contemporary names also show varying degrees of semantic transparency, notably due to the influence of the logographic writing system, and a general tendency towards gender-specific usage of semantics, which is characteristic of a semantic naming system. Lastly, certain conventional patterns, in form of a prosodic restriction of female name length and possible gender-specific distribution of long vowels, are also noticed.

This leads to the overall conclusion, that due to its strong formal characteristics combined with distinct features of conventional and semantic systems, the Japanese naming system can be classified as a hybrid system.

Acknowledgments

When I embarked on the journey of studying Japanese onomastics, I did so out of pure personal fascination for these names, which seemed so different from those of my surroundings. By now, the same names have become deeply familiar companions, who came along all the way on a trip from Germany to France and finally to the city of Kyoto.

First of all, I want to thank my supervisor Dr. Yasushi Kawasaki for making this whole adventure possible and for being supportive and understanding even during the more complicated times.

I also express my gratitude to the members of the thesis committee, Dr. Masatake Dantsuji, who repeatedly gave critical feedback and offered advice on phonetic issues, Dr. Haruyuki Saito, who took a kind interest in my research topic and brought additional references to my attention, and Dr. Kazumi Taniguchi, for feedback from a different perspective and taking the time to point out those easily overlooked typos.

I am indebted to Dr. Damaris Nübling, who has taken the time to offer crucial advice in the initial stage of this project, thereby setting it on the right track.

Another person I'd like to thank is Dr. Hiroshi Kawaguchi for granting me access to the Danjuro-Database, which provided me with the actual raw material for analysis.

The members of Kawasaki laboratory have sacrificed many hours to correct my Japanese scripts. The friendly atmosphere and solidarity in this group made my time at Kyoto University one that I will look back on fondly.

Speaking of looking back, I also want to express my gratitude to my Master thesis supervisor Dr. Sakae Murakami-Giroux and my other former teachers at the department of Japanese studies at Strasbourg University. This thesis is built in many ways on what I have learned during my time there.

Finally, my family and friends back home have supported me over distance and sometimes even close-by. Thank you for simply being there.

Last but not least, home is where the heart is and I am forever grateful to my fiancé for accompanying me all these years and across half the globe.

1. INTRODUCTION	9
2. MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE AND NAME CREATION PATTERNS	13
2.1 INTRODUCTION: MORPHOLOGY IN LINGUISTICS AND ONOMASTICS.....	13
2.1.1 <i>The Morphology of Japanese names</i>	15
2.2 METHOD AND MATERIALS	18
2.2.1 <i>Sample area and sample period</i>	18
2.2.2 <i>Sample population size and name count</i>	19
2.3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	20
2.3.1 <i>Simplex male names</i>	20
2.3.2 <i>Lexeme distribution in complex male names</i>	21
2.3.2.1 Affixoids	23
2.3.2.2 Productivity	25
2.3.2.3 Onymic base and head	26
2.3.2.4 Complex name elements	26
2.3.2.5 Background of complex name elements	28
2.3.3 <i>Bithematic principle</i>	30
2.3.4 <i>Possible reasons for the high occurrence of complex names</i>	31
2.3.5 <i>Prosodic restrictions in female names: The bimoraic principle</i>	32
2.3.5.1 Reasons for the emergence of the bimoraic principle.....	33
2.3.6 <i>Reconstructing the inner structure of female names</i>	34
2.3.6.1 <i>Motio</i> and the correlation between male and female names	35
2.3.6.2 Reconstructed female names	35
2.3.7 <i>Complex inner structure of female names</i>	37
2.3.7.1 Difficult female name structure: The case of the element 'no'	38
2.3.7.2 Complex bimoraic female names	41
2.4 SUMMARY	43
3. NAMING CUSTOMS IN THE EDO PERIOD	44
3.1 INTRODUCTION: SUBTYPES OF PERSONAL NAMES AND NAMES AS SOCIAL MARKERS	44
3.1.1 <i>Name magic and polyonymy</i>	44
3.1.2 <i>Names as social markers</i>	47
3.1.3 <i>Life-Stage-Names</i>	48
3.2 METHOD AND MATERIALS	49
3.2.1 <i>Sample areas</i>	49
3.2.2 <i>Sample period</i>	51
3.2.3 <i>Sample population size and name records count</i>	51
3.3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	52
3.3.1 <i>Name frequency</i>	52
3.3.2 <i>Name magic as a reason for low token frequency</i>	54
3.3.3 <i>Name changes</i>	57
3.3.4 <i>Childhood names</i>	59
3.3.5 <i>Adulthood names</i>	61
3.3.6 <i>Female name changes</i>	63
3.3.6.1 Submerging of female identity	65
3.4 SUMMARY	67
4. SEMANTIC CHANGES AND NAME FIELDS	68
4.1 INTRODUCTION	68
4.2 METHOD AND MATERIALS	70
4.3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	71
4.3.1 <i>Name elements originating in ancient Japan</i>	71
4.3.1.1 The realm of nature.....	71
4.3.1.2 Auspicious abstracta and the sinicization of personal names	72

4.3.2 Name fields of the middle ages.....	73
4.3.2.1 Clan names field	73
4.3.2.2 Buddhist name field.....	73
4.3.2.3 Office Titles name field.....	73
4.3.2.4 Birth Order Names.....	74
4.3.3 Name fields of the Edo period.....	75
4.3.3.1 Unproductive name fields	75
4.3.3.2 The materialistic element ‘warehouse’	76
4.3.3.3 Productive name fields	77
4.3.3.4 Auspicious abstracta: Blurring semantic borders between name types.....	78
4.3.3.4.1 Reconstructed female etymologies	79
4.3.3.5 From natural concreta to auspicious abstracta	81
4.4 SUMMARY	83
5. CLASSIFICATION OF THE JAPANESE NAMING SYSTEM	84
5.1 INTRODUCTION: A TYPOLOGY OF NAMING SYSTEMS	84
5.1.1 <i>A criticism of Alford’s typology</i>	86
5.1.2 <i>The concepts of transparency and opacity in names</i>	88
5.2 METHOD AND MATERIALS	89
5.3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	90
5.3.1 <i>Lexeme distribution and onymic affixation</i>	90
5.3.2 <i>Gender-specificity expressed by onymic affixation</i>	95
5.3.3 <i>Individuality in a formal system</i>	97
5.3.4 <i>Name transparency in a logographic writing system</i>	98
5.3.5 <i>Gender-specific semantics</i>	102
5.3.5.1 Semantics in contemporary male names	102
5.3.5.2 Comparison of male and female semantics.....	103
5.3.6 <i>The conventional aspect of name length</i>	108
5.3.7 <i>From name creation to name creativity</i>	109
5.3.8 <i>Structure of the Japanese Onomasticon</i>	111
5.3.9 <i>A comparative look at the Japanese naming system</i>	113
5.3.9.1 The religious aspect: Influence of Buddhism and Christianity.....	113
5.3.9.2 The semantic aspect	114
5.3.9.3 Assimilation of foreign names	115
5.3.9.4 Name transmission	117
5.4 SUMMARY	118
6. CONCLUSION	119
APPENDIX	122
A. <i>Male names of the Edo period listed by decreasing prevalence</i>	122
B. <i>Female names of the Edo period listed by decreasing prevalence</i>	126
C. <i>Inner structure of male names of the Edo period</i>	128
D. <i>Name fields in male names of the Edo period</i>	133
E. <i>Reconstructed female names (Edo period)</i>	134
F. <i>Name fields in female names of the Edo period</i>	135
G. <i>Contemporary female names listed in decreasing order of prevalence</i>	136
H. <i>Contemporary male names listed in decreasing order of prevalence</i>	138
I. <i>Name fields in contemporary male names</i>	140
J. <i>Name fields in contemporary female names</i>	142
K. <i>Name elements shared by male and female contemporary names</i>	144
L. <i>Degrees of transparency and onymic suffixes in contemporary male names</i>	145
M. <i>Degrees of transparency and onymic affixes in contemporary female names</i>	147
REFERENCES	149

1. Introduction

Onomastics is the study of names. In the broadest sense, it is concerned with all different kinds of proper nouns, but place names (toponyms) and personal names (anthroponyms) have until recently drawn the most attention.

In particular personal names have since ancient times been the object of many philosophical and linguistic questions and the present study also places itself within the field of anthroponymy.

Anthroponyms are an omnipresent factor in human civilization and there is no society which does not name its members.¹ At the same time, personal names are closely related to social circumstances and reflect the mentality of the society that creates them (Debus 2012: 93 - 94). Names are attributed according to specific rules and customs related to name creation and the act of naming. Therefore, while being universal, they can nevertheless vary greatly depending on the society and time period in question.

For instance, name-givers will usually consider the well-being of the name-bearer when choosing a name, but the expression of this good-will can differ strongly according to the particular customs and beliefs of the community. Also, in many societies personal names are a status symbol and provide information on the name-bearer's place (Anderson 2007: 99). The act of naming is often a ceremonial act and a privilege given to socially high-ranked individuals (Alford 1987: 36; Debus 2012: 11; 大藤 2012: 23, 78).

Onomastics is a vast, interdisciplinary research area and a comprehensive account concerning the many aspects of this field of study can be found in the *International Handbook of Onomastics* (Eichler et al. 1995).²

¹ Only children sometimes remain nameless for a certain amount of time (Alford 1987: 33 – 34; Anderson 2007:107; Nübling (2012: 18).

² For a more general introduction and history of onomastics see Anderson (2007), Nübling et al. (2012) and Debus (2012).

The present study explores Japanese anthroponyms. More precisely, we analyze the individual part of a person's name, as opposed to family or clan names. Herein, we therefore employ the term **individual name**.³

Japanese onomastics have a long tradition, albeit with a focus on toponyms as well as family names (Kagami 1995). Individual names have been researched more sporadically. Much of the existing research has been undertaken by historians and anthropologists and is dedicated to the social dimension, concerning the different traditional and regional naming customs. As far as linguistic topics are concerned, the focus has been on semantic analyses. Tsunoda (2006)⁴ is the major reference on the diachronic evolution of Japanese female names. The development of clan and family names is detailed in Sakata (2006: 20 - 60), while Ōtō (2012) offers a general overview of the most recent state of research. The majority of works in Japanese onomastics is exclusively available in Japanese and while we try to summarize the parts relevant to our subject, there is much which cannot be covered here. The English-speaking reader should refer to Plutschow (1995) for an analysis of the functions historically occupied by names in Japanese society.

A naming system and its consequent evolution can be analyzed from different perspectives and the present study is primarily a linguistic one. It explores Japanese individual names from a morphological as well as a semantic point of view, while referencing the social circumstances as far as possible.

For this analysis we employ two datasets covering two different time periods. The first dataset consists of pre-modern names used in the 18th and 19th century. The second dataset covers the most popular contemporary names from the years 1990 to 2014. Since the sample period is too short to uncover diachronic evolutions,

³ Personal names can be divided into individual names (個人名) and collective names (集団名) such as family names. The individual name is a name that refers to an individual as opposed to a name that refers to a group of individuals, e.g. a family or a clan (Debus 2012:27; Van Langendonck 2007:259; 上野 2006:5; Oelkers 2003:33).

⁴ This research was first published in three parts in 1980, 1987 and 1988. Here we reference the new edition.

this study primarily aims to provide a synchronic insight into the same naming system at two different points in time.

Due to the already interdisciplinary nature of the field of Onomastics, coinciding here with the broad field of Japanology, the decision was made to write this thesis in English, in order to be more easily accessible to non-Japanese-speaking onomasticians. At the same time, we added explanations of some basic concepts for non-linguistically trained Japanologists.

Furthermore, the long history of onomastics and the fact that it has been undertaken by specialists of many different fields has led to a myriad of terminologies, which, as Anderson (2007: 73) puts it, still “need to be disentangled”. The Japanese terminology also has not yet been standardized. In this work we have made an effort to use established terminology. If we were unaware of an English term, we created new terms corresponding to existing German and Japanese terminology. We added a reference to these whenever possible.

In the case of Japan, the power and symbolism of names was institutionalized early on and used by the emerging ruling classes as a status symbol after the 8th century (阿部 1960: 170). Pre-modern Japan was a class society and the usage of names was strongly linked to social hierarchy (坂田 2006: 64). A prominent manifestation of this fact is that the use of family names was restricted to the higher social classes (山口 1992). More detailed explanations on the different issues concerning the Japanese naming system are found at the beginning of each specific chapter. In the following is listed a brief overview of the structure of this work.

The first part of this study is dedicated to the analysis of pre-modern names. Therein, chapter 2 contains a morphological analysis of the name structures and our main concern is to uncover systematic creation patterns.

Chapter 3 places the same names within their social framework and adds information on naming customs of the period. As stated, anthroponyms are closely related to social customs, since names are attributed by the members of a society,

who are influenced by the latter's structure and norms. In this part, we focus on the type and token frequency and different kinds of names in a polyonymic society.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to a semantic analysis. Here, we take into account the semantics uncovered by prior research and compare which significations can be observed in the names in our sample. This chapter addresses the correlation between semantic fields and name types, which was observed in past research, but which we cannot confirm for our sample period.

Finally, chapter 5 crosses over to contemporary times. The main aim of this section is to classify the contemporary naming system. We analyze the names' morphological structures as well as their semantics. Furthermore, we address the influence of the logographic writing system on name transparency and investigate the usage of gender-specific semantics.

This study concludes with a comparison of the naming systems of the past and present and a brief comparative look at the German naming system.

2. Morphological structure and name creation patterns

In the following introduction we first present the basic concepts of linguistic morphology and explain how these relate to the study of anthroponyms, which are linguistic signs, but often function differently from words of other lexical categories. In a second part, we briefly introduce how past research has addressed the issue of the morphology of Japanese personal names.

2.1 *Introduction: morphology in linguistics and onomastics*

In linguistics, morphology is the study of the internal structure of words and aims to uncover the underlying patterns or rules according to which new words, i.e. lexemes, are created in a language system (Booij 2012: 4,6; Lieber 2010: 2). The two main concerns of morphology are inflection and word-formation (語形成). In this chapter we will focus on the latter, i.e. the morphological domain of **word-formation** or more precisely **name-formation**.

Words have an “internal constituent structure”. Some words are simplex words (単純語), which have only one constituent. Most words in a language, however, are made up of several constituents and are therefore called complex words (合成語) (Booij 2012: 4, 7; Lieber 2010: 4).

These constituents of words are called morphemes (形態素), but the constituents of names are usually called **name elements**⁵ (Nübling et al. 2012: 55). Therefore, complex words are also referred to as polymorphemic words, while names are classified according to their number of constituents as **monothematic**, **bithematic** / **bipartite** or **tripartite**.⁶

Linguistic research has devoted much attention to the etymologies, i.e. the semantic origin of names (Van Langendonck 2007: 269), while their morphosyntax

⁵ *Namenelement, Namenglied*

⁶ *Eingliedrig / einstämmig, zweigliedrig / zweistämmig* etc.

has been less studied (Anderson 2007: 75, 84; Van Langendonck 2007: 272). Names also have a distinctive internal structure, which varies between language systems. Diachronically within the same language, name creation patterns evolve and change, just as the language itself and the surrounding society to which they are closely linked.

Lipka (2000: 198) dedicates an article to the “neglected field” of name formation, in which he points out that “names are involved and combined with many productive word-formation, metonymic and metaphoric processes”, which result in a “variety of morphological structures.”

To illustrate, Indo-European names are an example of anthroponyms whose structure has been well studied. They “seem to share common structural principles” (Anderson 2007: 88; Schramm 2013; Stüber et al. 2009: 26) and are generally classified into bithematic and monothematic names, depending on the number of elements they are composed of (Anderson 2007: 88; Debus 2012: 82 - 83; Nübling et al. 2012: 111; Oelkers 2003: 46; Schramm 2013: 16, 26).

The total of words and expressions in a language is called the lexicon (一般語彙) (Booij 2012: 17). Likewise, the total of names in a language is called **onomasticon** (名称語彙) (Nübling et al. 2012: 17; 鏡味 2007: 5). The onomasticon offers a “pool of names” from which language users can choose (Anderson 2007: 86, 105). The different lexemes in the lexicon can be classified into lexical categories (語彙範疇), such as nouns or verbs, but also determiners or pronouns and so forth.

Anthroponyms are a subcategory of proper nouns (固有名詞) and usually originate in common nouns (一般名詞) (Debus 2012: 12, 31; Nübling et al. 2012: 14). Conversion (轉成) frequently occurs from common noun to proper noun and the process of turning a common noun into a name is called **onymization** (名称化) (Nübling et al. 2012: 16, 50). A lexeme “receives an onomastic function” through the act of naming (Van Langendonck 2007: 272).

Some of the lexical categories are open, which means that new lexemes can be added to them. Other categories are closed and do not allow for new lexemes to be added. Common and proper nouns usually form an open category.

If the subcategory of anthroponyms constitutes an open category, **new names**, “which previously were not or only rarely used in the language community in question” (Oelkers 2003: 34), can be added to it. Such new names are created according to the aforementioned “various productive word-formation processes”, such as compounding and derivation, but also clipping (短縮) or blending (混成) (Blanár 1993: 47; Lipka 2000: 200).

In this chapter we analyze the processes of name creation by means of which new names are added to the Japanese onomasticon.

2.1.1 The Morphology of Japanese names

Japanese is classified as an agglutinating language (膠着言語), due to its highly complex morphological system. However, research in Japanese morphology has focused in particular on verb inflections, verb compounds and the different grammatical particles. The morphology of nouns, common or proper, has so far not gathered a lot of attention (影山 2011; 森岡 and 山口 1985), possibly because these stand out less in comparison to the above mentioned issues, which differentiate Japanese very strongly from English.

Concerning anthroponyms we are unaware of a detailed morphological analysis of their internal structure. Past research has focused primarily on semantics and we take a closer look at these classifications in chapter 4. Here, we give a brief overview of existing studies and how morphological aspects of names figure in them.

First of all, Morioka and Yamaguchi (1985) tackle the task of laying the foundation for “a scientific study of naming” (「命名の科学の誕生」). While this is one of the few works written from a linguistic perspective, Morioka’s definition of

“names” (名) encompasses all nouns, common as well as proper. The consequent issue of “naming” is therefore also defined very broadly as including everything from the basic word formation processes used to create complex words in the general lexicon to the actual coinage of specific proper nouns. This work touches on general linguistic topics such as loanwords and lexical strata as well as very specific subjects such as brand names of pharmaceutical products. As far as anthroponyms are concerned, a chapter is dedicated to contemporary nicknames. Other individual names are addressed rather briefly in two subchapters with the main focus being the motivations behind name choices (森岡 and 山口 1985: 61 - 70).

Sakata (2000: 31, 53) points out that despite the potential of anthroponyms to be a key to understanding the functioning and structure of societies in the past, only a few studies in the field of Japanese history have taken personal names into account. He proceeds to fill this gap and analyzes the individual and group names used by villagers from the 13th century to the end of the 16th century. While he recognizes that individual names are made up of different elements, his classification is primarily based on semantics.

Seta (2000), who has analyzed the names of boys born between the 15th and 17th century, states that research in anthropology prior to his work has concentrated on name attribution ceremonies and his study is the first to look at the actual “content” (「中身」) of the names (瀬田 2000: 208). Seta is in particular interested in name elements derived from plants and his consequent classification of names is also a semantic one. He does not elaborate on the morphological structure beyond the fact that many names are a “combination” (「組み合わせ」) of more than one element (瀬田 2000: 214).

In his classification of female names from the 8th to the 17th century, linuma (飯沼 1987: 45) includes certain morphological criteria, concerning the usage of the element *ko* (子 ‘child’), but the main focus of his analysis is again the semantic aspect.

Finally, Abe (1960: 150) analyses the individual names of villagers in the year 702 and points out that all female names end on the same element *me* (女 ‘female’). Likewise, Tsunoda (2006), in his tremendous work on the changes of female names throughout history, identifies recurring elements at the end of names and uses them as a basis for his classification. These studies explicitly recognize recurring patterns in name creation and the existence of name elements confined to the “name ending” (「語尾」). However, the criteria for Tsunoda’s classification are not always apparent. It is not clear why some elements are singled out, whether they are particularly productive or restricted to the name ending or if there is another reason. Also, sometimes semantic and morphological aspects are mixed.⁷ Still, this is an indication of the existence of name creation rules beyond a straightforward compounding of two or more elements.

To our knowledge, an analysis of the systematic patterns according to which Japanese names can be created has not yet been undertaken. Neither has the question of the resulting internal name structure been addressed. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is the uncovering of name formation patterns⁸ (Debus 2012: 19; Oelkers 2003: 46) in order to formulate what Sonderegger (1997: 5) calls “principles of personal naming”⁹ befitting the Japanese naming system. This is the first time the structure of individual names is analyzed based on general morphological theory and we hope to contribute to comparative onomastic research through the identifying of name creation patterns in pre-modern Japanese names.

⁷ For example, the name Kameai-Gozen 亀愛御前 (‘turtle’ + ‘love’ + honorific suffix) is listed under “names derived from animals / plants”, while Kameyashame 亀夜叉女 (‘turtle’ + ‘Yaksha’ + ‘woman’) is listed under “names including the element *Yaksha*” (Tsunoda 2006:163, 185).

⁸ *Namenbildungstypen, Namenbautypen*

⁹ „Prinzipien der Personennamengebung”. Sonderegger (1997) defines these for Germanic names.

2.2 Method and materials

In order to analyze the creation patterns of Japanese individual names, we have used a collection of names from the second half of the Edo period (1603-1868).

The names were extracted from population registers, which were compiled yearly for every village. These documents record the village inhabitants structured into family units with a patriarch at its center and all other family members are listed in function of their relationship to the household chief. Significant events for each individual are noted in the year they happened, which includes birth, marriage, adoption, moving or death as well as name changes. The data from several population registers covering a longer period of time allows us to access information on changes in a village's population and events during an individual's lifetime. For the present study, these documents enabled us to obtain a large number of individual name records and retrace name changes of individuals as well as general occurrences of specific name types throughout the sample period. For further general information on the population registers of the Edo period see Cornell and Hayami (1986).

The documents from which we have compiled our dataset were digitalized and published in the "Database System for Demographic Analysis (DANJURO ver.5.0)".¹⁰

2.2.1 Sample area and sample period

The Edo dataset covers three distinct areas for which the population registers were compiled, i.e. it is made up of 3 subsets. These areas are 4 villages in what is today's Fukushima prefecture (subset Edo **F**), 2 villages in today's city of Kobe (subset Edo **K**) and 1 village in today's city of Tokyo (subset Edo **T**).

The sample areas were chosen because, to our knowledge, they have not yet been the object of onomastic analysis. Due to the restricted area, the results

¹⁰ Jp. 「江戸時代における人口分析システム (DANJURO ver.5.0)」, accessible at <http://kawaguchi.tezukayama-u.ac.jp/index.html>

obtained here cannot be generalized indiscriminately. However, similarities found between these geographically distant areas may indicate certain generalities found in the whole language community.

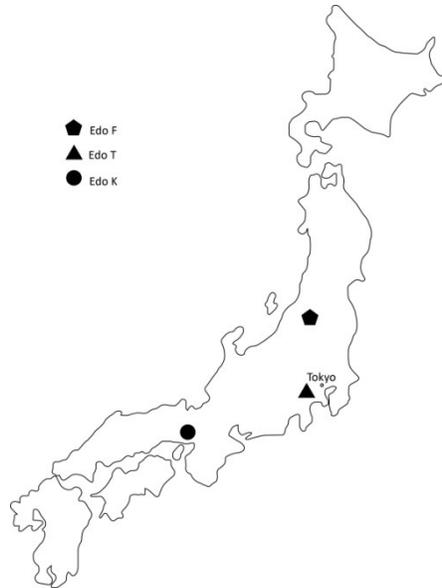


Figure 1 Map showing sample areas

The sample period covers the years 1750 to 1868, which corresponds to the second half of the Edo period (1603 - 1868).

2.2.2 Sample population size and name count

The number of individual persons is not identical to the total number of name records due to two reasons. Firstly, throughout the sample period many people changed their names at least once. That is to say, a single person may and often did use more than one name throughout his or her lifetime. Secondly, in many cases the individual name of some people, in particular women, is replaced by a generic kinship term at some point, often due to marriage or retirement. We have removed these kinship terms from the dataset, because their structure does not reflect the morphological patterns in name creation.

In table 1 are listed the precise counts for the village population and the number of name records, as unique types as well as in total (i.e. including repeated types born by several individuals). The complete sample is listed in appendix A and B.

Table 1 Number of name records and population

	Edo F	Edo K	Edo T	Total Edo dataset
Male names (types)	1244	909	432	1852
Male names (total)	2422	1945	757	5124
Male population	1048	1078	562	2688
Female names (types)	296	333	195	493
Female names (total)	1104	1325	737	3166
Female population	997	1146	621	2764

2.3 Results and discussion

First of all, looking at the individual names in our sample, their most striking feature is the huge difference in length as well as in graphematic representation between male and female names. In the following, we therefore find it useful to look at each gender separately.

2.3.1 Simplex male names

In order to analyze the structure of male names we first considered the name length. Male names in our dataset are recorded in ideographic characters (called kanji 漢字). Since this writing system is logographic (Lieber 2010: 29), in most cases, each character, i.e. each grapheme, represents a concept. Hence, most of them are

free morphemes and able to stand on their own. The name length therefore gives us a first indication of the complexity of a name's structure. We assume here that, the more ideograms a name is made of, the more complex is its structure. However, there may be very long simplex names made up of several characters and the detailed internal construction of complex names also requires subsequent analysis.

Names which include one element are simplicia (Debus 2012: 34; Koß 2002: 16) or simplex names. We discern that all names consisting of only one ideogram are indeed simplex names, but their overall number is very low. Some examples of these names are listed in table 2. Subset Edo F shows 24 types, Edo K shows 4 types and Edo T does not list a single name of this type.

Table 2 Examples of simplex male names

Ichi 市	Matsu 松	Roku 六	Mune 宗	Tamaki 環	Asa 麻	Hachi 八	Tome とめ(留)	Kichi 吉	Kimi きみ(君)
Tora 虎	Tami 民	Hiko 彦	Tsune 常	Tomo 友	Sen 千	Kame 亀	Tori とり(鳥)	Nao 直	Tomi とみ(富)

2.3.2 Lexeme distribution in complex male names

In the following we will analyze the longer names, made up of two or more ideograms.

In our dataset, we can observe recurring characters and character combinations in particular at the end of names. We therefore counted and compared the number of different elements occurring at the beginning and at the end of names. Depending on the subsets there seem to be varying levels of diversity, but it is clear that the ideograms used at the beginning of names show a high diversity, with a majority being used only once. For instance, in subset Edo K, 45 different ideograms occur only once at a name's beginning.

The ideograms occurring at the end of names show much less diversity. In subset Edo K a majority is used in more than twenty name types. In every subset the

twenty most frequent endings cover 86% - 87% of all names, and in subset Edo T only 13 different endings are needed to cover 89% of all names.

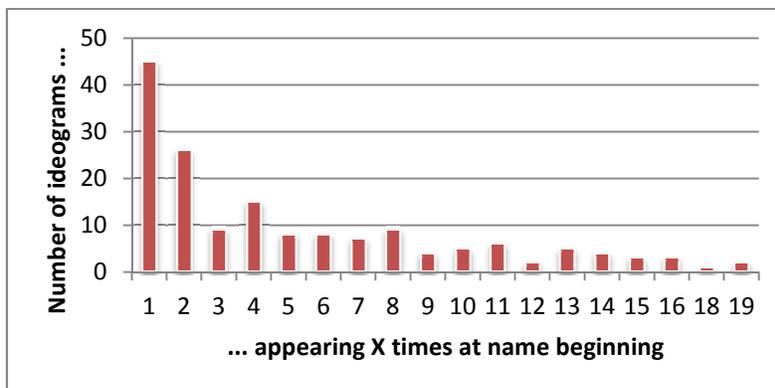


Figure 2 Ideograms occurring at the beginning of male names (Edo K)

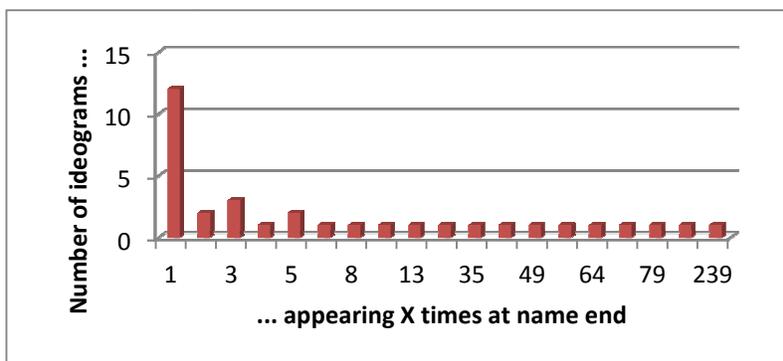


Figure 3 Ideograms occurring at the end of male names (Edo K)

These results show clearly that the possible choices of elements occurring at the end of names are limited. This allows us to formulate a principle, which Sonderegger (1997: 16 - 17) calls the “principle of unequal lexeme distribution”.¹¹ This principle signifies that the possible choices of name elements for the initial and final name part are not equal. In the case of Japanese male names, the final name part is placed under restrictions.¹²

¹¹ “Ungleiches Verteilungsprinzip der Lexeme”

¹² The restrictions themselves are not precisely the same as those Sonderegger articulates for Germanic names, the latter being the actual concern of his article. For Germanic names, the final element may not begin with a vowel, e.g. these are phonological restrictions. As a side note, it may

2.3.2.1 Affixoids

In this section we will analyze more precisely which name elements appear at the name end and whether these occur also at the beginning of names or are used exclusively at the name ending.

In name creation some name elements are limited to a particular position and those elements that show particularly strong restrictions are consequently classified as onymic affixes (名称接辞).¹³ Some affixes are used exclusively in names (Debus 2012: 36; Koß 2002: 58).

For each name element that occurs at least once at the end of a name, we compared the number of total occurrences at the beginning and the end. This comparison shows that only a few name elements are strongly restricted to the name ending. Some are mobile and occur in both positions. Some are more common in the beginning of names, while occurring sporadically at the end.

Figure 4 shows which elements are popular at name beginning (vertical axis) or name end (horizontal axis) (referred to hereafter as “prefix” or “suffix” for the sake of conciseness). The numbers of times each element appeared as prefix or suffix were measured. The popularity of elements as prefix or suffix was then normalized by dividing the counts by their mean values for all elements. The formula to calculate the popularity of *element_i* (among *n* elements) as suffix for instance then read:

$$P_{suffix}(element_i) = \frac{count(element_i, suffix) \times n}{\sum_k^n count(element_k, suffix)}$$

This allowed to account for the difference between absolute counts and relative popularity (i.e. comparatively, 10 counts may be a low value at name end, whereas it could represent the value obtained for a “popular” element at name beginning). In Figure 4, the differential popularity of elements as prefix or suffix is visualized by their position on the plot. The red line represents equal popularity as prefix and

not be a coincidence that in both the Japanese and the Germanic names restrictions are placed on the second name element.

¹³ Cf. Nübling (2012: 112) for examples of onymic suffixes in German names.

suffix, while the orange and blue lines delineate the regions of the plot in which popularity as prefix or suffix differ by a factor 2 and 5 respectively. Elements whose popularity was low both as prefix and suffix ($P_{\text{suffix}}(\text{element}_i) < 0.5$ and $P_{\text{prefix}}(\text{element}_i) < 0.5$) were omitted.

Figure 4 shows many elements overlapping due to their equal popularity at the name beginning, which reflects the diversity of elements used in this position. At the same time, the elements occurring frequently at the end of names are clearly discernible and do not overlap.

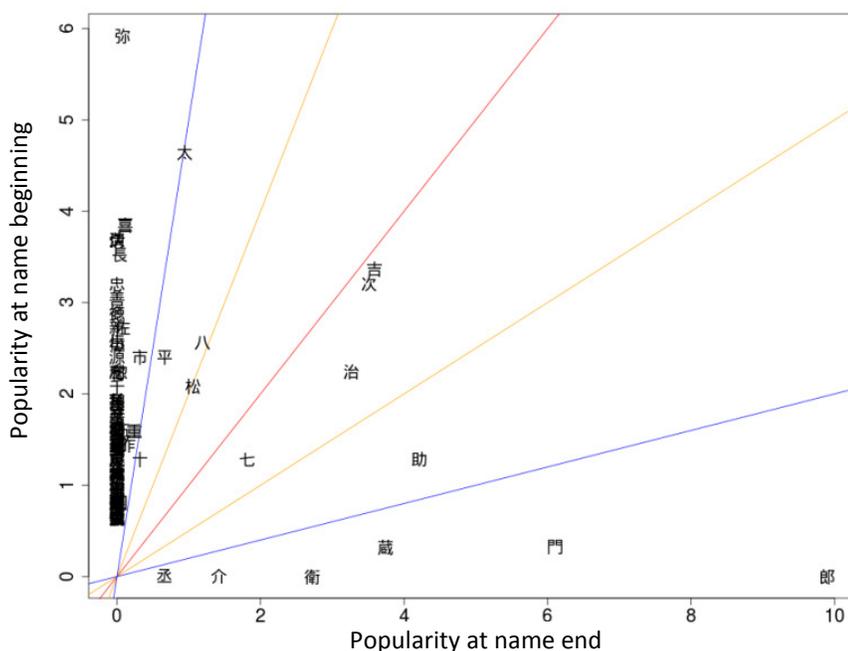


Figure 4 Occurrences of ideograms at beginning and end of male names (Edo F)

Most affixes are suspected to originate in free morphemes and free morphemes which in the process of word or name creation behave like affixes are called affixoids (Booij 2012: 88; Debus 2012: 34 - 36). Those elements which in our sample are effectively limited to the final position can be considered **affixoids** or more precisely **suffixoids**. Based on their number of occurrences in either position (cf. table 3), we classify the following elements as suffixoids:

–*saemon* 左衛門, –*uemon* 右衛門, –*hei* / –*bei* 兵衛, –*zō* 藏 and –*suke* 助.

Table 3 Suffixoids in Edo F

Element	Total occurrences at name end (types / tokens)	Occurrences at name beginning
<i>uemon</i> 右衛門	101 / 237	0
<i>hei / bei</i> 兵衛	69 / 163	0
<i>saemon</i> 左衛門	53 / 137	0
<i>zō</i> 蔵	95 / 206	2
<i>suke</i> 助	108 / 239	9

2.3.2.2 Productivity

Among the different morphological patterns some are **productive**. That is to say, they are used by the language community to coin new words. Other patterns become **unproductive** over time (Booij 2012: 18, 70 - 73, 235; Lieber 2010: 61 - 67; Lipka 2000: 195).

Productivity is an important criterion for the classification of a name element as an affix (Nübling et al. 2012: 76). The type-token-ratio indicates productivity, because a productive suffix will create new words on a continuous basis and in a certain time after the initial word-formation, before the new lexeme becomes part of the general lexicon used by the whole language community, the type-token-relationship will be low.

A word with a type-token-ratio of one is called a **hapax**. A productive onymic suffix should therefore also appear in a number of hapax names. All elements we have singled out show a certain number of hapaxes, which confirms our classification.

Among productive suffixes, the degree of productivity also varies. The higher the number of hapaxes the higher the productivity (Lieber 2010: 67). The degree of productivity is calculated by dividing the number of hapaxes with the total number of tokens (Booij 2012: 72). We compared the type-token-relationship and calculated the productivity for each element. This shows us that *-zō* and *-suke* have the

highest productivities, while *–saemon* is in fact much less productive than *–uemon* despite their visible similarity.

Table 4 Productivity of suffixoids in Edo F

Element	Total occurrences in final position (types / tokens)	Hapaxes	Productivity measure (hapaxes/tokens)
zō 蔵	95 / 206	55	55 / 206 = 0.2669
suke 助	108 / 239	57	57 / 239 = 0.2384
uemon 右衛門	101 / 237	48	48 / 237 = 0.2025
hei / bei 兵衛	69 / 163	31	31 / 163 = 0.19
saemon 左衛門	53 / 137	17	17 / 137 = 0.12

2.3.2.3 Onymic base and head

Since the final position of the name bears the stronger restrictions and the elements appearing at the name end can be classified as suffixoids, we propose to designate the name beginning as the onymic base or onymic core (語基) of the name, while the end corresponds to the position of the onymic head. **Base** and **head** (主要部) are again morphological notions. The head indicates what category, lexical or semantic, a lexeme belongs to (Booij 2012: 55; Lieber 2010: 46). A suffix can turn a verb into a noun or into an adjective, i.e. the suffix is the head of the resulting lexeme. An **onymic suffix** in turn is a suffix used to create personal names. The base is the “central bit” or the actual “semantic core” of the word to which affixes are attached (Lieber 2010: 32 - 33).

2.3.2.4 Complex name elements

Most name elements in our sample are monomorphemic or simplex. In this subsection we want to analyze those name elements which stand out because they seem to be polymorphemic and consider the reasons behind their emergence.

A single morpheme can constitute a single name element, but a name element may not always correspond to a single morpheme.

It has been pointed out that anthroponyms can behave differently from other compounds (Anderson 2007: 89, 91; Debus 2012: 34 - 35; Schramm 2013: 38 - 39).

To correctly reflect the inner structure of the names in our dataset, we refer to Anderson's (2007: 90 - 91) distinction between normal lexical compounds as created by the language-specific morphological system and **onomastic compounds** which are in turn created by an **onomastic system**. If names are created according to an onomastic system, which operates separately from the standard morphological system, a name can be derived from an already compounded lexeme.

Many male names in our dataset include what seems to be a single name element made up of several morphemes, i.e. a single name element derived from a complex lexeme. We propose to consider this kind of name element as a single polymorphemic name element, rather than several distinct name elements. The structure of the resulting name can then be analyzed as two-fold, on a lexical layer and an onymic layer.

As examples of polymorphemic name elements, the two recurring elements *uemon* (右衛門) and *saemon* (左衛門) can be given. From a morphological point of view, these are clearly made up of three morphemes respectively. Yet, in the names in our sample, these morphemes do not occur on their own, but always in the same combination. Therefore, from an onomastic point of view, we tend to consider each as a single name element.

Neither element is used on its own, i.e. all names including them are complex. However, we consider them to be complex names made up of two elements rather than four.

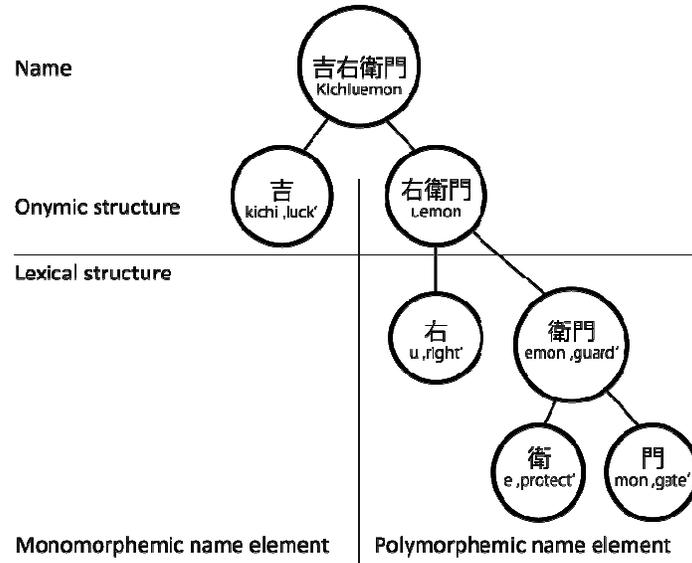


Figure 5 Internal structure of the male name Kichiuemon

Another example of polymorphemic name elements observed in our sample are lexemes expressing birth order, as tarō 太郎, gorō 五郎 and jūrō 十郎, which are called **Birth Order Names** (排行名). Our sample includes a large number of birth order names ranging from firstborn to twelfth-born. Each of them has the same structure of two morphemes with the first indicating the birth order and the second being rō '(young) man'. This latter element rō is almost never used on its own, so in our sample period it can be considered a suffixoid. The former elements are often numerals (数詞) and are also used without rō. When occurring together, they behave like a single name element. We believe that in this case, the lexemes signifying firstborn, second-born etc. were lexicalized first and then used as name elements on one hand, while numerals are also used on their own as separate name elements. A further diachronic analysis is needed to detail this issue.

2.3.2.5 Background of complex name elements

In this subsection we want to consider the reasons behind the emergence of complex name elements, since these stand out among a majority of simplex name elements.

From our dataset we can only verify their existence and usage, but not offer an explanation as to why just a few complex name elements have been integrated into the naming system as a whole.

We therefore need to consider other sources. Past research by Sakata (坂田 2006: 62, 70 - 71) shows that *saemon* and *uemon* were not originally isolated cases. Rather, they were part of a whole set of name elements borrowed from the same lexical domain (意味範疇), i.e. the same **name field** (名称範疇) (Van Langendonck 2007: 270). The name field in question consists of a number of elements derived from office titles and court ranks, which were in reality inaccessible for the common people. These **Office Title Names** (官途名) increase in number in the second half of the 15th century, becoming particularly numerous in the 17th century (坂田 2006: 70 - 71, 77 - 78, 112). This particular name field of office titles includes many complex lexemes, as they would be needed for a system of aristocratic and administrative functions, and this consequently led to the occurrence of polymorphemic name elements.

In the Edo period, *saemon* and *uemon* ‘guard’, both derived from the office *emonfu* 衛門府, stand out because of their length, but they are not the only elements of this name field, that are still productive. *-bei / -hei* ‘lieutenant’ 兵衛 is another element derived from an office title, which is *hyōefu* 兵衛府, and also shows a polymorphemic internal structure. *-suke* also belongs to the same name field, but the original polymorphemic structure of this lexeme is not apparent anymore. Etymologically, the element is derived from *suke* 次官, literally ‘second office’. In the names of our sample period, however, the graphematic form has already changed to a single grapheme 助, signifying ‘assistance’, ‘support’.

Sakata explains that these name elements were restricted in their usage to the higher ranking villagers (坂田 2006: 62, 70 - 71, 78), i.e. they fulfill a function as a markers of social rank. This leads us to conclude that these name elements found their origin in specific social circumstances and were consequently onymized.

In the case of birth order names it is clear that they also belong to a specific name field. They are another set of elements which met a precise need existing in the society of the time, i.e. the need to express birth order. This necessity was created due to the rules of a shared inheritance system (分割相続), in which the birth order was used to define the inheritance share of each child (坂田 2006: 72). However, in our sample this name field has also not become unproductive, even though the shared inheritance system was already abolished and sole inheritance had been installed (坂田 2000: 51). This leads us to think that these name elements continue to meet other needs of the name users. They seem to no longer express the actual birth order, so we can consider different possibilities. They may have become institutionalized as name elements for a particular type of name or their semantics may have been re-motivated to express something different from birth order. This point requires further research.

Here, we conclude that complex lexemes can occur as a single name element, but they apparently are the exception rather than the rule and belong to precise name fields. Their onymization seems to have been caused through direct relation to specific social circumstances and due to their capability of serving particular needs of the language users. Therefore, the total number of polymorphemic name elements is low in comparison to monomorphemic elements.

2.3.3 Bithematic principle

After isolating the onymic suffixes, defining the positions of onymic base and head as well as analyzing polymorphemic name elements, we want to consider the overall structure of complex names.

If polymorphemic name elements are defined as a single name element, the male names in our sample can be considered to primarily be made up of precisely two constituents. Of all names, 1626 types correspond to a bipartite pattern. 38 are

simplex and 112 show a different creation pattern, including tripartite names. The detailed analysis of the inner structure is given in appendix C.

Hence, while male names in our sample have a varying number of morphemes, ranging from one to five, a majority is not only complex, but precisely bipartite. Based on this we consider the applicability of another name creation principle, the **“principle of bipartite / bithematic names”**.¹⁴

2.3.4 Possible reasons for the high occurrence of complex names

To conclude the analysis of male individual names, we want to detail two possible reasons for the fact that complex male names are so much more frequent.

One reason is the question of gender. As we will see, many female names are simplex and bimoraic. Hence, simplex male names cannot be distinguished from female names and cause confusion about the name bearer’s gender. In fact, this confusion may even sometimes have been the intention behind the name choice. It is known that in pre-modern Japan, male names were sometimes given to newborn girls and vice-versa. This was thought to confuse evil spirits and protect the children from harm. It is possible that some of the simplex names in our sample were intended as female names given to boys (上野 2006: 13 - 14; 大藤 2012: 75). However, the low number does also suggest that in our sample areas these beliefs were not all that strong or widespread.

The second reason behind the low occurrence of simplex male names can be assumed to lie within the functions of the name elements as social markers. Sakata (2000: 31 - 32; 2006: 9 - 10, 62 - 63) explains that in pre-modern times it was vital to belong to a social group and that pre-modern Japanese names functioned primarily as markers of group membership. In order for names to function as social markers, there has to be a consensus in society on which name or which name element

¹⁴ This is another principle found also in Germanic names. Note however that there it applies to both male and female names.

conveys what kind of social information. This means, if the social status was to be reflected, the name choices of an individual were limited.

In the case of male names during our sample period, we conclude that simplex names were unable to function as social markers, since they did not include the elements necessary to convey social information on the name-bearer and therefore such names were not desirable.

2.3.5 Prosodic restrictions in female names: The bimoraic principle

The major factor regulating the formation of female names seems to be a phonological one. Almost all names in our dataset have the same length of two morae and research on other sample areas has made the same observation (寿岳 1979; 紀田 2002; 角田 2006: 284). It is a striking majority, which leads us to the conclusion that we are faced with a morphological restriction.

In word-formation, many morphemes are constrained in their usage and cannot be combined indiscriminately. A possible restriction is of a phonological nature. This means, the choice of morpheme is influenced by the “phonetic shape” of the newly created word (Booij 2012: 67).

Schramm (2013: 37, 105 - 07, 12) describes a uniform syllabic structure for Germanic names and explains that such uniformity could not have happened unless name elements were chosen explicitly and such elements that did not fit the desired structure were avoided.

In our case this means that the choice of name elements for female names is governed by the phonetic shape of the resulting name, which may not be longer than two morae. “Prosodic restrictions” (Booij 2012: 67) are apparently operating and effectively limiting the name length.

We can therefore formulate a different name creation principle for the female names in this dataset, the “**bimoraic principle**”.¹⁵

2.3.5.1 Reasons for the emergence of the bimoraic principle

The uniform length of female names seems to have been established during the late 16th and early 17th century. In earlier times, female names showed a variety of lengths, ranging from three to five morae (角田 2006: 123, 64 - 68). From the 14th century onwards, female names gradually become shorter. In particular, the traditional female name suffix *-me* 女 is abolished and previously complex names are fragmented into their constituents, which then become independent (Nübling et al. 2012: 112; 坂田 2006: 160 - 61; 大藤 2012: 65 - 66; 角田 2006: 184, 208, 14 - 15).

The bimoraic structure seems to have occurred initially during this gradual shortening of female names, since many of their constituents had a length of two morae. When afterwards new lexemes were onymized, these were apparently chosen in accordance with the established structure, as we will detail in the following.

Table 5 Omission of the onymic suffix *-me*

Traditional name form		New bimoraic form
Harume 春女	→	Haru はる
Kikume 菊女	→	Kiku きく
Matsume 松女	→	Matsu まつ

¹⁵ Tsunoda (2006:374) observes trimoraic names in some of his sample regions. In our sample, they are very rare and therefore, in the present study, we cannot analyze them in detail.

2.3.6 Reconstructing the inner structure of female names

Concerning female names, the analysis of their inner structure has proven more complicated than for their male counterparts. While many female names are quite clearly monothematic, the inner structure of others is less easily classified and their etymologies are unclear.

The female names in our dataset are almost exclusively recorded in syllabograms rather than ideograms.¹⁶ Therefore, differently from the male names, we cannot rely on ideograms for an indication of etymology or lexeme boundaries. We have therefore used different criteria in order to comprehend the names' internal structures.

As stated, an overwhelming majority of female names in our sample has a length of two morae. However, even with this kind of limited name length, far from all possible combinations are used.

Our sample shows 493 female name types. The bimoraic principle on its own would allow for about 2300 types, if all available syllables and combinations thereof were used. This indicates that the bimoraic principle is not the only regulation influencing female name creation. The elements used in female names are apparently limited further by other criteria. We believe that the low number of used combinations also indicates that most female names are not purely euphonic coinages nor are they "nonsense names" with no etymology. If that were the case we can assume that more of the possible combinations would be used. The elements in female names most likely have an etymological origin which further limits the possible choices beyond the criteria of name length.

¹⁶ The systematic usage of syllabograms for female names is characteristic of the Edo period. In earlier centuries, female and male names both are often recorded in ideograms (cf. Tsunoda 2006).

2.3.6.1 *Motio* and the correlation between male and female names

The process of deriving a female noun from a male one is called *motio* (*Motion*, *Movierung*) (Doleschal 2015).¹⁷ Many female names are derived from male ones (Schramm 2013: 99, 105 - 06, 18), while male names derived from female ones are few in number. Oelkers (2003: 36 - 37) notes that as many as 50% of female names can be retraced to a male name. However, Stüber et al. (2009) also point out that it is difficult to differentiate whether a female name was derived from a male name or onymized directly from a common noun.

For Japanese names, the topic has not yet been researched extensively. Abe (1960: 150) explains that, in the 8th century, the element 'human' (人) is used in male names, while female names employ the explicitly gender-specific element 'woman' (女). This could indicate that the male name may have been the standard form, but further research is needed on the issue of how many and which female names were created on the basis of male ones.

So far, Tsunoda (角田 2006: 50, 57, 64) has shown that already in the 8th century many name elements are shared by male and female names. Therefore, in the present work, we consider it plausible that female names of our sample period would also use the same elements as male names and continue our analysis based on this assumption.

2.3.6.2 Reconstructed female names

In order to reconstruct the inner structure of female names, we compare the pronunciation given by syllabograms for female names with the possible pronunciations of ideograms used in male names. As stated, this method relies on the assumption that at least some name elements are used in both male and female

¹⁷ The term includes also derivation in the opposite direction, which occurs only rarely. Most designations for female members of our society are derived from their male counterparts and not the other way round (Oelkers 2003:17)

names. The results of the reconstruction are shown in appendix E. In this section some examples are listed in table 6.

Out of 493 female name types, the pronunciation of 132 types corresponds to those of ideograms used as male name elements. We do not argue that these elements were necessarily first onymized as male names, but given the observations made by Tsunoda for earlier time periods, we are under the impression that they are examples of shared name elements of the 18th and 19th century. Many of these female names correspond to a single name element and their inner structure can therefore be classified as simplex or monothematic.¹⁸

Table 6 Examples of reconstructed simplex female names, paired with male names

いし-石松	えい-栄蔵	でん-伝次郎	ふく-福松	はつ-初三郎	ろく-六太郎
おと-乙吉	べん-弁蔵	ちょう-長左衛門	くに-国蔵	まさ-政吉	さち-幸五郎
かん-勘松	ぶん-文蔵	あさ-浅次郎	ひで-秀吉	むね-宗蔵	こま-駒太郎
けい-啓蔵	ふじ-藤松	えつ-悦太郎	ひさ-久松	なお-直次郎	くめ-久米蔵
さる-申松	だい-大吉	ふさ-房次郎	いぬ-犬松	ぬい-縫蔵	くら-倉之助

¹⁸ They mostly correspond to elements occurring at the beginning of male names, because, as stated, the name ending is occupied by a small number of recurring elements.

2.3.7 Complex inner structure of female names

The inner structure of the remaining name types is more complicated to analyze.

On one hand, we observe names that seem to be simple heterographic variants of each other. We consider this to be the case when for example in dataset Edo F depending on the year the name of the same individual is recorded as both Shike しけ or Shige しげ, Ie いえ, Ihe いへ or Iwe いゑ and Chihe ちへ or Chie ちえ. In the Edo period, the phonographic script was not yet standardized and alternate spellings occurred. There are further instances of different names which we suspect to be alternate forms of the same name type rather than separate types. However, to gain conclusive evidence a thorough verification of the source material is necessary.

Furthermore, another group can be identified as complex names using the element *ko* 小 ‘small, little’, as Koinu こいぬ (小犬 ‘small’ + ‘dog’), Komatsu こまつ (小松 ‘small’ + ‘pine tree’), Kogiku こぎく (小菊 ‘small’ + ‘chrysanthemum’), Kogin こぎん (小銀 ‘small’ + ‘silver’), which is why we classify them as diminutives.

The syllabograms of female names may also reflect dialectal and obsolete pronunciations, which makes it more difficult to recognize the corresponding lexemes.

Here, we want to focus on a particular inner structure, which seems to have appeared in the Edo period and is still present in contemporary female names.

In our dataset, we observe a female name written in ideograms, which is Rie 理恵. The name of the same individual is recorded as りえ in the records from 1790 and 1791. From 1792 to 1827 her name is then recorded as 理恵. We cannot discern the reason for this change in graphematic representation. However, it seems unlikely that a name formerly recorded in phonograms would be purposefully replaced by ideograms if the semantics of the latter were disregarded. Therefore, this record offers a valuable indication concerning the morphological structure of the name.

It seems that bimoraic female names of the 18th and 19th century did not only consist of simplex names. In addition there seem to be complex names consisting of two monomoraic elements.

In the following section, we illustrate the complicated inner structure of female names further by addressing the issue of names including the element *no*.

2.3.7.1 Difficult female name structure: The case of the element ‘no’

In this section, we detail our observation concerning the usage of the element *no* 之 in male and female names and how through this we can discern a possible complex inner structure of female names.

Female names of our sample period do not seem to have clearly established suffixes, but among the names which we have not classified as simplex, the element *no* occurs frequently at the name end.

First of all, the element *no* seems to have found its way into individual names through the adoption of office titles.¹⁹ In the 13th century existed male names such as Tangonosuke (丹後介), Chikuzennosuke (筑前介), Ōminosuke (近江介) and Gonsuke (権介) (坂田 2000: 40). These are derived from designations related to the government official position of provincial governor (*kokushi* 国司). Plutschow (1995: 12) translates *suke* as ‘vice-governor’, so these different examples can be translated as ‘vice-governor of Tango province’ or ‘vice-governor of Chikuzen province’ and the element *no* as it occurs in these titles can be identified as the genitive particle (格助詞).

In the 13th century these titles are used as individual names. Gradually, as other name elements are used in place of the province names, *-suke* as well as *-nosuke* are detached from their etymological origin and turned into onymic suffixes. In our dataset, both *-suke* (-助) and *-nosuke* (-之助) are used in male names.

¹⁹ In personal names *no* was used in between the clan name and the individual name (Sakata 2006: 39 – 40), linking these two parts together to form the whole name of a person. In these instances it can be compared to “de, von, of” found in European names etc.

From a morphological point of view, it seems that there is some flexibility in the usage of the element *no*. While some names chose to keep it, others use *suke* on its own. The decision on whether to use *no* seems partly related to formal criteria. While *-suke* is used on its own with onymic bases of the length of one or two morae, the elements *-matsu* and *-kichi* seem to be used preferably with two morae long bases. In our sample we can observe the names Inomatsu (伊之松), but not *Imatsu (*伊松) and the name Inokichi (伊之吉), but not *Ikichi (伊吉). It seems to us that, in male names of the Edo period, the element *no* is added to make certain name elements with a length of one mora “suitable for compounding” (Booij 2012: 90).²⁰

Our dataset lists many male names which include the element *no* 之. Also, female names ending on *no* can be observed in every sample area.²¹ We compared the male and female names including *no*, and observed that the pronunciation of the female names corresponds to the ideograms used for the male names. That is to say, female and male names including the element *no* seem to overlap.

Table 7 Female names ending on *no*

Female name types observed in all sample areas (number of tokens)	Female name types observed in two sample areas (number of tokens)
Ino いの (7+3+3)	Sano さの (3+11)
Mino みの (5+1+2)	Yono よの (3+1)
Kino きの (6+2+1)	Uno うの (3+6)
Kuno くの (4+1+2)	
Kono この (4+7+6)	
Kano かの (3+2+2)	
Sono その (3+5+6)	

²⁰ This makes it not precisely the same, but similar to an interfix.

²¹ For this analysis we exclude possibly simplex female names such as Shino (篠 ‘bamboo’).

Table 8 Overlaps between male and female names including ‘no’

Female names	Male names
Ino いの	Inosuke (伊之助, 猪之助), Inomatsu (伊之松), Inokichi(伊之吉)
Mino みの	Minosuke (巳之助), Minomatsu (己之松), Minokichi (巳之吉)
Uno うの	Unosuke (卯之助), Unomatsu (右之松)
Yono よの	Yonosuke (世之助)
Kino きの	Kinosuke (喜之助, 喜之介)
Sano さの	Sanosuke (佐之助)

Our observation is supported further by a name record in dataset Edo F in 1752, in which a boy’s name is recorded as Kino in syllabograms きの. One year later in 1753, the name of the boy is changed to Kinosuke. At this instance, the spelling is changed to the ideograms 喜之助. Based on this, the inner structure of the name element Kino can be discerned to be made up of two morphemes *ki* and *no*.

We conclude that female names ending on *no* consist of the same elements as male names ending on *-nosuke*. In this particular case, we are also under the impression that the female names did indeed originate in the male ones. In the numerous names listed by Tsunoda (2006), we did not observe female names ending on *no* prior to the Edo period. Hence, diachronically, this element seems to have appeared first in male names.

We would like to consider this a case of *motio*, however, rather than *motio* through suffixation, the female name was created through clipping, which allows for it to conform to the prosodic restriction. This seems to be a rather uncommon way of creating female counterparts to male names and further research is needed to find out if such name creation also happens without prosodic restriction of the name length.

The etymological origin can be retraced to the genitive particle *no* adapted into individual names by way of the titles of government officials. In this case, the ideogram 野 *no*, which is used in female names of the 21th century seems to not reflect the element's etymology, but to be used for its phonetic value (当て字 *ateji*) or to be a case of re-motivation due to homonymy.

For female names, *no* seems to have been attached more freely to a variety of monomoraic elements. Tsunoda (2006: 374) reports that *no* is used with bimoraic bases as well. Rather than supposing a completely different origin for elements used to create female names with a length of 3 morae, it seems plausible for a generally used element to be enlarged in its usage. The flexibility observed in the usage of *no* and the possibility of it being used to create names with monomoraic elements, corresponds to it being used even more productively in other regions. The difference in usage in this case lies in the fact of whether *no* is attached to monomoraic or bimoraic bases.

2.3.7.2 Complex bimoraic female names

In table 9 are listed some of the remaining female name types, whose etymology and morphological structure remain unclear. While these names are semantically opaque to the contemporary language user, we cannot suppose that this was always the case. In particular, names with a token frequency of one have a good possibility to be newly onymized primary coinages. In such cases we expect them to be semantically transparent to the language users attributing the name.

Table 9 Examples of opaque female name types

Iya いや	Tosa とさ	Chisa ちさ	Saki さき
Hina ひな	Kie きえ	Komu こむ	Kowa こわ
Koya こや	Kina きな	Yoka よか	Toma とま
Ton とん	Teri てり	Sae さえ	Chise ちせ
Kumi くみ	Miwa みわ	Muya むや	Nasa なさ

Some names of this pattern seem surprisingly familiar, as they are used in contemporary times as well. That is to say, some of these names became more common than others, so that their pronunciations are recognizable as female names to the language community even today. This creation pattern of complex bimoraic names seems to have been constantly productive. The numerous possibilities of graphematic representation possibly also contributed to this continuous popularity.

It seems that the adaption and consequent combination of monomoraic name elements led to this type of female names. Originally, they were probably not purely phonetic coinages, but their morphological structure and high number of homonyms for monomoraic elements led to them becoming semantically opaque. They then developed into a “verbal framework” that later generations continued to use, while attributing various ideograms of their choice to fill this phonetic form with meaning. The choices of homophonous ideograms as well as euphonic criteria may have contributed to the continued usage of certain names, while others with less choice were not attributed anew. The latter are the names which the contemporary language user perceives as peculiar, weird names of a past age, even though their bimoraic form still corresponds to female names of today.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter we analyze the different patterns, according to which the Japanese names of the Edo period are created. We observe different principles operating for male and female names.

Male names use onymic suffixoids and most of them are complex. We discuss a distinction between monomorphemic and polymorphemic name elements and reach the conclusion that male names show a bithematic structure.

For female names, we observe a prosodic restriction, which in our sample takes the form of a bimoraic principle and brings the majority of female names in line with a length of two morae. Despite this uniform length, female names still seem to have a high variety in their internal structure. Even though many of them are monothematic, others show a bithematic structure and some are apparently clipped forms of male names.

This observation fits the general accounts in onomastic research that female names are less traditional and more open to changes, precisely because they do not occupy a central place in society (Debus 2012: 103; 2003: 125).

3. Naming Customs in the Edo Period

3.1 Introduction: Subtypes of Personal Names and Names as Social Markers

3.1.1 Name magic and polyonymy

Name magic²² is a term used in onomastics to designate the many different customs and beliefs relating to the supposed supernatural power of names (Debus 2012: 15; Nübling et al. 2012: 184). Name magic occurs in a variety of forms in many cultures throughout history.

A common example is the usage of **derogatory names**,²³ which are found in many regions and were given to children in order to protect them from harm and misfortune. It was believed that by giving a child a repelling name, demons would be too disgusted to approach the child (Alford 1987: 63 - 65).

Very often also, the name and the name-bearer are “superposed” in one way or another (Alford 1987: 108; Nübling et al. 2012: 19). Many cultures believe in a spiritual link between the name and the human it designates (Höfler 1993: 16) and therefore through knowledge of the name one gains power over the name-bearer.²⁴ Ōtō (2012: 71 - 76, 84) and Tanaka (2014: 155 - 56, 62 - 66) report a number of different customs relating to name magic in pre-modern Japan, but we will only detail the aspects directly related to our study.

In ancient Japan, words were believed to have an inherent power and to be directly linked to the object they designate (言霊信仰). The same was true for personal names (名実一体観), which were believed to be spiritually linked to their name-bearer (大藤 2012: 82; 森岡 and 山口 1985: 14 - 15; 角田 2006: 46; 豊田 1988). Plutschow (1995: 2) states that “names in Japan are “metonymic, symbolically linking human institutions, often at a level of essence.” For example,

²² *Namenmagie*

²³ *Ekelnamen, Tarnnamen, Schutznamen* (Nübling et al. 2012: 184; 角田 2006:58; 大藤, 2012: 76; 田中 2014: 163)

²⁴ A well-known example of this is the famous fairy tale of Rumpelstiltskin (Nübling et al. 2012: 19).

pronouncing someone's name was believed to enable the speaker to enact power over the name-bearer (Plutschow 1995: 3; 大藤 2012: 83) and revealing one's name was seen as an act of submission (阿部 1960: 139 - 40).

In order to protect the community from the misuse of names, a complex system of numerous individual names was developed. The **true name** of a person became a **taboo name** (*imina* 諱, 忌み名), to be used only in official situations and documents (坂田 2006: 17; 穂積 1992; 角田 2006: 26, 36; 飯沼 1987: 49). Hozumi (1992) calls this the "custom of avoidance of the true name" (実名敬避俗) and similar customs can be seen in many cultures (Alford 1987: 57 - 58, 79, 105; Debus 2012: 12; 上野 2006: 6; 大藤 2012: 82; 穂積 1992). From a formal point of view, the true name has a fixed form of two auspicious lexemes (*kaji* 嘉字) and is used together with the clan name, rather than the family name (坂田 2000: 32 - 33; 2006: 38).

For daily life, a number of different individual names are used instead (Plutschow 1995: 6; 坂田 2000: 33; 2006: 17, 67; 大藤 2012: 86; 角田 2006). This makes the Japanese naming system a **polyonymic** one (複名俗), in which a single individual uses several names and alternates between them depending on the situation (坂田 2000: 32; 角田 2006: 36). Frequent name changes are outlawed only after 1868 (大藤 2012: 189).

The basic distinction is made between the true name and a sort of pseudonym or byname.²⁵ There are several Japanese terms for the latter, which can be translated as "the name by which one passes (in daily life)" (*tsūshō* 通称),²⁶ "nickname" (*azana* 字) or literally "pseudonym" (*kemyō* 仮名) (角田 2006: 36 - 37). The English terms pseudonym and nickname seems to cover a larger range of names, since they include artist names and diminutives. The term byname has been used in onomastics to designate (originally) unofficial names added to a person's name, in order to differentiate individuals sharing the same name (Debus 2012: 79, 104).

²⁵ Tsunoda (2006:36) lists as many as 22 different name types, including different kinds of work names and religious names.

²⁶ It seems similar to the Old German term *Wandelname* (Debus 2012: 80)

Byname therefore implies a name used together with the real name. While a byname may sometimes “supplant” the original name of the person (Anderson 2007: 88), that is not its primary intent. The Japanese names on the contrary are used purposefully in place of the tabooed true name in order to avoid its usage. In our opinion, since they “subvert identification” (Anderson 2007: 330; Debus 2012: 133) they could nevertheless be considered a particular type of byname or pseudonym. The terminology does require further work, especially from a comparative or name-theoretical point of view. For the sake of simplicity, we will use the term byname.

In pre-modern Japan, as is often the case, the more powerful and socially successful a person was, the more names he or she could bear.²⁷ For the study at hand, we do not analyze the names of the nobility and other higher social classes, whose members are more likely to carry a number of different names. The persons registered in our sample belong to the common people and each year only a single name was recorded per individual. These names are generally classified as the above mentioned bynames (大藤 2012: 95). However, at the same time, it is not clear to which point the common people in this period employed a distinction between true name and byname.²⁸ Ultimately, the usage of true names among the common people requires further research.

In this chapter, we concentrate on distinguishing two different subtypes of names, as is detailed in the following.

²⁷ Plutschow (1995: 7) estimates the usual number of names per person to be no higher than 5.

²⁸ Sakata (2000: 32 – 33; 2006: 54, 65 – 67) mentions that many villagers in two of his samples employed true names, possibly in imitation of the higher social classes, while in another case study he observes true names only for a short period of time from 1301 to 1350. The latter may be a simple case of different ways of “book-keeping”, insofar that true names were only recorded during this period, since a mere 50 years are too short a period for true names to be established and consequently abolished. So it is possible that villagers employed true names, which however were not recorded. This in turn seems contrary to the supposed usage of true names in official documents. Our dataset does not show any names of this kind and they will therefore not be the object of this analysis.

3.1.2 Names as social markers

Social information on a person is transmitted through different **social markers**, such as clothing, haircuts, architecture of one's residence, and also names (坂田 2000: 35; 2006: 15 - 16; 大藤 2012: 122; 飯沼 1987: 48 - 49). Names are used to distinguish individuals, but in addition they usually also convey different kinds of social information on the name-bearer (Alford 1987: 30, 54, 85 - 86).

Frequently, a name reflects group membership, e.g. family or clan membership, but also social class membership, geographical or ethnic origin as well as religious affiliation (Alford 1987: 29 - 31, 54 - 55, 79; Anderson 2007: 94, 95; Oelkers 2003: 41; Plutschow 1995: 1 - 2; 田中 2014: 138).

There is a variety of ways in which a naming system can relay social information to the language community (Alford 1987: 52). For example, a certain information may be associated with a particular name structure or may be remembered through convention (Anderson 2007: 94, 111).

Sakata (坂田 2000: 31 - 32; 2006: 9, 62 - 63) observes that in pre-modern Japan the social norms restricting name choice were much stronger than they are presently. He explains that at the time it was vital to belong to a social group and the names of the common people are intertwined with the organization of said group. Bynames in particular had to correspond to a person's status, hence, depending on this status, name choices were limited.

In general, names can only function as social markers if there is a consensus in society on which name or name element conveys what kind of social information. The more institutionalized the marker functions of names are, the more limited the name choice becomes.

Gender is the most frequent information transmitted by an individual name and many language communities mark it explicitly (Alford 1987: 52; Oelkers 2003: 40). Therefore, there can be considerable differences between male and female names (Oelkers 2003: 35; 上野 2006: 12). This also applies to the Japanese naming system of the Edo period, as we will detail in this chapter.

3.1.3 Life-Stage-Names

In this chapter, we distinguish two types of names: the **childhood name** (*warawana* 童名) and **adulthood name** (*seijinmei* 成人名), two of the so called **Life-Stage-Names**.²⁹ They are the most common type of name change (Alford 1987: 85 - 86; Nübling et al. 2012: 183 - 85) and function as marker of the “stages in an individual’s social development” (Anderson 2007: 102, 04).

In many societies it is common for an individual to have several names throughout his or her lifetime. Whenever an individual reaches a new stage in his life course, a name change occurs to reflect this development. Such a name change often happens simultaneously with other symbolic changes concerning the individual’s exterior appearance, e.g. hair styles and clothes (Alford 1987: 30, 85 - 86).

Sakata (2006: 9 - 10, 18) details that pre-modern Japanese names functioned primarily as markers of group membership and cites Life-Stage-Names as an example of names fulfilling such a purpose. As a person rises in status and age, he assumes a name matching this status (Plutschow 1995: 1; 大藤 2012: 4, 94; 角田 2006: 37; 飯沼 1987: 58).

A common change of status is from child to adult and this is often accompanied by an initiation ceremony³⁰ symbolizing acceptance into the social group as a full-fledged adult. In 14th to 16th century Japan, this initiation ceremony was arranged for boys around the age of 15 (Plutschow 1995: 6, 51; 坂田 2000: 42; 2006: 14; 大藤 2012: 78, 83; 飯沼 1987: 48). Pre-modern Japan was a class society and there existed a village-internal social hierarchy as well (坂田 2000: 45; 2006: 64). The ranking inside the village was based on the responsibilities assumed by each individual or family. Women or other low-ranking people were excluded from

²⁹ *Lebensabschnittsnamen*

³⁰ According to Iinuma (1987: 48) the initiation ceremony was probably not created before the 8th century.

“village politics” (坂田 2000: 35; 2006: 15 - 16; 大藤 2012: 122). The ceremonies of name attribution were very important for the “rank construction inside the village” (坂田 2006: 81, 90) and an adult male who did not receive an initiation ceremony was not treated as a full member of the social group. Such people probably continued to use their childhood names even as adults (坂田 2000: 36, 43; 2006: 71 - 72).

Marriage is another common “change of life stage”. Some communities do not consider unmarried people as full members (大藤 2012: 95) and marriage may therefore also be accompanied by a name change. For pre-modern Japan, Sakata (坂田 2000: 32, 43; 2006: 17) cites four typical instances of name changes: (1) childhood name, (2) adulthood initiation name, (3) village elder name (*kantona* 官途名) and (4) retirement “monk” name.³¹ Each of these is again often accompanied by a ceremony.

3.2 Method and materials

3.2.1 Sample areas

In this chapter we use again the Edo dataset, which includes the names extracted from a database of digitalized population registers.³² These registers were compiled on a yearly basis and list the individual inhabitants of a village regrouped as family units around a patriarch (大藤 2012: 108 - 09, 24; 飯沼 1987: 59). Significant events, such as name changes, are noted for each individual.

We have regrouped the data of geographically close villages into a single dataset respectively, which results in three datasets, that cover the records of 4

³¹ Jp. *hōmyō* 法名 or 隠居名 (Ōtō 2012: 95). These names were obtained after becoming a monk, but in the case of common peasants, they did not necessarily enter an actual monastery (Sakata 2000: 35 - 36). Rather, such a name assumption was more symbolic for retiring from active participation in village politics and the position as family patriarch (Inuma 1987: 59). According to Sakata (2000: 37; 2006: 73), their number diminished as the social status of old people declines.

³² The database in question is the “Database System for Demographic Analysis (DANJURO ver.5.0)”. In Japanese: 江戸時代における人口分析システム (DANJURO ver.5.0). Accessible online at <http://kawaguchi.tezukayama-u.ac.jp/index.html>

villages in today's Fukushima prefecture (dataset Edo **F**), 2 villages in today's city of Kobe (dataset Edo **K**) and 1 village in today's city of Tokyo (dataset Edo **T**). The detailed information on each village can be found in table 10 below.

Table 10 Detailed list of sample areas

Edo F
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Former Mutsu Province (陸奥国) Present Fukushima prefecture (福島県) •Fmr. District Aizu (会津郡) Pres. District South Aizu (南会津郡) •Fmr. Komatsugawa Village (小松川村) Pres. Town of Shimogō (下郷町) •Fmr. Ishibushi Village (石伏村) Pres. Town of Tadami (只見町) •Fmr. Tōnosu Village (鴫巣村) Pres. Town of South Aizu (南会津町) •Fmr. and pres. District Ōnuma (大沼郡) •Fmr. Kuwabara Village (桑原村) Pres. Town of Mishima (三島町)
Edo K
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Former Settsu Province (摂津国) Present Hyogo Prefecture (兵庫県) •Fmr. District Yatabe (八部郡) pres. city of Kobe (神戸市) •Fmr. Hanakuma village (花熊村) Pres. Chūō Ward (中央区) •Fmr. District Muko (武庫郡) •Fmr. Kami-Kawarabayashi village (上瓦林村) Pres. City of Nishinomiya (西宮市)
Edo T
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Fmr. Musashi province (武蔵国) Pres. Tokyo metropolis (東京都) •Fmr. district Tama (多摩郡) •Fmr. Nakatō village (中藤村) Pres. city of Musahimurayama (武蔵村山市)

The sample areas were chosen because, to our knowledge, they have not yet been the object of onomastic analysis. In this chapter we will take a closer look at both the similarities and particularities found in these three regions. Similarities found between these geographically distant areas may indicate certain generalities

found in the whole language community. We hope to add to the existing case studies, which ultimately will contribute to onomastic research gaining a general knowledge of name usage and naming customs in die Edo period.

3.2.2 Sample period

The sample period for datasets Edo F and Edo K covers the years 1750 to 1868, which corresponds to the second half of the Edo period. The period covered by Edo T is shorter.

Edo F: 1750 – 1868

Edo K: 1750 – 1869

Edo T: 1843 – 1864

3.2.3 Sample population size and name records count

In the sample period the records show that many people changed their names. That is to say, a single person may and often did use more than one name throughout his or her lifetime. Therefore, in this sample, the number of individual persons is not identical to the total number of names.

In table 11 are listed the precise counts for the village population and the number of names, as unique types as well as in total (i.e. including repeated types born by several individuals).

Table 11 Number of name records and population

	Edo F	Edo K	Edo T	Total Edo dataset
Male names (types)	1244	909	432	1852
Male names (total)	2422	1945	757	5124
Male population	1048	1078	562	2688
Female names (types)	296	333	195	493
Female names (total)	1104	1325	737	3166
Female population	997	1146	621	2764

3.3 Results and Discussion

3.3.1 Name frequency

Firstly, we analyze the frequency with which different names are used. For this, we count the types and tokens for each dataset. In linguistics, a type designates a specific lexeme, while the tokens are the number of occurrences of said lexeme. Words that occur frequently will therefore have a higher number of tokens. A word which occurs only once in a specific dataset has a type-token-relationship of one and is called a hapax (Lieber 2010: 67).

We count the number of names as they first appear on a single individual throughout all the sample period. By this, we avoid recounting the same individual, since most inhabitants appear in the village records of more than one year. It also allows us to count each individual as only one token, while still taking into account name changes. An individual, who changes his or her name, is counted again as one token for the new name type.

The results of this analysis show that a majority of names are used only once. In particular male names show a high degree of unique names. This corresponds well

to the fact that male names had very productive onymic suffixes. Female names are less diverse, but still a majority is used by less than 10 individuals.

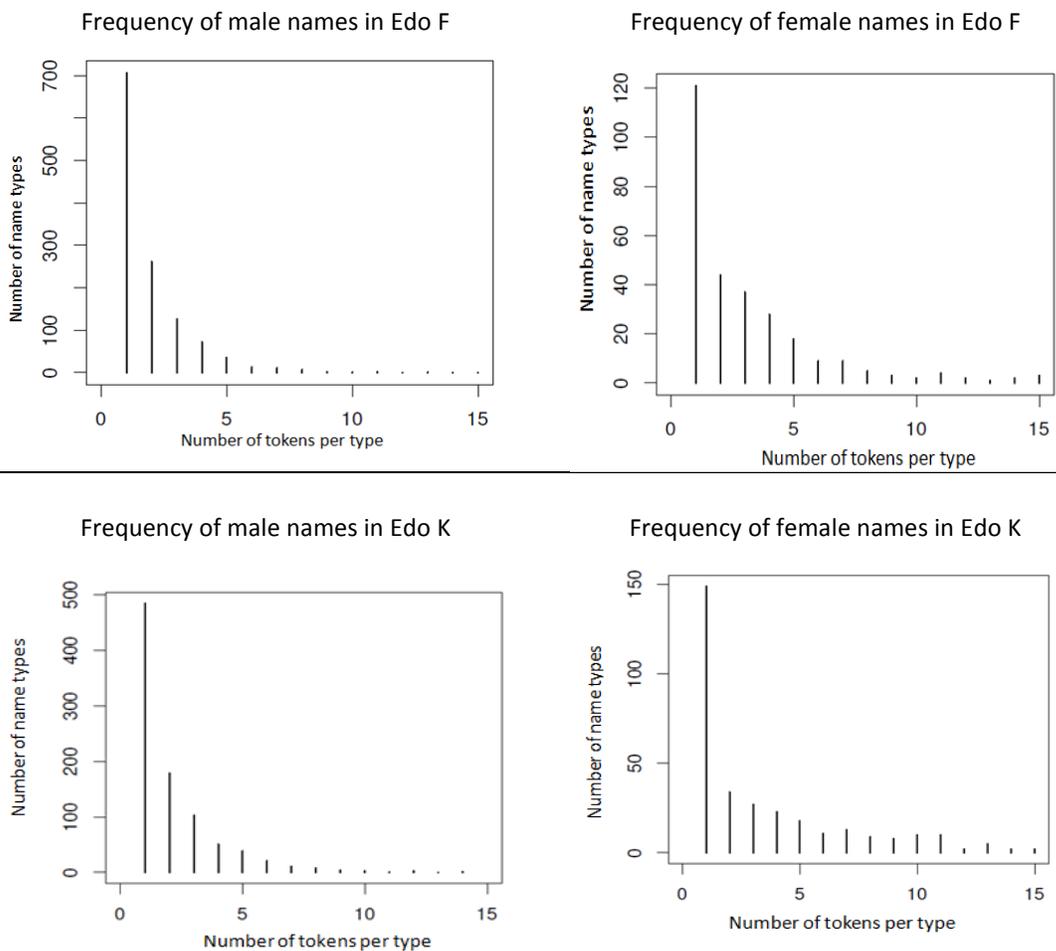


Figure 6 Name frequency

In this aspect, we reach a different conclusion than Yamaguchi (1992: 15 - 16), who has conducted a study on the population registers of another village in the same period. He states that 45% of men and 74% of women are “of a same name” (「同名である」). He then elaborates and it becomes clear that he sums up all individuals who share their name with a least one other person. Hence, the percentage actually tells us how many inhabitants do not have a unique name. From this, one can only conclude that the Japanese naming system is not a unique naming system, in which each name type has only one token. This is for example

the case of the Ainu naming system (大藤 2012: 125). However, this information does not on its own allow for further conclusion concerning name diversity. In Yamaguchi's sample most name types still only have two tokens. In particular for male names the highest frequency is of 9 tokens for one type and 54 types have two tokens each. This is a very low frequency and indicates that one name type was born by a low number of individuals.

For comparison, in European countries, a high degree of individuality is characteristic for modern naming customs (Oelkers 2003: 35), while from the 12th century the pool of names had become limited and in the 14th and 15th century many people shared the same name type (Debus 2012: 85; Nübling et al. 2012: 22; Schramm 2013: 50).

For Edo period Japan, it seems that there was a high degree of individuality in our sample areas.

3.3.2 Name magic as a reason for low token frequency

We want to address the question of what reasons led to a majority of individual names being used only once, i.e. to there being a high number of unique names in 18th and 19th century Japan.

As we have detailed in chapter 2, in particular male names use some very productive onymic suffixes. These suffixes are equally present in both the frequent as well as the unique name types. Is the high name individuality a result of these suffixes or did the latter become productive precisely due to a need for individuality? Lieber (2010: 63) notes several factors that can cause a word-formation process to be productive. One of these factors is "usefulness" in meeting the needs of the language community. Since names are strongly influenced by social conventions and develop according to social needs (Blanár 1993: 45, 47), we assume that these suffixes became productive in order to accommodate a demand of the language community.

We do not believe that the reasons behind this occurrence were similar to the contemporary wish for individuality per se. As Alford (1987: 7) points out, the usage of individual names may not be the expression of an individualistic society.

In the case of Edo period Japan, we think that a high number of unique names was not the primary intention of the language users, but rather an unintended consequence. The “principle of bithematic names” allows for high variation while staying within established onymic patterns. A wish for individuality would probably lead to breaking out of established structures more clearly.

That is to say, we assume that the language community during our sample period was not purposefully creating unique names, but that the primary intention was to avoid name repetition.

As mentioned, in pre-modern Japanese society existed the custom of “avoidance of the true name”. This avoidance may have been extended to all individual personal names, in particular in the lower classes, where the distinction between true name and byname was less evident. Childhood names and female names also show a higher degree of repetition. For childhood names this matches their status as temporary names of less importance than the later adulthood names. Also, one can consider that children and women’s names did not need to be avoided out of respect to the same degree as adult male names (大藤 2012: 83, 87). Tsunoda (2006: 30) and Ōtō (2012: 103) also cite examples of women changing their names in order to avoid overlapping with those of other higher ranking people, such as the mother-in-law. Similarly, several instances, as late as 1873, are known in which legislation was used to outlaw certain names or name elements, which were used by the higher social classes, e.g. the ruler and his family (Plutschow 1995: 36 - 37; 大藤 2012: 117 - 19, 87). This supports our theory, that in our sample period, people were sensitive to name overlapping and tended to avoid it out of respect.

Furthermore, the belief in a direct spiritual link between name and name-bearer also manifests itself in a variety of naming customs. By sharing a name a “spiritual kinship” is established between two individuals (Alford 1987; Höfler 1993: 16).

Therefore, some of these customs intend a sort of fortune transfer through the act of naming, such as using the name of a healthy relative, hoping that the newborn child would be equally healthy. Other customs aim to protect children from harm through the use of protective names.

In our sample, we detect some instances of possible name avoidance used as a protective measure. In these episodes it seems that the name of a person who had encountered misfortune was avoided.

We illustrate this theory with a concrete example, which is the occurrence of the name Kamematsu 亀松 in the dataset Edo K in the village of Kami-Kawarabayashi (上瓦林村). The name shows a typical structure and common name elements for the time and is actually used quite often in this sample. However, taking a closer look at the precise years in which the name occurs, we can see that there are some periods during which the name is not used at all (see figure 7). In the years 1750 to 1755 there are three boys bearing the same name. A fourth boy is born in 1755, but passes away in the same year. The record then reveals that in said year, the other three boys all changed their names. We interpret this as a **protective name change** (Alford 1987: 89). The name Kamematsu is not used again in this village for a period of seven years until the year 1762. In 1784 another newborn Kamematsu passes away in the same year and this time the name is not reused again until 1811.

Based on this data, it seems that the name Kamematsu was temporarily considered an ill-fated name and therefore avoided.

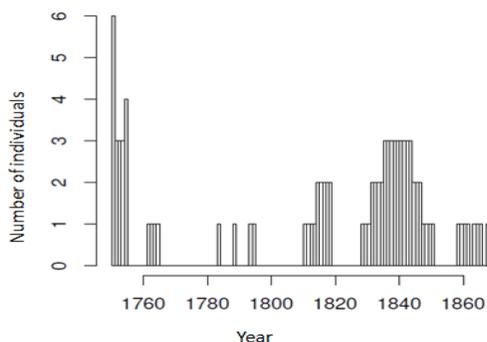


Figure 7 Occurrences of the name Kamematsu in Edo K

We find a second example in the same dataset in the village of Hanakuma (花熊村). In this case the name Kichizō 吉藏 is given to two boys born in 1794. Both of them pass away in the same year and thereafter the name Kichizō is not used again for 15 years until 1810.

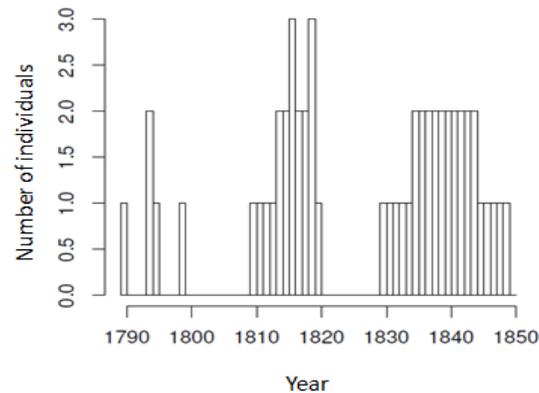


Figure 8 Occurrences of the name Kichizō in Edo K

These episodes give the impression that some names were avoided for their association with misfortune.

The avoidance of name duplication, both out of respect and for protective measures, in our opinion can be considered as a reason behind the high number of unique names found in this sample of pre-modern Japanese individual names.

3.3.3 Name changes

In this sample, 636 (Edo F) and 508 (Edo K) men change their name at least once. Sakata (坂田 2006: 62) makes similar observations for his period of study. In general the age of 15 was considered to be the time when a child becomes an adult, with some variations depending on the social position. The age at name change for the male population in each dataset can be seen in the graphs below.

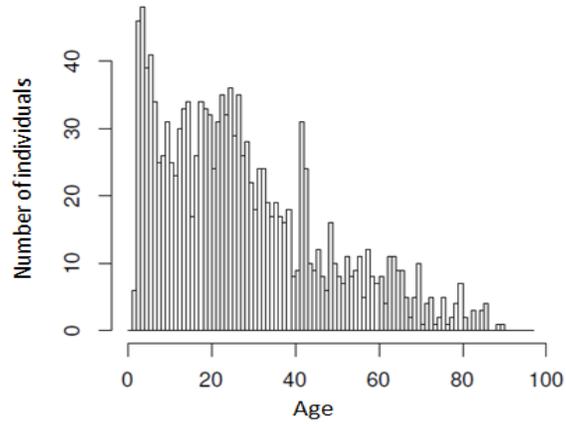


Figure 9 Age of male individuals at name change in Edo F

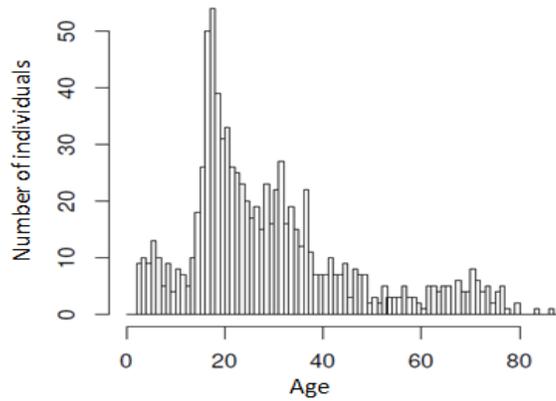


Figure 10 Age of male individuals at name change in Edo K

A clear difference can be observed between the datasets Edo K and Edo F. While in Edo F name changes seem to happen at many different ages, in Edo K the age range seems to be more closely limited to around 20 to 30 years of age. Therefore it seems that the custom of name changes differs not only between social classes, but also regionally.

3.3.4 Childhood names

In a polyonymic naming system consisting of different types of individual names, each of these types of names can be assumed to fulfill specific purposes, such as differentiation, display of kinship or disguise.

As stated, in pre-modern Japan, the first major name change is usually from childhood name to adulthood name. Here, we calculated the average age for each name type, in order to distinguish which names can be classified as childhood names and which as adulthood names and thereby uncover possible differences in structure. A name with a low average age is more likely to have been used as a childhood name.

Sakata (2000: 36; 2006: 71 - 72, 86, 109) states that childhood names use many elements derived from plants and animals. Two other elements found frequently in childhood names are *kichi* 吉 (森岡 and 山口 1985: 63) and *zō* 藏. In Sakata's (2006: 109) data from the 17th century, he notes that the element *zō* 藏 is very common at the end of childhood names. Its highest occurrence is in the year 1664, after which it decreases. At the same time, the element *kichi* 吉 increases.

In the following, we analyze the average age for the names including these two elements as well as the plant-derived element *matsu* 'pine tree'.

In the case of *kichi*, we observe a different average age depending on whether the element is used in the beginning or the end of the name. When used at the beginning, the average age is of 32 years for all name tokens in the 100 most frequent name types in Edo K. If used at the end the average age drops to 11 years. In dataset Edo K, it can therefore be concluded that *kichi* is indeed used as a final element in childhood names. However, in sample Edo F names beginning with *kichi* names have an average age of 17 years and those names ending on *kichi* have an average age of 21 years. The difference in usage is less clear and also is the average age higher for both, which does not allow us a clear conclusion to the childhood name status of this element.

Table 12 Average age of names including the elements kichi and zo

	Names (Average age \pm standard deviation)	
	Edo F	Edo K
<i>kichi</i> (吉)	吉太郎 (19 \pm 13)、吉 (9 \pm 3)、清吉 (35 \pm 20)、寅吉 (12 \pm 8)、吉助 (18 \pm 13)、吉太 (6 \pm 3)、吉次郎 (26 \pm 20)、善吉 (35 \pm 10)、久吉 (19 \pm 21)、亀吉 (8 \pm 5)、仙吉 (25 \pm 13)、吉次 (9 \pm 6)、和吉 (15 \pm 9)、栄吉 (10 \pm 8)、次郎吉 (32 \pm 9)、三吉 (24 \pm 20)、千吉 (12 \pm 11)、友吉 (24 \pm 15)	乙吉 (10 \pm 7)、吉兵衛 (49 \pm 12)、寅吉 (10 \pm 7)、平吉 (11 \pm 6)、長吉 (12 \pm 7)、吉次郎 (23 \pm 10)、弥吉 (17 \pm 9)、与吉 (5 \pm 3)、佐吉 (13 \pm 9)、吉右衛門 (49 \pm 18)、吉太郎 (11 \pm 8)、太吉 (10 \pm 6)
<i>zō</i> (蔵)	三蔵 (12 \pm 8)、吉蔵 (28 \pm 13)、亀蔵 (15 \pm 14)、定蔵 (15 \pm 12)、源蔵 (31 \pm 21)、熊蔵 (14 \pm 7)、菊蔵 (25 \pm 17)、七蔵 (19 \pm 11)、丑蔵 (28 \pm 13)、伝蔵 (28 \pm 16)	吉蔵 (11 \pm 6)、岩蔵 (12 \pm 7)、熊蔵 (13 \pm 7)、兵蔵 (10 \pm 5)、亀蔵 (12 \pm 7)、平蔵 (16 \pm 8)、文蔵 (9 \pm 5)、清蔵 (13 \pm 8)、寅蔵 (10 \pm 5)、常蔵 (8 \pm 4)、万蔵 (18 \pm 10)、善蔵 (19 \pm 11)、嘉蔵 (11 \pm 8)、栄蔵 (12 \pm 7)
<i>matsu</i> (松)	千代松 (17 \pm 11)、松次郎 (18 \pm 7)、松太郎 (18 \pm 10)	亀松 (9 \pm 5)、丑松 (12 \pm 7)、岩松 (12 \pm 6)、槌松 (10 \pm 5)、鶴松 (12 \pm 7)、竹松 (9 \pm 5)、市松 (9 \pm 5)、石松 (11 \pm 6)、吉松 (10 \pm 5)、徳松 (11 \pm 6)、捨松 (11 \pm 6)、由松 (10 \pm 7)、乙松 (12 \pm 8)

The name element *zō* 蔵 is used almost exclusively at the end of names. In Edo K these names show an average age of 12 years and can be therefore classified as childhood names. In dataset Edo F the results are again less evident, since here we find an average age of 21 years, which indicates that these names were used for both children and adults.

Finally, as for the element *matsu* 松, it shows a very low average age of 10 years in Edo K, where it was quite obviously used as a childhood name. In Edo F, names including this element are very rare and their average age is of 18 years. For this particular dataset, *matsu* does not seem to be a typical element in either childhood names or generally any type of name. As far as this name element is concerned, it is very frequently used in Edo K but very rarely in Edo F and therefore we can observe strong regional characteristics relating to its usage.

Similarly to the regional differences witnessed in the age at name changes, the regions also differ in their distinction of childhood and adulthood names. It seems that in dataset Edo K the distinction between the two types is more clearly defined.

3.3.5 Adulthood names

While some name elements have been institutionalized as elements for childhood names, the opposite is true for others, whose usage seems restricted to adulthood names. One example of elements typically found in adulthood names are those derived from office titles (森岡 and 山口 1985: 64).

The usage of these name elements was regulated village-internally, since a name attribution ceremony (*kanto-nari* 官途成り) was necessary to obtain a name of this type. The ceremony in question was expensive and therefore, as Sakata explains, in the middle ages, office title names were a privilege of the highest ranking and richest village inhabitants, which would then become something akin to “village elders” (坂田 2000: 35; 2006: 62, 70 - 71).

The ranking inside the village was based on the responsibilities assumed by each individual or family and the ceremony of name attribution was very important for the “rank construction inside the village” (坂田 2006: 81, 90). Later on, office title names become more accessible to “middle ranking villagers”, but still remain somewhat exclusive due to the cost of financing the ceremony (坂田 2006: 85 - 86, 91 - 92). If someone was able to afford the name attribution ceremony, social uplift through economical wealth became possible.

Given the background of office title names, older individuals were more likely to be in a position allowing them to obtain such a name and their average age should therefore be quite high.

In the present dataset, we observe that the elements belonging to the name field of office titles are not very diverse, but extremely widespread and productive. We have calculated the average age for names including the elements *-bei*, *-saemon*, *-uemon*, *-suke* and *-nosuke*.

Table 13 Average age of name-bearer for specific suffixoids

Name element	Dataset	
	Edo F	Edo K
- <i>bei</i> 兵衛	54 yrs.	46 yrs.
- <i>saemon</i> 左衛門	60 yrs.	50 yrs.
- <i>uemon</i> 右衛門	53 yrs.	48 yrs.

The continuously high average age for the suffixes *-bei*, *-saemon* and *-uemon* allows us to confirm that these elements were used for adulthood names until the 19th century. Among the three elements, *-saemon* in particular has a high average age.

The elements *suke* and *nosuke* also derive from an office title, but show a lower average age, which, while not as low as the elements typical for childhood names, is much lower than the aforementioned three examples.

Table 14 Average age of name-bearer for *suke* and *nosuke*

Name element	Dataset	
	Edo F	Edo K
<i>suke</i> (助, 介 etc.)	21 yrs.	28 yrs.
<i>nosuke</i> (之助, 之介 etc.)	20 yrs.	9 yrs.

In Edo K, names including the element *suke* are very few in number. Also, even though their etymology is the same, the combination of *nosuke* seems much more common for childhood names.

3.3.6 Female name changes

In our dataset we observe that women change their names less frequently than the male population.

Past research has stated that women usually do not change their names and continue to use childhood names for their whole life name (坂田 2006: 160 - 61). This is often explained with women's low social status. Women were part of the "low-ranking people excluded from village politics", and being unable to change their names shows that they are never considered as "full-fledged people" (坂田 2000: 42; 2006: 15 - 16; 大藤 2012: 24, 65 - 67, 102; 飯沼 1987: 48, 50).

Ōtō (2012: 103) points out that, if women change their name, it is often to avoid overlapping with the names of other higher ranking people, such as the mother-in-law. Aristocratic women changed their names when they assumed a position, because a proper true name was necessary for everybody in an official function (飯沼 1987: 48 - 49).

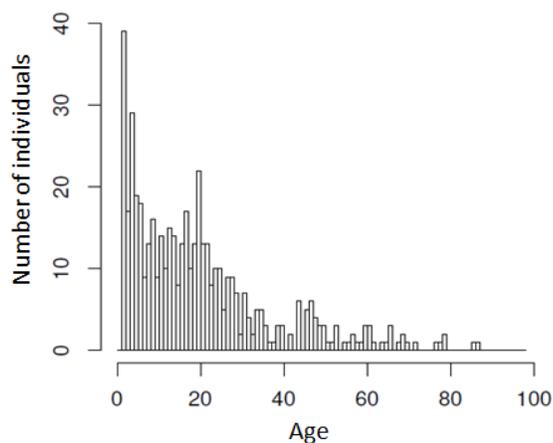


Figure 11 Name changes of women in Edo F

Female names were more diverse until the 14th century (坂田 2006: 160 - 61), during which they also included social marker functions in the form of birth order elements, because women were still included in the inheritance shares (飯沼 1987:

48). Afterwards, female names decrease in variety (坂田 2006: 160 - 61) and length. The shortening of female names is often linked to the low social status of women and the resulting unimportance of their names.

In Inuma's study, women still use different types of names. Records of the female True Names of this period are not numerous, but for those that were recorded, Inuma observes that they have the "form of childhood names". Auspicious abstracta apparently were rare in female names. Inuma supposes a possible restriction in their usage, which he links to the social rank of women becoming lower after the 11th century (飯沼 1987: 50).

The description of women carrying childhood names even as adults is to our mind not the most fitting. It is true that women change their names less often. If they change it, they seem to employ a name of the same form as before. Instead of calling these childhood names, we find it more logical to call them "female names".

Women receive these names at birth, so they are indeed the names they use during their childhood, but they have a distinctly different form when compared to male childhood names. Likewise, female names include name elements which are used in the male childhood names, but they also include elements used in the adulthood names of both men and high-ranking women. The difference between the names of women from the common people and those of the aristocracy lies in the usage of the suffix *-ko*, rather than the semantics. Therefore, rather than considering every woman's name a childhood name, we tend to consider that the differentiation between childhood and adulthood name was simply abolished for women early on.

This absence of name change and the absence of distinct forms for childhood and adulthood names can indeed be explained by the low social status and women's non-participation in public life. For instance, in the Edo period, women also signed with the name of the household chief, i.e. their father or husband, rather than their own (坂田 2006: 161; 飯沼 1987: 59). The different stages in their life were not numerous and not as ritualized as those of male villagers. There are

few accounts of initiation ceremonies for girls. The most important status change is marriage and seems to entail a different kind of name change, towards generic kinship designation as “wife” and later on “mother”. It is likely that such a very different usage of personal names did not cause the creation of name elements expressing the social ranking, i.e. age, similar to those found in male names.

That is to say, in the case of female names of the Edo period, it can be considered that the socially significant distinction between childhood and adulthood name lost its significance much sooner than for male names, leading to a uniform name form for every age.

Table 15 Examples of female name changes

Edo F (age at name change)	Edo K (age at name change)
Katsu → Saka (23)	Fumi → Hana (25)
San → Fuku (13)	Fuji → Tami (14)
Hana → Jun (22)	Tome → Shige (33)
Hatsu → Ine (13)	Taka → Mitsu (25)

3.3.6.1 Submerging of female identity

In two of our datasets, upon marriage female names are frequently replaced by the generic kinship designation “wife”. If the husband dies, this change is not reversed, but the woman in question is then in turn identified either as “mother” or “widow”. The kinship term is therefore chosen in relation to the family’s patriarch.

It is unsure to which point this designation replaced the individual name in daily life, which would constitute a case of **teknonymy**.³³ However, since this name

³³ Teknonymy designates when the individual name is replaced by an expression of kinship, such as “mother of X”, “father of Y” and it may lead to the individual name being forgotten (Alford 1987: 7, 91 - 92). In Alford’s study, the replacement of the parent’s name with their child’s name is the most common and reflects a “child-centered perspective”. In the case of Edo period Japan, the usage of the male patriarch’s name can then be considered to reflect a “male-centered” and more precisely

replacement cannot be observed in the dataset Edo T, it may also have been done due to administrative convenience in the creation of population records. Yet again, there may also have been regional differences concerning the existence of teknonymy. For once, similar observations have been made for Korean and Chinese naming customs (Alford 1987: 52, 86). Likewise, women are in general commonly defined through their relationship to a male person (Alford 1987: 40; Oelkers 2003: 34; 角田 2006: 21). If women lose their own name and become a “belonging” of their husband or father (坂田 2006: 161; 大藤 2012: 124, 29, 35 - 36), this is called the “submerging of identity” (Alford 1987: 88) and can be seen in many societies. In English-speaking regions for instance a married women can be referred to using the name of her husband, e.g. Mrs. John Smith. In our dataset, it seems that a wife’s identity was submerged in her husband’s. However, upon retirement, the names of male individuals are also changed to kinship terms. This leads us to consider more broadly that the individual identity of most family members was submerged into the representative identity of the patriarch.

“patriarch-centered” perspective related to the structuring of society into the “house” (家) family units.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter we analyzed different aspects relating to the naming customs of the 18th and early 19th century.

Firstly, we observe a high number of unique names and an overall low type-token-ratio in particular for male names. We consider that this is caused by a conscious avoidance of overlapping of individual names, for reasons of politeness and protective measures related to name magic.

Then, we analyze the difference between childhood name and adulthood name, two different name types functioning as social markers of age and group membership. We confirm that both name types use specific elements and furthermore observe that such elements tend to occur at the end of the name.

Finally, we confirm that women changed their names less frequently than men. If they do carry out a name change, the former and the new name do not differ in their structure. This leads us to consider that for women during this period there was no longer an institutionalized differentiation between Life-Stage-Names.

4. Semantic Changes and Name Fields

4.1 Introduction

Personal names are derived from existing lexemes, and in most often from common nouns, both *concreta* (具象名詞) and *abstracta* (抽象名詞) (Anderson 2007: 99; Debus 2012: 12, 31).

However, only a small selection of all existing nouns in a language is used for the purpose of creating names. This selection is related to semantic aspects and may be limited to specific lexical fields (Höfler 1993: 17; Sonderegger 1997: 12, 14).

Name elements borrowed from the same lexical domain constitute a **name field** (名称範疇) (Van Langendonck 2007: 270). Typical name fields are the “realm of nature”, “time and circumstances of birth” and the “human mind” or “human values” (Alford 1987: 62 - 63; Anderson 2007: 98, 296; Debus 2012: 83; Stüber et al. 2009; Van Langendonck 2007: 271).

The criteria according to which a lexeme is considered to be appropriate for onymization are closely connected to social norms and may therefore differ significantly and also change over time. Many name elements are used in a regionally limited area, while some show universal popularity (Debus 2012: 72 - 73, 81 - 82, 96).

It has also been pointed out that the etymology on its own does not offer an explanation of the motivation behind each choice. The actual motivation needs to be discovered on a case by case basis from an anthropological or historical stance (Anderson 2007: 296, 97; Debus 2012: 19, 64 - 65; Höfler 1993: 17; Van Langendonck 2007: 273).

The first time an element is used as a personal name is called primary formation (Debus 2012: 13; Nübling et al. 2012: 112).³⁴ At this point a semantic motivation can be assumed (Anderson 2007: 100; Blanár 1993: 47; Sonderegger 1997: 13). However, the continued usage of already established name elements is not

³⁴ *Primärbildung, Primärmotivation*

necessarily related to their etymologies, even if the element's meaning can be understood by the language users. Personal names in general are quickly dissociated from the common noun at their origin. This is also called **onomastic dissociation** (Alford 1987: 146; Anderson 2007: 90, 100 - 01; Debus 2012: 13, 34, 42; Höfler 1993: 16).

Also, in the case of many personal names their etymological origin is not easily recognizable, i.e. over time they have become semantically opaque (Alford 1987: 79, 145; Debus 2012: 31, 57, 62).

As an example, in the case of bithematic Germanic names, different from usual noun compounds, the name elements do not have to create a new semantic entity. Rather each element is chosen separately for its meaning or combined more “mechanically” for other reasons than etymology (Debus 2012: 83; Schramm 2013: 60).

In this chapter we will trace the changes that have occurred in the semantics of Japanese individual names. We will summarize the results of past research and add observations from a new dataset, which has not yet been analyzed from an onomastic point of view.

A periodization of the changes a naming system undergoes over time can be done according to different aspects, which may in turn result in different classifications (Kollmann 2011: 53). Retracing morphological changes may yield a different subdivision than classification according to semantic changes (Koß 2002: 8). There is not yet any consensus on “name-historical, onomastic periods”³⁵ for the Japanese naming system. As we begin this chapter with summarizing the results of past research, we use historical periods as an orientation and structure the analysis of name fields diachronically.

³⁵ *namengeschichtlich*

4.2 Method and materials

For the older periods we consulted and summarized the results of past research by Abe (阿部 1960), Sakata (坂田 2000, 2006) and Seta (瀬田 2000).

Sakata (2000: 37; 2006: 67 - 70, 74 - 78) analyzes the individual bynames of villagers in the years 1251 to 1600 and classifies them into four different name types. These are: (1) clan name-derived, (2) office title-derived, (3) childhood name-derived and (4) others, which are a variety of names including elements based on numerals and birth order (坂田 2000: 34 - 36). The criteria for his classification are primarily semantic and based on the examples listed, we deduce that his classification is based on the initial element in the name. That is to say, names as Hikosaemon 彦左衛門 and Magobei 孫兵衛 are listed under *hiko* and *mago* respectively, rather than under office title names (坂田 2006: 89).

For the Edo period, we extracted all ideograms used in male names from our Edo dataset and classified them according to their signification, while taking into account the name fields observed in the above mentioned works. The resulting classifications are listed in appendix D and F.

Due to the existing research, in this chapter, we are able to take more of a diachronic perspective. However, we have to keep in mind that the sample sites differ and the regional characteristics still need to be examined in detail.

Here, we will first introduce each name field according to their chronological order of appearance. For each field we then add the observations for male names appearing in the Edo dataset. Afterwards, we address the name fields occurring in female names, based on the reconstructed elements overlapping with male names.

Finally, we examine the relation between name type and name field.

4.3 Results and discussion

4.3.1 Name elements originating in ancient Japan

4.3.1.1 The realm of nature

Name elements derived from the realm of nature are a well researched aspect of Japanese individual names. The realm of nature seems to be the basic name field from which a high number of name elements found in the oldest recorded Japanese names have been borrowed. It includes plants and animals, but also inanimate objects as 山 ‘mountain’ or 岸 ‘cliff’.

These naming customs seem to have been influenced by an animistic worldview (阿部 1960: 152 - 53). By sharing names with non-human entities, the name-bearer was believed to also share the spirit, the spiritual power and other attributes associated with the entity in question (Plutschow 1995: 2; 大藤 2012: 63; 田中 2014: 137; 阿部 1960: 148). Immobile objects were associated with sturdiness and longevity.

Early on, Maeda (1917) studies so called **theriophore names**, which include lexemes referring to animals (Debus 2012: 83; Marrapodi 2011: 101; Nübling et al. 2012: 111). He classifies names used up to the 8th century into five categories according to their etymologies, which are four-legged beasts, birds, insects (including the dragon), fishes and shells. He establishes a correspondence between some of the most commonly used elements, e.g. ox, tiger, monkey, goat, horse and dog, and the Chinese sexagenary cycle (干支).³⁶

Abe (1960: 147) also analyses individual names used by villagers in the year 702 and classifies them into names belonging to the name field of nature and names which include elements signifying ‘human’ or related to the human body, such as 手 ‘hand’ or 足 ‘leg’. For the name field of nature, he differentiates them further into elements derived from animals, plants and inanimate natural objects.

³⁶ Maeda (1917: 732) points out that not only are there no tigers in Japan, but also were there no goats in the country during his sample period.

However, based on Maeda's observations, it seems that some of the elements derived from animals actually belong to the name field of "time and circumstances of birth". Also, the 'human' name elements observed by Abe seem to be used for onymization of common lexemes. This indicates that animistic beliefs even in these early times were maybe not as strong an influence on the choice of naming or at least not the only factor figuring into it.

4.3.1.2 Auspicious abstracta and the sinicization of personal names

Under the rule of Emperor Saga in the early 9th century, many naming customs of the Chinese Tang dynasty were assimilated into the Japanese naming system. This includes a formal distinction between childhood and adulthood names. True names, which previously had been attributed at birth, are now given during an initiation ceremony. Also, a fixed form for true names, of humans and places alike is introduced. True names from this point on are made up of two auspicious ideograms (*kaji* 嘉字) and elements derived from nature are generally not included in them. (大藤 2012: 64 - 65, 72 - 74, 78; 田中 2014: 43; 角田 2006: 92; 飯沼 1987: 44, 46) These new naming customs are introduced at first through the higher social classes and spread to the common people until the second half of the 10th century (飯沼 1987: 46).

The sinicization (唐風化 (飯沼 1987: 46)) of true names seems to have contributed to the development of a broad name field of auspicious abstract etymologies. While elements derived from the realm of nature were also chosen due to their positive associations, they differ from those used in true names insofar that they are mostly derived from concreta. Also, abstracta were not completely absent from personal names prior to this, but they were limited in number and their etymologies seem to revolve around the idea of longevity. The elements appearing in true names show a larger diversity in terms of signification. Therefore, we refer to 'auspicious ideograms' as 'auspicious abstracta'.

4.3.2 Name fields of the middle ages

4.3.2.1 Clan names field

The original clan names were derived from place names or professions and attributed by the emperor to his subjects (Plutschow 1995: 8; 大藤 2012: 13 - 14). Many bynames were consequently derived from these clan names. Sakata (2000: 37; 2006: 31, 35 - 36, 76 - 78) observes that clan names are among the most common names in his sample and that they enjoy a stable percentage until they decrease towards the 15th century. Sakata (2000: 34; 2006: 67 - 70) also discovers a correlation between clan-derived elements in bynames and the actual clan name of an individual. Until the 14th century, the clan name is still related to actual clan membership. Afterwards, the clan as a social unit loses importance and is replaced by the “house”, which is a smaller type of family unit (坂田 2000: 31, 38 - 40; 2006: 80, 82, 119).

4.3.2.2 Buddhist name field

Sakata (2006: 36, 72, 109, 36) gives examples of names incorporating elements originating in Buddhist vocabulary, such as Kannontarō (観音太郎 ‘Guanyin’ + ‘first son’), Bishamonsaburō (毘沙門三郎 ‘Vaisravana’ + ‘thirdborn’), Shakajirō (釈迦次郎 ‘Buddha’ + ‘second son’) or the element hōshi 法師 ‘monk’. These elements appear in the 11th century and become frequent in the 13th century and he considers them typical for childhood names.

4.3.2.3 Office Titles name field

The name field of office titles is very interesting due to its elements being linked to the social rank of the name-bearer and therefore functioning as social markers.

The number of name elements derived from office titles increases strongly from the 14th century onwards, becoming especially numerous in the 17th century (坂田 2006: 70 - 71, 77 - 78, 112; 大藤 2012: 88). These elements derived from office titles and court ranks were in reality inaccessible to the common people (Plutschow 1995: 11). Sakata (2000: 34; 2006: 70 - 71) considers that from the 14th century a general loss in value of aristocratic titles made it possible for common people to use such name elements without reprimand.

At the same time, their usage was restricted in a different way, since they were attributed during an expensive naming ceremony (官途成り), which was only affordable to the higher ranking villagers (坂田 2000: 35; 2006: 62, 70 - 71). Such ceremonies were a tool to construct the village-internal hierarchy (坂田 2006: 81, 90).

Throughout the centuries, the actual titles used as name elements differ. Sakata offers a detailed explanation linked to social changes occurring in the overall structuring of the society (坂田 2000: 32, 40 - 42; 2006: 81 - 84). Ōtō (2012: 111 - 14) also details several instances of the authorities trying to regulate the self-proclaimed usage of office title names, due to which only the most established elements continue to be used.

4.3.2.4 Birth Order Names

In Ancient Rome existed names as Primus, Quintus, Decimus etc. These mean 'first', 'fifth' and 'tenth' respectively and were traditionally given to the first, fifth or tenth child. In Japanese the names Tarō 太郎, Gorō 五郎 and Jūrō 十郎 correspond to these meanings and are called **Birth Order Names** (排行名).

Names expressing birth order are very rare in the 8th century. They are introduced in the 9th century and from there spread gradually, becoming a very common element.

They are used in male and female names at first, but once women lose their position in the inheritance system in the 13th century, these elements disappear from female names (飯沼 1987: 51 - 52).

In Sakata's (2000: 37; 2006: 78) sample names including birth order elements increase with each century and he states them as the most common elements in Edo period childhood names (坂田 2006: 130).

Ōtō (2012: 76, 87) notes that names relating to months and days do not necessarily reflect the actual time of birth, but were sometimes intended to balance out an inauspicious birth date and the same may apply to birth order names (Plutschow 1995: 43; 瀬田 2000: 215).

Ōtō (2012: 131) also points out that many name elements have a signification relating to the idea of "successor" for first and also second-born sons. These can be included in the same name field.

4.3.3 Name fields of the Edo period

4.3.3.1 Unproductive name fields

Firstly, our dataset confirms Sakata's observation that clan names have become very rare in the Edo period (坂田 2006: 112). We can only discern elements related to the most prominent clan names Taira 平, Minamoto 源 and Fujiwara 藤.

Secondly, we cannot discern any element related to the Buddhist name field as clearly identifiable as the examples cited above. Gold 金 and silver 銀 are part of the seven treasures of Buddhism (七宝), but it is not clear to which point their usage in individual names of the Edo period related to this association. Also, a female name such as Hō ほう might be a remnant of the element *hōshi* 法師, but again, this requires verification.

Classifying the Buddhist name field as unproductive is not quite precise, since monk names and retirement names continue to be used. Rather, the classical Buddhist name field as it appeared in the middle ages with elements derived from

Buddhist persona has become unproductive, while the institutionalized religious names continue to exist.

In this sample we have identified retirement names based on two criteria. The first one is their high average age due to the name change occurring very late in the individual's lifetime. The second is the fact that once an individual retires from the position of household chief, he is listed in the records as father or grandfather of the new patriarch. To these names we added the names of actual monks for whom the records list their profession (e.g. 宮守 or 住職).

The names we identified this way show a strong regional distribution. Sample Edo K shows many of these names, while Sample Edo F and Edo T show almost none.

4.3.3.2 The materialistic element 'warehouse'

Seta (2000) has classified childhood names from the 13th to the 17th century according to their semantics. In this context, he discovers a remarkable shift in name elements in the first half of the 17th century, when the element 'warehouse' 蔵 appears and increases rapidly in number. Seta analyses the warehouse as a symbol of materialistic wealth and as elements from the name field of nature decrease, he interprets this as a change in values, from coexistence with nature to materialism. Sakata (2006: 109) picks up the same dataset and notes that, while the element signifying 'warehouse' is very common, its highest occurrence is in the year 1664, after which it decreases. He consequently considers this an indication that the change in value towards materialism was temporary (坂田 2006: 130).

It seems that the usage of the element 'warehouse' is not easily analyzed. It may be necessary to not consider the signification of the ideogram straightforwardly, as it may not reflect the elements etymology. What stands out in the usage of 'warehouse' is the fact that two pronunciations seem to be used, depending on where it appears in the name. Female names show that the pronunciation *kura* is

used. When the ideogram appears at the end of male names, however, it is pronounced *zō* 蔵. A differentiated usage of this kind may indicate separate etymologies. There is also the possibility of usage for its phonetic value.

In our dataset this element is used almost exclusively as a suffix. As stated before, even for semantically transparent names, they may not be chosen primarily for their signification (Anderson 2007: 89 - 90). In the case of a productive onymic suffix, its usage has become very automatic rather than semantically motivated. Therefore, the onomastic dissociation (Höfler 1993: 16) should be particularly advanced and the awareness of the etymology among language users can be assumed to be quite low. Hence, even if the primary motivation was of a materialistic kind, it does not seem likely that this suffix was continuously chosen for its signification.

4.3.3.3 Productive name fields

Compared to the names listed by Maeda (1917) and Abe (1960), our sample from the Edo period shows less diversity in terms of nature-derived semantics. Their number seems to have decreased over time, but nevertheless, many of the elements we observe seem to be very old. For instance, the elements 'land' 国, 'island' 嶋 or 'pine tree' 松 are already used in names from the 8th century and seem to have taken a continuous part in name creation. Also, there are several elements derived from inanimate objects and metals, e.g. 鉄 'iron' or 槌 'hammer'. These were apparently associated with health and robustness and their usage is therefore similar to the older inanimate elements, e.g. 'stone', 'rock', which were also related to the idea of longevity. These could be included in an extended name field of 'surroundings', covering both natural and man-made entities which are part of the language community's living space.

In our dataset, we observe that the elements belonging to the name field of office titles are not very diverse, but extremely widespread and productive. For

male names of this time period, this name field can certainly be considered as representative. Its popularity continues all the way until the end of the Edo period. The fact that these elements have been turned into productive affixoids certainly also contributed to their continued usage.

These most widespread elements of this field disappear abruptly due to a new national legislation in 1870 banning the use of office titles in personal names (高木 2006: 61). While the implementation of the law varied according to the region, sometimes the whole male village population was forced to change their names (大藤 2012: 146, 85). The now forbidden name elements were not changed in a uniform way. The affected individuals dealt in different ways with the new legislation. This ranges from simply dropping the forbidden suffix (clipping) or replacing it with another character of the same pronunciation (alternate spelling) to complete name changes (大藤 2012: 186; 高木 2006: 68 - 69). This resulted in a huge change of the name elements used in male names. Without this legislation the name field would have certainly continued to be used and disappeared more gradually. In fact, the elements hei 平 and suke 介 still continue to be used throughout the 20th century.

4.3.3.4 Auspicious abstracta: Blurring semantic borders between name types

From the ideograms used in the male bynames in our sample, we have classified a majority as ‘auspicious abstracta’. Hence, these elements are apparently not limited to true names.

Sakata (2006: 65 - 69) calls the true names of the villagers in his sample “imposing” (「堂々とした」) and it seems that in his sample period only true names used such significations. In the bynames recorded in our sample, a number of the very same imposing name elements appear, including 貞 ‘virtue’, 清 ‘purity’, 勝 ‘victory’, 茂 ‘prosperity’, 利 ‘gain’, 宗 ‘belief’.

While it is not clear to which point common villagers differentiated between true name and byname, we observe that in terms of semantics the line between the two name types is not clearly drawn. We discern that the bases of bynames partly consist of the same auspicious abstracta that are characteristic of true names. In particular, such elements do not only appear in adulthood bynames, but also in childhood names, as for example Yoshimatsu (芳松 ‘amity’ + ‘pine tree’) or Yasuzō (安藏 ‘tranquility’ + ‘warehouse’).

4.3.3.4.1 Reconstructed female etymologies

As stated, many female names in the German onomasticon are derived from male names (Nübling et al. 2012: 50; Oelkers 2003: 36 - 37; Schramm 2013: 99, 105 - 06, 18). For Japanese names, this topic has not yet been researched extensively and we want to leave aside the question of whether an element appeared first in a male name and from this a female name is derived or whether female names were directly onymized from common nouns (Stüber et al. 2009). For now, based on Tsunoda (2006), we consider that in our sample period, female names using the same elements as male names are a distinct possibility.

Based on the reconstructed female names, we have classified their etymologies into different name fields. In order to discover whether female names used semantic elements distinct from male names, the etymologies of the remaining name types need to be uncovered. However, the etymology for every single name would need to be retraced in order to get conclusive results (Debus 2012: 57), which exceeds the scope and aim of this work.

Indeed, names are often considered “treasures” of linguistic research, because they conserve dialectal or obsolete lexemes (Anderson 2007: 87, 107; Debus 2012: 33; Koß 2002: 57; Nübling et al. 2012: 31; Schramm 2013: 73). Ōtō (2012: 131) explains that many male bynames are derived from dialectal words meaning “successor” and further dialectal vocabulary has certainly found its way into personal names. Research in Japanese linguistics has so far not explored this

direction elaborately and the female names of the Edo period warrant a lot more research.

In the present study, we limit our analysis to the female names overlapping with male names, because we can be reasonably sure of their semantics.

The analysis of this reduced sample reveals that female names cover most of the name fields observable in male names. Many of the overlapping elements are derived from the realm of nature, which are typically associated with childhood names. However, female names also use many of the auspicious abstracta associated with true names.

linuma (飯沼 1987: 45), who has analyzed female names from the 8th to the 17th century, notes that after the 11th century auspicious abstracta with the suffix *-ko* 子 are not used among women of the common people. linuma does not mention auspicious abstracta being used without the suffix *-ko*, so, at his sample period the name field seems to have been limited to true names.

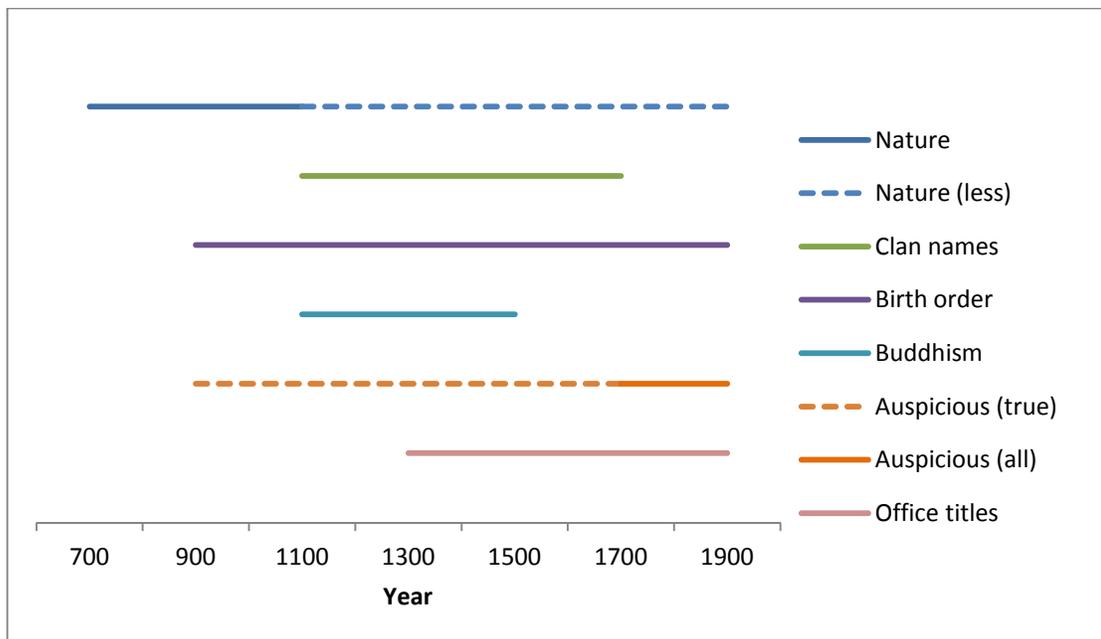


Figure 12 Diachronical overview of name fields

In our sample, female names show a variety of name fields, including auspicious abstracta. Therefore, in the Edo period, the difference between the names of women from the common people and those of the aristocracy seems to lie in the usage of the suffix *-ko*, rather than the semantics.

4.3.3.5 From natural concreta to auspicious abstracta

Seta (2000) sees a shift from nature-derived semantics to materialistic significations. Sakata (2006: 132) in turn argues for a shift from nature-derived to birth-order-focused names. We actually observe a shift towards abstracta, with auspicious meanings and expressing desirable character traits. Some of them, as ‘righteousness’ 義, ‘humaneness’ 仁 or ‘reason’ 理, can be linked to the five virtues of Confucianism (五常), which was the official state doctrine of the Edo period (Dore 2011) and therefore may have facilitated the spread of this name field.

In our sample, women of the common people use the same name elements as the aristocracy while avoiding the suffix which conveys the social rank. The suffix became associated with high social classes, but as onymic base the same name elements were used in all social classes. As stated, male bynames also use auspicious abstracta, which in earlier centuries were apparently limited to the true name. In that sense, women also use the same name elements as men, but they use them only within the prosodic limit of two morae, while male names are compounds of longer name elements.

Based on these observations we conclude that the form of the names was institutionalized to a higher degree than their etymology. The same etymologies can be found in all social classes and names of both genders, but the use of suffixes is very selective and changes strongly between individuals of different social ranks as well as men and women and between different types of names. As social information was expressed through formal aspects, other name elements, which were not institutionalized to such a point, were apparently used quite freely and a wide range of etymologies can be found in individual names of the Edo period.

In table 16 are listed some examples of different name types using the same onymic base. This illustrates that in the Edo period the respective name types did not employ distinctly different semantics.

Table 16 Examples of auspicious abstracta appearing in different name types

Element	Female name	Male childhood name	Male adulthood name
貞 'virtue'	Sada さだ	Sadakichi 貞吉	Sadauemon 貞右衛門
清 'purity'	Kiyo きよ	Kiyokichi 清吉	Kiyouemon 清右衛門
勝 'victory'	Katsu かつ	Katsuzō 勝藏	Katsueemon 勝右衛門
宗 'belief'	Mune むね	Munekichi 宗吉	Sōbei 宗兵衛
茂, 繁 'prosperity'	Shige しげ	Shigematsu 繁松	Shigesaeon 茂左衛門

4.4 Summary

In this chapter we detail the different name fields used as basis for name creation. After summarizing them diachronically, we categorize the elements used in male individual names of the 18th and 19th century into these name fields (cf. figure 12). We also categorize the reconstructed elements from female names.

We observe that in our sample period, male childhood names and adulthood bynames include auspicious abstracta, and so do female names. This leads us to conclude that the same semantics were used universally, not only for both genders, but also in the different name types.

Social information on gender and name type seems to be encoded into onymic suffixes, which are used accordingly.

In contrast, the usage of semantics is governed apparently much more by their relevance to the language community. Name fields, such as Clan Names or for female Birth Order Names, which no longer accommodate the needs of the language users, decrease in number. On the other hand, the well-being of the name-bearer is usually of concern for the name choice. Therefore auspicious abstracta are a common name field in many cultures. While in the Japanese naming system they started out as elements of true names, they are applicable to any kind of programmatic naming and this probably facilitated their spread to other name types.

5. Classification of the Japanese Naming System

5.1 Introduction: A Typology of Naming Systems

Alford (1987) is a huge comparative study of the world's naming customs. He compares a long list of aspects found in the naming systems of 60 societies. One point on this list is the question of the naming system a culture uses to express gender.

The most frequent information conveyed by a first name is the gender of the name bearer and many language communities mark it explicitly (Alford 1987: 52; Anderson 2007: 112, 14; Oelkers 2003: 40, 125). There are different ways of transmitting this information, i.e. this is the question of how gender is encoded into the structure of names. Alford (1987: 17, 66) observes three different types of naming systems, but gives very few details as to the criteria for his classification.

Alford's classification system was picked up by Oelkers (2003: 41), who adds a more detailed explanation. In the following, we present a summary of these.

The first type is the semantic system. This system can only be used if language users can understand the meaning of the names, i.e. the names have to be semantically transparent. The semantic system then uses direct or indirect ways to convey the name-bearer's gender. The direct way consists of transmitting the information "lexeme-inherently" (Oelkers 2003: 126), e.g. by using pronouns or common nouns as "woman, man" in the name. On the other hand, the indirect way uses elements that refer to gender-typical stereotypes or significations associated with either male or female characteristics in the society in question (Nübling et al. 2012: 48, 111, 28; Oelkers 2003: 126). This includes flower names for women, e.g. Rose or Lily. Another example are elements derived from character traits in Germanic names, which are used gender-specifically (Schramm 2013: 28, 55; Sonderegger 1997: 12). Certain semantics can be considered appropriate for both genders and be used as unisex names.

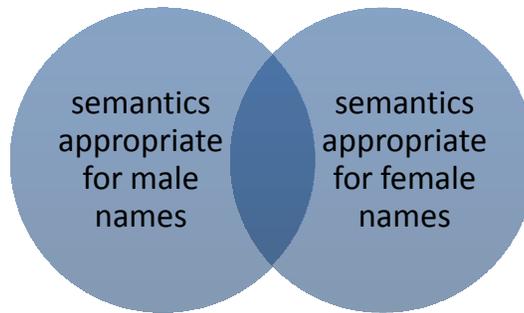


Figure 13 Semantic naming system

The second naming system is the formal type. It is more explicit than the semantic type and uses affixes to differentiate male and female names, even if their signification is no longer understood (Nübling et al. 2012: 129; Oelkers 2003: 50, 55). An example for this kind of system is the gender-specific suffixation found in Latin names, where the suffix *-a* is used for female names and *-us* for male ones. The possibility to combine name elements or use suffixation in order to form new names may favor the development of a formal system and therefore a high productivity can be an indication for a formal system (Oelkers 2003: 55, 66).

Table 17 Examples of names using gender-specific affixation

Male name	Female name
Daniel-o	Daniel -a / Daniel-le
Claudi-us	Claudi-a
Louis	Louis-e / Louis-a
Paul-o	Paul-ine / Paul-a

The third and final system is the conventional type. In this system, there is “a consensus on which name is male and which is female” among the language users. This system therefore needs separate and limited name pools for each gender. These do not have a “high potential for expansion” (Oelkers 2003: 41).

Oelkers consequently analyses the case of contemporary German names. In this case, she concludes that the German naming system is of the conventional type, all the while employing inconspicuous formal elements.

Table 18 Examples of names from a conventional system

Female name	Male name
Doris	Boris
Leni	Lenni
Mona	Jona
Lilian	Kilian
Bella	Bela

In Alford's (1987: 67, 79) sample the most common type is the conventional system, whereas the semantic system is the rarest. However, as personal names change, the typology of the naming system itself can also undergo changes. For instance, the German naming system has developed from semantic to conventional (Nübling et al. 2012: 110) and the tendency in European name systems in general seems to be towards opaque names and conventional systems.

In this chapter we analyze the name creation patterns in contemporary Japanese names and consequently apply Alford's classification to the Japanese naming system.

5.1.1 A criticism of Alford's typology

Alford (1987: 66, 181) classifies 36 naming systems as one of the above-mentioned three types. However, Alford's is an anthropological work, which does not aim to analyze the general methods of name creation employed by a particular linguistic system. Therefore, he does not give many details on the criteria for a naming system to be considered as one type or another. He does not specify

whether the systems are exclusive, as his classification seems to indicate, or whether there is the possibility of a society employing more than one system.

Our understanding is that Alford distinguishes between a name system that uses morphological rules (affixation) to differentiate male and female names and a system using the actual etymology for the same purpose. Furthermore, the conventional system would be a system in which each name has its own lexical entry marking it as male or female, without the original reasons behind this marking being still readily understandable. If we reformulate the issue at hand, the lexical information on the name-bearer's gender can be encoded into the whole word body of a name (conventionally or on a semantic layer) or into a precise name element, e.g. formally with an affix or again semantically in case of a complex name with several constituents.

A name system using semantic differentiation requires semantically transparent names, while name systems with opaque names should tend towards gender marking in the lexical entry.

Another point is that Alford considers one criterion for the classification of the naming system, which is the method used to express gender. In most societies, first names are gender-specific, so it is reasonable to assume a correlation between formation patterns of first names and the way in which gender is encoded into them. Yet, this also raises the question of the extent to which the expression of gender reflects the overall morphological characteristics found in a name inventory. Does the existence of semantically transparent names usually entail a semantic naming system, in which gender is expressed based on the name's actual meaning? Can a formal system or a conventional system still include semantically transparent names, without using these meanings to express gender? Does the presence of semantically transparent suffixes classify a naming system as semantic or formal or both? Are onymic suffixes necessarily gender-specific?

These are some of the questions we encountered throughout our analysis of the Japanese naming system, which was not easily classified as a single type.

There seems to be no reason preventing a system from using both morphological rules and semantic differentiation. Anderson (2007: 90, 92, 302) notes a possibility of “co-existence” or “competing” subsystems and if we consider that a naming system can evolve from one type to another, this should happen gradually with overlapping stages in-between. Here, we argue that the Japanese naming system shows hybrid qualities, which we will detail in the following.

5.1.2 The concepts of transparency and opacity in names

Generally speaking, personal names can be differentiated into transparent names and opaque names. A **transparent name** is a name whose meaning is apparent to the language users.³⁷ They are also called telling names.³⁸ An **opaque name** is a name whose meaning is not readily discernible. This does not mean that the name does not have an etymology, but that it cannot be understood by the language community without consulting a dictionary. Since names often do not undergo the same language change as the general lexicon, they can contain obsolete lexemes or dialectal forms. So in general with time a name will develop from transparent to opaque. Nübling (2012: 54 - 56) proposes a continuous movement from “complete transparency” to “complete opacity” while noting that names in most languages belong in the middle range rather than the extremes. In our analysis we also reached the conclusion that within the Japanese naming system individual names show different degrees of transparency.

In the case of semantically transparent names, parents often express their hopes and expectations for the future of their child through the signification of the name (Alford 1987: 52, 62; Anderson 2007: 85; Nübling et al. 2012: 110, 28; 田中 2014: 5, 215). Such names are called **programmatic names**.³⁹ Transparent names are often

³⁷ Alford (1987: 52, 59 - 62) calls such names “semantically meaningful”, but since most names have an etymological origin, the crucial difference is whether this etymology is still apparent to the language community or not.

³⁸ *Sprechende Namen*.

³⁹ 願掛け, 予言的

chosen according to gender-specific stereotypes concerning desirable qualities for men and women, such as prettiness for girls and strength for boys (Alford 1987: 63).

In this chapter, we analyze the structure of contemporary names and, as a result, classify a majority as including onymic affixation. In the following, we will first focus on the gender-specific usage of onymic suffixes and explain why we consider them to be part of a formal onymic system. Afterwards, we address in more detail the aspect of name transparency and how a logographic writing system correlates with levels of transparency. Furthermore, we classify the name elements in our sample according to their semantics, which leads us to observe a certain gender-specific usage. Finally, we explain specific conventional methods. The detailed analysis is given in appendix L and M.

5.2 Method and materials

Our analysis uses two datasets made up of the contemporary names the most often attributed to newborn children between the years 1990 to 2014.

The first dataset (Cont M) covers the years 1990 to 2003 and includes names that were recovered from the yearly name popularity ranking published by the insurance company Meiji Yasuda Life. This ranking lists the 100 most frequently attributed first names of each year, based on the names of the company's clients. This dataset does not include pronunciations.

The second dataset (Cont B) covers the years 2003 to 2014 and includes names that were recovered from similar rankings published on their homepage by Benesse Corporation.⁴⁰ This dataset includes the most common pronunciation for each name type.

Female names in our dataset use a total of 155 different ideograms. Male names contain 177 different ideograms. The complete list of name types can be found in appendixes G and H.

⁴⁰ <http://tamahiyo.jp/namae/2014/name-ranking.html>

Table 19 Contemporary dataset

	Male names	Female names
Cont M records	1341	1464
Cont M types	314	352
Cont M ideograms	159	184
Cont B records	936	946
Cont B types	188	192
Cont B ideograms	103	110
Total records	2277	2410
Total types	383	421
Total ideograms	178	155

5.3 Results and discussion

5.3.1 Lexeme distribution and onymic affixation

First of all, we analyze the lexeme distribution in names made up of more than one ideogram. For this we count how many different ideograms appear at the beginning and the end of how many name types.

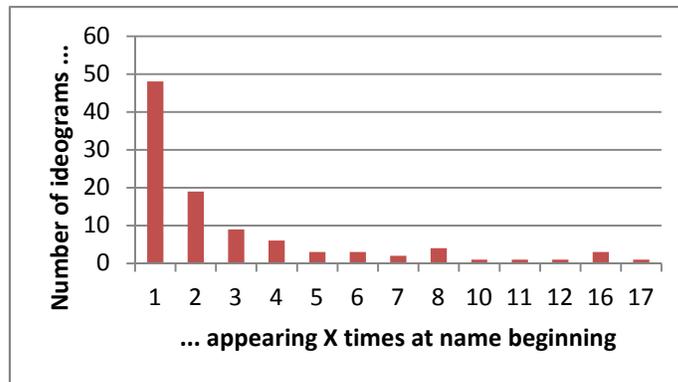


Figure 14 Lexeme occurrences at beginning of male names

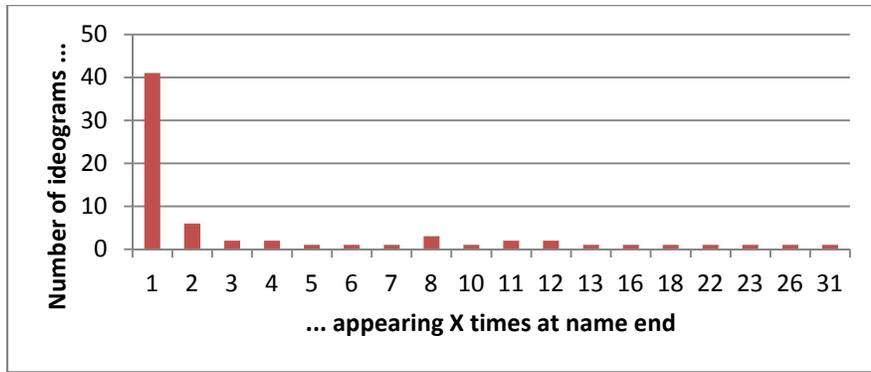


Figure 15 Lexeme occurrences at end of male names

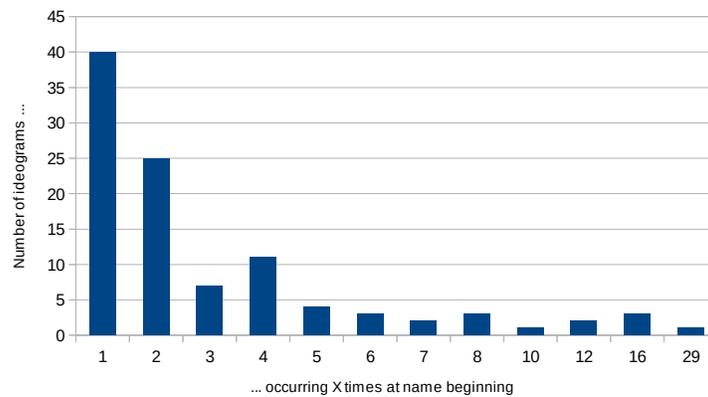


Figure 16 Lexeme occurrences at beginning of female names

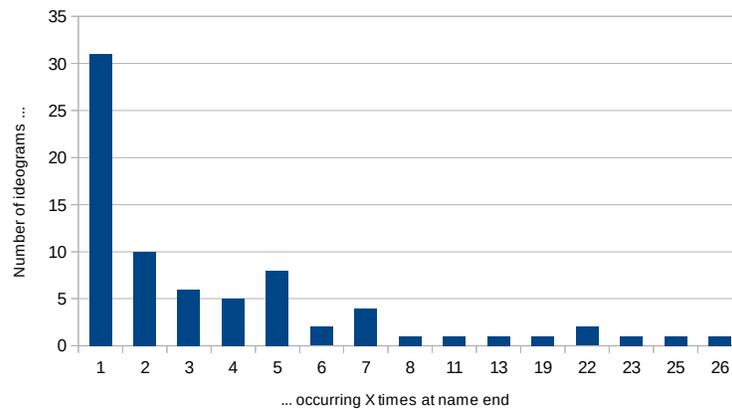


Figure 17 Lexeme occurrences at end of female names

The results show that ideograms in contemporary names have a high degree of diversity both at the name beginning and the name end. A majority of ideograms

occurs only once in either position. In particular female names seem to use a variety of ideograms very flexibly. There seems to be no strong restriction limiting the use of lexemes in either position. From this we deduce that contemporary names show a high degree of diversity and seem to be created according to a variety of productive processes.

Nevertheless, for male names we observe that certain ideograms reach a higher number of occurrences at the name end than at the beginning. For example, the ideogram which appears the most frequently at the end of male names is used in almost twice as many name types as the most frequent ideogram observable at the name beginning. This indicates that there are elements more present in one position than the other.

In order to single out elements that are confined to a particular position, we compare the number of times every ideogram appears in either position. Figure 18 and 19 follow the same methodology as explained in 2.3.2.1.

In the case of male names, we discern that there is a visible discrepancy between which ideograms appear at the beginning and at the end of names. Only four ideograms (翔, 貴, 真 and 大) appear regularly in both positions. Several characters appear to be confined to the name ending and we argue that these can be classified as onymic suffixes. These contemporary elements are however less dominant and more diverse than those of the Edo period.

For female names, we observe a larger number of ideograms that appear both at the beginning and the end of names. However, there are also elements which are a lot more frequent in one position. For those appearing primarily at the name end, we also propose to classify them as onymic suffixes. At the same time, female names also seem to use a certain number of prefixes.

However, such cases are difficult to distinguish and a detailed analysis of a larger corpus which is not limited to the most popular names is necessary. Here, our aim is to show the existence of onymic affixes and morphological name creation patterns.

Among the name types in our dataset, we classify a majority as including onymic affixation. In the following sections, we first address their gender-specific usage and then consider more closely the issue of semantic transparency.

Table 20 Number of names showing features of semantic and formal naming systems

	Fully transparent	Partly transparent	Formal affixation	Others
Male names	34	61	279	8
Female names	57	25	306	21

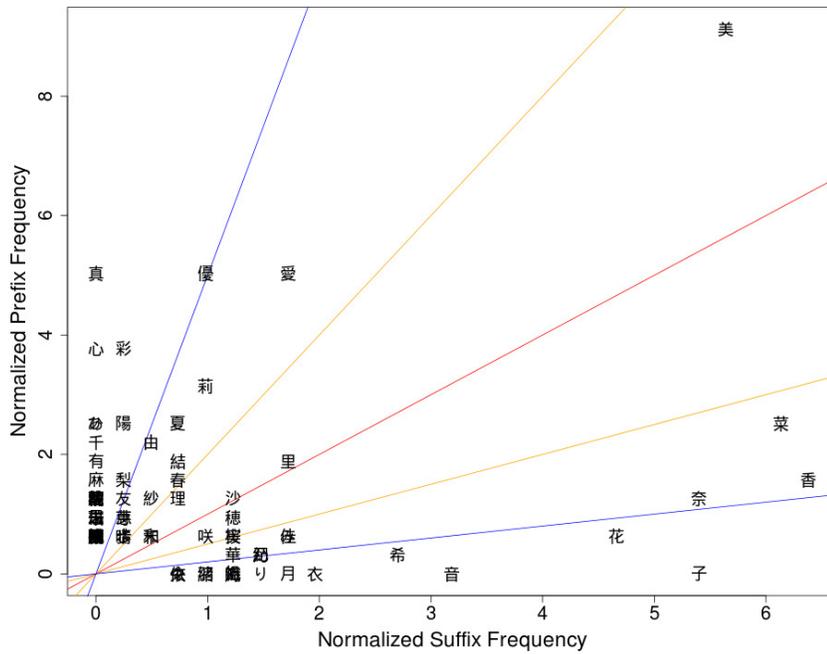


Figure 19 Ideograms according to position within female name types

5.3.2 Gender-specificity expressed by onymic affixation

Both male and female names show elements occurring only at the end of names, but these elements differ according to the gender. As can be seen in table 22 through the addition of one of these suffixes, the same onymic base can be turned into either a male or a female name. A low number of suffixes appear in names of both genders, with *-ki* being the most prominent example. In such cases of overlapping affixation, we observe that usually the suffix is more productive for either male or female names. In the case of *-ki*, it appears in a variety of trimoraic male names. Bimoraic names ending on *-ki* are usually female, while for trimoraic female names it is largely limited to those pronounced as Natsuki (夏希 etc.), Mizuki (瑞希 etc.) and Yūki (優希 etc.). The opposite is true for *-mi*, which is a very productive suffix when it comes to female names, while for contemporary male names it is effectively limited to the name Takumi (拓実 etc.). Based on this, we deduce that such kinds of overlapping suffixation are exceptional cases and there do not seem to be primarily unisex affixes.

Hence, we conclude that contemporary Japanese names employ gender-specific suffixes, which in turn signifies that the naming system uses the standard method of a formal system to express gender.

Table 21 Examples of onymic suffixes in contemporary names

Female suffixoids	Male suffixoids
<i>ne</i> 音, <i>ka</i> 花, <i>na</i> 奈, <i>na</i> 菜, <i>ko</i> 子, <i>ka</i> 香	<i>hei</i> 平, <i>ki</i> 樹, <i>ki</i> 輝, <i>to</i> 翔, <i>to</i> 人, <i>to</i> 斗, <i>suke</i> 介, <i>ya</i> 也, <i>ta</i> 太

Table 22 Gender specific suffixoids added to the same base

Onymic base	Male names	Female names
Haru	Haruto, Haruta, Haruki	Haruna, Haruno, Harumi, Haruho, Harune
Yū	Yūto, Yūta, Yūsuke	Yūna, Yūno, Yūmi, Yūko, Yūka
Kazu	Kazuma, Kazuki	Kazuko, Kazumi, Kazuho
Aya	Ayato, Ayaki	Ayane, Ayaka

As can be seen in table 21, some of the ideograms used as suffixes are homonymous. It seems that the gender-specificity of a suffix is primarily defined through its pronunciation. This makes sense, considering that language and in particular names are first used for speaking and writing is added to this later on. Once a gender-specific suffix has been established, homonymous suffixes should become unusable for the opposite gender, because such a usage would impede communication and severely lessen the social marker function of the suffix.

At the same time, the fact that gender-specificity is encoded into the pronunciation, enables a diversification of the ideograms used for a specific suffix within names of the same gender. It seems that a suffix is established in a first step with one ideogram being used primarily. In a second step, the written representation is opened to innovation and a variety of homonymous ideograms is used.

Table 23 Examples of diversification of ideograms used for onymic suffixes

Suffix	Diversification of ideograms
-na	奈→菜→那→南
-ho	穗→步→帆
-mi	美→海
-ka	香→花→歌
-to	人→翔→斗→大
-ki	樹→貴→輝→希→生
-ha	葉→羽→波

This leads to the possibility of the same ideogram being used for male and female onymic suffixes, while being pronounced differently. In such a case, the gender-specificity of the name is preserved on the phonetic level, while its written form becomes vague.

Table 24 Homographic yet heteronymic female and male names

Graphematic representation	Female pronunciation	Male pronunciation
彩翔	Ayaka	Ayato
悠音	Yūne	Yūto

5.3.3 Individuality in a formal system

Interesting is the fact that there is not a single uniform suffix for each gender, but a variety of elements is used as either a female or a male suffixoid. In fact, while there are established suffixes in our sample, the high number of ideograms occurring only once at the end of names indicates the possibility of further suffixes being coined.

The parents' wish for individuality seems to be the greatest motivation behind name choice in contemporary times (Koß 2002: 134 - 35). Oelkers (2003: 66) considers that uniform gender-specific suffixation as found in a formal system would not satisfy such a wish for individuality. Furthermore, in general word-formation the so called **blocking effect** denotes that language users tend to avoid usage of several synonymous affixes (Booij 2012: 73; Lieber 2010: 186 - 87).

Indeed, a dominant creation pattern relying on a small number of onymic suffixes, as we observed in names of the Edo period, does not seem to correspond to the needs of the language community anymore. The contemporary Japanese naming system has solved this issue by not using only one suffix for each gender, but rather using a number of different gender-specific suffixes. While the ideograms themselves are not synonyms, they all indicate either a male or female name. If there is a productive affix to create a male or female name, further affixes that have the same function of expressing gender are not needed. Hence, the need for further onymic suffixes is then created by a wish for unique names. Therefore, it seems that in contemporary Japanese names the parents' desire for individuality has effectively

invalidated the blocking effect in name creation. We therefore have a formal system that is able to offer diversity and individuality.

5.3.4 Name transparency in a logographic writing system

The usage of a logographic writing system takes the question of name transparency to another level. Names written in a logographic script will always have a basic degree of transparency for every language user who is aware of their graphematic representation.

However, the degree to which the pronunciation is semantically transparent can differ significantly depending on the name in question. In the following we detail our analysis of the different degrees of transparency observable in contemporary Japanese names.

Names whose pronunciation corresponds to lexemes known by the language users are fully transparent on all levels. Elements with many homonymous lexemes are less transparent and their semantics only become clear if one is familiar with the ideograms used.

Furthermore, as stated, in the case of complex names, many of them use formal onymic suffixes, which can be assumed to not be chosen primarily based on their signification, but rather due to their gender-specificity. Such names employing formal suffixes can nevertheless have transparent elements as their onymic bases (cf. table 25).

Table 25 Examples of names with transparent bases and formal suffixes

Rikuto 陸斗, Asato 朝人, Mikiya 幹也, Ichika 一花, Momoka 桃花, Otoha 音花, Nanami 七海, Hanami 花美, Hanano 華乃, Shizuho 静穂, Kotone 琴音, Yuzuha 柚葉, Nijiha 虹葉
--

Hence, the Japanese naming system does not only have a differing degree of transparency depending on the correspondence between spelling and

pronunciation. The degree of transparency varies further among those names employing formal methods and their different onymic bases.

In figure 20 we have visualized the degrees of transparency as they are observable in the names of our dataset. The full classification is listed in appendixes L and M. The transition between each degree is gradual and names of varying transparency can resemble each other closely.

As an illustrative example, we analyze the name Natsu 夏. This name can be considered as fully transparent, because the graphematic and phonetic realization of it are both equally understandable to the language user. The name Natsuho 夏帆 then has the same fully transparent base with a formal suffix, whose signification is not clearly discernible without knowing its written form. We consider such a name to be half-transparent. Finally, the name Kaho 夏帆, while being homographic to the aforementioned example, has a lower degree of transparency, because the semantics of neither element are readily understood due to a high number of homonyms. We classify such a name as belonging to the formal system, while being graphematically transparent.

As another example, we consider the name Wataru 航 as fully transparent, while the homographic Kō 航 is half-transparent. For the latter, language users have an idea of possible significations, but due to a high number of homophones they cannot be sure without being aware of the graphematic form. In our sample this name is homonymous but not synonymous to Kō 煌 and Kō 昊.

Among the names we classified as half-transparent due to homonymy, some have a higher transparency than others. In our sample, we observe a particularly high number of heterographic names pronounced Ryō. On the other hand, the name Ai 愛 is close to a fully transparent name, since among the few existing homonymous names using different ideograms, it is the most prominent one and possibly the usual association most language users have.

In short, the higher the number of homonyms, the lower the degree of semantic transparency becomes.

Table 26 Name examples for different transparency levels

Semantically transparent name		Name using formal affixation	
Fully transparent	Half-transparent	Transparent base	Opaque / graphematic transparency
Natsu 夏 'summer'	Natsu 奈津 (na + 'continuous')	Natsuho 夏帆 (('summer' + suffix <i>-ho</i>)	Kaho 夏帆 (('summer' + suffix <i>-ho</i>)
Sakura 桜 'cherry blossom'	Sakura 咲良 (('bloom' + 'good')	Sakurako 桜子 (('cherry blossom' + suffix <i>-ko</i>)	Ōka 桜花 (('cherry blossom' + suffix <i>-ka</i>)

In general, we consider as fully transparent a name which in its pronunciation is recognizable as a lexeme and whose graphematic representation corresponds to this same lexeme. This includes certain names written in syllabograms, as for example Hikari ひかり or Madoka まどか. These correspond to “word names” as found in other naming system using phonographic scripts.

Another type of half-transparent names are those whose pronunciation corresponds to a lexeme, but whose graphematic representation differs from the latter. We call this a discrepancy between the spoken and written form, which as opposed to “word names” can be considered a sort of “gap name”. The line between a fully transparent word names and a half-transparent “gap name” is quite thin. The latter are for instance likely to occur if the ideograms are chosen according to stroke count or if parents wish to individualize the name’s spelling or add an additional meaning. As an example, from our sample the name Sakura 桜 (‘cherry blossom’) can be cited. We classify this one as a fully transparent word name. In contrast, the homophonous Sakura 咲良 (‘bloom’ + ‘good’) shows what we call a “gap” between the lexeme evoked by the pronunciation and its graphematic form. The ideograms do not reflect the meaning one would expect based on hearing the name.

It is possible that the occurrence of such gap names is related to onymic dissociation. The etymologic origin of the name Sakura is quite clearly the ‘cherry

blossom’. However, once a name becomes established, onymic dissociation will cause the etymology to fade into the background. This may lead some parents to attribute different semantics to a name, even if its etymology can still be understood by the language users.

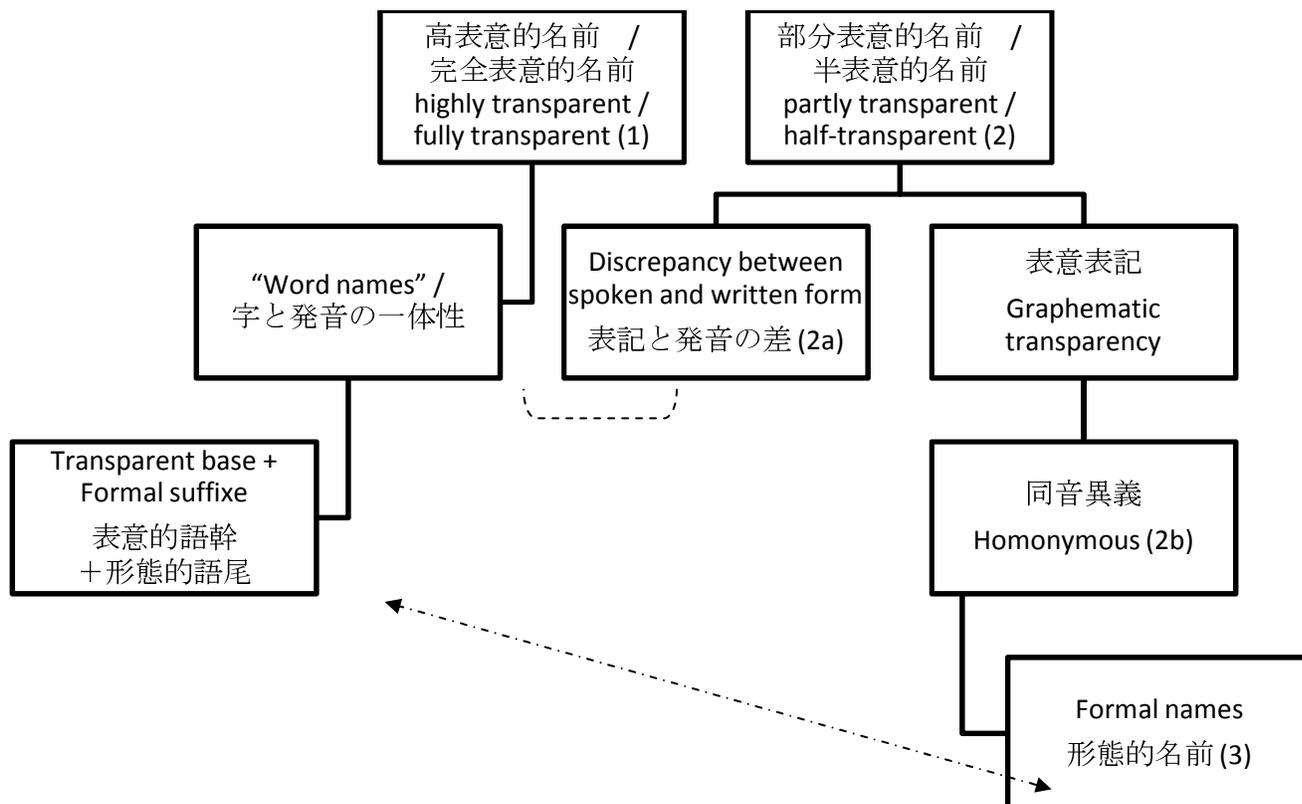


Figure 20 Levels of transparency in Japanese names (numbers refer to examples in appendix L and M)

These ‘gap names’ as we have called them are probably a type of name that is characteristic of the Japanese naming system, as they need a logographic script in order for the “gap” to be created.⁴¹ As said, we suppose their existence to be related to different factors, i.e. name magic, individualization as well as onymic dissociation, but future research should uncover more interesting insights into the reasons and motivations behind their usage.

⁴¹ A similar name type may exist in the Chinese naming system, but we are unaware of any information on this issue.

5.3.5 Gender-specific semantics

As stated, in the logographic Japanese writing system, the semantics of a name are in the majority of cases present at least in written form. Many parents will consider carefully which ideograms they chose for their child's name. The semantics do not necessarily have to be the main reason for the choice of a specific ideogram, as the number of strokes is also a prominent criterion, but in most cases the semantics will probably not be ignored altogether.

Therefore, while we have confirmed the usage of onymic affixes, we also analyzed the gender-specific distribution of ideograms in our sample, in order to find out how many elements are used exclusively for one gender and how many are used for both male and female individuals.

As a result, we observe that 56 ideograms are used in both male and female names. 99 are used only in female names. 120 ideograms appear exclusively in male names. The detailed classification of their semantics is listed in appendixes I, J and K.

Some elements can be interpreted in several ways and therefore fit into more than one category. Our aim is to understand the general tendencies, which is why we tried to categorize each element according to its most prominent association. Overall the name fields we discern are programmatic elements and other abstracta, the realm of nature and the realm of aesthetics. In the latter category we include elements which are perceptible by the senses, as for example colors. We summarize these and natural entities very broadly as concreta.

In the following we explain in which aspects the name elements restricted to either gender differ and which semantics can therefore be considered to show a tendency towards gender-specificity.

5.3.5.1 Semantics in contemporary male names

The semantics of contemporary male names show a strong tendency towards abstracta. Most of them seem to be auspicious elements, as used in programmatic

names. Apart from these, a second name field consists of elements that can be classified as belonging to the “realm of nature” (cf. appendix I).

For abstracta, we divided them further into subcategories depending on their signification. Many abstracta are related to character traits, among which in particular elements signifying ‘sincerity, integrity’ and ‘clarity’ stand out. However, the abstracta used for names are not limited to such desirable moralistic character traits. Another group consists of elements relating to “talent” as in intelligence, giftedness. Also frequent are elements evoking an idea of grandeur and splendor. Related to these are significations of movement, such as ‘swiftness, rapidity’, e.g. 駿 or 颯, and vastness.

The latter idea of vastness is also quite present in the second name field of elements derived from the realm of nature. These include ‘land, earth’ 大地, ‘continent’ 陸 or ‘mountain peak’ 岳.

Overall, it seems that the ideograms used in male names concentrate on inner qualities of the name-bearer and in that context also express a certain attitude of ambition. Our impression is that parents seem to concentrate on wishing for a successful and happy life according to the child’s own standards. Their priority does not seem to lie only with wishing for their child to have a good character. That is to say, happiness can take different forms for different people and contemporary parents primarily seem to wish for their child to “find its own way”, be true to himself, be ambitious and thereby achieve happiness as an individual person.

5.3.5.2 Comparison of male and female semantics

What differentiates the name fields present in female names from those of male names the most is that, in addition to auspicious abstracta, female names show many elements of aesthetic appeal (cf. appendix J). This includes physical attractiveness, from overall ‘beauty’ (美) to pretty ‘eyes’ (瞳), but also the Arts, especially music and colors.

In fact, the element *mi* 美 ‘beauty’ can be understood in different ways. Concerning the noun category, it usually would be classified as an abstracta expressing an aesthetic concept. The lexeme itself can be used for referring to outer as well as inner beauty. However, many ideograms referring to some kind of inner beauty in the sense of a virtuous character or desirable inner qualities are used in names of both genders. Yet, male names that include an element pronounced *mi* seem to effectively avoid this ideogram and use other homophone elements as 己 ‘self’ or 美 ‘truth’ instead. Therefore we assume that, as a contemporary name element, ‘beauty’ usually includes the idea of ‘outer beauty’.

In the same vein, many elements used in female names can be considered as referring to visually pleasing things, such as colors or fabrics. In this context the usage of flower elements stands out in particular, since a large number can be observed in our dataset. Flower names seem to be strongly gender-specific in their usage.

Another gender-specific usage can be observed for semantics related to animals. While the realm of nature is a popular name field for both genders, elements derived from animals have almost completely disappeared and in particular seem to have become unusable for female names. For boys, 3 out of 4 animal-derived elements, the dragon 竜, 龍, horse 馬 and tiger 虎, are related to the Chinese zodiac (干支) and they are particularly popular in the respective years of birth. Similar naming inspired by the year of birth, however, does not seem to be appropriate for girls any more. Interestingly also, the only other animal present in the male names in our dataset is a bird of prey, the ‘falcon’ 隼, as opposed to the ‘crane’ 鶴, which still holds itself as a female namesake.

Another interesting case of opposing semantics in male and female names are the concepts of ‘small, little’ 小 and ‘big, huge’ 大. Female names do include some large natural entities as the sea or the sun. On the other hand, they also include very small entities, as sand 沙 and droplet 雫, as well as the above mentioned

myriad of flowers. Such small entities seem generally absent from male names, which in turn include an additional number of huge entities.

Table 27 Examples of semantic opposites in contemporary names

Female elements	Male elements
小 'small'	大 'big'
子 'child'	人 'human'
風 'windless'	颯 'gale'
羽 'feather, small wing'	翼 'wing'
鶴 'crane'	隼 'falcon'
沙 'sand', 葉 'leaf', 穗 'grain spikelet', 霽 'droplet',	陸 'continent', 湊 'harbor', 地 'earth', 岳 'mountain peak'

Our sample shows the general tendencies as they appear among the most popular names of the last 25 years. If summarized very broadly, male names focus on the (desired) inner qualities and future of the name-bearer, while female names also express outer qualities, i.e. things of aesthetic appeal.

Abstracta that appear in popular female names of the 40s to the 70s, as 'sincerity' 純 or 'elucidation' 啓, are now centered more strongly on male names. In female names we can therefore observe a trend towards significations derived from concreta of aesthetic appeal, visually or otherwise perceptible and pleasing to the eye or ear, as opposed to positive character traits or wishes for a fulfilled life.

However, this does not lead us to conclude that in contemporary society the inner qualities of girls are necessarily less important than those of boys. Most of the shared name elements belong to the name field of auspicious abstracta and these can be interpreted as programmatic name elements expressing for example desirable character traits but also wishes for the overall life experience the parents' desire for their child (cf. appendix K). Hence, inner qualities are also relevant for female names.

Rather, in our opinion, this reflects a difference in how society handles the individual names of boys and girls. It is known that female names are less conventional, more prone to fluctuation and more flexible. Female names are more likely to function as “verbal jewelry” in order to underline the individual attractiveness of the name-bearer (Alford 1987: 155; Oelkers 2003: 37). The name elements used only in the female names of our sample seem to reflect this tendency quite clearly, because they evoke a variety of visually pleasing, aesthetic objects, as physical beauty, flowers, colors, fabrics, perfumes, sounds etc.

The name field related to the time and circumstances of birth is difficult to discern from our data, due to the fact that these circumstances vary depending on the child and can be expressed in a variety of ways. Names including elements related to seasons or months are likely to reflect the birth time. However, also elements related to seasonal flowers may in fact overlap with this name field. In this aspect, we discern that the time of birth is a relevant name field for both genders, but nevertheless expressed differently. While male names reference the Chinese zodiac, female names use other types of referencing.

Interestingly, the gender-specific semantics do not seem to be used systematically. Within female names we observe significations that can be considered as opposites. As stated, elements derived from flowers are overly present in girls’ names, which is a typical stereotype. At the same time, female names also include the element 凜 which can mean ‘brave’, but also ‘virile’, and is therefore not a gender-stereotypical attribute. Furthermore, in addition to small natural entities, which form an opposing pool to the huge natural entities in male names, female names also include such huge entities as well. Similarly, the signification ‘windless’ 凜 is an opposite of ‘gale’ 颯 as used in boys’ names, but female names also use the general element ‘wind’ 風.

That is to say, in particular for female names, some semantics defy stereotypical associations, while others conform to it. Overall the semantics observable in female names cover a larger number of name fields and a variety of elements. On the other

hand, for male names, the semantics are more centered on similar significations without being clear opposites of each other. Here, it seems that the parents will vary between desirable attitudes or wishing for a fulfilling life, but we cannot observe a strong tendency towards aesthetic significations.

We think that the above is the result of the modern free choice of naming, which reflects more strongly the individuality of the parents choosing the name. Some parents will consciously or unconsciously conform to gender-stereotypes, e.g. by giving their daughters flower names. Others do the opposite. The sometimes opposing semantics within female names possibly reflect that there is no clear social consensus on what is wished for and expected of a daughter as opposed to a son. If a part of the population has clearer defined gender-specific associations than the other, this results in a variety of semantics. For male names, there seems to be a stronger consensus concerning which significations are off-limits or irrelevant to the name-bearer, such as semantics related to 'smallness'.

Both concrete nouns and abstract nouns are commonly used as bases for name elements of anthroponyms. However, in case of the former the choice is much more restricted and directly related to the specific cultural and also religious conventions of the language community (Blanár 1993: 48; Marrapodi 2011: 101). Hence, not every object is equally appropriate as a namesake.

In the Edo period, male and female names both used semantics relating to different types of concreta. However, once associations such as 'metal' indicating a wish for a child's good health or animals as spiritual entities are lost, these concreta become more difficult to use in names. As stated, almost only animals relating to the time of birth are used in our sample. Hence, nowadays, concreta that are considered appropriate for onymization are those with an aesthetic appeal and certain inanimate natural entities. Here, female names seem more open to onymize new concreta and they unlocked new name fields that are not widely present in male names.

We conclude that the contemporary Japanese naming system employs gender-specific usage of semantics to a certain degree.

In an addition to the varying degrees of transparency and gender-specific suffixation, there also seems to be a too large number of unisex semantics which still do not result in actual unisex names to accord for a primarily semantic system as understood by Alford (1987). However, neither does the system function purely like a formal system.

5.3.6 The conventional aspect of name length

For female names of the Edo period, we observed a prosodic restriction on name length. While language users do not seem strongly aware of it, we argue that in contemporary names this restriction has not disappeared. Female names today do allow for a length of two or three morae, but names with a length of four morae, such as Sakurako 桜子, are extremely rare.

An example which we believe to well illustrate this restriction is the name Himari 向日葵. These ideograms are usual read as *himawari* and signify ‘sunflower’. As flower elements are very popular in female names, the etymology fits well into contemporary naming trends. However, with a length of four morae the pronunciation was apparently too long and the shortened *himari* became established instead.

Contemporary male names are shorter than their Edo period counterparts, but they do allow lengths of up to six morae, such as the names Yūtarō or Ryūnosuke, and four morae long male names are not rare.

Another observation we make is that male names use a large number of elements including long vowels. We have classed most of these as “homonymous” according to their degree of transparency (cf. appendix L 2b). Beyond this, their gender-specific distribution is striking. Elements including long vowels appear in female names, as we have seen, during the Edo period. In the 20th century they are

used in combination with the suffix *-ko* and later on *-ka* (e.g. Shōko 翔子, Yōko 陽子, Yūka 優香). However, in our contemporary dataset, they appear almost exclusively in male names.

Here, we discern a trend. It seems that long vowels are becoming gender-specific and, with the exception of *yū*, they are apparently less and less used in female names.

Gender-specific name length and gender-specific distribution of sounds is part of the “elusive formal methods” a conventional naming system can employ. This adds another layer of complexity to the Japanese naming system and its methods of name creation.

Concerning the gender-specificity of long vowels, we propose to consider that this phenomenon is related to the low level of transparency of these elements. In Japanese, many lexemes with long vowels have a particular high number of homonyms. When used as a personal name, their level of transparency can therefore become very low. If simplex names with long vowels become gender-specific, this can then be considered a manifestation of a shift from semantic naming to conventional naming.

Very interesting also are instances in which the formal and conventional features are effectively intertwined. As we have seen, the suffixes *-ki* and *-o* are mostly reserved for trimoraic male names, while they occur frequently at the end of bimoraic female names.

5.3.7 From name creation to name creativity

The writing system is a great factor in contemporary names and the spelling of a personal name is “not insignificant” (Nübling et al. 2012: 85, 110, 18). This statement is true for phonographic and ideographic writing systems. For instance, in German names, parents will use a slightly different spelling to add creativity, an additional layer of individuality or “refinement”.

Lipka (2000: 199) observes that the “intricacies of the Japanese writing system” influence name creation. Japanese currently has one of the most complex writing systems in the world and, as we have seen, contemporary Japanese names use the possibilities of this system to the fullest. The Japanese writing system allows for many homophonous and homographic names. Homographic names do not have to be homophonous and homophonous names do not have to be homographic. Changing the “spelling” will often result in changed semantics, which means that re-motivation becomes possible quite easily by replacing an ideogram with another homophonous but not synonymous one. The line between re-motivation and new coinage is very thin and only difficultly retraceable.

For German names Nübling et al. (2012: 87) note a “divergence from standard grapheme-phoneme-correspondence”, which is related to the high number of foreign names borrowed notably from French and English. Japanese names on the other hand deviate from the established readings of ideograms, for example by using only part of the usual pronunciation.

Lieber (2010: 70 - 71) details an interesting difference between normal word-formation, which she calls “productivity”, and “creativity”. According to this, productive processes in word-formation are usually used “unconsciously and do not stand out to the listener”. Creativity on the other hand is used on purpose to form new words, for example as a show of humor or to draw attention. In Japanese names the generally high productiveness as we have seen it since the 18th and 19th century can be considered to have reached the stage of creativity in contemporary times.

Parents seem to consciously create new names as well as add slight modifications to existing ones in order to achieve individuality, as is visible for example in the diversifying ideograms used for onymic affixes. In this aspect contemporary names differ strongly from the also very productive but much less noticeably unique names of the Edo period.

5.3.8 Structure of the Japanese Onomasticon

Finally, given the structure of Japanese names, we find it useful to consider the idea of the “onomasticon” more precisely. As said, the onomasticon is usually defined as a “pool of names”, but there is still a continuing discussion on whether the onomasticon itself belongs partly or completely into the lexicon or whether it is distinct from it (Debus 2012: 31, 42; Koß 2002: 59; 鏡味 2007: 5).

For Japanese names it seems more fitting to consider a “pool of name elements” available for combination. At the same time, previously created names may be included in the onomasticon as established compounds.

That is to say, in the Japanese naming system we do not only have a “pool of names” but also a “pool of name elements”. Anderson (2007: 263,65) considers a distinction between “active names” and “inactive or dedicated names”. In his idea, active names are those names currently in use to designate an individual. He therefore considers the onomasticon as a stock of inactive names, waiting to be activated through the act of being bestowed on a newborn child. He then continues to mention that some languages do not have such a kind of name stock, but rather they have a “potential” onomasticon. The onomasticon is “delimited by regularities governing the selection of name elements”. We find this similar to our idea of a “pool of name elements” as opposed to a “pool of names”. These “regularities” are precisely the possibilities, rules and patterns of name creation available to the language users. We can consider that these creation patterns are related to whether a naming system has a stock of names or of name elements. In this context, Anderson talks about “institutionalized onomastic systems” and we believe this would correspond to a system that out of itself is non-productive in a morphological sense. To add new names to its onomasticon, such a system would rely on borrowing or clippings. A productive system in turn requires a pool of name elements to be used for compounding. However, a productive system may also have a pool of established names in addition to the potential new creations.

A lexeme is then moved from the general lexicon into the onomasticon through the act of naming, i.e. onymization. In the Japanese naming system this often includes derivation in form of a combination with an established onymic suffix. Conversion is also possible. The latter can result in fully-transparent names.

In theory, all lexemes are potential candidates for onymization, but in practice the language community prefers certain lexical fields. For contemporary Japanese names, the most prominent fields are abstracta with programmatic and auspicious semantics, the realm of nature as well as the realm of aesthetics. The latter is a broad field, which can be interpreted according to the individual aesthetic sense of the language user.

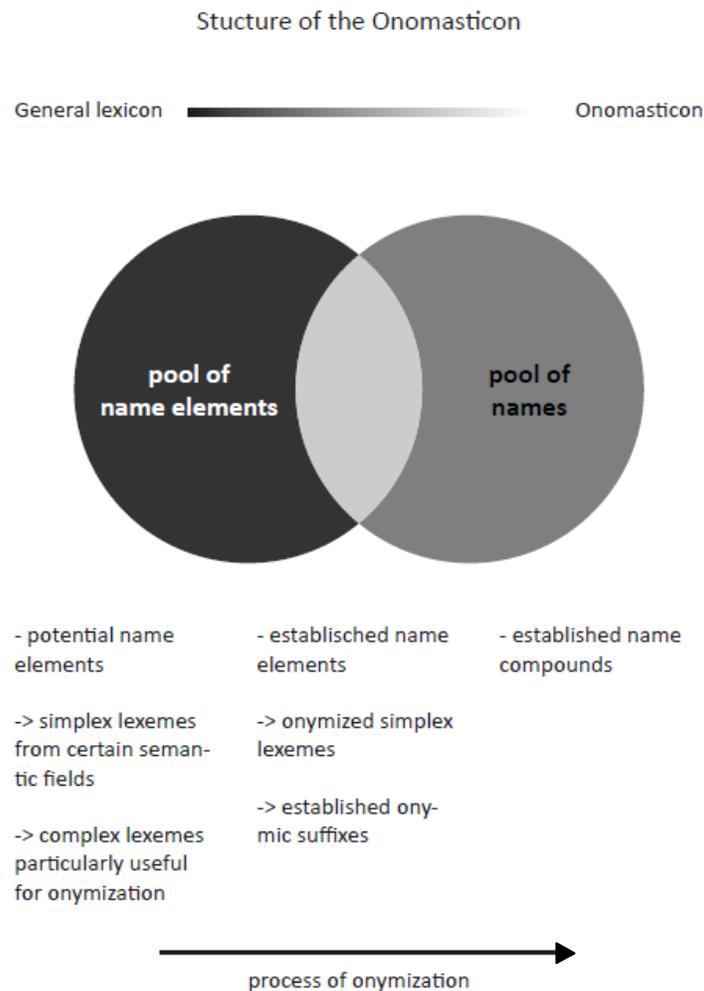


Figure 21 Structure of the Japanese onomasticon

Names and name elements are removed from the onomasticon if they are no longer attributed to new individuals. Whole name fields can become largely unproductive, as is the case of the name fields of Birth Order Names or Office Title Names, of which, while widely used in the Edo period, only a few elements persist in contemporary names.

Apart from the semantics, there also seem to be certain formal limitations as to which lexemes are included in the “pool of potential name elements”. That is to say, in the contemporary system only lexemes allowing for the creation of female names no longer than three morae are effectively included in the potential name elements.

5.3.9 A comparative look at the Japanese naming system

Based on the different analysis we conducted, we present in the following a brief look at those aspects that differentiate the Japanese naming system from the German one. This section aims to offer a perspective on certain points which may represent interesting directions to be pursued in further research of comparative onomastics.

5.3.9.1 The religious aspect: Influence of Buddhism and Christianity

Religious influence has led to the German naming system adapting a large number of foreign names, which were not semantically transparent to the language users. This increase in the degree of opacity of personal names has lastingly impacted the naming system and its shift towards a conventional system (Debus 2012: 85).

The Japanese naming system has handled the adaption of foreign elements differently. Buddhism was imported early on from the Asian continent and from the 11th century onwards, there are clearly discernible Buddhist elements in individual

names. These however apparently did not lead to an increased degree of opacity. The original etymologies of these elements are indeed opaque to the language users, but they are recognizable as distinct elements referring to prominent personalities. In this case, foreign names were not adapted as independent names per se, but rather they were integrated as name elements into a productive system. They remained recognizable as separate name elements and they could also disappear again from personal names, if the language users chose not to access this particular name field anymore.

The possibility of name changes also seems to be a factor in the different ways foreign elements were adapted. Monk or nun names are a particular form of religious names. They include complicated elements from the religious doctrine and these were certainly more opaque to the general population. However, as these names are assumed at the end of one's life, they do not replace the pool of native and more transparent names.

This has led to there not being an established pool of religiously-based individual names in the Japanese onomasticon, which differentiates it from the German system. Individuals may choose names based on religious motivation, since abstracta in particular can overlap with religious doctrines, but these are not as clearly discernible as for instance the names derived from characters of the bible.

5.3.9.2 The semantic aspect

The usage of a logographic script is a palpable difference between both naming systems.

When choosing a name, parents in contemporary Germany do not consider its etymology as an important criterion. They are not perturbed by names derived from lexemes as 'blind' (Cecilia), 'crippled' (Claudia, Claudius), 'rival' (Emil, Emilia) or female names meaning 'man, male' (Andrea, Svenja, Charlotte). Even though these etymologies can nowadays be easily researched, the names themselves are

completely opaque to the language user. Therefore, their etymologies can and effectively are ignored and do not strongly influence the name choice.

In a logographic system the semantics of a name are much harder to ignore. Ideograms are not always chosen primarily for their significations. They can also be chosen for their pronunciation or their stroke count, the latter being a practice relating to name magic which is still fairly common in contemporary Japan. Based on the stroke count of the ideograms used in the full name of the individual, the name fortune is calculated. If the originally chosen ideograms turn out to have an unlucky stroke count, many parents will change them. Furthermore, as stated, many names are only semantically transparent in their written representation.

Albeit the above, the semantic aspect certainly plays a greater role in the Japanese naming system than in the German one. Even in the case of ideograms chosen for pronunciation or stroke count, negative significations will be avoided and, as we have seen, there is also a discrepancy between the semantics of male and female names.

5.3.9.3 Assimilation of foreign names

Borrowing is a way of adding new words to the lexicon directly from a different language without using the language-internal morphological system (Booij 2012: 19). Thus, a way of creating new names is by borrowing them directly from a foreign onomasticon. These names are consequently called **loan-names** or **borrowed names**⁴² (Oelkers 2003: 34 - 35).

Different languages employ borrowing to varying degrees and the same is true for naming systems. Borrowing seems to currently be one of the primary ways of creating new names in the German naming system.⁴³

⁴² *Lehnnamen*

⁴³ Another way of creating new names is clipping, which means that diminutives and short forms become established as proper names on their own. For instance, the German name system has frequently employed this method and created a large number of "short forms" which consequently

While the Japanese language is very open to borrowing lexemes from Chinese in the past and in particular English in the present, the Japanese naming system does not seem as open. Despite the large vocabulary of loanwords from Chinese, English and other languages, the Japanese onomasticon seems unfathomable by the influence of foreign individual names.

In our dataset, we can only discern a few examples that seem to be at least inspired by foreign names, which are Anna 杏奈, Sara 紗良 and Leo 怜央.

One factor limiting the borrowing of names seems to be that only those fitting neatly into the Japanese language's phonetic system are adopted. This is the opposite of observations made for the German naming system, where individual names differ significantly from the phonetic structure of common nouns (Nübling 2014). There is also no such restriction on the borrowing of foreign lexemes into the Japanese lexicon.

Also, we have already seen that borrowed religious elements were adapted differently into the naming systems and that Japanese names also use lexemes from the non-native lexical stratum. Thus, borrowed lexemes can be consequently used in name creation. However, personal names are seemingly not borrowed as pre-established entities.

This is interesting given the fact that usually the lexicon is considered one of the parts of language easily attained by external influences and therefore both common nouns and proper nouns are supposed to be receptive for language-external factors (Debus 2012: 32). Thus, the onomasticon is also usually placed in a similarly external position as the lexicon.

For the Japanese naming system it seems that the behavior of the onomasticon does not necessarily resemble that of the general lexicon. This may be related to the type of onomastic system employed by a language community. An onomastic system relying on language-internal morphological creation patterns may not be as

became independent and are no longer associated with their sources (Booij 2012: 19; Debus 1993: 504; Lieber 2010: 53).

susceptible to language external influences and rely less on loan-names to extend the name pool.

5.3.9.4 Name transmission

The term *nachbenennung* designates a custom of name transmission in which one individual purposefully receives the same name as another individual. In the German naming system this has traditionally been a common practice. Children were often named after their parents, grandparents, godfathers, saints and other namesakes.

In the Japanese naming system *nachbenennung* does not take the form of attributing the same name to two individuals. Rather, the common way involves a form of clipping. An element from the namesake's name is chosen and then combined with a second, different element to create a new name. The element which is thus passed on from generation to generation is called a 'passing element' (通字 *toori-ji*). It is passed down in the male bloodline (大藤 2012: 68).

Namesakes often have a special relationship, because a shared name reflects a "shared identity" (Alford 1987: 80). In this vein, the transmission of name elements in Japan was also used to establish loyalty between rulers and their subordinates (Plutschow 1995: 2, 47, 49, 51; 坂田 2006: 35 - 36; 大藤 2012: 13 - 14, 109).

The custom of the same name being born by father and son also exists, but is used in different circumstances. In these cases a name is linked to a household, which is why these names are called 'house names' (家名). The name is assumed together with the assumption of the social position of household chief.

For the German naming system research has shown that the custom of *nachbenennung* has been continuously decreasing. In the case of the Japanese naming system, it seems to be taking a slightly different form. Lipka (2000: 199) mentions an example where elements from the parents' names are combined to create the child's name. This does not seem to be an isolated case. A certain

number of parents chose to include an element from either parent's name in their child's name. Here, the usage of the mother's name as a namesake and the combination of both parent's names seem to be a modern phenomenon.

It remains to be seen which percentage of the population uses this method, if it is more common for sons or firstborns and if there is a correlation between the mother's name being used as a namesake for daughters and the father's name being chosen for sons.

5.4 Summary

In this chapter we aimed to categorize the contemporary Japanese naming system according to Alford's (1987) typology of naming systems. We find that it uses different aspects of each system. Analyzing the names' inner structure shows the usage of gender-specific affixation, while we also observe differing semantics for male and female names. In addition to these prominent aspects from formal and semantic systems, we discern two conventional methods in form of a prosodic restriction on female name length and gender-specific usage of long vowels.

Therefore, we conclude that the contemporary Japanese naming system is a hybrid system, exhibiting strong characteristics of a formal system while also showing characteristics of a semantic and a conventional system.

Furthermore, contemporary names show varying levels of transparency, which range from fully transparent to transparency only in written form.

We observe that in both their morphological structure and semantics, contemporary female names tend towards less institutionalization than male names and also than the female names of the past.

Finally, we propose that the Japanese onomasticon includes a pool of potential name elements, which can be used to create new names.

6. Conclusion

In this work we analyzed the Japanese naming system of the 18th and 19th century, as well as the names of contemporary times.

In chapter 2 we investigate the inner structure of pre-modern individual names and formulate principles of name creation. We show that male names employ productive onymic suffixes and that they are mostly created according to a bipartite principle. Female names on the other hand show prosodic restrictions. Despite this, their inner structure seems to be quite diverse as we observe monothematic as well as bipartite names. In this context, we also propose an etymological origin for female names ending on *no*, by retracing them to male names ending *no –nosuke*.

In chapter 3 we analyzed the different name types occurring in the polyonymic name system of the Edo period. We are able to confirm a number of results from past research and we further observe that adulthood and childhood names can be identified by the element appearing at the name ending. We also observe a low type-token-ratio and many unique names appear in our sample. This means that names in pre-modern Japan show a high degree of diversity, which we tie to the existence of customs of name magic and name avoidance.

The above is related to our findings in chapter 4, where we retrace the various name fields of Japanese individual names. Past research has often linked the different name types with specific semantics. In our sample period, we observe that, on the contrary, many name elements appear in childhood names, adulthood names and female names alike. That is to say, rather than through semantics, it seems that the different names types were distinguished through morphological criteria, in the form of specific affixation for each name type.

Finally, chapter 5 is dedicated to the analysis of contemporary names and aims to classify the Japanese naming system in accordance with Alford's (1987) typology. We observe productive onymic affixes in names of both genders, which shows that the naming system employs formal features. These are complemented by certain conventional patterns, among which is a prosodic restriction of female name length.

In addition, we identify a possible gender-specific distribution of long vowels. Finally, contemporary names also show a certain degree of gender-specific usage of semantics. Due to its strong formal characteristics combined with distinct features of conventional and semantic systems, we classify the Japanese naming system as a hybrid system.

When comparing the naming systems of both time periods, we discern that the prosodic restriction was established in the Edo period and continues to this day. The usage of gender- and rank-specific affixation apparently goes back even further. To which point the gender-specific usage of semantics existed in pre-modern times is a matter that remains to be uncovered. It is possible that contemporary names show a higher degree of semantic gender-specificity, due to the logographic writing system.

Overall, we consider that the pre-modern name creation patterns generally persist in contemporary names, but have nevertheless become more versatile for both male and female names. There is now a variety of onymic affixes for both genders and a high number of trimoraic female names, while monothematic male names have also increased in number.

From the point of view of general onomastics, this analysis of the Japanese naming system indicates that the morphological structure of names is more easily institutionalized than semantics. This means, social information, concerning rank as well as gender, is more likely to be expressed through formal aspects as affixation, even within a system that has a relatively high degree of semantic name transparency.

With the usual direction of transition being from a semantic system to a conventional one, we would expect the emerging and existing conventional patterns to become stronger and the degree of phonetically opaque names to increase. On the other hand, we also know that girls can more easily receive male names and therefore long vowels may be reclaimed by female names in the future. Also, fully transparent word names have appeared regularly in the rankings and due

to free name choice will likely to continue to do so. An increase in their number could therefore also increase the overall level of transparency present in the system.

The many social and linguistic factors influencing the act of naming are unpredictable, but in whichever way the Japanese naming system will evolve, it will certainly provide onomastic research with further interesting insights due to its hybrid nature and complexly constructed names.

Appendix

A. Male names of the Edo period listed by decreasing prevalence

Occurrences	Names
30	次郎
25	太郎
20	吉藏
18	吉太郎 寅吉
16	亀松 善兵衛 新兵衛 次助 熊藏 辰五郎 金藏
15	富藏 平吉 清右衛門 清吉 清藏 長吉
14	吉五郎 市左衛門 平八 弥助 清五郎 源次郎 甚兵衛
13	亀藏 吉右衛門 喜兵衛 岩松 平藏 庄兵衛 甚右衛門 留吉
12	三藏 丑松 吉次郎 文藏 槌松 治兵衛 長兵衛 長左衛門 鶴松
11	三次郎 伝右衛門 兵藏 半右衛門 吉 吉兵衛 喜助 寅藏 岩藏 庄右衛門 徳左衛門 徳次郎 新藏 治郎左衛門 清左衛門 藤右衛門 藤吉
10	三右衛門 久兵衛 久左衛門 伊之助 伊左衛門 和吉 市右衛門 庄左衛門 弥吉 忠兵衛 忠次郎 惣次郎 源兵衛 源藏 長右衛門
9	乙吉 仁左衛門 伊兵衛 利八 利右衛門 喜右衛門 喜左衛門 四郎 太右衛門 定吉 巳之助 市太郎 市松 市郎右衛門 常藏 平次郎 庄五郎 忠右衛門 惣兵衛 林藏 栄吉 栄藏 浅右衛門 清次郎 竹松 竹藏 菊次郎 長次郎 長藏
8	万吉 万藏 久右衛門 伊助 佐吉 半兵衛 善吉 喜太郎 嘉兵衛 嘉右衛門 太兵衛 太吉 太郎兵衛 宇兵衛 市藏 常吉 平右衛門 幸右衛門 徳右衛門 忠藏 政吉 新右衛門 新太郎 松太郎 松次郎 次右衛門 次郎助 清兵衛 熊次郎 石松 重藏
7	三郎右衛門 与兵衛 与吉 与左衛門 丑之助 久吉 九兵衛 五郎 五郎右衛門 伊三郎 伝兵衛 伝左衛門 八左衛門 六右衛門 利兵衛 友次郎 吉左衛門 善右衛門 善藏 嘉藏 四郎兵衛 太藏 定右衛門 平五郎 弥次郎 惣七 惣助 惣左衛門 政五郎 文左衛門 新助 甚助 菊藏 藤八 虎藏 豊次郎 金次郎 長太郎 馬藏
6	三吉 三治郎 与右衛門 丑太郎 久次郎 亀吉 亥之助 仁兵衛 伊八 伝藏 佐太郎 作兵衛 利助 利左衛門 助右衛門 助左衛門 助次郎 勘次郎 勘治郎 千代松 又左衛門 吉三郎 吉助 吉太 吉松 善七 善次郎 嘉吉 太七 孫助 安兵衛 安右衛門 安次郎 安藏 定藏 市兵衛 市郎兵衛 平兵衛 庄藏 弥七 弥兵衛 弥太郎 弥市 徳松 惣五郎 惣右衛門 惣吉 新十郎 奎左衛門 松之助 次兵衛 次郎右衛門 次郎吉 次郎左衛門 浅五郎 清三郎 源太郎 熊吉 直吉 茂八 藤七 藤藏 重兵衛 重次郎 金兵衛 銀藏 長松
5	七五郎 七兵衛 七藏 七郎右衛門 与市 久太郎 久米藏 九右衛門 亀太郎 五兵衛 五右衛門 仙吉 仙藏 伊右衛門 伝次郎 佐七 佐兵衛 佐助 佐次兵衛 作左衛門 八兵衛 八十八 八太郎 六兵衛 兵右衛門 利七 勘兵衛 勝五郎 十次郎 干次郎 半左衛門 半藏 卯之助 又兵衛 友吉 吉次 和助 善太郎 喜八 喜惣右衛門 喜藏 多吉 多藏 太助 太郎吉 孫三郎 孫太郎 孫次郎 宇左衛門 安太郎 宗五郎 宗左衛門 寅松 市次郎 平七 幸吉 幸藏 庄七 庄

太郎 庄次郎 弥右衛門 弥次右衛門 彦五郎 彦右衛門 彦左衛門 彦次郎 德藏 忠五郎 忠助 忠左衛門 捨松 文吉 文次郎 新八 新左衛門 松藏 權兵衛 民藏 治助 治右衛門 治郎 清七 清治郎 源八 源助 源右衛門 源次 甚七 甚太郎 由松 留五郎 留藏 磯右衛門 米藏 繁藏 茂兵衛 虎松 辰之助 辰藏

4 万太郎 三之助 三太郎 与助 与藏 丑五郎 丑次郎 丑藏 久松 久治郎 久藏 乙八 乙松 龜次郎 五郎 兵衛 仁右衛門 仙太郎 伊太郎 伴右衛門 作次郎 倉次郎 儀三郎 儀兵衛 元次郎 八三郎 八郎 兵衛 六左衛門 初太郎 利介 勘七 勘三郎 勘右衛門 勘四郎 勘太郎 勘左衛門 勝藏 十兵衛 千之助 千吉 半七 卯之松 吉治郎 喜七 喜平次 四郎次 大藏 太平 太郎次 孫八 孫四郎 孫左衛門 宇右衛門 安五郎 安吉 宗吉 定次郎 小十郎 小太郎 岩吉 岩次郎 巳之介 巳之吉 市三郎 市郎次 弁藏 弥介 弥平次 彦兵衛 德兵衛 德太郎 惣八 文四郎 明光院 松 松五郎 松吉 松次 栄次郎 權之丞 權藏 次左衛門 次郎八 次郎 兵衛 武右衛門 治左衛門 清六 清太郎 源治 熊次 猪之助 甚六 甚吉 甚左衛門 直次 直次郎 磯五郎 磯次郎 福太郎 芳松 茂右衛門 茂吉 菊太郎 菊松 藏之助 要藏 角次郎 豊吉 重右衛門 重左衛門 重治郎 音吉 駒吉

3 七右衛門 万五郎 万次郎 三郎 兵衛 与七 与八 与次 兵衛 丑之介 丹次 久七 久助 九左衛門 五郎 左衛門 仁藏 仙之助 仙治 伊之吉 伝助 伝吉 伝次 伝治 伝治郎 伴次郎 作右衛門 作太郎 倉藏 儀右衛門 元吉 六藏 兵内 兵助 兵吉 円助 加兵衛 助 助次 勇藏 勘藏 勝次 勝治 十藏 千代吉 千太郎 千藏 半次郎 又七 吉之丞 善四郎 善左衛門 喜三右衛門 喜三郎 喜六 喜平 嘉七 嘉左衛門 四郎 右衛門 四郎 左衛門 国藏 多七 多助 多右衛門 多四郎 多郎 太郎八 孫七 孫吉 孫市 安左衛門 定七 寅次 小吉 小次郎 左右衛門 巳之松 市五郎 市郎治 常松 常次郎 平左衛門 幸八 幸助 幸次郎 庄三郎 庄助 庄吉 弥三郎 弥五郎 弥惣吉 弥藏 弥重 弥重郎 彦三郎 彦吉 彦四郎 彦太郎 德三郎 德五郎 忠三郎 忠吉 忠次 忠治 忠治郎 惣十郎 政右衛門 政次郎 文七 文五郎 文右衛門 新三郎 新次郎 杢右衛門 松治郎 栄助 梅藏 權七 權右衛門 權吉 權四郎 權太郎 權次郎 治平 治郎 右衛門 波藏 浅之助 浅次郎 清八 清助 清治 源七 源左衛門 為藏 熊太郎 熊治 理八 甚介 甚藏 由五郎 由右衛門 由藏 留之助 留次郎 直七 直右衛門 直藏 福松 竹三郎 茂十郎 菊次 藤吾 藤左衛門 藤次郎 要吉 覺右衛門 角右衛門 貞治 辰吉 近右衛門 重吉 金五郎 金太郎 長三郎 長作

2 七太郎 七左衛門 万右衛門 万次 丈七 丈助 三之丞 三五郎 三平 三次 三治 三郎 七三郎 助 与太郎 与平次 丹次郎 丹治 久之丞 久五郎 久太 乙次 九五郎 九藏 龜八 五左衛門 五郎吉 五郎市 仁三郎 仁吉 今次郎 仙次 仙次郎 代五郎 仲右衛門 伊之介 伊之松 伊勢藏 伊藏 会寿院 伝七 伝三郎 伝之助 伝二郎 伝八 伴次 伴治 伴藏 佐十 佐左衛門 佐市 佐市郎 作十郎 倉治 儀助 儀左衛門 元右衛門 元治郎 光誉 八十吉 八次郎 八郎 右衛門 八郎次 兵治 兼松 円藏 初次 利之助 利太郎 力松 力藏 加右衛門 助五郎 勇吉 勘六 勘助 勘十郎 勘吉 勘松 勝右衛門 勝太郎 十吉 十太 千松 千次 半之助 半五郎 半助 半次 卯之吉 卯兵衛 卯助 卯吉 又三郎 又助 又吉 又四郎 友七 友十郎 友右衛門 友太郎 友治 友藏 右馬治 吉介 吉十郎 吉郎次 和七 和藏 善三郎 善六 善平 喜之介 喜之助 喜代松 喜平治 嘉助 嘉平 嘉平次 国松 国次郎 増五郎 多兵衛 多十 多次郎 太三郎 太十 太四郎 太平治 太次郎 太郎七 太郎助 太郎 左衛門 奥松 孫右衛門 宇七 宇助 安太夫 安治 安治郎 宗七 宗心 定五郎 定兵衛 定次 寅之助 寅治 富五郎 小八 小兵衛 小市 小治郎 左七 左京 左兵衛 左助 左門 己之助 己之松 市市十郎 市郎 左衛門 常三郎 常五郎 常四郎 常念 平三郎 平八郎 平助 平十郎 平四郎 平次 平治 平治郎 幸五郎 庄介 庄市郎 弁之助 弥三兵衛 弥三次 弥三治 弥八 弥十郎 弥左松 弥曾八 弥治 右衛門 彦藏 德七 德十 德次 德治 忍誉 忠五 忠作 忠八 忠太 惣太郎 惣重郎 房次郎 才次郎 才治 捨藏 政七 政治 文治郎 新七

新五郎新吉新四郎新重郎方太郎春吉末五郎松之介松兵衛林平栄三郎栄太郎権八権六権助権平
次五右衛門次介次平武三郎武兵衛民次郎治郎兵衛治郎吉浅吉清四郎清次源三郎源之丞源五郎源
吉源四郎源太瀧蔵為三郎為吉為次郎熊之助牛之助牛松犬松猪之松理七甚之助甚八由兵衛由太
郎留留治直直治磯助磯吉祐助秀蔵米八紋四郎紋蔵縫蔵繁次郎繁治義兵衛義助義右衛門義左衛
門芳太郎芳左衛門芳次郎茂三郎茂助茂十茂四郎茂左衛門菊太菊治菊治郎萬蔵蔵次郎藤兵衛藤助
虎吉要七角左衛門誠伊豊蔵貞七貞右衛門貞吉貞蔵辰次郎重五郎重助重太郎金助鉄五郎長七長
八長助長十郎長太長重郎門右衛門門四郎門蔵隆道馬次郎駒蔵鹿蔵

1

ぎんきみかんきのとみとめとりきひ一郎七之助七平七郎兵衛七郎次万之介万六万十郎万太万
平万治郎丈五郎丈介丈左衛門丈松丈治三之吉三八三四郎三太三良兵衛三郎三郎四三郎左衛門三
郎次三郎治与一兵衛与七郎与三左衛門与五郎与作与四右衛門与市郎与惣右衛門与治右衛門丑治郎
世之助丹山久三郎久十郎久次兵衛久治兵衛久治右衛門久米久米之介久米之助久米助久米吉久間
次之助えん乗乗七乙七乙五郎乙次郎乙蔵九一郎九二郎九次九次郎亀亀三郎了善了悦了意二蔵
二郎五三郎五助五太夫五郎一五郎七五郎八五郎助亥之介亥之八亥之松亦助亦左衛門仁七仁介仁
八仁助仁太郎仁平次今蔵介右衛門仙助仙松仙治郎代二郎代太郎仲十郎仲左衛門伊三五郎伊与吉
伊之丞伊之八伊介伊勢松伊勢次伊勢治伊左次伊左治伊惣次伊惣治伊曾次伊根蔵伝喜蔵伝四郎伴
七佐一佐一郎佐之八佐之助佐五右衛門佐京佐ノ八佐内佐十郎佐右衛門佐和治佐平佐平次佐次右
衛門佐治兵衛佐蔵佐重佐重郎佐野松作之丞作次作治作蔵作重郎保太郎倉之助倉次倭輔傳八傳
吉傳儀儀七儀八儀平次儀平治億之助元三郎元八元次元治元蔵光太郎光次郎光蔵八八之丞八五
郎八代吉八十次八十郎八右衛門八平八曾吉八次八蔵八郎八郎治八重蔵八重郎六六太郎六松六
郎右衛門兵也兵五郎兵左衛門兵松兵次右衛門兵治郎兼吉兼次郎円之助円介円吉円太円太郎円次
円治円超富次郎富蔵刀禰五郎初三郎初次郎利三郎利四郎利左松利惣二利惣次利惣治利祐前治加
吉加茂兵衛加蔵加藤次助三郎助之丞助太郎助治勇七勇助勇次勇治勘之助勘太勘平勝之丞十五
郎十助十左衛門十治郎十郎右衛門千千之丞千代千代太千代蔵千太千治千治郎午之助午吉午治
午蔵半三郎半六半十郎南右衛門卯七卯之七卯之介卯之佐卯之八卯八卯右衛門卯多蔵卯太蔵卯左
衛門卯次巖誉又十郎又右衛門又次又次郎又治又治郎友友三郎友八友次只松右之松吉三吉之助
吉二郎吉十良吉太良吉平吉弥吉郎介名兵衛向西君蔵吟蔵周吉周喜周蔵和三郎和中和介和兵衛
和十和右衛門和市和祐和輔和重啓蔵善三良善丸善之丞善之助善八善助善十郎善次善次右衛門
善次平善治善治右衛門善治郎善達喜与松喜与治喜介喜代太郎喜伝次喜作喜内喜十良喜十郎喜四
郎喜惣次喜惣治喜源次喜源治嘉一郎嘉作嘉吉郎嘉市嘉平治嘉重嘉重郎四郎吉四郎平国五郎國五
郎堀金大和守堀金大和正堀金能登守壇蔵吉助多三治多三郎多佐次多喜蔵多平多平治多郎七多郎
吉多郎次大吉大和守大和正大年大次郎大治郎太伝治太佐次太十郎太左衛門太市太市良太市郎太
平次太惣次太惣治太次右衛門太治郎太祐太良左衛門奇兵衛奥太郎奥次郎孝七孫三良孫介孫兵衛
孫四良孫惣孫次孫治宅次宅治宇之佐宇之八宇之助宇八安七安十郎安平衛宋元宗宗元宗八宗兵
衛宗助宗十郎宗右衛門宗哲宗春宗本宗甫宗膳宗蔵宗融宗覚宗貞宗重郎宗順定四郎定治定治郎
宜戒有淳宮蔵寄次郎寅一寅之丞寅作寅吉寅次郎富三郎富之介富之助富吉富士之助富次富次郎
富治専吉専太郎小三太小三次小三郎小之右衛門小右衛門小太小弥小弥吉小文次小文治小重郎小

野右衛門 岑藏 岩之助 岩二郎 岩五郎 岩作 岩八 岩十郎 岩次 岩治 岸松 岸藏 峯吉 峯松 嶋之助 左五右衛門
左十 左吉 左間治 市之丞 市之進 市助 市太 市治郎 市右良衛門 市重郎 常 常七 常右衛門 常太郎 常次 平六
平太郎 平松 幸七 幸三郎 幸十郎 幾松 広太郎 広治 広藏 庄之助 庄八 庄六 庄十郎 庄四郎 庄太良 庄次 庄
治郎 庄逸郎 庭五郎 延太郎 弁之丞 弁之介 弁治 弥一 弥三松 弥与次 弥二兵衛 弥二右衛門 弥二郎 弥五右
衛門 弥十 弥吉郎 弥太 弥左右衛門 弥左次 弥左治 弥左衛門 弥市郎 弥平 弥平治 弥次兵衛 弥治兵衛 弥治
郎 弥祖八 弥祖吉 彦 彦三良 彦太 彦次 彦次右衛門 德之助 德二郎 德円 德助 德十郎 德四良 德四郎 德次右
衛門 德重 忠之助 忠五良 忠介 忠四郎 忠太郎 快庵 念誉 恒吉 惠俊 惠助 悦之進 悦太郎 悦次 悦治 惣之丞
惣介 惣四郎 惣次 惣藏 戌三郎 戌松 戸佐五郎 房吉 房治 才二郎 才助 才十郎 才次 才重郎 捨次郎 政之助
政助 政十良 政十郎 政左衛門 政次 政藏 教誉 敬治 文二郎 文太郎 文政 斧吉 斧次郎 斯星 新之丞 新介 新
八郎 新六 新吾 新治郎 春治 有四郎 朝誉 木工之助 末吉 李太郎 李次 東五郎 松二 松右衛門 松四郎 松治
松隨 林兵衛 林右衛門 林太 林太郎 林鏡 枅五郎 柏堂 柳介 柳助 栄八 栄吾 栄次 栄治 栗松 桜之介 桜次郎
梅助 梅松 梅次郎 森藏 権三郎 権之介 権之助 権太 次七 次三郎 次八 次八郎 次良 次郎 次郎 次郎 次郎 作
次郎 松 歌吉 歌次 歌治 歌藏 正七 正右衛門 正吉 此右衛門 此吉 民 民五郎 民右衛門 民吉 永吉 沢之一 沢
之市 治七 治三郎 治八 治八郎 治郎 三治郎 八 泰仙 泰藏 泰輔 津誉 浄休 浄傾 浄儀 浄光 浄心 浄教 浄清 浄
義 浄蓮 浄西 浅七 浅之介 浅五良 清七郎 清之助 清介 清八郎 清十郎 清太 清松 清次兵衛 清治兵衛 源之介
源二郎 源介 源八郎 源十郎 源吾 源治郎 源道 準治 潮誉 瀧三郎 灸松 点松 為五郎 熊之介 熊作 熊助 熊十
郎 熊喜 牛五郎 牛次 牛治 猪之吉 猪介 猪助 猪藏 玉吉 玉藏 理兵衛 理助 環 甚六郎 甚十郎 甚平衛 甚次郎
甚治郎 由太 甲子郎 申松 留三郎 留助 留四郎 留次 登山 登治 百太郎 益五郎 直太 直太郎 直治郎 相真 知
三郎 砂八 磯次 磯治 磯治郎 礼尊 祐之助 祐右衛門 祖明 禎治 福藏 秀助 秀吉 秀喜 種松 種藏 竜吉 竹十良
竹十郎 竹次郎 筑円 筑円坊 算藏 米吉 米太郎 米松 紋三郎 紋二郎 紋右衛門 紋治郎 綱太郎 綱五郎 総次郎
繁市郎 繁松 繁次 繁治郎 織平 織次 義七 義三郎 義之助 義八 義周 義岱 義謙 能登守 能誉 自性 與右衛門
良席 芳三郎 芳兵衛 若藏 茂介 茂八郎 茂平次 茂重 草吉 莊誉 莽溪 菊三郎 菊之丞 菊五郎 菊助 菊十郎 萬
五郎 蔵之丞 蔵之進 蔵治 蔵藏 藤三郎 藤之助 藤五郎 藤十郎 藤四郎 藤太郎 藤松 虎 虎之介 虎之助 虎作
虎助 虎市 虎次 虎治 袖之介 裾松 西順 要三郎 要之助 要亭 要当 覚介 覚兵衛 角之介 角介 角兵衛 角四郎
角太郎 角次 角治 角治郎 角藏 誓光 誠平 誠当 誠心 説誉 諫五郎 谷之助 谷右衛門 谷平 豆次郎 豊二郎 豊
五郎 豊山 豊松 貞之丞 貞之助 貞兵衛 貞市 貞松 賢藏 軍次 軍次郎 軍治 辰五良 近十郎 近次郎 通亭 運八
運吉 運次 運治 運藏 運載 道円 道太郎 道林 道藏 道薫 道行 道順 達吉 重三郎 重四郎 重太 重松 金之丞 金
之助 金二郎 金五 金右衛門 金吾 金四郎 金平 鉄藏 鏡誉 長二郎 長介 長四郎 長太夫 長平衛 長次 長次右衛
門 長治 長治郎 隆周 隆長 音次郎 順治 順迎 頌介 頌助 頌藏 願誉 養七 養吉 馬之助 馬二郎 馬治 馬治郎 駒
之助 駒太郎 魚隠松 鳥之助 鶴吉 鶴太 鶴藏 麻 麻吉 黙道 龍藏

B. Female names of the Edo period listed by decreasing prevalence

Occurrences	Names
56	はつ
55	はる
53	よし
46	きよとよ
44	きくなつ
42	かね
41	さんきん
39	とめ
38	さよ
37	まつ
35	やすつるはな
34	とら
33	つねちよ
30	くま
28	とく
25	しゅん
24	せん
23	なかまん
22	いちかめ
21	よねゆきいしもと
20	いわきわまさますたつしげみつ
19	さきたみ
18	しもさわしなつやふじはや
17	くめしかきちこのいそしまかつふさちよう
16	くらつきみよむめしけいよぎんとみ
15	すてくにひさたかかん
14	ひでさのすえいとそのたきりきりんいね
13	さつみねもよいの
12	ことこんもんのぶまちそめ
11	わさいさきさつなぬいちかきみなをたけさとつまふくはましょう
10	つぎみきふみりつふでかやしちしん
9	きのりうえつそよつようのたよいせなよしの

8 てうとわげんたねさなりえわきせいこまりよゆりみの

7 せきさくひてきぬしをかちらくかのあきつたふきゑんくのときゆうなみとり

6 うたまきれんかじすみりさやつてるえいじうなおよつともたますゑみなかよかく

5 しずためせつかなこうすがりかいくろくこよきせだいいゑ

4 ついやさりせかうみちえんやえているいしめしうよのすきほのつめちんよてしやう

3 さやすかそねかるみさすへさいいかぜんやうあさてつさたいぬちやくよいつひちひ
らいまいらきたふよめいいえゆわろすいなよめうめさるこまん

2 きなつうゆかちえやくきしやとつけきりむつしすみやそでとうしおさちよりすめふ
ゆにんへんせひしづすぎるひゑいまりせうぶんはんりくかぬちうきいわかむらさだ
こめねんちへいへゑつゆくゑきたにのよのゑとのゆふのふきつこまつきょうしゅう
じょうこそふさつきちやうしけのこちやう清寿清心貞寿

1 よそえちささごへううねそせいをゆさひなうえうらつけささくかそてしよなされい
くがわへわえやへしいとねじんつじはぬとちつちさめつくむやいてさじすまくりや
そしつくみてんちくいやとさでんかむりゑぬひやちみひけいけひさしゑよにわさえ
あやそうほうちせのやりとみいまそとはせりたのやのやなゆらてをてりねひめひい
もきえこむこわふうふんやきしみやいすいちいやぎべんたるたないねねはくすわ
けんおみおとみわなへややへなふなえきむねんめとしふちとえとゑこやとんのとふ
てへやみゑつゑてふふねのへよかつちちゑさでいうりのきひらんとまましてようさ
さかこぎくこきくこぎんこいぬじゅうこりずじゅんこりすひやくしよふちゅうちよろち
ゆんちよのちゃふよしのきくのまつのわくりかやのこしゅんこりゅうこしゅう妙光妙取
妙叶妙天妙安妙心妙意妙本妙正妙水妙清妙貞妙閑妙雲妙順妙頓寿円小ぎく志かの慶
順智昌智清智照智膳栄順永順浄貞清閑清順理恵環由起知慶知清知照知玄知貞み祢織
平誓光貞心貞法貞玄貞薫貞閑香林

C. Inner structure of male names of the Edo period

□□ = bipartite name, □ = special element *no*

Bipartite name types (1626)

Occurrences	Names
20	吉藏
18	吉太郎 寅吉
16	龜松 善兵衛 新兵衛 次助 熊藏 辰五郎 金藏
15	富藏 平吉 清右衛門 清吉 清藏 長吉
14	吉五郎 市左衛門 平八 弥助 清五郎 源次郎 甚兵衛
13	龜藏 吉右衛門 喜兵衛 岩松 平藏 庄兵衛 甚右衛門 留吉
12	三藏 丑松 吉次郎 文藏 槌松 治兵衛 長兵衛 長左衛門 鶴松
11	三次郎 伝右衛門 兵藏 半右衛門 吉兵衛 喜助 寅藏 岩藏 庄右衛門 徳左衛門 徳次郎 新藏 治郎左衛門 清左衛門 藤右衛門 藤吉
10	三右衛門 久兵衛 久左衛門 伊左衛門 和吉 市右衛門 庄左衛門 弥吉 忠兵衛 忠次郎 惣次郎 源兵衛 源藏 長右衛門
9	乙吉 仁左衛門 伊兵衛 利八 利右衛門 喜右衛門 喜左衛門 太右衛門 定吉 市太郎 市松 市郎右衛門 常藏 平次郎 庄五郎 忠右衛門 惣兵衛 林藏 栄吉 栄藏 浅右衛門 清次郎 竹松 竹藏 菊次郎 長次郎 長藏
8	万吉 万藏 久右衛門 伊助 佐吉 半兵衛 善吉 喜太郎 嘉兵衛 嘉右衛門 太兵衛 太吉 太郎兵衛 宇兵衛 市藏 常吉 平右衛門 幸右衛門 徳右衛門 忠藏 政吉 新右衛門 新太郎 松太郎 松次郎 次右衛門 次郎助 清兵衛 熊次郎 石松 重藏
7	三郎右衛門 与兵衛 与吉 与左衛門 久吉 九兵衛 五郎右衛門 伊三郎 伝兵衛 伝左衛門 八左衛門 六右衛門 利兵衛 友次郎 吉左衛門 善右衛門 善藏 嘉藏 四郎兵衛 太藏 定右衛門 平五郎 弥次郎 惣七 惣助 惣左衛門 政五郎 文左衛門 新助 甚助 菊藏 藤八 虎藏 豊次郎 金次郎 長太郎 馬藏
6	三吉 三治郎 与右衛門 丑太郎 久次郎 龜吉 仁兵衛 伊八 伝藏 佐太郎 作兵衛 利助 利左衛門 助右衛門 助左衛門 助次郎 勘次郎 勘治郎 千代松 又左衛門 吉三郎 吉助 吉太 吉松 善七 善次郎 嘉吉 太七 孫助 安兵衛 安右衛門 安次郎 安藏 定藏 市兵衛 市郎兵衛 平兵衛 庄藏 弥七 弥兵衛 弥太郎 弥市 徳松 惣五郎 惣右衛門 惣吉 新十郎 奎左衛門 次兵衛 次郎右衛門 次郎吉 次郎左衛門 浅五郎 清三郎 源太郎 熊吉 直吉 茂八 藤七 藤藏 重兵衛 重次郎 金兵衛 銀藏 長松
5	七五郎 七兵衛 七藏 七郎右衛門 与市 久太郎 久米藏 九右衛門 龜太郎 五兵衛 五右衛門 仙吉 仙藏 伊右衛門 伝次郎 佐七 佐兵衛 佐助 佐次兵衛 作左衛門 八兵衛 八十八 八太郎 六兵衛 兵右衛門 利七 勘兵衛 勝五郎 十次郎 干次郎 半左衛門 半藏 又兵衛 友吉 吉次 和助 善太郎 喜八 喜藏 多吉 多藏 太助 太郎吉 孫三郎 孫太郎 孫次郎 宇左衛門 安太郎 宗五郎 宗左衛門 寅松 市次郎 平七 幸吉 幸藏 庄七 庄太郎 庄次郎 弥右衛門 彦五郎 彦右衛門 彦左衛門 彦次郎 徳藏 忠五郎 忠助 忠左衛門 捨松 文吉 文次郎 新八 新左衛門 松藏 樵兵

衛民藏治助治右衛門清七清治郎源八源助源右衛門源次甚七甚太郎由松留五郎留藏磯右衛門米藏繁藏茂兵衛虎松辰藏

4 万太郎三太郎与助与藏丑五郎丑次郎丑藏久松久治郎久藏乙八乙松亀次郎五郎兵衛仁右衛門仙太郎伊太郎伴右衛門作次郎倉次郎儀三郎儀兵衛元次郎八三郎八郎兵衛六左衛門初太郎利介勘七勘三郎勘右衛門勘四郎勘太郎勘左衛門勝藏十兵衛千吉半七吉治郎喜七四郎次大藏太平太郎次孫八孫四郎孫左衛門宇右衛門安五郎安吉宗吉定次郎小十郎小太郎岩吉岩次郎市三郎市郎次弁藏弥介彦兵衛德兵衛德太郎惣八文四郎松五郎松吉松次栄次郎權藏次左衛門次郎八次郎兵衛武右衛門治左衛門清六清太郎源治熊次甚六甚吉甚左衛門直次直次郎磯五郎磯次郎福太郎芳松茂右衛門茂吉菊太郎菊松要藏角次郎豊吉重右衛門重左衛門重治郎音吉駒吉

3 七右衛門万五郎万次郎三郎兵衛与七与八丹次久七久助九左衛門五郎左衛門仁藏仙治伝助伝吉伝次伝治伝治郎伴次郎作右衛門作太郎倉藏儀右衛門元吉六藏兵内兵助兵吉円助加兵衛助次勇藏勘藏勝次勝治十藏千代吉千太郎千藏半次郎又七善四郎善左衛門喜三郎喜六喜平嘉七嘉左衛門四郎右衛門四郎左衛門国藏多七多助多右衛門多四郎太郎八孫七孫吉孫市安左衛門定七寅次小吉小次郎左右衛門市五郎市郎治常松常次郎平左衛門幸八幸助幸次郎庄三郎庄助庄吉弥三郎弥五郎弥藏弥重弥重郎彦三郎彦吉彦四郎彦太郎徳三郎徳五郎忠三郎忠吉忠次忠治忠治郎惣十郎政右衛門政次郎文七文五郎文右衛門新三郎新次郎杵右衛門松治郎栄助梅藏權七權右衛門權吉權四郎權太郎權次郎治平治郎右衛門波藏浅次郎清八清助清治源七源左衛門為藏熊太郎熊治理八甚介甚藏由五郎由右衛門由藏留次郎直七直右衛門直藏福松竹三郎茂十郎菊次藤吾藤左衛門藤次郎要吉寛右衛門角右衛門貞治辰吉近右衛門重吉金五郎金太郎長三郎長作

2 七太郎七左衛門万右衛門万次丈七丈助三五郎三平三次三治三郎七三郎助与太郎丹次郎丹治久五郎久太乙次九五郎九藏亀八五左衛門五郎吉五郎市仁三郎仁吉今次郎仙次仙次郎代五郎仲右衛門伊勢藏伊藏伝七伝三郎伝二郎伝八伴次伴治伴藏佐十佐左衛門佐市佐市郎作十郎倉治儀助儀左衛門元右衛門元治郎八十吉八次郎八郎右衛門八郎次兵治兼松円藏初次利太郎力松力藏加右衛門助五郎勇吉勘六勘助勘十郎勘吉勘松勝右衛門勝太郎十吉十太千松千次半五郎半助半次卯兵衛卯助卯吉又三郎又助又吉又四郎友七友十郎友右衛門友太郎友治友藏吉介吉十郎和七和藏善三郎善六善平嘉助嘉平国松国次郎増五郎多兵衛多十多次郎太三郎太十太四郎次郎太郎七太郎助太郎左衛門奥松孫右衛門宇七宇助安太夫安治安治郎宗七定五郎定兵衛定次寅治富五郎小八小兵衛小市小治郎左七左京左兵衛左助市十郎市郎左衛門常三郎常五郎常四郎平三郎平八郎平助平十郎平四郎平治郎幸五郎庄介庄市郎弥八弥十郎彦藏徳七徳十徳次徳治忠五忠作忠八忠太惣太郎惣重郎房次郎才次郎才治捨藏政七政治文治郎新七新五郎新吉新四郎新重郎方太郎春吉末五郎松兵衛林平栄三郎栄太郎權八權六權助權平次介次平武三郎武兵衛民次郎治郎兵衛治郎吉浅吉清四郎清次源三郎源五郎源吉源四郎源太瀧藏為三郎為吉為次郎牛松犬松理七甚八由兵衛由太郎留治直治磯助磯吉祐助秀藏米八紋四郎紋藏縫藏繁次郎繁治義兵衛義助義右衛門義左衛門芳太郎芳左衛門芳次郎茂三郎茂助茂十茂四郎茂左衛門菊太菊治菊治郎萬藏蔵次郎藤兵衛藤助虎吉要七角左衛門豊藏貞七貞右衛門貞吉貞藏辰次郎重五郎重助重太郎金助鉄五郎長七長八長助長十郎長太長重郎門

右衛門 門四郎 門藏馬次郎 駒藏 鹿藏

1

富吉, 左吉, 七平 七郎兵衛 七郎次万六 万十郎 万太 万平 万治郎 丈五郎 丈介 丈左衛門 丈松 丈治三八 三
 四郎 三太 三良兵衛 三郎四 三郎左衛門 三郎次 三郎治与七郎与五郎 与作与市郎丑治郎久三郎 久十郎久
 米助 久米吉乘七 乙七 乙五郎 乙次郎 乙藏 九一郎 九二郎 九次 九次郎龜三郎二藏五三郎 五助 五太夫 五
 郎一 五郎七 五郎八 五郎助亦助 亦左衛門 仁七 仁介 仁八 仁助 仁太郎今藏 介右衛門 仙助 仙松 仙治郎代
 二郎 代太郎 仲十郎 仲左衛門伊介 伊勢松 伊勢次 伊勢治伝四郎 伴七 佐一 佐一郎 佐内 佐十郎 佐右衛門佐
 平佐藏 佐重 佐重郎作次 作治 作藏 作重郎 保太郎倉次 倭輔 傳八 傳吉 傳藏 儀七 儀八元三郎 元八 元次 元
 治 元藏 光太郎 光次郎 光藏八五郎八十次 八十郎 八右衛門 八平 八曾吉 八次 八藏八郎治 八重藏 八重郎
 六太郎 六松 六郎右衛門 兵也 兵五郎 兵左衛門 兵松兵治郎 兼吉 兼次郎 伴介 伴吉 伴太 伴太郎 伴次 伴治
 富次郎 富藏 刀禰五郎 初三郎 初次郎 利三郎 利四郎利祐 前治 加吉加藏助三郎助太郎 助治 勇七 勇助 勇
 次 勇治勘太 勘平十五郎 十助 十左衛門 十治郎 十郎右衛門千代太 千代藏 千太 千治 千治郎午吉 午治 午
 藏 半三郎 半六 半十郎 南右衛門 卯七卯八 卯右衛門卯左衛門 卯次又十郎 又右衛門 又次 又次郎 又治 又
 治郎友三郎 友八 友次 只松吉三吉二郎 吉十良 吉太良 吉平 吉弥名兵衛君藏 吟藏 周吉 周喜 周藏 和三郎
 和中和 和介 和兵衛 和十 和右衛門 和市 和祐 和輔 和重 啓藏 善三良 善丸善八 善助 善十郎 善次善治善治郎
 喜介喜作 喜内 喜十良 喜十郎 喜四郎嘉一郎 嘉作嘉市嘉重 嘉重郎 四郎吉 四郎平 国五郎 國五郎壇藏 壹助
 多三治 多三郎多平多郎七 多郎吉 多郎次 大吉大次郎 大治郎太十郎 太左衛門 太市 太市良 太市郎太治郎
 太祐 太良左衛門 奇兵衛 奧太郎 奧次郎 孝七 孫三良 孫介 孫兵衛 孫四良 孫惣 孫次 孫治 宅次 宅治宇八 安
 七 安十郎 安平衛 宋元宗八 宗兵衛 宗助 宗十郎 宗右衛門宗重郎定四郎 定治 定治郎宮藏 奇次郎 寅一寅作
 寅吉 寅次郎 富三郎富次 富次郎 富治 專吉 專太郎岑藏岩二郎 岩五郎 岩作 岩八 岩十郎 岩次 岩治 岸松岸
 藏 峯吉峯松左十市助 市太 市治郎 市良右衛門 市重郎常七 常右衛門 常太郎 常次 平六 平太郎 平松 幸七
 幸三郎 幸十郎 幾松 広太郎 広治 広藏庄八 庄六 庄十郎 庄四郎 庄太良 庄次 庄治郎 庄逸郎 庭五郎 延太郎
 弁治 弥一 弥二郎 弥十 弥太 弥左衛門 弥市郎 弥平弥治郎彦三良 彦太 彦次德二郎德助 德十郎 德四良 德四
 郎德重忠五良 忠介 忠四郎 忠太郎恒吉惠助悦太郎 悦次 悦治惣介 惣四郎 惣次 惣藏 戌三郎 戌松房吉 房治
 才二郎 才助 才十郎 才次 才重郎捨次郎政助 政十良 政十郎 政左衛門 政次 政藏敬治 文二郎 文太郎 文政
 斧吉斧次郎新介 新八郎 新六 新吾 新治郎 春治 有 四郎末吉 李太郎 李次 東五郎 松二 松右衛門 松四郎 松
 治 松隨 林兵衛 林右衛門 林太 林太郎 柳五郎 柳介 柳助 柴八 柴吾 柴次 柴治 栗松桜次郎 梅助 梅松 梅次郎
 森藏 権三郎権太 次七 次三郎 次八 次八郎次郎三 次郎介 次郎作 次郎松 歌吉 歌次 歌治 歌藏 正七 正右衛
 門正吉 此右衛門 此吉民五郎 民右衛門 民吉 永吉治七 治三郎 治八 治八郎 治郎三 治郎八 泰藏 泰輔浅七
 浅五良 清七郎清介 清八郎 清十郎 清太 清松源二郎 源介 源八郎 源十郎 源吾 源治郎準治瀧三郎 灸松 点
 松 為五郎熊作 熊助 熊十郎 熊喜 牛五郎 牛次 牛治猪介 猪助 猪藏 玉吉 玉藏 理兵衛 理助甚六郎 甚十郎 甚
 平衛 甚次郎 甚治郎 由太 甲子郎 申松 留三郎 留助 留四郎 留次登治 百太郎 益五郎 直太 直太郎 直治郎知
 三郎 砂八 磯次 磯治 磯治郎 祐右衛門禎治 福藏 秀助 秀吉 秀喜 種松 種藏 竜吉 竹十良 竹十郎 竹次郎算藏
 米吉 米太郎 米松 紋三郎 紋二郎 紋右衛門 紋治郎 綱太郎 綱五郎 総次郎 繁市郎 繁松 繁次 繁治郎 織平 織
 次 義七 義三郎 義八 與右衛門 芳三郎 芳兵衛 若藏 茂介 茂八郎 茂平次 茂重 草吉菊三郎 菊五郎 菊助 菊十郎
 萬五郎藏治 藏藏 藤三郎藤五郎 藤十郎 藤四郎 藤太郎 藤松虎作 虎助 虎市 虎次 虎治裾松要三郎 覺介 覺兵
 衛角介 角兵衛 角四郎 角太郎 角次 角治 角治郎 角藏諫五郎 谷右衛門 谷平 豆次郎 豊二郎 豊五郎 豊松貞兵

衛 貞市 貞松 賢藏 軍次 軍次郎 軍治 辰五良 近十郎 近次郎 運八 運吉 運次 運治 運藏 運載道太郎道藏達吉
 重三郎 重四郎 重太 重松 金二郎 金五 金右衛門 金吾 金四郎 金平 鉄藏 長二郎 長介 長四郎 長太夫 長平衛
 長次 長治 長治郎 音次郎 順治 頌介 頌助 頌藏 養七 養吉 馬二郎 馬治 馬治郎 駒太郎 魚隱松鶴吉 鶴太 鶴藏 麻
 吉龍藏

Special element no (125)

伊之助, 丑之助, 巳之助, 亥之助, 松之助, 卯之助, 辰之助, 三之助, 干之助, 卯之松, 巳之介, 巳之吉,
 權之丞, 猪之助, 藏之助, 伊之吉, 丑之介, 仙之助, 吉之丞, 巳之松, 浅之助, 留之助, 三之丞, 伊之
 介, 伊之松, 伝之助, 久之丞, 利之助, 半之助, 卯之吉, 喜之介, 喜之助, 寅之助, 己之助, 己之松, 弁
 之助, 松之介, 源之丞, 熊之助, 牛之助, 猪之松, 甚之助, きの, 七之助, 三之吉, 世之助, 久米之介,
 久米之助, 万之介, 亥之介, 亥之八, 亥之松, 伊之丞, 伊之八, 佐之八, 佐之助, 佐ノ八, 作之丞, 倉之助,
 億之助, 八之丞, 円之助, 助之丞, 干之丞, 勘之助, 勝之丞, 卯之七, 卯之介, 卯之佐, 卯之八, 午之助,
 右之松, 吉之助, 善之丞, 善之助, 宇之佐, 宇之八, 宇之助, 富之介, 富之助, 富士之助, 寅之丞, 岩之
 助, 庄之助, 嶋之助, 市之丞, 市之進, 弁之丞, 弁之介, 徳之助, 悦之進, 忠之助, 惣之丞, 政之助, 木工
 之助, 新之丞, 桜之介, 権之介, 権之助, 沢之一, 沢之市, 浅之介, 清之助, 源之介, 熊之介, 猪之吉,
 祐之助, 義之助, 菊之丞, 藏之丞, 藏之進, 藤之助, 虎之介, 虎之助, 袖之介, 要之助, 角之介, 谷之
 助, 貞之丞, 貞之助, 金之丞, 金之助, 馬之助, 駒之助, 鳥之助

Simplex (38)

次郎, 太郎, 吉, 四郎, 五郎, 治郎, 松, 助, 多郎, 市, 留, 直, ぎん きみ かん, とみとめ とり きひ 一
 郎, 三郎, 久米, 宗, 亀, 二郎, 八郎, 八, 六, 干, 次良, 千代, 友, 彦, 常, 民, 環, 麻, 虎,

Others (112)

喜惣右衛門, 弥次右衛門, 弥平次, 喜平次, 与次兵衛, 喜三右衛門, 弥惣吉, 与平次, 右馬治, 吉郎
 次, 喜代松, 喜平治, 嘉平次, 太平治, 左門, 平次 平治, 弥三兵衛 弥三次 弥三治, 弥左松 弥曾八 弥
 治右衛門, 次五右衛門, 誠伊, 与一兵衛, 与三左衛門, 与四右衛門, 久次兵衛 久治兵衛 久治右衛
 門, 与惣右衛門 与治右衛門, 久間次, 仁平次, 伊三五郎 伊与吉, 伊左次 伊左治 伊惣次 伊惣治 伊
 曾次 伊根藏 伝喜藏, 佐五右衛門, 佐和治, 佐平次 佐次右衛門 佐治兵衛, 佐野松, 儀平次 儀平治,
 八代吉, 兵次右衛門, 利左松 利惣二 利惣次 利惣治, 加茂兵衛, 加藤次, 卯多藏 卯太藏, 吉郎介,
 善次右衛門 善次平, 善治右衛門, 喜与松 喜与治, 喜代太郎 喜伝次, 喜惣次 喜惣治 喜源次 喜源
 治, 嘉吉郎, 嘉平治, 多佐次 多喜藏, 多平治, 太平次 太惣次 太惣治 太次右衛門, 太伝治 太佐次,
 小之右衛門, 小野右衛門, 左五右衛門, 左間治, 弥三松 弥与次 弥二兵衛 弥二右衛門, 弥五右衛門,
 弥平治 弥次兵衛 弥治兵衛, 弥吉郎, 弥左右衛門 弥左次 弥左治, 弥祖八 弥祖吉, 彦次右衛門, 清
 次兵衛 清治兵衛, 徳次右衛門, 筑円 筑円坊, 長次右衛門, 戸佐五郎, 佐京

Diminutive (10)

小三太, 小三次, 小三郎, 小右衛門, 小太, 小弥, 小弥吉, 小文次, 小文治, 小重郎

Retirement names / monk names 法名 (92)

明光院, 会寿院, 光誉, 宗心, 常念, 忍誉, 隆道, 丹山, 了善, 了悦, 了意, えん乗, 円超, 巖誉, 向西, 堀金大和守 堀金大和正 堀金能登守, 善達, 大和守 大和正 大年, 宗元, 宗哲 宗春 宗本 宗甫 宗膳 宗蔵 宗融 宗覚 宗貞, 宜戒 宥淳, 宗順, 快庵 念誉, 惠俊, 徳円, 教誉, 斯星, 朝誉, 林鏡, 柏堂, 泰仙, 津誉 浄休 浄傾 浄儀 浄光 浄心 浄教 浄清 浄義 浄蓮 浄西, 源道, 潮誉, 登山, 相真, 礼尊, 祖明, 義周 義岱 義謙 能登守 能誉 自性, 莊誉 莽溪, 良席, 西順, 要亭 要当, 誓光 誠平 誠当 誠心 説誉, 豊山, 通亭, 道円, 道薫 道行 道順, 道林, 鏡誉, 隆周 隆長, 順迎, 願誉, 黙道

D. Name fields in male names of the Edo period

1. Auspicious abstracta (嘉字):

喜, 清, 善, 德, 忠, 勘, 和, 甚, 利, 嘉, 茂 (重), 安, 宗, 文, 政, 友, 仁, 定, 直, 円, 幸, 榮, 貞, 儀, 義, 由, 繁, 勝, 祐, 芳, 加, 勇, 為, 正, 要, 運, 秀, 光, 理, 覺, 悅, 夫, 兼, 房, 頌, 誠, 曾, 明, 隆, 力, 道, 泰, 增 (枳), 知, 保, 宜, 戒, 寄, 恒, 啓, 達, 君, 順, 孝, 永, 禎, 惠, 賢, 敬, 奇, 算, 常, 吉, 福, 春, 進, 登

2. Classical elements:

➤ Landscape / inanimate:

広, 国 (國), 沢, 野, 山, 瀧, 岸, 岩, 磯, 峯, 石, 庭, 伊勢, 嶋, 砂, 波, 仙

➤ Animals: 熊, 亀, 鶴, 隱魚, 鹿, 鳥

➤ Plants: 松, 菊, 草, 米, 竹, 森, 林, 梅, 種, 麻, 桜, 栗, 豆, 伊根 (稻), 柳

➤ Zodiac 干支:

寅, 虎, 竜, 龍, 猪 (伊), 卯 (宇), 丑, 辰, 亥, 巳, 午, 己, 戌, 申, 甲, 犬, 牛, 馬

➤ Classical name magic: 末, 留, 捨

➤ Longevity: 丈, 幾, 延, 久, 千代, 万 (萬), 百, 若, 億, 年

➤ Others: 乙 (音), 丸, 才, 彦, 宮, 玉, 駒

3. Materialistic:

蔵 (倉), 宅, 金, 杢 (木工), 斧, 鉄, 紋, 織, 槌, 環, 裾, 網, 縫, 銀 (吟), 袖, 綱, 富, 富?, 益?, 豊, 奥?, 軍?, 武?, 壇

4. Clan names: 源, 藤, 平

5. Birth order:

郎 (良), 次 (治), 太 (多), 三, 五 (吾), 八, 七, 十 (重), 四 (子), 二, 六, 孫, 一 (市, 老), 九, 初, 総 (惣), 与 (與), 半 (伴), 又 (亦), 祖, 仲, 新, 小, 弥, 長

6. Office titles:

左衛門, 右衛門, 兵衛, 助, 介, 佐, 丞, 輔, 庄, 刀禰, 作 (左近), 權 (權助)

7. Others:

角, 元?, 浅, 大, 民, 周, 歌, 傳, 乘, 灸, 只, 準, 今, 名

E. Reconstructed female names (Edo period)

浅次郎	あさ	岩松	いわ	仲十郎	なか
弁蔵	べん	仁兵衛	じん	波蔵	なみ
文蔵	ぶん	十太	じゅう	直次郎	なお
筑円坊	ちく	角右衛門	かく	庭五郎	にわ
千代蔵	ちよ	亀松	かめ	延太郎	のぶ
大吉	だい	勘松	かん	縫蔵	ぬい
長左衛門	ちょう、ちう	兼松	かね	乙吉	おと
伝次郎	でん	勝太郎	かつ	力蔵	りき
栄蔵	えい	啓蔵	けい	林蔵	りん
益五郎	えき	賢蔵	けん	六太郎	ろく
悦太郎	えつ	吉右衛門	きち、きひ	幸五郎	さち
藤松	ふじ	菊五郎	きく	円之助	えん
福松	ふく	君蔵	きみ	丈左衛門	じょう、じう
房次郎	ふさ	金蔵	きん	定吉	さだ
源兵衛	げん	岸松	きし	才重郎	さい
銀蔵	ぎん	駒太郎	こま	作次郎	さく
半兵衛	はん	此吉	この	三次郎	さん
春吉	はる	幸吉	こう、かう	申松	さる
初三郎	はつ	熊次郎	くま	沢之一	さわ
七兵衛	ひち、しち	久米蔵	くめ	清兵衛	せい
秀吉	ひで	国蔵	くに	順治	じゅん
平松	ひら	蔵之助	くら	千之助、仙太郎	せん
久松	ひさ	栗松	くり	茂三郎	しげ、しけ
百太郎	ひゃく	万次郎	まん	嶋之助	しま
兵松	ひょう	政吉	まさ	新蔵	しん
市蔵	いち	増五郎	ます	袖之介	そで
幾松	いく	松太郎	まつ	末五郎	すえ
今次郎	いま	道蔵	みち	捨松	すて
伊根蔵	いね	峯松	みね	庄五郎	しょう
犬松	いぬ	光次郎	みつ	周蔵	しゅう
伊勢蔵	いせ	紋蔵	もん	竹松	たけ
石松	いし	元吉	もと	瀧三郎	たき
磯五郎	いそ	宗蔵	むね	為次郎	ため
玉蔵	たま	環	たまき	辰之助	たつ
民五郎	たみ	種蔵	たね	点松	てん
丹次	たん	徳五郎	とく	留吉	とめ
鉄五郎	てつ	友蔵	とも	刀禰五郎	とね
富蔵	とみ	鳥之助	とり	戸佐五郎	とさ
虎蔵	とら	藤次郎	とう	豊蔵	とよ
利太郎	とし	常次郎	つね	鶴松	つる
槌松	つち	梅蔵	うめ、むめ	若蔵	わか
惣五郎	そう	八十八	やそ	安右衛門	やす
八重蔵	やえ	米松	よね	芳左衛門	よし
与兵衛	よ	善次郎	ぜん	祐之助	ゆう
				Total	132

F. Name fields in female names of the Edo period

1. Auspicious abstracta (嘉字):

榮, 悅, 福, 房, 秀, 仁, 定 (貞), 順, 勘, 兼, 勝, 啓, 賢, 清, 幸, 君, 光, 政 (正), 增 (枳), 道, 宗, 直, 茂 (重, 繁), 為, 友 (知), 常, 安, 芳 (由), 吉, 祐 (勇), 覺, 善, 力, 文

2. Classical elements:

➤ Landscape / inanimate:

石, 磯, 岩, 岸, 峯 (岑), 波, 庭, 沢, 嶋, 春, 伊勢, 瀧, 国

➤ Animals: 龜, 鳥, 鶴, 熊

➤ Plants: 菊, 久米, 栗, 松, 林, 竹 (武), 梅, 米, 淺 (麻), 種

➤ Zodiac 干支:

申, 辰 (達, 龍), 虎 (寅), 犬 (戌), 卯之 (宇之), 亥之 (猪之, 伊之), 巳之 (三之, 己之)

➤ Classical name magic: 末, 留, 捨

➤ Longevity: 千代, 百, 幾, 万 (萬), 延, 久, 千 (仙), 若, 八重, 八十 (弥曾, 弥祖, 弥惣), 丈 (乘)

➤ Others: 乙 (音), 才, 玉, 駒

3. Materialistic:

豐, 德, 富, 銀 (吟, ぎん), 益, 金, 藏 (倉), 紋 (門), 縫, 袖, 玉, 鉄, 槌, 駒

4. Clan names: 源, 藤, 平

5. Birth order:

長, 初, 七, 一 (市, 壺), 十 (重), 仲, 六, 三, 新, 惣, 大, 伝 (傳), 与 (與)

6. Office titles:

兵, 刀禰, 作

7. Others:

今, 角, 元, 民, 周

G. Contemporary female names listed in decreasing order of prevalence

Number of occurrences	Name
20	優衣, 杏奈
19	優, 優花, 千尋, 奈々, 未来
18	さくら, 七海, 愛美, 玲奈, 綾乃, 莉奈
17	優奈, 千夏, 彩夏, 桃子, 真央, 美優
16	優希, 愛梨, 明日香, 桃花, 結衣, 舞, 菜月, 遥
15	春菜, 琴音, 莉子, 陽菜
14	栞, 美空, 美羽, 萌, 詩織
13	凜, 彩香, 愛莉, 百花, 菜々美, 里奈, 麻衣
12	あかり, 亜美, 優菜, 優香, 唯, 彩, 彩音, 晴香, 美桜, 花音, 芽依, 菜摘, 葉月
11	こころ, ひなた, 佳奈, 優月, 咲希, 咲良, 奈央, 瑞希, 真衣, 結, 結菜, 綾香, 美結, 茜, 菜々子
10	乃愛, 和奏, 彩華, 心, 心優, 愛実, 愛菜, 愛華, 春香, 桃香, 真由, 瞳, 美帆, 芽生, 芽衣, 莉央, 遥香, 里菜
9	ひより, 彩加, 心愛, 心結, 心菜, 心音, 早紀, 桜, 結愛, 美穂, 美里, 莉緒
8	ひかり, ほのか, あゆみ, みなみ, ひかる, 加奈, 夏希, 夏美, 心美, 恵, 愛理, 成美, 杏, 澪, 由佳, 絢音, 美海, 美紀
7	くるみ, 夏帆, 心咲, 心春, 愛奈, 智美, 沙織, 瑠菜, 真帆, 美希, 美緒
6	一花, 仁美, 友美, 友香, 咲, 寧々, 彩葉, 心花, 怜奈, 愛海, 日和, 春奈, 朱里, 柚希, 梓, 理沙, 真子, 祥子, 結月, 綾, 美香, 里桜, 香織

- 5 優芽, 優那, 和花, 弥生, 日菜, 春花, 有希, 望, 桜子, 由奈, 真実, 碧, 綾音, 翔子, 花, 菜々, 萌花, 萌香, 陽葵
- 4 まどか, あかね, 夏実, 天音, 小春, 希, 心晴, 恵美, 悠, 愛子, 有紗, 朱音, 栞奈, 歩, 歩美, 玲菜, 瑠奈, 璃子, 真緒, 紗希, 紗良, 紗菜, 美樹, 莉愛, 萌子, 蘭, 雅, 香澄
- 3 あおい, めぐみ, あずさ, はるか, 優子, 優愛, 千春, 夏海, 奏, 彩愛, 彩羽, 志織, 愛佳, 愛花, 早希, 晴菜, 柚月, 梨沙, 沙紀, 渚, 理子, 理恵, 瑞季, 真優, 真奈美, 真美, 美幸, 美紅, 莉乃, 萌衣, 裕子, 遙, 遙香, 遙菜, 陽愛, 静香, 香菜, 麻美
- 2 あみ, ひまり, ちひろ, さやか, なつみ, みのり, 京香, 優美, 優羽, 優里, 光, 凜音, 千晶, 千紘, 友里, 夏鈴, 奈津美, 実優, 希美, 志帆, 志穂, 愛里, 日菜子, 明莉, 智子, 有紀, 未羽, 柚葉, 梨乃, 沙耶, 涼香, 琴美, 瑞穂, 由菜, 由衣, 真奈, 知美, 結奈, 美佳, 美奈, 美沙, 美波, 若菜, 莉桜, 莉音, 菜緒, 里穂, 陽向, 陽咲, 陽子, 陽菜乃, 雫, 麻由
- 1 ひな, かおり, ひとみ, すみれ, ひなの, あすか, ののか, はるな, 一華, 久美子, 亜依, 亜実, 亜衣, 伶奈, 佑香, 佳菜, 優佳, 優華, 凜花, 凜, 凜沙, 利采, 千佳, 千鶴, 友紀, 和, 唯花, 夏月, 夏音, 奈美, 実咲, 彩奈, 彩希, 心海, 心陽, 恵理, 恵里, 愛未, 愛桜, 愛結, 文香, 春佳, 有彩, 有沙, 有香, 朋香, 朱莉, 来実, 柚菜, 桃果, 桜花, 梨奈, 梨花, 梨菜, 楓夏, 樹里, 歩未, 汐里, 汐音, 沙也加, 涼花, 理紗, 瑠花, 瑠香, 由依, 由貴, 由香, 百華, 真希, 真桜, 真歩, 真紀, 真菜, 知佳, 穂乃花, 穂乃香, 穂香, 紀子, 紗奈, 紬, 結香, 絢子, 絵理, 絵美, 綾菜, 美和, 美玖, 美穂, 美織, 美菜, 美鈴, 美音, 舞子, 花菜, 莓花, 茉莉, 莉菜, 莉那, 菜, 菜奈, 菜々子, 華, 華子, 薫, 藍, 裕美, 詩, 里帆, 里美, 鈴, 鈴菜, 陽, 陽香, 雪乃, 風花, 風香, 香奈, 香穂, 麻友, 麻衣子

H. Contemporary male names listed in decreasing order of prevalence

Number of Occurrences	Name
20	健太, 優, 優太, 一輝, 匠, 大輝, 樹, 翔, 翔太, 翼, 諒, 駿
19	大地, 航
18	太一, 悠太, 拓海, 輝, 遼, 陸, 隼人, 颯
17	光, 悠, 拓真, 海斗, 涼太, 蓮
16	亮太, 優希, 優斗, 悠斗, 翔大
15	大和, 大樹, 智也, 雄大, 颯太, 龍之介
14	大智, 大貴, 悠人, 步
13	健, 凌, 和真, 大輔, 步夢, 涼
12	大翔, 太陽, 陸斗, 陽太, 隼, 響, 颯人
11	仁, 健人, 優真, 勇人, 空, 裕太, 陽向, 雄太, 颯汰
10	一樹, 一真, 俊介, 優輝, 和希, 啓太, 悠真, 悠翔, 拓実, 海翔, 直樹, 蒼太, 陽, 陽斗, 颯真
9	亮, 伊織, 健太郎, 和樹, 大雅, 奏太, 康平, 悠生, 琉生, 航平, 蒼空, 虎太郎, 裕貴, 達也, 遙斗, 陽翔, 雅也
8	優翔, 光希, 司, 和輝, 巧, 康太, 悠希, 拓也, 晴, 瑛太, 直也, 直哉, 祐太, 葵, 陽大, 颯大, 颯斗, 駿介
7	和也, 大介, 大河, 恭平, 拓哉, 朝陽, 琥太郎, 直人, 竜也, 翔平, 航大, 蒼大, 裕也, 貴大
6	将太, 智哉, 楓, 湊, 煌, 琉斗, 瑛斗, 聖也, 蒼, 裕介, 誠
5	一颯, 修平, 健斗, 優人, 優樹, 勇太, 勇輝, 大空, 廉, 海, 海人, 涼介, 碧, 純平, 結人, 翔也, 良太, 蒼真, 誠也, 陸人

- 4 亮介, 伊吹, 佑太, 佑樹, 勇斗, 友哉, 哲平, 大夢, 奏, 将也, 弘樹, 心, 悠介, 慧, 拓人, 拓弥, 永遠, 涉, 直輝, 祐樹, 祐輔, 稜, 翔真, 蒼介, 陸翔, 陽輝, 雄也, 雅人
- 3 一翔, 俊輔, 健吾, 優也, 剛, 勇樹, 勇翔, 卓也, 哲也, 圭佑, 大, 将大, 快斗, 怜, 悠仁, 悠貴, 拓斗, 新, 昊, 晴斗, 涉, 琉聖, 祐介, 結斗, 結翔, 裕樹, 陽生, 颯介
- 2 優介, 優弥, 優心, 凜, 勇希, 周平, 和哉, 和馬, 圭吾, 圭祐, 大成, 岳, 幸太, 幸輝, 徹, 悠馬, 愛斗, 愛翔, 慎也, 拓巳, 拓磨, 拓馬, 新太, 暖人, 潤, 璃空, 直希, 真斗, 祐希, 祐貴, 竜一, 竜之介, 竜馬, 純, 翔琉, 聖人, 蒼生, 蓮斗, 貴裕, 陽人, 陽仁, 颯馬, 龍, 龍輝
- 1 一希, 一馬, 佑介, 佑真, 佑輝, 俊, 健介, 優作, 優大, 優志, 優月, 元, 光輝, 凜太郎, 力, 勇貴, 和貴, 唯斗, 啓介, 圭太, 壯太, 夏生, 夏輝, 大幹, 大志, 大雅翼, 奏多, 寬人, 尚也, 崇史, 幹太, 怜央, 慎太郎, 慶, 拓, 拓夢, 拓己, 拓己, 拓未, 拓翔, 敦也, 斗真, 春翔, 晃大, 晴紀, 晴翔, 晴輝, 暖, 来夢, 柊, 柊斗, 武, 武蔵, 洋平, 洸希, 海渡, 海都, 涼平, 淳, 湊斗, 漣, 煌太, 瑛人, 瑛大, 瑞樹, 瑠斗, 直弥, 真人, 真生, 祐也, 祐斗, 祐樹, 祐輝, 祥太, 竜人, 竜哉, 竜太, 竜太郎, 竜平, 竜弥, 竜斗, 竜星, 竜樹, 竜生, 竜矢, 竜輝, 結仁, 翔太郎, 翔馬, 聖, 春輝, 航太, 英寿, 虎之介, 虎太朗, 裕人, 豪, 貴之, 貴紀, 賢人, 連, 達哉, 遙斗, 遙人, 遙希, 遼太, 遼太郎, 郁哉, 陽希, 陽平, 陽音, 隆太, 隼也, 雄介, 青空, 駿佑, 駿弥, 魁人, 龍也, 龍斗, 龍生

I. Name fields in contemporary male names

❖ Abstracta

- Programmatic (願掛け)
 - Character traits
勇, 慎, 快, 恭, 弘, 剛, 修, 徹, 稜, 周, 寬, 祐, 暖
 - Talent
俊, 啓, 達, 哲, 匠, 巧, 卓, 賢, 慧, 魁, 英, 壯, 尚, 拓
 - Sincerity
直, 誠, 廉, 敦
 - Health
健, 康
 - Plentitude
多, 潤, 隆
 - Splendor, grandeur
凌, 崇, 豪
 - Clarity
亮, 煌, 純, 朗, 諒, 晃, 淳, 洸
 - Auspicious
慶, 壽
- Vastness
永, 遠, 遼, 大, 洋
- Movement, swiftness
航, 涉, 涉, 渡, 翼, 颯, 駿
- Others
新, 元, 聖, 連, 史

❖ Realm of Nature

➤ Animals

隼

▪ Zodiac

竜, 龍, 虎, 馬

➤ Flowers / Plants

蓮

➤ Trees

幹, 柁, 伊吹

➤ Vast spaces, huge entities

陸, 湊, 地, 岳, 昊, 星,

➤ Others

漣, 朝

❖ Other concreta and physical attributes

蒼, 青, 響, 郁, 瑛, 圭, 琥, 琉, 力, 蔵

❖ “Office titles”

将, 司, 武

❖ Suffixes

之, 太, 斗, 人, 介, 輝, 平, 郎, 哉, 雄, 輔, 吾, 汰, 巳, 已, 都, 作, 矢, 己, 河, 磨,
榭, 夢

J. Name fields in contemporary female names

❖ Abstracta (24)

- Programmatic (願掛け)
佳, 恵, 依, 加, 望, 朋, 若, 緒, 久
 - Talent
理, 伶, 知, 利
 - Character traits
静, 寧, 凜
 - Clarity
澄, 明, 玲
- Others
紘, 尋, 有, 由, 早

❖ Concreta (27)

- Physical attributes
小, 瞳, 美
- Perfume
薰, 香
- The Arts / music
朶, 琴, 舞, 詩, 文, 絵, 鈴
- Fabric
衣, 紗, 綾, 絢, 紬
- Colors
彩, 朱, 茜, 紅, 采
- Gem Stones
晶
- Others
京, 里, 帆

❖ Realm of Nature (38)

➤ Flowers / Plants

莉, 桜, 華, 咲, 梨, 萌, 麻, 芽, 柚, 桃, 杏, 莓, 蘭, 梓, 茉, 果, 藍, 花, 菜

➤ Vast natural spaces / entities

日, 天, 渚, 濤, 津

➤ Natural phenomena

汐, 風, 雪, 凧, 波

➤ Small natural objects

沙, 葉, 穗, 羽, 雫, 穗

➤ Animals

鶴

➤ Others

摘, 季

❖ Numbers (4)

千, 百, 七, 玖

❖ Phonetic (6)

亜, 那, 耶, 里, 乃, 奈, 子

K. Name elements shared by male and female contemporary names

❖ Abstracta

➤ Programmatic

希, 心, 志, 唯, 生, 成

▪ Character traits

愛, 和, 優, 結, 友, 仁, 佑, 凜

▪ Auspicious

瑞, 祥, 幸, 良

▪ Talent

伶, 貴, 雅, 智

▪ Clarity / sincerity

晴, 光, 真, 実

▪ Plentitude

裕

➤ Vastness / Movement

悠, 遙, 遙, 步, 来, 翔

➤ Others

涼, 紀, 向, 未

❖ Concreta / aesthetics

➤ The Arts / Music

音, 奏

➤ Flowers, trees

葵, 楓, 樹

➤ Natural entities

陽, 月, 海, 空

➤ Seasons

夏, 春

➤ Colors, gem stones, fabric

碧, 瑠, 璃, 織

❖ Numbers, phonetics, others

一, 央, 弥, 也

L. Degrees of transparency and onymic suffixes in contemporary male names

1) Transparent names 完全表意的 (34):

翼, 匠, 樹, 陸, 大地, 颯, 光, 大和, 步, 太陽, 響, 空, 陽向, 司, 巧, 晴, 朝陽,
楓, 湊, 誠, 慧, 涉, 剛, 大, 涉, 岳, 力, 武, 伊吹, 徹, 拓

2) Partly-transparent names 部分表意的 (61):

a) Discrepancy between sound and written form (14):

輝, 步夢, 蒼空, 大空, 青空, 永遠, 璃空, 翔琉, 蒼生, 奏多, 一颯,, 大智, 暖, 葵, 蒼,
碧

b) Homonymous 同音異義 (47):

優, 悠, 諒, 遼, 稜, 凌, 涼, 亮, 駿, 俊, 翔, 航, 煌, 昊, 雄大, 健, 隼, 淳, 潤,
仁, 陽, 悠生, 琉生, 琉聖, 竜星, 心, 新, 怜, 優心, 凜, 大成, 純, 龍, 優大, 元,
慶, 柊, 廉, 漣, 蓮, 連, 聖, 豪, 海, 奏, 航大, 晃大

3) Formal names with onymic suffix 形態の名前 (279):

• -ki (54)

大輝, 一輝, 雄太, 優希, 大樹, 大貴, 一樹, 優輝, 和希, 直樹, 和樹, 裕貴, 光希, 和輝, 悠希, 勇輝, 優樹, 佑樹, 弘樹, 直輝, 祐樹, 陽生, 陽輝, 勇樹, 悠貴, 裕樹, 勇希, 幸輝, 直希, 祐希, 祐貴, 龍輝, 一希, 佑輝, 優月, 光輝, 勇貴, 和貴, 夏生, 夏輝, 大幹, 晴紀, 晴輝, 洸希, 瑞樹, 祐輝, 竜樹, 竜生, 竜輝, 春輝, 貴紀, 遙希, 陽希, 龍生

• -ta (38)

翔太, 健太, 優太, 悠太, 涼太, 亮太, 翔大, 颯太, 陽太, 裕太, 颯汰, 啓太, 蒼太, 奏太, 康太, 拓也, 瑛太, 祐太, 陽大, 颯大, 蒼大, 將太, 勇太, 良太, 佑太, 將大, 幸太, 新太, 圭太, 壯太, 幹太, 煌太, 瑛大, 祥太, 竜太, 航太, 遼太, 隆太

• -to (69)

海斗, 隼人, 優斗, 悠斗, 悠人, 大翔, 陸斗, 颯人, 健人, 勇人, 悠翔, 海翔, 陽斗, 遙斗, 陽翔, 優翔, 颯斗, 直人, 琉斗, 瑛斗, 健斗, 優人, 海人, 結人, 陸人, 勇斗, 拓人, 陸翔, 雅人, 一翔, 勇翔, 快斗, 悠仁, 拓斗, 晴斗, 結斗, 結翔, 愛斗, 愛翔, 暖人, 真斗, 聖人, 蓮斗, 陽人, 陽仁, 唯斗, 寬人, 拓翔, 春翔, 晴翔, 柊斗, 海渡, 海都, 湊斗, 瑛人, 瑠斗, 真人, 祐斗, 竜人, 竜斗, 結仁, 裕人, 賢人, 遙斗, 遙人, 陽音, 魁人, 龍斗

• -mi (6)

拓海, 拓夷, 拓巳, 拓己, 拓未

- -ma (18)
拓真, 和真, 優真, 一真, 悠真, 颯真, 蒼真, 翔真, 和馬, 悠馬, 拓磨, 拓馬, 竜馬, 颯馬, 一馬, 佑真, 斗真, 翔馬
- -ya (35)
智也, 達也, 雅也, 直也, 直哉, 和也, 拓哉, 竜也, 裕也, 智哉, 聖也, 翔也, 誠也, 友哉, 將也, 拓弥, 雄也, 優也, 卓也, 哲也, 優弥, 和哉, 慎也, 尚也, 敦也, 直弥, 祐也, 竜哉, 竜弥, 竜矢, 達哉, 郁哉, 隼也, 駿弥, 龍也
- -suke / -nosuke (24)
龍之介, 大輔, 俊介, 駿介, 大介, 裕介, 涼介, 亮介, 悠介, 祐輔, 蒼介, 俊輔, 圭佑, 祐介, 颯介, 優介, 圭祐, 竜之介, 佑介, 健介, 啓介, 虎之介, 雄介, 駿佑
- -tarō (9)
健太郎, 虎太郎, 琥太郎, 凜太郎, 慎太郎, 竜太郎, 翔太郎, 虎太郎, 遼太郎
- -ga (3)
大雅, 大河, 大雅
- -hei (12)
康平, 航平, 恭平, 翔平, 修平, 純平, 哲平, 周平, 洋平, 涼平, 竜平, 陽平
- -go (2)
健吾, 圭吾
- -ichi (2)
太一, 竜一
- -saku (1)
優作
- -shi (3)
優志, 大志, 崇史
- -mu (3)
拓夢, 來夢, 大夢

Bithematic (classical): 貴裕, 貴之, 貴大

Others: 怜央, 武蔵, 真生, 英寿, 祐樹, 伊織

M. Degrees of transparency and onymic affixes in contemporary female names

1) Transparent names 完全表意的 (57):

桜, さくら, 楓, ^{みらい}未来, 萌, 舞, はるか, 遥, 悠, 遙, 栞, あかり, 陽向, ひなた, ^{ゆい}結, 茜, あかね, 心, こころ, 瞳, ひとみ, 日和, ひより, 光, ひかり, ひかる, ほのか, 歩, あゆみ, みなみ, 恵, めぐみ, ^{あん}杏, ^{みお}澪, ^{さき}くるみ, ^{さき}咲, 梓, あずさ, ^{やよい}弥生, 望, 花, 華, まどか, ^{みやび}蘭, 雅, ^{かなで}奏, 渚, ^{しずく}みのり, さやか, ^{なごみ}雫, かおり, すみれ, 和, 紬, ^{うた}薰, 詩

2) Partly-transparent names 部分表意的名前 (25):

a) Discrepancy between sound and written form (15):

咲良 (桜), 奈々 (七?), 菜々, 菜奈, 朱里 (明かり), 朱莉, 希, 朱音 (茜), ^{ひなた}陽咲, ^{ひなた}陽愛, 亜依 (愛), 亜衣, 凧沙 (渚), 汐里 (栞), ^{はる}陽

b) Homonymous 同音異義 (11):

^{ゆう}優, ^{ゆう}優羽, ^{りん}凧, ^{りん}凧, 葵, 碧, 愛, 藍, あおい, 綾

3) Formal names with onymic affix 形態の名前 (306):

• -ka (60)

彩花, 優花, 彩夏, 明日香, 桃花, 彩香, 百花, 綾香, 彩華, 愛華, 春香, 遥香, 桃香, 彩加, 由佳, 一花, 友香, 美香, 和花, 春花, 萌花, 萌香, 愛佳, 愛花, 遙香, 静香, 京香, 涼香, 美佳, あすか, ののか, 一華, 佑香, 優佳, 優華, 凧花, 唯花, 文香, 春佳, 有香, 朋香, 桃果, 桜花, 梨花, 楓夏, 沙也加, 涼花, 瑠花, 瑠香, 由香, 百華, 知佳, 穂乃花, 穂乃香, 穂香, 結香, 莓花, 陽香, 風花, 風香

• -ko (23)

桃子, 莉子, 菜々子, 真子, 祥子, 桜子, 翔子, 愛子, 璃子, 萌子, 優子, 理子, 裕子, 日菜子, 智子, 陽子, 久美子, 紀子, 絢子, 舞子, 菜々子, 華子, 麻衣子

• -na (51)

杏奈, 玲奈, 莉奈, 優奈, 陽菜, 春菜, 里奈, 佳奈, 結菜, 和奏, 愛菜, 里菜, 加奈, 愛奈, 瑠菜, 怜奈, 春奈, 優那, 日菜, 由奈, 陽葵, 栞奈, 玲菜, 瑠奈, 紗菜, 晴菜, 遥菜, 香菜, 由菜, 真奈, 結奈, 美奈, 若菜, ひな, はるな, 伶奈, 佳菜, 彩奈, 柚菜, 梨奈, 梨菜, 真菜, 紗奈, 綾菜, 美菜, 花菜, 莉菜, 莉那, 鈴菜, 香奈

- -mi (36)
七海, 愛美, 菜々美, 亜美, 愛実, 心菜, 夏美, 心美, 成美, 智美, 仁美, 友美, 愛海, 真実, 夏実, 恵美, 歩美, 夏海, 真奈美, 真美, 麻美, あみ, なつみ, 優美, 奈津美, 希美, 琴美, 知美, 亜実, 奈美, 愛未, 来実, 歩未, 絵美, 裕美, 里美
 - -ne (6)
琴音, 心音, 絢音, 綾音, 天音, 汐音
 - -on / -non (4)
凜音, 莉音, 夏音, 美音
 - -ori / -ri (18)
詩織, 沙織, 香織, 志織, 美織, 愛梨, 愛莉, 愛理, ひまり, 優里, 友里, 愛里, 明莉, 恵理, 恵里, 樹里, 絵理, 茉莉
 - -no (7)
彩乃, 綾乃, 莉乃, 梨乃, 陽菜乃, ひなの, 雪乃,
 - -ho (12)
夏帆, 真帆, 志帆, 志穂, 瑞穂, 里穂, 真歩, 美穂, 里帆, 香穂, 美帆, 美穂,
 - -ha (3)
彩葉, 彩羽, 柚葉,
 - -tsuki / -ki (25)
菜月, 優希, 瑞希, 優月, 夏希, 美紀, 美希, 柚希, 結月, 有希, 紗希, 早紀, 咲希, 早希, 柚月, 沙紀, 瑞季, 有紀, 友紀, 夏月, 彩希, 由貴, 真希, 真紀, 美樹,
 - -o (10)
真央, 奈央, 莉央, 莉緒, 美緒, 里桜, 真緒, 莉桜, 菜緒, 真桜
 - -i (9)
優衣, 結衣, 麻衣, 真衣, 芽生, 芽衣, 萌衣, 由衣, 由依
 - -a (5)
乃愛, 心愛, 結愛, 莉愛, 優愛
 - -sa (6)
理沙, 梨沙, 美沙, 有紗, 有沙, 理紗
 - Mi- (21)
美咲, 美月, 美優, 美空, 美紅, 美結, 心優, 心結, 美里, 心咲, 心春, 心花, 心晴, 美幸, 実優, 美波, 実咲, 心陽, 美和, 美玖, 美鈴
 - Chi- (8)
千尋, 千夏, 千春, ちひろ, 千晶, 千紘, 千佳, 千鶴
 - Ko- (1)
小春
- Others (21): 真由, 麻友, 真優, 麻由, 愛結, 優芽, 紗良, 香澄, 彩愛, 理恵, 夏鈴, 利采, 愛桜, 有彩, 寧々, 沙耶, 美羽, 美海, 未羽, 心海, 菜

References

- Alford, Richard D. (1987), *Naming and identity : a cross-cultural study of personal naming practices* (New Haven: HRAF Press).
- Anderson, John M. (2007), *The grammar of names* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Blanár, Vincent (1993), 'Personennamen und Sprachgemeinschaft', in Friedhelm Debus and Wilfried Seibicke (eds.), *Reader zur Namenkunde, II: Anthroponymie*, 45-51.
- Booij, G. E. (2012), *The grammar of words : an introduction to linguistic morphology*, ed. Booij Geert (Oxford textbooks in linguistics; Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Cornell, L. L. and Hayami, Akira (1986), 'The Shumon Aratame Cho: Japan's Population Registers', *Journal of Family History*, 11 (4), 311-28.
- Debus, Friedhelm (2012), *Namenkunde und Namengeschichte: eine Einführung* (Grundlagen der Germanistik 51; Berlin: Erich Schmitt Verlag).
- Doleschal, Ursula (2015), 'Gender Marking', in Peter O. Müller, et al. (eds.), *Word-Formation. An International Handbook of the Languages of Europe* (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft, 2; Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton), 1159 - 71.
- Dore, Ronald Philip (2011), *Education in Tokugawa Japan* (Routledge library editions; Abingdon, New York: Routledge).
- Eichler, Ernst, et al. (1995), *Namenforschung / Name Studies / Les noms propres: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik / An International Handbook of Onomastics / Manuel international d'onomastique*, 2 vols. (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft Bd. 11; Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton).
- Höfler, Otto (1993), 'Grenzen semasiologischer Personennamenforschung', in Friedhelm Debus and Wilfried Seibicke (eds.), *Reader zur Namenkunde, II: Anthroponymie*, 15-45.
- Kagami, Akikatsu (1995), 'Name Studies in Japan', in Ernst Eichler, et al. (eds.), *Namenforschung / Name Studies / Les noms propres Ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik / An International Handbook of Onomastics / Manuel international d'onomastique* (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft / Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science (HSK), 11.1; Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton), 264 - 72.
- Kollmann, Cristian (2011), 'Methodische Fragen und Überlegungen zur Typologisierung der Familiennamen am Beispiel des Luxemburgischen Familiennamenatlases', in Arne Ziegler and Erika Windberger-Heidenkummer (eds.), *Methoden der Namenforschung : Methodologie, Methodik und Praxis* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag), 47 - 62.
- Koß, Gerhard (2002), *Namenforschung : eine Einführung in die Onomastik* (Germanistische Arbeitshefte 34; Tübingen: Max Niemeyer).
- Lieber, Rochelle (2010), *Introducing morphology*, ed. Lieber Rochelle (Cambridge introductions to language and linguistics; Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press).
- Lipka, Leonhard (2000), 'Word-formation and (proper) names: a neglected field', in Christiane Dalton-Puffer and Nikolaus Ritt (eds.), *Words: Structure, Meaning, Function. A Festschrift for Dieter Kastovsky* (Berlin ; New York: Mouton de Gruyter), 187-203.

- Marrapodi, Giorgio (2011), 'Die Rolle von Volkskunde und Aberglauben in der etymologischen Deutung von Flurnamen', in Arne Ziegler and Erika Windberger-Heidenkummer (eds.), *Methoden der Namenforschung : Methodologie, Methodik und Praxis* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag), 101 - 14.
- Nübling, Damaris (2014), 'From Christel to Christina, from Klaus to Nico: A diachronic study of German first names (1945-2010) and their shift towards the syllable language type.', in Javier Caro Reina and Renata Szczepaniak (eds.), *Syllable and Word Languages* (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton), 222 - 47.
- Nübling, Damaris, Fahlbusch, Fabian, and Heuser, Rita (2012), *Namen: eine Einführung in die Onomastik* (Tübingen: Narr Verlag).
- Oelkers, Susanne (2003), *Naming gender: empirische Untersuchungen zur phonologischen Struktur von Vornamen im Deutschen* (Europäische Hochschulschriften I 1870; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang).
- Plutschow, Herbert E. (1995), *Japan's name culture : the significance of names in a religious, political and social context* (Folkestone: Japan Library).
- Schramm, Gottfried (2013), *Zweigliedrige Personennamen der Germanen : ein Bildetyp als gebrochener Widerschein früher Heldenlieder* (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde; Berlin: De Gruyter).
- Sonderegger, Stefan (1997), 'Prinzipien germanischer Personennamengebung', in Dieter Geuenich, Wolfgang Haubrichs, and Jörg Jarnut (eds.), *Nomen et gens : zur historischen Aussagekraft frühmittelalterlicher Personennamen* (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde; Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter), 1 - 29.
- Stüber, Karin, Zehnder, Thomas, and Remmer, Ulla (2009), *Indogermanische Frauennamen* (Indogermanische Bibliothek 3. Reihe; Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter).
- Van Langendonck, Willy (2007), *Theory and typology of proper names* (Trends in linguistics; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter).
- 上野 和男 (2006), '名前と社会をめぐる基本的諸問題', 和男 上野・謙二 森著, *名前と社会: 名づけの家族史* (比較家族; 東京: 早稲田大学出版部), 3 - 25.
- 前田 太郎 (1917), '動物名に因んだ古代の人名', *歴史地理*, 29 (4), 368 - 75.
- 坂田 聡 (2000), '中世百姓の人名と村社会--近江国菅浦の実例を中心に', *中央大学文学部 紀要*, (182), 31-54.
- (2006), *苗字と名前の歴史*, ed. 坂田聡著 (歴史文化ライブラリー 211; 東京: 吉川弘文館).
- 大藤 修 (2012), *日本人の姓・苗字・名前: 人名に刻まれた歴史*, 大藤修著 (歴史文化ライブラリー 353; 東京: 吉川弘文館).
- 寿岳 章子 (1979), *日本人の名前* (東京: 大修館書店).
- 山口 徹 (1992), '名前と苗字の明治維新', 善彦 網野著, *名前と系図・花押と印章* (歴史の読み方 朝日百科・日本の歴史別冊; 東京: 朝日新聞社), 14 - 19.
- 影山 太郎 (2011), *日英対照名詞の意味と構文* (東京: 大修館書店).
- 森岡 健二・山口 仲美 (1985), *命名の言語学: ネーミングの諸相* (東京: 東海大学出版会).
- 瀬田 勝哉 (2000), *木の語る中世* (朝日選書 664; 東京: 朝日新聞社).
- 田中 宣一 (2014), *名づけの民俗学: 地名・人名はどう命名されてきたか* (歴史文化ライブラリー 373; 東京: 吉川弘文館).
- 穂積 陳重 (1992), *忌み名の研究* (講談社学術文庫 1017; 東京: 講談社).
- 紀田 順一郎 (2002), *名前の日本史* (文春新書 267; 東京: 文藝春秋).

- 角田 文衛 (2006), 日本の女性名 : 歴史的展望 (新版) (東京: 国書刊行会).
- 豊田 国夫 (1988), 名前の禁忌(タブー)習俗, (講談社学術文庫 [847]; 東京: 講談社).
- 鏡味 明克 (2007), '名称学と命名論', 宮地 裕・甲斐 睦朗著, 「日本語学」特集テーマ別ファイル 意味 (2; 東京: 明治書院), 2 - 7.
- 阿部 武彦 (1960), 氏姓 (日本歴史新書; 東京: 至文堂).
- 飯沼 賢司 (1987), '女性名から見た中世の女性の社会的地位', 歴史評論 (歴史科学協議会編) (443), 44 - 62.
- 高木 侃 (2006), '近世の名前—上野国の事例—', 和男 上野・謙二 森著, 名前と社会: 名づけの家族史 (シリーズ比較家族; 東京: 早稲田大学出版部), 61 - 75.