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From Rochel to Rose and Mendel to Max: First Name Americanization Patterns Among Twentieth-Century Jewish Immigrants to the United States

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FROM ROCHEL TO ROSE AND MENDEL TO MAX: FIRST NAME AMERICANIZATION PATTERNS AMONG TWENTIETH-CENTURY JEWISH IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES

by

by Jason Greenberg

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics, The City University of New York

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From Rochel to Rose and Mendel to Max: First Name Americanization Patterns Among Twentieth-Century Jewish Immigrants to the United States: A Case Study

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in satisfaction of the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics.

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ABSTRACT

From Rochel to Rose and Mendel to Max: First Name Americanization Patterns Among Twentieth-Century Jewish Immigrants to the United States: A Case Study

by

Jason Greenberg

Advisor: Cecelia Cutler

There has been a dearth of investigation into the distribution of and the alterations among Jewish given names. Whereas Jewish surnames are a popular topic of study, first names receive far less analysis. Because Jewish immigrants to the United States frequently changed their names, this thesis can serve as a guide to genealogists and other scholars seeking to trace the paths of Jewish immigrants from Europe. Data was drawn from about 1500 naturalization records from Brooklyn in order to determine the correspondences between the given names featured on passenger lists and their Americanized counterparts. More than three-quarters of surveyed immigrants were revealed to have altered their names during the naturalization process, with English-language cognates and other phonetic and orthographic similarities ostensibly informing these changes.

Keywords: assimilation, immigration, Jews, naturalization, onomastics

PREFACE

For better or for worse, I was born a Jew. My family was Ashkenazic, of various Eastern European origin, but because my parents and grandparents were born and raised in Brooklyn, New York always felt like my ancestral home. The shtetls of the former Austrian and Russian Empires were half a world away, and like many Jewish Americans I have met, I identified more with my anglophone, quasi-secular family in the United States than with my Hasidic forebears, all buried centuries ago in abandoned cemeteries in Europe, many of which have been converted into woodland or parking lots.

It was a stroke of luck that my family happened to be obsessed with genealogy. I have fond memories of reunions during my childhood, when I was regularly thrust into rooms and expected to instantly bond with my second, third, and even eighth cousins. Awkwardness would inevitably ensue—my cousins and I may have been genetic relatives, but we were also social strangers—but even though I barely knew these people, the fact that we shared surnames and even some physical features would intrigue me. The older generations were even more enthusiastic; I can recall a second cousin of my father's repeating ad nauseam the exact address of the home in Romania in which my great-great-grandparents lived, and my grandmother took pride in her stern, devout grandparents from Austria (actually Ukraine, as we later discovered). No family is perfect, and my own is especially guilty of intergenerational cycles of mistreatment and estrangement, but I would be remiss if I did not express gratitude to my relatives for allowing me to understand my roots.

As a young adult, I began to take my family's already sound and thorough genealogical records into my own hands, using the Internet to confirm or refute oral traditions and explore branches that had been neglected. Around the same time, inspired in part by my studies in Latin

and the *Harry Potter* series, I became obsessed with onomastics, and before long, I was regularly scanning *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*'s index of Indo-European roots and creating a database of the etymology of the name of every Hogwarts student. These two interests merged when I discovered passenger lists and naturalization records, as I was suddenly able to trace the exact steps my ancestors took as they immigrated, taking on several aliases as they did so.

The more I untangled century-old cursive from Ellis Island and transcribed smudged, typewritten letters from rolls of microfilm, the more I realized that the names by which I knew as my forefathers were inconstant. One one branch, I learned that my great-grandfather Julius Cooper (for whom I am named) had previously been known as *Juda Kuperschlag*. On another branch, my great-grandfather Harry Morovitz (for whom I am also named) had been born *Chaim Herszel Mrozowicz*. My immediate family had been just religious enough to give me the Hebrew name of *Yehudah Chaim* purely for liturgical purposes, but it had never occurred to me that the foreign, overly velar moniker that I mostly ignored for years had in fact been two ancestors' "real" names. I had never believed that there were Jewish men named Harry and Julius living in Poland and Ukraine at the turn of the twentieth century, but I had never questioned how my great-grandparents self-identified before their arrival in New York Harbor.

From there, I began to notice patterns. Two ancestors named *Abram* had chosen to be called "Abraham" in the United States, which was unsurprising. Three great-great-grandmothers were referred to as "Rose" on their children's vital records in the New York Municipal Archives, and their original names of *Roschke*, *Reise*, and *Rochel* all started with the same letter. The names *Velvel*, *Chaya*, *Nachman*, and *Taube*, which appeared on multiple branches of my tree, were uniformly Americanized, respectively, as "William," "Ida," "Nathan," and "Tillie." With

these trends emerging, I was able to make breakthroughs in my genealogical research based alone on what appeared to be the one-to-one correspondence between certain Hebrew and English names.

The more that I collected data on my own family, however, the more I realized that name assimilation was not as simple as I had assumed. My aforementioned great-grandfather Harry Morovitz was born *Chaim Herszel*, but a great-great-grandfather named Harry Goldman had been born *Aron Icek*, cognate to "Aaron Isaac." A great-granduncle named Harry Greenberg had been born *Yudel*, but had chosen "Harry" over the expected cognate "Judah" or the near-homophonous "Julius." Another *Chaim* in my family, my great-great-grandfather *Chaim Weiner*, had chosen the English cognate Hyman, but a great-granduncle named Hyman Feldman was not originally *Chaim*, but *Cheskel*, or "Ezekiel." More confusingly, my great-grandmother Gertrude Tobias did not have as her birth name the similar-sounding *Gittel*, but rather *Dwosche*, a diminutive of the Yiddish cognate of "Deborah." Even more tantalizing, Gertrude's sister-in-law, my great-grandaunt, had immigrated under the name *Gitel Grimberg* and lived for several years in New York as Gussie Greenberg, but after she married, she settled upon a given name that she invented herself: Luzela. A few of these alternative choices seemed perfectly reasonable, if unanticipated, but many sounded random.

In July of 1998, a researcher named Warren Blatt hosted a lecture at the Eighteenth Seminar on Jewish Genealogy in Los Angeles, and during the latter third of which, he presented an original examination of onomastic data he had collected from upwards of six thousand Jewish graves from Boston and New York. Because it was customary during the early twentieth century, when these tombstones were erected, to include both the English and Hebrew names of the deceased, Blatt was able to perform a statistical analysis on the information he had gathered,

determining the likelihood of correspondence among individual names. I was personally inspired by Blatt's work, and from there, I developed the idea for this thesis.

Unlike Blatt, however, I have not used *Landsmannschaft* graveyards as my source, but naturalization records. In addition to financial and transportation-related barriers, my reason for choosing to peruse naturalization records instead of sallying forth on cemetery safaris is to fill what I feel is a minor gap in Blatt's research. Despite what the abugida on a gravestone would suggest, not all Jewish immigrants to the United States were known by their Hebrew names; on the certificates of arrival in the first microfilm roll that I analyzed, I saw the Italic names *Clara* and *Max*, the Germanic *Herman* and *Ida*, the Slavic *Olga* and *Sonia*, and even the English *Davis* and *William* interspersed with the more traditionally Hebraic *Chana*, *Feiga*, *Moische*, and *Schloime*. Clearly, naturalization records provide a significant, alternative perspective than that found on headstones.

My wish is to supplement Blatt's earlier, seminal work. By categorizing etymologically related names, converting all names into an adaptation of the Daitch-Mokotoff soundex, and examining common names of the early 1900s, I plan to pinpoint the flexible, unspoken rules that largely determined name assimilation practices.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the advising of Professor Cecelia Cutler, who painstakingly guided my every step for several months. In addition, the seminal work by scholars Alexander Beider and Warren Blatt provided the foundation upon which I constructed my study.

I would also like to thank the innumerable ancestors and far-flung relatives of mine, alive and deceased, who meticulously compiled and recorded vital information about their foreparents, thereby connecting me with those who never even made the crossing to North America.

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The Origins of American Jewry

Jews are an ethnoreligious group (Fishman 2004, Safran 2004, Winter 1992) found in pockets all over the world. The most prominent ethnic subdivision is the Ashkenazi community, which comprises approximately eighty percent of the Jewish population (Feldman 2001). Genetic studies on Ashkenazim have suggested a distant, chiefly Eastern Mediterranean origin, combined with a minor European contribution and filtered through centuries of the endogamy that ensued after a significant population bottleneck (Hammer et al. 2000, Behar et al. 2004). Ashkenazim predominantly lived in Central and Eastern Europe for hundreds of years, and their endonym "Ashkenaz" (which translates to "Germany" in Hebrew) points to their earlier residence in the Holy Roman Empire (Kriwaczek 2005, Mosk 2013).

There were a handful of instances over the centuries in which European Jews received equal or nearly equal treatment under the law. Charlemagne welcomed Italian and Rhineland Jews to his kingdom in order to spur trade (Gottheil et al. n.d., Scheindlin 1998). During the Norman and early German rules over Sicily, Jews were granted some autonomy and held crucial roles in translating Arabic works into the local vernacular (Simonsohn 1997). At the French National Assembly in 1791, Jews were granted full French citizenship (Mendes-Flohr & Reinharz 1995), and Napoleon Bonaparte largely advocated for Jewish emancipation within the French Empire (O'Meara 1822). Duke Bolesław the Pious ratified the Statute of Kalisz in 1264, granting substantial legal rights to Jews ("The Statute of Kalish…"). Casimir III the Great, who was rumored to have had a Jewish mistress (Sherwin 1997), implored Jews to settle in the Kingdom of Poland during his reign in the mid-1300s, when he vowed to protect Jews as his subjects (Smith 2007). In fact, Poland at one point became known as such an attractive haven for

Jewish life that the name "Polonia" was reanalyzed through folk etymology as "פה לן יה" (*"po lan yah"*), "God lodges here" (Bell 2013).

Despite these few brighter moments, life for the Jewish people in Europe was rife with discrimination, forced resettlement, and bloodshed, and these patterns persisted across scores of generations. The People's Crusade of 1096, which was concurrent with the First Crusade, resulted in the slaughter of several thousand Jews living along what is now the French-German border (Nirenberg 2002). In 1144, Christian residents of Norwich, England, participated in the earliest recorded blood libel against local Jews (Jacobs n.d.). During the mid-1300s, speculation was rampant that Jews had poisoned wells in order to create the Black Death (Levy 2005). In 1516, Venice introduced the first ghetto, which mandated segregated housing for Jews (Laskin 2016). Multiple expulsions from England, France, Germany, Italy, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, and Spain occurred throughout the second millennium CE, and massacres against Jews proliferated throughout Europe (Adler 1939, Benbassa 2001, Roth 2014, Shyovitz 2016, Teter 2008).

Jews have a long history in the United States, but it was only towards the close of the 1800s that they became a visible and influential demographic. Western Sephardic Jews began immigrating to the Americas in the seventeenth century in pursuit of financial advancement. While these Jews mostly settled at first in the Caribbean and Brazil, immigration to North America soon followed, and the first synagogue in what is now the United States opened its doors in Manhattan in 1654 (Angel 1973). Under the Plantation Act 1740, Jews were formally permitted to become naturalized (Henriques 1907), and the total Jewish population, both Sephardic and Ashkenazic, of the Thirteen Colonies reached one to two thousand individuals by 1776 (Sheskin & Dashefsky 2012).

The mid-nineteenth century had featured a mass influx of German Jews, who left Central Europe behind in the wake of a series of societal and legal changes. New laws restricted the number of Jews could marry in a given year, and the rise of industry began to render obsolete mercantile jobs, which were among the few occupations that Jewish men were able to hold. The sudden deterioration in economic opportunities spurred German Jews to emigrate to North America (Diner n.d.). By the onset of the Civil War, the Jewish population of the United States, both Sephardic and German, had surpassed 150,000 (Sheskin & Dashefsky 2012).

It was the adversity that Eastern European Jews began to face in the rapidly expanding Russian Empire that may have provided the impetus for Ashkenazim to flee Europe en masse. The Russian Empire had acquired in the late 1700s large swaths of the former Kingdom of Poland, where thousands of Jews had resided for centuries, and this led to friction from Russian rulers and commoners alike (McManus-Czubińska 2005, Mendes-Flohr & Reinharz 1995). Following the successful assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881, three years of pogroms against Jews followed in cities such as Warsaw, Odessa, and Kiev (Berk 1985). A second rash of pogroms occurred ten years later throughout the empire, leading to thousands of Jewish deaths (Weinberg 1993). Facing such an unprecedented genocide, millions of Jews fled the Russian Empire, seeking asylum in the United Kingdom and United States.

During the late nineteenth century, Jewish immigration skyrocketed. Between the year 1880 and the ratification of the Immigration Act of 1924, over 2.8 million Ashkenazi Jews emigrated from their pogrom-ridden ancestral Central and Eastern European homelands and resettled in the United States, a significant number of which flocked to the New York metropolitan area (Lemay & Barkan 1999, Lewin 1979). Though Jewish immigrants during this

period originated from several different continents, the overwhelming majority of Jews entering the United States were of Austian-Hungarian, Romanian, or Russian origin (Hyman n.d.).

The Onomastics of European Jewry

A curious pattern emerged among Ashkenazim in Europe, perhaps as a result of the conflict between their religious practices and the laws of the kingdoms surrounding their shtetls. Jews, particularly Jewish men, frequently appeared across various records by several different, seemingly unrelated given names (see Table 1). The explanation for this is lies in the trichotomous Jewish naming practices of yore, wherein Jews would give their children a liturgical name of Hebrew origin; an etymologically related informal name; and, on occasion, a similar name in either Yiddish or the local European tongue (Beider 2001). Women's names were more consistent than those of men, however, for several reasons: names of European origin were more common among women than men, only male Biblical names had animal associations, and women did not have status equal to that of men in the religious sphere.

This intrinsic variability in given names was not unique to European Jewry; in North America, to name two examples, the members of the Powhatan tribe of modern-day Virginia possessed several names over the course of their lives (Rountree 1992), while the Yahi people of

Table 1: Examples of Possible Jewish Name Variation in European Society

Liturgical Name	Colloquial Name	Name on Records	Rationale
Aryeh or *Yehudah*	*Leib*	*Leib*	*Aryeh* means "lion" in Hebrew, and *Leib* is the Yiddish calque. The Biblical character *Yehudah* (*Judah*) was often associated with lions.
Tziporah	*Tsipe*	*Feiga*	*Tziporah* (*Zipporah*) means "bird" in Hebrew, and *Feiga* is the Yiddish calque. *Tsipe* is a diminutive of *Tziporah.*
Yaakov	*Yakel, Yankel*	*Iancu, Jankiel*	All names are cognates of *Jacob.*

northern California were mandated to never disclose their true names to enemies and foreigners (Holcomb 2000). However, with the minor exception of the practice of selecting confirmation names in Roman Catholicism (Trigilio & Brighenti 2011), the legitimacy of the multiple given names belonging to Jewish immigrants remained largely without parallel in the United States. Much to the chagrin of anglophone genealogists and historians, this fluidity in Jewish records persisted for centuries.

Because Jews, with the notable exception of rabbinical families such as the Lurias, did not adopt surnames until the turn of the nineteenth century, an interesting paradox has arisen. Jewish first names appear to be largely unexplored in academia; despite millennia of potential content to review, analyses of Jewish naming conventions and related subject matter are few and far between. The literature on the relatively nascent Jewish surname is substantial, covering topics such as etymology, geographic distribution, and alterations by immigrants. Authors such as Beider (1996, 2004, 2008), Dzienciarsky (2015), Farkas (2009), Himmelfarb et al. (1983), Kaganoff (1956), Loewenthal (1947), Munitz (1972), Rosenwiake (1990), Stern (1974), and Tagger (n.d.) have all variously explored popular Jewish surnames over the past two hundred years, and further sources have used surname data to research the prevalence of genetic disorders and specific DNA markers among Jews (Cooklin et al., 1983; Krain et al. 1973; Nastiuk 1999; Schwartz et al. 2001; White et al. 1972). However, beyond Beider (2001) and Cohn (2008), Jewish given names continue to remain overlooked in academia. It is because of the dearth of existing literature on this subject that I elected to pursue this study.

The International Council of Onomastic Sciences, in its description of the purview of onomastics, notes that onomasts analyze manifold features of names. Some of the major questions in the field of onomastics that relate to the above include: What are the social

distribution patterns of names? How do dissimilar names pertain to an individual? What problems arise a name when is used in different languages to refer to a person? What are the trends and methods in play when a name is given? Onomastics is crucial to understanding the immigrant experience, especially the process of assimilation, as the field analyzes the various factors that drive immigrants to forsake their birth names and adopt replacements in the local language all constitute.

The Obfuscation of Jewish Names

This ubiquitous onomastic variability among Jews may have its roots in the more recent centuries of Hebraic culture in Europe. A few months before Christopher Columbus and his troupe opted to abduct Taínos and conflate them with the peoples of Southeast Asia, Isabella I and Ferdinand II issued the Alhambra Decree, which forced the Jews of Spain by the hundreds of thousands to either convert to Catholicism or flee the Kingdoms of Aragón and Castile (Lewis 2015). Those who remained and abandoned Judaism took Christian names and became known as "conversos," or converts, while the expelled Jews largely sought refuge in North Africa, the Balkans, and the Ottoman Empire, assuming new identities in the process (Schen 2011). The Spanish Inquisition and the subsequent expulsion is but one of a series of forced removals of Jews throughout Europe that occurred during the first half of the second millennium C.E. Germanic, Slavic, and Italic nations ejected Jews en masse, compelling the sudden itinerants to seek refuge in the Netherlands, Poland, the Maghreb, and the Middle East (Roth 2002). In each of these new lands, Jews were obliged to adapt to the local societal and linguistic practices while preserving some semblance of their ancestral culture.

A common misconception is that Jewish surnames are historically far more mutable than given names have been. While it is true that surname changes among Jews were frequent occurrences over the past quarter-millennium, assimilation practices abound as well among first names, which have been in existence for far longer than surnames have been. Central Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provides a wealth of instances in which Jews altered their given names to reflect the culture and languages of vicinal Gentiles. Beider (n.d.) reports that, following a general period of Yiddish homogenization in the late 1500s, Jews slowly began to rename themselves, either voluntarily or by legal mandate. Between 1787 and 1867 in the Habsburg Monarchy, Jewish residents were required to change their names, drawing from a list of 160 German-language names. In late-nineteenth century Poland, there was a minor trend among urban Jews to rename themselves, drawing upon Polish translations of Biblical names and appellations of Slavic origin. Among men, these epithets did not replace Hebrew names outright, but rather supplemented them, serving as informal, secular monikers while Hebraic names remained in use for liturgical purposes.

Despite the trends and historical events that Beider (n.d.) uncovered, less attention has been given to Jewish personal name distribution than to the fickle phenomenon of Jewish surnames. As stated in the previous section, besides Praguers and those in several prominent rabbinical families, Jewish people did not bear surnames until the 1800s. Prior to the nineteenth century, Jews used patronymics, e.g., *Reyza Eliaszowna* ("Reyza, daughter of Eliasz"). Patronymics did not have the same status as surnames, but they were used nonetheless on graves and in public records in order to distinguish similarly-named individuals. Between 1787 and 1833, legislative changes enacted in Central and Eastern Europe demanded that Jews adopt last names. Whereas Ashkenazic Jewish given names were of Semitic or Indo-European origin and

typically inherited from deceased ancestors (Beider 2001, Bloch 1980), different rules applied to the surnames that Jews were mandated to assume. Jewish people in German-speaking areas who complied with the surname law took adjectives (e.g., *Ehrlich*, "honest"), common nouns (e.g., *Blatt*, "leaf"; *Stein*, "stone"), or compounded roots (e.g., *Mandelbaum*, "almond tree"; *Rosenzweig*, "rose branch") as last names, while those who showed reluctance received less desirable names (e.g., *Kaker*, "defecator") from local officials. Similar rules applied to Jews in Slavic lands; though the selection and distribution of surnames varied greatly by year and area, both Gentile and Jewish authorities alike drew from the local dialect, personal names, and regional municipalities to inform the creation of last names (Beider n.d.). By the time that the wave of Ashkenazic emigration from Europe began in the 1880s, though the given names borne by Jewish travelers had long been staples of the Ashkenazi community, the surnames that the Jews brought with them to the Americas had only been in use for a handful of generations.

Upon immigration to the United States, what began as a triad of given names among Jews became a quartet. The fifty years of diaspora and migration around the turn of the twentieth century encompassed, among other issues, an ethical and social-psychological struggle that many groups face upon arrival in a foreign country: whether or not to assimilate. In major population centers such as New York, Jews flocked to become naturalized citizens, and while some elected to maintain their original identities, the majority of Jews whose records I examined elected to Americanize their names. Again, this widespread decision was not specific to Jews; it is quite common for Middle Eastern and Asian immigrants to Indo-European countries to change their names in order to at least partially assimilate to their newfound nationalities and grant themselves more opportunities (Bursell 2012). However, name assimilation and assorted changes among Jews has been disproportionately frequent, creating a bona fide phenomenon.

The Fluidity of Jewish Names

The malleable rules governing name assimilation among Jewish immigrants to the United States have seen little study, and therefore, information on the general trends among onomastic Americanization is scant. Warren Blatt, the current managing director of the genealogy website JewishGen.org, has perhaps the most detailed analysis to date of name changes among Jewish immigrants to the United States, and despite his analysis of upwards of 6000 graves of Jewish immigrants, he states frankly that "there were no fixed equivalents for immigrant Hebrew or Yiddish names" (slide 61), ultimately declaring that no regulations at all existed regarding name assimilation choices.

In light of the lack of literature and Blatt's accurate condemnation of any hypothetical rules regarding name Americanization, I initially turned to my own genealogical research to prove or disprove Blatt's assertion. Table 2 exemplifies the rampant mutability of names belonging to a single immigrant. On the grave of Alter Greenberg, my great-great-great-

Table 2: Examples of Jewish Name Variation on U.S. Records

Name on Document	Transliteration	Source
Alter Greenberg	—	*The New York Times*, dated 31 October 1895
		Death certificate, dated 1912
		Gravestone, erected circa 1912
Alther Greenberg	—	1900 U.S. Federal Census
Arthur Greenberg	—	Death certificate of son Hyman, dated 1939
		Death certificate of daughter Minnie, dated 1955
אלטער גרינבערג	*Alter Grinberg*	Gravestone, erected circa 1912
אלטער יאקל	*Alter Yakl*	Gravestone of daughter Minnie, erected circa 1955
אלתר	*Altr*	Gravestone of daughter Pauline, erected circa 1983
יאקל	*Yakl*	Gravestone, erected circa 1912
יעקב	*Yaakov*	Gravestone of daughter Yetta, erected circa 1978
יעקב אלטער	*Yaakov Alter*	Gravestone of son Hyman, erected circa 1939

grandfather, his name appears as both "Alter Greenberg," rendered in English and Hebrew letters, and "Yakel," a diminutive of *Yaakov* (Jacob) that appears to have been supplanted by the amuletic *Alter*. On the death certificate of Alter's daughter Minnie Greenberg, the informant (Minnie's daughter Luzela) Americanized Alter's name to "Arthur Greenberg." The death certificate of Alter's son Hyman also featured "Arthur" instead. Per the custom, the graves of Alter's children Minnie, Hyman, Yetta, and Pauline featured patronymics, but each of the graves of Alter's four children referred to him differently; he appears variously as "Altr," "Alter Yakl," "Yaakov," and "Yaakov Alter." A single Jewish man, across nine different records, was known by eight different names. The substantial diversity in these references may not be typical of all Jewish immigrants to the United States, but the above illustrates plainly the precedent for considerable variation in among the names that Jews possessed.

Despite what appeared to me initially to be chaos among my ancestors with regard to name Americanization, after further research, several discernible patterns emerged. I first noticed a somewhat consistent trend among individuals whose Yiddish birth names had popular English cognates, with cognateness serving as a potential basis for name choice. Among other relatives, a single initial letter or syllable in common with a common American name explained the adaptation. On occasion, though, there was no apparent relationship between pre- and post-immigration names, and the changes were inexplicable and unpredictable.

Blatt (1998) echoed these tendencies in his presentation, noting that the popularity of American names was often a deciding factor in assimilation. If a Yiddish name had a trendy English-language cognate, the overwhelming majority of immigrants with that name would elect to adopt the cognate as their own; 94% of the men named *Benyomen* that Blatt examined chose the popular "Benjamin" in the United States, but not a single *Ikheskl* became "Ezekiel." Blatt

cites Harkavy (1925), who advocated that Jews select new names with the same or similar meaning as their birth names, as a contributor to the occasional prevalence of calques among name changes. According to this pattern, a woman named *Malka* could call herself "Regina" in the United States, as both names mean "queen," and a man named *Uri* ("my light") could become "Phoebus" ("bright"). Blatt also identified phonetic similarity as an impetus, but he specified that this parallel was often based on a single initial letter.

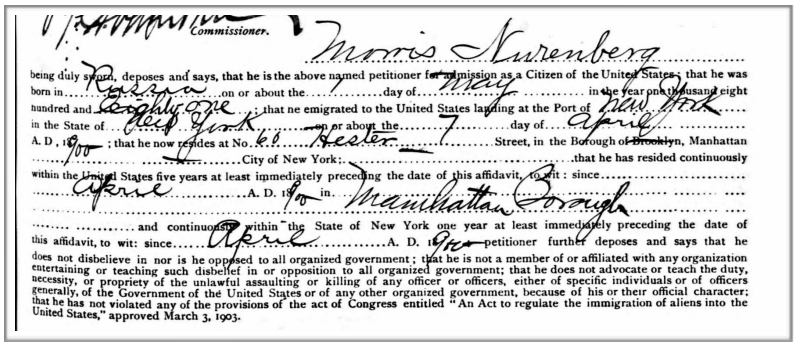
Though the academic consensus on the matter is that no rules existed to guide regular name changes, I felt that the few emerging patterns were worth further study. Because of the crucial role that naturalization records held in allowing Jewish immigrants to acclimate to their new environs, I opted to analyze a sample of these records in order to gather information about name Americanization.

METHODOLOGY

Sources and Standards

The data in this study was gathered from March to September of 2016, using petitions for naturalization available on ancestry.com to paid subscribers. These particular naturalization records were microfilmed and among those in rolls 863 through 872 currently in possession of the National Archives. Each record was originally filed between April and October of 1937 in the Eastern District of New York, which included Kings, Nassau, Queens, and Suffolk Counties. All the records from which I collected data, however, were filed in Kings County (Brooklyn) only. The choice of midyear 1937 was mostly arbitrary; the petition for naturalization of my great-grandfather Harry Morovitz, whose data is included in the dataset, utilized a format that included his Yiddish/Polish name on the passenger list of the ship on which he immigrated. As

Figure 1



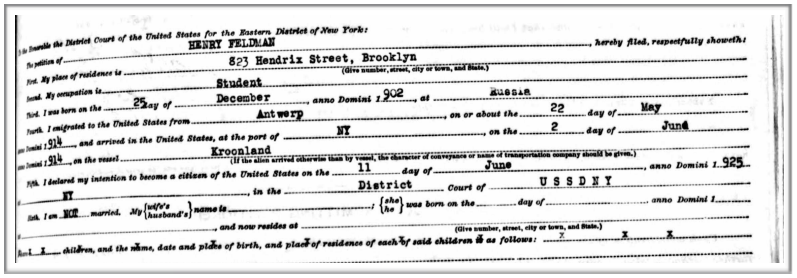
Commissioner.

Morris Nurenberg

being duly sworn, deposes and says, that he is the above named petitioner for admission as a Citizen of the United States; that he was born in Russia on or about the 7 day of May in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty one; that he emigrated to the United States landing at the Port of New York in the State of New York on or about the 7 day of April A. D., 1900; that he now resides at No. 66 Hester Street, in the Borough of Brooklyn, Manhattan City of New York; that he has resided continuously within the United States five years at least immediately preceding the date of this affidavit, to wit: since April A. D. 1900 in Manhattan Borough and continuously within the State of New York one year at least immediately preceding the date of this affidavit, to wit: since April A. D. 1900 petitioner further deposes and says that he does not disbelieve in nor is he opposed to all organized government; that he is not a member of or affiliated with any organization entertaining or teaching such disbelief in or opposition to all organized government; that he does not advocate or teach the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals or of officers generally, of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character; that he has not violated any of the provisions of the act of Congress entitled "An Act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States," approved March 3, 1903.

A sample naturalization record from the Eastern District of New York, 1906. The record features no details about the petitioner's arrival beyond the date and port.

Figure 2



To the District Court of the United States for the Eastern District of New York:

HENRY FELDMAN, hereby filed, respectfully showeth:

First. My place of residence is 823 Hendrix Street, Brooklyn (Give number, street, city or town, and State.)

Second. My occupation is Student

Third. I was born on the 25 day of December, anno Domini 1902, at Russia

Fourth. I emigrated to the United States from Antwerp, on or about the 22 day of May anno Domini 1914, and arrived in the United States, at the port of NY, on the 2 day of June anno Domini 1914, on the vessel Kroonland (If the alien arrived otherwise than by vessel, the character of conveyance or name of transportation company should be given.)

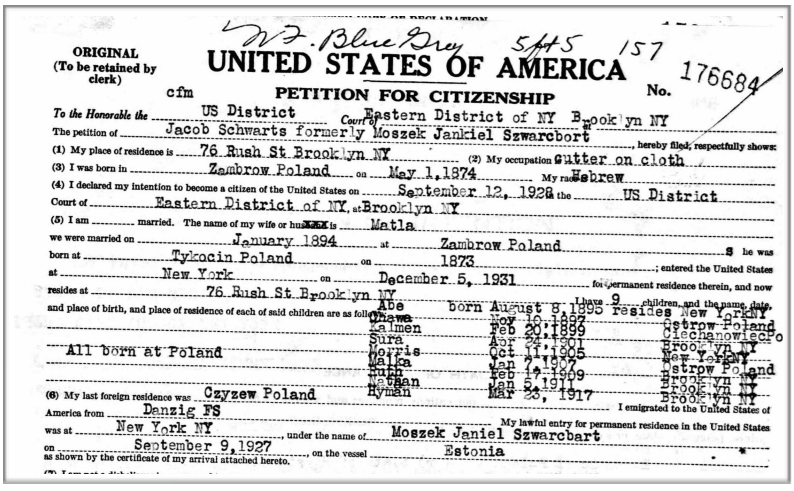
Fifth. I declared my intention to become a citizen of the United States on the 11 day of June, anno Domini 1925, in the NY District Court of U S S D N Y

Sixth. I am NOT married. My (wife's / husband's) name is ; (she / he) was born on the day of anno Domini , and now resides at (Give number, street, city or town, and State.)

And I X children, and the name, date and place of birth, and place of residence of each of said children is as follows: X X X

A sample naturalization record from the Eastern District of New York, 1928. This record adds the port of origin, the date of departure, and the name of the ship to the information on the previous version.

Figure 3



W. Blue Drey 5445 157

ORIGINAL (To be retained by clerk)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 176684

cfm

PETITION FOR CITIZENSHIP

To the Honorable the US District Court of Eastern District of NY Brooklyn NY

The petition of Jacob Schwarts formerly Moszek Jankiel Szwarcbort hereby filed, respectfully shows:

(1) My place of residence is 76 Rush St Brooklyn NY (2) My occupation Cutter on cloth

(3) I was born in Zambrow Poland on May 1,1874 My race Hebrew

(4) I declared my intention to become a citizen of the United States on September 12, 1928 in the US District Court of Eastern District of NY, at Brooklyn NY

(5) I am married. The name of my wife or husband is Matla

we were married on January 1894 at Zambrow Poland ; she was born at Tykocin Poland on 1873 ; entered the United States at New York on December 5, 1931 for permanent residence therein, and now resides at 76 Rush St Brooklyn NY. I have 9 children, and the name, date and place of birth, and place of residence of each of said children are as follows:

Abe	born August 8,1895	resides New York NY
Chawe	Nov 10,1897	Ostrow Poland
Kalmen	Feb 20,1899	Ciechanowiec Po
Sura	Apr 22,1901	Brooklyn NY
Morris	Oct 11,1905	New Yorky
Malka	Jan 7,1907	Ostrow Poland
Ruth	Feb 12,1909	Brooklyn NY
Nathan	Jan 5,1911	Brooklyn NY
Hyman	Mar 28, 1917	Brooklyn NY

All born at Poland

(6) My last foreign residence was Czyzew Poland I emigrated to the United States of America from Danzig FS My lawful entry for permanent residence in the United States was at New York NY under the name of Moszek Janiel Szwarcbart on September 9,1927, on the vessel Estonia as shown by the certificate of my arrival attached hereto.

A sample naturalization record from the Eastern District of New York, 1933. This format includes the petitioner's most recent foreign residence and his name on the passenger manifest of the ship on which he sailed. It was this third format of record that was used by all the petitioners counted in this study.

the microfilm records to which I had access did not uniformly provide certificates of arrival, it was more conducive to draw upon naturalization records with the Americanized name and the earlier, foreign name on the same page.

The formats of naturalization records varied significantly from decade to decade, and information on the dates when formats were changed is scant. From my own cursory research, it appears that petitions for naturalization filed prior to 1910 in New York's Eastern District featured little more about a petitioner's immigration than the approximate date of arrival and country of origin, rendering these records inconvenient for this study (see Figure 1). Petitions filed and approved in the 1910s and 1920s appear to have expanded considerably in the amount of information they featured, often including the name of the ships on which petitioners traveled (Figure 2). It was not until the 1930s, unfortunately, that these petitions began to feature details procured directly from petitioners' passenger lists, such as the individuals' original names and most recent towns of residence (Figure 3). The records I consulted, because they were filed in 1937, used this more conducive and detailed format.

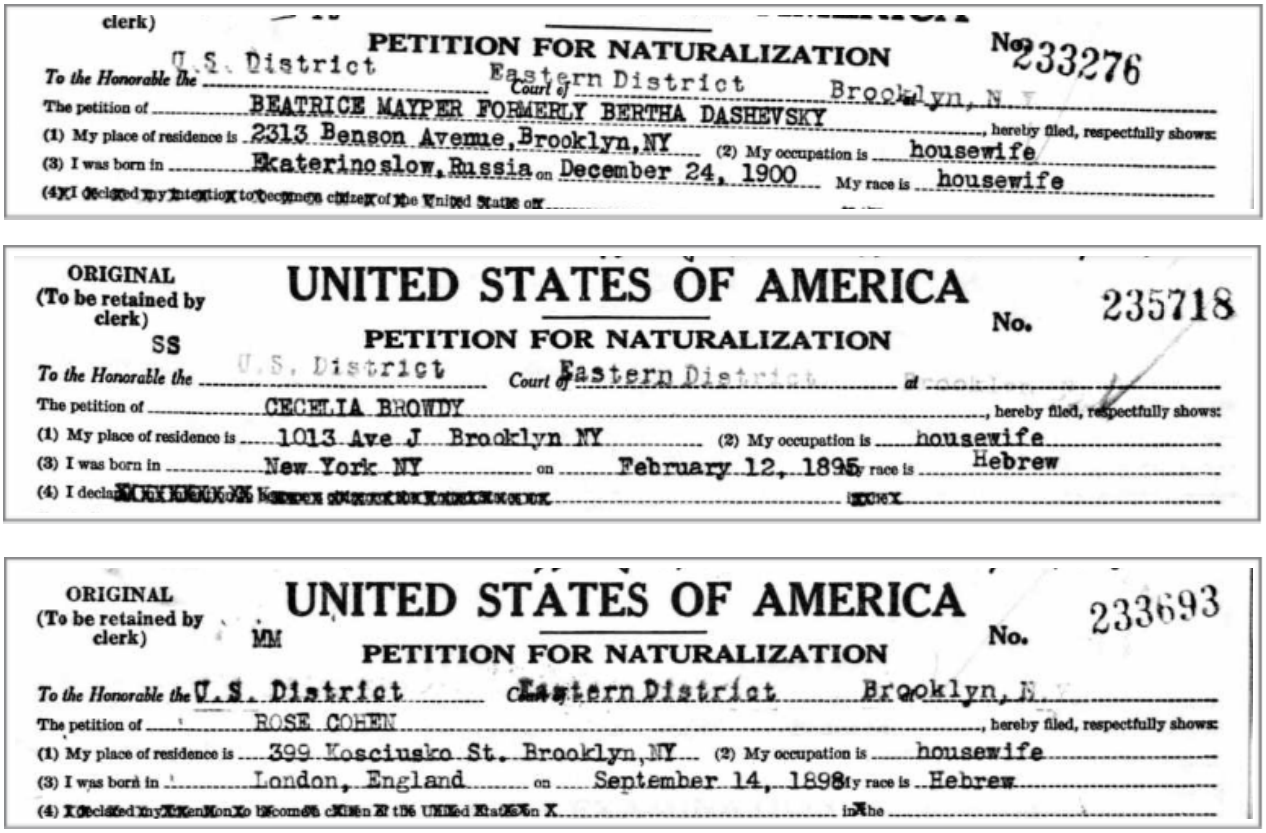
I collected information from 1496 of these petitions for naturalization, resulting in 1503 names in the data set. The average year of immigration was 1914, with the earliest immigrant arriving in New York in 1880 and the three latest arrivals landing at Ellis Island in 1935. Despite the fact that a minimum of five years living in the U.S. was required in order to become a naturalized citizen, the average year of arrival as recorded on the petitions included in the data set was 1914, with 1300 (86.9%) of the petitioners arriving in the United States prior to 1927. Using JewishGen.org's Town Finder search engine and Google Maps, I worked to locate the specific towns of birth that the petitioners disclosed. I was unable to find the contemporary municipalities corresponding to those included on each record; whereas some towns have

changed neither in name nor in nation since 1937, factors such as the frequently shifting borders of Europe and the phonetic renderings on petitions of common town names often obscured the original referents. Nevertheless, Table 3 shows my estimates, namely, that 1455 (97.26%) of the petitioners were born in Central or Eastern Europe, with the remaining forty-one individuals (2.73%) born elsewhere. About one quarter of the petitioners (406, or 27.14%) reported that they had lived in towns other than their birthplaces prior to immigrating to the United States. A total of 1325 (88.57%) petitioners claimed that their most recent residences were in Central or Eastern Europe, seventy-two (4.81%) in anglophone countries, and ninety-six (6.39%) from other nations. The three remaining petitioners (0.2%) did not provide a most recent residence.

There were three restrictions that I set for myself on which records to include in the data. The goal was to study the name assimilation practices among foreign-born Jews, and as such, only a fraction of the naturalization petitions filed in Brooklyn in 1937 were eligible (see Figure

Table 3: Percentage of Immigrants Per Region of Origin

Region	Place of Birth	Recent Residence
Central and Eastern Europe Austria, Belarus, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Germany, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Switzerland, and Ukraine	1455 (97.26%)	1325 (88.57%)
Southern Europe Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Macedonia, and Turkey	19 (1.27%)	22 (1.47%)
Middle East Egypt, Israel, and Syria	12 (0.8%)	26 (1.74%)
Western Europe Belgium, France, and the Netherlands	7 (0.47%)	17 (1.14%)
Latin America Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Mexico, and Panama	2 (0.13%)	24 (1.6%)
Northern Europe Sweden	1 (0.07%)	2 (0.13%)
Anglophone countries Canada and the United Kingdom	N/A	72 (4.81%)
East Asia China and Japan	N/A	5 (0.33%)
Not given	N/A	3 (0.2%)



clerk)

PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION No. 233276

To the Honorable the U. S. District Court of Eastern District at Brooklyn, N. Y.

The petition of BEATRICE MAYPER FORMERLY BERTHA DASHEVSKY, hereby filed, respectfully shows:

(1) My place of residence is 2313 Benson Avenue, Brooklyn, NY (2) My occupation is housewife

(3) I was born in Ekaterinoslow, Russia on December 24, 1900 My race is housewife

(4) I declared my intention to become a citizen of the United States on

ORIGINAL
(To be retained by clerk)

SS

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA No. 235718

PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION

To the Honorable the U.S. District Court of Eastern District at

The petition of CECELIA BROWDY, hereby filed, respectfully shows:

(1) My place of residence is 1013 Ave J Brooklyn NY (2) My occupation is housewife

(3) I was born in New York NY on February 12, 1895 My race is Hebrew

(4) I declare

ORIGINAL
(To be retained by clerk)

MM

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA No. 233693

PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION

To the Honorable the U. S. District Court of Eastern District at Brooklyn, N. Y.

The petition of ROSE COHEN, hereby filed, respectfully shows:

(1) My place of residence is 399 Kosciusko St. Brooklyn, NY (2) My occupation is housewife

(3) I was born in London, England on September 14, 1898 My race is Hebrew

(4) I declared my intention to become a citizen of the United States on in the

Figure 4

Three examples of ineligible petitions for naturalization. The record at top features "housewife" as the petitioner's race, which is almost certainly a misprint, but it renders the Jewish ethnicity of its referent uncertain. The middle record belongs to a petitioner born in New York who lost her citizenship upon marrying an Eastern European immigrant. The bottom record belongs to a petitioner born in England.

4). The primary limiting factor was the answer to the third question on the petitions; on the dotted line following the "My race is" prompt, only petitions with the demonym "Hebrew" were eligible for inclusion. Even petitioners with ostensibly Hebraic names were omitted if they self-identified as "Polish," "Russian," or some other nationality or ethnic group, as their Jewishness could not be proven. The second limitation on eligibility was immigration status, which may seem counterintuitive, as naturalization records were intended for immigrants seeking citizenship. However, under Section 3 of the Expatriation Act of 1907, U.S.-born women inherited their husbands' citizenship, or lack thereof, and not vice versa. Until the ratification of

the Cable Act of 1922, which repealed this double-standard[1], women born in the United States regularly became naturalized, but because these women were not of foreign birth, their petitions could not be included in this study. The third restriction pertained to the language spoken in the petitioners' country of origin. Because I wished to examine the anglicization of foreign names, I chose to exclude petitioners who were born in anglophone countries.

Each petition for naturalization that I consulted featured the name under which the petitioner immigrated. However, there were rare instances in which there was not a simple one-to-one correspondence between the name on the passenger list and the Americanized name at the top of the petition. On the occasion that multiple foreign and Americanized names were provided, I would analyze both names. Where a single foreign name appeared with two Americanized names, I analyzed both Americanized names as long as each shared at least a passing phonetic similarity to the foreign name. Where there was no significant phonetic similarity to one of the multiple Americanized names, the less relevant name was not examined. On petitions featuring multiple foreign given names and a single English-language name, I would do the same.

There was a minority of petitions that featured more ambiguity over the petitioners' names, either on the passenger manifest or in the United States. When the petitioner's two foreign given names were phonetically similar to her or his Americanized name, I chose to take the less English-sounding of the two names into account. When the circumstances were reversed, and the petitioner provided two American aliases, I examined the less Yiddish-sounding of the two. Occasionally, the petitioner would lightly anglicize the name included her or his passenger manifest, providing both names on the petition in the same space, but I would only include the

[1] Unfortunately, as men of Asian descent were ineligible for U.S. citizenship in the 1920s, it was not until the Cable Act was amended in 1931 that U.S. women were allowed to preserve their citizenship after marrying Asian men.

non-anglicized name in my data. In the rare case that an immigrant would have two completely unrelated aliases, I would select the alias that more closely resembled the name that the immigrant took in the United States. In the handful of instances when an immigrant's foreign and American name were nearly identical, but the American name was followed by an explicitly former alias, I used the alias in lieu of the name on the passenger manifest. Last, when an immigrant had several aliases within the United States, I would draw upon the alias listed first

Table 4: Examples of Analyses of Irregular Names

Petition	Name on Passenger List	Name on Petition	Names Analyzed
Multiple aliases on passenger list (one foreign, one English), one name on petition			
233167	Johann (Janos) (Louis)	Louis	Louis > Louis
233648	Hannah Hudia (Hene Hudes)	Anna	Hene > Anna
Two names on passenger list, two names on petition			
235245	Abram Ber	Abraham Boris	Abram > Abraham, Ber > Boris
Two names on passenger list (one English, one foreign), one name on petition			
237024	Jennie (Scheindel)	Jean	Scheindel > Jean
Two names on passenger list (both foreign), one name on petition			
233020	Scheinne Malka	Mollie	Malka > Mollie
One name on passenger list, multiple aliases (one or more English, one or more foreign) on petition			
233345	Iur	Isidore (formerly Kiewe and Izzie)	Iur > Isidore
One name (English) on passenger list, two aliases (one English, one foreign) on petition			
233290	Louis	Louis (formerly Leizer)	Leizer > Louis
One name (foreign) on passenger list, two aliases (both English) on petition			
232962	Ruchel	Rose (a.k.a. Rachel)	Ruchel > Rose
One name on passenger list, two names on petition (both phonetically similar)			
236633	Afroim	Frank Ephraim	Afroim > Frank, Afroim > Ephraim
237474	Chane	Helen (Hannah)	Chane > Helen, Chane > Hannah
One name on passenger list, two names on petition (one phonetically similar, one phonetically dissimilar)			
236271	Jozef	Harry Joseph	Jozef > Joseph

for my data. Table 4 provides several examples of these ambiguous names and how I implemented the measures above in my classifications.

Once I had collected the 1503 names, I grouped them into four categories for the purposes of classification: Hebraic names in Alexander Beider's *A Dictionary of Ashkenazic Given Names*, Hebraic names with phonetically similar entries in Beider, names with Yiddish cognates in Beider, and non-Hebraic names. As Yiddish names were highly mutable, grouping related names would allow for a more consistent and thorough analysis, and Beider's meticulously compiled compendium of given names was an asset to this process. However, while Beider's *Dictionary* is highly comprehensive, it could not possibly account for the significant orthographic variability among the names appearing on New York passenger manifests. Thus, when an ostensibly Yiddish given name was not included in Beider, I drew from phonetically and orthographically similar names within Beider for my data. Among the data were also English-language names that had Yiddish cognates in Beider, and though these English names did not always appear in Beider, I grouped the English names with their Yiddish cognates. While I was able to classify the overwhelming majority of the petitioners' foreign names using Beider and my own judgment, there were 131 records (8.72%) that were neither of Hebraic origin nor present in Beider's text, and in order to examine these, I consulted BehindTheName.com.

There remain only seven records (0.47%) featuring names that I could not identify: *Erdi*, *Isze*, *Mercado*, *Mor*, *Senora*, *Yamilla*, and *Zraim*. I suspect that *Erdi* and *Isze* may have originally been akin to *Hannah* (**Hendel*) and *Isaiah*, their bizarre spelling a result of incorrect transcriptions, and that the remaining five names were of obscure Mediterranean origin, as their bearers all came from either Southern Europe or the Middle East. However, in order to more

accurately categorize these seven names, locating their referents' passenger manifests could help to dispel any errors in interpretation.

Ranking and Rationale

In my examination of the petitions, it became clear rather quickly that not every immigrant decided to change her or his name. Among those who did opt to alter their names, there were no universal correspondences or ironclad rules. Rather, there were numerous general trends that determined name changes, or lack thereof, with alternatives to each trend. While I will discuss these patterns later on, I should note that once I became aware of the patterns, I began to organize the petitioners' names correspondingly. I was able to arrange the 1503 names that I analyzed, according to the type of change, into six different groups: no change, orthographic change, cognate, soundex, sound/letter change, and other change (see Table 5 for examples).

No change. Quite simply, the names in this category are those that do not appear to have changed; the given name on the first line of a petition is identical to that on the immigrant's passenger manifest.

Orthographic. The names in this category are those that met two criteria: first, that only one or three letters in the name were altered, and second, that the name's approximate pronunciation according to both the Daitch-Mokotoff (DM) soundex and my own adapted soundex (see below) was largely unchanged.

Cognate. These names are those that originated in Yiddish or another Eastern European tongue and, when their referents chose to assimilate, were altered to English-language cognates or nicknames. In this way, petitioners named *Abram* and *Awrum* became "Abraham" and "Abe,"

Table 5: Examples of Changes Among Immigrants' Names

Type of Change	Name on Passenger List	Name on Petition
No change	Benjamin Eva Olga	Benjamin Eva Olga
Orthographic change	Ester Peritz Zelda	Esther Peretz Selda
Cognate	Abram Chana Sore	Abraham Anna Sarah
Soundex	Basia *Chaje* Wulf	Bessie *Ida* William
Sound/letter	Feiga *Itzyk* Taube	Fanny *Irving* Tillie
Translation*	Bluma	Susan
Bandwagon	*Chake* *Eisig*	*Ida* *Irving*
No clear relationship	Gedalie Regina Srul	Charles Victoria Harry

* In this particular case, *Bluma* ("bloom") has a similar meaning to "Susan" ("rose").
† The italicized names above are formatted as such in order to demonstrate the "bandwagon" pattern. Whereas *Chake* and *Eisig* are phonetically dissimilar from "Ida" and "Irving," these two names followed the patterns exhibited by the more regular variants *Chaje* and *Itzyk*.

and those named *Chane* and *Hene* became "Anna," "Annie," and "Nancy." It should be noted, however, that the "orthographic" category supersedes "cognate"; while many immigrant women named *Ester* opted to change their names to the English cognate of "Esther," because of the similarities in spelling and pronunciation, I grouped *Ester* > "Esther" as "orthographic" instead of "cognate."

Soundex. The name changes in this category can be explained by phonetic commonalities. I transcribed relevant names using the International Phonetic Alphabet and converted the renderings into their equivalents according to the D-M Soundex and my own soundex. Whenever at least one third of the sounds in the passenger list name were shared by the

Americanized name under either or both of the two soundexes, I counted the name change as soundex-based.

Sound/letter change. This group encompasses all the foreign names I gathered that changed to phonetically dissimilar English names, ostensibly on the basis of a shared first letter, initial sound, or the occasional medial sound. Also included in this group are names that changed according to the phonetic nature of their variants, such as *Riwke* to "Betty" and *Srul* to "Irving." In the former case, the connection seems to be thus: *Riwke* became "Rebecca" (the English cognate), "Rebecca" became "Becky" (the English nickname), and "Becky" to "Betty" (similar soundex). In the latter, the logic might have been *Srul* to "Israel" (the non-nickname form), "Israel" to "Irving" (same first letter).

Translation. There was a single instance in my data of the exchange a Hebraic name for an English calque.

Bandwagon. There were two names within the data that were Americanized in line with their Yiddish-language variants, even though these two names did not share any phonetic or orthographic similarity with their Americanized forms.

Other change. Every Americanization that cannot be adequately explained by the rules above constitutes this category.

Soundexes

In order to analyze my data, I relied on a soundex, which is an algorithm involving the conversion of similar sounds into numbers for the purposes of organization. The Daitch-Mokotoff Soundex was developed by genealogists Randy Daitch and Gary Mokotoff for the purposes of categorizing and researching Eastern European surnames, especially those belonging

to Jews, and it was this soundex that I initially utilized to analyze my data. While newer and potentially more accurate soundexes have been developed, particularly the Beider-Morse Phonetic Name Matching algorithm, I personally found the D-M Soundex the easiest to use for my purposes. The D-M Soundex is largely effective at categorizing consonants; 3 represents dental stops and interdentals, 4 encompasses coronal continuants and affricates, 5 covers velar and glottal sounds, 6 stands for nasals, 7 symbolizes labials, 8 denotes laterals, and 9 indicates rhotic sounds. In addition, 0 is used for word-initial vowels, 1 is used for /j/ onsets, and 2 is used for initial coronal continuant-stop clusters such as /st/. Following this system, the Hebrew name *Avraham* would be rendered as 07956, and the Yiddish name Shprintse would be converted into 47964.

There is a flaw in the D-M Soundex, however, that generated numerous false positives among my data: the algorithm all but ignores vowels. As stated above, the only circumstance under which the D-M Soundex acknowledges vowels is when they appear in word-initial positions, and while this oversight may not prove a hindrance for categorizing surnames, it created numerous false positives during my work with given names. The Yiddish name *Chuma* has the same D-M Soundex as the name *Chana* (*Hannah*), when the former is in fact a pet form of *Nechuma*. Similarly, the common *Beyla* is identical to *Pola* according to the D-M Soundex, but the former is cognate to the English name "Bella" and the latter is likely a diminutive of *Zipporah*. All but omitting the vowels when categorizing names can visibly lead to confusion among and conflation of unrelated names.

Thus, I chose to adapt the D-M Soundex for the purposes of this study, and I created two variations: "*cum vocales*" and "*sine codae*." Both soundexes have the same phonetic-numerical correspondences as the Daitch-Mokotoff soundex, but with several exceptions: plus and minus

signs are included to indicate vowels, 0 is repurposed to represent labial approximants, and 2 is unused. These changes preserve the differences among names featuring markedly different vowels without altering or diminishing the importance of consonants.

The *cum vocales* soundex is strict, and it generates few false positives in name classification, as compared with the D-M Soundex (see Table 6). The the relative flexibility in the *sinae codae* soundex, however, allows for easier analysis of names that would otherwise appear phonetically dissimilar. The only difference between the two soundexes is that *sine codae* has three additional rules:

1. Liquids, "*h*-sounds" (glottal and velar continuants), and nasals in codas are excluded when the following syllable begins with a consonant.

Table 6: Symbol/Sound Correspondences in the *Cum Vocales* Soundex

Symbol(s)	Types of Sounds Represented	Sounds Represented
–	open, near-open, and open-mid vowels	a ɑ æ ɛ ə ɔ ʌ
+	mid, close-mid, and near-close vowels diphthongs	e ɪ o ʊ aɪ aʊ eɪ oɪ oʊ ɔɪ
+0	close back vowels	u
+1	close front vowels	i
0	labial approximants	w
1	velar approximants	j
2	*unused*	—
3	coronal stops and interdentals	d ð t θ
4	coronal fricatives and affricates	ʣ ʤ s ʃ ʦ ʧ z ʒ
5	velar and glottal non-approximants	g h k χ
6	nasals	m n
7	labial stops	b f p v
8	laterals	l
9	rhotic sounds	r ʁ ʀ

2. Liquids, "*h*-sounds" (glottal and velar continuants), and nasals in codas are excluded when another consonant follows them within the same coda.
3. Onset consonant clusters that do not exist or barely exist in English, such as *dw* and *sr*, are reduced, with the second of the two consonants deleted.

In Table 7, we see a comparison of ten common female Yiddish names from Beider's *Dictionary*, rendered in the D-M Soundex, my *cum vocales* soundex, and my *sinae codae* soundex. Yiddish pronunciations are approximate.

When I began comparing the soundexes of pairs of names in order to prove or disprove a phonetic similarity, I quickly noticed that there was the recurring possibility of a false positive match. My initial approach was to write both of the names in each comparison using my *cum vocales* and *sine codae* soundexes, and calculate the potential phonetic similarity between the two names using a rudimentary equation:

$$\frac{\text{characters in name A also present in name B} \times 2}{\text{total characters in name A} + \text{total characters in name B}} = \text{percent similarity}$$

Whereas this equation was able to account for name changes in which the American name chosen was mono- or disyllabic, a problem arose with polysyllabic English-language names, which can appear to have a greater phonetic similarity due to the mere presence of more sounds in these names. To avoid this outcome, I added two rules to my analysis: for a sound in the English-language name to be counted as a match to its Hebraic predecessor, no more than one consonant (represented in my soundexes by numbers 3–9) can separate the sound from the preceding sound in the name that has been counted as a match, and the matching sounds in the English name must appear in the same order as they do in the Hebraic name.

Table 7: Comparison of Hebraic Given Names As Rendered in the Three Soundexes

Name in Beider (2001)	Rendering in the D-M Soundex	Rendering in the *Cum Vocales* Soundex	Rendering the *Sine Codae* Soundex
Beyle	78	7+8–	7+8–
Perle	798	7–98–	7–8–
Dore	39	3+9–	3+9–
Dvoyre	379	37+9–	3+9–
Ginendl	56638	5+6–63–8	5+6–3–8
Khane	56	5–6–	5–6–
Sheyne	46	4+6–	4+6–
Tserne	496	4–96–	4–6–
Shifre	479	4+79–	4+79–
Tsipoyre	479	4+7+9–	4+7+9–

I will now illustrate the above using a common name in my dataset: *Basheve*, frequently appearing as the shortened form *Basia* on passenger lists. The English name "Bessie" is a strong match, and its soundex of 7–4+1 is similar to *Basia*'s soundex of 7–4– (both according to *cum vocales* and *sine codae*), yielding a 67% similarity. Also attested is the English name "Betty," with a soundex of 7–3+1, bearing a 45% similarity to *Basia*. The name "Beatrice," however, with its soundex of 7+1–39+4, appears at first glance to have a 46% similarity with *Basia*, as almost every sound in *Basia* is present in "Beatrice." By applying the two rules above, however, the similarity decreases to 31%, and this suggests that "Beatrice" was chosen as a substitute for *Basia* more because of the shared initial sound than an overall phonetic resemblance.

Aggregation and Organization of Data

In order to effectively catalog and analyze the data from the 1503 names used in this study, I created a spreadsheet in which I initially listed the following information from each petition for naturalization: the immigrant's full name on her or his passenger list, the immigrant's full Americanized name, the town of birth, the last foreign residence, the year of immigration, the petition number, the roll in which the petition is included, and the slide within that roll (Table 8). When I had finished collecting the data and began to examine each name, I added columns that detailed the type of name change, the corresponding entry in Beider (2001), the English-language equivalent of each name, and the towns of birth and most recent residence according to their contemporary names.

RESULTS

Changes by Name

Among the 1503 names in this study, 361 (24.02%) did not change upon naturalization. An additional eighty-eight names (5.86%) merely underwent minor orthographic changes. As shown in Figure 5, of the 1055 names (70.19%) that were Americanized, 293 names (19.49%) ostensibly changed to English-language cognates, 377 names (25.08%) were swapped for phonetically similar English names, and 307 names (20.43%) were replaced with popular English names that shared an initial (or occasionally medial) sound or letter with the original Yiddish names. One name (0.07%) appears to have followed Harkavy's (1925) recommendation of name changes based on calques. Two names (0.13%) demonstrated what I call a "bandwagon shift," i.e., that the Yiddish versions bore little to no relation to their Americanized counterparts, but because other immigrants with related Yiddish names chose a particular English name, these

Table 8: Excerpt of Spreadsheet

NAME OF IMMIGRANT		Type of Change	ETYMOLOGY	
Full Name on Passenger List	**Full Name on Petition**		**Entry in *Beider***	**Nearest English Equivalent**
Meyer Suconick	Meyer Suconick	No change	Meyer (p. 377)	Meyer
Ruchla Lebowicz	Rose Liebowitz (a.k.a. Rachel Liebowitz)	Sound/letter	Rokhl (p. 560)	Rachel
Haron Ackerman	Aaron Ackerman	Cognate	Orn (p. 394)	Aaron
Roberto Levy	Robert Levy	Cognate	—	Robert
Sosja Stelson	Sophie Stelson	Sound/letter	Sore (p. 574)	Sarah

GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION			
Town of Birth		**Foreign Residence**	
Ukraine, Chudnov	*"Russia, Chudnow"*	Canada, Montreal	*"Canada, Montreal"*
Poland, Warsaw	*"Poland, Warsaw"*	Poland, Warsaw	*"Poland, Warsaw"*
Moldova, Lipcani	*"Rumania, Lipcani"*	Moldova, Lipcani	*"Rumania, Lipcani"*
Russian E.—uncertain	*"Russia, Bakou"*	Canada, Montreal	*"Canada, Montreal"*
Lithuania, Vilnius	*"Russia/Poland, Vilna"*	Lithuania, Vilnius	*"Russia/Poland, Vilna"*

Year of Immigration	Petition Number	Roll	Slide
1932	232957	863	25
1922	232962	863	48
1921	232967	863	71
1931	232968	863	75
1912	232969	863	79

two immigrants appeared to have followed suit. The remaining seventy-four Americanized names (4.92%) bore no clear relationship to the foreign names that they supplanted.

The 1503 names included in this study appear to have largely followed a series of general patterns during the process of Americanization. Among my earliest findings was that the names

included on the Social Security Administration's top 1000 popular birth names in the United States were far likelier to be chosen by immigrants than names that were not featured. If the name that an immigrant provided on her or his passenger list appeared in the top 1000 most popular given names in the United States during at least one year between 1880 and 1939, one of four alternatives occurred: the name did not change at all, there was a minor orthographic change, the name changed to an English-language nickname, or the name was substituted for a more popular English-language relative. If the immigrant's name did not appear among the top 1000 most popular given names, the Americanization process was more complicated, and it occurred in several stages.

Figure 5: Distribution of Name Americanization Patterns

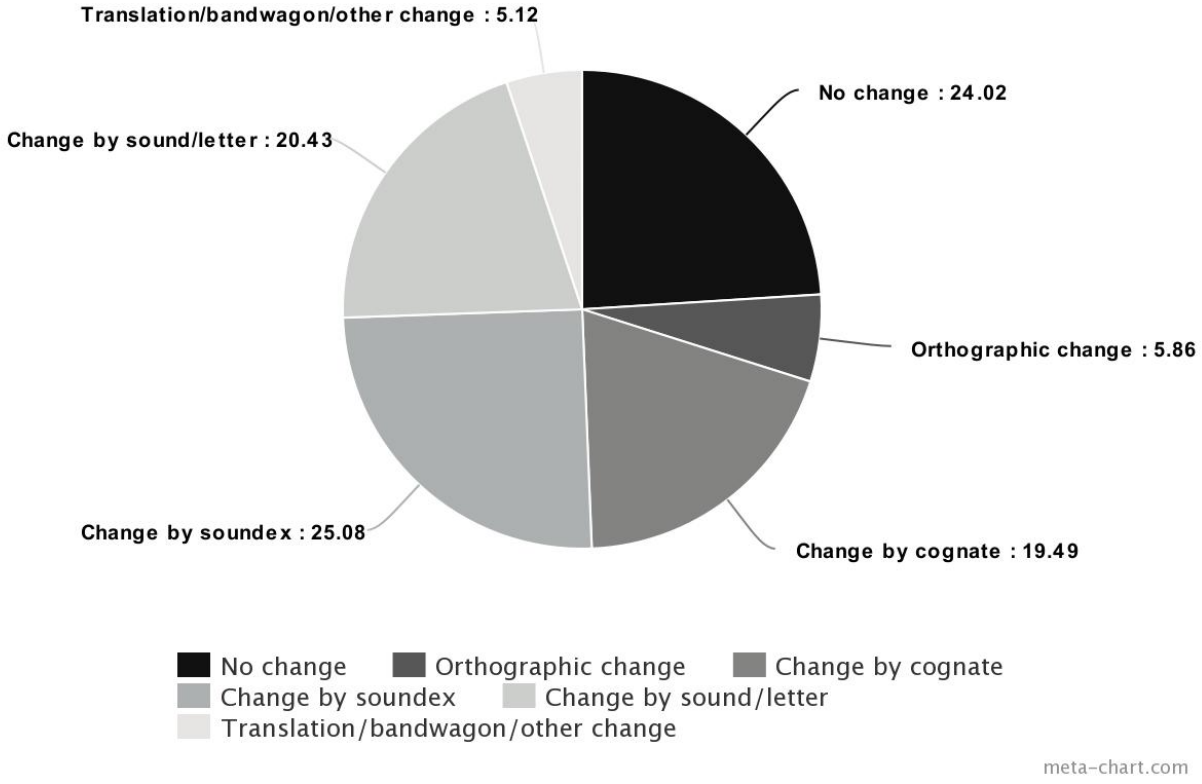


Figure 6: Flowchart of Name Americanization Patterns

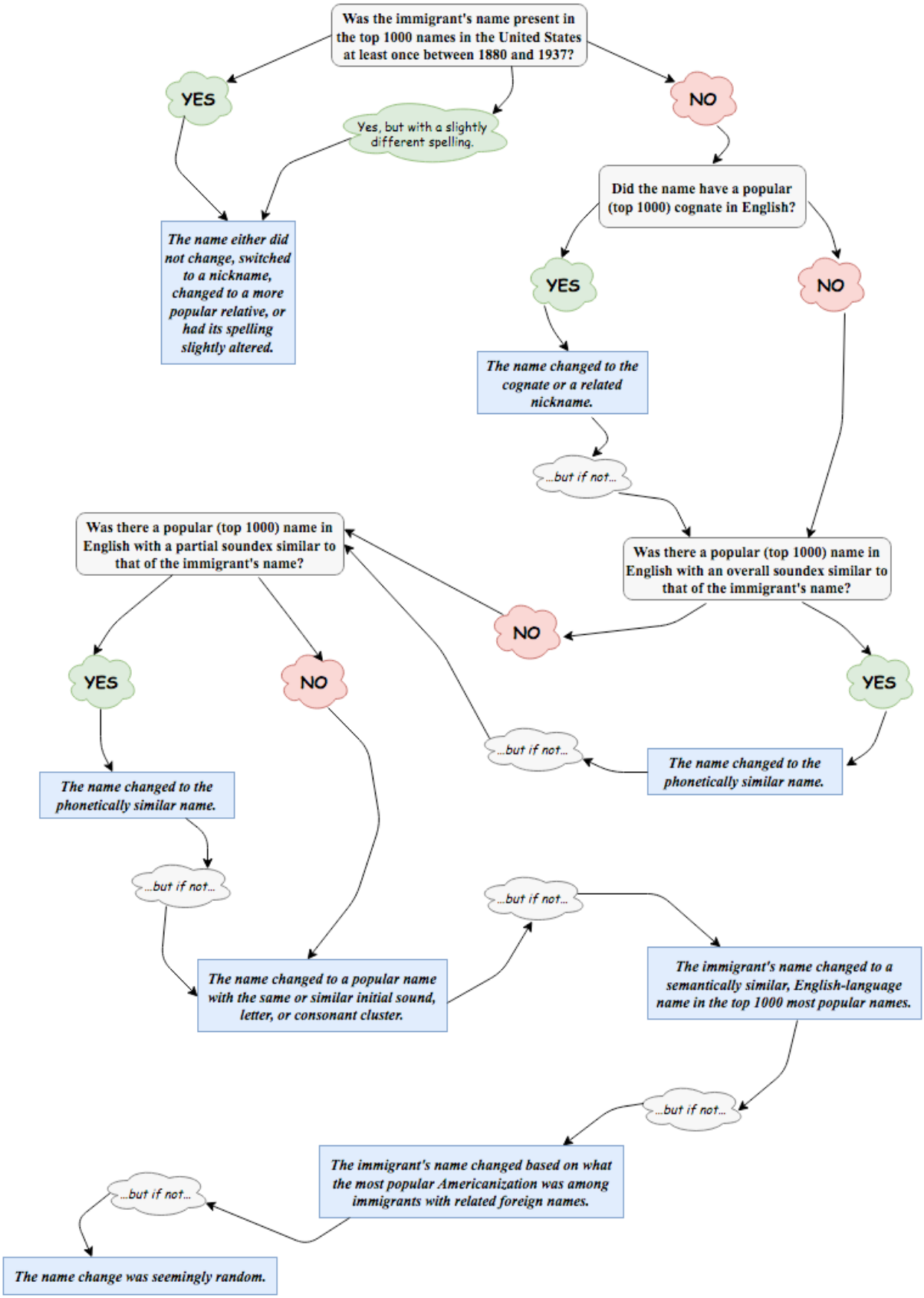


Figure 6 best exemplifies this process. The primary deciding factor influencing name Americanization appears to have been a given name's inclusion or omission from the top 1000 most popular birth names in the United States. Given names that happened to appear among the lists of top 1000 most popular birth names in at least one year between 1880 and 1937 tended to undergo different alterations than those that were excluded from these lists. Immigrants' names that were popular between 1880 and 1937 largely followed four trends: the names either did not change at all, were substituted for English-language nicknames or diminutives, switched to a more popular English relative, or experienced a minor orthographic change. Names that were merely one or two letters different from and shared similar pronunciations with top 1000 names followed these same patterns.

The names that were neither present on at least one top 1000 list nor orthographically comparable to entries on such lists mostly followed a regular series of changes. Names that had at least one top 1000 English-language cognate were predominantly altered to the cognate. Many of the names that did not have English-language cognates changed to an unrelated yet phonetically similar name, and one that shared either an overall soundex (described below), or, failing that, at least a partial soundex with the foreign name. Immigrant names that had neither an English cognate nor a significant phonetic similarity to any top 1000 name were swapped for popular English-language names with which they shared an initial or medial sound, letter, or even consonant cluster. The remaining names almost entirely underwent unpredictable changes. These several levels of Americanization are delineated more thoroughly below:

1–Cognate. Immigrants whose names had a top 1000 English-language cognate typically opted to change their names to these cognates or nicknames of these cognates.

2–Total soundex. Immigrants whose names did not have English cognates often took phonetically similar English names as their own. Foreign names in this category, when rendered in the *cum vocales* and *sine codae* soundexes, shared at least 66.7% of their phonetic values with their Americanized names.

3–Partial soundex. Immigrants whose names did not share at least 66.7% of their phonetic values with a top 1000 English name belong in this group. Names that changed according to "partial soundex" were exchanged for top 1000 English names that bore at least a 33.3% phonetic similarity with the foreign names according to both the *cum vocales* and *sine codae* soundexes.

4–Initial or medial sound or letter. Many of the remaining names changed to top 1000 English names that shared an initial (or occasionally medial) sound, letter, or consonant cluster with the foreign name.

5–Translation. One name (as discussed above) was swapped for an English-language calque with a similar meaning to that of the foreign name.

6–Bandwagon. Two names (as discussed above) changed to reflect the most popular Americanized name among other immigrants with related foreign names.

7–Other change. A minority of name changes were apparently arbitrary. Analysis of additional records belonging to each of the immigrants with names in this category could help to explain some of these changes, but such an analysis was beyond the scope of this study.

As Table 9 shows below, not every immigrant with a name that had a top 1000 popular English-language cognate elected to Americanize her or his name to this cognate; while most women named *Leye* became "Leah," a minority of women did not. Of those who did not become "Leah," most progressed to the next step, which was to select an English name with an overall

soundex similar to *Leye*, among which was "Lina." Those who chose neither "Leah" nor "Lena" appear to have chosen another popular name with a partial phonetic similarity to *Leye*, which was "Leonore." The remaining *Leye*s in my dataset either adopted "Laura," a popular name with the same first letter and sound as *Leye*, or a completely unrelated popular name such as "Anna."

DISCUSSION

The results of this study support Blatt's assertion that there are no infallible rules responsible for name changes among immigrants. No single group of related names among the 1503 compiled given names universally shifted to an individual English name; while most women with the disyllabic name *Sore* became "Sarah" or a related name (e.g., "Sadie," "Sally") on American soil, there were a handful of immigrants who changed their names to "Celia," "Selma," "Shirley," "Sophie," or "Sylvia." While these alternative alterations can be justified through the flowchart in the Results section, there is no way to explain why women named *Sore* chose one English name over another. Indeed, between the years 1880 and 1937, the phonetically similar names "Cherie," "Cherry," "Shari," and "Sherry" appeared at least once in the top 1000 popular names, but none appeared as an alternative for *Sore* among my data[2].

Table 9: Examples of Attested Name Changes

Beider Name	Cognate	Total Soundex	Partial Soundex	Sound or Letter	Other Change
Leye	Leah	Lina	Leonore	Laura	Anna
Bashe (Basheve)	—	Bessie	Betty	Beatrice	Anna
Gdalye	—	—	Donald	George	Charles
Taube	—	—	—	Tillie	Ida
Florye	—	—	—	—	Sadie

[2] No reason has been determined regarding the absence of popular names that bore a common initial sound, initial letter, or medial sound with *Sore*, such as "Cara," "Celestine," "Charity," "Charlotte," "Clara," "Cynthia," "Samantha," "Savannah," "Selena," "Serena," "Sidney," "Sophronia," "Stella," "Susan," and "Sybil."

Nevertheless, this study upholds Blatt's second claim, namely, that many name changes are vindicated by a few recurring patterns. Blatt identified four trends in name Americanization—cognate, calque, phonetic resemblance (including initial sounds and letters as well as assonance), and no identifiable relation—and noted that phonetic resemblance constituted the majority of changes while calques were the least common type of alteration. Because he drew from tombstones engraved in two different writing systems, Blatt's analysis did not appear to include Hebraic names that did not change. Nonetheless, this study maintains Blatt's finding that calques were rare in name Americanization, comprising only one of the 1503 name changes I identified. Similarly, name changes based on phonetic similarity outnumbered those based on cognates in my study just as in Blatt's; though I chose to separate names according to various amounts of phonetic and initial orthographic resemblance instead of lumping them all in a single category, the fact remains that the total of the names in these three categories exceeds the quantity of name changes based on cognates.

I felt that my *cum vocales* and *sine codae* soundex models allowed me to better predict name Americanization patterns than the Daitch-Mokotoff soundex in part because of the latter soundex's overwhelming omission of vowels, which was far more appropriate for surnames than for given names. According to the D-M soundex, the Polish-Jewish surnames *Schtaynchart*, *Shteingord*, *Steinchort*, *Steinhart*, *Stejngard*, *Sztajnhart*, *Sztanhort*, *Sztejnchard*, *Sztenhardt*, and *Szteynard* can all be rendered as 436593 or 43693, allowing for the simple deduction that they are all orthographic variants of the Germanic surname *Steinhardt*. Among surnames, which can differ greatly orthographically but not phonetically among individuals, the D-M soundex permits researchers to connect seemingly unfamiliar permutations of the same name. Because given names are often shorter than surnames and significant variations occur

among them in spelling, pronunciation, and suffixation, taking vowels into account helps to rule out false positives. The Yiddish given names *Gime*, *Hine*, *Huno*, *Khane*, *Khaym*, and *Kune*, though all unrelated, would each be rendered as 56 under the rules of the D-M soundex, potentially leading to confusion. With the rules of my soundexes in mind, *Gine*, *Hine*, *Huno*, and *Kune* would become 5+6–; *Khane* would become 5–6–; and *Khaym* would become 5+6. Though there is still some ambiguity, including vowels removes two of the erroneous matches.

Because 70.12% of the names of the immigrants included in this study were changed, if this pattern is indicative of Jewish immigrants as a whole during the early twentieth century, there was clearly a marked tendency for this population to at once assimilate to the culture of their neighbors as well as to preserve an iota of their ancestral identities in how they adapted their names. On the latter point, as discussed earlier, this acculturation was hardly limited to Jewish immigrants to the United States in the early twentieth century. Rather, the above is emblematic of a far larger pattern throughout history that persists to the present day; Central European Jews intentionally adopted German first and last names in order to avoid prejudice (Bering 1987), and within the United States, a plurality of both immigrants and visitors alike of East Asian origin have opted to assume English-language names (Kang 1971, Lieberson 2000). Gerhards and Hans (2009), in their survey of onomastic patterns among children born to Mediterranean immigrants in Germany, found that roughly one quarter of these children's parents chose German-language names for the children, with the proportion varying significantly according to the mother tongue and country of origin of the parents. Souto-Manning (2007) offers a sobering summary of these name assimilation patterns, namely, that altering one's name is a pivotal element of integration into another nation's society, and that assimilation can be essential to success in immigrants' new home countries.

Total onomastic assimilation, however, was not common among the Jewish immigrants in this study. As demonstrated, the overwhelming majority of name changes followed a variable series of patterns, and the fact that only 7.01% of name changes (5.14% of all Americanizations) in this study were ostensibly random signals that while onomastic acculturation was key, even the most minimal detail of immigrants' birth names was viewed as worthy of preservation. Hurh and Kim's (1984) analysis of Korean-American immigrants supports this tendency to maintain certain components of one's cultural heritage; they found that Korean immigrants to the United States often embraced certain American mores, but this appropriation was additive, with both U.S. and traditional Korean customs coexisting in the lives of these immigrants. Whereas changing aspects of one's identity was almost prerequisite for engagement and even success in American society, it appears that though the data suggests that name changes were likely viewed as an obligatory survival tactic, Jewish culture was hardly abandoned altogether in the United States, and the adaptation rather than the exchange of a name was a means of subtly upholding Jewish heritage and identity.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

A study such as this has the potential to benefit genealogists, both amateur and professional, who are seeking information on Ashkenazic Jewish immigrants to the United States. As demonstrated above, name changes among Jews were widespread, and these changes often followed a loose series of patterns. Family historians, when trying to find immigration records such as passenger lists or even vital records from foreign countries, can scan the data compiled for this study in order to identify the Yiddish name or names that may have preceded an immigrant's English-language moniker. Popular databases such as The Statue of Liberty -

Ellis Island Foundation, Inc., and SteveMorse.org rely on systems such as the Daitch-Mokotoff soundex in order to generate record matches for their users, and this allows researchers to more easily identify foreigners who only marginally altered their names in the United States. While I was researching two ancestors of mine named "Abraham" during their time in the Americas, these search engines quickly generated matching records, on both of which my ancestors were named *Abram*. However, not every immigrant named "Abraham" in my data originally bore the phonetically similar, Yiddish cognate of *Abram*; the descendants of one "Abraham Willner" (petition 235651) would probably experience difficulty locating their ancestor's passenger list, on which he was recorded by the unrelated name of *Leib Kuschnir*. Though I have personally encountered several Jewish men in my own genealogical research named *Abram Leib*, a double name could explain this immigrant's otherwise odd selection, there is no way to prove such a hypothesis without accessing and scanning further records. Nevertheless, this study allows researchers access to more attested Yiddish-English correspondences, potentially helping them to determine the original names of subjects.

The identification of immigrants' parents and U.S.-born namesakes are two additional advantages that this study may provide. As noted in the introduction, a recurring practice among the relatives of Jewish immigrants was the Americanization of the immigrants' parents' names. On the death certificate of my great-great-grandmother Sarah Feldman (*née Scheindel* or *Szendla Szteinhardt*), her parents' names were given as "Nathan" and "Beatrice," and even though these names are both English, neither of her parents ever emigrated from their native Poland (see figure 7). In my data, the Americanized name "Nathan" appeared eight times, while "Beatrice" appeared six times. Two of the eight men named "Nathan" in the United States were listed as variants of *Nahman/Nahum* (*Nokhum* in Beider), and one "Beatrice" was originally named

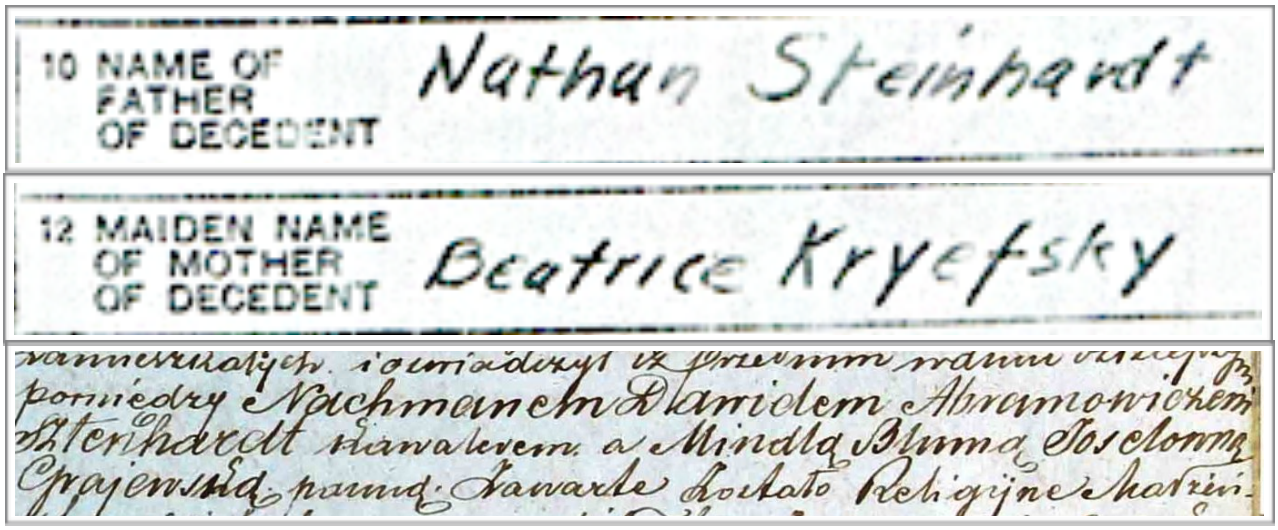


Figure 7
Excerpts from the 1932 death certificate of Sarah Feldman (top) and the 1849 marriage record of Nachman Dawid Sztenhardt and Mindla Bluma Grajewski (bottom).

Bluma (*Blume* in Beider). After some trial and error, I was eventually able to locate the Polish-language marriage record of Sarah's parents, on which they were listed by their birth names of *Nachman Dawid* and *Mindla Bluma*. Moreover, the names that Sarah selected for her children provided a clue to her parents' names. It is customary among Ashkenazic Jews to name their descendants after deceased relatives ("The Laws of Jewish Names," n.d.), and Sarah appears to have followed this tradition; her youngest daughter, nicknamed "Minnie," was born *Mindla Bluma*. The name of Sarah's daughter, in combination with the Americanized name on Sarah's death certificate, provided clues as to the name of Sarah's non-immigrant mother. In this way, the data collected for this study can help to draw connections between the generations, enabling genealogists to rely on records belonging to immigrants and their descendants as a means to determine the identities of immigrants' recent ancestors.

Though this study can serve as a tool for genealogists studying Jewish families, the results have a more universal applicability. The results of this study might prove useful to the study of contemporary groups of immigrants and other travelers who adapt onomastically to their

host countries. The name adaptations of Chinese students set on studying in the United States and Syrian refugees seeking to resettle in Europe can be examined to determine if the patterns discussed above are applicable. In addition, whereas Jews were historically overrepresented in documented name changes, other ethnic groups who immigrated to the United States from non-anglophone countries exhibited onomastic Americanization. Therefore, the methods and findings of this study may be able to help researchers better identify twentieth-century immigrants from other Mediterranean countries prior to and following name changes. This study can also contribute to the field of ethnology, as scholars studying the integration of immigrants may find the above data on first name changes a valuable addition to an otherwise little explored subject. Modern Jews in the United States can rely on the data above to aid them in bestowing Hebrew names on their children using genealogical records, and in searching for common Hebraic-English correspondences in order to select historically appropriate names.

APPENDIX A: HEBRAIC NAMES APPEARING ON PASSENGER LISTS AND THEIR AMERICANIZED FORMS ON PETITIONS FOR NATURALIZATION

List of Yiddish Name Americanizations

Presumably Relevant Entry in Beider (2001)	Number of Occurrences	Americanized Name on Petition	Number of Occurrences
Adolf	3	Adolf	2
		Adolph	1
Aleksander	3	Alex	1
		Sam	2
Asne	1	Jennie	1
Avrom	28	Abe	5
		Abraham	15
		Abram	4
		Albert	2
		Alfred	1
Azarye	1	Lazar	1
Basheve	26	Anna	1
		Beatrice	1
		Bessie	11
		Betty	2
		Paula	1
		Paulen	1
		Paulene	1
		Pauline	4
		Pearl	2
		Pola	1
		Sadie	1
Bentsiyen	2	Benjamin	1
		Bension	1
Benyomen	7	Ben	1
		Benjamin	6
Ber	4	Barnett	1

		Benny	1
		Berel	1
		Boris	1
Bernd	1	Bernard	1
Berte	9	Bella	1
		Bertha	6
		Bessie	1
		Betty	1
Beyle	16	Beckie	1
		Becky	1
		Bella	6
		Bessie	5
		Betty	1
		Dora	1
		Rebecca	1
Blume	8	Annie	1
		Beatrice	1
		Bella	2
		Bessie	1
		Blima	1
		Mary	1
		Susan	1
Borekh	7	Ben	3
		Benjamin	1
		Boris	1
		Boruch	1
		Morris	1
Brayne	9	Beckie	1
		Bertha	4
		Bessie	2
		Brajne	1
		Brenice	1

Brokhe	4	Beatrice	1
		Bertha	1
		Bessie	1
		Brucha	1
Bune	3	Beatrice	1
		Bessie	1
		Bina	1
Daniel	1	Daniel	1
Daykhe	1	Dora	1
Dine	7	Diana	1
		Dina	4
		Jean	1
		Tinnie	1
Dobre	2	Dora	2
Dore	9	Dora	7
		Dorothy	2
Dovid	17	Dave	1
		David	14
		Harold	1
		Irving	1
Dvoyre	15	Dora	11
		Doris	2
		Gloria	1
		Jennie	1
Efroyem	3	Ephraim	1
		Frank	2
Ele	6	Eli	1
		Elka	1
		Elsie	2
		Esther	1
		Rose	1
Elieyzer, Eluzor	10	Leon	1

		Lou	1
		Louis	8
Elisheve	8	Betty	1
		Elsie	2
		Ethel	1
		Lena	1
		Libbie	1
		Lillie	2
Elye	3	Eli	1
		Eliahu	1
		Morris	1
Ester	44	Anna	1
		Clara	1
		Edith	1
		Ella	1
		Ester	4
		Esther	30
		Estra	1
		Ethel	2
		Ette	1
		Sadye	1
		Stella	1
Eydl	5	Adele	4
		Eva	1
Fanye	2	Estelle	1
		Fannie	1
Fayvush	2	Philip	2
Felye	1	Gertrude	1
Feyge	29	Fannie	12
		Fanny	11
		Fay	1
		Feige	1

		Florence	2
		Frances	2
Fishl	1	Philip	1
Florye	1	Sadie	1
Franye	2	Frances	1
		Irene	1
Freyde	13	Fannie	2
		Freda	1
		Freida	2
		Frieda	8
Fride	7	Florence	1
		Frieda	5
		Rheta	1
Frumet	10	Fannie	7
		Fanny	1
		Fay	1
		Freda	1
Gdalye	5	Charles	2
		Donald	1
		George	1
		Morris	1
Gershn	2	Harry	2
Ginendl	5	Anna	1
		Gertrude	1
		Gussie	1
		Hannah	1
		Nesie	1
Golde	11	Anna	1
		Dora	1
		Golda	1
		Golde	2
		Goldie	4

		Gussie	2
Grune	2	Gertrude	1
		Gussie	1
Guste	2	Augusta	1
		Gusty	1
Gute	15	Genia	1
		Gertrude	4
		Gerty	1
		Gittel	1
		Gussie	6
		Ida	1
		Jennie	1
Heyle	1	Helen	1
Hilde	1	Hulda	1
Hinde	6	Anna	1
		Helen	2
		Hinda	1
		Ida	1
		Sarah	1
Hirsh	14	Harry	14
Hitsele	1	Hazel	1
Hodes	4	Anna	1
		Helen	1
		Ida	1
		Odes	1
Hosheye	1	Harry	1
Ignats	1	Ignatz	1
Ikheskl	2	Charles	2
Ikusiel	2	Karl	1
		Sam	1
Ishaye	4	Charles	1
		Sam	2

		Sol	1
Isroel	18	Asrel	1
		Harry	1
		Irving	3
		Isidore	1
		Israel	4
		Isreal	1
		Issie	1
		Izrael	1
		Louis	1
		Morris	1
		Sam	1
		Sol	2
Itskhok	22	Charles	1
		Edward	1
		Harris	1
		Ike	2
		Irving	6
		Isaac	3
		Isidor	3
		Isidore	3
		Izzy	1
		Samuel	1
Kalmen	1	Kalman	1
Keyle	4	Clara	2
		Kaile	1
		Katie	1
Khane	91	Ann	1
		Anna	51
		Anne	4
		Annie	14
		Chana	2

		Clara	1
		Eva	1
		Evelyn	1
		Hana	1
		Hannah	2
		Helen	2
		Irene	1
		Irma	1
		Jean	2
		Jennie	1
		Jessie	1
		Lena	1
		May	1
		Nancy	1
		Ona	1
		Rachel	1
Khave	14	Eva	10
		Eve	1
		Evelyn	2
		Ida	1
Khaye	35	Anna	1
		Clara	7
		Dora	1
		Esther	1
		Helen	2
		Ida	19
		Irene	1
		Sadie	1
		Sarah	1
		Taube	1
Khayem	16	Chaim	1
		Charles	1

		Harry	3
		Herman	1
		Hyman	9
		Isadore	1
Klore	11	Claire	1
		Clara	10
Kreyne	3	Gertrude	1
		Kate	2
Lane	2	Lillian	1
		Lizza	1
Leib	21	Abraham	1
		Leib	1
		Leo	1
		Leon	5
		Louis	13
Lene	4	Lena	3
		Lillian	1
Leye	31	Anna	1
		Laura	2
		Leah	2
		Leha	1
		Lela	1
		Lena	10
		Leonore	1
		Lillian	6
		Lillie	3
		Lilly	3
		Lina	1
Libe	6	Bertha	1
		Lena	1
		Lillian	2
		Lillie	1

		Lilly	1
Lipold	1	Leo	1
Lote	1	Lillie	1
Ludvik	3	Louis	2
		Ludwik	1
Malke	11	Malke	1
		Millie	1
		Mollie	7
		Molly	2
Mamle	1	Mollie	1
Man	8	Mano	1
		Max	4
		Mendel	2
		Samuel	1
Margolies	1	Margie	1
Markus	5	Joe	1
		Marcus	2
		Mark	1
		Max	1
Marte	1	Martha	1
Menakhem	2	Martin	1
		Morris	1
Menukhe	4	Mae	1
		Marion	1
		Mildred	1
		Minnie	1
Meyer	7	Max	1
		Meer	1
		Meyer	4
		Morris	1
Meyte	4	Mamie	1
		Mary	1

		Mete	1
		Minnie	1
Mikhl	2	Max	2
Mikhle	2	Mary	1
		Minnie	1
Mine	8	Minna	1
		Minnie	7
Miryem	27	Amelia	1
		Mae	1
		Mariem	1
		Marion	2
		Martha	1
		Mary	9
		Mildred	1
		Millie	1
		Minnie	2
		Miriam	1
		Mirlia	1
		Mollie	5
		Molly	1
Mortkhe	5	Max	4
		Morris	1
Moyshe	30	Maurice	2
		Moe	1
		Morris	22
		Moses	2
		Murray	3
Moyshe	1	Mae	1
Nakhshn	1	Nathan	1
Nekhame	12	Ann	1
		Anna	5
		Naomi	1

		Nechame	1
		Nettie	3
		Norma	1
Nete	2	Nettie	1
		Netty	1
Nikolaus	1	Nicholas	1
Nisn	1	Irving	1
Nokhum	4	Naman	1
		Nathan	2
		Nochum	1
Nosn	3	Nathan	3
Noyekh	3	Nathan	2
		Noah	1
Orn	9	Aaron	5
		Aron	1
		Arthur	1
		Harry	1
		Samuel	1
Osher	2	Oscar	1
		Osher	1
Ovadye	1	Ovadia	1
Pave	1	Dorothy	1
Pavel	2	Paul	2
Pepi	3	Josefine	1
		Pauline	1
		Peppy	1
Perets	3	Barney	1
		Percy	1
		Peretz	1
Perle	10	Beatrice	1
		Pauline	7
		Pearl	1

		Pole	1
Peysekh	2	Benjamin	1
		Philip	1
Pinkhes	4	Paul	3
		Peter	1
Raytse	2	Ray	1
		Rose	1
Reyne	7	Regina	4
		Rose	1
		Ruth	1
		Victoria	1
Rifke	41	Beatrice	1
		Beckie	5
		Becky	1
		Betty	2
		Ethel	1
		Eva	1
		Jennie	1
		Lillian	1
		Rae	1
		Ray	2
		Reba	1
		Rebeca	1
		Rebecca	7
		Rebecka	1
		Regina	3
		Rena	1
		Rhea	1
		Rifka	2
		Rita	1
		Rose	4
		Ruth	2

		Ryfka	1
Rifoel	1	Philip	1
Rode	2	Ida	1
		Rose	1
Rokhl	56	Ida	1
		Rachel	4
		Rachela	1
		Rae	6
		Ray	5
		Regena	1
		Rhea	1
		Rose	31
		Ruchel	1
		Ruth	5
Royze	61	Rae	1
		Raisa	1
		Ray	1
		Rose	57
		Rosie	1
Ruvn	4	Rubin	4
Sabke	1	Sylvia	1
Sale	4	Sadie	1
		Sali	1
		Sylvia	2
Sason	1	Sason	1
Sheyne	18	Jean	5
		Jennie	10
		Sadie	1
		Sarah	1
		Shendel	1
Shifre	4	Cherie	1
		Sadie	1

		Shifra	1
		Sophie	1
Shimen	1	Sam	1
Shloyme	18	Benjamin	1
		Salomon	1
		Sam	4
		Samuel	3
		Saul	1
		Sol	2
		Solomon	5
		Zalman	1
Shmarya	1	Sam	1
Shmuel	16	Max	1
		Sam	8
		Samuel	7
Sholem	4	Charles	1
		Sam	2
		Sol	1
Shoshane	2	Sadie	1
		Stella	1
Shoyel	1	Sam	1
Shprintse	1	Sadie	1
Sime	4	Cynthia	1
		Sadie	1
		Samuel	1
		Sylvia	1
Simkhe	1	Sam	1
Skharye	1	Zachary	1
Sofle	13	Sone	1
		Sonia	4
		Sonya	1
		Sophie	5

		Sylvia	2
Sore	75	Annie	1
		Cecelia	1
		Celia	5
		Sadie	10
		Sally	3
		Sara	2
		Sarah	33
		Sareh	1
		Selma	2
		Shirley	5
		Sonia	2
		Sophie	6
		Sora	1
		Sylvia	3
Tamare	3	Emma	1
		Tamara	1
		Tillie	1
Teyne	1	Tillie	1
Tislave	2	Pauline	1
		Tessie	1
Toybe	12	Ida	1
		Tillie	11
Tsherne	3	Celia	1
		Jean	1
		Jeanne	1
Tsilye	11	Bessie	1
		Celia	7
		Rebecca	1
		Sylvia	2
Tsine	2	Helen	1
		Kate	1

Tsipoyre	9	Celia	4
		Pauline	4
		Ruth	1
Tsivye	9	Celia	3
		Cillia	1
		Shirley	1
		Sylvia	4
Vite	5	Beckie	1
		Viola	1
		Violet	1
		Witla	1
		Witty	1
Volf	10	William	8
		Wolf	2
Yadzhe	1	Yetta	1
Yakef	17	Jacques	1
		Hyman	1
		Isidore	1
		Jack	7
		Jacob	7
Yakhne	1	Anna	1
Yentl	7	Anita	1
		Annie	1
		Enta	1
		Ethel	1
		Henrietta	1
		Yetta	2
Yokhved	1	Ida	1
Yore	1	Yette	1
Yoshue	2	Harold	1
		Iosua	1
Yoye	1	Julia	1

Yoyel	1	Joseph	1
Yoysef	24	Joe	6
		Josef	3
		Joseph	14
		Sol	1
Yude	1	Julius	1
Yudes	17	Ada	1
		Dora	1
		Edith	1
		Elaine	1
		Ethel	2
		Henrietta	1
		Ida	1
		Janne	1
		Jessie	1
		Julia	1
		Nettie	1
		Sonia	1
		Yetta	3
		Yetti	1
Zelde	3	Jennie	1
		Sadie	1
		Selda	1
Zelikman	4	Selig	1
		Zeelig	1
		Zeilig	1
		Zelig	1
Zisl	1	Jennie	1
Zlate	2	Jennie	1
		Zena	1
Zusman	3	Jess	1
		Julius	1

		Sol	1

APPENDIX B: AMERICANIZED FORMS ON PETITIONS FOR NATURALIZATION AND THEIR YIDDISH CORRESPONDENCES ON PASSENGER LISTS

List of Americanized Names

Americanized Name on Petition for Naturalization	Number of Occurrences	Presumably Relevant Entry in Beider (2001)	Number of Occurrences
Aaron, Aron	6	Orn	6
Abe, Abraham, Abram	25	Avrom	24
		Leib	1
Ada	1	Yudes	1
Adele	4	Eydl	4
Adolf, Adolph	3	Adolf	3
Albert	2	Avrom	2
Alex	1	Aleksander	1
Alfred	1	Avrom	1
Amelia	1	Miryem	1
Anita	1	Yentl	1
Ann, Anna, Anne, Annie, Hana, Hannah, Nancy, Ona	94	Basheve	1
		Blume	1
		Ester	1
		Ginendl	2
		Golde	1
		Hinde	1
		Hodes	1
		Khane	75
		Khaye	1
		Leye	1
		Nekhame	6
		Sore	1
		Yakhne	1

		Yentl	1
Arthur	1	Orn	1
Asrel	1	Isroel	1
Auguste, Gussie, Gusty	12	Ginendl	1
		Golde	2
		Grune	1
		Guste	2
		Gute	6
Barnett	1	Ber	1
Barney	1	Perets	1
Beatrice	6	Basheve	1
		Blume	1
		Brokhe	1
		Bune	1
		Perle	1
		Rifke	1
Beckie, Becky, Reba, Rebecca, Rebecka, Rifka, Ryfka	25	Beyle	3
		Brayne	1
		Rifke	19
		Tsilye	1
		Vite	1
Bella	9	Berte	1
		Beyle	6
		Blume	2
Ben, Benjamin, Benny	15	Bentsiyen	1
		Benyomen	6
		Ber	1
		Borekh	4
		Peysekh	1
		Shloyme	1
Bension	1	Bentsiyen	1
Berel	1	Ber	1

Bernard	1	Bernd	1
Bertha	12	Berte	6
		Brayne	4
		Brokhe	1
		Libe	1
Bessie, Betty, Elsie Libbie, Lizza	36	Basheve	13
		Berte	2
		Beyle	6
		Blume	1
		Brayne	2
		Brokhe	1
		Bune	1
		Ele	2
		Elisheve	4
		Lane	1
		Rifke	2
		Tsilye	1
Bina	1	Bune	1
Blima	1	Blume	1
Boris	2	Ber	1
		Borekh	1
Boruch	1	Borekh	1
Brajne	1	Brayne	1
Brenice	1	Brayne	1
Brucha	1	Brokhe	1
Cecelia, Celia, Cillia	21	Sore	6
		Tsherne	1
		Tsilye	7
		Tsipoyre	4
		Tsivye	4
Chaim	1	Khayem	1
Chana	2	Khane	2

Charles, Karl	9	Gdalye	2
		Ikheskl	2
		Ikusiel	1
		Ishaye	1
		Itskhok	1
		Khayem	1
		Sholem	1
Cherie	1	Shifre	1
Claire, Clara	22	Ester	1
		Keyle	2
		Khane	1
		Khaye	7
		Klore	10
Cynthia	1	Sime	1
Daniel	1	Daniel	1
Dave, David	15	Dovid	15
Diana	1	Dine	1
Dina	4	Dine	4
Donald	1	Gdalye	1
Dora	25	Beyle	1
		Daykhe	1
		Dobre	2
		Dore	7
		Dvoyre	11
		Golde	1
		Khaye	1
		Yudes	1
Doris	2	Dvoyre	2
Dorothy	3	Dore	2
		Pave	1
Edith	2	Ester	1
		Yudes	1

Edward	1	Itskhok	1
Elaine	1	Yudes	1
Eli	2	Ele	1
		Elye	1
Eliahu	1	Elye	1
Elias	1	Avrom	1
Elka	1	Ele	1
Ella	1	Ester	1
Emma	1	Tamare	1
Enta	1	Yentl	1
Ephraim	1	Efroyem	1
Estelle, Stella	3	Ester	1
		Fanye	1
		Shoshane	1
Ester, Esther, Estra	37	Ele	1
		Ester	36
		Khaye	1
Ethel	7	Elisheve	1
		Ester	2
		Rifke	1
		Yentl	1
		Yudes	2
Ette	1	Ester	1
Eva, Eve, Evelyn	17	Eydl	1
		Khane	2
		Khave	13
		Rifke	1
Fannie, Fanny, Fay, Frances	39	Fanye	1
		Feyge	26
		Franye	1
		Freyde	2
		Frumet	9

Feige	1	Feyge	1
Florence	3	Feyge	2
		Fride	1
Frank	2	Efroyem	2
Freda, Freida, Frieda	17	Freyde	11
		Fride	5
		Frumet	1
Genia	1	Gute	1
George	1	Gdalye	1
Gertrude, Gerty	9	Felye	1
		Ginendl	1
		Grune	1
		Gute	5
		Kreyne	1
Gittel	1	Gute	1
Gloria	1	Dvoyre	1
Golda, Golde, Goldie	7	Golde	7
Harold	2	Dovid	1
		Yoshue	1
Harris, Harry	23	Gershn	2
		Hirsh	14
		Hosheye	1
		Isroel	1
		Khayem	3
		Orn	1
Hazel	1	Hitsele	1
Helen	9	Heyle	1
		Hinde	2
		Hodes	1
		Khane	2
		Khaye	2
		Tsine	1

Henrietta	2	Yentl	1
		Yudes	1
Hinda	1	Hinde	1
Hilde	1	Hulde	1
Hyman	10	Khayem	9
		Yakef	1
Ida	28	Gute	1
		Hinde	1
		Hodes	1
		Khave	1
		Khaye	19
		Rode	1
		Rokhl	1
		Toybe	1
		Yokhved	1
		Yudes	1
Ignatz	1	Ignats	1
Ike, Isaac	5	Itskhok	5
Irene	3	Franye	1
		Khane	1
		Khaye	1
Irma	1	Khane	1
Irving	11	Dovid	1
		Isroel	3
		Itskhok	6
		Nisn	1
Isadore, Isidor, Isidore, Issie, Izzy	11	Khayem	1
		Isroel	2
		Itskhok	7
		Yakef	1
Israel, Isreal, Izrael	6	Isroel	1
Jack	7	Yakef	7

Jacob, Jacques	8	Yakef	8
Janne	1	Yudes	1
Jean, Jeanne	10	Dine	1
		Khane	2
		Sheyne	5
		Tsherne	2
Jennie	18	Asne	1
		Dvoyre	1
		Gute	1
		Khane	1
		Rifke	1
		Sheyne	10
		Zelde	1
		Zisl	1
		Zlate	1
Jess	1	Zusman	1
Jessie	2	Khane	1
		Yudes	1
Joe, Josef, Joseph	25	Markus	1
		Yoyel	1
		Yoysef	23
Josua	1	Yoshue	1
Julia	2	Yoye	1
		Yudes	1
Julius	2	Yude	1
		Zusman	1
Kaile	1	Keyle	1
Kalman	1	Kalmen	1
Kate, Katie	4	Keyle	1
		Kreyne	2
		Tsine	1
Laura	2	Leye	2

Lazar	1	Azarye	1
Leah, Leha	3	Leye	3
Leib	1	Leib	1
Lela	1	Leye	1
Lena, Lina	17	Elisheve	1
		Khane	1
		Lene	3
		Leye	11
		Libe	1
Leo, Leon	8	Elieyzer/Elozer	1
		Leib	6
		Lipold	1
Leonore	1	Leye	1
Lillian, Lillie, Lilly	22	Elisheve	2
		Lane	1
		Lene	1
		Leye	12
		Libe	4
		Lote	1
		Rifke	1
Lou, Louis, Ludwik	26	Elieyzer/Elozer	9
		Isroel	1
		Leib	13
		Ludvik	3
Mae, May	4	Khane	1
		Menukhe	1
		Miryem	1
		Moyshe	1
Malke	1	Malke	1
Mamie, Mariem, Marion, Mary, Miriam, Mirlia, Mollie, Molly	33	Blume	1
		Malke	9
		Mamle	1

		Menukhe	1
		Meyte	2
		Mikhle	1
		Miryem	20
Mano	1	Man	1
Marcus, Mark	3	Markus	3
Margie, Rita	2	Margolies	1
		Rifke	1
Martha	2	Marte	1
		Miryem	1
Martin	1	Menakhem	1
Maurice, Moe, Morris	32	Borekh	1
		Elye	1
		Gdalye	1
		Isroel	1
		Menakhem	1
		Meyer	1
		Mortkhe	1
		Moyshe	25
Max	13	Man	4
		Markus	1
		Mikhl	2
		Mortkhe	4
		Shmuel	1
Meer, Meyer	5	Meyer	5
Mendel	2	Man	2
Mete	1	Meyte	1
Mildred, Millie	4	Malke	1
		Menukhe	1
		Miryem	2
Minna, Minnie	13	Menukhe	1
		Meyte	1

		Mikhle	1
		Mine	8
		Miryem	2
Moses	2	Moyshe	2
Murray	3	Moyshe	3
Naman	1	Nokhum	1
Naomi	1	Nekhame	1
Nathan	8	Nakhshn	1
		Nokhum	2
		Nosn	3
		Noyekh	2
Nechame	1	Nekhame	1
Nesie	1	Ginendl	1
Nettie, Netty	6	Nekhame	3
		Nete	2
		Yudes	1
Nicholas	1	Nikolaus	1
Noah	1	Noyekh	1
Nochum	1	Nokhum	1
Norma	1	Nekhame	1
Odes	1	Hodes	1
Oscar	1	Osher	1
Osher	1	Osher	1
Ovadia	1	Ovadye	1
Paul	5	Pavel	2
		Pinkhes	3
Paula, Paulen, Paulene, Pauline, Pola, Pole	22	Basheve	8
		Pepi	1
		Perle	2
		Tislave	1
		Tsipoyre	4
Pearl	3	Basheve	2

		Perle	1
Peppy	1	Pepi	1
Percy	1	Perets	1
Peretz	1	Perets	1
Peter	1	Pinkhes	1
Philip	5	Fayvush	2
		Fishl	1
		Peysekh	1
		Rifoel	1
Rachel, Rachela, Rae, Ray, Ruchel	24	Khane	1
		Raytse	1
		Rifke	3
		Rokhl	17
		Royze	2
Regena, Regina	8	Reyne	4
		Rifke	3
		Rokhl	1
Rena	1	Rifke	1
Rhea	2	Rifke	1
		Rokhl	1
Rheta	1	Fride	1
Rose, Rosie	97	Ele	1
		Raytse	1
		Reyne	1
		Rifke	4
		Rode	1
		Rokhl	31
		Royze	58
Rubin	4	Ruvn	4
Ruth	9	Reyne	1
		Rifke	2
		Rokhl	5

		Tsipoyre	1
Sadie, Sadye, Sali, Sally, Sara, Sarah, Sareh, Sora	65	Basheve	1
		Ester	1
		Florye	1
		Hinde	1
		Khaye	2
		Sale	2
		Sheyne	2
		Shifre	1
		Shoshane	1
		Shprintse	1
		Sime	1
		Sore	50
		Zelde	1
Salomon, Sol, Zalman	15	Ishaye	1
		Isroel	2
		Shloyme	9
		Sholem	1
		Yoysef	1
		Zusman	1
Sam	38	Aleksander	2
		Ikusiel	1
		Ishaye	2
		Isroel	1
		Itskhok	1
		Man	1
		Orn	1
		Shimen	1
		Shloyme	7
		Shmarya	1
		Shmuel	15
		Sholem	2

		Shoyel	1
		Simkhe	2
Sason	1	Sason	1
Saul	1	Shloyme	1
Selda	1	Zelde	1
Selig, Zeelig, Zeilig, Zelig	4	Zelikman	4
Selma	2	Sore	2
Shendel	1	Sheyne	1
Shifra	1	Shifre	1
Shirley	6	Sore	5
		Tsivye	1
Sone, Sonia, Sonya, Sophie	21	Shifre	1
		Sofle	11
		Sore	8
		Yudes	1
Susan	1	Blume	1
Sylvia	15	Sabke	1
		Sale	2
		Sime	1
		Sofle	2
		Sore	3
		Tsilye	2
		Tsivye	4
Tamara	1	Tamare	1
Taube	1	Khaye	1
Tessie	1	Tislave	1
Tillie	13	Tanare	1
		Teyne	1
		Toybe	11
Tinnie	1	Dine	1
Victoria	1	Reyne	1
Viola, Violet	2	Vite	2

William	8	Volf	8
Witla, Witty	2	Vite	2
Wolf	2	Volf	2
Yetta, Yette, Yetti	8	Yadzhe	1
		Yentl	2
		Yore	1
		Yudes	4
Zachary	1	Skharye	1
Zena	1	Zlate	1

APPENDIX C: HEBRAIC NAMES APPEARING ON PASSENGER LISTS AND THEIR ASSUMED EQUIVALENTS IN BEIDER (2001)

List of Presumed Yiddish Name Equivalents

Presumably Relevant Entry in Beider (2001)	Phonetically or Orthographically Similar Variation or Reference in Beider (2001)	Transcribed Name from Passenger List	Number of Occurrences
Adolf	Adolf	Adolf	1
		Adolph	2
Aleksander	*English cognate*	Alex	1
	Sender	Cender	1
		Sender	1
Asne	Asne	Asne	1
Avrom	Abraham	Abraham	10
	Abram	Abram	14
	Avramets	Abromas	1
	Avram	Avram	1
	Avrum	Avroom	1
		Awrum	1
Azarye	Azarya	Azaria	1
Basheve	Bashe	Baache	1
	Batshe	Bachy	1
	Bashe	Basche	2

	Basheve	Baschewa	1
	Bashe	Bashe	1
	Basye	Basia	2
		Basse	2
	Pese	Pesa	2
	Peshe	Pesche	2
	Pese	Pese	1
	Pesele	Pesel	1
	Pesye	Pesia	2
		Pesie	2
		Pessie	2
	Peselin	Psilja	1
Basheve	Sheve	Schewa	1
		Schewe	1
Bentsiyen	Bentsion	Bension	1
		Benzion	1
Benyomen	*English cognate*	Benjamin	5
		Benny	1
	Benyumen	Beyume	1
Ber	Ber	Ber	1
	Berele	Berel	1
		Beril	1
	Berl	Berl	1
Bernd	*German cognate*	Bernhard	1
Berte	Berte	Berta	4
		Bertha	5
Beyle	Beyle	Beila	2
		Beile	5
	Beylke	Beilke	1
	Beyle	Bejila	1
		Bejla	1
	Belkhe	Belke	1

	Bele	Bella	4
	Beyle	Biele	1
Blume	Blime	Blima	2
		Blinde	2
	Blume	Bluma	3
		Blume	2
Borekh	Burke	Berco	1
		Bercu	1
	Boshke	Beutschek	1
	Borekh	Boruch	3
	Burikh	Burach	1
Brayne	Brayne	Brajna	2
	Brane	Brama	1
	Brandle	Brandel	1
Brayne	Broune	Brauna	1
	Brayndl	Breindl	1
	Brayne	Breine	2
	Brendl	Brendel	1
Brokhe	Brukhe	Brucha	1
		Bruche	2
	Brukhtshe	Brushka	1
Bune	Bone	Bene	1
	Bine	Bina	1
		Bine	1
Daniel	Daniel	Daniel	1
Daykhe	Daykhe	Dacha	1
Dine	Dine	Dina	5
		Dinah	1
	Dinye	Dynia	1
Dobre	Dobe	Doba	1
	Dobre	Dobre	1
Dore	Dore	Dora	9

Dovid	David	David	11
	English cognate	Davis	1
	David	Dawid	4
	Duvid	Duvid	2
Dvoyre	*English cognate*	Deborah	1
	Dveyre	Drbeire	1
		Dweira	1
		Dweire	5
	Dvoyre	Dwoira	1
		Dwoire	2
		Dwojra	1
		Dwojre	1
	Dvore	Dwore	1
		Dworia	1
Efroyem	Afroim	Afroim	1
	Froyke	Frojke	1
Ele	Ele	Ela	1
	Eltskhe	Eliska	1
	Elke	Elka	2
		Elke	1
Elieyzer/Elozer	Eluzer	Eluzor	1
	Layzer	Laizor	1
		Layzer	1
	Leyzer	Leiser	2
		Leizer	4
		Lejzer	1
Elisheve	*English cognate*	Betty	1
	Elizabet	Elise	1
	Else	Elsa	2
	Lize	Leise	1
	English cognate	Libbie	1
	Lize	Liza	2

Elye	Ele	Eli	1
	Hebrew cognate	Eliahu	1
	Elye	Elie	1
Ester	Estere	Eastera	1
	Etye	Ecia	1
	Etl	Eittel	1
	Esfir	Esfir	1
	Ester	Ester	20
	Estere	Estera	7
	Ester	Esther	11
	Etke	Etka	1
	Etl	Ettel	1
Eydl	Adele	Adele	1
	Eyde	Eda	1
	Eydl	Eidel	1
	Eydle	Ejdla	1
	Aydle	Idele	1
Fanye	Fania	Fania	1
Fanye	Stefa	Stefka	1
Fayvush	Fayvl	Fajwel	1
		Feivel	1
Felya	Felya	Fela	1
Feyge	Faygl	Faigel	1
	Fayge	Fajga	1
	Feyge	Fega	1
		Feiga	10
		Feige	15
		Fejga	1
Fishl	Fishl	Fiszel	1
Florye	Flora	Flora	1
Franye	Franciszka	Franziska	1
	Franye	Fren	1

Freyde	Frade	Frade	1
	Fradke	Fradic	1
	Fradle	Fradla	1
	Freyde	Freida	5
		Freide	3
		Freidy	1
	Freude	Freude	1
	Freyde	Freda	1
Fride	Fride	Frieda	4
		Friede	1
	Fridl	Friedel	1
Frumet	Frime	Frime	2
	Frimet	Frimet	1
	Frumetle	Frula	1
	Frume	Fruma	2
		Frume	3
	Frime	Fryma	1
Gdalye	Gdale	Gedale	1
	Gedalye	Gedalie	2
	Gedl	Gelel	1
Gdalye	Gdale	Gidali	1
Gershn	Gershn	Gerih	1
	Gershon	Gerschon	1
Ginendl	Genye	Gena	1
	Genendle	Genendla	1
	Genye	Genia	1
		Geniax	1
	Nesye	Nesie	1
Golde	Golda	Gohda	1
		Golda	2
	Golde	Golde	5
	English cognate	Goldie	2

Grune	Grunye	Grunia	2
Guste	Guste	Gusti	1
		Gusty	1
Gute	Gitl	Gitel	3
	Gitke	Gitka	1
	Gitle	Gitla	2
	Gitli	Gitlia	1
		Gitlja	1
	Gitl	Gittel	5
	Gude	Gude	1
	Gute	Gute	1
Heyle	Heyle	Hela	1
Hilde	Hulda	Hulda	1
Hinde	Hinde	Hinda	3
		Hinde	2
Hirsh	Hersh	Hersch	6
	Hershl	Herschel	1
		Herschl	1
	Hersh	Hersz	4
	Herts	Herz	1
	Hirsh	Hirsch	1
Hitsele	Hitse	Hitza	1
Hodes	Hode	Hoda	1
	Hudye	Hudie	1
	Odes	Odes	1
	Udl	Udel	1
Hosheye	Hoshey	Cjuisha	1
Ignats	Ignats	Ignac	1
Ikheskl	Khaskl	Chaskel	1
		Chaskiel	1
Ikusiel	Kushel	Kushier	1
	Kusiel	Kusiel	1

Ishaye	Shaye	Schaie	1
	Shayke	Schaike	1
	Shaye	Shea	1
		Szaja	1
Isroel	Israel	Israel	6
		Israil	1
		Isreal	1
	Izrael	Izrael	2
	English cognate	Izzie	1
	Sroel	Sruel	2
	Srol	Srul	5
Itskhok	Ayzik	Eisig	1
	Itsik	Icek	1
	Itske	Icko	2
	Itsik	Icyk	1
	English cognate	Ike	2
		Isaac	2
	Isaak	Isaak	1
	Izkhen	Isakino	1
	Isak	Isek	1
	Itsik	Itic	1
	Itske	Itko	1
	Itskhak	Itzchok	1
	Itsik	Itzig	2
	Itsik	Itzik	2
	Itsik	Itzyk	1
	Izak	Izsak	1
	Itskhak	Iztreck	1
Kalmen	Kalmen	Kalman	1
Keyle	Kayle	Kajla	1
	Keyle	Keile	2
		Kiela	1

Khane	*English cognate*	Anna	23
		Anne	2
		Annie	7
	Hande	Chadna	1
	Khane	Chana	12
		Chane	22
	Khanye	Chanie	1
	Khantse	Chanzie	1
	Khashe	Chasia	1
		Chasie	1
		Chassia	1
		Chassie	1
	Ene	Ena	1
	Enye	Ennie	1
	Hane	Hana	3
	Henye	Hanie	1
	Hane	Hanna	2
		Hanu	1
	Hendle	Hendel	1
	Hene	Hene	4
	Henye	Henie	1
	Hene	Henne	1
	Khane	Khana	1
Khave	Khave	Chava	1
		Chave	2
		Chawa	3
		Chawe	3
	English cognate	Eva	5
Khaye	Khaye	Chai	1
		Chaie	4
		Chaja	10
		Chaje	12

	Khayke	Chajke	1
		Chake	1
	Khaye	Chaya	3
		Chaye	2
		Khaja	1
Khayem	Khayim	Chaim	12
	Khayem	Chajem	1
	Khaym	Chajm	1
		Chiam	2
Klore		Claire	1
		Clara	9
		Klara	1
Kreyne	Kreyne	Kreime	1
		Kreina	1
		Kreine	1
Lane	Lanke	Lenke	1
	Lore	Lora	1
Lene	Lene	Lena	2
		Leni	1
		Lina	1
Leyb	Lebe	Lebe	1
	Leyb	Leib	9
	Leybe	Leibe	2
	Leybl	Leibel	1
	Leybish	Leibish	1
	Leybush	Leibusch	1
	Leyb	Lejb	1
	Leybe	Lejba	1
Leyb	Leo	Leo	1
	Leon	Leon	2
	Leyb	Lieb	1
Leye	Leyke	Laic	1

	Leye	Laja	3
	Lea	Lea	8
		Leah	6
	Leye	Leia	1
		Leie	3
	Leyke	Leika	2
	Leye	Leja	5
		Leje	1
	Leyelke	Lollic	1
Libe	Libe	Liba	1
		Libe	1
		Liebe	3
	Lube	Liouba	1
Lipold	*English cognate*	Leopold	1
Lote	Lote	Loti	1
Ludvik	*English cognate*	Louis	2
	Ludvik	Ludwig	1
Malke	Malke	Malka	4
		Malke	4
		Malkic	1
	Male	Mallie	1
	Malke	Molka	1
Mamle	Mamtshe	Mancia	1
Man	Mano	Mano	1
	Mendl	Mendel	7
Margolies	Margolis	Margit	1
Markus	Markus	Marcus	2
	Mark	Mark	1
	Markus	Markus	2
Marte	*English cognate*	Martha	1
Menakhem	Menakhem	Menachem	1
		Menahem	1

Menukhe	Menye	Menia	1
	Menukhe	Menucha	1
	Mnikhe	Mnicha	1
Meyer	Mayer	Majer	1
	Meyer	Meier	1
		Mejer	2
		Meyer	3
Meyte	Matle	Matel	1
	Meyte	Meite	1
		Meitie	1
	Meytl	Mietel	1
Mikhl	Mekhl	Mechel	1
	Mikhle	Micha	1
	Mikhl	Michel	1
	Mikhle	Michle	1
Mikhle	Mikhe	Micha	1
	Mikhle	Michle	1
Mine	Mine	Mime	1
	Mina	Mina	2
	Mindle	Mindla	3
	Mine	Mine	1
	Minke	Ninka	1
Miryem	Manya	Mania	2
	Maryakhe/Marele	Marchle	1
	Marya	Maria	4
	Maryam	Mariem	1
		Marjam	1
	Maryem	Marjem	3
	Marya	Marjia	1
	English cognate	Mary	2
	Mashe	Mascha	1
	Masye	Masia	1

	Mere	Mere	1
	Merke	Mirke	1
	Mirele	Mirla	2
		Mirlia	1
	Muske	Miska	1
	English cognate	Mollie	3
	Mashke	Moschke	1
	Mirele	Myrel	1
Mortkhe	Mortkhay	Maurycy	1
	Mordkhe	Mordche	1
	Mordukh	Morduch	1
	Mote	Mote	1
	Motye	Motie	1
Moyshe	Meyshe	Meische	1
	Moyshe	Moischa	1
		Moische	7
	Mosye	Moise	1
	Moyshe	Moishe	1
		Mojsche	1
	Moshe	Moscha	1
	Mozes	Moses	8
	Moshke	Moshko	1
	Mosye	Mosje	1
	Moshke	Moszko	1
	Movshe	Moushe	1
		Movsha	1
		Mowscha	1
		Mowsche	1
		Mowsza	1
	Moshe	Moschhe	1
Nakhmen	Nakhman	Nachman	1
Nakhshn	Nakhshon	Nakshon	1

Nekhame	Nakhame	Nachama	2
	Nekhe	Necha	1
	Nekhame	Nechama	3
		Nechame	2
		Nechana	1
	Nekhe	Neche	1
	Nekhume	Nechuma	1
	Nekhame	Nikhanna	1
Nete	Nete	Neti	1
		Nettie	1
Nikolaus	*Russian cognate*	Nicolae	1
Nisn	Nisn	Nissen	1
Nokhum	Nakhum	Nahum	1
	Nokhem	Nochem	1
	Nukhim	Nuchim	1
Nosn	*English cognate*	Nathan	1
	Nosen	Nosen	1
	Note	Nota	1
Noyekh	Noakh	Noach	1
	English cognate	Noah	1
	Noekh	Noich	1
Orn	*English cognate*	Aaron	2
	Arke	Arke	1
	Aron	Aron	4
	Ahron	Haron	1
	Orlik	Horlik	1
Osher	Osher	Osher	1
	Usher	Usher	1
Ovadye	Ovadya	Ovadia	1
Pave	Pave	Pava	1
Pavel	*English cognate*	Paul	2
Pepi	*English cognate*	Josephine	1

	Pepi	Pepie	1
		Peppi	1
Perets	Berets	Barris	1
	Perets	Peretz	1
		Peritz	1
Perle	Perl	Perl	4
	Perle	Perla	5
		Perle	1
Peysekh	Peysakh	Peisach	1
		Pejach	1
Pinkhes	Pinkus	Pincus	1
	Pinye	Pinie	2
	Pinkus	Pinkus	1
Raytse	Rayle	Rejla	1
	Raytshe	Rysche	1
Reyne	*English cognate*	Regina	7
Rifke	*English cognate*	Rebecca	6
		Rebecka	2
		Rebeka	1
	Rifke	Rifca	1
		Rifka	2
		Rifke	3
	Rive	Riva	3
	Rivke	Rivke	1
	Rivke	Riwha	1
		Riwka	3
		Riwke	6
		Riwkey	1
	Rive	Ruve	1
	Rifke	Ryfka	4
	Rivke	Rynka	1
	Rive	Rywa	1

	Rivke	Rywka	4
Rifoel	Reful	Reful	1
Rode	Rode	Rode	1
	Rude	Rude	1
Rokhl	*English cognate*	Rachel	7
	Rashle	Rachela	4
	Rashl	Rachil	1
	English cognate	Rae	2
	Rehl	Rahil	1
	English cognate	Ray	1
	Rekhl	Rechel	1
		Rechil	1
		Reichel	1
	Rokhe	Rocha	1
		Roche	1
	Rokhl	Rochel	8
	Rokhele	Rochellia	1
	Rokhl	Rochil	1
	Rokhle	Rochla	2
		Rochle	1
		Rochlja	1
	Rukhl	Ruchel	14
	Rukhle	Ruchla	7
Royze	Reyze	Raisa	1
	Reyzle	Raisle	1
	Reyze	Raize	1
	Razle	Razel	1
	Reyze	Reise	2
	Reyzl	Reisel	2
	Reyzelin	Reizeln	1
	Reyzle	Reizla	1
	Reyze	Rejza	1

	Reyze	Resa	1
		Rezi	1
	Royze	Rojza	1
	Roze	Rosa	11
		Rose	24
	English cognate	Rosie	1
	Roze	Roza	6
	Royzele	Rozalia	2
	Reyzye	Rozi	1
		Rozia	1
	Rozkhen	Ruzena	1
Ruvn	Rubin	Rubin	1
	Ruven	Ruven	1
	Ruvn	Ruvin	1
		Ruwin	1
Sabke	Sabina	Sabina	1
Sale	Sale	Sali	2
		Salie	1
	Salomea	Salomeja	1
Sason	Sason	Saason	1
Sheyne	Sheyne	Scheina	2
	Sheyndl	Scheindel	6
	Sheyndle	Scheindla	1
	Sheyne	Scheine	5
		Sheina	1
	Sheyndele	Shindelai	1
	Sheyndle	Szajndla	1
	Shendle	Szendla	1
Shifre	Shifre	Schifre	1
	Shifra	Shifra	1
		Shifrah	1
		Szyfra	1

Shloyme	Salomon	Salamon	1
		Salmon	3
		Salomon	2
	Shloyme	Schloime	1
		Schlojme	1
	Zelman	Selman	1
	Shloyme	Sloime	1
	Salomon	Soloman	1
	English cognate	Solomon	5
	Shlame	Szlama	1
	Shlome	Szluma	1
Shmarya	Shmarye	Smarya	1
Shmuel	*English cognate*	Sam	2
		Samuel	5
	Shmoyl	Schmerl	1
	Shmuel	Schmuel	1
	Shmul	Schmul	4
	Smoel	Smiel	1
		Smuel	1
	Shmul	Szmul	1
Sholem	Salem	Salim	1
	Sholem	Scholim	1
		Sholem	1
		Szulim	1
Shoshane	Shoshe	Shasha	1
	Shoske	Szoskie	1
Shoyel	Soyel	Sauel	1
Shprintse	Shprinke	Springe	1
Sime	Sime	Sema	1
		Sime	2
		Syma	1
Simkhe	Simkhe	Simche	1

Skharye	Zekharya	Zekharia	1
Sofle	Sofye	Sofie	1
	Sonye	Sonia	7
		Sonja	1
	English cognate	Sophie	4
Sore	Tsere	Cera	1
	Tsore	Choire	1
	Tsire	Cira	1
	Tsirle	Cirla	1
		Cyrla	1
	English cognate	Sadie	3
	Sara	Sara	17
		Sarah	18
	English cognate	Sarina	1
	Serlin	Serian	1
	Sherle	Shrilia	1
	Sore	Sora	3
		Sore	2
	Sosye	Sosie	1
		Sosje	1
	Sose	Sosse	2
	Soshe	Soszie	1
	Sure	Sura	9
		Surah	1
		Sure	7
	Surtse	Sussie	1
	Tsirle	Tirlea	1
Tamare	Tamare	Tamara	1
	Teme	Teme	1
		Temme	1
Teyne	Tena	Tina	1
Tislave	Teslave	Tesie	1

		Tessie	1
Toybe	Taube	Tauba	3
		Taube	5
	Taybl	Teibel	1
	Tujbe	Thiba	1
	Tobe	Tobe	2
Tsherne	Tsharna	Charna	1
	Tsharne	Czarne	1
	Tsharna	Czarno	1
Tsilye	*English cognate*	Cecelia	1
	English cognate	Celia	6
	Tsilye	Cila	1
		Cyla	1
	Tsheshe	Czesche	1
	Tsele	Zeile	1
Tsine	Tsinye	Chinia	1
	Tsinke	Chinka	1
Tsipoyre	Beverlin/Payerkhe	Bewekka	1
	Tsipe	Cipa	1
		Cipe	1
	Tsipore	Cipore	1
	Paye	Peja	1
	Payle	Pola	1
		Polea	1
	Payerlin	Polin	1
	Tsipe	Zipe	1
Tsivye	Tsivye	Ciuoja	1
		Civia	2
	Tsive	Ciwa	1
		Ciwe	1
	Tsivye	Cyfsie	1
	Tsive	Cywa	1

	Tsivye	Cywia	1
Ure	Yure	Iur	1
Vite	Vitye	Vicio	1
		Vittia	1
	Vite	Wita	1
	Vitye	Witia	1
	Vitle	Witla	1
Volf	Volf	Volf	1
	Velvl	Welvel	1
		Welwel	1
	Volf	Wolf	5
	Vulf	Wulf	2
Yadzhe	Yadzha	Jaza	1
Yakef	*English cognate*	Jacob	3
	French cognate	Jacques	1
	Spanish cognate	Jaime	1
	Yakob	Jakob	3
	Yankl	Janchel	1
		Jankel	4
	Yakub	Jokubas	1
	Yakob	Yacob	1
	Yankl	Yankiel	1
Yakhne	Yakhne	Jana	1
Yentl	Yente	Enta	1
		Jente	3
		Yenta	1
	Yentl	Yentel	2
Yokhved	Yokheved	Ioheved	1
Yore	Yore	Yore	1
Yoshue	Heyshie	Haisha	1
	Yozue	Iosua	1
Yoye	Yoye	Joia	1

Yoyel	Yoel	Yoel	1
Yoysef	*English cognate*	Joe	4
	Yosef	Josef	4
	Yosk	Josck	1
	Yosl	Josel	1
	English cognate	Joseph	7
	Yosef	Josif	2
	Yosl	Jossel	2
	Yozef	Jozef	2
	Yosl	Yosel	1
Yude	Yudl	Judel	1
Yudes	Yides	Iders	1
		Ides	2
	Ite	Ita	3
		Ite	1
	Itye	Itty	1
	Yetkhe	Jeschhe	1
	Yeyte	Jetti	2
	Yite	Jitte	1
	Yudashe	Judasche	1
	Yudes	Judes	1
		Yedis	1
	Yete	Yetta	1
	Yite	Ytte	1
Zelde	Zelde	Selde	2
		Zelda	1
Zelikman	Zelig	Selig	2
		Zelig	2
Zisl	Zise	Zise	1
Zlate	Zlote	Zlota	2
Zusman	Zusman	Sussmann	1
	Zisl	Zicel	1

	Zus	Zus	1

"Number of Occurrences" will add up to more than 1503 due to certain immigrants possessing double names.

APPENDIX D: NON-HEBRAIC AND OBSCURE NAMES APPEARING ON PASSENGER LISTS AND THEIR ETYMOLOGY

List of Non-Hebraic and Obscure Names

English Cognate	Language of Origin	Transcribed Name from Passenger List	Number of Occurrences
Adelaide	Germanic	**Ada**	1
Alfred	Old English	**Alfred**	1
Amalia	Germanic	**Amalia**	2
		Amalya	1
		Amelie	1
Anastasia	Greek	**Anastazija**	1
Augusta	Latin	**Augusta**	1
Barnet	Old English	**Barnet**	1
Elizabeth	Hebrew	**Bessie**	1
		Betty	1
Boris *[Russian, et al.]*	Turkic	**Boris**	1
		Borys	1
Céline *[French]*	Latin	**Celine**	1
Charles	Germanic	**Charles**	1
Edmund	Old English	**Edmund**	1
Elvira *[German, et al.]*	Germanic	**Elvera**	1
Uncertain	*Uncertain*	**Erdi**	1
Erwin *[German, et al.]*	Germanic	**Erwin**	1
Estelle	Latin	**Estelle**	1

Ethel	Old English	**Ethel**	7
Eugene, Eugenia	Greek	**Eugene**	1
		Eugenie	1
Frances, Francis	Latin	**Fannie**	8
		Fanny	2
		Fany	1
		Frances	1
		Frank	1
Frederick	Germanic	**Fred**	1
George	Greek	**George**	1
Gertrude	Germanic	**Gertrud**	1
Giselle	Germanic	**Gizella**	1
Augusta	Latin	**Gussie**	5
Henry	Germanic	**Harris**	1
		Harry	5
Herbert	Germanic	**Herbert**	1
Herman	Germanic	**Herman**	2
Ida	Germanic	**Ida**	7
Uncertain	*Uncertain*	**Isze**	1
Jacob	Hebrew	**Jacques**	1
Joan	Hebrew	**Jeannette**	1
Jennifer	Welsh	**Jennie**	2
		Jenny	1
Julius	Latin	**Julius**	1
Katherine	Greek	**Kate**	1
Elizabeth	Hebrew	**Libby**	1
Elizabeth, Lily	Hebrew, Latin	**Lillian**	3
Dolores	Latin	**Lola**	1
Louis, Louise	Germanic	**Louis**	3
		Luise	1
May	Greek	**Mae**	1
Martin	Latin	**Martens**	1

Matilda	Germanic	**Mathilda**	1
		Mathilde	1
		Matilda	1
Maxmilian, Maxwell	Latin, Latin/Old English	**Max**	7
Uncertain	*Uncertain*	**Mercado**	1
Mildred, Millicent, et al.	Old English, Germanic	**Millie**	1
Wilhelmina	Germanic	**Minnie**	3
Uncertain	*Uncertain*	**Mor**	1
Maurice	Latin	**Morris**	8
Eleanor, Helen	Occitan, Greek	**Nellie**	1
Helga *[German, et al.]*	Old Norse	**Olga**	1
Paula	Latin	**Paula**	1
		Paulina	1
		Pauline	1
Philip	Greek	**Philip**	3
Robert	Germanic	**Roberto**	1
Uncertain	*Uncertain*	**Senora**	1
Matilda	Germanic	**Tillie**	3
Anthony	Latin	**Tony**	1
Victor	Latin	**Victor**	1
William	Germanic	**William**	2
Uncertain	*Uncertain*	**Yamilla**	1
Juliana	*Latin*	**Yulana**	1
Uncertain	*Uncertain*	**Zraim**	1

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