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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

ENGLISH LANGUAGE, COLLEGE OF ARTS
UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

Naming in Society

**A cross-cultural study of five communities in
Scotland**

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Abstract

Personal names are a human universal, but systems of naming vary across cultures. While a person's name identifies them immediately with a particular cultural background, this aspect of identity is rarely researched in a systematic way. This thesis examines naming patterns as a product of the society in which they are used. Personal names have been studied within separate disciplines, but to date there has been little intersection between them. This study marries approaches from anthropology and linguistic research to provide a more comprehensive approach to name-study.

Specifically, this is a cross-cultural study of the naming practices of several diverse communities in Scotland, United Kingdom. The purpose of the project is to compare and contrast the personal naming systems of a range of indigenous and immigrant communities whose social and linguistic contexts vary extensively. In doing so, it investigates links between personal names, social change, cultural contact and linguistic systems, and hopes to contribute towards examining universal features of naming systems and developing a theory of names.

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Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| 1. Introduction..... | 10 |
| 1.1 Aims of research..... | 11 |
| 1.1.1 Research questions | 12 |
| 2. Research context | 16 |
| 2.1 Onomastic factors | 17 |
| 2.1.1 Grammar and semantics | 19 |
| 2.1.2 Personal naming in sociolinguistics, sociology and anthropology | 29 |
| 2.2 Social factors | 32 |
| 2.2.1 Sociolinguistic research | 33 |
| 2.2.2 Community and society..... | 41 |
| 2.2.3 Culture | 49 |
| 2.2.4 Cultural and linguistic contact..... | 51 |
| 2.2.5 Apparent time | 56 |
| 2.3 Socio-onomastics | 57 |
| 3. Methodology..... | 60 |
| 3.1 The research objects | 61 |
| 3.1.1 Indigenous communities | 63 |
| 3.1.2 Immigrant communities..... | 64 |
| 3.1.3 Sample | 65 |
| 3.2 Data collection..... | 67 |
| 3.2.1 Access | 67 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 3.2.2 Instruments | 72 |
| 3.2.3 Ethical considerations | 79 |
| 3.3 Analysis | 82 |
| 3.3.1 Analysis of individual communities | 82 |
| 3.3.2 Comparative analysis | 84 |
| 4. Western Isles community | 88 |
| 4.1 Geography | 88 |
| 4.2 Social and linguistic conditions | 92 |
| 4.2.1 Language | 92 |
| 4.2.2 Society | 94 |
| 4.3 Methodology | 97 |
| 4.3.1 Access to community | 97 |
| 4.3.2 Informants | 98 |
| 4.3.3 Interviews | 99 |
| 4.4 Results and discussion | 100 |
| 4.4.1 Structure of names | 100 |
| 4.4.2 Given names | 109 |
| 4.4.3 Surnames and bynames | 135 |
| 4.5 Summary of Western Isles naming practices | 155 |
| 5. Buckie community | 158 |
| 5.1 Geography | 158 |
| 5.2 Social and linguistic conditions | 160 |
| 5.3 Methodology | 162 |
| 5.3.1 Access to community | 162 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 5.3.2 Informants | 163 |
| 5.3.3 Interviews | 164 |
| 5.4 Results and discussion | 166 |
| 5.4.1 Structure of names..... | 166 |
| 5.4.2 Given names | 178 |
| 5.4.3 Surnames and bynames | 199 |
| 5.5 Summary of Buckie naming practices | 213 |
| 6. Glaswegian community..... | 216 |
| 6.1 Geography | 216 |
| 6.2 Social and linguistic conditions | 220 |
| 6.2.1 Language | 220 |
| 6.2.2 Society..... | 220 |
| 6.3 Methodology..... | 225 |
| 6.3.1 Access to community | 225 |
| 6.3.2 Informants | 227 |
| 6.3.3 Interviews | 228 |
| 6.4 Results and discussion | 230 |
| 6.4.1 Structure of names..... | 230 |
| 6.4.2 Given names | 236 |
| 6.4.3 Surnames and bynames | 257 |
| 6.5 Summary of naming practices in Glaswegian community | 261 |
| 7. Pakistani Muslim community in Glasgow..... | 264 |
| 7.1 Geography | 264 |
| 7.2 Social and linguistic conditions | 266 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 7.2.1 Language | 266 |
| 7.2.2 Society | 267 |
| 7.3 Methodology | 268 |
| 7.3.1 Access to community | 268 |
| 7.3.2 Informants | 268 |
| 7.3.3 Interviews | 270 |
| 7.4 Results and discussion | 271 |
| 7.4.1 Structure of names | 271 |
| 7.4.2 Given names | 277 |
| 7.4.3 Surnames and bynames | 290 |
| 7.5 Summary of naming practices in Pakistani Muslim community in Glasgow | 301 |
| 8. Refugee/Asylum Seeker community in Glasgow | 303 |
| 8.1 Geography | 303 |
| 8.2 Social and linguistic conditions | 304 |
| 8.3 Methodology | 308 |
| 8.3.1 Access to community | 308 |
| 8.3.2 Informants | 310 |
| 8.3.3 Interviews | 311 |
| 8.4 Results and discussion | 312 |
| 8.4.1 Refugees/asylum seekers – Muslim naming practices | 312 |
| 8.4.2 Refugees/asylum seekers – African Christian naming practices | 323 |
| 8.4.3 Refugee/asylum seeker experience in UK | 333 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| 8.5 Summary of naming practices in Asylum Seeker and Refugee community in Glasgow..... | 343 |
| 8.5.1 Muslim practices..... | 344 |
| 8.5.2 African Christian practices..... | 345 |
| 9. Comparison of naming practices..... | 346 |
| 9.1 Tables of comparison..... | 346 |
| 9.2 Research questions revisited | 359 |
| 9.2.1 Aim 1 – Model of empirical anthroponymic research | 359 |
| 9.2.2 Aim 2 – Links | 366 |
| 9.2.3 Aim 3 – Possible universals | 380 |
| 10. Conclusion | 384 |
| Bibliography | 387 |
| Appendices | 387 |
| Appendix A – Western Isles prompt sheet..... | 410 |
| Appendix B – Buckie prompt sheet..... | 412 |
| Appendix C – Glaswegian prompt sheet | 414 |
| Appendix D – Pakistani Muslim prompt sheet..... | 416 |
| Appendix E – Asylum Seeker/Refugee prompt sheet | 418 |
| Appendix F – Interview information sheet | 421 |
| Appendix G – Interview consent form | 423 |
| Appendix H – High school questionnaire | 424 |
| Appendix I – Questionnaire information sheet | 432 |
| Appendix J – Questionnaire consent form | 434 |

Figures

| | |
|--|-----|
| Figure 1 – Map of Scotland showing locations of communities..... | 61 |
| Figure 2 – Map of Scotland marking the Western Isles | 88 |
| Figure 3 – Map of Western Isles | 90 |
| Figure 4 – Age structure of Western Isles at 2001 Census..... | 97 |
| Figure 5 – Location of Buckie within Scotland..... | 158 |
| Figure 6 – Location of Moray towns | 159 |
| Figure 7 – Age structure of Buckie at 2001 Census | 161 |
| Figure 8 – Map of Scotland marking the city of Glasgow | 216 |
| Figure 9 – Map of the city of Glasgow and immediate surroundings..... | 217 |
| Figure 10 – Area of west Glasgow selected for study..... | 219 |
| Figure 11 – Age-structure of the Glasgow population | 221 |
| Figure 12 – Smaller version of Fig. 10. Area of west Glasgow selected for study..... | 303 |

Tables

| | |
|--|-----|
| Table 1 – Communities in Scotland chosen for the study | 62 |
| Table 2 – Status in communities..... | 70 |
| Table 3 – Western Isles informants | 98 |
| Table 4 – Forenaming patterns pertaining to relatives..... | 109 |
| Table 5 – Top ten surnames in Western Isles area in 1999 to 2001 | 136 |
| Table 6 – Gaelic and English surname equivalents..... | 139 |
| Table 7 – Western Isles naming practices over generations | 157 |
| Table 8 – Buckie informants | 164 |
| Table 9 – Order of naming children after relatives, Buckie | 178 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Table 10 – Top ten surnames in Moray council area in 1999 to 2001. | 199 |
| Table 11 – Top ten surnames in the Banff area in the 1901 census. | 200 |
| Table 12 – Areas with associated surnames. | 202 |
| Table 13 – Buckie naming practices over generations | 215 |
| Table 14 – Glasgow informants | 227 |
| Table 15 – Top ten surnames in Glasgow City Council area in 1999 to 2001. | 257 |
| Table 16 – Glaswegian community naming practices | 263 |
| Table 17 – Pakistani Muslim informants | 269 |
| Table 18 – Pakistani Muslim naming practices | 302 |
| Table 19 – Refugee and Asylum Seeker informants | 310 |
| Table 20 – First name after relative | 348 |
| Table 21 – Middle name/s after relative | 349 |
| Table 22 – Lexical meaning of forenames important | 349 |
| Table 23 – Use of bilingual, ‘translated’ names | 350 |
| Table 24 – Hereditary surname from father | 351 |
| Table 25 – True patronymic (as official last name) | 352 |
| Table 26 – Patronymic as unofficial name | 353 |
| Table 27 – Last name no connection to relatives | 354 |
| Table 28 – Women’s surname changes on marriage – officially | 354 |
| Table 29 – Women’s surname changes on marriage – unofficially | 355 |
| Table 30 – Use of semi-official names | 356 |
| Table 31 – Nicknames/unofficial names | 357 |
| Table 32 – Communities in Scotland chosen for the study | 367 |

Naming in Society

A cross-cultural study of five communities in Scotland

1. Introduction

In the case of one's own name, its meaning consists on one level of the deictic function of 'identifying' the individual. But when asked about the meaning of their names, most people are able to unravel long, complex, deeply felt narratives about their personal history, the people they are a part of, the aspirations of their parents and their own aspirations [...] On this level, which is particularly important in certain cultures, though absent in none, the meaning of one's name is tantamount to the meaning of one's life. (Joseph, 2004: 176).

Names for people have been found to be bestowed and used in every known society (Alford, 1988). Therefore, having personal names is seen as one of the human universals – an aspect of human existence that is truly global and all-encompassing (Murdock, 1945; Brown, 1991). However, despite the ubiquity of the practice of having individual names for people, the systems underlying the giving of these names vary according to culture (Alford, 1988, Hickerson, 2000). Because of this patterning, a personal name can give instant information about social background, culture, language and even religion, as well as identifying the bearer as a particular individual. However, despite the clear relationship between naming and society, this is an area of research which has been only occasionally and sparsely investigated. This thesis will consider personal names as products of the societies in which they are given and used, considering approaches from different subject areas in order to deliver a nuanced and wide-ranging study of

personal naming across cultures. The central focus will be to examine links between names and societies.

1.1 Aims of research

The specific aims of the thesis are formulated to examine the role that society plays in personal naming, and the relationship between a personal naming system and the society in which it operates. The first aim is practical in nature and its results allow the following, more theoretical, aims to be realised. The main aims are as follow:

- To produce a model of empirical anthroponymic research by investigating several personal naming systems in a comprehensive way and developing a cross-cultural study of personal naming
- To investigate possible links between naming systems, social structure and cultural contact.
- To investigate what may be universal and what may be culture-specific within naming systems.

1.1.1 Research questions

Each of these aims can be tackled by collapsing it into more detailed research questions, as follows:

- To produce a model of empirical anthroponymic research by investigating several personal naming systems in a comprehensive way and developing a cross-cultural study of personal naming

Several communities with differing social and linguistic contexts have been selected to provide a cross-cultural comparison which is diverse enough to test how social factors might affect personal names. There are three indigenous Scottish communities in the study: one rural, one small-town and one urban community. In addition, there are also two immigrant communities in Scotland whose naming systems are investigated in this thesis: one well-established and the other newly-emigrated and transient. The research questions below will allow a picture to be constructed of how personal names are used within each community, and allow a comparison to be then made between the communities.

i. What types of personal names are used within these communities?

i.i. Which features are common to all or to specific types of community (see aims 2 and 3)?

ii. What are people's motivations for giving these names?

ii.i. Do these motivations differ between communities?

- To investigate possible links between naming systems, social structure and cultural contact.

Using the information gained in the primary investigation of naming practices, this thesis investigates how social factors might affect personal naming. This is achieved through comparing how the social factors belonging to each community (multilingualism, close-knit social ties, etc.) correspond to onomastic factors (such as how names are structured, how unofficial names are used, etc.).

Research questions arising include the following.

i. How does social structure affect the naming practices of a community?

It is hypothesised that there may be a link between dense social networks and maintenance of naming traditions: this would fit with the idea of dense, cohesive networks maintaining linguistic and cultural norms (cf. Milroy 1980, 1987). In addition, in areas with hereditary surnames, communities with little in-migration often have a high proportion of people sharing the same surname, and even forename. This seems to lead to a disposition towards use of unofficial names in a semi-formalised way (cf. Dorian, 1970).

ii. What happens when one set of naming traditions faces competition from another?

Competition in naming practice is compared with language competition and change more generally to consider whether analogies can be drawn: does the initial language/naming system stay dominant, does the competing one take over or do both co-exist? (cf. Fishman, 1989).

ii.i. How are names used when people from many naming traditions come together?

ii.ii. To what extent can naming systems give an indication of the level of assimilation of immigrant communities?

It has been hypothesised (Lieberson, 1982) that the more assimilated immigrants become into a culture, the more their imported naming systems will disappear and the closer their names will get to those of the dominant majority.

- To investigate the possibility of universals within naming systems.

As well as comparison with other communities in the thesis which have been studied first-hand, this analysis will be expanded to include Alford's (1988) cross-cultural secondary analysis of a large range of personal naming systems, designed to "reflect adequately worldwide cultural variability" (Alford, 1988: 9).

i. Are any features within the naming systems studied universal across all of them?

Cross-cultural comparison can help to establish whether the communities in this study share similar practices or whether their practices are entirely culture-specific. How far different groups are influenced by the dominant culture will also be considered. This question is tackled using primary data, collected in the course of the study.

i.i If so, have these features been found in previously studied naming systems?

Findings from Alford (1988) will be qualitatively compared with my results to establish a wider foundation for the study.

ii. Are any features culture-specific? If so, how do they manifest themselves?

2. Research context

This study looks at empirical evidence for naming and society. Personal names are the primary object of study in this thesis, and they are considered within the context of several different types of community. As the thesis considers the links between different social factors and personal naming systems, this chapter examines literature from onomastics, sociolinguistics, including linguistic anthropology, and more general social science.

The research questions set out in Chapter 1 refer to several areas which will be covered. Ideas of community and society are relevant, as are social networks within communities. Concepts of indigenous and immigrant cultures are discussed, and cultural and linguistic contact is also important to the outcome of this work. As this is an empirical study, using largely qualitative methodologies, ethnographic and qualitative approaches to linguistic research are examined in this section, before Chapter 3 sets out the specific methodologies for this study.

However, the focus of this thesis is on names, and specifically the names of people. Therefore the discussion of the literature on naming, in anthropology and social science, but most particularly in onomastics, is crucial in explaining the objects of study of this thesis. Discussing how they have been looked at in the past and what is understood about them is important in situating this study within a broader onomastic context.

2.1 Onomastic factors

Onomastics is concerned with research into names. This can include all types of name, but most prominent are names of places and people, which represent the subfields of toponymy and anthroponymy.

Toponymy is by far the more widely researched branch of onomastics, with government, national and international bodies, as well as numerous individual scholars, dedicated to place-name research. This is partly as a result of the political importance of place-names. The United Nations (UN) employ a group of experts on geographical names, as well as hosting major conferences, in order to address the standardisation of geographical names.¹ Many countries have a national authority with responsibility for geographical names; UN records show sixty-two such authorities (Kerfoot, 2007). The United Kingdom (UK) does not have a national authority for toponymy, but official toponymic issues are dealt with by the cartographic authority, the Ordnance Survey.

Scholarly attention within UK onomastics is also largely focussed on toponymic issues, though with a historical and linguistic, rather than chiefly political, focus. The English Place-name Survey has been in progress since the 1920s, providing detailed etymologies for the majority of place-names in England, in some cases to the level of field-names, through county surveys. Influential publications, with wider applications within linguistics and historical studies, have resulted from this concentrated effort to understand the English landscape, such as the work of

¹ More information available at: <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/>

Gelling (1997), Gelling & Cole (2000), Parsons et al. (1997), Parsons & Styles (2000), Parsons (2004) and Clark (1995).

Within Scotland, toponymic research is less advanced. The Scottish Place-name Survey is much less developed than its English counterpart, and has little official backing. Certain regions, such as areas of Fife (Taylor & Márkus, 2006-), Arran (Fraser, 1999), Edinburgh (Harris, 1996), Carloway in Lewis (Cox, 2002), and St Kilda (Coates, 1990), have recently been surveyed. Other areas, such as Shetland and Caithness (Waugh, 1984, 1989-90), and Bernara in Lewis (Macaulay, 1972), have also been well-researched, though in far smaller studies. Few comprehensive surveys have been attempted, but by the far the most authoritative of those that have are Watson (1926) for Celtic names, and Nicolaisen (2001) as a more general discussion.

Anthroponymy has been less extensively researched, particularly within the UK. Those studies which have been undertaken have generally followed the same pattern as toponymy, being based on historical sources and largely carried out by medievalists (e.g. Fellows-Jensen, 2002; Lord, 2002; Rowlands & Rowlands, 2005). This has encouraged a rigorous and careful approach to the data.

Historical studies of nicknames and bynames within a British context are generally involved with research into English medieval records, particularly those concerned with the period in which surnames were being formed. Book-length investigations into this area include studies on Middle English nicknames and

bynames by Jönsjö (1979), Hjertstedt (1987), and Carlsson (1989), while major articles include McClure (2005).

What is plain from these archival record-based studies is that thorough and meticulous research can provide convincing explanations for personal name use in different periods. However, the research available also draws attention to the complexity of the material and the difficulties in providing definitive answers as to the motivations behind giving particular names. It is possible that investigations of contemporary naming systems, such as those in this thesis, might also help to elucidate some of the issues surrounding personal naming in earlier periods.

2.1.1 Grammar and semantics

Grammatically, names are thought of as a class of noun (Quirk et al., 1985; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). Proper nouns are capitalised in present-day English to differentiate them from common nouns. Summerell (1995: 368-370) suggests that while early philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle deliberated on theories of names generally, it was only in the medieval period that proper names began to be considered as being separate from other nouns. Their lack of differentiation from other nouns in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts would appear to support this view, at least in relation to English. However, van Langendonck (2007: 17) points to Classical terminology, which “speaks of *onoma proseigorikon* (*nomen appellativum*) and *onoma kyrion* (*nomen proprium*).”

So, it is possible either that they were treated with common nouns in English until the Renaissance, when Classical teachings were re-popularised, or that they have always been differentiated theoretically but not necessarily visually.

Recent research challenges the notion of names as a sub-class of nouns.

Anderson (2007) critically reviews the case for considering names as nouns, believing them to be closer to pronouns and determiners than they are to common nouns. Van Langendonck (2007: 17) directly counters this view, allowing pronouns as a type of noun and refuting the case for names to be considered as close to determiners. He decides that as proper names denote things, from a semantic perspective they must be regarded as nouns. Anderson concludes not by assigning names to any existing grammatical category, but by declaring them to be “the basic entity-category, minimally subclassified and endowed with the capacity for primary identification via onymic reference” (Anderson, 2007: 332). He suggests that other categories, such as nouns and pronouns, develop from the category of names. However, while Anderson does consider other types of names, he concentrates on names which are singular and denote human individuals. He terms these “prototypical names” (Anderson, 2007: 330). A broader and more inclusive approach may have found more similarities with common nouns. Allan (2001: 94) intriguingly suggests that common nouns and proper nouns could be seen as having similar semantic specification, as rigid designators of something. He sees the process of naming a newly-discovered mineral and a person as being “broadly similar” and posits that “[t]he way that the names are transmitted through a historical link is exactly

parallel” (Allan, 2001: 94). This may actually support Anderson’s thesis that other categories develop from names, though it does not support his separation of common nouns into a different category.

Allan (2001) uses the ideas of Kripke and previous research in the philosophy of language to formulate his arguments. Research undertaken into the semantics of names within the field of the philosophy of language can be categorised into three main schools of thought: reference, description and causal theories of naming.

Reference theories assume the basic premise that the meaning of a name is purely the individual or thing to which that name refers in the context in which it is being used. This was first postulated by John Stuart Mill ([1872] 1909) who saw a name as any referring word or expression; as any noun rather than as specifically a proper noun. However, he did distinguish individual or singular names, which only affirm one thing, from general names which are capable of affirming many things. Mill ([1872] 1909: 20) contended that proper names are purely denotative, rather than connotative like general names (common nouns). Even place-names were described as simply denoting, rather than describing any attribute of, a place because once the referring term has become a name, a change in the place – such as the river Dart being diverted away from Dartmouth, for example – would not necessarily cause a change in the name. Burge (1973: 438-439) suggests the (unacknowledged) Millian view that the denotation of proper names could be determined by the reference of the language user in the context of their use. He describes their interpretation as ‘extralinguistic’, an idea which

contrasts sharply with the descriptive sentences favoured by the description theorists, discussed below. Generally though, reference theories have been refuted by most philosophers because of their inability to deal with certain sentences, such as “Hesperus is Phosphorus” (Reimer, 2003). This could be a very informative statement when addressed to someone who did not know that both names referred to Venus as seen in the sky in the evening and morning. However, from a Millian viewpoint it would be as trivial as saying $x = x$ because proper names themselves refer only to their referent.

At their most basic, description theories hold that any proper name is used in place of a description for its referent. Put simply, a proper name is used as shorthand for a longer description which uniquely describes its referent, an example of which could be *Churchill* for *the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom during the Second World War*. These theories have been largely built upon the work of Frege and Russell, two prominent philosophers of language in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Frege ([1892] 1948) made a distinction between what he called *Sinn* (sense) and *Bedeutung* (reference) in his descriptive theory of names; the reference being the thing referred to, such as a person or place, and the sense being the description which uniquely identifies it. This separation of sense and referent reflects similar ideas in some respects to the work of Ferdinand de Saussure ([1916] 1986). Russell (1919: 82-92) sets out the relationship between name and description by explicitly stating that names are descriptions in that what a person thinks of when using a proper name can only be expressed by a description. Russell differs from Frege in his conception of

what the description expresses: Frege's *sense* is not subjective and belongs to mankind's "common store of thoughts" (Frege, [1892] 1948: 212), our basic knowledge of the world and what things are, whereas Russell's *description* is fairly subjective and can vary between individuals and over periods of time (Russell, 1919: 84). Indeed, Russell's ideas of description seem closer to what Frege identified as one's *conception* of a name, which is individual and entirely subjective (Frege, [1892] 1948: 212). A later version of description theory was advanced by Searle (1958) where he rejected the idea that people had to have one over-riding description in mind when using a name and instead postulated that proper names functioned as pegs on which to hang many descriptions.

Causal theories of names are almost exclusively attributed to Kripke (1980). Kripke strongly contests both the description and reference theories of naming, but seems to be influenced heavily by Mill's views on the lack of meaning of proper names. However, rather than accept reference theorists' views on the denotation of objects being determined within their context of use, Kripke (1980: 48) introduces the idea of a 'rigid designator'. He hypothesises that proper names are rigid designators in that they designate the same object in every possible world where the object exists. He also uses aspects of description theory in that he allows that some important fact may cause a person to fix the referent of a name in their heads but, crucially, the name would not be synonymous with that description, as it would in description theories (Kripke, 1980: 57). Once a name is fixed, in an initial "baptism", it is passed in a causal chain from user to user through communicative exchange, so each use of the name is linked back to

the initial referent (Kripke, 1980: 96). This theory allows for social interaction in a way that others do not seem to, but has also been criticised fairly strongly.

Evans ([1973] 1997) describes the causal theory as being somewhat irrelevant. It ignores the context in which names are used and only appears to offer an idea of the causal origin of the name, which is not generally significant in name usage (Evans, [1973] 1997: 642). It is also possible for names to have their denotation changed; Evans ([1973] 1997: 643) cites the example of Marco Polo's mistaken referent of 'Madagascar'. However, Evans concludes that by incorporating causal ideas and information associated with a name, it may be possible to produce a more accurate and general theory. Causal theories are favoured by some philosophers such as Devitt (1981, 1984), while others, such as Pelczar and Rainsbury (1998), follow Evans' suggestions by combining elements of causal and description theories. Adams, Fuller and Stecker (1997) have even encompassed fictional and non-fictional names in one unified theory.

2.1.1.1 Names and cognitive semantics

Within linguistic theory, much research has focused on the question of what is, and what is not, a name, but the category of 'name' has been treated as having rigid boundaries. A contrasting approach is that of prototype theory, which analyses categories as having *prototypical* centres and fuzzy boundaries (Rosch 1978, Taylor 2003). The field of cognitive semantics rose to prominence after results arising from the experimental techniques of Rosch (1973), looking at

categorisation of objects, animals and colour, and Berlin & Kay (1969), investigating cross-cultural categorisation of colour. This research suggested that people do not conceptualise words and knowledge in rigidly designated categories of which there was a binary distinction between members and non-members. Instead, categories are seen as fuzzy conceptual spaces containing the members of the category. Crucially, the members do not all have equal status in the category, with some being more typical examples of the superordinate term than others, for example an apple might be seen as a prototypical fruit in the UK. Members which are not good examples of a category but are still members of it are seen as being on the periphery. What is seen as a prototypical example can vary markedly between countries depending on cultural norms, and even prototype categories themselves can differ between cultures (Wierzbicka, 1992: 175).

Much of the research on prototype categories presupposes a direct relationship between the storing of the word for a concept and the storing of the concept itself. This seems a reasonable assumption to make, as they must at least be linked in order for words to be understood, and the theory follows Saussure's ([1916] 1986) model of signifier and signified. Aitchison (2003: 43) discusses the fact that this relationship is poorly understood but accepts that it is useful in practice to treat it as generally straightforward. She also discusses the lack of clear boundaries between one word or concept and another (Aitchison, 2003: 48). This lack of exact boundaries highlights the idea that categories are not formed in a rigidly designated way. As discussed above, the best examples of a category are seen as

prototypical members. However, it is difficult to articulate why something is a *better* member of a category than something else. Taylor (2003: 58) suggests that concepts at the centre of a prototype category share many attributes and could be seen as approaching a classical category where things are either members or not. However, the prototype category also allows less prototypical members within the wider category, due to its fuzzy boundaries. Taylor (2003: 220) extends the idea of prototypical categories to grammatical categories, concluding that they

...have a prototype structure, with central members sharing a range of both syntactic and semantic attributes. Failure of an item to exhibit some of these attributes does not in itself preclude membership in the category.

Despite some limited recognition by onomasts in the past (Pamp 1985, Moore 1993), prototype theory was slow in being applied to personal names, and is just beginning to be used in place-names (Hough, 2007). Tse (2002) carried out a corpus-based study in order to test how the category of names could be classified. She suggests that a prototype, rather than classical, view of categories is a more appropriate way to think about the way in which we mentally organize names. However, she finds that conceptualising names as one category, with one central prototype, is inadequate in explaining the complexity of proper names and instead proposes a polycentric category, with several prototypes (Tse, 2002: 63). She has eight main subcategories: personal, place, organisation, nationality/group of people, time-spans, human artefacts, technical, and language names (Tse, 2002: 37). Some of her subcategories also overlap, showing

a fuzziness even within this polycentric model. It could be argued that some of the things she believes are proper names would not be considered so by many. However, this may be why the fuzzy category model, with peripheral members, is so attractive to her, as her “analysis has shown that the further a name is from the prototype, the nearer it is to the category of common noun phrases” (Tse, 2002: 63).

This fits well with Anderson’s (2007) assertion, mentioned above, of personal names as being prototypical within the category of proper nouns. A recognition of the prototypical nature of grammatical categories is apparent throughout Anderson’s (2007) book. Indeed, Van Langendonck (2007: 173) sees proper names in general as “the most prototypical nominal category.” He also believes personal names and place-names to be prototypical within the category of names themselves, based upon his own analysis of names in Dutch, French and English (Van Langendonck, 2007: 186-223). However, rather than using a polycentric model with several prototypes, he chooses to label other names as non-prototypical. In relation to names and prototypes, Tse’s (2002) corpus study appears to support and pre-empt the conclusions of both Anderson (2007) and Van Langendonck (2007) in viewing proper nouns as a fuzzy category containing prototypes. Her decision to place subcategories within this classification of proper nouns and envisage a polycentric category makes her model a robust one in envisaging the class of proper names as a whole, and how they fit together.

Proper names are in a dichotomous position. As a class of nouns in linguistics, they can be classified as a prototype category according to their grammatical status. However, they can also be seen to denote closely related things and so could also be seen as a fuzzy category in the same way as more concrete objects. Other nouns might be classified as a type of noun in a grammatical sense and an object in a separate category. For example, *sparrow* would be part of the grammatical category of noun, but the conceptual category of bird. *Ellen* or *Belfast* could be seen as being part of both the grammatical and conceptual category of proper name/noun. Others might argue that were these to be considered as part of conceptual categories, they might be seen as part of the categories of places or people. However, the latter argument produces difficulty when applied to personal names, as there is no thing or type of person called *Ellen* in the same way as there is a *sparrow*. In this scenario, *Ellen* would seem to function as a label independent of the people to which it is applied, and so could legitimately be classed as being part of a conceptual category of names. The implications of this position are important, in that adopting it would presumably allow for variation between different cultures speaking the same language. The application of prototype theory in general would mean recognising that some forms of name are more important in particular cultures than others (e.g. forename+surname in British culture) while allowing any form of address to be included as being more or less 'name-like'. Recognising the connection and separation between grammatical prototype and conceptual prototype within the category of personal names might make this tool more powerful still. This may correspond at some level with Coates's (2000; 2005; 2006; 2009) separation of

onymic (i.e. referential) meaning and semantic (i.e. expressive) meaning. However, Coates's framework does not allow for both types of meaning to be expressed simultaneously; a name can only contain one or the other in a given usage. I would contend that the dichotomy inherent in the way names can be categorised may also be seen in the way that a name can be interpreted. There is no reason why a name must be or mean fully one thing and not partly another. It should be allowed, as in prototype theory, to cross boundaries. Wierzbicka (1992: 302-307) seems to allow for both in discussing the ways in which names have meanings in interaction. As she states: "Names mean something. The meaning encoded in them can be revealed and described; they can be learned and they can be taught." (Wierzbicka, 1992: 307).

2.1.2 Personal naming in sociolinguistics, sociology and anthropology

The naming practices and, even more prevalently, the kinship terms used within societies are often collected in the course of anthropological studies, particularly into cultures seen as 'exotic'. These observations usually take the form of notes on the naming practices of a particular geographical community and are sometimes published in anthropological journals. In many cases, this information is not published at all, particularly if the researcher is more interested in another aspect of that community.² Most data on naming in different societies have been

² Alford (1988) discusses the incomplete nature of even the published anthropological data on personal naming practices.

collected in this anthropological way. This is an advantage in that many of these studies take an ethnographic approach to data collection and, consequently, naming practices are investigated very much as a part of their society. However, it could also be seen as disadvantageous in that the researchers do not generally have a background in onomastics. They are well qualified as a researcher to document what they understand as the naming system, but often have little desire to incorporate any wider knowledge on personal naming. This is partly because of the widespread belief in, particularly, British anthropology that studies are not usually generalisable and should be undertaken for their own sake. Examples include those detailing naming practices particularly from non-Western societies (Antoun, 1968; Collier & Bricker, 1970; Stokhof, 1983; Rosaldo, 1984; Salih & Bader, 1999; Humphrey, 2006) and small rural communities within Western societies (Pitt-Rivers, 1954; Fox, 1963; Brandes, 1975; Breen, 1982; Gilmore, 1982; Mewett, 1982).

Though Lévi-Strauss's structuralist anthropology is no longer fashionable, he was interested in looking at personal names as systems from an anthropological viewpoint. He separates the linguists' task of finding the place of names in the system of language from his own as an anthropologist, which he believes is investigating the place of names as "a means of allotting positions in a system [in social groups]" (Lévi-Strauss, 1966: 187). This viewpoint may correspond with the dichotomy of names as both grammatical and cultural groupings, discussed above. He is also eager to compare studies undertaken by different researchers to illustrate his arguments, in order to draw rules from anthropological enquiry.

Alford (1988) carried out a large-scale meta-analysis of anthropological work on naming practices which showed that comparison of qualitative studies is feasible and yields useful results. Common features investigated included the structure of names (given names, surnames, etc.) and meaningfulness of names, and revealed fairly limited variation across sixty disparate societies. As far as I have been able to establish, no primary research designed to compare naming communities has yet been attempted though there is clearly a gap to be addressed. This study will address that problem and provide an empirical cross-cultural comparison of naming practices.

Sociological studies into personal naming are far fewer and are generally based on official government records and statistics. These range from the analysis of children's names given in Bulgaria before and after the fall of communism (Kalkanova, 1999) to changes in the names of Jewish and Italian immigrants to the USA (Watkins & London, 1994) to naming in middle class families in the United States of America (Rossi, 1965) to nicknaming in British school children (Morgan et al., 1979). The study of naming in sociology is dominated by Lieberman, who has published widely on names and society (e.g. Lieberman, 1984; Lieberman & Bell, 1992; Lieberman & Mikelson, 1995; Lieberman, 2000). His most ambitious work to date has been a volume using changes in first names in different countries and ethnic groups over time to develop an insight into how fashions change more generally (Lieberman, 2000). Sociological research is generally based to a greater extent on quantitative methods than the more qualitative anthropological naming studies.

Sociolinguistics has barely participated in research into naming practices up to this point. However, this is now changing, as more onomastic researchers are borrowing from sociolinguistics and social scientific methods in order to investigate name use in society.

2.2 Social factors

The theoretical and methodological orientation of this thesis is influenced by Dell Hymes and his interest both in the intricacies of language and in cross-cultural comparison. The central concern of Hymes's approach to studying language has always been to view it in a qualitative way, through its contextual and cultural framework. This entails examining language in its complexity and making the deliberate assumption that language and culture can each elucidate the other. Hymes (1996: 26) writes that "[a] perspective which treats language only as an attribute of *man* leaves language as an attribute of *men* unintelligible." Language is complex and should be seen as the construct of many voices and of society. These ideas should be borne in mind when studying names. Applying these ideas to this anthroponymic investigation, we should remain sensitive to the varied motivations of the people in this study and to the wider societal context. Hymes (1968: 44) urges us to think of languages not as a "demarcation of the world", but "as instruments of human action." However, names, to an extent, are both. They can demarcate social groups, while at the same time demarcating individuals at a

more micro level. However, they are also a product of individual human decisions and actions resulting from individual and collective motivations.

2.2.1 Sociolinguistic research

2.2.1.1 Qualitative and quantitative approaches

Qualitative methodologies as a whole advocate an interpretivist approach to research which can be contrasted with the positivist approach underlying quantitative studies. Positivism attempts to apply the methods and criteria of the natural sciences to the study of social reality (Bryman, 2004: 11). This stance entails that there is such a thing as a single reality and that this reality can be measured and interpreted. Interpretivism stands in opposition to positivism in theorising that, as the objects of study within the social sciences are people rather than simply matter and people have consciousness (and therefore their own individual sense of reality), then to apply methods of natural science ignores the complexity of the human condition. Fay (1996: 5) believes that the fundamental question within a philosophy of social science should be whether it is possible to understand others and, if it is, what that involves. Bryman (2004: 13) regards the disparity between positivism and interpretivism within social science as a difference in emphasis between the *explanation* of human behaviour and the *understanding* of human behaviour.

As sociolinguistics is the study of language within the context of society, it shares certain philosophical underpinnings with areas of social science such as sociology

and anthropology which also consider societal phenomena. The use of reliable evidence and the importance of objectivity within research are central to the practice of sociolinguistics. This would seem to ally the underpinning philosophy of sociolinguistics with a quantitative approach to research. However, the fundamental basis behind sociolinguistic enquiry is the quest for an understanding of *why* people use language in the ways that they do. This consideration indicates that, though quantitative methods can be useful tools in determining *what* occurs, qualitative research methods are key to unlocking the central aim within sociolinguistics: to discover *why* linguistic variation occurs and what meanings are applied to it.

Within the field of sociolinguistics, qualitative methods have not always featured prominently. Labov, often hailed as the founder of sociolinguistics as a discipline in the 1950s and 60s, favoured quantitative methods in linguistic research, as they gave scientific rigour to the study of language. Indeed Labov (1964: 164) states that “[t]he linguist’s task is to construct quantitative measures by which such information [differences in speech] becomes a precise medium for comparison and further abstract manipulation.” However, even by the early 1960s other linguists, notably Hymes (1997 [1972]), had become dissatisfied with the positivist method being applied to language research and advocated a more ethnographic, and qualitative, approach. His disagreement with this method was due to a belief that an in-depth knowledge of communication within a society requires an intimate understanding of the society itself. Qualitative methodologies have steadily gained in prominence within sociolinguistics since

that time, with linguists such as Rampton (1995) and Blommaert (2001) taking a largely qualitative approach to sociolinguistic research, and advocating the Linguistic Ethnography approach to research which is currently widespread in the UK³. A mixture of quantitative and qualitative approaches is also considered desirable (e.g. Bellin et al., 1999; Eckert, 2000; Hoare, 2001). Saville-Troike (2003: 8) suggests that each of these approaches “can and should inform the other.” She also notes that “many practitioners today are recognizing the need to extend the boundary to include quantitative data in ethnographic descriptions.” Yet, though there are now more ethnographic studies taking place within sociolinguistics, Eckert (2000: 76) indicates that their perspectives and methods are not always appropriate to the context, presumably because the researchers are more used to quantitative techniques. Milroy’s (1987) Belfast study combined these methods well and was able to produce comprehensive and perceptive results because of this combination.

2.2.1.2 Ethnography/Linguistic anthropology

Though many linguists do not fully accept the Whorfian argument that thought, and therefore culture, is bound by language, it is difficult to deny that the two are intrinsically related. The existence of this relationship calls for a way to investigate language use within the context of the culture in which it is spoken. Dell Hymes, who advocated this idea in the 1960s, wrote that:

³ See <http://www.ling-ethnog.org.uk/>

A general theory of the interaction of language and social life must encompass the multiple relations between linguistic means and social meaning. The relations within a particular community or personal repertoire are an empirical problem, calling for a mode of description that is jointly ethnographic and linguistic. (Hymes, 1986: 39)

This route of thinking led to a theory of research known as ‘The Ethnography of Communication’. Ethnography of Communication does not accept that language and culture can be entirely separated, but suggests that any investigation of language must also consider the culture of the language group and individuals under investigation. The field aimed to provide a more complete picture of language use and allow for insights and discoveries that would be difficult to obtain using methods that did not incorporate cultural investigation. This thesis attempts to apply this ethnographic slant to the study of names.

The theory of the ethnography of communication can encompass any type of linguistic and communicative analysis carried out by using ethnographic research and therefore seems adequate to incorporate many approaches. The execution of ethnographic research by its very nature varies from culture to culture. Examples of this can be seen in the varied features that are concentrated on by sociolinguists conducting ethnographic studies, some of whom

...take speaking itself in a particular society as the point of departure, and attempt to elucidate the principles by which it is organized and by which it ramifies throughout social life. Others begin with a particular social or linguistic problem – phonological variation, marriage, role conflict, gender, etc. – and demonstrate how it can be illuminated in speaking centred terms. (Bauman & Sherzer, 1989: xi).

The *Concise Encyclopaedia of Sociolinguistics* defines the concern of the ethnography of speaking as being “with how, in a given community, speech is conceptualized – what symbols and meanings, premises and rules there are, pertaining to communicative conduct” (Philipsen, 2001: 154). Put even more simply, “the ethnography of speaking is a description in cultural terms (ethnography) of the patterned uses of language and speech (speaking) in a particular group, institution, community, or society” (Sherzer, 1977: 44). These definitions deliberately stress the importance of the description of language in the *context* of its culture. There may appear to be little distinction between this approach and that of any other form of sociolinguistics, but there is a clear difference. Though sociolinguistics always takes into account the *society* in which the language is spoken, this is often done by assigning the people researchers are investigating to general categories such as gender, economic and social class, and area of residence, which are then used to organise the data from quantitative studies. However, these categories are presumably based on some type of preconceptions by researchers, as they are imposing their own ideas of what constitutes ‘variation’ in society and these may not be correct for every linguistic community under investigation.

In ethnographic studies, the researcher becomes a participant in the society that they are studying. This allows them to discover the natural categories, rules and patterns that exist within the culture and language without having to rely on assumptions and superficial analyses. They observe language use day-to-day and in the *context* of its culture. Though of course nobody can ever be entirely

disinterested, by trying to approach it without preconceptions and find out through experience, as well as data collection, the researcher will arrive at a truer and fuller picture of language use and culture. Muriel Saville-Troike (2003: 8) states that “it is the nature of ethnography to be holistic in nature, and this should also characterize the disciplinary orientation of its practitioners.”

As learning about the intimacies of a language culture through personal experience is the goal of the enterprise, it makes sense for people to investigate their own linguistic cultures. This allows for an insider’s (*emic*) view of the language, such as ethnographic researchers attempt ultimately to obtain, from the outset of the study⁴. It gives the researcher the further resource of their own familiarity with the language and culture to provide both knowledge and a frame of reference for the study. This approach may allow for the discoveries of subtleties of communication that would be difficult to uncover by even the most established of researchers coming into a culture from outside.

There can be problems with people investigating their own culture, however. While an *emic* view is desirable for a proper insight into the culture, it is also necessary to have an outsider’s (*etic*) view to remain detached enough to be able to conduct an objective study. This *can* be achieved by a well-trained field-worker researching their own culture, but they need to be careful neither to take aspects of the culture for granted because they seem ‘obvious’ to them nor

⁴ *Emic* and *etic* here are being used in the anthropologic, rather than linguistic, sense.

jeopardise their study by failing to keep an appropriate mental distance from the objects of study (Saville-Troike, 2003: 89). It is also essential that the field-worker is not simply chosen for their emic access to a culture but possesses the appropriate linguistic skills to obtain and record accurate communicative information. Insiders without the necessary research skills can be “much less successful than a competent outsider” (Milroy, 1987: 64).

Evidence of the usefulness of an ethnographic approach incorporating observation of everyday language was found in Blom and Gumperz’s study of code-switching in Norway (Blom & Gumperz, 1986: 407-434). They were able to hypothesise from language observation that university students who had lived away from the area would switch away from the local dialect when discussing political matters. A controlled test of this theory proved its accuracy, although the students were not aware of this feature of their language. This led Blom and Gumperz (1986: 430) to conclude that

...code selection rules thus seem to be akin to grammatical rules.
Both operate below the level of consciousness and may be
independent of the speaker’s overt intentions.

Crucially, it would be impossible to ascertain this through traditional methods such as interviews, as the students themselves were not aware of it. This shows how vital ethnographic research can be in providing a fuller and more accurate picture of language use in the context of a particular culture.

Ethnographic study, then, investigates language in relation to its culture, rather than in isolation from it, and this goal requires its practitioners to immerse themselves in that culture to gain an accurate picture of communicative methods. This approach could be used effectively as a tool for onomastic researchers aiming to gain a holistic account of naming within a particular community. The insight allowed by the researcher's position as a participant-observer in the society would mean that they could hear the names in use in their community setting. This could then inform any interviews that took place as part of the research project. Anthropologists have long been able to record naming practices in the communities in which they are based, and this technique should also prove a valuable tool for onomastics, with names in context taken as the object of enquiry.

However, because each communicative culture is generally investigated in terms peculiar to that society, separate studies are difficult to compare. Sherzer (1977: 43-57) sets out problems of methodology of this kind of ethnographic research, suggesting lack of comparability as the biggest obstacle to what could be called an 'ideal' method. This could be overcome, however, by a synthesised approach to research. If a researcher were to adopt a robust and comparable method during fieldwork in different communities, then genuine comparison should be possible.

2.2.2 Community and society

Ferdinand Tönnies (2002 [1887]) made an important and influential distinction between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, generally translated as ‘community’ and ‘society’. He saw the essential difference as being one of character; *Gemeinschaft* represents “real and organic life”, while *Gesellschaft* signifies “imaginary and mechanical structure” present in human existence (Tönnies, 2002 [1887]: 33). In this model, ties within communities are built and maintained on the basis of shared locality, kinship or co-operation towards a common goal (Tönnies, 2002 [1887]: 42). In contrast, the systems of ties in society are more abstract, being established deliberately and with specific intentions (Heberle, 1973: 52).

While discussing the tendency of sociologists and anthropologists to equate community with place, Brunt (2001: 81) states that there are no essential differences between rural and urban societies. The most basic ties people have with each other are still based on “proximity and social contact”, whether they live in a city or a primitive village. These basic ties would seem to correspond with Tönnies’s idea of community. However, Brunt, in common with many social theorists, finds it difficult to identify exactly what a community is due to its disputed and varying nature. Eriksen (2004: 23) also acknowledges that those in the social sciences commonly use the term ‘society’ but rarely define exactly what they mean by it. He stresses the fact that small-scale societies (or communities) are part of larger-scale social systems and should be considered in this manner. The notion of smaller-scale societies within the context of globalisation is a

current concern for many researchers. Fillitz (2002: 217) considers this notion in relation to the use of comparison in anthropological analysis.

Within the discipline of sociolinguistics, when studying language, similar issues emerge. The delineation of the boundaries of communities being studied is often not discussed as a problem (Milroy & Gordon, 2003: 26). Milroy and Gordon (2003) use the term ‘sampling universe’ to describe the community, society or group in which a researcher is interested and from which they will draw their sample of informants. Labov (2001: 33) feels that the explanation of the language patterns in a community is essential to understanding the linguistic practices of the individual. This bestows further importance on the concept of community within linguistic and social study. A geographical approach to urban communities is taken by Labov (2001) in his Philadelphia Neighborhood Study, using sections of the city associated with particular social classes as his speech communities.

Eckert (2000: 33) believes that what the researcher defines as their speech community is dependent on what they are looking at and why they feel the need to delineate that particular area or set of people. This viewpoint is echoed by Milroy and Gordon’s (2003) concerns regarding speech communities and empirical research.

Madera (1996) also stresses the importance of looking at a range of factors when considering a speech community. These are not merely linguistic, but also “social, cultural and psychological factors that determine the formation, membership,

and survival of speech communities” (Madera, 1996: 174). To an extent, this wider outlook brings together the idea of speech communities as linguistic groups within sociolinguistics and of communities as cultural groups as might be expected within the social sciences. Hymes (1996: 32) also attempts to resolve the sociolinguistic and social science views by stating that:

[c]learly the boundary (and the internal organization) of a speech community is not a question solely of degree of interaction among persons...but a question equally of attributed and achieved membership, of identity and identification.

The distinction between community and society, if taken loosely and married with the idea of different levels of society, proves a useful one for this research project. This thesis investigates naming patterns in several groups in Scotland. These groups could all legitimately be defined as communities, though some display more of the characteristics of *Gemeinschaft*, which could be described as being more collective, than others. The communities all exist within wider social structures. Each community exists within its own region or city which also has links to Scotland as a wider cultural and political body. Scotland itself exists within the wider frameworks of the United Kingdom and the European Union. In the light of globalisation, it could also be considered at a less formal level as being situated within a global context. Each of these different planes may have more or less relevance to the communities. For example, an indigenous community may regard regional identity (e.g. Highland or North-East) as being extremely important, while most political decisions relevant to them were made at a Scottish level. A regional language, such as Scottish Gaelic, can be vitally

important to the culture of the Western Isles but relatively unimportant elsewhere. In contrast, an immigrant community coming from elsewhere in the world would be very aware of the global context, with culture, individuals and events in other countries affecting their life and identity as a community. Their use of their native language may also span countries, while they are more likely to speak English in Scotland (cf. Li, 1994). At another level, the UK framework may be of more relevance to the immigrant community, as political decisions regarding immigration are made at UK, rather than Scottish, governmental level.

2.2.2.1 Social networks

Another way of discussing ties between people, fitting with the ideas of community and society, is to use social networks. The term ‘social network’ was originally coined in the mid-twentieth century within the field of anthropology, though some would argue that the concept was applied as early as the nineteenth century when the Norwegian scholar Sundt considered people’s social bonds as a way of trying to understand their behaviour (Wiklund, 2002: 55). In 1954, Barnes published an ethnographic study using social networks in a far more concrete way than they had previously been applied (Degenne & Forse, 1999: 57). Bott (2001 [1971]: 59) developed this further in the later 1950s, adapting the terms *close-knit* and *loose-knit* as tools to describe network structures. The idea was then adopted within sociology and other social sciences, gaining further refinement as it was applied to new situations.

The concept is important within sociolinguistic theory as it provides a means for accounting for linguistic norms within communities. It considers the social ties individuals have with each other and how these ties affect the language that they use. Even as early as 1905, in his research on linguistic variation in the Swiss village of Charmey, Gauchat used factors in his analysis such as age, gender and social circumstances, as well as network variables such as exposure to other dialects or standard French (Chambers, 2003: 76; Labov, 1978 [1972]: 301).

Hymes (1968: 37) described a speech network (rather than ‘social’ network) as “the particular linkages of communication actively participated in by a person or group.” Later, Labov (1972: 807) used a concept of social networks (though not overtly) by analysing the speech of Harlem adolescents by a local social grouping, or gang, rather than by a more abstract social grouping, such as class. Blom and Gumperz (1986 [1972]) also showed an awareness of the importance of social networks to language by recording gatherings of self-selected, rather than randomly chosen, social groups. They explain that this “insures that the groups are defined by locally recognized relationships and enables the investigator to predict the norms relevant to the interaction.” (Blom & Gumperz, 1986 [1972]: 426).

Milroy (1980) introduced the theory of social networks from social science to linguistic study. Milroy and Milroy’s (1978; Milroy, 1980) Belfast study used ethnographic methods to extract linguistic information and to relate linguistic variation to society. The researcher was introduced as “a friend of a friend” to the

local informants so that they were at ease and spoke informally (Milroy, 1980: 44). The use of ethnographic research methods and social network analysis led to a far greater degree of focus on the individual than was possible with most earlier, macro-level models. This meant that as well as looking at variation as an abstract linguistic concept within society, it could be traced and hypotheses made as to why this variation existed on an individual and community level.

An individual's social network can be simply defined as "the sum of relationships which he or she has contracted with others" (Milroy, 1987: 105). As with social scientists, Milroy distinguished between close-knit and loose-knit networks, but used the idea of density to allow a continuum between these extremes. The kinds of relationships that people have with each other are relevant to social network models. In a dense network, particularly within a localised socially homogeneous community, people may know each other in more than one capacity (e.g. a relation, a friend, and a neighbour). However, networks can be spread over a wide geographical area (Milroy & Li, 1995: 138).

Chambers (2003: 75) and Milroy (1980) believe that the social function of a network is to enforce norms. Evidence for the social policing of norms can be seen by the ridiculing of young working-class males by their peers for attempting to use middle-class linguistic forms (Milroy & Milroy, 1992: 4). Smith (2002) links social networks to communicative competence. This also supports Chambers' argument at a theoretical level, in that the use of linguistic norms shows communicative competence within the community, so the more ingrained

an individual is into the social network, the more vernacular use of language would be expected.

Social networks, then, are norm-enforcers. This notion has remained at the centre of social network theory.

Many diverse studies utilising a social network model have been undertaken. These include large-scale studies such as Labov's (2001) research in Philadelphia; smaller-scale studies (e.g. Wiklund, 2002); rural, rather than the more established urban, studies (e.g. Lippi-Green, 1989); research into language maintenance and shift (e.g. Hulsen et al., 2002; Stoessel, 2002; Raschka et al., 2002; Milroy & Li, 1995); and research into historical sociolinguistics, particularly with respect to language shift (e.g. Penny, 1992; Nevalainen, 2000).

Though the collection and elicitation of speech data and the identification of social groupings is largely qualitative, the analysis uses quantitative methods. A social networks model could be applied in a limited way to the study of naming practices. The use of names could be traced through use of social networks. This would be particularly useful in an urban environment, for example to establish the members of an ethnic community who participate in a dense and multiplex network. This examination of membership could be utilised in the study of the names themselves, as there may be variation in who has these names and who uses them, particularly with reference to core and peripheral members of the network or within certain clusters. There could also be some kind of link between

the nature of a network and its naming patterns, as for instance the participants in a dense and multiplex network may be more predisposed towards unofficial naming as a sign of solidarity.

Using unofficial names, defined here as names other than those on an individual's birth certificate (such as nicknames and bynames), is very much an interpersonal act, requiring prior knowledge of the naming community. Dorian (1970: 305) describes how outsiders can cause offence by using what they think is a semantically empty name. However, the offensive nature of the name can lie beyond the mere lexical meaning (or lack of meaning) of the word and rest with the connotations which the name arouses. Kehl (1971: 150) indicates that "gossip groups and networks parallel nicknaming groups and networks". This places unofficial naming very firmly within the cultural and linguistic practices of a community.

There may be problems with this theory, however, as a connection between unofficial naming and social networks is, as yet, untested within sociolinguistics.

The descriptions of the density of social ties within a community have been adopted for this study. However, this is not a quantitative description based on the mathematical analysis of individuals' relationships with others in the community. This is based on ethnographic observation as to whether a community is close-knit (has dense, close network ties) or loose-knit (has sparse, weak network ties). As close-knit networks are considered to be norm enforcers,

this could be relevant to the maintenance of naming practices alongside other cultural norms.

2.2.3 Culture

The concept of culture is very clearly linked to concepts of society and community, but is not synonymous with them. Rather it could be thought of as existing as the intellectual counterpart to the more physical basis of the community: while community and society describe an entity (though made up of many individual entities), culture describes the behaviour and attitudes of that entity. Riley (2007) describes the emergence of the idea of culture (and ideas of different cultures) in European thought. The relationship between culture and community is highlighted when he states that: “‘culture’ is local, the way of life and the world-view of a people, expressed in and through their language” (Riley, 2007: 25).

However, this type of global explanation obscures the complex nature of culture, which becomes more apparent when theories of culture are discussed. Duranti (1997: 23-50) deals with several notions of culture relevant to linguistic anthropology, which he categorises as: “Culture as distinct from nature”; “Culture as knowledge”; “Culture as communication”; “Culture as a system of mediation”; “Culture as a system of practices”; and “Culture as a system of participation”. There is no universally agreed explanation of the relationship of culture to the individual and society. Theories which encompass both are relevant

to the concerns of this thesis, as naming within a particular society is determined by cultural patterns and by individual decisions. In this thesis, there is not one distinct theory of culture under discussion, rather an inclusive definition of culture such as that of Riley quoted in the previous paragraph.

2.2.3.1 Indigenous/immigrant

In relation to culture (though it may also be relevant to other factors such as race and perceptions of identity), there is debate over what it means to be indigenous. In sociology Fortier (2002) discusses how long it takes before Italian-Canadians might be considered indigenous as people, whereas sociolinguists such as Hornberger (1998) and Turell (2001) use the term to refer to non-global languages spoken by local minorities. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (1989) defines the adjective 'indigenous' as meaning "Born or produced naturally in a land or region; native or belonging naturally to...". Allardt (1996) uses the term *autochthonous* to describe something very similar.

Immigrant communities are those that have originated from outwith the UK and remain culturally distinct from the dominant society. These include individuals who have been born in the UK but into one of these communities, despite the fact that these people may have very good claim to consider themselves indigenous Scots or Britons. The communities are seen as immigrant if they have strong cultural influences from outside Scotland which are not an influence in wider

Scottish society. This relates strongly to the idea of globalised communities within a local context.

2.2.4 Cultural and linguistic contact

Cultural contact can have various effects on a community and its language depending on the circumstances. Fishman (1991: 22-23) sees language and culture as being symbolically linked, people's language effectively signifying their culture. However, speaking different languages does not mean that speakers cannot share the same ethnocultural grouping (Romaine, 1995: 37), though Nelde (1987: 37) emphasises the idea of language conflict that can arise from differing cultures. Ramaga (1992: 426-427) discusses minority languages as being a fundamental part of minority group rights and believes that language, when discussing minority protection, "must refer not to any distinct form of speech, but to those forms whose distinctness arouses, or is likely to arouse, group conflict or domination." This all suggests an equating of language with culture, rather than regarding it simply as a tool to facilitate communication. However, some researchers have found that this is not the case for all speakers. In reporting on the rapid loss of the Berber language in Morocco, Bentahila and Davies (1992: 203) insist that this does not seem to entail any feeling in its speakers of change in cultural identity or loss.

In most situations of language contact, speakers of one language are in a more powerful position than others. The historical and ongoing relationship of the

languages can be seen as important in understanding the dynamics of language within that society (Sankoff, 2002: 638). Fishman (1989: 202) suggests a model of outcomes of language contact:

(1) $B \rightarrow A = A$ (The intrusive language is lost)

(2) $B \rightarrow A = B$ (The native language is lost)

(3) $B \rightarrow A = B + A$ (Both languages are maintained)

This model is obviously only applicable to societies which speak a language (A) and have experienced some sort of immigration from speakers of a different language (B), but this is increasingly relevant in the modern world and can be useful. Outcome (1) describes the loss of the intrusive language, which often occurs within a few generations of immigration into a developed country with a homogeneous language and culture, such as the UK. This results in B existing as a minority language for a period before it declines in use within the A society altogether.

Outcome (2) demonstrates the linguistic result of an intrusive language effectively exterminating a native language. This dramatic outcome shows great disturbance linguistically and can result from powerful social disruption or decimation, such as conquest or genocide. The Native American and Aboriginal languages could be seen as examples of languages within societies where this has occurred, though Fishman (1989: 211) also cites the Arabization of the Middle East and North Africa, and the Russification of the Soviet Union as instances of

this type of linguistic alteration on a grand scale. The former language spoken in society, A, is forced into the position of minority language, being greatly reduced in power and number of speakers, if not exterminated altogether.

Outcome (3) results in a situation where both languages are maintained within the speech community. This could result in a state of territorial diglossia, where people in certain geographical areas speak certain languages, as in countries such as Switzerland, or, more likely, societal diglossia in which one of the languages, generally B, is used as the Low (everyday) variety, while the other is used as a High variety within a society (Fishman, 1989: 213). The language of lower status can often then be seen as a minority language.

As discussed above, ethnicity, culture, and language can be closely entwined, and so others' perceptions of the minority language can be synonymous with their perceptions of the linguistic minority who speak it. This can have an effect on how speakers of the minority language and the language itself are treated within society. For example, because of the Catalan region's support for the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War, the Franco government deliberately targeted Catalan culture in the following years by prohibiting the Catalan language as well as suppressing the region politically (Fishman, 1991: 297). Thomason (2001: 5) writes that "in many cases the language of a minority culture is used by a dominant culture as a marker of cultural differentness: not only does it provide a means of identifying the people to be discriminated against, but it also offers a target for discrimination."

The destruction of minority languages, and the culture of those who speak them, is sometimes deliberately engineered by the political establishment who see them as a threat. However, this damage can also be facilitated by governments who are simply not interested in assisting their survival. This generally happens in linguistically homogeneous communities which promote the idea of monolingualism as a symbol of unity. Fishman (2001: 479) refers to the “traditional American negativeness” towards immigrant languages. However, this attitude can also be prevalent in areas which are rich in languages; Adegbija (2001: 284) explains that: “Sub-Saharan Africa alone has far more than 1700 languages and very little institutional attention is given to most of them...Living functional blood is being sucked out of them because they are consigned to low level functions in the national scheme of things.”

Often the strongest factors in the dominance of a majority language to the detriment of the minority language are economic. If most commerce and education is carried out in the majority language, then this gives opportunities that are not available to speakers of only the minority language. Gal (1997 [1978]: 379) reports that for Hungarian-German bilinguals in Austria, German allows access to a world of work whereas Hungarian is thought of as being the language of peasants. Domains of usage also point towards the levels of prestige bestowed upon languages within a society and this can have a powerful effect on speakers.

These factors, while being at macro-level in the sense that they are involved with the society, are also closely linked to micro-variables which involve decisions made by the speakers themselves. These multiple links show the problem with categorising the factors in an inflexible way, as real speakers do not necessarily conform to rigid theoretical boundaries. Society can influence the way speakers behave linguistically, but the inverse is also true.

The desire to communicate and integrate with speakers of the majority language can also cause speakers to discard the minority language, or to restrict its use, particularly in immigrant situations. Attitudes towards language have been found to determine whether a speaker decides to use the minority or majority language outside of their parental home (Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992: 95) and this can determine a language's survival.

Personal names are used within the linguistic system but do not necessarily change in the same way as the language of the community with which they are associated. They might be deliberately retained as symbols of cultural identity in a contact situation, even where the community's language is being lost. Naji & David (2003) discuss the retention of markers of ethnic identity other than language during a situation of language loss in a Malaysian Tamil community. They examine attitudes to ethnic clothing, food, choice of marriage partner and festivals, and find that a shift away from the native language has coincided with a shift towards these other markers of ethnic identity.

It would seem reasonable that personal names, as identifying features of individuals which also have a strong cultural distinctiveness, might also be seen as other markers of cultural identity within the context of language loss. Therefore it is difficult to predict how or whether minority communities in a larger majority context might discard, change or retain naming practices. This issue will be examined later in this study in the context of both indigenous and immigrant communities in Scotland.

2.2.5 Apparent time

Apparent time is a theoretical construct which means gathering data from informants of different ages and deducing from any differences observed changes in behaviour over time. Labov (1994: 28) defines apparent time succinctly as “the distribution of linguistic forms across age groups in the speech community.” This is seen as a valid substitute for sampling a population over a long period of time to detect changes. The speech of the oldest informants is assumed to be similar in the present day to how they would have spoken after adolescence, and so differences between their speech and that of younger informants should correspond to language change during that time. Though it is widely used, this is obviously not ideal as a research method for investigating language change, as there is research suggesting the possibility that older people may alter their speech later in life (Campbell, 2003: 124). However, Milroy and Gordon (2003: 36) defend the validity of using apparent time when it is supported by some real-time evidence, such as past reports.

As a tool for investigating change over time of a cultural marker which is usually fixed from birth, such as a personal name, the use of the apparent time hypothesis seems appropriate. Should informants have changed their name through life this will have been a conscious decision, and so can be discussed with the researcher.

One disadvantage of the apparent time approach in a study about personal naming is that informants talking about their children's and subsequent generations' names may have given birth in entirely different decades. Some mothers may have had children in their late teens, for example, with others waiting until their late thirties. This means that the social factors surrounding them while making personal naming choices may be different.

2.3 Socio-onomastics

One of the first researchers to call for a link between onomastic and sociolinguistic research was Kehl in a paper in 1971. This appeal was repeated by Lieberman in 1984. However, it was Van Langendonck who first began consistently to study naming using this kind of framework, using the term *socio-onomastic* in the title of an article in 1982 (Van Langendonck, 1982). Leslie and Skipper (1990) used a special edition of the journal *Names* to call for a field of socio-onomastics, using sociolinguistic and social scientific techniques to investigate onomastic problems. The underpinning philosophy of the socio-

onomastic approach is that names are products of, and part of, the society in which they are used and so they cannot be viewed in isolation from it. Van Langendonck (2007: 306-307) describes proper names as “socially anchored linguistic signs and as such part and parcel of the sociolinguistic inventory of a society.” They must be studied with reference to what is going on around them. This approach can have particular advantages; Van Langendonck (2007: 320) suggests that names are ideal in investigating changes in society, as societal changes can have an effect on the structure and name-giving practices of a society. This fits well with the earlier analogy with language contact. Changes in society modify language usage, but can also alter naming patterns.

Leslie and Skipper suggested this field in relation strictly to nicknames and much work done so far within the field of socio-onomastics has been on nicknames. This work includes nickname and byname studies in various environments by De Klerk and Bosch (1996; 1997), Skipper (1990) and Bramwell (2007). However, other researchers have taken a wider approach and included personal names. This research includes book length studies on Australian naming (Chevalier, 2006) and different aspects of African naming (Zawawi, 1998; Koopman, 2002) as well as smaller, more focused studies, such as Lawson and Glushkovskaya (1994), Rymes (1996), Aceto (2002), De Klerk and Lagonikos (2004) and Neethling (2007).

These studies differ in their focus and in which communities they are investigating. Many socio-onomastic studies employ quantitative methods, but

most are on a macro-scale, using governmental or phone-book databases for their studies and often surveying entire countries (Bloothoof & Groot, 2008; Matteo & Tucker, 2008; Bloothoof & Onland, 2011). However, quantitative analysis of qualitative fieldwork has been used as a fruitful way in which to investigate naming practices within social groups (e.g. Haggan, 2008). Some recent researchers, such as Aldrin (2011), use qualitative and quantitative methods in their studies, while others take a more qualitative, anthropologically-influenced approach (Lombard, 2011).

Often the scholars within socio-onomastics come from different academic backgrounds and disciplines. However, most researchers who might be described as doing socio-onomastic research share a commitment to investigating names in the context of their community and adapt sociolinguistic techniques for use in elucidating onomastic problems. My research is orientated towards this approach: gaining empirical data to analyse with reference to the society in which it was collected. This takes into account sociolinguistic approaches and tools, as well as focussing on questions posed through considering onomastic data. It also allows an approach to names influenced by the ideas of prototypicality, with some being more central to the category of personal name than others, but with all ways of referencing having the potential to be included.

3. Methodology

This thesis belongs firmly in the emerging field of socio-onomastics yet, as elaborated in Chapter 2, this area of study borrows from different disciplines. As a relatively new concept, it is still feeling its way, as are its practitioners, which allows for some freedom in methodology. This research project was designed in part as an exploratory piece of work, in order to test the use of a variety of methodologies as tools for socio-onomastics. On the other hand, it was also conceived as a cross-cultural study which would allow the personal naming systems in different communities to be directly compared in as balanced a way as possible. These aims may at first appear incompatible. However, they do not have to be. This study employed similar data collection and analytical methods for each community, with the same researcher (myself) conducting all the research with a view to it being easily comparable. Other fieldwork techniques were also tried in some of the communities alongside the core set of interviews which constitutes the backbone of this project. The methodologies employed will be elaborated in the following chapter, while there will be more specific focus on how the research developed in each community in later sections corresponding to those individual communities.

3.1 The research objects

The communities studied needed to be diverse enough to represent the disparate social groups necessary to allow a worthwhile overall comparison, while also being accessible from a fieldwork perspective. To this end, the communities were all selected from areas of Scotland, but differed in several aspects. See Table 1 overleaf for a comparative overview of the communities chosen, and Fig. 1 below for a map showing the location of the communities within Scotland (boxed in red).



Figure 1 – Map of Scotland⁵ showing locations of communities

⁵ Map author: Eric Gaba, shared under GNU Free Documentation Licence

| Community | Area of Scotland | Type of Area | Indig./ Imm. | Close-knit/ Loose-knit | Stable/ Transient | Language(s) Spoken |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| Western Isles | Western Isles, North-west | Rural, isolated | Indigenous | Close-knit | Stable | English, Scottish Gaelic |
| Buckie | Moray, North-east | Small-town, well-connected | Indigenous | Close-knit | Stable | Scots/Doric, English |
| Glaswegian | Glasgow, South-west | Urban | Indigenous | Loose-knit | Fairly stable | English, Glaswegian dialect |
| Pakistani Muslim | Glasgow, South-west | Urban | Immigrant | Close-knit | Stable | Punjabi, Urdu, English |
| Refugee/ Asylum seeker | Glasgow, South-west | Urban | Immigrant | Loose-knit | Transient | Multilingual (varies with origin of speaker), English |

Table 1 – Communities in Scotland chosen for the study

3.1.1 Indigenous communities

Three indigenous communities were chosen. In this study, communities considered as being indigenous are groups of people of the majority ethnicity of the local area who would identify themselves as being native to it and having no other cultural allegiance or background. This becomes problematic when considering an urban environment such as Glasgow, where there has been large-scale movement of people at a local level due to slum clearance (see section 6.2.2). However, in this case a slightly wider approach is needed, which considers the local area as a wider portion of the city than one district or neighbourhood. Though the indigenous inhabitants may have moved (or been moved) to that immediate area in the near past, they feel that it is part of the wider area with which they identify themselves as natives.

The indigenous communities in this study were chosen for their differing profiles. Though they are all Scottish, their social and linguistic contexts vary, as shown in Table 1, above.

Community one is sparsely populated, close-knit, rural and isolated. It exists on a small island in the Western Isles of Scotland. This area has a strong Celtic tradition, and many of the inhabitants still speak Scottish Gaelic as well as English.

Community two is more densely populated, close-knit, relatively rural yet with links to cities in the region. This is a small town in the North-East of Scotland with a strong sense of local identity as a fishing centre. Local pride is also centred around the Scots language, and more particularly the Doric dialect, which is spoken by the vast majority of the population.

Community three is densely populated, urban, with much looser social ties. A working-class area of Glasgow, a city in the south-west of Scotland, this community is much more difficult to circumscribe as an isolated entity. A continuum from Broad Glaswegian to Standard Scottish English (Stuart-Smith, 2003) is spoken by the inhabitants, reflecting the less homogeneous society.

These three different types of indigenous community will enable a multifaceted view of the anthroponymic situation in Scotland, allowing for regional and social variation within a small country. The difference in social structure will also permit comparison to be made which may have wider implications for investigating the relations between society and personal naming.

3.1.2 Immigrant communities

Two immigrant communities were also chosen. These varied in structure, both from each other and from the indigenous communities. In addition, they varied in patterns of immigration and in the length of time they had been established.

The first immigrant community is a well-established and stable urban community, comprising several generations, with close-knit ties and strong social cohesion. The Pakistani community in Glasgow are largely Muslim and speak a selection of English, Punjabi and Urdu, with English and Punjabi being dominant.

The second immigrant community is a recently established urban community of asylum seekers and refugees with diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds and loose-knit social ties. This asylum seeker community is centred round a group of tower blocks in Glasgow and has been created as a result of government agencies dispersing asylum seekers outwith London. This makes it newer, more diverse and highly changeable, when compared with the Pakistani Muslim community in the same city.

Through studying the naming systems present in these two immigrant communities, insight can be provided into the effect of social structure and of the dominant culture on personal names in a transplanted community.

3.1.3 Sample

The sample is, as with most qualitative fieldwork, not entirely random. As a study of naming in Scotland, it could be described as *purposive*, where the object is to “seek out groups, settings, and individuals where (and for whom) the processes being studied are most likely to occur” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005: 378). I

deliberately chose communities which had different characteristics and so seemed as if they might do something different from each other in terms of naming practices. On an individual basis, the informants were selected partly through convenience sampling, as these were people to whom I was able to gain access (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003: 18). This suited the ethos and practicalities of my research as I was often able to get to know the informants before interviewing them, allowing for a relaxed atmosphere and so more candid responses (as discussed in section 3.3.1.1.3). This was not an unsystematic sampling process though, as informants were also chosen with particular characteristics in mind, and so it might also be described as *quota sampling* (Schensul et al., 1999: 247).

The samples were stratified in the following ways, to ensure “a ‘spread’ in terms of stratifying criteria” (Bryman, 2008: 458). In the stable communities, I wished to interview a broad cross-section of people. This was in order to gather a variety of data to obtain a balanced view of the personal naming system, rather than one which was skewed in a particular direction. This involved selecting informants of both sexes and from a wide age-range. The ideal range of participants was felt to be two males and two females from three differing age groups: one Teenage, one Middle-Aged and one Elderly. This range would allow for both a rounded view of the naming system and a comparison between generations.

In the less stable and more diverse asylum-seeker community, I wished to interview people from a wide range of backgrounds and from two generations. This made this project slightly different, in that rather than investigating a single naming system the objective was to gain insight into many traditions. It was also important to the study to obtain a window onto new migrants' experiences of names since coming to the United Kingdom, from an older and younger generation. This difference in approach was also due to the differing structure of the community and difficulties in gaining access, discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

3.2 Data collection

The fieldwork for this study was carried out in the five communities between 2006 and 2009. As a result of this, most official statistics relating to society and naming in these areas will be taken from this period⁶. Differing amounts of time were spent in each community, relating to how difficult or otherwise it was to recruit informants and gain some level of insider perspective on that society.

3.2.1 Access

As with much social research, access to informants is one of the most difficult problems to be overcome. As there were several communities to break into, this

⁶ I have chosen 2007/2008 as the years for which statistics will be gathered, when possible, with census data coming from the 2001 Census. This is to reflect the situation at the time the fieldwork was being carried out.

task was extremely challenging. More detailed explanation of access to individual communities will be provided later in the thesis, but this section will briefly comment on how contact was planned and executed in a wider sense.

3.2.1.1 Ethnographic fieldwork

As discussed in Section 2.2.1.2, ethnographic fieldwork is an important part of qualitative research and has advantages in the quality of data obtained. It is now a common tool in sociolinguistic research (e.g. Rampton, 1995; Blommaert 2001; Arthur, 2004; Sayahi, 2005), and has been in used in research into personal names, though largely within the field of anthropology (e.g. Antoun, 1968; Dorian, 1970).

In two communities (based in the same area though one was Glaswegian and one consisted of refugees and asylum seekers), initial contact was through a friend who introduced me to workers at the area's community centre. Access took months to negotiate and I was introduced at the centre specifically as a researcher. After working at the centre for three months as an employee without carrying out research, I began working there on a voluntary basis while carrying out research, and continued for over a year. I later spent time in a local High School to gain access to a teenage cohort from both the Glaswegian and Refugee/Asylum Seeker communities.

The opportunity to work with local people allowed relationships to be built up between myself as researcher and members of the asylum seeker and Glaswegian communities. This meant that although I had needed an initial introduction to the area, once there I could recruit informants for interview using my own social networks, rather than those of others. This was particularly important in the asylum seeker community. Without a great amount of trust it would have been virtually impossible to have convinced people to be interviewed, particularly given that they were expected to volunteer information about their lives in their home countries. The relationships that I had created with them allowed the interviews to take place on what could have been an overly sensitive topic. However, the ethnographic fieldwork prior to interview also fulfilled another important function within the data collection. Field-notes, on aspects of their naming system or members of their family that had been mentioned in conversation, could be drawn upon in the interview and this helped to elicit a fuller account of naming practices.

The use of extensive ethnographic fieldwork in this community and not necessarily in others does not make the other data invalid. In fact, it allows for comparison of different fieldwork methods used to collect the same type of data. The informants in both of these communities, in which I initially had little purchase, were people to whom it was otherwise difficult to get access. Without the trust that I was able to build before the interviews, particularly with the

asylum seekers, they would have been very reluctant to speak candidly about their families and experiences.

3.2.1.2 My status in communities

| Community | Initial insider status | Final insider status | Initial friend within community | Ethnographic fieldwork? |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| Western Isles | Yes | Yes | Yes | As part of normal life |
| Buckie | No | No | Yes | Over short periods |
| Glaswegian | No | Yes | Yes | Extensive |
| Pakistani Muslim | No | No | Yes | Very little |
| Refugee/Asylum Seeker | No | Yes | Yes | Extensive |

Table 2 – Status in communities

My status in each community will be discussed in more depth in the sections corresponding to each area. However, I will provide a short summary here, as illustrated in Table 2, above. In the Western Isles study I was already a cultural

insider, having grown up in the community. In Buckie I was an outsider and did not carry out extensive ethnographic fieldwork, yet was very quickly accepted as a friend of the informant's friend. In the Glaswegian and Refugee studies I lived and worked in the community (which was in the same area) for over a year, eventually gaining something close to insider status in parts of both communities. In the Pakistani Muslim community I did not carry out extensive ethnographic fieldwork and relied on recommendations for interviews through close contacts in the community.

3.2.1.3 Initial contact

Initial contact came through a variety of sources, but was a first contact with a maximum of two individuals in each community. In all cases these were people who knew and trusted me as a person, as well as a researcher. This was either because they had known me prior to the study, or because they knew somebody else who knew me well and who had introduced us. Those whom I contacted without any kind of introduction were generally not willing to participate in the study. These initial contacts developed in two ways: in two of the five communities I then went on to use the social networks of my initial contacts; in two communities, existing around the same site, I began to conduct a more ethnographic study which allowed me to establish my own contacts; in one community I already had extensive contacts and could use these both as informants and to recruit others fitting my required profile.

3.2.1.4 Using informants' social networks

Social networks, as discussed in the previous chapter, can prove useful in recruiting informants as well as studying aspects of language such as variation. From the initial contacts, people's social networks were employed as fieldwork tools to enlist informants. In many communities I would be introduced as a friend of a contact, so I was very much seen as a 'friend of a friend' (as Milroy, 1980). This introduction by community gate-keepers was crucial in allowing access, as without it people could be unwilling to participate.

3.2.2 Instruments

3.2.2.1 Interviews

The principal data-collection method used in this research was that of interviewing. Interviews were carried out in every community studied in order to gain a contemporary view of the way personal names were being used. As discussed above, informants of a range of ages were interviewed in order to investigate change over recent decades.

Despite his emphasis on participant-observation, Hymes (1968: 36) shows a willingness to use what he calls "[t]he 'ask the informant' method". Though he acknowledges that there may be some level of bias, he believes that they will show a "rough accuracy". However, even anthropologists generally incorporate

interviews as a major part of their fieldwork (Briggs, 1986: 7). Fairly lengthy interviews, particularly around such a specific topic, allowed the interviewing process to be in-depth and thorough. This is a feature of most qualitative interviews. As Hakim (2000: 36) states:

The great strength of qualitative research is the *validity* of the data obtained: individuals are interviewed in sufficient detail for the results to be taken as true, correct, complete and believable reports of their views and experiences.

However, it is important to be aware of the problems with this viewpoint. Responses can never be entirely ‘true’ and ‘correct’ in an unbiased way, as they are filtered through the experiences, memory and motivations of the informant. They are also affected by the presence of the researcher, the questions the researcher asks and the relationship of those involved in the interview. Briggs (1986: 2) discusses the further problem, inherent in the interview situation itself, that “[b]y participating in an interview, both parties are implicitly agreeing to abide by certain communicative norms.” The intersection of differing sets of norms may cause problems both in being understood and in truly understanding what is being said by the informants (Briggs, 1983). As well as being aware of this during the analytical process, I attempted to pre-empt it by sitting and chatting with the informants before the interview, in order to make them comfortable but also to try and adapt myself to their perspective and ways of speaking.

3.2.2.1.1 Type of Interview

Rather than being fully-structured or entirely open, the interviews were semi-structured. This meant that I had a list of specific questions/topics to cover but allowed the informants freedom in answering them and in determining the course of the interview. However, I ensured that all topics had been covered by the end in order to make sure that I gained a similar level of information from each informant. The function of not limiting informants to a set of restrictive questions is to gain “insight into what the interviewee sees as relevant and important” (Bryman, 2004: 320). The importance of this to the interviews carried out for this research is considerable; as I was not a member of most of the communities under investigation I could not assume that I knew what was important to them. Therefore, there had to be the flexibility for the informants to talk about what mattered to them in relation to the topic of personal names. In this respect the semi-structured interviews were “carried out in the spirit of qualitative research” (Schmidt, 2004: 253).

Structured interviews consist of a questionnaire with very specific questions, which are identical for every informant and which are strictly adhered to (Kumar, 2005: 126). Use of this method would have meant an approach which was unable to be flexible when informants wished to relate something which had not been anticipated in the questions. Indeed, as the interview could not deviate from the questionnaire, any discussion of how informants felt about the way names were used in their community and what was important to them would be lost.

Entirely unstructured interviews consist of a very broad discussion around a topic, with the direction almost entirely dictated by the informant. This would have been inappropriate to use in my research as I had specific kinds of information which I wanted to gain from the interviews. This was in order to achieve a well-rounded view of the naming system in particular communities, as well as to allow effective comparison between the practices of different communities.

3.2.2.1.2 Questions

As discussed above, the interviews were semi-structured and qualitative in nature and so did not require a set of responses to particular questions. However, I did have a prompt sheet in each interview to allow me to ensure that a wide and comparable range of topics were covered. The questions on this sheet covered a wide range of aspects of naming and were designed to gain an overview of the naming system through qualitative discussion, rather than to elicit a certain quantity of the names themselves. Therefore the emphasis was on types of name and how these were used, rather than on obtaining lists of names. The semi-structured approach discussed above allowed views on naming, rather than just the names themselves, to be recognised and recorded.

The prompt sheet differed slightly between communities (see Appendices 1-5). Each was broadly similar, however, and was designed to investigate which features of personal naming existed within each community and what was particularly important in naming members of that community. The similarities are crucial to the study in that they allow the practices of the different communities to be compared. This relates to one of the central aims of this thesis: to investigate possible universals within naming systems.

3.2.2.1.3 Interview situation

Most of the interviews were undertaken on a one-to-one basis, with only myself and the informant present. However, group interviews were also carried out with two or more informants at once. These were successful in that the informants were able to remind each other of naming practices which they might otherwise have forgotten and rebuke each other if they felt that they were not being entirely frank. It is possible, nevertheless, that individual interviews may have yielded more personal perspectives on the naming system, as the presence of another may have influenced the informants.

The presence of myself as the interviewer will necessarily have had an effect on the responses gained, as discussed earlier. Any negative effect is likely to have been lessened the better the informants knew me, hence the advantages of carrying out ethnographic fieldwork (discussed in Section 3.2.1.1). However, my

presence as a white, university-educated, young female must undoubtedly colour the way in which other people respond to me.

The success or otherwise of the interviews was not necessarily based on tangible factors such as how many informants were interviewed at once or where the interview took place. Often issues such as the mood of an informant or their attitude towards the subject matter had a marked influence on how forthright they were in giving information and how long the interview continued.

Particularly nervous or uncertain informants tended to demand questions rather than being happy to discuss the topic as part of a wide-ranging conversation.

Interviews lasted for between half an hour and three hours, depending on the responsiveness of the informant or informants. In some cases the length of interview was determined by external factors, such as the informant only having a certain amount of time to spare. In certain cases the interview was also spread out over more than one interview session.

3.2.2.1.4 Recording

Informants were given the choice as to whether they were willing to have their interviews recorded electronically on a portable digital tape-recorder. The interviews with the informants who declined this were recorded by noting down their responses on paper. In some cases, recording in note form appeared more successful, as informants seemed to feel that they could be more candid than

when being electronically recorded. However, the information retained was then clearly more limited than if the entire conversation could be recovered intact. Though data can be obtained from interviews recorded in this way, it is not possible to give quotations from them as evidence and the reader must rely solely on the researcher's interpretations of what was said.

3.2.2.2 Survey

In one site, covering two communities, I used a detailed questionnaire (Appendix H), alongside the research interviews. This was a self-completion questionnaire (Bryman, 2008), administered in an informal classroom environment in a High School in Glasgow and was carried out on senior pupils between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. These informants were from the Glaswegian and Refugee/Asylum Seeker communities and fitted into my Teenage category.

This let me explore a different fieldwork method, and one which was quantitative rather than qualitative, allowing for some level of triangulation in my research process (Silverman, 2005; Bryman, 2008). Questionnaires and interviews were completed by both the indigenous youths and young refugees in a school environment. Checking the results of questionnaires and interviews against each other would mean that either I could be reasonably confident of the validity of the results or, conversely, that I needed to show extreme caution in ascribing any concept of truth or representativeness to them.

The questionnaire contained a mixture of closed and open questions relating to naming (see Appendix H). The questions themselves were designed with reference to the prompt sheets taken into each interview, though (as with the interviews) they did not slavishly follow these topics. The closed questions were designed to be as straightforward as possible and generally required the respondent to indicate a YES or NO choice. A few questions required a box to be ticked corresponding to one or more optional answers, with the option of choosing 'other' and entering a different answer if appropriate. One closed question used a Likert-type scale, with responses rated from 1=a lot to 5=nothing at all. The open questions allowed respondents free rein to answer the question posed. Open and closed questions have particular advantages and disadvantages: open questions allow respondents the freedom to answer in their own way but are more difficult to analyse; closed questions are easier for respondents to answer, as well as for researchers to analyse, but force respondents to answer in a particular way (Bryman, 2008: 231-232). Foddy (1990: 151) considers open and closed questions in depth and concludes that "it is not obvious which format produces the most valid data." As neither type of question appeared superior to the other, both types were used in order to complement each other.

3.2.3 Ethical considerations

As with all studies involving human participants, ethical considerations were important in both the design and the implementation of this research. Approval was sought and granted from the Faculty of Arts Ethics Committee at the

University of Glasgow. Interviews were the main source of data, and so the concept of informed consent was crucial. That the interviews asked about names meant that the data itself also created ethical problems, discussed in section 3.3.3.2.

3.2.3.1 Informed consent

Consent to the interview was not presumed and informants were aware of my status as researcher, though most also knew me before the interview stage. Properly informed consent is crucial in planning and executing an ethically sound project in which informants are not exploited. Milroy and Gordon (2003: 79) stress that “[s]ubjects must voluntarily agree to participate in the research and must know what their participation entails.”

The informants in this study were required to give written consent to participating in the interview/s and were briefed as to how the information they gave would be used. They had the consent form and research statement explained to them before being asked if they were happy to sign. Any informant under the age of sixteen also had to obtain the signature of a parent or guardian. The informants in High School were subject to this rule, including those who only completed the survey rather than having a full interview. The age limit of sixteen for parental consent was stipulated by the Education Services Department at Glasgow City Council who, along with the Head Teacher, gave me permission to carry out research in the school.

All informants had good enough English to conduct the interviews in that language. This meant that not only could the project, and how their data would be used within it, be explained to them, but they had the opportunity to ask questions on any aspect of it.

3.2.3.2 Protecting informants' identities

There is a particular ethical issue in the centrality of people's names to the study and the lack of anonymity of informants that could ensue if data were not handled responsibly. The Data Protection Act (1998) gives guidelines on handling individuals' personal data responsibly, though research projects are immune from certain parts of the act. Data protection advice has confirmed that unofficial names volunteered in interviews are legally in the public domain, as of course are official names. However, it is important that people's names must be treated sensitively and, when examples are given, that they cannot be used to identify the informants (e.g. through reference to names of family members). Therefore, in this thesis names will be given as general examples (e.g. of a particular 'type' of name) but will not be connected with any identifying information given by a specific informant. If names are given in a quotation from an informant then these may be pseudonyms, particularly if the informant is talking about family or close friends rather than discussing names in a more general way. Informants were made aware that names that they gave may be used as examples, even providing appropriate spellings. However, they were also informed that they

could review transcripts or tapes and withdraw data at a later date if they wished to do so.

3.3 Analysis

3.3.1 Analysis of individual communities

Hymes (1963: 3) describes ethnography as being a theoretical, rather than simply descriptive, task, in that it involves developing a theory that serves a particular case. Goffman achieved much the same thing in sociology, though still centred around interaction (Goffman, 1999 [1974]). A similar idea was later developed as *grounded theory*, with a particular concern with comparative analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This has evolved into the prevailing view in qualitative social science that a “theory is a description of a pattern that you find in the data” (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003: 31). Despite my research not being squarely ethnographic in focus, these ideas, along with other approaches, can be utilised in the qualitative analysis of the data. These approaches allow for a comprehensive, detailed and inductive analysis, without ignoring the inevitable complexity of the data.

The data were analysed in stages: first within each interview, then with others of the informants’ age group in their community, then with their community as a whole. Authors whom I have most frequently drawn on for this task include: Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; Schmidt, 2004; Silverman, 2005; Bryman, 2008.

With their influence, the process through which I have carried out my data analysis is as follows:

1 – Listen to an interview and read through notes with no comparative analysis at this stage

2 – On the second (and possibly third) listening of each interview, listen through more slowly, making notes and identifying which parts contain data important to my research questions

3 – Transcribe the important parts, recording why other parts were left

4 – Repeat for each interview (for interviews recorded through notes this part is really done already but read through in conjunction with field-notes)

5 – Go back to individual interviews/transcriptions noting anything interesting or problematic occurring in the data

6 – Note down “repeating ideas” (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003) occurring in the interview, as well as other developments worthy of note

7 – Draw up a coding sheet based on the categories of ideas I have found in the data. This was done with reference to the prompt sheet I took with me to interviews (see Appendices A-E), but was not entirely based on it. This is because informants were allowed freedom in answering and in many cases, other than to ensure a similar and wide range of information, the sheet was not used. Not all codes correspond simply to information on naming patterns, as social conditions and the attitudes of the informant are also important to the research. The aim is

not to lose the complexity necessary to gain a good understanding of the naming system.

8 – Code the data, bearing in mind I needed to add more codes in different communities

9 – Group together themes from the coded data

However, while it is important to treat the data systematically, Hammersley & Atkinson (2007: 158) warn that:

it is important to recognize that there is no formula or recipe for the analysis of ethnographic data. There are certainly no procedures that will guarantee success. Some representations of analysis – notably vulgar accounts of grounded theorizing strategies – seem to imply that there is a standard set of steps that the ethnographer should go through in order to make sense of their data. It is vital to ignore any such implication... Data are materials to think with.

This advice was also noted, and the data analysis was not limited to steps which had been pre-determined, but also allowed for time to consider what the informants were saying and how this related to the aims of the project as a whole.

3.3.2 Comparative analysis

Hymes (1961: 4) believes that using qualitative methods does not have to mean a rejection of comparative study, and qualitative analysis even “insists on refining the empirical basis of comparative study, by providing more surely valid descriptions of the individual systems on which comparative study must depend.”

Comparative analysis forms a central part of the cross-cultural element to this thesis. Numerical codes on a Likert-type scale are used to represent the levels of features of naming which appear to be present or otherwise in the particular naming systems. They are *qualitative variables* and producing them involves converting data into corresponding numbers as in a quantitative analysis as “[i]n statistics, qualitative description entails assigning numbers to classes of things” (Bernard, 2005: 556). This does entail a reduction in the complexity of the data, as the aim is then to decide that a section of a community all do a particular thing as if they were one entity. However, systemised practices can be described in this way if the majority of the community seem to carry out the same practices and have a shared knowledge of what these practices usually are. This is generally the case with personal naming. The reduction required also allows clarity in describing what people do in different communities, rather than simply within one.

Hymes (1996: 43) writes that “[w]e need ethnography to discover the specific forms which the realization of universality takes in particular communities”, thus allowing large-scale cross-cultural comparison and a focus on universals to co-exist with micro-level qualitative research. Brown (2000: 170) states that “it is only by comparison with other societies that one can see what is distinctive and what is common”. This is the intention of the comparative analysis in Chapter 9 of this thesis. Personal names are a human universal, common to all known

societies, but this thesis considers what features of naming may be shared and which may be culturally specific.

In answering specific research questions, set out in Section 1.1.1, specific areas of interest were coded and analysed further. These included themes and ideas resulting from informants' responses relating to social structure, culture, language and identity in naming. These specific areas were considered with an awareness of the background elements of the interviews and the background data detailed in the introductions to the communities. So specific themes were investigated with reference to both general and individual background data, and patterns were extrapolated from these many data.

The analysis of naming features across communities also helps to elucidate some of the research questions discussed in Section 1.1.1, particularly with regard to social features of the communities and their correlation with specific naming practices. Some of these patterns are illustrated in the Likert-type scale tables in section 9.1, and these helped to give a clearer picture of naming practices and change. This in turn helped to inform the more general analysis.

Section 9.2 of the thesis revisits the research questions individually and uses the results gained from the fine-grained analysis of individual communities in the data chapters (Chapters 4 to 8) to discuss these questions in more detail, and attempt to answer some of the questions with results found in the data.

Fishman's model of language contact and the concept of diglossia, discussed in section 2.2.4, are applied to the naming systems in order to examine what is happening in the situations of anthroponymic contact set out in the data chapters.

4. Western Isles community

4.1 Geography



Figure 2 – Map of Scotland marking the Western Isles⁷

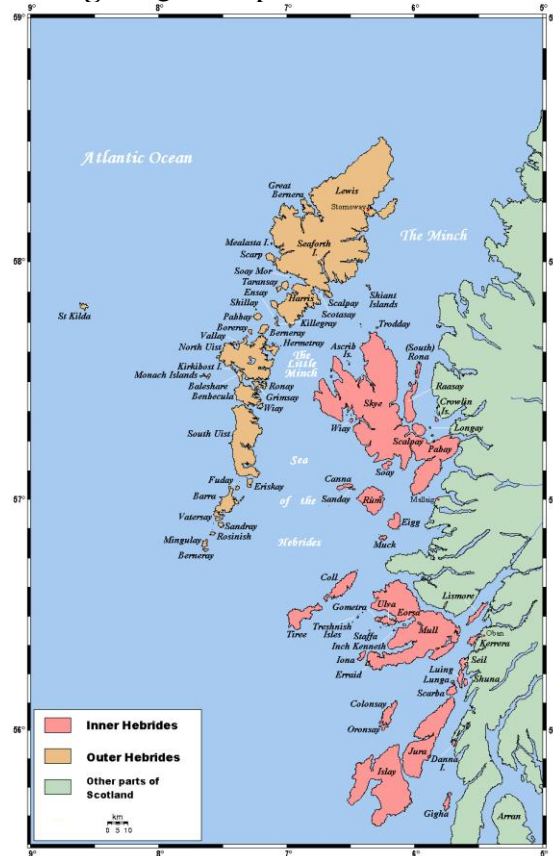
⁷ Map author: Eric Gaba, shared under GNU Free Documentation Licence

The Western Isles are a chain of islands lying off the west coast of Scotland, enclosed by the red triangle on Fig. 2. As discussed in Chapter 3, they are rural and isolated in contrast with other communities in this thesis. The population density is very low, at only nine persons per square kilometre compared to a Scottish average of 66 (General Register Office for Scotland, 2008a). The community in question is close-knit and largely indigenous, and both English and Gaelic are spoken as everyday languages.

The Western Isles are known by myriad names, on both an informal and governmental level. Traditional names include ‘The Outer Hebrides’ in English, and ‘Innse Gall’ (the isles of strangers or foreigners) in Gaelic. More recent names include the Western Isles in English, translated into Gaelic as *Nan Eilean Siar* for the name of the local council *Comhairle Nan Eilean Siar*, but, more recently, *Na h-Eileanan an Iar* for the UK parliamentary constituency and *Na h-Eileanan Siar* for the Scottish parliamentary constituency. All three translations mean the same thing, the plural being indicated by the article in *Nan Eilean* and the suffix in *Na h-Eileanan*. An *Iar* is ‘the west’, while *Siar* is ‘west’ or ‘western’. The English, rather than the Gaelic, alternatives for place-names will be used in this thesis for reasons of clarity. However, this does not constitute a judgement as to which should have precedence.

The island chain runs from Lewis, in the very north, to Barra and Vatersay in the south. There are six main inhabited islands: Lewis, Harris⁸, North Uist, Benbecula, South Uist and Barra, and several smaller ones. The community studied in this thesis forms part of one island which will not be named for reasons of anonymity of informants. Areas within the Western Isles have much smaller populations than the other communities being studied in this thesis. Therefore, it seemed necessary not to reveal the precise area within the district in which this study took place in order that the informants could not be identified. A more detailed map of the Western Isles is shown in Fig. 3, below.

Figure 3 – Map of Western Isles⁹



⁸ Although Lewis and Harris are technically one island, they are treated as separate both locally and more widely, and so they shall be treated as separate islands in this thesis.

⁹ Map created by Kelisi and obtained under GNU Free Documentation Licence.

The entire Western Isles area is administrated by a single local authority (*Comhairle nan Eilean Siar*/Western Isles Council). This has been the case since 1975, when this administrative area was created. Pre-1975, the islands were split. The island of Lewis was part of the county of Ross and Cromarty, whereas the rest of the islands, from Harris southwards, were in the county of Inverness.

The population of the entire Western Isles was 26,502 at the time of the 2001 Census¹⁰, and had fallen slightly to 26,200 by 2008 (General Register Office for Scotland, 2008a). The main town, and the centre for local government activity, is Stornoway on the Isle of Lewis which had a population of 8,055 in 2001.¹¹ There are much smaller population centres on the other large islands: Tarbert on Harris; Lochmaddy on North Uist; Balivanich on Benbecula; Lochboisdale and Daliburgh on South Uist and Castlebay on Barra. Most of these function as transport hubs in connection with mainland Scotland. However, these are much smaller and Stornoway is unusual in the Western Isles as most of the population live in scattered settlements, as they do in the community in this study.

¹⁰Information obtained using Scottish Census Results OnLine (SCROL) analysis tools at <http://www.scrol.gov.uk>

¹¹Information obtained using Scottish Census Results OnLine (SCROL) analysis tools at <http://www.scrol.gov.uk>

4.2 Social and linguistic conditions

4.2.1 Language

Gaelic was originally established in what is now Scotland through immigration from the north of Ireland around 500 A.D. These Scots had expanded their settlement, influence and language to most of present-day Scotland by the eleventh century. That Gaelic was widespread is attested by the place-name evidence, which shows that the language was spoken in most of the area comprising present-day Scotland (Nicolaisen, 2001). However, within decades of this pre-eminence, political change meant that Gaelic lost its ascendancy to Scots. This happened first in High domains (see Section 2.2.4) then eventually in geographical area (MacKinnon, 2000: 44). The language remained strong in the Highlands and Islands for several centuries, particularly under the stewardship of the Lords of the Isles. However, the Highland Clearances in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where Highlanders and Islanders were forcibly evicted from their home areas, caused irrecoverable damage to the Scottish Gaelic language. Dorian (1978: 7-10) discusses the Clearances with particular reference to Sutherland and proposes their adverse effect on Gaelic as having been a reduction in the number of speakers through death and emigration, and a lowering of the proportion of Gaelic speakers through the deliberate policy of bringing in English speakers. This also meant that traditional social networks were either relocated or broken up entirely. Some of the émigrés were relocated

to areas such as Cape Breton, Canada, where Scottish Gaelic is still spoken but is very much in decline (Mertz, 1989).

Withers (1984: 260) discusses “the antipathy felt for the language” outside the Highlands and Islands in the nineteenth century. The 1872 Education Act (Scotland) did not recognise Gaelic and so a network of Gaelic language schools was supplanted by schools which would not tolerate the language, though some concessions were later made (Price, 1984: 55). The first government act to insist that some provision was made for primary-school level Gaelic speakers was not passed until the late 1950s, by which time there were only 136 pupils on the Scottish mainland whose first language was Gaelic (Price, 1984: 62). The traditional Gaidhealtachd (Gaelic-speaking) area had already lost much of its next generation of speakers. Census figures confirm this by showing a hefty decline in Gaelic speakers within Scotland over the twentieth century, from 254,415 in 1891 to 65, 978 in 1991 (MacKinnon, 2000: 45). This had decreased again by 2001, to 65,674, though 92,400 had some ability in Gaelic, whether in speaking, reading or writing.

Ó Dochartaigh (2000: 10) warns against the unqualified use of census data in the analysis of language:

All of these census figures are based on the mass collection of relatively simple propositions such as ‘can speak Irish’, and responses to such questions are subject to a range of socio-political interpretations and considerations by the interviewed population.

He draws attention to the lack of distinction between fluent native speakers who use their minority language daily and someone who has learnt a few words but does not use them frequently. This may mean that figures given for Gaelic-speakers in the censuses are actually an over-estimation, including those who cannot speak the language fluently.

There have been efforts to revive the language in recent decades by promoting Gaelic education and expanding the use of Gaelic in the media, including Gaelic-language radio and television. There has also been belated political recognition of the language with the introduction of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act in 2005. However, it is unclear as to whether these measures will be successful in halting the decline in speakers.

4.2.2 Society

In the Scottish Gaidhealtachd, crofting communities are strongly linked with the maintenance of Gaelic language and culture (Lamb, 2001: 12). Parman (1990) emphasises the idea of togetherness, homogeneity, and cooperation valued in crofting townships, where rough treatment is administered to those who transgress the community's (metaphorical) boundaries. Cohesion is enhanced in this Western Isles community by the many blood relationships, as well as strong social ties, present. The deep-rooted influence of the church has also historically played an important part in community cohesion. This community is one which is very close-knit. Watson (1989: 42) links the Irish Gaeltacht and Scottish

Gaidhealtachd in following similar practices and asserts that speakers in both these areas define their community as being all the people within the same geographical area, rather than excluding people on linguistic grounds. He also suggests a link between traditional occupations and maintenance of the minority language.

MacDonald (1997: 116) notes that Scottish crofting communities generally perceive themselves as classless, though she believes that they set themselves apart from others and so see themselves as something of a 'class' in their entirety. Within the Scottish Gaidhealtachd areas there are few professional occupations, and this may explain the lack of class distinction within communities (Lamb, 2001: 10). The Western Isles were also former clan areas, which might help to explain both their classlessness and their high proportion of only a few surnames. The public sector plays a particularly important role in employment in the Western Isles, with 42.6% of the workforce engaged in jobs relating to public administration, education and health (Smith et al., 2011: 9). However, only 21.2% of male workers have jobs in these sectors (Smith et al., 2011: 10). Males are far more likely than females to be involved in agriculture and fishing or in construction, sectors which might be considered as consisting of traditionally male occupations. Agriculture and fishing only account for less than 5% of employment but this obscures the fact that many in the islands have a main occupation and also run a small family croft.

There has been severe depopulation of the Western Isles since the mid-nineteenth century, continuing through the twentieth century from over 46,000 people in 1901 to around 26,500 in 2001.¹² The population is predicted to continue to decline, though more slowly, in the twenty-first century (Shirkie, n.d.). Out-migration, particularly of young people, is still a significant issue. Stockdale (2002) found that moving away to pursue education was by far the most important factor in this decision for migrants from the north of Lewis. Expatriate social networks were still important in their chosen destination, however, and in these networks “the island’s unique culture and language traditions were preserved” (Stockdale, 2002: 61).

The Western Isles have an ageing population, exacerbated by the levels of youth out-migration. 26% of people were over 60 years old in 2001, and 19% were under 16.¹³ In total, nearly 23% are of pensionable age, compared with a 19% Scottish average. The age structure of the Western Isles is shown in the chart below.

¹² 2001 Census figures are based on how many people are resident, rather than present, in a household so may differ slightly from those in earlier censuses. Figures from Shirkie, K. (n.d.).

¹³ Information obtained using Scottish Census Results OnLine (SCROL) analysis tools at <http://www.scrol.gov.uk>

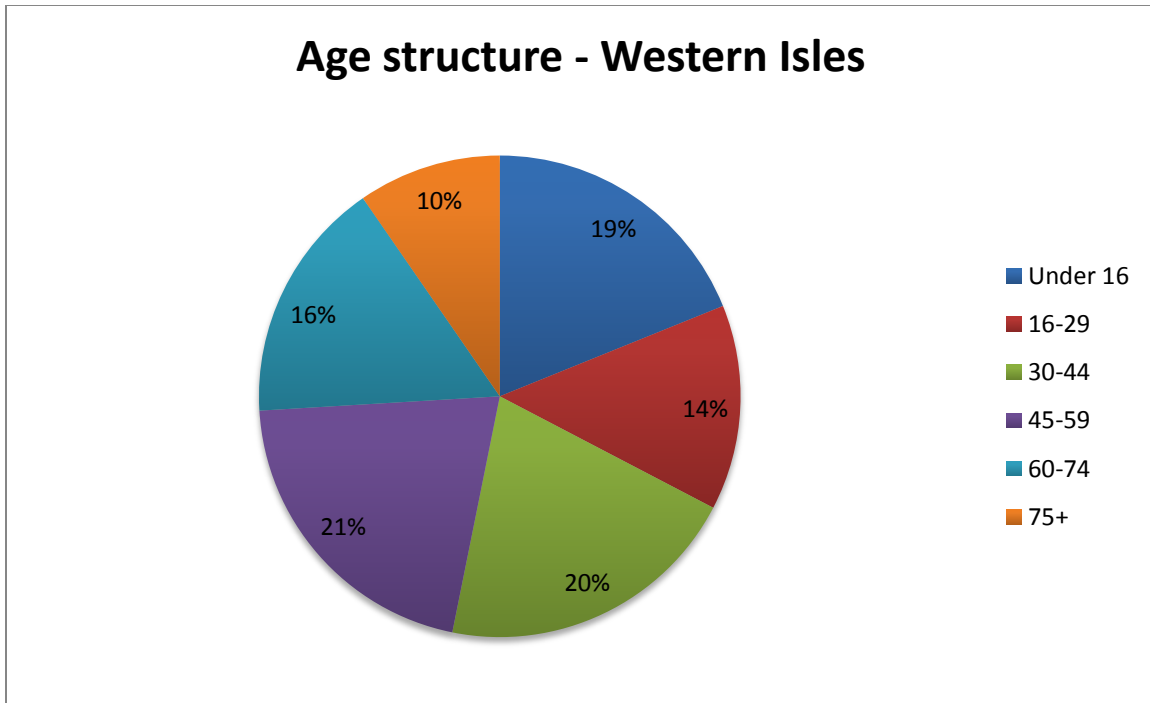


Figure 4 – Age structure of Western Isles at 2001 Census

4.3 Methodology

4.3.1 Access to community

As a member of the local community since birth, I had immediate insider status. However, as a child of people who moved to the island from outside, that status was perhaps slightly different to that of a native Gaelic speaker whose forebears had lived in the community for generations. My status meant that I could use my own social networks (as discussed in Chapter 3) to select informants whom I felt would be willing to be interviewed and who would provide good quality data.

4.3.2 Informants

As discussed in Chapter 3, my ideal range of informants was two males and two females in the Teenage (T), Middle-Aged (MA) and Elderly (E) categories. These corresponded to the age groups of 14-18, 35-50 and 70+ and were all members of the community in question. General information relating to each informant is set out in the table below.

| Age range | Sex | Gaelic speaker | Code |
|-------------|-----|----------------|----------|
| Teenage | M | Yes | WI-T-M2 |
| Teenage | M | No | WI-T-M1 |
| Teenage | F | Yes | WI-T-F2 |
| Teenage | F | Partial | WI-T-F1 |
| Middle-Aged | M | Yes | WI-MA-M1 |
| Middle-Aged | M | Yes | WI-MA-M2 |
| Middle-Aged | F | Yes | WI-MA-F1 |
| Middle-Aged | F | Yes | WI-MA-F2 |
| Elderly | M | Yes | WI-E-M2 |
| Elderly | M | Yes | WI-E-M1 |
| Elderly | F | Yes | WI-E-F2 |
| Elderly | F | Yes | WI-E-F1 |

Table 3 – Western Isles informants

4.3.3 Interviews

The interviews, as with all in this study, were semi-structured. A prompt sheet of questions was taken into each interview but was not used in a structured way, in order to allow informants to talk about what was important to them in terms of naming. This prompt sheet was similar to those used in all other communities, though had some changes relevant to the area (see Appendix A), and covered both official and unofficial names.

My insider status meant that I either knew the informants well or had common ground and common people and events to discuss. This allowed informants to be fairly informal. However, the presence of a tape-recorder proved inhibiting to some of the informants as they felt reluctant to be candid with it switched on but were happy for their answers to be recorded in writing. As a result, more of these interviews were recorded on paper than in the other communities. This affects the results in that it is more difficult to give examples of actual speech – and so some informants may be under-represented in quotations – but should not affect the analysis, as what was written down were the important parts in terms of naming, thereby pre-empting the qualitative analysis element of the research.

The interviews were largely carried out in people's homes, though the interviews with the teenagers were all accomplished in the local High school, during lunch-times. Most were with individuals, but some were group interviews.

4.4 Results and discussion

4.4.1 Structure of names

Official names, for the purpose of this thesis, are usually those which are given to a child at birth by their family. However, this is not excluding the possibility that these names might change or be replaced through life. A more precise definition would be that of one or several personal names which might be recognised and confirmed as their proper name by the individual themselves.

Unofficial names are those which are bestowed on the bearer and used amongst their community, or a section of it, but which would be unlikely to appear on documents identifying them. In some cases, as shall be demonstrated, these names are as important if not more so than the official names discussed above. The forenames used in these names are the ones usually used to identify the person within the community and so might not reflect exactly those which are written on official documents.

4.4.1.1 Official name structures

There were five possible ways in which official names could be structured in this community. These all include at least one surname and forename and are set out below:

Structure A: [Forename] [Surname]

e.g. Donald MacDonald

Structure B: [Forename] [Forename] [Surname]

e.g. Donald John MacDonald (with Donald used as the familiar name and John seen as a middle name and rarely used)

Structure C: [Forename] [Forename] [Surname]

e.g. Donald John MacDonald (with Donald John used as a complete familiar name in itself. Referred to as 'double-barrelled' or 'double' names by some informants)

Structure D: [Forename] [Forename] [Surname]

e.g. Donald John MacDonald (with John used as the familiar name and Donald rarely used, other than for official purposes)

Structure E: [Forename] [Surname] [Surname]

e.g. Donald MacIsaac MacDonald (with middle surname seen as a middle name and not used in the same way as the final, hereditary, surname)

Structure A

This was one of the most common structures in the names discussed as well as being the most common amongst the informants themselves. It was seen as essential for a child to be given at least a forename and a surname but there was no compulsion to give any more names than this. So a male could be called Iain MacLeod and a female Rhona MacDonald without any middle name at all. It was also common to refer to someone with a middle name (i.e. Structure B) in this way.

Structure B

This was also a common structure, in which a middle name would be given but rarely used. In this case Structure A would usually be used to refer to someone, and the middle name would generally not be known to many people beyond the bearer and their family. Examples collected included names such as Christina Ann MacLean and Thomas James MacAskill, where the bearers would be usually known as Christina MacLean and Thomas MacAskill.

Structure C

In this structure, two forenames are given in the same positions as Structure B, yet both are always used. These two forenames are seen as a single name. Three of twelve informants had this type of name structure. For example, Donald John Macleod would be referred to as Donald John, rather than Donald, in

conversation. Though this is more common for males, it is also fairly widespread for a female to be called Mary Ann, for example, rather than Mary.

Structure D

This structure, with the second forename being the familiar name which was normally used, appeared the most unusual. However, examples were still given. A man with the full name Donald Stuart MacNeill would be known as Stuart MacNeill, with others often having little knowledge of his first name.

Structure E

Though the bearer of this name structure has what looks like two surnames, only the final name functions as a surname. The middle name is a surname, rather than a forename as in Structure B. However, functionally this structure behaves in a similar way in that few people are likely to be aware of the middle name. The surname invariably had connections to family, either as a mother's maiden name or as part of a relative's full name (e.g. George Rose's grandson being called George Rose MacDonald).

Although this list of possible name structures appears reasonably comprehensive, it is not quite so clear-cut. It would also be feasible, and possibly unremarkable, to have more than one forename or surname as middle names (between the initial forename and final surname). However, this did not occur in my sample nor in the personal names of others whom the informants discussed. This

suggests that in this community the practice of having more than one middle name is rare.

Though most of these official name structures are stable, variation within a name is also possible. This is particularly common between Structures B and C. A person might usually be known as John, but close members of their family or elderly members of the community might call them John Archie.

4.4.1.2 Unofficial name structures

Structure A: [Forename] [Place-name]

Structure B: [Forename] [Characteristic (hair colour, size, etc.)]

Structure C: [Characteristic] [Forename]

Structure D: [Forename] [Occupation]

Structure E: [Nickname]

Structure F: [Forename or *bean*] [Husband's name]

Structure G: [Forename] [Father's forename] [Possibly grandfather's forename]
[Possibly forenames of earlier generations]

Structure H: [Forename] [Forename of mother or other guardian]

Structure I: [Forename] [Characteristic] [Father's forename] [Possibly
grandfather's name, etc.]

Structure J: [Forename] [Father's name] [Father's characteristic/
occupation/etc.]

Structure K: [Forename] [Characteristic] [Father's name] [Father's
characteristic/occupation/etc.]

Structure L: [Forename] [Occupation (of father/forefather)]

Structure M: [Forename] [Nickname (of father/forefather)]

Structure A, B, C, D

These involve the addition of an identifier to an individual's forename. The forename used will not always be the official version of the name. For example, a man whose name was given as Archibald on his birth certificate may commonly be known by the hypocoristic form, Archie, or the Gaelic form, Gillesbeag.

The identifier in these name structures refers to the individual themselves. This can be a place-name associated with that individual (Structure A), of the type Archie Creagan for Archie who lives, or lived, at the rocks. Structures B and C allude to a specific characteristic of the individual, particularly size or hair colour. The typical Gaelic construction is shown by Structure B, which is more common in the data than Structure C, which would be the expected English construction. The adjective comes after the noun in Gaelic, leading to examples such as Gillesbeag Mor (Structure B). The English equivalent (which was less common in the data) would be Big Archie (Structure C). Occupational identifiers are not particularly common and come in the postposed position, regardless of whether the occupation is being referenced in Gaelic or English. So a woman could be known as Morag a' Bhanc or Morag the Bank (Structure D).

Structure E

This is the only type of unofficial name in which the forename is disregarded entirely. A nickname of any type replaces the forename as well as any other names and the bearer is known by this name. The usage of this type of name can vary considerably between individuals. Certain nicknames can replace the bearer's official name in all but the most official domains (such as documents, bank cards, court). Other nicknames are known only within a bearer's family or amongst a restricted group of friends.

Structure F

This type of unofficial name is used to identify a wife by using the name of her husband. Either her forename or simply the word *bean* ('wife') is used before the husband's name. The name used for the husband will always be the one with which he is most easily identified within the community. For example if he is known by a strong nickname or an unofficial byname then that will be used in this structure.

Structures G, H, I, J, K, L, M

In this case the Gaelic version of all forenames would normally be used. The names of the father, grandfather and any further forefathers would be in the genitive case. In Gaelic this causes lenition (where an <h> is added after most initial consonants and certain later vowels can change in quality e.g. Domhnall in the genitive case is Dhomhnaill). In some cases the word *mac*, 'son of', or *mhic*, the genitive form, are used between the individual names but this is rare in this Western Isles community. It is more likely that *gille* ('son/boy of') or *nighean* ('daughter/girl of') are used in place of the forename to signal relationship to the father. In general, however, this information is simply implied by the context of the utterance. In this close-knit community, the cultural knowledge necessary immediately to understand the relationship between those stated in the name is commonly available.

If either the child or forefather's usual name in the community contains a postposed byname then this will be included. For example, if a son known as Alasdair Beag has a father Donald, then his patronymic would be Alasdair Beag Dhomhnaill (Structure I). If the father were known as Aongais Ruadh then the son would be Alasdair Beag Aonghais Ruadh (Structure K).

In some cases a person will be called by their name plus an occupation associated with their family (Structure L). This is usually their father's occupation and relates to a very prominent or unusual post with which somebody is easily identified, e.g. Seonaidh a' Mhinistear ('of the minister') or Murachadh a' Jhanitor (a Gaelicised rendering of 'of the janitor').

In Structure M, a nickname is used within a patronymic structure in place of the expected forename. This is the case when a nickname is used as the predominant name within the community for the father. There have been instances of a grandfather's nickname used in this position after becoming closely associated with a family.

Metronymics, as opposed to patronymics, are rare within this community. However, they do occasionally occur and examples could include names such as Anna Chatrìona Mhor. It is also possible for the name of a guardian to be used in this position if the father is unknown or did not bring up the child (Structure H).

4.4.2 Given names

In this community in the Western Isles, it has been the custom to give children the forename of a close relative. There is an apparently rigid formula to this, explained by informants as follows:

| Position in family | Relative to be named after |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1 st Male child | Paternal grandfather |
| 2 nd Male child | Maternal grandfather |
| 1 st Female child | Paternal/maternal grandmother (disagreement as to order of grandmothers in female naming) |
| 2 nd Female child | Maternal/paternal grandmother |
| Subsequent children | Other relatives |

Table 4 – Forenaming patterns pertaining to relatives

However, though this was often portrayed as the traditional way in which people had named their children, it was not always followed in practice. The names of siblings and other family members did not always follow this structure. In addition to this, some informants – even within the Elderly and Middle-Aged categories – did not propose the system. Teenage informants were aware of the system but did not know the details.

Despite this, all older informants agreed that bestowing a relative's name had been an important part of naming a child. Some believed that this could be any relative, as illustrated in the quotation below.

Interviewer: Right (.) So any relation at all. It wasn't em, it didn't have to be like your grandfather or anything like that

WI-MA-M1: No, no. It- an uncle or an auntie or something like that

WI-E-M1: No no no. Oh, no no no. But it was somebody from the family, y'know (.) It was- it co- could be a (.) a first or second or third cousin or a forty-second cousin

Everyone in the Elderly and Middle-Aged categories had been named after a relative themselves.

WI-E-F2: Well, ah. Not long ago since they changed that, y'know but. When we were very young anyway they always called us after somebody y'know after the grandad or the granny or uncles and [laughs] something like that y'know.

This meant that within families, and within the wider community, there was a small body of personal names which was repeated generation after generation, leading to many within the community having the same name. The problems that this can cause in reference are exacerbated by the frequency of particular surnames, such as MacLeod and MacDonald, as discussed in section 4.4.3.1.

It was stated by several informants that relatives would be pleased if, and even expect that, a child would be given their name, as discussed in the extract below.

WI-E-M1: Yes (.) B-but uh (.) it's passed down as you say (.) a- and then again the (..) when-when-when-when they're called y'know (.) s-say they're called Angus or or John or Archie or whatever (.) if these folk are still living, they're (.) they're over the moon y'know because their name has been (.) given to-to-to somebody else in the family y'know. And they always prefer that person to another person although they're still the same family

Interviewer: Mm-hm (.) Oh, ok

WI-E-M1: Y'know of (.) They always make a fuss of the one that's called after themselves

This suggests that one motivation for calling somebody after a particular relative could be the preferential treatment that a child might receive from them. This implies that a name is felt to be special and that someone with the same name might feel an affinity with another. It also indicates that to name after someone else in this community is to bestow honour on the original bearer of that name.

The difficulty of this situation for parents is that there could be considerable social pressure on them to give a child the name of a particular relative.

WI-E-F2: But long ago they were looking for that. Somebody to call their names or [laughs]. I think they wouldn't be very pleased if the- if the y'know- they wouldn't take the name [laughs]

The social significance of naming after relatives cannot be overstated.

Interestingly, the name appears to be only associated with one person, even if there is more than one person with that name in the family. So, for example, if the child has two uncles named John and he is called John by his parents, he will only have been named after one of his uncles. It might be expected in this situation that the parents might appease relatives by giving the name as a name present in more than one of the family. However, it is considered that the name belongs to one person specifically. There appears to be a need to connect the given name directly with a particular relative, rather than see it as a name first and a link to a person second. This is crucial in deciphering the reasoning behind naming choices in section 4.4.2.1.4. The quotation below helps to demonstrate

how the same name can be thought of as being different if belonging to different people.

WI-MA-M1: There could be a Donald on the mother's side and a Donald on the father's side

WI-E-M1: Yes

Interviewer: And they want to-

WI-MA-M1: And they want both to-

Interviewer: Aye, them both

WI-E-M1: They want them both. They- they- (..) Save a lot of arguing

Here it is expected that there could be arguments over whether a boy would be named Donald after someone in the mother's or father's family. Though this is a hypothetical situation being posited by the informants, rather than a specific example, it does reveal the informants' view that a name given in this way must be connected to one particular person. The person and the social connection are more important than the name as a word in the language which might belong to several people. This is discussed further in section 4.4.2.1.4.

This was particularly clear when WI-E-F2 was discussing the names of the female line of her family. She understood that she had been called Morag¹⁴ after her maternal grandmother. WI-E-F2's mother had been called Morag as well and so WI-E-F2 had given her daughter the name Morag, calling her after her mother. The girl had been named after her grandmother, rather than her mother or great-grandmother, despite all of these people having what might conventionally be thought of as the same name.

¹⁴ Names of informants and their families have been substituted for others in this thesis where giving the real name might identify that informant.

There has been a shift away from naming after relatives in recent decades. This was confirmed by all informants and was felt to be a result of wider contact with the outside world and the national media. Television only became widely available in the 1970s. This happened after the Middle-Aged generation had been born and most pinpointed it to the 1970s and 1980s. There had been an influx of what were described by many as ‘fancy’ names for children which represented a break with tradition. To be a fancy name, a forename did not necessarily have to be particularly exotic within Scotland as a whole. However, fancy names were names which informants felt had no connection with (or history within) the islands.

The giving of fancy forenames was a deliberate strategy from some parents. One of the Middle-Aged female informants, whose child was born in the eighties, had not wanted her son to be given his grandfather’s name and be known as Domhnall Beag. She wanted him to have his own name. Parents had greater choice of names, having access to many outside names both through the media and through exposure to the names of outsiders and their families who had been posted to the islands to work in particular industries.

WI-E-M1: And then again y’know the incomers started coming to [Place-name1] as well and- (.) and- (.) you didn’t know where they came from. Well, they- they were all over England and Wales and Scotland and whatever, but er they were calling them names that wasn’t familiar to you or to- or to- to the folk of the island at all. Y-yo- you’d say it’s so different y’know (.) compared to the names that were here before.

These names could be very different to those that the Elderly inhabitants had heard before, and some had a positive reaction to them, as in the extract below.

WI-E-M1: Well see- see see the next- see Melanie [/mɛloni/] there (.) Y- y- you hadn't a clue the first time I- I- I heard (.) fine young girl being called that y'know, that name (.) She was up on holiday [...] I was saying 'What what name is that? What does that mean? Melanie' (.) That was her name too. It's a nice name (.)

However, the perception by both older and Teenage informants of an influx of fairly alien names and the description of forenames amongst the teenage generation were rather at odds. Two of the Teenage informants had been named after grandparents, with two being given names that their parents had simply liked the sound of, but which would not be considered outlandish. When asked about the names of other teenagers in his class, one informant responded:

WI-T-M2: I'm just thinking [laughs]. I don't think there are any weird names. Even if they're not Celtic or whatever. They wouldn't be sortof non-British. Does that make sense?

Another Teenage informant, when discussing this, mentioned the name of a teenage incomer who had recently moved to the island, and felt that this boy's name did mark him out as different.

WI-T-M2: They're very traditional, yeah, most of them. It's just a cross-section and you know there's Johns, Douglas, eh, well lots of Johns. Eh, that sort of thing, your usual typical sort of names. An I can't think of any that are like two good friends, especially- I'm not being like controversial here or anything but you know people that come in

Interviewer: Oh no, don't. You can say anything, honestly.

WI-T-M2: o- o- obviously they'll have sortof different names. There's a new boy called Dirk and you know, we just think that's such a strange name here cos we're all Iains and Seonaighs and that sort of thing [laughs]

Though the system of naming after relatives is not as strong as it once was, it seems that the adoption of 'fancy' names is not as wholesale as the informants imagined either. The media and the outside world have clearly had an influence, leading to names such as Kayleigh and April being used for children. However the traditional naming stock still seems active. The use of different names appears to be more prevalent in naming girls, with male names being more likely to be traditional, if not necessarily from a relative.

The meaning of the lexical items of which names consist was not felt to be important in forenames. Social meaning is clearly important, in indicating links to relatives, but the meaning of the words themselves was irrelevant in choosing a name. Some informants had looked up the meaning of their name or seen a purported meaning on a novelty item but this was felt to be simply interesting rather than actually important.

In other types of naming, specifically unofficial names such as characteristic bynames, the lexical meaning of the name is more important. This could indicate their uncertain status as less prototypical names. However, even within unofficial naming there were reports of people who used bynames and nicknames as names without knowing their meanings.

4.4.2.1 Forenames and gender

Forenames in this community always signify a particular gender, with no name having been given by any informant which may be used for both males and females. With the importance of naming after relations, females were often given names which cited male relatives, rather than female ones. This could be accomplished in several ways:

1. The suffix ‘-ina’ could be added directly onto the male name, with no (or little) other modification, e.g. Archina, Kennethina
2. The suffix ‘-a’ could be added directly onto the male name if it ended with ‘-ald’, with no (or little) other modification, e.g. Donalda, Ronalda
3. A similar female-gendered name could be chosen to represent the male name, e.g. Angus > Anna, John > Joanne

The female-suffix names were believed to be more predominant in the older generations, with one of the Teenage informants placing women with these names around middle-age:

Interviewer: What about names like kindof Donalda and kindof Michaelina and stuff? Cos that's something that's quite Western Isles

WI-T-M1: I'd say they were like fifty or something or forty

However, there were some younger women also identified as having this type of name, as shown in the extract below:

WI-T-F1: There's someone in fir- second year called Donalda¹⁵

These female-suffix names were identified as being used to name after male relatives in the examples given by informants, but it is not inconceivable that a girl might have been named after a female relative named Malcolmina, rather than a male relative named Malcolm.

Use of a similar, female-gendered name is not apparent without a knowledge of why the child has been given that forename. One informant had a close relative named Rhoda which had been given for the child's uncle who was known as Ruairidh or Roddy. In another instance another informant had called her daughter after her father:

WI-E-F2: It's from m- eh my eh father and mother. [...] and eh Joan, that's eh stands for John

There were no examples given of male names which had been bestowed to represent the name of a female relative.

¹⁵ Second year in Scottish secondary schools contains children who are around twelve years old.

4.4.2.1.1 Hypocoristic forms

Hypocoristic forms of forenames are widely used. This is the case in wider British and Scottish society, as well as in this community. These are generally recognised, less-formal versions of forenames, which do not correspond exactly with the form of the name on the birth certificate. There is some debate and uncertainty as to whether these names are nicknames, being unofficial versions of forenames, or whether they should be classed amongst forenames, being recognised and established alternatives to them. This was also the case within the community, with one Teenage informant describing a very common hypocoristic form of her name as a nickname.

Interviewer: Ok. Em. What about nicknames and stuff in school. D'you get a lot of them, does it happen an awful lot and do people stick with them or is it?

WI-T-F2: Well mine's Katie, and a lot of people call me that. But not everyone.

There is now a Scotland-wide trend towards using hypocoristic forms of traditional names on the birth certificate, rather than simply as an unofficial familiar name for an individual. This has caused the lines to be blurred further. In 2008, the General Register Office for Scotland recorded the names Jack and Jamie amongst the most popular twenty names given to newborn boys in Scotland, and the names Katie and Ellie amongst the top twenty for girls (General Register Office for Scotland, 2008b). These would traditionally have been considered amongst the hypocoristic forms of John, James, Catherine and Eleanor.

Ina was a particularly common contraction, discussed by many informants with reference to women with ‘-ina’ as the suffix to their name. The name Ina was often used by women who had been given what might be thought of as male names with an ‘-ina’ suffix, e.g. Murdina, Jamesina (see Section 4.4.2.1.1). Many would use the hypocoristic form Ina in everyday use. However, the term Alda, though it comes at the end of some male > female forms, was not used as a hypocorism, possibly because it is not an established feminine naming option already, as Ina is with names such as Christina.

Other forms are widely used, such as Peggy for Margaret and Archie for Archibald. Some hypocoristic forms are very established as a person’s usual name amongst the community to the point where they may not respond to their formal name except in official circumstances, as discussed in the extract below.

WI-E-F2: Och, well a lot of people knows Christina Mary, y'know. But eh (.) that was my birth name, y'know. Mm-hm. My birth certificate and all but I was always called Ina

Interviewer: Mm-hm

WI-E-F2: It's a wee mystery [laughs]

Interviewer: No, I know but

WI-E-F2: Though would- somebody would say Christina to me I wouldn't know who they was talking to y'know

In this community, however, it is not only hypocoristic forms which occupy this semi-official role, and supply alternative naming practices for non-official functions.

4.4.2.1.2 Gaelic/English names

Official names have traditionally been recorded in their English form, on documents such as birth certificates and in censuses. However, most ‘English’ names have a Gaelic form which is seen as its equivalent or translation. This is similar to the idea that a name such as Jose in Spanish ‘means’ Joseph. This is problematic, however. It is difficult to identify the motivation behind translating forenames, as they apparently have no lexical meaning once they become a name. They do not need to be translated for semantic purposes, as the same group of sounds can presumably denote the same person in any language. However, ‘translating’ a name may allow a person to be called by a word which fits the phonological pattern of the new language. This would make it easier for speakers of this language to pronounce what is now considered to be the person’s name.

In this community, however, there is still a majority that have a reasonable knowledge of the Gaelic language, despite its decline. Even those who do not consider themselves to be Gaelic speakers are constantly exposed to Gaelic through road-signs, commercial signs, local radio and the conversations around them. This means that they are likely to have a good enough knowledge of the phonology of Gaelic to be able to pronounce the names correctly.

The English forms of the names have generally been used for all official purposes. Birth certificates would not contain Gaelic versions of the name of a child, even though the child had been named in Gaelic. This cannot be as a concession to the

English speakers in the local community. In the 1881 Census, there were no men recorded as being called Calum (or the variant spelling Callum) in the county of Inverness-shire, which contained all of the Western Isles other than Lewis at this period (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1999). This is despite Calum being a traditional Gaelic name which is still popular today. In this period the islands were over 95% Gaelic-speaking (Withers, 1984). There were 885 men recorded under the name Malcolm, however. Despite the name Malcolm also having Gaelic origins, it is seen as the ‘English’ equivalent to Calum and so in 1881 all Calums must have been recorded as Malcolms. There is no reason why Calum would be more difficult than Malcolm for an English speaker to pronounce, as evidenced by its recent popularity as a name outside the Gaidhealtachd. The use of English equivalents for Gaelic names seems motivated by or to be a symptom of the imposition of the English language in High domains over the past two centuries.

Forms of names in Gaelic and in English are still used in this community. Everyone in the community, including all of the informants, are aware of which Gaelic and English names map onto each other. Some typical examples include Calum<>Malcolm; Domhnall<> Donald; Aonghas<> Angus; Gillesbeag<> Archie/Archibald; Tormod <> Norman; Seonaidh <> John; Mairead <> Margaret; Anna <> Anne; Catrìona <> Catherine; Mairi <> Mary.

English names are still often used for official purposes, both on birth certificates and other official documents, as in the example below.

WI-E-M1: Sometimes the John and Iain (.) means the same (..) In some cases (..) See the likes of Iain Ruadh Iain Mhor there, Eoin, Angus John's father you see. He- he's Iain, well (.) It's- it's John MacLean that i- i- on his (.) signing the- the document for the prescription

This is likely to be more prevalent amongst the older population, however.

The usage of Gaelic and English forms is, unsurprisingly, largely split along linguistic lines. All informants who were Gaelic speakers said that they used the Gaelic version of the name (often with a byname, as discussed in section 4.4.3.2) when speaking Gaelic and the English version when speaking to non-Gaelic speakers. This is demonstrated by the extract below.

WI-MA-M1: We- we always use the Gaelic names, know, when they're like er. I call Domhnall, Donald, Domhnall and he calls me Seamus or

WI-E-M1: Seamus

Interviewer: So you'd always use that. When would you like use the other name? So when would you say Donald or?

WI-MA-M1: If there was some er English speaking

Interviewer: I know cos I was gonna say, I think t- to me you said Donald and

WI-MA-M1: But if there were a whole crowd of us who were Gaelic speakers we'd converse like 'Domhnall'

Even the Teenage informants largely followed this rule, particularly when speaking to people from the older generation, and were conscious of this when questioned, as shown below.

Interviewer: And I- I don't know, would you ever say like if you were talking about someone would you say Donald Archie or Domhnall Eirdseagh or, I mean. Does it depend who you're speaking to?

WI-T-F2: Yeah

WI-T-F1: It depends. Who I'm speaking to

WI-T-F2: Yeah, I think it's just older people or people who speak Gaelic

As discussed above, the English and Gaelic name equivalents, though known to the community, do not always map well onto the concept of translation. This is particularly apparent when discussing the names John, Seonaidh and Iain. John is considered within the community to be the English translation both of Seonaidh and of Iain. However, this begs the question of what the Gaelic 'translation' of John is, and whether Seonaidh and Iain are considered to be the same name (as Morag, Marion and Sarah were considered to be the 'same name' by some informants, and Gaelic and English equivalents such as Eachann and Hector are thought to be the same).

WI-E-M1: They know that it wasn't. But there's no difference, really (.) Iain. Iain is John (.) And then Seonaidh. And Seonaidh is John. That's- that's the difference now [inaudible] I don't think Seonaidh is Iain at all

WI-MA-M1: I wouldn't think so, no

WI-E-M1: I wouldn't think so

This apparent confusion can be resolved when it is understood that the name is really translated in only one direction if a person has been brought up in a Gaelic-speaking family on the islands. Despite the English version of a name being written on the birth certificate, the child has really been given a Gaelic name

which has then been translated and it is this Gaelic name which the child will be known by. So the child is Iain or Seonaidh first and then John afterwards.

It was also deemed more likely by some informants that the English name John might be translated as Seonaidh than Iain, if the individual was not known to them as Iain. This would even happen if the bearer was generally known by the English name John, rather than either of the Gaelic equivalents, as discussed below.

WI-T-M2: And there's a John who's called John and could call him Seonaidh, but you wouldn't call him Iain so much

Interviewer: So you could translate Seonaidh or Iain to John but you couldn't translate John to Iain?

WI-T-M2: Yeah. Well I wouldn't anyway

There are some cases where a person is always known by either the Gaelic or the English version of their name, regardless of the language being spoken. In these cases, a knowledge of normal practice in the community dictates that people will not translate these names. This lack of translation was even present in the Teenage age group, with the Gaelic name sometimes being the one used, as discussed in this extract.

WI-T-M2: There's a boy in my year called Seonaidh, and you wouldn't call him John in translation, you'd just call him Seonaidh.

However, this was also the case in the older, largely Gaelic speaking, age groups with some names always in the English version, e.g. always Helen rather than Eilidh, and others always in Gaelic.

The Gaelic and English equivalent names behave somewhat like the hypocoristic forms of names discussed in section 4.4.2.1.1, above. There are a range of options, albeit limited, available for use. With the hypocoristic forms, the less official options can be seen as being akin to nicknames but have a semi-official status. The Gaelic equivalents also have this semi-official status within the community and the users have the knowledge to understand which names are considered to be related to each other. However, the use of Gaelic and English names is far more politically charged, as the use of English equivalents seems to carry on a historical dominance of the English language in official domains. The continued use of Gaelic names within a community setting could be seen as a way of both retaining oral naming traditions and challenging the dominance of English naming patterns. The continued use of patronymics (as discussed in sections 4.4.1.2 and 4.4.3.2.4) also helps to maintain a local and Gaelic system of naming within a wider, dominant political and linguistic culture.

4.4.2.1.3 Middle names

It is not set whether a person will be given a middle name in this community, in the way that it is certain that a child will be given a forename and a hereditary surname on their birth certificate. The response as to whether an informant had a middle name could not be predicted according to their age or gender. When questioned further, informants' siblings had sometimes been given a middle

name when they had not, and vice versa. There was not a regular, identifiable pattern.

However, it was clear that it would be very unusual to be given more than one middle name. The model that did exist allowed either no middle name or just one. Though more than one would probably not be seen as outlandish, it did not occur within the sample used in this study and was never given in informants' examples.

Occasionally, as discussed in section 4.4.1.1, the middle name given at birth can be used as the principal forename. Examples were given of this usage, such as Donald Stuart Morrison being commonly known as Stuart Morrison. However, this practice appears to be rare.

It was far more common for a middle name to have been given at birth but be little used in everyday society, as discussed in the extract below.

Interviewer: Do most people that you know- do they have middle names and are they used?

WI-T-M2: Most of them aren't used, most of them in sort of my eh- my peers and that sort of thing. It's more just their first name and even if you're trying to describe them you say 'och, d'you know' and then you just sort of use their surname as well. You won't go into the middle name

Middle names are likely to be from the same stock of names as forenames. In Scotland as a whole, middle names are more likely to be from the 'traditional'

naming stock (General Register Office for Scotland, 2008c). They reflect more closely names which were particularly popular for babies in Scotland in the first half of the twentieth century, than names popular today (Jackson & Donnelly, 2001). This is likely to indicate that children are often given middle names, though not first names, after older relatives. In this Western Isles community, forenames used in middle naming seem also to be largely traditional, though not exclusively. Many of the middle names used were given after relatives such as uncles and grandparents. However, the children in this community are often, even now, given a first name which has been borne by a relative and so the first and middle name stock are not noticeably divergent.

In some cases, such as the one detailed in the extract below, the names given simply reflect the naming preferences of the parents, without reference to relatives.

WI-T-F1: I don't know. They just liked the name and- well they liked- there was two names they liked but they couldn't decide so they just gave her the other one as a middle name

Surnames are also used for middle names in some cases. However, as detailed in section 4.4.1.1, they are not treated in the same way as hereditary surnames. Usually in everyday situations they are omitted entirely, in the same way as the middle forenames discussed above.

In the examples collected from informants, a surname could be given as a middle name for two reasons. In some cases the surnames was the child's mother's maiden name. Giving this as a middle name could continue the use of this name within the family, given that women almost always change their surnames on marriage in this community (see section 4.4.3.1.1). In other cases a child was given the full name of a relative, including the surname, and their own hereditary surname was added at the end. Again, this usually meant the maintenance of a surname from the maternal line. Examples included George Rose MacDonald, after the maternal grandfather, George Rose. This was despite the possibility that Rose might be seen as a feminine middle forename. It is likely that many in the community would know of the connection which could explain why this was seen as perfectly acceptable.

4.4.2.1.3.1 Double-barrelled names

As discussed above, some middle names are little-used within the community context. However, it is very common for a second forename to be given to a child and then used throughout its life. This corresponds to structure C in section 4.4.1.1. So, if a boy were called Donald John Campbell then he would be known to everybody in the community, including his family, as Donald John, rather than Donald. This can also be the case in female naming, though it is not as common, e.g. Mary Ann MacLean would be known as Mary Ann, not Mary. These two names together are seen as the person's name when they are used in this way. The first forename alone is not enough. There is considered to be a difference

between the names Donald and Donald Archie, i.e. these two people would be regarded as having completely different and distinguishable names. Informants would not generally call somebody called Seonaidh Ailig simply by the name Seonaidh. This was emphasised by the negative response of an informant when asked whether he thought of his first forename alone as his name.

The use of double-barrelled forenames was seen as a particularly island practice, which was not used in the same way on the mainland. One informant, who has a double-barrelled forename, had had difficulty with this when working in mainland Scotland. Workmates would not use his usual two names and even modified his first forename.

WI-MA-M1: When I went onto the mainland wi' the- a lot of them wouldn't use the middle name, they had a job with the double-barrel

WI-E-M1: That's right. You had- they wouldn't use it

WI-MA-M1: You used to get called Donnie and

There was felt to have been a shift away from the use of double-barrelled forenames in the younger generation. Teenage informants were very aware of this type of name and noted its occasional use in their own generation. However, they also described it as being an older generational practice, as discussed in the following excerpt.

Interviewer: And do you still get a lot of the kindof, the people having the two- the two names? Cos again that's-

WI-T-M2: Dohmnall Iains and John Normans and- Well there's lots in my community but most of them are older and I think- I don't know if it's gone out of fashion or what it is but it's sortof- it's not so predominant

However, one Teenage informant was aware that she would have been given a double-barrelled name had she been born a boy. Other teenage peers had double-barrelled names but these were initialised, as discussed in section 4.4.2.2.1.

4.4.2.1.4 Apparently alike names for siblings

One apparent peculiarity of the island naming system is the possibility of two siblings being given the same forename. This does not appear to be very common in the Middle-Aged generation and was almost unheard of amongst the Teenage cohort. However, there were examples given in the Elderly generation, along with a small number of Middle-Aged examples. All were for male, rather than female, names.

So, for example, it would be fairly unremarkable if there were two brothers in a family whose official documents classed them both as Donald MacDonald. This is as a result of the traditional naming system in which children were always named after relatives, and particularly the rigid system of giving the names of grandparents. However because, as discussed in section 4.4.2, a child is named after a person and not simply given an arbitrary name, then one Donald is not the same as another Donald. One child could be named after their paternal grandfather, Donald, while the next son might be called after their maternal grandfather, also Donald. As the traditional male naming stock in the community is fairly limited, both grandfathers having the same forename would not be an

uncommon situation. As WI-E-M1 stated, as quoted in section 4.4.2, “[the parents] want them both”.

Once the siblings have been given these similar names, it might be imagined that identification within the family would be difficult. However, strategies are used to counter this which fit with other unofficial naming strategies used on a community-wide basis. These are set out below.

- Use of a hypocoristic form of the name for one sibling, e.g. Donnie and Donald
- Use of a double-barrelled name formation for one sibling, or different double-barrelled formations for both, with only the first element the same, e.g. Donald John and Donald
- Use of characteristic bynames (see section 4.4.3.2.1) which distinguish the siblings, e.g. Donald beag and Donald

These strategies which were used both within and outwith the family unit were discussed by informants.

WI-E-M1: Sure too there's (.) there's th- th- there's- the- I know of plenty families that's got (.) two Johns or two Donalds or. Well they might call him Donnie and the other one's Donald, but they're both the same

WI-MA-M1: Or Domhnall Mor and Domhnall Beag

WI-E-M1: Or Domhnall Mor and Domhnall Beag a wee bit taller than the other you know
[...]

WI-E-M1: Er of- of the same. Maybe Angus or something and the other one's Angus John and or John and John Alec or whatever you know

4.4.2.2 Nicknames

Nicknames within this community are a strong and commonplace part of the local onomasticon. Nickname here refers to an unofficial name which replaces the forename, rather than being used alongside it as in bynames, which are discussed in section 4.4.3.2. Some nicknames are used by a restricted group, such as the family, peer group or close friends. Other nicknames are more ubiquitous and some replace the forename – and forename plus surname combination – entirely in everyday communication within the community. This is summed up in the comment below.

WI-T-M2: Yeah, you're not thinking it's like a nickname, it's just their name. There's some people with nicknames and y'know you don't know their real name. When you think about it.

In the most extreme cases the original forename will not be known to most people outside the name-bearer's family. There is a continuum from this extreme, to nicknames which are used on most occasions, to nicknames which were used in school but have now been dropped, to terms given to people once and never reused. Many of this type of unofficial name were given in school and have stayed with the bearer. The level of youth emigration is likely to be affecting the longevity of nicknames, as they are used within the community context and outside that context may be lost. It is also clear from the examples given that far more nicknames are given to males than females, and that nicknames are more likely to be given in English, probably because this is the language usually spoken at school where many of these names originated.

4.4.2.2.1 Derived from birth name

As discussed in section 4.4.2.1.1, hypocoristic forms of a forename are often used to address and reference an individual. There was some confusion as to whether these names were nicknames or not. They are unofficial, in that they are clearly different to what is on an individual's birth certificate, but they also have a semi-official status, as these names are recognised by most in society as being alternative versions of specific forenames. In some cases they have begun to be used as official forenames in their own right.

Some unofficial names which were very much seen as being nicknames might also be understood as being less recognised hypocoristic forms. They are derived from the official forename, but are not commonly associated with a particular name in the same way as most hypocorisms. These may use similar strategies though, such as diminutive suffixes or reduplication, to create an individual nickname. Their firm status as nickname is only less official because of usage within society, not because they are any less name-like. Examples of this included Rachel > Reta, John Angus > Nandy, Ruaridh > Woody, Donald > Dodo, Christina > Teeni. Some may have a semi-official status locally, though not in wider society, for example most local people would know that Atty is derived from Alasdair. When the reason for this type of nickname was known, it had often been as a result of a childhood inability to say the official forename 'properly'. In one case a well-known nickname of another, random, type had been

subject to the same treatment as official forenames, changing its form within one family.

There are other types of commonly used nicknames derived from the official name. The most widespread is the use of initials to refer to a person. This happens particularly frequently if an individual has a double-barrelled name, as discussed in section 4.4.2.1.3.1, and is from either the younger or Middle-Aged generations. There are people – always men – who would always be referred to as D.A. rather than Donald Alec, or J.N., rather than John Norman. This can sometimes be extended from initials to other nicknames, as in a man with the initials D.E.S being known as Des (/dɛs/) or a man with the double-barrelled initials A.J. being known as Adge (/adʒ/).

Males with unusual surnames within the community are often known by their surname, and this is used as a type of nickname (being attached to an individual, not the whole family who share that surname). However, this will be discussed further in section 4.4.3.1.3.

4.4.2.2.2 Random

Other types of nickname are difficult to categorise, as they can come from any source. Many make some kind of reference to a characteristic of the name-bearer. Examples include characteristic ways of looking (Cartman, from an animated television character), of speaking (Tonty, from his pronunciation of ‘twenty’), or

of behaving (Para who was considered not very bright (after paramecium – a single-celled organism)). Other nicknames refer to incidents which have occurred at some point in the bearer’s life, for example Bòcan (‘ghost’) who was scared to walk over a cattle-grid because he thought there was a ghost, Noodles who said the word in an amusing way at one point, and Fire and Theft who got into some alleged trouble.

However, many nicknames do not do this. The origins of most are unknown to their users, though might be known to the bearers themselves. Examples such as Libby, Paco and Penis were given without the informants having an understanding of why these terms had originally been bestowed. This did not matter though and they were used simply as a name, without any lexical meaning being necessary. Their function is to precisely identify, rather than to explain.

4.4.3 Surnames and bynames

4.4.3.1 Hereditary surnames

The official last names used by people in this community are surnames which are always hereditary, passing directly from parent to child.

The top ten surnames for the Western Isles council area are reproduced in the table below. This table is based on Bowie and Jackson’s (2003) study which used a sample of 1,891 registrations of births and deaths in the Western Isles. These

data relate to the period 1999 to 2001. I have calculated the percentages based on their data.

| Eilean Siar council area (population 26,450) | |
|--|---|
| SURNAME | PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLE BEARING SURNAME |
| MacLeod | 13.5 % |
| MacDonald | 10.8 % |
| Morrison | 6.2 % |
| MacKenzie | 4.4 % |
| MacKay | 3.4 % |
| Campbell | 3.4 % |
| MacLean | 3.3 % |
| MacIver | 3.0 % |
| Murray | 2.5 % |
| Smith | 2.3 % |

Table 5 – Top ten surnames in Western Isles area in 1999 to 2001
Source: Bowie & Jackson (2003)

In Glasgow, the most popular surname, Smith, accounted for 1% of surnames in that city, with the tenth most popular surname constituting only 0.5% of births and deaths. Even in Highland region, which – though less isolated – shares close cultural and historical links with the Western Isles, the most popular surname

only covers 3.1% of the sample (all calculations based on Bowie & Jackson (2003)). It is clear from these data that the Western Isles as a single unit contains extremely high levels of isonymy. This is concentrated even further on individual islands due to different areas having been part of particular clans. As Scottish data better represent the Central Belt of Scotland, and particularly Glasgow, due to its larger population, so the Western Isles data better represent the Isle of Lewis. Results from University College London's *World Names Profiler* project¹⁶ show that although MacLeod is the most popular surname in Lewis and Harris, MacDonald is most popular in North Uist, Benbecula and South Uist. Barra is not represented separately in the data, but it would be expected that the most common surname there would be MacNeil, as that is where the Clan MacNeil was based.

4.4.3.1.1 Effect of marriage

Marriage had no effect on male surnames. However, women almost invariably changed their official surname on getting married to that of their husband. Occasionally this did not happen, but this was explained as a choice made for professional reasons.

WI-MA-M1: Only (.) a doctor, they don't change their surname.
They practise as (.) what they qualify or

¹⁶ Available at <http://www.publicprofiler.org/worldnames>

The lack of professional level occupations in the Western Isles may increase the rarity of this situation.

However, women were often described with reference to their husband not only through his surname, but also by using his familiar name in the community. In this way, a woman might be referred to as *bean* ('wife', pronounced /ben/) and then her husband's name. A male Teenage informant describes the system in the following extract, acknowledging that some might find it sexist:

WI-T-M2: When I've usually heard it like said for a woman you'd usually say like oh 'bean', like 'the wife of', and then you'd name the man

Interviewer: Right, so you'd know her through her husband. Even if she was like from the community or?

WI-T-M2: Probably still yeah. If she'd married into another- it's quite sexist but sortof- [laughs]

Other ways of identifying the woman are also available. Though she changes her surname officially, this may not have an effect on the name she is known by in the community. The official surname may not have had much currency locally anyway, as discussed below:

WI-MA-M1: You don't usually use the surname here, know. It's er like (.) the woman'd be called say (.) Mairi nighean (.) Dhomhnallach. W-w-were a- You wouldn't say Mairi Dhomhnallach. You wouldn't use that (.) I-i-in English maybe you- you'd say Mary MacDonald but

The use of official and unofficial names is shown here and the effects of language and community membership are highlighted. People within this island

community can have an extensive repertoire of official and unofficial names in Gaelic and English.

4.4.3.1.2 Gaelic versions

There are official Gaelic versions of most of the more traditional surnames present in this community. The top ten surnames in the Western Isles, giving both Gaelic and English equivalents, are shown in the table below.

| English surname | Gaelic surname |
|-----------------|---|
| MacLeod | MacLeòid |
| MacDonald | Dòmhnallach or MacDhòmhnaill |
| Morrison | Moireasdan |
| MacKenzie | MacCoinnich |
| MacKay | MacAoidh |
| Campbell | Caimbeul |
| MacLean | Mac'Il'Eathainn |
| MacIver | MacIomhair |
| Murray | Moireach |
| Smith | Mac a' Ghobhainn or Gobhanach |

Table 6 – Gaelic and English surname equivalents.¹⁷

¹⁷ Spellings are consistent with Mark (2003: 718-722)

When translating into an official Gaelic name, *mac* meaning ‘son of’ is used only if the referent is male. If the person bearing the name is female then *nic* or ‘daughter of’ would be used (though locally, people would always use *nighean* for ‘daughter’ or ‘girl’). In English, the *mac* part of the name would be used whether referring to a man or a woman.

The surname is not often used in the local community. As English is used for official purposes, it might be expected then that these Gaelic versions would be little used. This appeared to be the case, but they did occur in more than one interview. One informant when speaking English referred to someone as MacIsaac, and when speaking Gaelic referred to the same person with the surname MacIosaig, the Gaelic version. However, the following extract (used previously in section 4.4.3.1.1) is illuminating on this subject:

WI-MA-M1: You wouldn't say Mairi Dhomhnallach. You wouldn't use that (.) I-i-in English maybe you- you'd say Mary MacDonald but

Domhnallach was given as a surname here, but only in such a way as to illustrate that it would not be used while the English version would.

4.4.3.1.3 Used as nicknames

Particularly unusual surnames can be used to reference a person, without mention of their forename or forenames. Surnames such as MacDonald or MacLeod are too numerous and would never be used for this purpose. Names

which do not have many bearers attract this treatment, however. This would mean that a man named Neil Cadwell might always be referred to and addressed simply as Cadwell, rather than as Neil. All examples given of this practice were used with reference to males.

WI-T-F2: Well Berry's called Berry but that's his surname

The above example shows how prevalent the use of a surname can be when discussing a particular person. As well as giving the nickname as an example, the Teenage informant refers to Berry by his surname and no other name. This was not just the case in the younger age-group, however. Elderly informants also gave examples of similar usages.

4.4.3.2 Bynames

Bynames, in this thesis, refer to additional names given to an individual or family alongside their forename. In this way, they are structured much like hereditary surnames, particularly as they usually follow Gaelic syntax, in which the word order is noun and then adjective. Hereditary surnames, of course, were originally derived from bynames though bynaming appears to have died out in much of mainland Scotland. The practice has been preserved and remains in common usage within this island community. These names often form part of an individual's 'usual' name within community domains and those people are almost universally referred to by these names, as discussed in the extract below.

WI-T-M2: It really sticks though. The older names especially. And you say it's like second nature. You don't think. You don't like say it and think 'oh what a stupid name', you just take it for granted that that's their name

These bynames are also often mistaken for surnames, especially by those not familiar with the island naming system.

In some cases in this community, these bynames can become hereditary (Bramwell, 2007). A particular name becomes associated with a family and is passed on through the generations. This process can happen even if the location, characteristic or relationship denoted in the byname no longer describes the family members in question. This shows non-hereditary bynames embarking on the processes which formed hereditary surnames in Britain.

4.4.3.2.1 Characteristic bynames

Characteristic bynames are those which reference a particular characteristic of the bearer, such as size or hair colour. These are treated separately from nicknames here because they are not used as an alternative to an individual's forename, but alongside it as an additional name or descriptor.

In this bilingual community, most characteristic bynames recorded were in Gaelic, rather than English, and were postposed bynames, with the descriptor coming after the forename (see section 4.4.1.2). This fits with the grammatical structure of Gaelic, where the adjective would be expected to follow the noun.

This type of byname was fairly numerous and examples were given by all informants. However, they were believed by the informants to be more common amongst older members of the community, as shown in the extract below.

WI-T-M2: I think the sort of mor and beag and ruadh. I think it's not so- not so predominant in the younger generation

This is likely to be because of the decline of Gaelic within the community – members of the younger generations are far more likely to speak English in most domains. There were some cases of English characteristic bynames, often with an alternative Gaelic version, and these will be discussed below. The English versions usually followed English word order, with the adjective coming before the noun.

These bynames can be classified into three main types: size, colour and other characteristics. The latter type is rare in comparison to the other two. This makes sense when it is remembered that the function of unofficial names is to identify people effectively. Therefore, bynames relating to obvious features of an individual's physical appearance, such as size or hair colour, would be expected to be more common as these would probably identify a person more easily.

4.4.3.2.1.1 Bynames of size

Every informant gave examples of this type of byname. The use of the terms *mor* ('big'), and *beag* ('small') was widespread. This could be as a result of stature, as

with the examples given of Domhnall Beag and Alasdair Mor. This format could be replicated with any name, as with Eardsaidh Mor, in the extract below:

WI-T-M2: And yeah, as you said as well there's sort of Eardsaidh Mor because of his size or someone beag because they were rather small and that sort of thing

However, these bynames do not always denote physical size. The traditional naming system described in section 4.4.2.1 caused many people within the same family to have the same name. In these cases *mor* would often refer to the older relative and *beag* to the younger, in much the same way as 'senior' and 'junior' in contemporary American society. Examples such as Iain Mor and Iain Beag were given to illustrate this point. This could also happen with female names, though it appeared less common. Mairi Anna Bheag was given as the daughter of Mairi Anna Mhor. The lenition of *beag* and *mor* occurs with female names but not with male names.

The Gaelic terms were used in the majority of examples, however there were some people who had English bynames denoting size. When this occurred there was often a choice of which language to use, as discussed in the extract below:

WI-T-F1: There's Big Al (.) It's Alasdair Mor or Big Al people call him as well

Interviewer: So people can use one or the other. Do they usually use one above the other?

WI-T-F1: It's usually Big Al I think, isn't it

In many cases this choice was not available, and the Gaelic version was used exclusively as a name in itself.

WI-T-M1: We have some Seonaidh Mors but no-one would have called them like 'big'- Seonaidh's a John. I dunno. Yeah, it is. (.) No-one would ever call them Big John. Or Big Seonaidh, you know.

4.4.3.2.1.2 Bynames denoting colour

Bynames denoting colour were almost all in the Gaelic language and most designated hair colour. These bynames generally referred to people with red hair, a very salient characteristic, with the word *ruadh*. Other colours were also used in these names, such as *ban* ('fair'), *glas* ('grey') and *dubh* ('black/dark'). However, red hair was considered to be by far the most common characteristic singled out for comment, as discussed in the extract below.

WI-T-F1: I think it's just the ginger people that get called that

Interviewer: So it's only ginger people?

WI-T-F1: Well, I don't know of any other people (...) It's more common with ginger people

It was used so frequently that informants sometimes knew of more than one person with the same forename and byname combination.

WI-T-M1: We have an Iain Ruadh. I don't know, is he the same person?

These names remained with the name-bearer for life, being their familiar name within the community. This was the case even if their hair colour changed as they grew older.

WI-MA-M1: You'd sometimes er refer to Mairi Bhan or Mairi colour of the hair or (.) Suppose she got married she'd still be known as Mairi Bhan suppose she was grey [laughs] Know?

Use of these bynames, as with others, allowed members of the community to be easily and quickly distinguished from others with the same name. As many people share names, this can be a useful tool, as shown in the extract below.

WI-MA-M1: Aye, there were- there were two of- two Donald Ewen's in my class

Interviewer: Mm-hm

WI-MA-M1: Er (...) And one of them had blonde hair and he was called Domhnall Ban

4.4.3.2.1.3 Bynames relating to other characteristics

There were very few bynames suggesting other characteristics of an individual. One example referenced the bearer's disability, with *caum* ('bent') relating to the man's withered leg. Another denoted a man's choice of headwear. An earlier study (Bramwell, 2007) showed that words such as *craitche* ('crazy') could also be used in this type of byname in the Western Isles.

4.4.3.2.2 Locative bynames

Locative bynames refer to an additional name, given to an individual or group, which is associated with a place. This type of postposed byname is fairly common in this Western Isles community and locative bynames seem to be particularly likely to be consistently used through all age groups.

These names are almost always associated with a particular individual or family who are very strongly connected to a place. It would be usual for more different families to share the same locative byname. This generally means that the place-names used in naming are those of smaller places rather than wider areas with which many people might be associated. The extract below illustrates this.

WI-MA-M1: Know, you can get folk called place-names though like (.) Domhnall Iain [Place-name2]. [Place-name2]'s the name of the place where he was

WI-E-M1: That's right [Place-name2], he stays there you know and there's no other person there but himself [laughs]

Often an entire family is identified by the name of the place where they are living or where they grew up. Usually if a parent has one of these types of bynames then their children will be called this as well, as shown below.

WI-T-M2: Me and my mum were talking about it today actually and there's lots of people. You don't really realise it and they're called by the places they're from. Like there's Iain [Place-name3] and Domhnall Iain [Place-name3] and even my dad Iain [Place-name4]. That's how everyone knows him. And I've become Seumas [Place-name4] so [laughs]

Locative bynames referencing place-names play an important part in the system of naming within this community. They can become so pervasive, as with other types of unofficial names, that others do not recognise their official names for the purposes of identification. The locative byname must be used, as the forename and surname combination is either too common to easily identify a person or is

simply not readily associated with that individual. An example of this is discussed below by an Elderly informant.

WI-E-M1: You'll be asking for Annie MacLeod. I-I've seen it happening to myself there. She wasn't very well there recently, [...]
and and uh (.) it was uh somebody that didn't have the Gaelic you know and and and 'how's Annie MacLeod getting on' you know (.) 'Now who's Annie MacLeod?' (.) I says 'Anna [Place-name5]' (.) [clicks fingers] They have it right away

Generally, local place-names are used but there are instances of individuals and families associated with places outwith the Western Isles, often because they have moved from there to the islands or because they lived there for a considerable amount of time.

WI-E-M1: That's right. His- his- his father- that's what his father [...] bought [Place-name6] Farm outside Fort William. That's why they're called- They went there first of all. That's why they're called Angus [Place-name6]

4.4.3.2.3 Occupational bynames

As discussed in section 4.4.1.2, occupational names are not very common but, where they do exist, name people who carried out distinctive or high profile occupations within the community. Individuals have to be well associated with a particular job and, usually, have been in that role for a considerable length of time. The two examples below discuss occupational bynames which are borne by individuals who fulfil these criteria. Bhanc in its lenited form is pronounced

/vank/, while Co-op is pronounced /kop/ within the community, with no pause for the hyphen, with the genitive form of Cho-op /xop/.

WI-E-M1: Yes and [...] Mairi, if you say Mairi MacDonald, Mairi (.) they don't know who you're talking about. Say Mairi a' Bhanc and they know who she is. She worked in the bank all her life (.) Most of her life anyway. She retired from the bank, Mairi a' Bhanc that's what she's called in [Place-name7]

WI-MA-M1: And there was your old boss in the co-op er he was known as Domhnall Alasdair Cho-op

Even members of the younger generation were aware that occupational bynames had been more common in previous generations, as discussed below.

WI-T-M2: Another way I'm thinking of is, with your older generation anyway, there's like a reference to what their trade was. Like eh 'an tailear'. Someone Someone An tailear, which means 'the tailor'. Obviously that's in the older generation cos you don't really have it now because y'know there's not them trades. Like back- going back in like time here y'know you'd either be like a crofter or a cottar or something like that and you'd get known for your trade if you were a joiner or something. That would been in your name, well in your son's name

These trades are preserved in patronymic constructions which reference the occupation of a forefather (Structures K and L in section 4.4.1.2). These names were given mainly by the Elderly informants, reinforcing the idea that most are no longer used in naming. Examples included names such as Uilleam Gipear

(William shepherd – meaning William the son of the shepherd) and Seamus a' Ghobhair (Seamus (son) of the blacksmith). Names of this type usually reference the occupation on its own, rather than giving the father's forename as well. This can be seen perhaps most clearly in the example Domhnall Iain Tailear, son of Iain a' Tailear, whose grandfather's occupation is referenced, rather than his forename.

It was questioned by some informants as to how 'name-like' these occupational bynames really are, as in the extract below.

WI-T-M1: I'm thinking I think it tends to be more sort of [inaudible] saying someone is rather than a nickname

Interviewer: Right

WI-T-M1: If you were telling some rude story about somebody and you were trying to tell the other person who it was then you might say like j-

WI-T-F1: Morag the Cook

WI-T-M1: Just so they'd know who it was. So it wouldn't be a nickname

These names could be thought of as simply descriptions, as could other types of byname. However, their traditional use in inter-generational patronymic naming in this community, and their previous use in the formation of official surnames elsewhere, suggests that they can be thought of as names or have the potential to be so.

4.4.3.2.4 Sloinneadh/patronymics

The traditional way in which to reference people in the community is by use of their *sloinneadh*. This Gaelic term can be translated both as ‘patronymic’ and as ‘surname’ (Mark, 2003), which highlights the importance that this concept holds in terms of individual and community identity.

Patronymics have been used in both official and unofficial ways in the culture of the Gaidhealtachd for centuries. Most traditional surnames from this area are of the type *mac* (‘son of’) followed by a male forename (Hough, 2003). Members of the clans often took on the name of their clan for official purposes, but within the clan identification was usually by true patronymics naming the father and grandfather and so on. This could be recorded for official purposes as well. There is evidence of just such a system until early modern times. Donaldson (1995: 92) notes that “[t]he use of genuine patronymics in records continued well into the eighteenth century: for example, in South Uist in 1721 we find names like John MacEwan Vic Ean Vic Charles and Murdo MacNeill Vic Ean Vic Duill.” “Vic” in these records is a semi-phonetic rendering of *mhic*, the genitive of *mac*.

This patronymic naming system is still in use in this Western Isles community. A person’s lineage can be recounted by recitation of their *sloinneadh*, and in this case the generations recounted can go back a substantial length of time. One of the informants relates her lineage in the extract below.

WI-E-F2: Seo, ma th'ainme m-athair. Tha Alasdair Mac Dhomhnaill 'Ic Iain 'Ic Fhearagais 'Ic Iain. I think that's five or six isn't it?

When reciting in this formal way, Gaelic terms of relationship are used between the relatives' names. However, in everyday use things are rather different. In the study area, as discussed in section 4.4.1.2, the terms *mac* (or *mhic*) or *nic* are not generally used when expressing this type of name. Instead the son or daughter's forename is given, followed by a slight pause to indicate a break, followed by the father's name (and possibly the grandfather's name and even preceding generations).

This patronymic system is still used as a core part of interaction in the community. It is not simply a formal part of the anthroponymicon used to relate family history, but a living way of identifying people. An earlier study (Bramwell, 2007) found that over 60% of people in a smaller, but similar, study area were identified in the community by some sort of patronymic. In casual conversation the name used is likely to have two or three elements – the forename, the father's name and, possibly, the grandfather's name. Very few people are known by a greater number of names than this, as the name would then become unwieldy. Names such as Domhnall Anndra, meaning Donald son of Andrew, are extremely common. These were used in identifying others within the community to myself, as a researcher and native, as well as in talking about the unofficial names which people used.

The patronymic system is more in use when either referring to, or conversing with, the older generation. The Teenage age group knew these names and used them, but were unlikely to use them when discussing young people with other young people. One Teenage informant discusses the distribution of his usage of *sloinneadh* as follows, initially talking about how he would reference another teenager to older relatives.

WI-T-M2: And er you know, if I'm trying to explain someone to them I'll have to put it in the sort of Gaelic sense as in you'd go "Oh, do you know Seonaidh Eardsaigh Ruaridh? It's his son." Or something like that. You know, you go through the *sloinneadh*, sort of thing.

Interviewer: Yeah

WI-T-M2: But, if you're just talking to say someone like my own age, like one of my peers, I'd just say, you know, the name itself

Older participants, both Middle-Aged and Elderly, were very likely to know the *sloinneadh* of many people within the community and use this to identify them. However, where an individual had a particularly strong nickname or byname, this was usually used instead of the patronymic. This seemed particularly common with locative bynames, where a place was usually associated with a particular family anyway, and with nicknames which replaced the forename. In cases where a nickname was used, this could pass on through the generations in the same way as a forename. So somebody called 'Puss' might have a child known as 'Andy Puss'.

As discussed in section 4.2.1.1, characteristic bynames are also used within patronymics. This could be as a result of the child having this type of byname (so this coming before the forefathers' names), or a forefather having had a characteristic byname (and this coming within the patronymic). An example of the child having this type of name could be Seonaidh Mor Domhnaill Sheumais, being Big John, son of Donald, son of James. Were the father to have a characteristic byname, it might be something like the following example.

WI-T-M2: Seonaidh Niall Ruadh, the MacIvers in [Place-name8]. That's what they're known as. And Ruaridh Niall Ruadh. Obviously Niall is ruadh.

The red hair of the father is used to identify him in the community, and this byname continues to be identified with him as his name passes down the generations. In some cases, a byname will be given with both the child and the father's names, an example being Seoras Beag Sheorais Bhan. Occupations are also given, as discussed in section 4.4.3.2.3, in place of the father's name, though recent instances of this are rare.

Siblings are always given the same construction in a patronymic; one will not be known by a greater number of previous generations than another and if a byname is used then it will be used for all.

4.5 Summary of Western Isles naming practices

The naming system described in this chapter contains a diverse range of practices which fit together to form a coherent model for identifying members of the community and putting them in their social context. This works on several different levels.

Officially, each community member must have a forename and hereditary surname. These are used for official purposes but may not have much relevance in interaction beyond these purposes. The same member might also be known by a nickname to certain groups, be known by a patronymic byname to all and by both Gaelic and English versions of their forename to most people, depending on the language being spoken.

The byname will place the person within their social context, as the patronymic name will immediately answer the important question within the community ‘Co às a tha thu?’. This is generally translated as ‘Where are you from?’ but, more literally, means ‘Who are you from?’. A person’s genealogy is considered very important and this may be a reason for the unofficial continuation of patronymic names alongside hereditary surnames. Another reason for this is the high proportion of people with the same surname and the resulting need to have a more precise way of identifying individuals.

The system of naming after a relative emphasises the importance of kinship in this island community and also encourages unofficial naming practices by repeating and reducing the name stock. This system appears to be weakening, though not as quickly as most informants suggest. Even when not used, it seems that many give names which reflect the local nomenclature, rather than reverting to names which are entirely alien.

The following table shows naming practices in the Western Isles community over the three generations studied. Each naming practice has been scored on a Likert-type scale from 1 to 5. The scoring is based on qualitative observation of practices extracted from interview data. The purpose of this approach is to help to identify clear patterns in the data and changes over generations. In Chapter 9, the data in the tables from each community are brought together into comparative tables. The numbers in the following table reflect a scale from a naming practice being rarely present to a practice occurring very frequently, as follows:

- 1 – Never/rarely occurs
- 2 – Occasionally occurs
- 3 – Sometimes occurs
- 4 – Regularly occurs
- 5 – Always/very frequently occurs

| Naming practice | Elderly | Middle-Aged | Teenage |
|---|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| First name after relative | 5 | 4 | 3 |
| Middle name after relative | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Lexical meaning of forenames important | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Different versions of names for diff. languages | 5 | 4 | 3 |
| Hereditary surname from father | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| True patronymic ¹⁸ | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Patronymic as unofficial name | 5 | 5 | 3 |
| Last name no connection to relative | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Women's surname changed on marriage: | | | |
| -officially | 5 | 4/5 | N/A |
| -unofficially | 2/3 | 3 | N/A |
| Use of semi-official names ¹⁹ | 5 | 5 | 3 |
| Use of nicknames/unofficial names | 5 | 5 | 4/5 |

Table 7 – Western Isles naming practices over generations

¹⁸ As the official 'surname'.

¹⁹ Different from an official one, but could be used in a community publication/newspaper, for example, to identify someone within that community.

5. Buckie community

5.1 Geography

The town of Buckie is located in the county of Moray in Scotland (pre-1975 it was in Banffshire) between the large population centres of Aberdeen and Inverness. Its location is boxed in red on the map below.



Figure 5 – Location of Buckie within Scotland²⁰

²⁰ Map author: Eric Gaba, shared under GNU Free Documentation Licence

It is the third largest town in Moray after Elgin (20,829) and Forres (8,967) and in the 2001 Census registered a population of 8,059 people. Moray as a whole contained 86,940 people in 2001, which had increased to 87,770 by 2008. The map below shows the location of towns in the Moray local authority area. Outwith the towns, which are fairly small, the land is largely rural farmland with a dispersed population.



Figure 6 – Location of Moray towns

5.2 Social and linguistic conditions

Buckie is a coastal town traditionally associated with fishing. The shared background of its residents, along with a tradition of endogamous marriages, has maintained social cohesion and a close-knit community (Smith, 2000: 9). In this type of community, social ties are likely to be dense and multiplex (Milroy, 1980), and this appears to be the case in Buckie. As in the Western Isles, with its history of crofting, there were few obvious class-based divisions in Buckie. Again, this is likely to relate to the social history and common background of the inhabitants. The *New Statistical Account of Scotland* for Rathven Parish, written in 1842, states that “[t]he fishermen, as individuals, are nearly placed upon a footing of equality. Their pursuits are similar; hence their language and dealings are almost the same” (Gardiner, 1845: 256).

Informants alluded to a perceived difference within the local area between the ‘fisher-folk’ on the coast and the farmers a few miles inland, which suggests that in-group membership is based very much on a similar shared background and location. Blaikie (2002: 23), discusses the social ties in the area in Victorian times:

The North East’s fishing villages were not geographically remote, but there was remarkably little interaction between them and the surrounding farmland and intermarriage between fishing families and those from the immediate agricultural environs was rare indeed.

This appears to have continued late into the twentieth century. Blaikie (2002: 23) goes on to state that in Boyndie, around eight miles along the coast from Buckie, 55% of marriages were between people who lived less than a kilometre apart. That statistic encompasses the period 1855 to 1974. However the social distance does not in itself suggest a negative attitude towards those outwith the fisher group (Brewer, 1998: 431).

As with the Western Isles, the population of Buckie is ageing, with 20% under 16 years of age but 26% over 60 (see diagram below – drawn from 2001 Census data). In Scotland as a whole, 19% of people are of pensionable age, whereas in Buckie this figure is higher at 23%²¹.

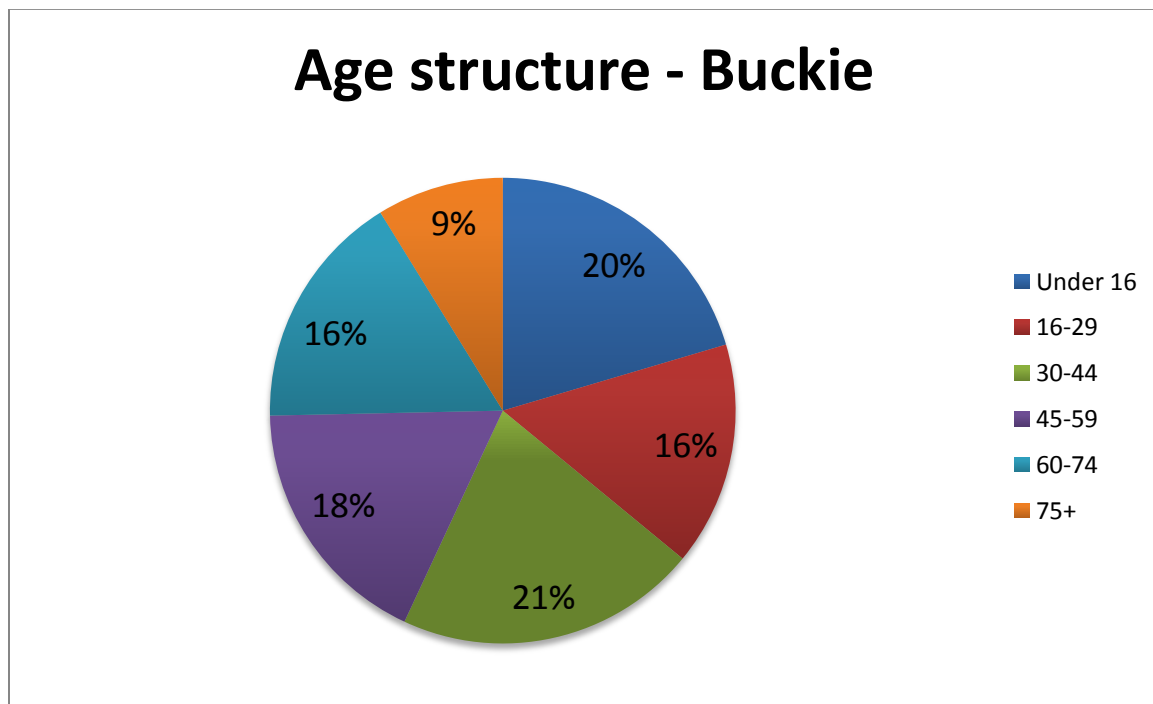


Figure 7 – Age structure of Buckie at 2001 Census

²¹Information obtained using Scottish Census Results OnLine (SCROL) analysis tools at <http://www.scrol.gov.uk>

Moray has high levels of both out- and in-migration (Fleming, 2005) which would suggest a mobile, unsettled population. However, this could be related to people going away to study and then returning or to the movement of military personnel to and from the Royal Air Force base at Lossiemouth. Buckie itself has a rather stable and static population and has had “a long history of cultural cohesiveness” (Smith, 2000: 9).

Linguistically, Buckie is in a Scots-speaking area. Smith (2000: 14) describes Scottish Standard English as “marginal to the tight networks within the community.” The branch of Scots spoken in the North-East of Scotland is known as Doric, and “though predictions of its demise continue apace, the ‘Doric’ defiantly persists as an integral part of the region’s identity and self-image” (McClure, 2003: 15). Members of the community confirmed this strong identification, though they clearly separated their own speech from that of the Doric spoken around Aberdeen to the east and suggested even more local separations in language.

5.3 Methodology

5.3.1 Access to community

I had no experience of the local community and my informants were primarily recruited through two local contacts and also partly through brief periods of

participant-observation in various settings within the town. These are common research strategies and I was able to gain access to informants “via gate-keepers and via acquaintances who then act as sponsors” (Bryman, 2004: 298). These gate-keepers were invaluable in both introducing me to people and in making me appear trustworthy. As a ‘friend of a friend’ I was less likely to be viewed with suspicion. Milroy and Gordon (2003: 75) describe this type of access in another research project where “members of the group appeared to feel some obligation to help [the researcher] in her capacity as a friend of their friend, so that she acquired some of the rights as well as some of the obligations of an insider.”

I stayed in the town for data collection purposes over two separate periods and as an acquaintance of a native of Buckie I found I was quickly welcomed. Having participated in various social events and settings, including a church quiz and coffee morning, the town festival and evenings in local pubs, informants were willing to accept my questioning and appeared to act fairly naturally.

5.3.2 Informants

To assess changes in apparent time as well as gaining an overall view of the naming system, I selected informants from three distinct age groups (Chambers, 2003: 212). Two males and two females each were required from the Teenage, Middle-Aged and Elderly age groups.

| Age range | Sex | Born in North-East | Informant code |
|------------------|------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Teenage | M | Yes | B-T-M2 |
| Teenage | M | No | B-T-M1 |
| Teenage | F | Yes | B-T-F1 |
| Teenage | F | Yes | B-T-F2 |
| Middle-Aged | M | Yes | B-MA-M2 |
| Middle-Aged | M | Yes | B-MA-M1 |
| Middle-Aged | F | Yes | B-MA-F1 |
| Middle-Aged | F | Yes | B-MA-F2 |
| Elderly | M | Yes | B-E-M1 |
| Elderly | M | Yes | B-E-M2 |
| Elderly | F | Yes | B-E-F1 |
| Elderly | F | Yes | B-E-F2 |

Table 8 – Buckie informants

5.3.3 Interviews

Almost all interviews all took place in informants' homes, though one took place in the home of my host. This was with one of the Teenage age group but he was a frequent visitor to that home and the surroundings did not seem to make him any less comfortable and relaxed. The questionnaire/prompt sheet was altered slightly in Buckie to reflect the local community, particularly with regard to

unofficial names (see Appendix B). Interviews were all recorded electronically apart from one with an informant who felt uncomfortable with this whose interview was recorded in writing. The interviews lasted from forty-five minutes to one hour forty-five minutes.

5.4 Results and discussion

5.4.1 Structure of names

As in all other sections of this thesis, the terms official name and unofficial name are used in specific ways.

Official names are usually those which are given to a child at birth by their family. However, this is not excluding the possibility that these names might change or be replaced through life. A more precise definition would be that of one or several personal names which might be recognised and confirmed as their proper name by the individual themselves.

Unofficial names are those which are bestowed on the bearer and used amongst their community, or a section of it, but which would be unlikely to appear on documents identifying them. In some cases, as shall be demonstrated, these names are as important if not more so than the official names discussed above. The forenames used in these names are the ones usually used to identify the person within the community and so might not reflect exactly those which are written on official documents.

5.4.1.1 Official name structures

There were six naming structures which were used to reference a person in Buckie in an official way, including different usages of what might first appear to be the same structure. This was one more structure than in the Western Isles. Each included at least one forename and surname and they are set out below:

Structure A: [Forename] [Surname]

e.g. Alexander Smith

Structure B: [Forename] [Forename] [Surname]

e.g. John James Cowie (with John used as the familiar name and James seen as a middle name and rarely used). There is the possibility of iteration here, with more than one forename/middle-name used between the first (main) forename and the surname. This would usually only be one extra name, but could run to several.

Structure C: [Forename] [Forename] [Surname]

e.g. William George Murray (with William George used as a complete familiar name in itself. Referred to as ‘double-barrelled’ (as with the Western Isles) by some Elderly informants).

Structure D: [Forename]-[Forename] [Surname]

e.g. Jamie-Lee Murray (with Jamie-Lee used as the complete familiar name). The two forenames are joined by a hyphen in writing and always articulated together.

Structure E: [Forename] [Forename] [Surname]

e.g. James Alexander Coull (with Alexander (or a shortened form) used as the familiar name and James rarely used, other than for official purposes)

Structure F: [Forename] [Surname] [Surname]

e.g. George Smith Coull (with the middle surname seen as a middle name and not used in the same way as the final, hereditary, surname)

Structure G: [Forename] [Surname] [Surname]

e.g. George Mayer Smith as the official name, but with the middle surname used in place of the final, hereditary, surname in local usage. So the individual would generally be referred to as George Mayer and the final surname would usually be omitted. However, in official domains the final surname would be used.

Structure A

This was (jointly) the most common structure amongst my informants, across the age ranges. The name consisted of one given name and one hereditary surname. Both of these components were considered essential to a name given in this

community but, as with the Western Isles community, there was no necessity to bestow any more names than this.

Structure B

This was equally prevalent amongst the informants as Structure A, again with no clear generational divide. In this structure a child is officially given a second forename in addition to the forename and surname of Structure A, and this name is situated in between these two names. However, the name is rarely used and the individual is often referred to by only the first forename or first forename and surname. Informants were not always certain whether someone they were discussing had a middle name or not unless they were family members or close friends. It was also possible (and not extremely uncommon) for people to be given more than one middle name, with several forenames placed before the hereditary surname. However, in this circumstance the individual would still be generally called by their first and last names, as in Structure A.

Structure C

This structure was marked as belonging to the Elderly generation and older. There were no examples of my informants having these names themselves but examples were given by the Elderly generation of people they knew and had known being called by both forenames as if they were one name. The majority of examples given were male, but there were also some female examples. This is like

the usage in the Western Isles but is not still active as a naming structure in the same way. It seems to be dying out as an available 'local' naming option.

Structure D

This was only present amongst the youngest generation, but is very similar in structure to Structure C. The only difference is that the forenames in this structure are explicitly linked using a hyphen and the first forename would not be used on its own, even on official documents. Therefore this does not rely on community members' knowledge to articulate the two forenames together, as Structure C does.

Structure E

This was a rare structure and none of my informants had this for their own name. However, it was used, and examples were given of other individuals within the community named in this way.

Structure F

The giving of a middle surname was common, but seemed to happen more in the Elderly generation. The reasons given for this type of naming were to maintain a link, through the name, with the mother's side of the family. It was also possible to be given this through naming after someone else in their entirety (both forename and surname) followed by the hereditary surname.

Structure G

This structure was present amongst the Elderly generation. Though it looks on paper identical to Structure F, the names were used in a different way (in the same way that they were used differently in Structures B, C and D). The middle name was still a surname from the mother's side of the family, but was used almost as a replacement surname within the community. The fathers were present so this is not related to family structure but perhaps more to further identification of the individual when there are restricted forenaming choices.

5.4.1.2 Unofficial name structures

Structure A: [Surname] [Teename]

Structure B: [Forename] [Surname] [Tee-name]

Structure C: [Tee-name]

Structure D: [Parent forename]'s [Forename]

Structure E: [Tee-name]'s [Term for child]

Structure F: [Forename] (the) [Occupational term]

Structure G: The [Name of establishment/occupation] Mannie

Structure H: The [Name of establishment/occupation] Wifie

Structure I: [Forename] (the) [Name of fishing boat]

Structure J: [Name of fishing boat] [Forename]

Structure K: The [Name of fishing boat] Mannie

Structure L: [Nickname]

Structure M: [Nickname] [Surname]

Structure N: [Forename] [Nickname]

Structure O: [Characteristic] [Forename]

Structure P: [Forename] [Characteristic]

Structures A, B and C

In Structure B, the individual's usual, familiar form of the forename was used, which was likely to be a hypocoristic version (e.g. Sandy, rather than Alexander). The surname used in both Structure A and B was the individual's hereditary official surname, such as Smith or Cowie.

The function of this type of naming was to identify an individual with a particular strand of a family. While a hereditary surname might give a rough indication of the paternal line, the proportion of people with the same surname was so high that it was not possible to identify exactly which family a person belonged to, in a way that would be clear if each family in the area had a unique surname. To produce a more precise identification, another word was added to the surname to identify specific families within surname groups. This additional term could be used alone when identifying certain individuals, as in Structure C, in an almost nickname-like way. It could also be used alone to denote the whole family.

However the tee-name seems to have been predominantly used with the corresponding surname (as in 'He is a Smith Frasier'). If the family in general was being referenced then Structure A would be used (e.g. Cowie Carrot), whereas if a particular individual within the family was being referred to then their forename would be used followed by the surname and tee-name combination, as in Structure B (e.g. George Cowie Carrot).

Structures D and E

These are relational names. In Structure D a child was identified through their parent's name using a possessive ('s) grammatical structure, as would be expected in English/Scots. The forename is used, rather than any other identifier, because of the restricted usage of this type of unofficial naming. It was most prevalent within extended family and relation groups, particularly where many within the family shared the same forename. The function of this was to enable 'Anne's George' to be easily distinguished from 'Sheena's George'. The parent's name given was often the mother, rather than father. Again, this was probably because of restrictive male forenaming patterns making it more likely that the fathers have the same names as each other.

There were also a small number of examples given where the family tee-name was used in the place of the parent's forename, as in Structure E. The function of this was not to identify which George was being referred to in a family group, but to identify who was being referred to in the wider community. An example of this type would be 'That's Lockie's loon' to refer to a boy from the family who were known by the tee-name Lockie.

Structures F, G, H, I, J and K

All of these structures could be defined as occupational name structures.

Structures F, G and H refer to an occupation other than fishing. In the case of structure F this could be either a general occupation at which this person was

very well-known, or it could be a more specific occupation such as a brickie on a building site. The word 'the' could either be present or not in between the forename and occupational term. The forename used would always be the one by which the individual was familiarly known. Structure G was far rarer and was only heard to be used about a publican associated with his public house. However, it is conceivable that with this naming structure available, it might be used for other prominent occupations. Structure H suggests this as the female equivalent of 'Mannie' was used to denote a woman who ran a sweets business: she was known as 'The Sweetie Wifie'.

Those given the name of a fishing boat were very closely associated with the boats, generally the owner and skipper of the vessel. However, the structures are treated separately to other occupational terms here as the fishing boat names seem to have been particularly common and denote status to the individual. This is important in a community which was formerly very reliant on fishing as an occupation and social marker.

These names could differ in structure, with the boat name either preceding the forename, as in Bramble Bill, or in a postposed position, e.g. Jim Frugality or Alex the Steadfast. Structure K is similar to Structure G, with the name of the fishing boat used instead of the name of the establishment or occupation. However, this seemed more common when used about the fishing boats than it did for other occupations. It did not, as it might seem, imply less familiarity with

the skipper of the fishing boat, as when examples were given they included the official name of the skipper as well.

Structure K, L and M

In Structure K, the nickname replaces the forename entirely, and is usually used on its own, not with a surname. The nickname might consist of more than one word (e.g. Cow Heid), but these words are always articulated together rather than being seen as separate parts of the name.

There were rare instances of an official hereditary surname always being used alongside a nickname, as in Structure L (e.g. Ham Beaton). This was not common but did occur and used either the full surname or a shortened form of it.

Occasionally it played on the surname using either the lexical meaning of the etymon or a sound contained within it to create a nickname to be used alongside it (e.g. Daisy Chain for a woman with the surname Chain, Fishy Mac for a boy with a Highland surname and fishing connections).

More commonly, a forename was used alongside a nickname, with the nickname in the position of a surname, as in Structure M. This is being treated as a nickname, rather than a characteristic byname, when the meaning is obscure and is not easily categorised into typical byname categories such as appearance, etc.

Structures N and O

Sometimes a descriptive characteristic would be used with a forename. This follows the expected English/Scots word order of description (adjective or noun functioning as adjective) followed by proper noun. The forename used was always the familiar form, as in Structure B.

It was possible, though very unusual, for a subversion of the expected word order to take place, as in Structure O. This occurred when the forename was followed by a surname-like description. This seems to have only happened when a surname has been modified to create a descriptive term (and the name order stays as [Forename] [Modified surname]), but it is possible that these inversions have occurred when this is not the case. Certainly there are names which I have classified as nicknames which follow a [Forename] [Surname-like] word order, possibly as a parody of official naming patterns, functioning as a pseudo-formal nickname.

5.4.2 Given names

5.4.2.1 Forenames

The most striking thing about the forenames given at birth in this community was the shift in naming pattern which had happened within the lifetime of the Elderly generation. The community had moved from a system involving naming almost solely after relatives to one allowing for a great deal of flexibility and personal choice.

The informants in the Elderly cohort identified a pattern of naming also familiar from results of the Western Isles community. This was that there was an expected order of naming children, and that this involved the names of grandparents. The order was similar to the Western Isles, as follows:

| Position in family | Relative to be named after |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 st Male child | Paternal grandfather |
| 2 nd Male child | Maternal grandfather |
| 1 st Female child | Paternal grandmother |
| 2 nd Female child | Maternal grandmother |

Table 9 – Order of naming children after relatives, Buckie

The grandparent's name would generally be their forename which would be followed by the child's hereditary surname. However, there were also examples of

a whole name (forename and surname) being bestowed from the mother's side and followed by the hereditary surname, as in Official Naming Structures F and G.

As with the Western Isles, this expected order of naming was known to the Elderly generation and had been used as a model for the forename of most, though not all, of the Elderly informants. What was clear, however, was that they had all been named after a relative, even if not a grandparent. The informant whose parents had not followed the model had actually named her after her mother.

Siblings of the Elderly informants had also been named according to the strict model of grandparental naming, or to a slightly looser model which still used relatives' names as forenames.

Despite (or perhaps as a result of) being recipients of relational naming patterns, all of the Elderly informants had broken with the strict grandparental model in order to name their own children. Between their generation and their parents' was a deep shift in naming patterns which began to move from a closed system of relational naming to a system which favoured individual choice in the first names of children.

This shift was not universal or uniform – examples were given of some parents of their generation using names of relatives to name their children, even using grandparents' names, though not in the very structured way laid out in the model above. However, many examples given of the names which this generation had bestowed on their children were not names which had been passed down through their families. This was frequently presented as a choice made by the mother, rather than the father, as in the example below.

B-E-F1: Eh- It sometimes depends (.) Now- (.) N-not so much nowadays cos especially in (.) the younger generation, they're callin their childr- Well, I mean I chose Susan for my daughter which was (.) nobody's name, I just liked Susan

Interviewer: Right

B-E-F1: My mother-in-law was called Agnes and my husband would've loved me to call my daughter Agnes and [LOUDLY] no way was I calling my daughter Agnes!

Interviewer: [Laughs]

Some forenames, especially those for boys, were still picked from a stock of names within the family, with examples given particularly of sons named after fathers and other male relatives. However, this was certainly not the rule by this generation. The names of the Middle-Aged generation, as well as the reported naming choices of the Elderly generation, provide evidence showing this. Many of the children of the Elderly informants are similar in age to the Middle-Aged informants and all Middle-Aged informants were aware of why their parents had chosen their name.

There must have been considerable social pressure to name children after relatives up until the Elderly generation. The problems with this changing social dynamic are illustrated by one of the Middle-Aged cohort recounting the negative reaction of her paternal grandmother to the fact that her elder sister had not being given the name of a relative (and, more specifically, her name).

B-MA-F2: My mam had my sister- my sister's two years older than me (.)

Interviewer: Mm-hm

B-MA-F2: And this was granny (.) on my dad's side (.) Now she had assumed that it would be called after her, you see the baby would be called after her (.) Cos this was the tradition as you say (.) So- Actually my mam, when I think about it my sister's name's Joanne and there isnae another Joanne in the family

Interviewer: Oh right

B-MA-F2: So it- Maybe I was on the same wave-length as her (.) So anyway, my granny had gone to the hospital to see my mam (.) and she went home and they said 'Oh (.) Baby girl (.) Whit's her name?' (...) And it was Joanne but (.) granny had said (.) 'It's Jazabel or something like that' (.) She was going [laughing - inaudible] (..) So maybe they felt pressured to call me Mary, I don't know

The fact that they called their next daughter after both of her grandmothers (including one as a middle forename) suggests that the parents were under pressure from relatives, and that there could be social penalties for transgressing the familial naming traditions, even as these traditions began to die out.

By the time the Middle-Aged informants were naming their children, the relational naming system was very little used with first names. Names were chosen due to sound, connotations or an indefinable liking for the forename.

Some parents had consulted name books, which widened the choice far beyond traditional names used in the Buckie area.

Scottish identity was cited by some in the Middle-Aged and Elderly generations as an important reason for their name choices. This worked alongside other factors. When discussing choosing the names for their children, the wife of one informant (who had asked her to come into the room to help him answer this question) replied as below.

B-E-F3: Well, I liked the Scottish names (.) The shortlist was a' Scottish names

An Middle-Aged informant had also emphasised the Scottish element in his and his wife's choice of names for their children.

B-MA-M1: Well we both (.) Mary and I both like Sco'ish names erm er I guess it's just the Scottish identity thing. I m- we both (.) we both really liked Catriona erm (.) so that's a really nice Highland name

The informants did not express a feeling that where they lived was in the Highlands or formed part of the Highland identity, despite being fairly close to Inverness. This area seemed far more allied to Aberdeenshire, evidenced by statements made by the informants and their pride in the local Doric language rather than any kind of preference for Gaelic. However, a Gaelic Highland name is seen as desirable in this extract because it is unmistakably Scottish.

The media and celebrity culture were pilloried by many in the Elderly and Middle-Aged generations for introducing names which were too ‘fancy’ and out of place in Buckie.

B-MA-M1: I- I- I guess probably what an influence was there was a lot of fancy names going around eh at that time like (.) Keanu and all that and I just thought 'Awhhh (..) come on'

Interviewer: Yeah

B-MA-M1: And just kind of stupid names like that you know this and obviously the Hollywood influence and just- that was a complete turn-off erm

Interviewer: So do you get a lot of that in Buckie then?

B-MA-M1: There are- yeah. And actually the younger (.) generation, the generation I guess below (.) below me erm. There's a lot of Callum's in his classes. There's various [laughs] various erm (.) names that this- like Keanu or (.) or (.) Blue (.) erm yeah [responding to surprised look] [intake of breath] Don't ask [laughs] (.) Erm, just silly names like that you know when you attach it into something and you think 'oach really, I mean why did you- why did you bother' (.) sort of thing

Keanu and Blue were continually brought up by informants decrying ‘fancy’ names and celebrity names. These children were confirmed by informants, who knew the parents or children well, as being called after the actor Keanu Reeves by a mother who was a fan, and being called Blue in reference to Rangers Football Club, a well-supported football team from Glasgow, because the father was ‘a staunch Rangers fan’. The birth columns in the newspaper were also discussed by some informants, with names such as Ebony being singled out as particularly unusual or unsuitable. The social consequences of having an unusual name are discussed by one informant below.

B-MA-M2: I mean a- a lot of the kids I know are- have got like I'd nae say strange names but (.) obviously their parents have like (.) watched movies or watched films or watched TV and they want to think 'Ah I'll give my kids a kindof unusual name that'll stand oot' but

Interviewer: So they're like something-

B-MA-M2: I dinna think they're like thinkin o' the consequences, I think once they're five and six and in the playground and somebody's shouting (.) 'Blue, Blue, is that your name Blue?' then that guy is gonna get shit for the rest of his life until he's old enough to like (.) fight back, y'know

The forenames of a number of local children were available, as they were taking part in the local festival and school play during the fieldwork and had their names printed on the programmes. These names did not preserve the local and restricted naming stock given to the Elderly generation and above. However, they also contained few genuinely surprising names when seen in the context of popular names in the United Kingdom (with a few exceptions, such as Asia).

Surprisingly, those interviewed in the Teenage generation were also wary of what the older informants would call 'fancy' names. They all professed to wishing to call any future children by a 'normal' name. However, what was meant by a 'normal' name in this generation was probably fairly different to what the older informants might see as being a 'normal' forename.

Interviewer: I don't know but you're saying 'just a normal name'. What do you mean by a normal name?

B-T-M1: Well (.) Nae too- nae like a common name like (.) Amy or something or (.) eh Shaun or something, but eh just a- nae a name that's too auld fashioned (.) Nae a name that's like really quirky like the celebrities who ca' their bairns Coco or something

Interviewer: Or Apple or, yeah

B-T-M1: Just a (.)

B-T-F2: Like John

B-T-M1: No, nae like John. Just a name like (.) we've got like [...]

Interviewer: Like James or something? Or is that like too normal or?

B-T-M1: Well, ah no, I wouldna ca' it James (.) but (.) just (.) like my friend's name Jordan, that's like quite a- (.) quite a (.) normal, coolish name

Presumably Amy and Shaun here are seen as normal, as they are considered too common as names to give to a child. What might have been seen as a 'fancy' name by the Elderly generation has progressed to being a 'normal' name once we reach the Teenage generation. Their version of 'fancy' names are the more extreme and unusual names given by celebrities, while what older generations might have regarded as 'normal' names are seen as too old-fashioned to give to children.

5.4.2.1.1 Forenames and gender

Forenames in this community are almost always gender-specific. This is particularly true of the more traditional anthroponymicon in the local area. However, there were some exceptions to or slight variations on this.

It had previously been possible to alter a male name into a female version by adding the suffix –ina. Examples were given, such as Williamina, as in the extract below.

B-E-F1: Buckie was terrible for the feminine version (.) You would get Thomasina

Interviewer: Oh, yeah

B-E-F1: It's prevalent in the Western Isles too, isn't it?

The informant was aware of similar practices elsewhere, however in Buckie the practice seemed to have largely been discontinued, even by the Elderly generation, as examples given were further back still. However, it had been productive at least until the generation before the Elderly informants. The name would often be shortened into the hypocoristic forms Ina (pronounced /aina/) or Mina (pronounced either /maina/ or /mina/).

Sometimes hypocoristic forms were gender neutral, e.g. Sam and Chris, but originally came from a gender-marked name such as Samuel or Christine. Having hypocoristic forms being bestowed as official forenames had changed things slightly, as then Sam could conceivably be given to either gender. There were also examples given of newer 'fancy' names which could be given to both boys and girls, such as Jamie and Jodi. This trend could continue and expand. However, the vast majority of names collected belonged specifically to one gender or the other.

5.4.2.1.1 Hypocoristic forms

Hypocoristic forms of names were widely used. There were some very specifically local forms for some of the traditional male names (e.g. Dode for George). One informant gave the example of a father and son both called Alexander, one of whom was known by the hypocoristic form, Sandy, the other by the alternative, Alex (always pronounced /alɪk/ in this community, though spelt with an <x>). However, these names had declined in popularity so the local forms were used less in the younger generation.

Other hypocoristic forms were fairly standard, such as Jim for James, Bill for William, Vicky for Victoria and Sam for Samantha. However, their usage could be contentious, with two female informants (Middle-Aged and Teenage) intensely disliking it when people changed or shortened their own forename.

5.4.2.1.2 Names and Accent

There was a preoccupation in the interviews with ‘fancy names’ and how they sound when pronounced with a local accent. This was linked by some informants to a more general aping of celebrity culture which was seen as out of place and silly in a local context.

B-MA-F1: I think celebrity's got a lot to answer for, ca'ing their bairns a' these stupid names. I might never get it- I just dinnae get it, I think (.) no (.) You hear them up here and you think some of the names they've got (.) they sound lovely if you live in California but fen you live in Buckie, ye ken what I mean wi' the Buckie accent doesnae aiways go wi' some of these funny names. Then we'd think 'dearie me' [laughs]

Specific examples were given of names which were disapproved of, borne either by children at school or seen in the birth column of the local paper.

B-MA-F2: But- but I dinna like a' this fancy (.) modern names, I like a traditional name

Interviewer: Right. And d'you get that quite a lot or?

B-MA-F2: Em, it's quite bad here

Interviewer: Right

B-MA-F2: I would say the younger ones (.) You get Keanus and you've got Brittanys and (.) there was someone who David was at school with [tuts] (...) I'll get it, it'll maybe come to me while we're chatting (..) But it was so strange and they say it in the- in the local (.) dialect, it's like 'Keanu' [/ki an u/] an (.)

Interviewer: Doesn't sound quite right?

B-MA-F2: Naw, it doesnae sound just quite right

Even the Teenage informants were wary of giving a child a name which might sound different in a Buckie accent, as discussed below.

B-T-F1: It's a bit nicer than Keira [accented], you know the way people talk up here like Caitlin's not- it's 'Caitlin' [heavily accented], ken like the way they say it it's not very nice you know (.) so they say it in like a h- I wouldn't like my child to have a name that people would say in a horrible sort of way (.) know like (.) wouldn't say it properly

5.4.2.1.3 Middle names

As discussed above, the traditional method of giving children the name of a relative for their first name has declined. However, the link to the extended family through the name has, in many cases, not been entirely lost. Of those informants who had been given a middle name, almost all had been given the forename or middle name of a relative. This was usually one forename from a very close relative, such as a grandparent. However, more than one name could be given, even to an extreme level, as shown in the extract below.

Interviewer: Like how many names are people usually given at birth then? Like do people tend to be given middle names here or?

B-MA-F2: I think so yeah mm-hm

Interviewer: Right

B-MA-F2: Most of my family would have (.) at least one middle name- I have got a middle name, my son has, my husband has, my dad has, my mum's got about six I think [laughs]

Interviewer: Oh right [laughs]

B-MA-F2: [laughs] I don't think my granny wanted to offend anybody [laughs] so [laughs]

Interviewer: Oh, so are they all from relatives or?

B-MA-F2: Mm-hm (.) mm-hm

Even the Teenage informants generally had a link to family through their middle name if they had one. This could be seen as the function of many middle names, as they were often not used in later life. One of the more unusual examples combined a modern desire for uniqueness with naming after relatives. One Teenage informant had been given the initial J. as an entire middle name, as discussed below.

B-T-M1: My grandads were ca'ed James and John (.) so's not to choose one name o'er the other so just decided to make it a J (.) instead o' ha'ing like the word J A Y

Surnames were also used as middle names in order to maintain a link with the mother's family. This was a very important way of including both sides of the family in a child's name when the official system prescribes a hereditary surname inherited from the father. The middle surname is usually the mother's maiden name, but could be a surname from elsewhere (further back) in the mother's family.

B-E-M1: Middle names usually come from the mother's side

Interviewer: Oh right

B-E-M1: [Surname1], that was my mother's maiden name

These usually functioned in the same way as middle forename and were little-used, but could sometimes be used as an alternative informal surname in the Elderly generation, where a man might be known locally as Jim Baxter, rather than Jim Baxter Smith or simply Jim Smith (see section 5.4.1.1).

5.4.2.1.3.1 Double-barrelled names

As with the Western Isles community, two forenames could be given to a child in Buckie which functioned as one double forename, as discussed in the extract below.

B-E-F1: Another thing that was a favourite was double-barrelled names (.) You know a boy would be- a wrote doon a few o' them- You would get things like em (.) William George (.) and he would get the whole title (.) William George

This was a feature of the naming system of the Elderly generation but does not seem still to be productive in the community today.

B-E-F1: The older generation kept up these double names (.) you don't get that so much now

This could be as a result of the influx of new names and the resulting lack of necessity to distinguish an individual using more than one name.

Double names were more common for male names. However, women's names could also be double-barrelled. Examples were given such as Margaret Rose and Maggie Ann, where both names would always be used to identify the woman and she would never be known simply by her first name. All of these examples were for people in the Elderly generation, though some were given by younger informants about older relatives or acquaintances.

However, there were some hyphenated names amongst the teenage generation which are very similar in structure to the double-barrelled names. In these the instruction to use the names together is explicit, but they could be seen as two connected forenames, rather than as one. A female Teenage informant discusses hyphenated names below, when talking about middle names more generally.

B-T-F2: But some people have got like (.) hyphenated names like there's a girl called Jamie-Lee but that's like her- her ain name

Her introduction of hyphenated names to a discussion about middle names shows the uncertain quality of the second (post-hyphen) section as being part of the first forename, or a second forename in its own right. There may be a class distinction in the bestowal of hyphenated names for children, as they were described by one informant as sounding 'a bit chavvy'.

5.4.2.2 Nicknames

Nicknaming was professed by some informants as not being very prevalent within Buckie society. However, examples were given by every informant in every age group of nicknames which generally replaced the individual's name and were well-known within the community. The reluctance to assert the nicknaming culture may be as a result of what some informants saw as the derogatory nature of some nicknaming, or because not everybody has a nickname it could simply be seen as not particularly prevalent. Those who denied strong nicknaming in Buckie itself however, did discuss strong nicknaming practices in outlying villages in the wider Buckie area.

Many examples were given, and these can be classified into similar categories as, regardless of generation, the types of and reasons for giving nicknames were similar. The most productive reasons for giving a person a nickname related to appearance or an individual's official name. In the latter, a surname was often

used in preference to a forename or adapted in order to create a new nickname. Sometimes the surname would be used on its own, so John Cowie would be called Cowie in informal conversation. Often a suffix was used, particularly /i/, so for example George Tait might become Taitie or James Simpson might become Simmy. On other occasions the surname would be changed more markedly, so John Farquhar would become Fagster or Alex Sutherland would be known as Suds. In at least one case sound and semantic associations were used to entirely transform a surname into a nickname, from the surname Pirie through the near homophone Pear(ie) to the semantically close Apple.

It was also unremarkable for nicknames to be created from the sound of an individual's forename. There is obviously much overlap here with hypocoristic forms of forenames. This reflects the looseness of that category and its uncertain position between official and unofficial names. However, hypocoristic names are semi-formalised and well-known throughout the community in question as being less official versions of specific names. Versions of forenames which are classified here as nicknames would not automatically be recognised in this way, and so are less official still. Gogs from Gordon, Garf from Gareth and Frazie or Frazie from Fraser might all fit into this category.

The nicknames resulting from appearance were far more varied. There were some names which referenced very general features of their bearer, such as height, physical build or hair style or colour, in a semantically transparent way. These

were not as common as expected but still included examples such as Fatty, Plooky, Shorty, Lanky, Curly and Ginge. More common in the examples were names which referenced these features in a way that required explanation or shared knowledge. Rather than Ginge, some red-haired individuals were called G (for ginger) or Lighthouse (with very bright red hair), while a curly-haired individual was known as Popcorn Heid, Popcorn or Poppy. A large physical build was signified in many ways, with two examples being the nicknames Bungle (a character from children's television at the time it was bestowed) and B.A. (which stood for Bucket Arse). There were other names which related very specifically to the appearance of an individual, rather than an appearance 'type'. These included Mouzey (who had looked mouse-like in childhood), Cow Heid, Piggy (who was not fat), Bod (who had looked like a television character), Eggy (who had an egg-shaped head) and Mushroom (who had once had a mushroom-like haircut).

Occasionally characteristics other than appearance were used to create nicknames. These were comparatively rare but did include features such as smell. An example of this was a woman who had been named Eggy at school. She was still generally called this in later life and apparently did not mind – the functional aspect of the name has seemingly overtaken its original semantic content. Aspects of character could be emphasised in nicknames, such as Dozy (who was apparently clumsy) and Fishy (who was considered a gambling shark).

There were other nicknames which were used without knowledge of the reasons behind the names. One informant with a widely-used nickname was aware of who had given him the name but had no idea of why he was called that. Other nicknames without explanation included Peachy, Ooma, Mackie (which did not relate to the surname) and Toby (which did not relate to the forename).

Most nicknames in every generation had been given in school and carried on through the community from there. If the individual with the nickname stayed in the Buckie area then the nickname would often continue to be used throughout life, particularly by their own generation. Teenage informants reported their parents' use of nicknames within the community, as well as their own usage of nicknames in school. One Middle-Aged informant discusses the usage of his own nickname (bestowed in childhood) in the extract below.

Interviewer: And do people still call you that?

B-MA-M1: Oh yeah, yeah (.) uh-huh

Interviewer: Like, most people or?

B-MA-M1: Not most people, erm (..) but still a- er (..) A good few folk do though

Interestingly his nickname, which had nothing to do with his forename and which he did not know the reason for, had been adopted for a boy a few years younger than him in school on the basis that he shared the same forename as B-MA-M1. The younger man was still also known by this nickname. There were

other examples given of this practice of passing on nicknames to those with the same name.

It was also not unusual for school children to inherit nicknames from older siblings and parents. All examples given were for males, but this may simply reflect the much greater likelihood for a male to be given a nickname. Inherited nicknames of this type are discussed by a Teenage informant in the extract below.

B-T-F1: I think (.) also like if people's dads are ca'ed (.) something (.) they, maybe it would- it would maybe go onto them as well

Interviewer: Is that how [inaudible]-

B-T-F1: Aye (.) There's a few guys at my school

The examples that she went on to give were derived from surnames, so it is possible that the nicknames arose independently. However, the bestowers and users of the Teenage nicknames were clearly also aware of the nicknames of the fathers, which makes independent coinages unlikely. The nature of the Buckie community is important here, as the fact that there are strong community ties, and so people know each other both within and outwith the school, creates the conditions conducive to hereditary nicknaming.

Nicknames could even be passed on to siblings, with examples given from the Middle-Aged as well as Teenage generations. This suggests a function of social, rather than individual, identification. In one extreme case, the nickname 'Penis' had been bestowed on three brothers as they progressed through school, each named after the other. This is discussed in the extract below.

B-T-M2: There's a guy (.) who has a fairly obscene nickname (.)
[...]

B-T-M2: But he's got it because his brother had it

Interviewer: Aw kay

B-T-M2: em- but I dunno why his brother got it. I'm no- no- I
don't know if I want to know to be honest (.)

Interviewer: No

B-T-M2: And now his little brother, who's co- just come up, now
has that nickname

Though the nickname, Penis, is obscene in this case, it seems to have lost any shocking connotations in peer group usage and is apparently accepted by the three recipients. It is interesting to note that this naming of three brothers with the same nickname appears to subvert the usual individualising function of nicknames. It is performing a social categorisation function, as they are being labelled as belonging to the same family through the name. However, this is without any accompanying use of an individualising characteristic such as a forename.

What is very clear from the examples given is that it is much more common to give nicknames to males than to females in this society. There were only a very small number of examples given of female nicknames by informants, though some very young informants (children of a Middle-Aged informant) were able to offer more female nicknames at a primary school and family level. It is possible that these are less permanent, and so less likely to last into adulthood. Females of all generations were still very likely to have hypocoristic terms used for their forenames. The reasons given by informants of why the gender imbalance might occur included Elderly male informants suggesting that they were more likely to

be polite to the girls and Elderly females suggesting that the girls were more polite so less likely to bestow them. However, as gender equality has increased it might be expected that females would now be more likely to have nicknames than previously. This does not appear to be the case. One Middle-Aged informant discussed the social behaviour of boys at school (and his male football team in later life) as being different from girls in the way they interacted and suggested that nicknaming might be part of that.

B-MA-M1: Yeah some were I guess were probably a wee bit derogatory as well but erm (.) just y- n- it's this- cos it's blokes you know you expect to get th- a bit of the piss taken aff ye (.) And I guess there was that element of it as well

So the suggestion here is that nicknaming might be a function of male society in this community (or possibly more generally) in a way that it might not be in female society, where it does not form part of the bonding process. So, while nicknaming is certainly used in this community, from school days to later in life, it may play different roles for different groups within the community. A nickname might be used as an identifier by many, both male and female, but it might have been bestowed because it was a function of the social bonding process within male peer groups.

5.4.3 Surnames and bynames

5.4.3.1 Hereditary surnames

The surname statistics for the Moray council area are shown in the table below.

The level of isonymy in Moray is much less prevalent than in the Western Isles where the proportions are highly anomalous for Scotland. However, Moray has far more people with the same surname than a large urban area such as Glasgow, where Smith is also the most common surname but covers only 0.08% of the population.

| Moray council area (population 87,000, sample 5,615) | |
|---|---|
| SURNAME | PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLE BEARING SURNAME |
| Smith | 2.10% |
| Stewart | 1.48% |
| Morrison | 1.07% |
| Grant | 1.00% |
| Duncan | 1.00% |
| Campbell | 1.00% |
| Fraser | 0.94% |
| Reid | 0.93% |
| Anderson | 0.87% |
| Murray | 0.85% |

Table 10 – Top ten surnames in Moray council area in 1999 to 2001.

Source: Bowie & Jackson (2003). Percentages extrapolated from their sample data

However, Moray is a far larger area and population than simply Buckie and surrounding areas, including larger settlements such as Elgin. Therefore relying too heavily on these statistics to give an accurate picture of surnaming in the area is problematic, particularly as the RAF presence in Moray might skew the results towards non-local surnames. These figures are also extrapolated from a sample, rather than full, survey, which may have an effect. More accurate in terms of identifying the surnames in the Buckie area which would be situated as local is full population data from the 1901 Census for the smaller county of Banff, which then included Buckie in Rathven parish. The results are shown in the table below, with the percentages extrapolated from General Register Office for Scotland figures, as in the more recent table, above.

| Banff area 1901 Census (names collected 61,743) | |
|---|---|
| SURNAME | PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION BEARING SURNAME |
| Smith | 3.16% |
| Grant | 1.93% |
| Cowie | 1.62% |
| Wilson | 1.59% |
| Reid | 1.58% |
| Watt | 1.52% |
| Murray | 1.32% |
| Duncan | 1.26% |
| Robertson | 1.26% |
| Gordon | 1.19% |

Table 11 – Top ten surnames in the Banff area in the 1901 census.
Source: Table A7, Bowie & Jackson (2003). Percentages extrapolated from their full population data

The surnames in this 1901 table correspond more closely to the surnames of individuals given in examples by my informants and to the surnames of the informants themselves than those in the 1999-2001 table for the county of Moray. However, even this does not tell the whole story of surnaming within the Buckie area. Informants discussed much greater levels of isonymy historically within particular villages around, and areas within, Buckie than is suggested by the 1901 table above. There are surnames which are considered to belong to certain villages/areas in and around Buckie.

B-MA-M1: So depending on where you are along in any of th- the little villages along the coast

Interviewer: Mm-hm

B-MA-M1: you know exactly where they've come from: Cullen, Portknockie, Findochtie (..)

Interviewer: Right

B-MA-M1: because of the surname

Interviewer: And do people not move ab- round more these days or not or?

B-MA-M1: They do more, moreso now than they ever did (.) eh, but the name's still synonymous with the- the village

B-MA-F3: They do tend to stay. If they stay locally they do tend to stay in the village they grew up in (.) Usually

B-MA-F3 here is not a main informant, but is a local woman and was called upon to help in answering some questions by B-MA-M1 towards the end of his interview.

Areas associated with certain surnames were identified as follows by several informants (not all informants agreed on the main surnames in Portknockie – all of their submissions for that area are given here):

| VILLAGE/AREA | ASSOCIATED SURNAME/S |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| Portessie | Smith |
| Portknockie | Mayer, Slater Reid, Thaine |
| Cullen | Addison, Flett |
| Findochtie | Cowie |

Table 12 – Areas with associated surnames

5.4.3.1.1 Effect of marriage

In this community women almost universally changed their surname on marriage to that of their husband. However, in informal usage these woman were often known by their maiden name by those of their own generation and older.

Whether the informants used a maiden name depended on when they had met the woman: if they had known her before she was married (from school, etc.) then they would use the maiden name rather than the married name; if they had met her after she was married, particularly if she was an incomer to the area, then they would use the married surname when referencing her.

It was also an option for women to keep their maiden name as a middle name, though only one informant reported knowledge of this practice locally.

Marriage could have an effect on the names of children as well as of women. Examples were given of children changing their surname after a divorce to the surname of their mother. Other children had changed their surname to that of their step-father subsequent to that marriage.

5.4.3.2 Bynames

5.4.3.2.1 Tee-names

Black (1946: xxx) describes a system of additional names used in the North-East of Scotland. He calls them “to-names”²², but ‘tee-names’ is the spelling which is used locally²³. Fraser & Lee (2000: 63) note the use of tee-names amongst the fisher-folk of the North-East to distinguish people from others with the same name. In their study area in Aberdeen, in the late 1900s, two-thirds of the population shared only eight hereditary surnames. Barclay (1917: 90) describes tee-names as “almost universal” in the fishing communities of Banffshire in the early twentieth century.

The *New Statistical Account* for the parish of Cullen, which borders Rathven where Buckie is situated, describes the practice of using tee-names in 1842 because high proportions of people bore the same surname (Henderson, 1845: 331). These names were semi-official. Tee-names were used by shop-keepers to

²² From Old English *tō-nama*

²³ The term is also pronounced with a front-close unrounded vowel /i/, as would be expected from the spelling.

record debts and were so ubiquitous they were even used in official publications²⁴. Fowler (2010) has recently written about tee-names in some depth.

Tee-names were extremely prevalent in Buckie until the mid-twentieth century. This must be related to endogamy; with few surnames covering a population, as in the Western Isles, something else is needed to distinguish people. This is illustrated well by the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*: “[a]mong the twenty-five George Cowies in Buckie, there are George Cowie, *doodle*, George Cowie, *carrot*, and George Cowie, *neep*.” ([Robertson], 1845: 300-301)

They were still in common use in the early twentieth century, as described in the following quotation:

the tee-names of Buckie are bewildering in their variety. On the east side of the Burn, there were among the Coulls such names as King, Dotty, and Claw; in the large army of Cowies there were Bullen, Gullie, Carrot – a very common name – Diddle, Dozie, Dozie Junior, Upple, Pum, Imlach (his real name was George Cowie). Sannack (also a George Cowie), Santa, Bussie, Codlin, and Steiner; among the Jappys there were Wochel, Lad, Shake, Bouffie, Tanner, and Honesty; among the Murrays there were Gyke, Costie, Costie Bird, Costie Budge, Costie Peter, Prince Budge. Dottie, Smacker, Burd, Diddle, and Chap; and among the hundred odd Smiths there were several with the tee-name of Latin, a good few with the name of Miss, also Striple, Gauger, Cockie, Bo, and Frasie. (Barclay, 1917)

²⁴ <http://www.scotlandpeople.gov.uk/Content/Help/index.aspx?r=551&560>

The great number and variety of additional names here are striking. They are presented as belonging to particular surnames and this is relevant for this type of unofficial name, as will be discussed later in the section.

The tee-names continued in use further into the twentieth century. Bulloch (1932: 367), writing in the 1930s, gives another list of some of the tee-names used in Buckie:

Alex Cowie, “Gullie”; John Murray, “Gype”; James Thain, “Thainie”; Wm. Murray, “Prince”; Peter Murray, “Baron”; James Murray, “Burd”; Wm. Riach, “John”; Alex. Reid, “Reedie”; George Murray, “Bodge”; and John Cowie, “Strath.”

Some of these names are the same as those from the 1917 list, while others are different. Two of the more unusual surnames (for Buckie), Thaine and Reid, have simply been converted into tee-names with the addition of /i/, while the bearers of more common surnames (such as Cowie and Murray) have tee-names which are more diverse.

Some literature on tee-names can be vague about their structure. Nisbet (2006) seems to view them as the same as nicknames, borne by one individual, and some of the 1917 names may fit this pattern as well (Barclay, 1917). However, this seems to be a result of either looking at the names of individuals in isolation or using the term tee-name to describe the entire system of unofficial naming. The latter is a valid approach and recognises the origins of the names in nicknames for individuals, but does not fully explain the use of tee-names themselves.

The structure of tee-names in Buckie was set out in section 5.4.1.2, where they are usually used alongside the official name. Rather than having a strictly individualising function, the main purpose of tee-names was to identify families, as described by one Elderly informant:

B-E-M2: I think the tee-names is probably kinda just showing your eh (.) just sorta different branches of the same family, y'know (.) Ken? And eh how you got specific names (.) ken like my name's Frasier and I ken (.) because eh they aw upped and went to Fraserburgh awa, y'know

They were used to show different branches of Cowies, Murrays, Smiths and others, because simply having the surname 'Cowie' did not identify where a person belonged within the community and to whom they were related. Yet 'Cowie Carrot' or 'Smith Miss' would identify the exact branch of the family much more precisely.

These tee-names are hereditary. The above informant knew the origin of his family's tee-name, but was aware that this had been bestowed on an individual many generations before him. Another Elderly informant had tee-names on the sides of both his parents. In cases such as this (which would have been very common given the rates of inter-marriage within the community), the name followed the paternal line, as with the hereditary surname.²⁵

²⁵ This was the case even when the mother's maiden name was the same as the father's surname (which was not uncommon). The hereditary surname might be the same, but the paternal tee-name was adopted.

Interviewer: How do people choose which one to call you then
(.) like the Souter or the Lockie?

B-E-M1: Well it's maistly ca'ed efter you- your father

Interviewer: Right

B-E-M1: You p- you pick it up fae your father

All the Elderly informants stated that these names had still been in common use in everyday life during their parents' generation, but were rarely used now. It was no longer a practice which would identify others and determine their place within the community. The Elderly informant knew the tee-names of their own families but had not used them to communicate since childhood, other than discussing the practice itself with others of their generation. Because of this, many of the tee-names and who they belonged to have now been forgotten or are more difficult to retrieve. One informant suggested that tee-names could be used now as a way of tracing a person's heritage, rather than for reference.

B-E-M2: You could say (.) 'Oh yes, that was his father, that was his grandfather and that's his-' y'know you could trace it that wa' like y'know (.) But it wouldna be something that would spring to mind (.) ye ken (.) to identify them y'know. But if you were trying to- trying to say ken that was their- (.) that was their heritage, that was their lineage ye ken ye could (.) do it that way y'know?

The tee-names no longer fulfil a conversational function. They are remembered as genealogical items, as part of community history.

Remarkably, the very existence of these names was completely unknown to the Teenage informants. None of them had heard of tee-names or even knew whether their family had been called by one of these names. Only some informants in the

Middle-Aged generation were aware of them. Even those that had heard of them through speaking to parents could not use them for identifying purposes, but had simply heard of their existence.

There was no consensus as to why these names, which had been in common use until the mid-twentieth century, had been lost. A close-knit community might be expected to retain some knowledge of these names through oral tradition. That there was little or no oral tradition surrounding these family names is surprising. Buckie's fishing heritage is prominently celebrated in the town²⁶ and most informants discussed having a strong sense of identity and attachment to the area. Some informants suggested that the Second World War forced a break with old traditions, leading the names to disappear from use. Others felt that people did not interact as much within the community, and so knew fewer families and individuals.

It is also possible that these names were simply not necessary any more because of changes in forenames given within the community. Several surnames still predominate in the town and surrounding areas (see section 5.4.3.1). However, the bestowal of forenames at birth has changed from a closed system, which used relatives' names as the anthroponymicon, to a more open system where any name has the potential to be chosen. This means that there are fewer people with exactly the same forename and surname combination. Many people may share

²⁶ Through local festivals, historical societies and public displays.

the name Smith, but they are likely to be easily identified and distinguished by the use of their forename eliminating the need for additional names.

5.4.3.2.2 Relational bynames

As discussed above, in section 5.4.1.2, this type of byname tended to be used within a restricted, close environment such as an extended family. This way Mary's Dode could be easily referenced in opposition to Maggie's Dode, who might be a close relative but have a different mother. The familiar form of the forename would be used in accordance with the nature of the family group.

5.4.3.2.3 Characteristic bynames

Bynames giving a characteristic followed by the forename of an individual were not as common as more conventional nicknames within this community, and certainly not as popular as in the Western Isles. Some examples were given, such as Gala Jim who ran many local festivals, but they were very rare. If a characteristic was to be noted, this was generally done through replacing the name wholly with some type of nickname, as discussed in section 5.4.2.2.

There was some use of this on a restricted level though, in the home domain. Families with more than one member of the same name used terms to distinguish them, e.g. Big Paul and Young Paul, and Auld Jim, Jim and Young Jim (even after he became older).

5.4.3.2.4 Locative bynames

There was a limited use of locational terms to identify people. Some Elderly and Middle-Aged informants pointed out the use of the names of villages to identify people being written about in the local paper. In these cases a person's official name (possibly using the more familiar form of the forename), and their place of residence would be supplied in brackets afterwards in the following style: Sandy Smith (Portessie). This naming structure appeared to be a largely written, rather than oral, practice however. Names of this type were not given as examples by any informant or used in the presence of the researcher.

There was one nickname-type placename used to identify those from that area, particularly with relation to their perceived behaviour within institutions such as the school. The initials 'D.C.' were used in the form 'They're D.C.' to indicate that certain individuals were from the Douglas Crescent area of Buckie, which was considered to be a rougher area than most others.

It was also suggested that amongst farming folk who lived further inland than Buckie, people in the Elderly generation and older may have been known by the names of the farms on which they worked. However, at this time there were deep social divisions between the farmers and fishers, and those involved with the fishing community at Buckie did not know people by these names, though the farming folk were thought to have used them amongst themselves.

5.4.3.2.5 Occupational bynames

More examples of bynames relating to occupation, rather than characteristics, were offered. Some of these used 'the' as a short-hand term for 'who sells/produces/functions as', as in Robbie the Stick, whose business was in selling firewood (or sticks), and Bill the Baker. This was not always the case however. Petrol Willie worked on the petrol pumps and so had been known as that when informants in the Elderly generation were young. Jim Brick worked on building sites, specifically working with bricks and so being given a very specific occupational term. The Sweetie Wifie was not given her forename alongside the occupational term, but had originally been an incomer so this may result from a lack of familiarity alongside a high-profile occupation locally.

5.4.3.2.5.1 Connected with fishing boats

There were also occupational terms connected with the fishing industry. This had been such an important part of life in Buckie that fishers were often connected with their boats. However, with the decline of the fishing industry these types of names seemed to be disappearing, with many younger informants claiming not to use them.

Structurally they are similar to the occupational bynames above, with the name of the fishing boat standing in for the name of a specific occupation to connect the fisher with his boat. A linking term 'the' may or may not be used, the boat name

may be pre- or post-posed, and the forename might not be given (though it usually is). Examples include: Bramble Bill, The Cadona Mannie, Alex the Steadfast, Steadfast Alex, George the Manna, and Jim Frugality.

5.5 Summary of Buckie naming practices

The naming practices in Buckie form a system, as they do in the Western Isles, the specifics of which are unique to this community but which displays a wider Scottish influence. Despite a high degree of isonymy in surnames, official names are now predominantly used alongside a smaller number of nicknames.

The most noticeable pattern in this community, however, is the change which has taken place over the course of several generations. As the practice of naming children after relatives has decreased, parents have been allowed far greater freedom in choosing a name for their offspring (cf. Lieberman, 2000, for more global examples of this trend). In Buckie, this has followed a decline in the use of semi-official names which had been common in the area until the Elderly generation were young. Certain surnames, such as Smith and Cowie, were so dominant in the local area that they were not sufficient to differentiate individuals or families. Tee-names worked alongside official surnames to identify groupings of relatives, different branches of Smiths for instance. Now these names, which had been such important family identifiers that they were written on census forms and in newspapers, are unheard of in the Teenage generation.

It is possible that the rapid decline in tee-names is as a partial result of increased forename-choice. Even though the surname stock has remained similar, if people have different first names from each other then they can be more easily identified

using their official name. This assumes that the tee-names fulfilled a purely referential and identifying function.

As in section 4.5, the table below shows the naming practices as used by the generations in the Buckie study. Each naming practice has been scored on a Likert-type scale from 1 to 5, based on qualitative observation of practices extracted from the Buckie interview data. This will be compared with patterns from the other communities in section 9.1. The numbers reflect whether a naming practice is rarely present (1) on a scale to a practice occurring very frequently in a particular generation (5), as follows:

- 1 – Never/rarely occurs
- 2 – Occasionally occurs
- 3 – Sometimes occurs
- 4 – Regularly occurs
- 5 – Always/very frequently occurs

| Naming practice | Elderly | Middle-Aged | Teenage |
|---|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| First name after relative | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| Middle name after relative | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Lexical meaning of forenames important | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Different versions of names for diff. languages | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Hereditary surname from father | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| True patronymic ²⁷ | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Patronymic as unofficial name | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Last name no connection to relative | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Women's surname changed on marriage: | | | |
| -officially | 5 | 5/4 | N/A |
| -unofficially | 3 | 3 | N/A |
| Use of semi-official names ²⁸ | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| Use of nicknames/unofficial names | 3 | 3 | 3 |

Table 13 – Buckie naming practices over generations

²⁷ As the official 'surname'.

²⁸ Different from an official one, but could be used in a community publication/newspaper, for example, to identify someone within that community.

6. Glaswegian community

6.1 Geography

The urban indigenous Scottish community featured in this research are located in the city of Glasgow, the largest city in Scotland. The city is located on the map below, enclosed by a red square.



Figure 8 – Map of Scotland marking the city of Glasgow²⁹

²⁹ Map author: Eric Gaba, shared under GNU Free Documentation Licence

The city of Glasgow had a population of 584, 240 in 2008 (General Register Office for Scotland, 2008a), having risen from the 577, 869 people recorded in Glasgow in the 2001 Census.³⁰ The city is shown in the map below.

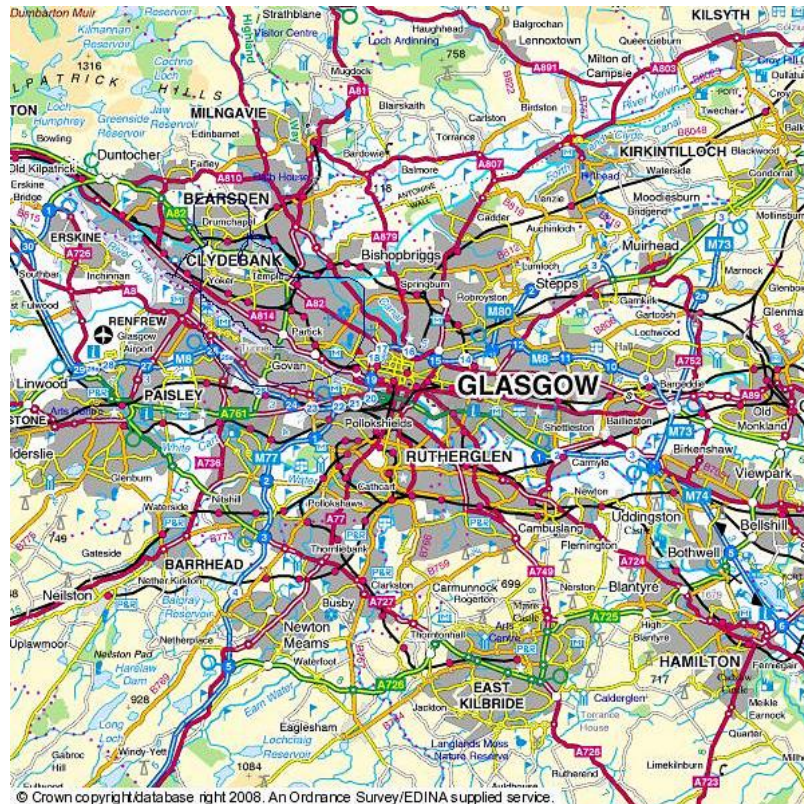


Figure 9 – Map of the city of Glasgow and immediate surroundings³¹

The General Register Office for Scotland (GROS) recorded 1,168,270 people in 2001 as residing in the Greater Glasgow area, which includes surrounding areas which have close links with the city, including commuting towns (General Register Office for Scotland, 2003). This is not an official administrative area and

³⁰Information obtained using Scottish Census Results OnLine (SCROL) analysis tools at <http://www.scrol.gov.uk>

³¹ Ordnance Survey map supplied by EDINA/Digimap

is divided up between the surrounding counties of East and West Dunbartonshire, East Renfrewshire, Renfrewshire, North and South Lanarkshire. However, the GROS do not include many large neighbouring towns in this enumeration, including East Kilbride and Cumbernauld which are among the largest settlements in Scotland. Therefore, the actual total of the population of the wider Glasgow area is much higher.

The city itself is generally administered and considered in five or six major regions of North, East, Central and West to the north of the River Clyde, which runs through the city, and South-East and South-West to the south of the river. The area selected for this study was the West region. This corresponds to parts of the 2005 Glasgow Anniesland and Glasgow Kelvin Westminster parliamentary constituencies and, more precisely, the 2001 Census Area Statistic Sectors of G11 6, G11 7, G13 2, G13 3, G13 4 (part), G14 0 (part), G14 9, G15 6, G15 7 and G15 8. Local areas recognised within this include Drumchapel, Knightswood, Partick, Scotstoun, Whiteinch and Yoker. These are considered to be the more traditionally working-class areas of west Glasgow, in contrast to more middle-class areas such as Hillhead, Hyndland and Jordanhill which are socially fairly distinct. The area selected is bounded in blue on the map on the following page. These areas had a combined population of 70,434 in 2001.³²

³² Information obtained using Scottish Census Results OnLine (SCROL) analysis tools at <http://www.scrol.gov.uk>

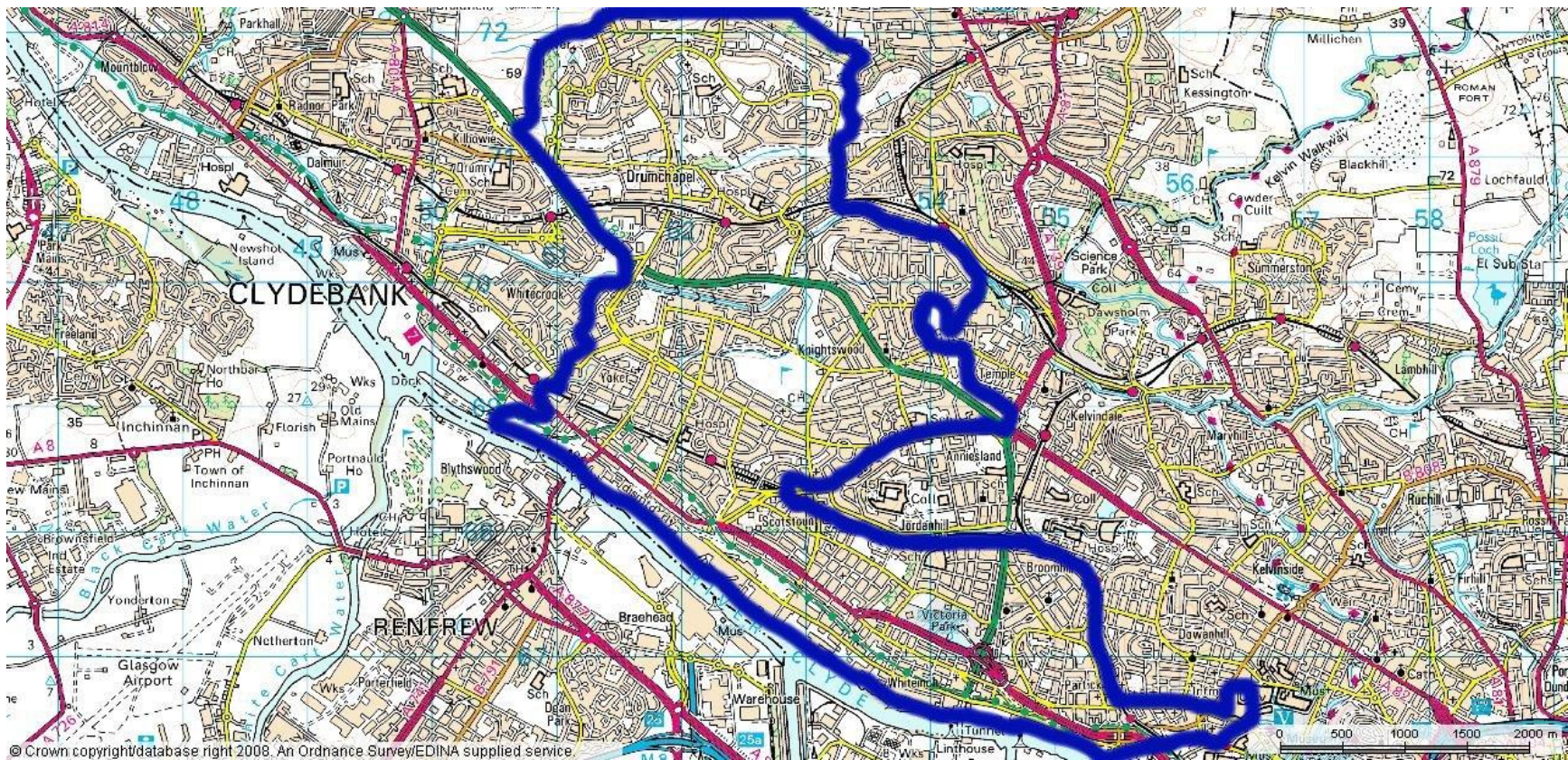


Figure 10 – Area of west Glasgow considered to be largely working-class and selected for study³³

³³ Ordnance Survey map supplied by EDINA/Digimap

6.2 Social and linguistic conditions

6.2.1 Language

As mentioned in section 3.1.1, a continuum of Scottish English to Broad Glaswegian is spoken in the area (Stuart-Smith et al., 2007: 227), with most indigenous inhabitants having a repertoire of more than one variety. As a largely working-class area, it would be expected that the population would be more likely to speak in Broad Glaswegian dialect. However, as most are schooled in Scottish Standard English which language variety they speak can depend on the domain.

6.2.2 Society

The population density of Glasgow is 32.93 persons per hectare, typical of an urban, built-up area. The population of Glasgow Anniesland and Glasgow Kelvin parliamentary constituencies, covering the west area, are even more concentrated, with respectively 40.46 and 50.17 persons per hectare.

Glasgow as a whole has only 18% of the population of pensionable age, slightly lower than the Scottish average, though it also has fewer people under the age of sixteen than average.³⁴

³⁴Information obtained using Scottish Census Results OnLine (SCROL) analysis tools at <http://www.scrol.gov.uk>

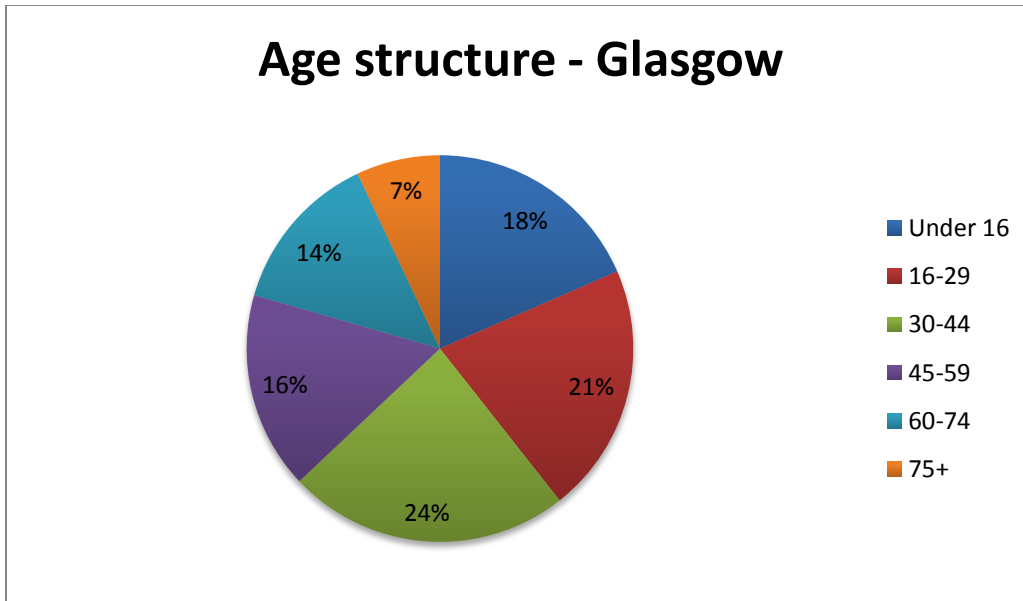


Figure 11 – Age-structure of the Glasgow population³⁵

90% of people in Glasgow were born within Scotland, with just over 3% born outside Europe. Both percentages are higher than the Scottish averages, with a larger group of international immigrants but also a higher proportion of Scottish people relative to those from other parts of the United Kingdom.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, there was a programme of planned population movement in the Greater Glasgow area. This was carried out to relieve severe overcrowding in the city's housing stock. Johnstone (2000: 141) reports figures from the 1951 Census relating to housing conditions in Britain's major cities. 41.5% of Glasgow's housing stock had only one or two rooms. The next

³⁵ Information obtained using Scottish Census Results OnLine (SCROL) analysis tools at <http://www.scrol.gov.uk>

highest in the list of principal cities³⁶ was London, where 2.7% of dwellings had only one or two rooms, with the other cities having even smaller percentages. In 1951, 24.4% of Glasgow's population also lived at more than two persons to a room. This again was far higher than in other cities, where the figures ranged from 2.1% in Manchester to 6% in Liverpool. Glasgow Corporation, the local municipal body, formulated a plan to move 500,000 people out of the slum areas (Miller, 2003: 197). There were separate stages to this, including building new towns away from the city (such as East Kilbride and Cumbernauld), constructing large developments on the periphery of the city (such as Drumchapel and Easterhouse) and providing new housing in the city itself. Much of the newly-built city housing was tower blocks. Miller (2003: 199) states that "[b]y May 1969 there were close to 50 000 people living in the city's 163 multi-storey blocks, and by the end of the 1970s the number of blocks had doubled to 321".

One Elderly informant had moved as a child from Blackhill to one of the new peripheral schemes.

G-E-M2: So we moved to Pollock (.) er (.) Then Pollock was (.) the- the- the government said 'Right, Get (.) families (.) out (.) of Glasgow. Get them out o' this tenement environment (.) Put them into countryside (.) Let them breathe fresh air'

Interviewer: Aye

G-E-M2: Which is absolutely marvellous but they forgot to put the amenities in

³⁶ The table shows data for Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, London and Sheffield (Johnstone, 2000: 141).

Here he reveals one of the main criticisms of the peripheral schemes, which was that there were very few amenities despite being away from the city. This did not promote cohesion in the new communities. In the following decades some of these schemes would become as notorious as the slums they were built to replace.

This mass-movement of people, while providing less crowded living conditions, caused great social upheaval. Close-knit communities with dense social networks were fragmented as individual families were dispersed into the new housing schemes in different parts of the city and beyond (Stuart-Smith et al., 2007: 225).

Most of the Elderly and Middle-Aged informants in the Glaswegian community had experienced this social upheaval first-hand. It was mentioned by several informants that the slum areas where they had originally lived had felt 'like a village' where everybody knew each other and what was happening, while the new areas that they were moved to had little of that strong sense of community.

Another Elderly informant had been born and brought up in Maryhill and discussed the expectations and reality of being dispersed into a Corporation house.

G-E-F2: Well they would (.) be put in for a corporation house which everybody did, that was a utopia if you couldn't buy (.) So you just put your name in and it took- I- I mean the housing list was tremendous (.) So you put your name in and in due course- you might wait for about fifteen years, as long as that (.) but when your house came up

Interviewer: Oh right

G-E-F2: Oh well was- that was you were goin out tae a house that had a garden (.) you lived in a- in a tenement (.) a- your bathroom (.) em your own front door (.) It was just perceived as utopia

Interviewer: Right

G-E-F2: But a lot of people once they were out there (.) felt very isolated again it was a big big (.) transition, they had to go everywhere (.) by bus. It was a big journey to go from like Drumchapel at that time into Glasgow whereas in Maryhill they just toddled down the road and it was all happening

The dispersal of populations, the lack of amenities and the problems of isolation all contributed to the unravelling of social networks which had been strong for generations. Stuart-Smith et al. (2007) found that the social networks in the working class area which they studied had been rebuilt and strengthened since the dispersal in the latter half of the twentieth century. Miller (2003) also discusses community cohesion in the Gorbals area. My working-class community in the west of Glasgow did not seem entirely cohesive in this way. Some of my informants lived in tower blocks, some in tenement flats, and others in social housing or ex-social housing which consisted of low-rise flats or houses. Very few of the informants knew their neighbours well or even at all. Many had looser social networks which connected more remotely to family, friends and work colleagues who did not live very locally to them. Most lived within a few miles

though, so while an informant's social network ties were much looser than those of the Western Isles and Buckie, they were still situated within the west of Glasgow.

6.3 Methodology

6.3.1 Access to community

My access to the Glaswegian community resulted from attempts to access the asylum seeker and refugee community discussed in Chapter 8. I worked in a community centre in the west of Glasgow, continuing this involvement with voluntary participation in social groups based around the centre. Though this was initially in order to gain access to refugees and asylum seekers and their social networks, it had other secondary effects. One was to introduce me to members of the local community and wider west of Glasgow area who worked and volunteered in the community centre. Another was to integrate me with members of the local indigenous community who used the centre as local residents. These included members of a pensioners' lunch club, a women's group containing both indigenous and immigrant women, and, more distantly, the public at events such as the local festival and Senior Citizens' fair. Getting to know these members of the local and wider communities allowed me to widen my links in the community

through their social networks. This included being invited to social events as a colleague and led to something approaching insider status.

However, access to particular types of informant proved difficult. Few of my community activities included working with young people, partly as a result of the lack of activities offered to this age group by the community centre at which I was working. Older men were also lacking in my research, as they did not use the centre and a high male death-rate in working-class areas of Glasgow can mean that older men are more difficult to find.

To resolve this I asked older women to put me in contact with male friends in order to recruit informants. In order to recruit Teenage informants I used community contacts with a local High School to carry out research within that school. The High School chosen had a working-class catchment area and included a bilingual unit at which many refugee children were studying. This provided me with younger informants for interview, both in the indigenous Glaswegian community and in the Refugee and Asylum Seeker community.

6.3.2 Informants

| Age range | Sex | Born/ brought up in Glasgow | Occupation | Code |
|-------------|-----|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|---------|
| Teenage | M | Yes | School pupil | G-T-M1 |
| Teenage | M | Yes | School pupil | G-T-M2 |
| Teenage | F | Yes | School pupil | G-T-F1 |
| Teenage | F | Yes | School pupil | G-T-F2 |
| Teenage | F | Yes | School pupil | |
| Teenage | F | Yes | School pupil | |
| Middle-Aged | M | Yes | Janitor | G-MA-M2 |
| Middle-Aged | M | Yes | Community worker | G-MA-M1 |
| Middle-Aged | F | Yes | Community worker | G-MA-F1 |
| Middle-Aged | F | Yes | Administrator | G-MA-F2 |
| Late 50s | F | Yes | Unemployed/ incapacitated | |
| Early 60s | M | Yes | Builder | |
| Elderly | M | Yes | Retired printmaker | G-E-M2 |
| Elderly | M | Yes | Retired shipworker | G-E-M1 |
| Elderly | F | Yes | Retired accountant | |
| Elderly | F | Yes | Retired shopworker | |
| Elderly | F | Yes | Retired housewife | |
| Elderly | F | Yes | Retired factory worker | G-E-F1 |
| Elderly | F | Yes | Retired housewife | G-E-F2 |
| Elderly | F | Yes | Retired housewife | |

Table 14 – Glasgow informants

6.3.3 Interviews

Interviews were carried out in a semi-structured manner, as in the rest of the communities. The questionnaire/prompt sheet was altered slightly to suit the community in question (see Appendix C). Questionnaires were also used in classes in the High School (see Appendices H, I and J). Interview length varied greatly, the shortest lasting forty-five minutes and the longest five hours over two interview sessions.

The number of interviews undertaken was greater than the optimum number for my study. This was for several reasons:

1. I was integrated into the community through my work and so came into contact with many people through participant-observation. This meant that I largely conducted my own informant recruitment, rather than having help from gate-keepers for the community who might only offer the asked-for number of potential informants.
2. It was unclear whether I would be able to recruit a suitable range of informants so originally interviewed any willing informant, including those outside the ideal age-range.
3. Interviews were used as a recruitment tool, as informants were more likely to be happy to recommend me to others in the community having been interviewed themselves and having an understanding of the process.

The testimony of all informants contributed to my understanding of naming and social life within this community. Not all interviews were utilised in entirely the same way. Initially, twelve primary informants were selected to represent the community, with two male and two female informants each from the Teenage, Middle-Aged and Elderly categories. However, this was then widened to include a greater range of informants and experience. Therefore other interviews were used for supplementary examples and to gain a wider understanding of the community.

6.4 Results and discussion

6.4.1 Structure of names

6.4.1.1 Official name structures

Structure A: [Forename] [Surname]

e.g. James Gray

Structure B: [Forename] [Forename] [Surname]

e.g. James John Gray (with James used as the familiar, as well as official, forename and John rarely used). Often this is written as Structure A. The middle forename can be reduplicated, usually only once but potentially many times.

Structure C: [Forename] [Forename] [Surname]

e.g. Ann Marie Gray (with Ann Marie written as if they are separate words, but always articulated together to form one name)

Structure D: [Forename] [Forename] [Surname]

e.g. Jean Pamela Gray (with Pamela used as the main familiar forename, despite its middle position, and Jean rarely used other than for official and/or written purposes).

Structure E: [Forename] [Surname] [Surname]

e.g. James Campbell Gray (with Campbell seen as a middle name, rather than a hereditary surname and so not generally used). This type of name is often written as in Structure A, missing the middle surname out completely.

Structure F: [Forename] [Forename] [Surname] [Surname]

e.g. James John Campbell Gray (however, only the order of the first and last names are static here, so the parent could decide to arrange this as James Campbell John Gray, or even add further middle names of either type).

Structure A

This was a common structure amongst the informants, though surprisingly not the most common. However, Structure A is often the commonly-used structure even if the name on the birth certificate has a different structure. It is often assumed that middle names can be disregarded. This is because a child in the community must be given a minimum of two names – a forename and a surname – but need be given no more than that. The surname is always hereditary, and almost always comes from the father, though there are some exceptions to this in the data, which is discussed in section 6.4.3.1.

Structure B

This was the most common structure reported in this community, though not by a great margin. A child was usually given a supplementary forename between the initial forename and the surname. However, it was generally not used in any but the most official correspondence and informants were sometimes not aware if people, other than close family, had a name which was Structure B or Structure A.

Structure C

Though this is written as two separate forenames on paper, it is always articulated as one name. However, these examples were only given for females and appeared in what might be regarded as fossilised constructions, something which might be seen as akin to idioms in more general language, e.g. Ann Marie and Carol Ann. All examples given in this community contained the element 'Ann'. These could be seen as similar to the hyphenated names given in Buckie as forenames and, indeed, it would not be unexpected for similar hyphenated names to occur. Similarly the example Luanne (pronounced in the same way as Lou Ann might be, and which came from the title of a rock song) was also given. This name is one forename rather than two but also demonstrates how these double forenames are generally treated as one name and articulated as such.

Structure D

This was extremely rare, but there was one example given of the use of a middle forename as the familiar, generally used forename, rather than the initial forename. In this case, the middle forename Sam was used in preference to the initial forename Lillian. This phenomenon might be more wide-spread than has been uncovered by the small sample.

Structure E

The use of a surname as a middle name was most common amongst the Elderly generation and above. However, many examples were also given for the Middle-Aged generation and a small number for the Teenage cohort. The surname given represented a surname previously used in the family which had been absorbed by marriage. This was often the mother's maiden name, but not always – it could be a grandmother's or even a great-grandmother's maiden name. It was also possible to name somebody after a relative in their entirety, including forename and surname. This would still result in a surname other than that of the immediate paternal line as a middle name though, otherwise the individual would receive the relative's forename and the hereditary surname they had anyway.

Structure F

This structure works in a similar way to B and E, but forenames and surnames are both used as middle names between the initial forename and the hereditary surname. The elements can be presented in any order as long as the outer naming structure remains in place.

6.4.1.2 Unofficial name structures

Structure A: [Nickname]

Structure B: The [Nickname]

Structure C: [Nickname] the [Nickname]

Structure D: [Modified surname]

Structure E: [Modified forename]

Structure F: [Characteristic]

Structure G: [Characteristic] [Forename]

Structure A

These nicknames were in use in this community, but only in the context of a lower level of nickname usage in the community as a whole when compared to others in the study. The nickname would entirely replace the original name of the bearer in certain contexts. However, it was rare for a nickname to be used more widely than in a close friendship or family group. The names usually consisted of

one word (e.g. Skittle), but could in some instances be a phrase (such as Hairy Toes – this was not a description/characteristic, but a joking reference to a shared experience).

Structures B and C

In a few rare cases, the nickname contained the definite article. In this case ‘the’ would be used either in front of the name (e.g. The Gring), or in the middle of the name (in the single example Roffle the Waffle).

Structures D and E

Particularly common were examples where an altered form of the surname or forename was used as a substitute for the individual’s name. This is used as a nickname, though its status is somewhere between official and unofficial name as it changes the official version to a greater or lesser degree. So a boy with the surname O’Brien might become OB, while one with the surname Watson could become Watty. Similarly, a Paul could be known as Palsy within a small group, while James could be Jambo.

There were two examples given where more than one name was used in this type of nickname. Both are close to the official (or semi-official) versions of the name but were introduced as nicknames in interviews and were reportedly used in an

informal and light-hearted way, These examples were Alex Alex /alik alik/ who had both the forename and surname Alexander, and Andy Sandy who was given hypocoristic version of his forename and middle name (which was not generally used) to create a rhyming nickname-like construction.

Structures F and G

The use of a defining characteristic was also not particularly common, though it did occur. This could be hair colour if a person had red hair (e.g. Ginge). It could also relate to physical size or appearance (e.g. Tubby, Spec or Wee Steph).

However, Structure G was more commonly reported by the Elderly and Middle-Aged informants as a strategy to differentiate those within the same family who had the same name (e.g. Young Joe and Auld Joe).

6.4.2 Given names

6.4.2.1 Forenames

The great generational shift in forename bestowal, seen in the two previous chapters on indigenous Scottish communities, was also evident in the Glaswegian community. The Elderly generation and above had all been named after relatives. This did not follow the system found elsewhere, in which it was expected (though not always followed) that children would be named after grandparents following

a relatively strict order and allowing for little choice. In this community the names of any close family were available to use to name children born in the Elderly generation and above.

Despite the fact that there was less expectation of a strict adherence to naming practices, there was still considerable social pressure from the extended family to name the child after them. The repercussions of not doing this and the discord that could arise from such an action are discussed below by an Elderly male informant.

G-E-M1: But that was- people were offended, y'know, if you didn't name (.) them after them, y'know (.) same as if you didn't put any of the parents' names in it was looked on as a big slap in the face to them, y'know (.) They wanted children to be named after them, y'know

There were social taboos to not naming after close relatives, and this could have real consequences at a time when families still lived closely together, often several generations in the same 'close' or tenement landing. Housing conditions were such that many families were brought up in a 'room and kitchen' where two main rooms housed whole families. These housing conditions persisted in some areas until the late nineteen eighties, with some of the Middle-Aged informants, as well as the Elderly ones, having been brought up in this environment.

The tradition of naming after relatives produced a small stock of commonly used names which were used over and over again as families grew. The Elderly female informant, below, links the lack of variety in forenames directly to the social pressure to name children after family, and the fear of the consequences of disappointing the relatives.

G-E-F2: I think in actual fact if you talk about the old brigade em (.) It's like John, I mean you shout 'John' in Glasgow and half of Glasgow turns round y'know (.) em (.) I think it was one of these things, if you didn't call your child after your mother or your mother-in-law or that ooh [intake of breath] that was disrespectful, I mean that was not on so (.) poor souls. I mean my- my sister was worse than me, much worse, she got Doris (.) Which I think is absolutely dreadful

She attributes her sister's "dreadful" name to this system as well, implying almost a total dearth of choice up to her generation because of the relational naming system. It was not a free choice, as naming after a relative was seen as a sign of respect for that person, perhaps implying disrespect if their expectation for the use of their name were not met. One Elderly informant described having a name passed to a child as "a form of immortality", and this helps to explain the importance that was attached to this tradition.

Distinctly from the other indigenous communities, it is extremely common for a son to be given the forename of his father. This was mentioned by Buckie

informants as being a feature of the Glaswegian naming system and was confirmed by the Glaswegian informants themselves. This was certainly the case for the Elderly generation, as evidenced by many informant examples and as discussed in the following extract.

G-E-M1: All boys were called either John or James

Interviewer: Mm-hm

G-E-M1: Simple as that y'know. And most of your names came from your father

Interviewer: Right

G-E-M1: Y'know you tend to your father or your grandfather's name, y'know (.) Y'know so- so that was- Names followed in families

The desire of the father to name a son after himself was still in evidence amongst the Middle-Aged generations with some, though fewer, examples given of this naming behaviour. This decision did seem to be one made by the father in having a son to carry on his name, rather than the mother making that decision. Indeed, in some families conflict had arisen because of this aspiration on the part of the father. Other mothers were more willing to countenance this. In the extract below, a female Middle-Aged informant discusses naming her son after her then husband, and the ubiquity of this naming practice amongst her social group at that time.

G-MA-F2: Before I had Robert I remember my ex used to always say oh he would love a son named after- It obviously meant something to him

Interviewer: Right

G-MA-F2: (..) But em- I think that was the kinda done thing then as well cos (..) aw my friends everybody called (..) their kids, if it was a boy after their husband or after th- it was always somebody in th- it seems to

Interviewer: Oh right

G-MA-F2: kinda the done thing (.) then. No so much now, but then, aye

None of my Teenage informants had been given a parent's forename. However, one male Teenage informant had a brother who had his father's name (though it was recorded in the hypocoristic form on the birth certificate, in the same way as his father's familiar, rather than official, forename). The other male Teenage informant had a brother who had been given his father's name as middle forename, as in Structure B. Relational middle names will be discussed in more depth in section 6.4.2.1.4. The practice of giving a father's forename to a son still appears to have some purchase in this community, though not as strongly as in previous generations.

In general, however, the reasons for bestowing forenames have changed markedly from the birth of the Elderly generation to the present-day. The ties of being bound to family for their naming stock have loosened and there is far greater free choice in the naming of children by parents. This applies to initial forenames only, as middle names are bestowed differently and for different

reasons, as will be examined in section 6.4.2.1.4. This loosening of ties began with the Elderly generation themselves, though. They and their siblings had been named using the restricted relational naming system. However, the way in which they named their own children was different. They no longer felt the necessity to name after relatives. Some informants believe that the Second World War and the subsequent changes in society and mobilization of the population had contributed greatly to the shift in this community's naming practices.

G-E-M1: I think it probably was a case of freedom, yes

Interviewer: Mm-hm

G-E-M1: Yeah, people weren't- didn't come back from the war, and the women being out to work, they came back with a sense of fr- they weren't going to follow regimented sorta (.) views of the past, they were going to make their own decisions and go their own places (.) And that's how people moved out, moved away and that kind of thing (.) which was totally unknown when I was young (.) You got married, you got a house- you expected to get a house pretty close to your ma and pa sort of thing (..) That was it [...]

The war changed that entirely

The reasons that the Elderly generation gave for giving their own children particular forenames related very much to personal taste, though some still described battling with extended family over relational naming expectations. A wider access to popular culture allowed a parallel access to other anthroponymicons, containing names which were not traditional within the community. One Elderly female discusses in the extract below

the reason that her eldest son was given his name, after much negotiation with her husband and pressure from their parents to name after them.

G-E-F1: So to cut a long story short, we could not decide

Interviewer: Mm-hm

G-E-F1: and one night we're sitting watching television and in that day it was Top of the Pops that used to come on and there was a group called Brian Poole and the Tremeloes (.) and they come on and I says Brian (.) I says I do like that

Interviewer: Mm

G-E-F1: and he says 'Brian, do I?' he says 'I like it as well' and that was how Brian's name (.) was decided. We were calling him Brian

Initial forenames given to the generation after the Elderly cohort are represented in the data by examples of names given by the Elderly informants and by names received and known of by the Middle-Aged informants. Many of the male Middle-Aged names are fairly traditional, in that they are similar to those of the Elderly generation. However, some are less so, and the reasons why they were given did not all relate to relatives. Examples were given of naming after people outside the family, because they had a name which was different and which the parent liked the sound of. Names chosen this way, such as Graeme, were not outlandish but did diverge from the family ties. Others, such as Dougall, were chosen simply because the parents liked the sound of the name, despite not being traditional within that family. This reason of simply liking the sound or the connotations of a name was particularly common when giving reasons for the naming of girls.

Forenames have continued to break away from the notion of a relational tie and most Middle-Aged parents and Teenage children confirmed that their names had been given because of reasons of sound, connotation and references to popular culture. They have also become more diverse, with the number of different names given to children in Scotland rising from 2,200 in 1900 to 4,800 in 2000, despite the number of births dropping by two-fifths (Jackson & Donnelly, 2001). Many informants believed that some very young children (far younger than the Teenage informants) were given names which were quite bizarre and alien to the community. These were thought to be influenced by celebrity, as in the example below.

G-E-F2: It's a shame some of the ones they give them (.) like em
(.) what do you call it? Apple (.) And all these stupid names y'know

Other informants had a less negative view of what might be considered to be unusual names, particularly those belonging to younger members of their family. Names such as Kayden, Darcy, Brooke and Odin were treated as perfectly acceptable modern names by the informants who volunteered them. At the same time it was noted that other traditional names were becoming acceptable again, such as Olivia and Isabel. Boys' names were thought to have a lesser tendency to be "fancy" than girls'.

Though my informants would all self-identify as working-class Glaswegians living in the North-West of Glasgow, there can be a difference in life-style and perception within this broad category. The celebrity-like names which owe more to popular culture were described by some as “chavvy” and having a “footballers’ wives sound”. These were perceived to be more likely to be given by those living on the social peripheries. This was discussed by many informants in the Elderly and Middle-Aged categories, and this perceived connection is discussed in the extract below.

G-MA-F2: I think a of that happens on the kinda (.) peripheral housing estates. The kinda like Drumchapel (.) like maybe high flats and aw that. Cos some o' the names- when I worked up in Drumchapel some o' the names, you were like 'What?'

Interviewer: Like what? [laughs]

G-MA-F2: [Adopts brash Glaswegian accent] 'Chantelle come 'ere-' and you're thinking 'oh my god' and (.) like (.) Brogan and like em (.) what was the other one? (.) Some o' the- Courtney and yur thinkin- and and (.) the wee (.) lassies look lovely till they open their mouth and they sound like a bag o' scruff y'know and they're like [adopts harsh accent] 'Courtney come here' and you just think 'oh my god' y'know (.) just- and it's aw they kinda (..) soap kinda names and aw they kinda dramas or whatever's on the telly, whatever's popular at that time (.) they aw seem tae (..) call their weans aw that kinda thing

6.4.2.1.1 Names and religion

Religion did seem to play a part in naming decisions in the Glasgow community, or at least it had done so in previous generations. This related to the divide

between Protestants and Catholics in the west of Scotland and Irish Catholic immigration to the city from the nineteenth century onwards.

G-MA-F1: I'd definitely say the sectarian divide comes into so many things (.) It plays in so many areas and it definitely plays in names (.) first and surnames.

Though the anthroponymicons of Scotland and Ireland are relatively similar, with standard Western names and others with Celtic influence, informants believed that there were certain names which would mark a person out as being from a particular religious background.

G-MA-F2: I think there's probably m- more o' a difference in names that Protestants (.) will not give their kids, as opposed to

Interviewer: Right

G-MA-F2: (.) what Catholics will, y'know. So if it's a Catholic-sounding name there's a lot of Protestants, 'Naw, sounds like Tim or Fenian³⁷, i- it's too this too that' (.) Whereas Catholics would probably still call their kids like for example em (...) William, I think that's a kinda Orange³⁸ kinda name. Sam's uncle was called that and he's- they're Irish Catholics

Interviewer: Right

G-MA-F2: Y'know i- James is quite a Protestant name I think (.) and his brother's called James y'know and his dad's James y'know so (.) I think more in the sense that Protestants won't give them (.) Catholicity Irishy sounding names

Interviewer: Right, rather than-

G-MA-F2: Are less likely to (.) Not won't but are less likely to

Interviewer: Mm-hm. Oh right

G-MA-F2: Rather than the other way round, aye

³⁷ 'Tim' and 'Fenian' are insulting terms for Catholics and/or Irish people used in the Glasgow area.

³⁸ 'Orange' here is used to refer to the Orange Order organisation active in Scotland and Northern Ireland and associated with extreme Protestantism.

This aspect was discussed by most informants in the Middle-Aged and Elderly categories, as sectarianism is perceived as a current issue and they felt that this was a social aspect which was reflected in naming patterns. There are separate schools in most areas of Scotland for Catholic and non-Catholic children. However, there are proportionally more Catholic schools, both at primary and secondary level, in Glasgow and West Central Scotland than in other regions (Bryce & Humes, 2003: 9). The practice of having separate schools was reflected in the discussions about naming and religious differences.

G-E-F2: The Catholic and Protestant thing sadly has been going on for years (.) But I think that (.) this is (.) something that (.) I could've related to in my generation that you knew someone's (.) religion (..) even though you were a small child, if somebody said their name was em I'm trying to think (..) typical wait er Maria (.) or something like that (.) or em Bernadette (.) right away you knew she was Catholic (.) and went to a Catholic school

Interviewer: Right

G-E-F2: There was some names that jumped out at you (.) that you didn't need to- y'know if it was a group of kids and they would just started to get to know one another , there'd be certain names that would actually jump out, but that's the only two I- I can think of but that (.) it showed you that the actual division (.) of the religion thing could get through to a very young (.) child (.)

Interviewer: Mm-hm

G-E-F2: I'm not saying they would take an opinion on it, but they would just say (.) 'Bernadette (.) oh (.) bet she goes to the Catholic school'

6.4.2.1.2 Forenames and gender

Most names traditionally used within the community are gender-specific and easily identified as being given to one gender or the other. There are some exceptions, such as Leslie/Lesley, but the differences in spelling were pointed out by informants as a clear demarcation of gender in these cases.

Informants were more dismissive of names which have recently become popular for both girls and boys. Names such as Kai, Taylor and Jordan were borne by both girls and boys in a local primary school. The name Jamie was now also unisex, but was spelt Jaime (though pronounced the same) when given to a girl. The unisex nature of these non-traditional names produced comments from informants such as “It’s wrong (.) It’s not right”, and that these non-traditional names could not easily be assigned genders did seem to be unpopular with some informants.

6.4.2.1.3 Hypocoristic forms

Many in this community use a hypocoristic form of naming. Some informants would describe these as nicknames, others as proper names. This highlights the peripheral status these names occupy, being altered official names but semi-official in usage. However, the lines are blurred slightly by the fairly recent phenomenon of children being registered officially with a hypocoristic form, for example Ronnie, rather than Ronald, Jamie instead of James. So in some cases these forms of names are entirely official, whereas in others they are alterations of something else.

There are some local hypocoristic forms which were volunteered by many informants, as well as competing forms arising from the same name. Examples of forms considered particularly Glaswegian included Rab (Robert) and Shug/Shuggy (Hugh). There were others which may be either highly localised or even more on the boundary between nickname and forename, such as Jambo (James) and Jokey (John).

Interestingly, the dual identity which can be suggested through use of different forms of a person's name and/or nickname in different social environments was tackled by one of the informants. He had been known by a hypocorism for a large

part of his life before he decided to change this. Here he discusses how this reflected and informed his identity and how he feels about this process.

G-MA-M1: Right throughout my schooling I was Willy (..) and right throughout my time in the navy and my early (..) years (..) er whatever work I was in I was Willy (..) [Intake of breath] Willy Docherty (..)

Interviewer: And would you introduce yourself as that then if you were starting a new work or would you introduce yourself as-

G-MA-M1: No no, I adopted that identity. And I often look at that guy (..) and (..) really wish I had him back (..) I've often referred tae (..) two different people there as William (..) And I remember moving fae Willy tae William (..)

Interviewer: Right

G-MA-M1: Eh (..) and Willy's a happy-go-lucky (..) easy-going kinda guy (..) who lived a bit in blissful ignorance I think (..) Eh, and then along came the mare serious (..) William (..) pow [emphatic noise] (..) took our identity and Willy's in there somewhere. And I always felt that Willy's in there somewhere bursting to get oot at times

6.4.2.1.4 Middle names

The usage of middle names within this community appears more elaborate amongst some informants than was encountered in the other indigenous communities. The official name structures appear relatively similar but the possibility of reduplication of middle forenames or even of using both surname and forename as middle names together seem to show more flexibility here.

Using the name structures of the twelve core informants, however, unearths differences across generations in how middle names were bestowed.

The majority of Teenage informants had the structure [Forename] [Forename] [Surname], with a little-used forename as a middle name. The only Teenage informant not to carry exactly this structure had five middle names, which were all forenames, in addition to her initial forename. However, this informant was unhappy about this unusual naming structure and was in the process of removing the middle names by deed poll. There were also two entirely separate examples given of individuals within this age-group who had not been given middle names by their parents but who had appropriated their own choice of middle forename (one from an older sibling, the other using a name unconnected to him). This could relate to an expectation that someone of this generation would have a middle forename and a child/teenager's desire to emulate the peer group.

Unlike the Teenage informants (and other similar teenage examples given by all informants) who were likely to have one middle forename, the Middle-Aged informants were less likely to possess any middle names at all. One informant did have a middle forename (in the same structure as the Teenage informants) and one informant had a sibling with a middle name, though he and his other siblings

did not have one. It was far more common in this sample for Structure A to be used with simply [Forename] [Surname] when naming this age group.

The middle naming patterns of the Elderly age group were far more complex, possibly following family traditions rather than wider trends. Examples given of others' naming patterns in this generation did not build a picture of a single option. One core informant had no middle name, with a [Forename] [Surname] structure. Another had been given her grandmother's maiden name as a middle surname. Surnames did seem more commonly used as middle names in the Elderly generation, though there were also examples given within the Middle-Aged generation. Two core Elderly informants had middle names which showed far greater flexibility. The first of these is [Forename] [Forename] [Surname] [Surname], with use of both a forename and surname as middle names which would not generally be used. The other is structured [Forename] [Surname] [Forename]-[Forename] [Surname], an even more complicated structure, particularly as the hyphen joined names which would be traditionally regarded as having different genders. The middle surnames in all of these names are likely to be surnames from the female line of the family, though in some cases in this and other examples, the question of where the surname originated from was a puzzle even to the recipient of the name.

There are crucial differences between giving a child an initial forename and a middle name in this community. As discussed above, the forenaming system has moved from one honouring relatives to one celebrating individuality. This has meant that the middle-naming system has largely adopted this function. Though names of family members are unlikely to feature as initial forenames, almost all middle names collected in the data were given for a family member or close friend. These were usually simply the forename of that person as a second forename. However, in some cases blends were made of two different names to include two relatives (particularly grandparents) or names which sounded similar were substituted, but with the stated aim of honouring that person.

6.4.2.2 Nicknames

Although nicknames were not very common in this community they did occur, in some people's experience more than others, as in the extract below where an Elderly female informant is recalling nicknames used in school.

G-E-F1: There was a lot o' nicknames when I think about it actually (.) there was (.) Shortened names as well (.) like, if they couldnae shorten your name they'd give you something to make up for it like that (.) It was funny

School was a particularly fertile time for nicknames, as they were not used very much in this society. However, in school they were given, particularly to boys within friendship groups, as is being discussed below.

G-MA-F2: Guys tended to have some kinda nickname in relation to either- to do with their surname, the kinda they were, the people they hung about wi'. There was some- it was a- a reason behind it
aw

Within the local High School, nicknames were not as wide-ranging as expected, though girls amongst the Teenage cohort seemed just as inclined to give nicknames as boys. School nicknames were mainly limited to particular social groups, rather than being used by the wider student body. In this usage the function appears to be to strengthen bonds between friends. However, they also have the power to mock and exclude those outwith the group, as demonstrated in the next extract.

G-T-F1: It's really mean but there's a lassie that everybody knows as 'The Tranny' because sh- [laughs]

G-T-M1: [laughs]

G-T-F1: [laughs]

Interviewer: Does she look like a man? (.) Right

G-T-F1: Yeah, she's just really tall [laughs]

Interviewer: Oh poor thing

G-T-F1: I don't know what it was, somebody done it that she was a tranny, it was funny (.) and it just kinda stuck wi' her

Interviewer: These things tend to though (.) The thing is you'll see her

Interviewer: //you'll see her in twenty years time and then//

G-T-F1: //And the thing is I dinnae even know//

G-T-F1: I din even know her name, that's how I remember her

The in-group membership within this social context can be simply a group of friends, or can be something more established such as a neighbourhood gang. In the extract below one student discusses the fact that the “ned³⁹ kids” call each other by their surnames.

G-T-F3: The ned kids is just a surname (.) Basically

Interviewer: Really? (.) They would just call each other by their surname?

G-T-F3: Yeah (.) At least I think so anyway

Interviewer: Oh right (.) That’s quite unusual

G-T-F3: Yeah (...) Gang-related [nervous laugh] (..) I think

She believes this to be gang-related within the particular society of the local area and the school. Interestingly, surname-use was also a common nicknaming strategy within both the school and shipyards amongst the older generation. However, this is explained as being necessary as so many shared the same forename because of restrictive forearming practices.

G-E-M1: You tended at school anyway to be called by your second name

Interviewer: Oh right

G-E-M1: So that’s how really- the sort of school teachers never really spoke to you as Andrew, it was always Campbell this or Campbell the next thing (.) because there was so many Andrews and then it was the same when you went to work in the shipyards, within reason (.) you got called by your second name

Interviewer: Oh right

G-E-M1: y’know, because there was so many (.) You shouted ‘Jimmy’ or ‘John’ in the shipyard and half the folk turned round, y’know (.) so [laughs] it wasn’t too good, y’know

³⁹ The term ‘ned’ is used colloquially in Scotland to refer to a young person, particularly a young working-class male, who is involved in territorial gangs and casual criminality. See Lawson (2011) for more discussion.

Nicknames also occurred in some informants' experiences of the armed forces. This does not relate specifically to the Glaswegian community under investigation, but to wider national communities with different histories and dynamics. The examples given for nicknames in the Second World War army context primarily related to nations and regions within the United Kingdom (e.g. Taffy for Welshmen, Jock for Lowland Scotsmen, Carrot Cruncher and Suffolk Swede for those from Norfolk and Suffolk, Mutton Molester for Highlanders). Appearance could also be noted in these nicknames, particularly if the individual named had red hair (e.g. Carrot Top, Ginger). Within the Navy there were more complex nicknaming customs, in which individuals with particular common surnames would always be known by a nickname historically relating to that surname. For example, every man named Gray would be called Dolly (or Dolly Gray) and every person with the surname White would be known as Chalky. Individuals would also be given names relating to the specific job which they performed aboard ship, such as Guns for a Gunner, particularly by those from other ships who did not know them personally, and this title would remain with the job rather than the individual. People would also be given individual nicknames used only by their shipmates.

Within the community itself, adults were unlikely to use nicknames beyond the occasional group of close friends or workmates. Friends' nicknames would

generally have been bestowed at and remembered from school, but in adult life this name would only be used by close friends from school amongst themselves. Workplace names were bestowed in adulthood and generally referenced the character of a person, often with allusion to figures from popular culture (e.g. Victor from Victor Meldrew, a particularly grumpy television sitcom character, though there were examples given such as Holy Man which did not reference popular culture in this way).

Adults would also participate in nickname use through a process of pet-naming in some families – giving nicknames to members of the family that would only be used in this context. These could overlap with the nickname used by a wider friendship group. They could also be similar to common nicknames found in other generations due to the generational cross-over of the family members using the names. An example of this was Sparra Legs, bestowed on a granddaughter by her grandfather. Several examples were given in the older generations of children at school being known as Sparra Legs or Sparra Ankles to infer that the child had thin legs like a sparrow.

6.4.3 Surnames and bynames

6.4.3.1 Hereditary surnames

Below is a table showing the ten most popular surnames in the Glasgow City Council area, with the percentage bearing each of these surnames. This covers all of Glasgow, rather than just the North-West, but it is the smallest unit for which these statistics are available.

| Glasgow City Council area (population 578,710, sample 43,971) | |
|---|---|
| SURNAME | PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLE BEARING SURNAME |
| Smith | 0.082% |
| Campbell | 0.068% |
| Brown | 0.062% |
| Stewart | 0.054% |
| Wilson | 0.052% |
| Thomson | 0.050% |
| Kelly | 0.044% |
| Robertson | 0.040% |
| Murray | 0.039% |
| Anderson | 0.036% |

Table 15 – Top ten surnames in Glasgow City Council area in 1999 to 2001.
Source: Bowie & Jackson (2003). Percentages extrapolated from their sample data

The percentage bearing even the most popular surname is extremely small (only 0.082%) when compared to Buckie, where Smith covered 2.10% of the population, and especially compared to the Western Isles where the most popular surname, MacLeod, covered 13.5% of the population. This means that many more surnames are used here, which is unsurprising for a large city which would be expected to have high levels of in- and out-migration and attract migrants from a wide area over a number of years. It also does not suggest an area with large kinship groupings which might make up a very close-knit society, but that does not mean that these could not exist in smaller areas of the city.

Every informant had a hereditary surname, as did every person given as an example during interviews. A hereditary surname is expected to be possessed by every member of the society. It is also expected that children will inherit their hereditary surname from their father then, if male, pass this on to children in a paternal line. This is still the most common way of giving surnames.

It was expected by all informants, even the female Teenagers, that women would change their name on marriage. However, some knew examples where that had not been the case for professional reasons. In general women were also called by the surname which the informant had first encountered them with. So if a woman had been known since before marriage then her original surname was still used in

most, with the exception of the most formal, domains. However a family unit would usually share a surname, or a child would have the father's surname if the parents were not married.

However, with family and society becoming more fragmented and less nuclear there were some examples of change to this paradigm. These were as follows:

- Children may be given the mother's, rather than father's, surname if the mother is the primary caregiver and the parents are not in a relationship.
- Children may not share the same surname as their siblings if they do not share the same father.
- Children and older teens may change their surname to that of their step-father if their mother marries again.
- Children and older teens may change their surname from their father's to their mother's maiden name at a relatively late age if their parents divorce each other.
- Children may change their surname to that of a relative other than a parent if they have been taken to live with them.

This changes assumptions about what constitutes a family in relation to naming, as they cannot be 'The Smiths' when all their members do not share that

hereditary (or self-selected) surname. A female Teenage informant discusses this in the extract below.

G-T-F3: One of my other friends (.) lives with her mum (.) and she has her mum's surname (.)

Interviewer: Yeah

G-T-F3: But she doesn't know who her dad is (.) as well (.) so (..) And her wee sister has her dad's surname (.) as in like (.) different dads

Interviewer: Oh right ok

G-T-F3: So her wee sister has her dad's surname and she has her mum's surname so it's like you wouldnae know if- the names (.) you wouldnae know they were related

Here the surname is seen as a relationship tie which is evident to the outside world, and which is not present in every case.

6.5 Summary of naming practices in Glaswegian community

People are generally known by their official names in the Glaswegian community, using either the first forename alone or the structure [Forename] [Surname], despite the fact that they generally have middle names. The middle names only seem to be given in order to link some part of a child's name to relatives, as this was by far the most common source. However, they seemed to have little other function, either in community or official use.

As with the Buckie community (section 5.5), official forenames in the indigenous Glaswegian community have changed markedly over the generations. The pattern of naming after relatives in the Elderly generation and before was different from the other two indigenous communities and that practice may have begun to decline earlier. However, parents naming children after themselves still seemed to be commonplace in the Middle-Aged generation while this was rarer in the other communities, particularly in the Western Isles.

Social change has also meant some changes in surnaming practices. Most children are still given their father's hereditary surname at birth. However, looser and less stable family structures have created a situation where some children are given their mother's surname, have a different surname from siblings, or adopt the surname of a step-parent later in their childhood.

As in sections 4.5 and 5.5, the table below shows each naming practice as used by different generations in the Glaswegian community. The naming practices have been scored on a Likert-type scale, based on qualitative observation of practices extracted from the interview data. The numbers reflect how common a practice is, as follows:

- 1 – Never/rarely occurs
- 2 – Occasionally occurs
- 3 – Sometimes occurs
- 4 – Regularly occurs
- 5 – Always/very frequently occurs

| Naming practice | Elderly | Middle-Aged | Teenage |
|---|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| First name after relative | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| Middle name after relative | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Lexical meaning of forenames important | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Different versions of names for diff. languages | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Hereditary surname from father | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| True patronymic ⁴⁰ | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Patronymic as unofficial name | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Last name no connection to relative | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Women's surname changed on marriage: | | | |
| -officially | 5 | 5/4 | N/A |
| -unofficially | 4 | 4 | N/A |
| Use of semi-official names ⁴¹ | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Use of nicknames/unofficial names | 3 | 2 | 2 |

Table 16 – Glaswegian community naming practices

⁴⁰ As the official 'surname'.

⁴¹ Different from an official one, but could be used in a community publication/newspaper, for example, to identify someone within that community.

7. Pakistani Muslim community in Glasgow

7.1 Geography

Britain's colonization and former control of India created the conditions for large-scale migration from South Asia to the UK in the twentieth century. Ballard and Ballard (1977: 21-22) suggest four distinct chronological phases of South Asian settlement in Britain, caused by changing migration patterns. The first consisted of a fairly small number of individual travellers, arriving from the late nineteenth century but not settling permanently until after World War I, and eventually establishing small nucleated communities in British cities. The second began after World War II, due to a high demand for labour. These migrant workers were mainly male and lived together in cramped conditions in the inner cities. The wives and children of these workers moved to join them, heralding the third phase, and they progressed to more spacious housing within Asian communities in the cities. The fourth phase began with a move from some of the worst of that housing and a new British-born generation.

These phases of settlement correlate with Maan's (1992) explanation of the migration of Asian people to Scotland. He describes the high concentration of chain migration, where earlier migrants would be joined by many others from their home area. As an illustration of the strength of this social mechanism, in the

1970s over 60% of Pakistanis in northern England came from the Mirpur district of Pakistani Kashmir (Khan, 1977: 57).

The 2001 Census showed that there were over 2.3 million Asian or Asian-British people resident in the UK. This makes up over 50% of Britain's ethnic minority population and is 4% of the UK population as a whole (Office of National Statistics, 2004). The distribution across Britain is not uniform however. In Scotland, South Asians constituted 1.09% of the population in 2001, with all ethnic minorities together making up only 2.01%. However, according to the Scottish Executive the number of people in Scotland belonging to an ethnic minority had increased by 62.3% between 1991 and 2001.

Minority ethnic populations within Britain generally tend to be concentrated in large urban areas, particularly London (Scott et al., 2001: 8); within Scotland, 56% of ethnic minorities live in the Strathclyde area⁴² (Verma, 1995: 119). In the South Asian community this is partly for the reasons of chain migration, as discussed above. Communities also became consolidated as families moved to Britain during Ballard and Ballard's (1977) third phase of settlement.

⁴² Though this figure is from the 1990s, the majority of ethnic minorities in Scotland still live in Greater Glasgow and Strathclyde. This has now increased due to the dispersal of asylum seekers described in Chapter 8.

7.2 Social and linguistic conditions

7.2.1 Language

English, Punjabi and Urdu are all spoken within the community and many people have some knowledge of Arabic. These languages tend to belong to very different domains. Arabic is likely only to be used for the purposes of religion, as Muslims believe that the Qur'an should be read in its original language. The use of Punjabi and Urdu is restricted to the home domain and the community itself within Glasgow, but the social networks of people within the community generally extend to kin in other parts of Britain and in Pakistan with whom they may use these languages (Wardak, 2000: 50; Li, 1994). Though Urdu, as the national language of Pakistan, is seen as more prestigious, people within the community appear more likely to know and use Punjabi. The use of English is necessary to interact with most people outside the Pakistani Muslim community, and is essential for gaining education in the UK. Therefore all of the 58% of the community who were born and brought up in either Scotland or England are likely to have attended English-speaking schools. Also, English is likely to be the main language used in any occupation outside the community. Alam (2007) reports minority-language shift in this community, towards English.

7.2.2 Society

The original Pakistani Muslim migrants to Glasgow largely originated from the same small area of the Punjab region of Pakistan. This is due to a very concentrated level of chain migration, which meant that people from the same area joined others in Glasgow who could help them to find work and to settle (Maan, 1992), and it has resulted in a close-knit community with dense network ties.

The idea of this being an immigrant community is no longer accurate however, as Saeed et al. (1999: 827) state that 75.6% of Scottish Pakistanis were born in Scotland. Census statistics, however, suggest that this figure is closer to 47% with a further 11% born in England. Around 37% of people reporting themselves as being 'Pakistani' in the 2001 census in Scotland were actually born in Pakistan (Office of the Chief Statistician, 2004). Research amongst teenagers of this community found that the dual ethnicity labels of "Scottish-Pakistani" and "Scottish-Muslim" were most popular, more so than single terms such as "Pakistani" or "Muslim" (Saeed et al., 1999). The Pakistani population in Glasgow is also younger than the indigenous population; over 80% were under the age of 39 in 1991 (Audrey, 2000).

Within Scotland over 89% of Pakistani people report themselves as being Muslim (Office of the Chief Statistician, 2004). There are around twenty mosques in Glasgow. However, most religious, and much community, activity is centred on the Glasgow Central Mosque (also known as Jamiat Itihad Al-Muslimeen) in the Gorbals area.

7.3 Methodology

7.3.1 Access to community

As this was a close-knit community who I had not had contact with previously, access was difficult. However, my two primary local informants recommended me to others in the community who might be willing to speak to me, using the ‘friend of a friend’ approach (Milroy, 1980; 1987). They contacted each person first to explain what I was doing before I contacted them myself. This introduction by a ‘gate-keeper’ was essential in gaining their trust, as others whom I had contacted without this introduction were unwilling to participate.

7.3.2 Informants

Because of difficulties in accessing informants, I was unable to speak to the ideal sample range of two males and two females from Teenage, Middle-Aged and

Elderly age categories. This means that the spread is not as good as in my three indigenous communities. However, because my main informants were able to arrange meetings with very knowledgeable and well-connected members of the community, I was able to collect data on age groups which were not represented as informants were able to articulate the practices of their parents, grandparents and daughters.

| Age range | Sex | Language/s spoken | Code |
|------------------|------------|--|-------------|
| Teenage | M | English, Punjabi, understand Urdu | PM-T-M1 |
| Teenage | M | English, Punjabi, read and write Urdu | PM-T-M2 |
| Teenage | M | English, Punjabi, Urdu | PM-T-M3 |
| 20s | F | English, Punjabi, Urdu, some Arabic, some French | PM-Y-F1 |
| 20s | M | English, Punjabi, Urdu, some Arabic | PM-Y-M1 |
| Middle-Aged | M | English, Punjabi, Urdu, some Arabic | PM-MA-M1 |
| Middle-Aged | M | English, Punjabi, Urdu, read Arabic | PM-MA-M2 |
| Middle-Aged | F | English, Punjabi, Urdu | PM-MA-F1 |
| Middle-Aged | F | English, Punjabi, Urdu | PM-MA-F2 |

Table 17 – Pakistani Muslim informants

7.3.3 Interviews

The interviews, as with all in this study, were semi-structured. A prompt sheet of questions was taken into each interview but was not used in a structured way, in order to allow informants to talk about what was important to them in terms of naming. This prompt sheet was similar to those used in all other communities, though had some changes relevant to the area (see Appendix D), and covered both official and unofficial names.

My status as a cultural and community outsider will necessarily have affected the information gained in these interviews. However, I attempted to counteract this through getting to know the informant beforehand in order to put them at their ease before the interview began. All but one informant were happy to be tape-recorded, and that informant's information was recorded through written notes.

The interviews were carried out both in people's homes and in places of work. They were mainly with individuals, but there was also one group interview.

7.4 Results and discussion

7.4.1 Structure of names

7.4.1.1 Official names structures

The reported structures for official names at birth in this community were as follows:

Structure A: [Forename] [Surname]⁴³

e.g. Mohammed Khan

Structure B: [Forename] [Forename] [Surname]

e.g. Mohammed Haroon Khan (where Mohammed is used as the familiar name, Khan is used as the surname, and Haroon is seldom used)

Structure C: [Forename] [Forename] [Surname]

e.g. Mohammed Haroon Khan (where Haroon is used as the familiar name, Khan as the surname, and Mohammed is seldom used).

Structure D: [Forename] [Forename]

⁴³ The term 'surname' here simply means that it is used in the same way as a traditional British surname on official documents. It does not mean that it is necessarily hereditary, as in this community it may be a true patronymic.

e.g. Mohammed Haroon (where Haroon is used as the familiar name, Mohammed is rarely used, and there is nothing which would compare easily with the British notion of a surname).

Structure E: [Forename] [Forename] [Surname]

e.g. Abdul Rehman Malik (where Abdul Rehman must be used as one name, as Abdul simply means ‘servant’ and Rehman is an attribute/name of Allah. Malik is the family name or surname).

Structure F: [Forename] [Forename]

e.g. Abdul Rehman (as Structure E but without use of anything which could easily be seen as being equivalent to a surname).

As indicated from these examples, the apparent structure of a name does not necessarily signal how the name is to be used. Having two names is likely to mean that somebody possesses a forename and surname, but this is not always the case. Similarly, possessing three names probably means that the first is the familiar name, the second a little-used middle name, and the third equivalent to a surname, but there are many exceptions to this.

Structure A and B

Women's names seem far more likely to correspond with Structures A or B, either with or without a middle name.

It was acknowledged that the younger members of the community are likely to hold a forename by which they are widely called, a middle name or names which may or may not be used, and a surname which connects them to the rest of their family unit (Structure B). This was not the case for all people though, even of the same generation. Reasons for having a middle name which was not commonly used - as in Structure B - ranged from it being a family tradition to have middle names, to it being a compromise to allow for two forename choices, to a relative's name being carried on in this way, to children being given their father's name as a middle name. The last reason was seen as a result of the belief in the right of a Muslim child to know who their father is.

Structures C and D

Another possibility is for a person to appear to have Structure B, but for the middle name to be used as the familiar name which is commonly used to refer to them, and the first name to be seldom used (Structure C). It was signalled that this might be particularly commonplace when a male child was given the first name Mohammed. This name is particularly common in the community, being

the only Muslim or Pakistani name in the top one hundred names given in Scotland in 2008 (General Register Office for Scotland, 2008d). By 2010 both Muhammad and Mohammed were in the top ten names for boys born in the Glasgow City Council area (General Register Office for Scotland, 2010). There are religious reasons for this popularity, as this was the name of Islam's last and most important prophet. It is felt by some that Mohammed (or one of the variant spellings such as Muhammad) should be positioned in front of the familiar name when naming a boy, as this would then give the name as a whole a better meaning (the significance of meaning is discussed later). This would result in the child having a name structure which appears the same as Structure B but for whom the second, or middle, name fulfils the function of a traditional forename. This could also be the case where someone has only two names with no middle name, as they might then be familiarly known by the second of their names (Structure D).

Structures E and F

It is also possible for a child to be given two names which are taken together as their name. This might mean that the first two names are used together as a name with a surname at the end (Structure E), or it could also mean that the two names make up the name in its entirety, with no name functioning as a surname (Structure F), though officially the last name might be used as a surname.

Despite initial appearances, this structure is not necessarily identical to that of the standard British system and conceals considerable diversity in usage. Also, as discussed in section 7.4.3.1.1, the structure has shifted into this form due to cultural influences.

7.4.1.2 Unofficial name structures

There were also a number of unofficial name structures identified by informants in this community. These were as follows:

Structure A: [Nickname]

Structure B: [Hypocoristic/modified form of name]

Structure C: [Characteristic] [Forename/hypocorism]

Structure D: [Forename] [Husband's forename]

Structure E: Mrs [Husband's forename]

Structure F: [Husband's forename] Begum

Structure G: [Occupation]

Structure H: [Occupation] Wala/Wali

Structure I: [Forename] [Occupation]

Structures A, B and C

Structures A and B seemed the most commonly used unofficial naming structures. These were used in the family and amongst younger members of the community (see section 7.4.2.2 for examples). Structure C arose when there was more than one person with the same Structure B name, so they needed further characteristics (Big and Wee) for identification.

Structures D, E and F

This is when a woman becomes known by her husband's name in the community. In the Western Isles, *bean* was used for this. In this community it is either Mrs or the Urdu term *Begum*.

Structures G, H, I

These structures are related to occupation, in any language. The examples given for the occupation by itself without a forename were all in Urdu or Punjabi. *Wala* means 'man', as *wali* means 'woman'. This seems similar to occupational names in other communities such as 'The Sweetie Wifie' in Buckie.

7.4.2 Given names

7.4.2.1 Forenames

The choice of forename for a child is seen as an extremely important decision which will impact significantly on the child's life and so is given a great deal of thought. The final name is not arrived at by the parents alone as the extended family is heavily involved in the decision. This involvement seems to vary according to individual families. In most cases the family's role is as advisors to the parents, with the parents making the ultimate decision. The consultation is done to make the entire family feel that they are involved with the birth and the naming. It also accords respect to the elders within the family. Some informants also felt that elders may have more insight into the type of name that might attract good life experiences. In some families, a particular elder member of the family might decide all or most of the names within their family; in one case a grandfather had even over-ruled the choice of the father, which was used instead as a middle name. Different elements of the name can be chosen by different family members in this way. Several of the older informants described a practice which sometimes used to take place, where an elder of the family would open the Muslim holy book, the Qur'an, at a random page and choose a name from that page.

7.4.2.1.1 Meaning of a name

The most important factor in choosing a name for a child born into the Pakistani Muslim community in Glasgow is the meaning of that name. This was discussed by every informant. One of the rights accorded to a Muslim child is the right to a 'good' name (Gatrad & Sheikh, 2001: 6). This is because it is believed that the child will take on the characteristics and attributes of what that name means or symbolises. It is seen to impact upon their personality, being described by one informant as "a life defining label". This can work in a positive or negative way, depending on whether the meaning is positive or negative. For example, a name which seems fairly frivolous, such as one which has been invented to be distinctive, will help to create a frivolous personality, whereas a name which is seen as noble will impact positively. This means that Muslim people generally are very aware of the linguistic, cultural or religious roots of names. This was universally the case in interviews, with all participants knowledgeable about the meanings of both their own names and those of others. The young people in the community also saw this as important, with one Teenage informant discussing the impact the meaning of his name has on him in the interview extract below:

PM-T-M1: Well my name means 'protector' (.) basically a protector (.) And it may sound daft or whatever but you sorta- you sorta take up that kinda role really

What constitutes a ‘good’ meaning can be problematic, as some informants found this difficult to articulate. However, there were certain criteria which were acknowledged as being relevant in giving the name what would be considered a good meaning.

7.4.2.1.1.1 Lexical meaning

The name may relate to something that is considered to have physical qualities which would be advantageous to the child. These include things considered to be beautiful, such as the flower Yasmin.

It was suggested though that this beauty would apply to the person’s personality as well as to their physical appearance, so these names could also be seen as bestowing attributes. Forenames could relate to something suggesting positive qualities. Many of these names have an Arabic word as their root and have male and female equivalents with the same meaning. *Farhan* (male) and *Farhana* (female) both mean ‘glad’ or ‘happy’ (Gandhi & Husain, 2004: 125), and it would be expected that a child given this name would be a happy person. Similarly, *Tahir* and *Tahirah* both mean ‘purity’.

7.4.2.1.1.2 Religious meaning

In the extract below, one informant discusses why a name is seen as good by talking about religion, the Qur'an, figures from Islamic history and the Arabic language.

PM-MA-F1: In the structure of th-the name very often that's what you will have. One is em a good em religious name and em (.) which can come from as I said from the Qur'an (.) from A- the Arabic or em ka- (.) in history whoever was g- (.) good

A good religious name may be one of the ninety-nine names of Allah or one of the names of the Prophet Muhammad. These names are really a list of attributes. However, many of them cannot be used on their own and must be preceded by a term such as Abdul ('servant'). Examples of this would be Abdullah ('servant of Allah') and Abdul Rahman ('servant of the merciful', where 'the merciful' is seen as an attribute, and so a name, of Allah). These names are male and do not generally have female equivalents. If a name has more than one part, both parts must be articulated or it is deemed that someone is being called, for example, just 'servant' or just 'Allah' and this can be felt to be offensive. It was acknowledged that even within the community people do sometimes forget this.

The name may have belonged to someone who is mentioned in the Qur'an or other scriptures. The root meaning of such names may not in itself be religious.

Nonetheless, it is felt that as they belonged to someone who is believed to have been a good person, then the child will inherit the qualities which that person was believed to have possessed. An example of this is Khadijah who is mentioned in the Qur'an as the first wife of the Prophet Muhammad but whose name root simply means 'premature born' (Gandhi & Husain, 2004: 226). These types of names need not even have an Arabic root, as they might be Arabic versions of Hebrew names, e.g. Imran is the Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew Amran who was named in the Bible as the father of the prophet Moses (Qazi, 1974: 36).

The motivation behind the giving of some names for the purposes of meaning can be unclear. For example, the names Rummanah (female) and Rumman (male) literally mean 'pomegranate' (Gandhi & Husain, 2004: 380), but an informant explained this as having religious connotations, as pomegranates are mentioned in the Qur'an as being one of the fruits of Heaven.

Other motivations for giving names, which may be considered alongside the reasons above, include linking the name to other members of the family. A child is generally not given the same familiar name as its parents, but may be given the name of a relative to carry on the name. This can also reflect the fact that the relative was seen as having good qualities which might be passed on through their name. A meaning can be passed on through families by selecting names

which are different but which have similar meanings. Some names are given because they sound modern or because they have found increased popularity through actors in the Bollywood and Lollywood film industries, such as Salman and Reema. However, these often also have what might be considered ‘good’ meanings.

Another important prerequisite of naming, which is closely related to meaning and character, is that a name should be found which suits the child. This means giving a name which, as one informant described it, “fits what you perceive to be the nature of the child”. Finding a name that fits the child’s character often means discarding the names which have been considered before birth.

7.4.2.1.2 Forenames and gender

Names are generally gender-specific. The suffix / Λ / often denotes a specifically female Arabic name, as described above in the example of Farhan/Farhana. However, this is not always the case and male names can also end with / Λ / (e.g. Abdullah). These suffixes are as pronounced by the Pakistani Punjabi/Urdu speaking community, rather than necessarily by an Arabic speaker. Some names can be used by males or females, examples being Intihāz and even Iqbal. However, even these are more likely to be given to one gender over the other.

7.4.2.1.3 Names and Language

As may be clear from the examples, most names given in this community have an Arabic root. This is largely because the Qur'an is written in Arabic and so Arabic names can be seen as being closest to the language of the Qur'an. Also, Arabic names tend to have meanings which are known to the community through many people's ability to read some Arabic (for the purpose of reading scripture) and through the explanation of some of these meanings in the Qur'an. As discussed above, it is also common to give names based on the names or attributes of Allah and of the Prophet Muhammad, and these are in Arabic.

Names need not necessarily be Arabic, though. Many of the names mentioned in the Qur'an and adopted by people within the Muslim community originally come from different languages. Many earlier prophets and religious figures had Hebrew names which were Arabicised (see Amran to Imran in section 7.4.2.1.1.2). Many names in the Qur'an are also from the Farsi language, due to the historical links and close proximity of the Persian and Arab peoples. Some of the Elderly generation were taught Farsi in school and are able to read Persian literature. This had influenced the mother of one informant to give her a Farsi name. Non-Arabic names could also be seen to have 'good' meanings, following the same criteria relating to the meaning of a root word used in naming.

7.4.2.1.4 Name change

As the meaning of the name is believed to play such an important role in a child's development, there can be instances where it becomes desirable to change that name. This can happen for a number of reasons, but examples given included instances: where a child had been very ill; where the parents had found out that the child's name did not actually have what they considered to be a good meaning; where a child's behaviour seemed wild or inappropriate; where a religious person had suggested that the name did not suit the child. In these cases the family would consult with a person who was considered to be knowledgeable about names and their meanings and change the name to something which was thought of as more appropriate for the child. Changing the name is believed to change the condition of a person, as it is reflected in their character. Though informants suggested that this type of name-change was rare, they all gave examples of instances where it had happened. It could take place at any age, though one informant suggested that thirteen was too late for the name change to have any real impact. It was unclear whether name change of this type was a cultural or a religious practice.

7.4.2.1.5 Middle names

Examples of middle names were sometimes given, and these generally followed the same patterns as forenames. As discussed in section 7.4.1, a middle name can

be used as the familiar name of a person, particularly if the first name is Mohammed.

7.4.2.2 Nicknames

7.4.2.2.1 Derived from birth name

Nicknames within families were discussed by informants as being traditional within Pakistani culture. Familial nicknames are also a feature of the Pakistani Muslim community in Glasgow and most informants reported systems of nicknaming used within families and groups of close friends.

These names were largely idiosyncratic, but they also shared many similarities in areas such as structure or type of meaning. Particularly common was a tendency to use diminutive forms of an individual's first name. Examples of this included: Haroon > /hari/; Haroon > /runi/; Muneer > /muni/; Bilal > /bali/; Farhana > /fari/. These hypocoristic forms typically show a simplification of the forename into one of its syllables with the addition of an /i/ suffix. This can apply to either syllable, as shown by the two different ways of rendering the name Haroon. With the name *Bilal* a single syllable is not used in its entirety, rather the /il/ section of the name is elided and an /i/ suffix added. When researching nicknaming in Pakistan, Anwar (2002: 273) found that 58% of his corpus of 150 Urdu

nicknames had the phonological structure CVCVV or CVVCVV, where C denotes a consonant and V a vowel. 99% of his nicknames also contained two syllables. This information is supported by the anecdotal evidence given by informants, as hypocoristic names appear very common within nicknaming in the Pakistani Muslim community and this high frequency could be connected to rules relating to Urdu nickname formation. It is also worth noting the similarity which these names appear to have to patterns of speech in infancy, as they are largely given in a family environment during childhood.

7.4.2.2.2 Random

Another type of nicknames used a word in English, Punjabi or Urdu to denote an individual. These names seemed particularly common for females (as the diminutive forms seemed slightly more common amongst males) and tended to use a word which might be considered as cute or feminine. Amongst American women, Phillips (1990: 285) found that nicknames had far greater connotations of beauty, kindness and pleasantness than male nicknames, and attributed this to the perception of women within that society. Nicknames such as Dolly and Pinky were given, with others such as *Mano billi* ('little pussy cat' in Punjabi) and *Gul-puri* (the Urdu for 'fairy') also being used within this multilingual community.

That multilingualism was occasionally brought into play when creating nicknames, with a sound in the name Maimunah (/mun/) giving rise to the

nickname *Chanda*, or ‘moon-like’ in Punjabi. This type is not entirely restricted to women however, as the name *Chand*, the male equivalent of *Chanda*, was recorded, as was the male name *Gonglu*, or ‘turnip’.

7.4.2.2.3 Usage

One informant stated that the type of nickname in 7.4.2.2.2 was given “out of love”. They were seen as being personal to the bearer, as they were used within the family group and were almost always bestowed in childhood. However, some were in use throughout adulthood, though to a much lesser extent.

Some informants expressed unease at the use of any type of nickname. This is because changing the structure of the name can render it meaningless, and this would distort what the name was supposed to symbolise. However, these informants still participated in the cultural practice of nicknaming within the family situation. This conflict is discussed in the interview extract below:

PM-MA-F1: Within the Pakistani culture it's also quite traditional that whilst you have a name that you may be called a nickname in the child or whatever and there is a conflict there between the Islamic practice because Islamic practice is very much 'call the child the name it is' so that it kindof (.) because we believe that it kindof forms part of its identity.

Though older generations may have practised the familial forms of nicknaming within groups of their close friends, the younger generation have expanded this practice quite considerably. These nicknames are not related to occupation, family or location but are generally shortened, abbreviated versions of the personal names. They appear to be a continuation on a larger scale of the types of nickname which might be given in a family group. Some examples of these truncated names are: Imran > /ɪmi/; Bilal > /bali/; Jamil > /dʒami/; Zubair > /zubi/. When compared to some of the examples given for family nicknames, e.g. Haroon > /runi/ and Muneer > /muni/, this pattern begins to look very familiar, though these names are used outwith the boundaries of family and close friends.

It was estimated by young male informants that most males up to their early thirties in the Pakistani Muslim community had some type of nickname. Apparently they have become so popular that an abbreviated nickname alone is not always enough to distinguish someone uniquely and other strategies, such as calling an older youth *Big Hari* and a younger *Wee Hari*, are now being adopted. It was also reported that many individuals were known almost exclusively by their nickname within the peer group, to the point where most other people did not know their real name. The nicknames reported were largely of the type shown above, but could also include other terms. These other terms usually consist of a common noun which has been adopted for some reason as a name,

such as Teddy, Nappy and Killer, but can also consist of what, without knowledge of where they have come from, can seem like nonsense words, including Deebo and Doey. These do always have some kind of reasoning behind them, for example Teddy and Eggy are both said to refer to appearance, whereas Deebo references a character in a film.

These nicknaming strategies appear very similar to those found to have been adopted in studies of nicknaming in a school environment (e.g. Morgan et al., 1979). Indeed, most of the names were acknowledged to have been bestowed at school. The lack of Punjabi or Urdu names (other than the possible use of *Chhota* to describe someone who is small) mirrors a similar situation on a bilingual Gaelic-English island in the Western Isles, where school nicknames were also far more likely to be in English (Bramwell, 2007).

The younger generation appear to take a pride in the fact that they are identified in this way, using the nicknames rather than given names on football shirts and car registration plates. However, they temper this with uneasiness about changing the meanings of people's names, particularly if they are named after a prophet.

Some members of the older generation viewed this system of nicknaming as something alien to their culture, believing it had more in common with “gang culture and rap culture”. Another informant suggested that it was a way of Anglicising names because he believed that the younger generation only felt Scottish, rather than feeling Pakistani and Muslim, and that this meant that they did not want to uphold their cultural roots. However, the similar phonetic strategies adopted for their nicknames and family nicknames, not to mention Urdu nicknames more generally, suggests that this may not be the case.

7.4.3 Surnames and bynames

In the following interview extract, one of the older female informants neatly sums up the most important and distinctive surnaming and bynaming practices within this community.

PM-MA-F1: The father's name for children

Interviewer: Right

PM-MA-F1: in amongst the names that you might give (.) em (.) And in this country because you need a surname, so sometimes the father's name will be the surname, or they may have a third name which is the surname but is also giving you information about their (.) their kindof clan

A child might be given a true patronymic as a surname, with their father's forename becoming their surname. Or they might give a name relating to the

family's 'clan', which may be officially given as a surname but is always known unofficially within the community through oral tradition. The extract illustrates the lack of necessity for a hereditary surname and this will be explained in the following section.

7.4.3.1 Surnames

In the village environment of the Punjab region of Pakistan, where all the community informants had roots, there was not the same system of surnaming as exists in modern Britain. However, it was felt that, due to cultural influences and government officialdom, the community in Glasgow had moved towards the British system.

When members of the community began coming to Glasgow in large numbers in the 1950s and 1960s, they generally did not possess surnames in the traditional British sense of the term. A given name was enough to identify a person within the rural village environment, as other members of the small community would already know to which family they belonged. This is by no means an unusual situation. Alford (1988: 53) found that of the naming systems of sixty diverse societies, all had given names but only a third also used surnames or patronyms.

In Pakistan, people have also come under increased pressure to have an identifiable surname. This was explained by informants as being due both to global pressure to identify every person with a fixed label and to the legacy of British colonialism. Rather than a hereditary surname, however, it is very common for children to be given their father's first name as a surname (or last name). Examples were given of relatives living in the Punjab who had followed this patronymic convention, such as a father, Ali Khan, giving his son the name Umar Ali.

This can also happen in the Glasgow community. Numerous examples were given of a father's forename being used as the last of his offspring, in the same way as a surname. Though apparently more frequent in the older generation, it was still evident amongst younger members of the community. This could be seen as developing in parallel with the Pakistani system, or being a continuation of it. It was also unexceptional for the name of a person to have absolutely no link to their parents at all. The names could be chosen because they were felt to fit well together, but could also simply indicate something about the person. The 'surnames' *Bibi* and *Begum* both indicate that the bearer is female, and could be translated as the titles Miss and Mrs. Again, the use of unrelated names was more common amongst the older generation but has not died out completely. There

was felt to be pressure to conform to the British norm of having a surname, as the following extract shows:

PM-MA-M1: That is forcing people down that route. They're not doing it out of choice, it's just out of compulsion, that they feel that they have to conform to the norm and the norm is you have a surname, you have a first name and a surname

7.4.3.1.1 Hereditary surnames

The system which has come to dominate in the Glasgow community is that of the hereditary surname passed through the generations. Some informants believed that people within the community felt compelled to conform to the traditional British system and viewed this negatively. Conforming was seen as a way to avoid awkward situations, particularly when trying to explain having different surnames to indigenous friends and colleagues. Other informants suggested that the change was more to do with familiarity with the wider British society. The youngest informants did not seem to perceive the change as being particularly negative.

When members of the community migrated to Glasgow, and to other parts of Britain, they had to register officially with a surname. What they chose, or ended up with, has become important because it is often this name which has been

handed down to their descendants. Others did not make their surname hereditary at that point. However, their son's or grandson's last name may since have become hereditary. A great number of what are now surnames in the Pakistani Muslim community began as a forename passed from a father to his children. The generation in which a name then became hereditary seems to have varied between families, but it is clear that this process has been, and is still, taking place. The names themselves can be used either as forenames or patronymics, so it should not be assumed that in a male name such as Muhammad Ali, the name Ali is functioning as a surname. The lack of patronymic indicators and the possibility that the first or last name is functioning as a religious title or gender marker mean that observation of name use, rather than cultural assumptions, must be employed to understand how names function.

7.4.3.1.2 Not from given name

Other types of names which have come to be used as surnames have other roots, the vast majority of which link culturally to Pakistan. Some of these denote the status the holder enjoyed. For example, a *Chaudhry* was the most senior person within a particular village, and the term can be used as a prefix or title to show status. This may have led those who were accorded this term to use it as their surname when they were required to give one. One informant described how

when a particular individual moved to Glasgow he was called *Chaudhry Sahib* as a title of respect by others in the community and the term *Chaudhry* became his family's hereditary surname.

7.4.3.1.3 Effect of marriage

According to Islamic belief, a woman does not have to take her husband's name on marriage but can retain an independent identity. However, a distinction was made by informants between religious teachings on the one hand and cultural practice on the other. Culturally, a woman becomes known by the name of her husband. As surnames have not been widely used in the rural areas of Pakistan until recently, a woman would not change her hereditary surname to that of her husband as generally happens in Britain. Instead, she would be known in the community by her first name plus her husband's name, or Mrs (or a similar term such as *Begum*) plus her husband's name (see section 7.4.2.1.1.2). This practice has continued amongst the older generations of the Glasgow community. If a woman's name was Fatima and she was married to a man with the first or familiar name Iqbal, then she might be known as Fatima Iqbal or Mrs Iqbal within the community, rather than by his surname.

Many women now change their surnames to those of their husbands under the British system. This was felt by some to be part of the process of joining a new

family group, as a married woman traditionally lives with, and becomes part of, her husband's family. It was also suggested that it was a result of external cultural pressures, and that changing to the British system would make things easier for the children of that marriage in British society more generally.

Some women have begun to reclaim what they see as their right to keep their own name after marriage. This is largely for religious reasons, as Islam does not require a woman to change her name, but in some cases it was seen as being more to do with female independence than cultural roots or religious beliefs.

7.4.3.2 Bynames

7.4.3.2.1 Clan names

Some names link to the concept of cultural or ethnic grouping. This can include occupations which an individual's family are associated with over a number of generations. However, this was felt to be more applicable to Pakistan and to the past, as someone's former occupation often ceased to be relevant on migration. Far more influential in terms of naming, and culture more generally, are ideas of *Biraderi* and caste. These terms seem to be widely used (see Wardak, 2000) but are not universally accepted by all in the community. *Biraderi* literally translates as 'brotherhood'. This suggests a male-centric point of view and some informants

preferred the use of the term 'clan' to describe what Wardak (2000: 74) calls a "social network of kinship relationship". The term 'caste' was often used synonymously with clan or *Biraderi*, but again this was controversial. It was felt that 'caste' had connotations of strict social hierarchy, as might be the case in a Hindu society, and that this went against Muslim teachings that all people are created equal. Members of a particular caste or *Biraderi* did generally occupy a particular place in the social stratum, and were associated with a particular occupation – for example, *Nai* were barbers whereas *Rajput* were land-owners (Wardak, 2000: 75). However, these terms denote loose kinship groupings, not simply occupations.

Some people took their cultural name as their surname. One informant knew of people whose surname was *Arian* (a clan who were associated with farming and land-owning). Other surnames related people to particular tribes, giving information on which area of Pakistan their ancestors inhabited, as well as links to particular ethnic groupings. However, there was some controversy over what people considered to be a 'Kashmiri name' or a 'Mirpuri name', for example. Though links were stated quite confidently, others would assert that the same name 'belonged' to a different area of Pakistan or to no area in particular. This suggested that different cultural assumptions were being made, despite the fact that all informants (or their relations) had roots in the Punjab region. Some

surnames sought to connect the bearers to historical religious figures, such as the Prophet Muhammad, through the use of their tribal name or *Biraderi*. The cultural groupings described can be transmitted through their use as a hereditary surname, but this is by no means always the case. One informant gave an example of the name *Shaikh* being given as a first name, almost like a title, while the man was generally known by his second name.

Usually, the surname today is of the type of a male forename, but information about people's cultural and kinship groupings is retained within the community through oral tradition. Therefore someone might be described or referenced as an *Arian* without there being any indication in their name that this was the case.

Older members of the community retained more information about the *Biraderi* and some felt that this knowledge was being lost, but even the Teenage informants were aware of these cultural and kinship distinctions. It was also believed that the hierarchical information which these cultural groupings supply was less relevant in the Glasgow community, where hierarchy is now based much more on businesses and money than on ancestral occupation.

7.4.3.2.2 Locative bynames

An individual might be identified with the area that they come from if an occupational or other reference point failed to pinpoint them clearly. This is only

on the periphery of naming, as opposed to description but was occasionally used to distinguish one person from another.

7.4.3.2.3 Occupational bynames

Occupational names were described by informants as being fairly rare within the community. However, as a term of reference, on the periphery of the idea of names, they do appear to fulfil a purpose. It used to be more common that somebody would be known through their vocation, particularly in Pakistan. A nickname of this sort could become effectively the name of a person. This established nickname could continue to be used if somebody migrated to Britain, though they no longer practised the same profession. One informant described trying to send a wedding invitation but having no idea of the man's name other than he was known as *Patwari* (stone-mason). This practice has apparently largely died out as has the generation who brought the names of these trades to Britain. However, more modern equivalents which lie closer to descriptions than to core names are in use in the Glasgow community. People can be referred to by the name of their business if that business is well-known within the community. So, for example, the proprietor of Jupiter Furnishings, a large furniture shop, might be referred to as *Jupiter wala* (where *wala* simply means 'man' or 'proprietor') and his wife as *Jupiter wali* (the female equivalent). Prominent businesses such as this or large cash and carry stores were seen as the "top-level

reference points” in the community and so it would make sense to use them to identify their owners or workers easily. An example was also given of an Imam who was known as *Maulvi Bijli*, which literally means ‘electricity Imam’ in Punjabi, because he used to own a shop selling electrical appliances. It is also possible that if someone has a slightly unusual job then this might be used to distinguish them, e.g. referring to someone as *Yusef the accountant*, as opposed to any other *Yusef*.

7.5 Summary of naming practices in Pakistani Muslim community in Glasgow

The anthroponymicon of the Pakistani Muslim community in Glasgow is still very much of the community and does not seem to have been encroached upon by the dominant naming culture. Muslim names are given which have meaning to others in the community, and this is an important part of why they are chosen. In the younger generations these work alongside a system of nicknames which are important for group solidarity.

The main change in this community does seem to be change in surnaming practice, and the shift in naming that this represents. To go within living memory from having few surnames, to patronymics, and now towards hereditary surnames indicates fairly swift social change. However, the forename repertoire does not reflect this. This could be because there is less official interference regarding forenames, because patronymics were only a brief interim stage or because the assumption towards hereditary surnames is so strong at all levels of society that it is difficult to resist it, particularly when it seems to cast doubt on the parentage of children with different names.

| Naming practice | Elderly | Middle-Aged | Teenage |
|---|---------|-------------|---------|
| First name after relative | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Middle name after relative | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Lexical meaning of forenames important | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Different versions of names for diff. languages | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Hereditary surname from father | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| True patronymic ⁴⁴ | 4 | 4 | 3 |
| Patronymic as unofficial name ⁴⁵ | 5 | 4 | 3 |
| Last name no connection to relative | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Women's surname changed on marriage: | | | |
| -officially | 2 | 4 | N/A |
| -unofficially ⁴⁶ | 4 | 3 | N/A |
| Use of semi-official names ⁴⁷ | 4 | 4 | 3 |
| Use of nicknames/unofficial names | 3 | 3 | 4 |

Table 18 – Pakistani Muslim naming practices

⁴⁴ As the official 'surname'.

⁴⁵ This table takes into account true patronymics used in official and unofficial forms of the name in this community, in order that the full extent of patronymic usage is denoted.

⁴⁶ Women were/are often known by their husband's first name in the community.

⁴⁷ Different from an official one, but could be used in a community publication/newspaper, for example, to identify someone within that community. This includes *Biraderi* (unofficial clan names).

8. Refugee/Asylum Seeker community in Glasgow

8.1 Geography

The community of asylum seekers and refugees studied for this thesis resided in the city of Glasgow. They lived in the same area as the indigenous Glaswegian community in Chapter 6, but were concentrated in a group of blocks of high-rise flats in the west of the city. These flats were located in one location in the general area shown in the map below.

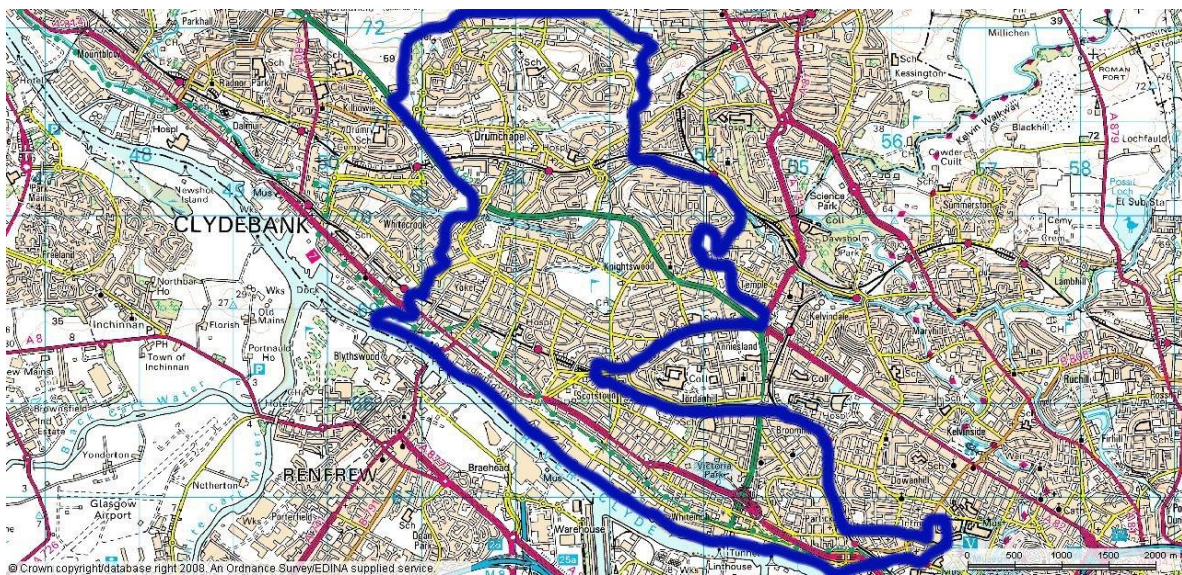


Figure 12 – Smaller version of Fig. 10. Area of west Glasgow considered to be largely working class and selected for study

8.2 Social and linguistic conditions

In 2000, Glasgow City Council agreed with the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) to house a number of asylum seekers as they awaited judgement on their claim to be refugees. They continued to fulfil this role until 2011 when the NASS housing contract within Glasgow was transferred to the charity Ypeople.⁴⁸ My fieldwork in this community took place from 2007 to 2009. 3,905 people who claimed asylum in the UK in 2007 were dispersed to Glasgow (Home Office, 2008). In Scotland as a whole, the number of asylum seekers supported was 4,230 and the largest geographical groupings of these were from sub-Saharan Africa (1,625, particularly from Somalia and the Democratic Republic of Congo) and Asia and Oceania (1,145) (Home Office, 2008). These figures do not include former asylum seekers who have been granted refugee status and decided to stay on in Glasgow, nor asylum seekers who are not receiving Home Office support. Wren (2007: 394) quotes an estimate from agencies and doctors' practices within Glasgow of approximately 10,000 asylum seekers and refugees in the city in 2003, of more than 70 nationalities. This is a far greater number than the 5,680 asylum seekers recorded as being supported by NASS in 2003 (Home Office, 2004).

⁴⁸ <http://www.ypeople.org.uk/our-services/asylum-and-refugee-services.html>

Asylum seekers have not been housed in language or cultural groups, as was recommended by government agencies (Wren, 2007). They have largely been housed in high-rise tower blocks and, because of the location of vacant accommodation, dispersed in socially deprived areas. As a result of this enforced settlement, the areas in which asylum seekers have been housed in the city are now home to a diverse range of cultures, but also to a very fragmented group of people. Linguistically, culturally and religiously, the asylum seekers and refugees in the city are far from homogenous.

My research has been in one of the groups of high-rise tower blocks which houses a mix of Scottish people and asylum seekers. Statistics on the wider neighbourhoods in which the high-rise blocks are located show that 4.4% of the population are asylum seekers, with an additional 4.1% from minority ethnic groups (Glasgow Centre for Population Health, 2008). However, almost all of the asylum seekers live in NASS accommodation within the high-rise blocks so there the proportion is much greater.

The asylum seeker and refugee population in this group of high-rise flats did not seem to have formed a close-knit community. Many did not know their neighbours, or at least did not know them well, and some appeared fairly isolated. However, this lack of interaction with neighbours was also common in

the indigenous Glaswegian community (see Chapter 6), both in these flats and beyond, and so was not anomalous for the area. Of those who were asylum seekers, their status meant that they were supported by the state in terms of accommodation, utilities and having a specific NASS worker assigned to them. They were also able to access support from the Scottish Refugee Council⁴⁹, a charitable organisation dedicated to providing advice and aid to refugees and asylum seekers, located in the city centre of Glasgow. Social networks were being tentatively formed through local organisations and contacts. Members of the community sometimes discussed the church or mosque which they attended. Informal social gatherings were also held, though these usually consisted of refugees and asylum seekers from a similar background and country, particularly amongst the African asylum seekers, and so did not promote the mixing of the community as a whole.

The blocks of flats were served by a community centre, which incorporated a dedicated refugee and asylum seeker support worker. Residents met and interacted through groups and events initiated through this centre. Some residents became involved in general community life as a result of this and it encouraged integration, especially by organising multi-cultural celebrations. However, this seemed to attract a fairly small proportion of the population to mix

⁴⁹ <http://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/>

other than on these event days and many people seemed to remain fairly isolated. This was often exacerbated by a lack of proficiency in the English language even when, as in many cases, asylum seekers had lived there for several years.

8.3 Methodology

8.3.1 Access to community

Due to the nature of asylum settlement in Glasgow, and the understandable wariness of vulnerable asylum seekers and refugees, access to informants was to prove even more difficult than in the Pakistani Muslim community discussed in Chapter 7. A level of trust needed to be established before I could interview people effectively about the anthroponymicon in their home culture and their experience of names since emigrating to the UK. I needed to conduct a more ethnographic study which allowed me to establish my own contacts.

Initial contact was through a friend who introduced me to workers at the area's community centre. Access took months to negotiate and I was introduced at the centre specifically as a researcher. After working at the centre for three months as an employee without carrying out research, I began working there on a voluntary basis and commenced the study. This continued for over a year and a half and I then remained involved in certain groups after the data collection had finished.

The opportunity to work with local people allowed relationships to be built up between myself as researcher and members of the asylum seeker and Glaswegian communities. I was invited to social events, community celebrations and parties as an equal participant. This meant that although I had needed an initial

introduction to the area, once there I could recruit informants for interview using my own social networks, which was particularly important in the asylum seeker community. Without a high level of trust it would have been virtually impossible to have convinced people to be interviewed, particularly given that during the course of these interviews they were likely to discuss their lives in their home countries. The relationships that I had created with them allowed the interviews to take place on what could have been an overly sensitive topic. However, the ethnographic fieldwork prior to interview also fulfilled another important function within the data collection. Field-notes, on aspects of their naming system or members of their family that had been mentioned in conversation, could be drawn upon in the interview and this helped to provide a fuller account of naming practices.

Access to younger refugees and asylum seekers was achieved in the same way as for the Teenage cohort of the indigenous Glaswegian community. I arranged access to a local High School through a teacher attached to the community centre, both professionally and socially. The age structure of the informants was necessarily different due to the lack of elderly adults in the asylum seeker community. Therefore, this was divided simply into Adults and Teenagers.

8.3.2 Informants

| Age range | Sex | Nationality | Religion | Code |
|-----------|-----|-------------|---------------------|------------|
| Teenage | M | Pakistan | Christian | P-AS-T-M |
| Teenage | M | Uganda | Muslim | U-AS-T-M |
| Teenage | F | DRC Congo | Christian | DRC-AS-T-F |
| Teenage | F | Eritrea | Muslim | E-AS-T-F1 |
| Teenage | F | Eritrea | Muslim | E-AS-T-F2 |
| Teenage | F | Iran | Muslim | IN-AS-T-F |
| Teenage | F | Algeria | Muslim | A-AS-T-F |
| Adult | M | Iraq | Muslim (Kurdish) | IQ-AS-M |
| Adult | M | Uganda | Christian | U-AS-M |
| Adult | M | Algeria | Muslim | A-AS-M |
| Adult | F | Zambia | Christian | Z-AS-F |
| Adult | F | Azerbaijan | Muslim | AZ-AS-F |
| Adult | F | Nigeria | Christian | N-AS-F |
| Adult | F | Kosovo | Muslim | K-AS-F |
| Adult | F | Pakistan | Muslim | P-AS-F |
| Adult | F | DRC Congo | Christian | DRC-AS-F |

Table 19 – Refugee and Asylum Seeker informants

8.3.3 Interviews

Interviews were conducted in informants' homes and generally lasted from one to two hours. A specific questionnaire/prompt sheet for this community was brought into each interview (see Appendix E). In the High School, written questionnaires (see Appendix H) were completed in class and interviews were conducted on a more informal basis, outside class.

8.4 Results and discussion

The results of the Refugee and Asylum Seeker study are necessarily different from those of other chapters due to the diverse backgrounds of those within the community. However, despite this diversity, patterns did emerge in the analysis. The practices of informants from some cultures were similar enough to provide groupings for wider discussion. Two main categories arose: practices used by informants from several different countries where Islam was the foremost religion (Muslim naming practices); and practices used amongst Christians from sub-Saharan Africa (African Christian naming practices). These groups will be discussed separately in the analysis, with the similarities and differences of the naming practices within each category also examined.

8.4.1 Refugees/asylum seekers – Muslim naming practices

The adult⁵⁰ informants whose data fitted this category were from Iraq, Algeria, Pakistan, Azerbaijan and Kosovo. The official name structures given as possibilities within their culture are presented below.

⁵⁰ While data from the Teenage informants were very useful to the study, the informants had come to Scotland at a relatively young age and could not give broad enough information to confidently assert details of the naming system of their home country.

8.4.1.1 Structure

Iraqi Kurd (but also structure for all Iraqis – informant from Baghdad)

Structure A: [Forename] [Father's forename] [Grandfather's forename] [Tribal name]

Structure B: [Forename] [Father's forename] [Grandfather's forename] Al-
[Tribal name]

Structure C: [Forename] [Father's forename] [Grandfather's forename]

Structure A is the convention amongst Kurds, whereas Arabic Iraqis usually add Al- as a prefix to the tribal name, as in Structure B. This can result in different forms of the names on different official identification. In Iraq this is perfectly accepted, as the reasons for it are understood, but it can cause problems when dealing with the immigration services in the UK, as they generally refuse to accept that non-identical names can be used for the same person.

In some cases a person is not seen as belonging to a particular tribe, and in this case the tribal part of the name (which might be thought of as something like a surname) is omitted.

Algerian

Structure A: [Forename] [Hereditary family name]

Structure B: [Forename] [Forename] [Hereditary family name]

Algerians are always given a hereditary family name, which must be the father's family name. This is due to French colonial influence and social control.

McDougall (2006: 72) describes how the *état civil* ('civil register'), introduced by the French in 1882, forced all Algerians to register using a patronymic.

Structure A is apparently most common, with simply a forename and a hereditary family name.

Two forenames can be given, as in Structure B. However, they do not correspond to a first and middle name in the British system. They are seen as two parts of the forename and either or both can be used as the familiar name by others. The first part of the name is often Mohammed followed by an attribute, or Abdul followed by a name/attribute of Allah. If the first part is Abdul then the names should properly be used together.

My informant always introduced himself by his two forenames but was known by the first at home, the second at school and work in Algeria, both by others, and the first again on reaching Britain (possibly because people thought his introduction meant that the second part was a surname).

Pakistani (Pashtu – family originally from NW Frontier Provinces but brought up in Islamabad so also more mainstream Pakistani (Urdu) culture)

Structure A: [Forename]

Structure B: [Forename] [Forename]

Structure C: [Forename] [Patronymic]

Structure D: [Forename] [Tribal name]

Structure E: [Forename] [Patronymic] [Tribal name]

The structure of names in Pakistan appears much freer, with there being choice in which parts of a name to write down and use. The tribal names (biraderi), as discussed in Chapter 7, are semi-official and can be written down as official names, or can simply be used unofficially. The same person was reported as

sometimes using his tribal name, when he was in the same area as his cousin who had the same name (Structure E), but otherwise using Structure C: [Forename] [Patronymic].

Hereditary surnames were never used. This makes the adoption of hereditary surnames by the Pakistani Muslim community in Glasgow even more interesting, as it must be a result of British naming influence. Children were generally given a patronymic, though this was not necessary. There was also one example of a metronymic.

However, children were also often given names which ‘go together’, regardless of parentage. As a result of this, some had a second forename which was not the name of a male relative in the ‘surname’ position.

Azerbaijani

Structure A: [Forename] [Hereditary surname] [Patronymic]

Azerbaijani names were reported as always being structured in the same way, as in Structure A. This was discussed as being a result of Soviet influence on official naming practices while Azerbaijan was ruled by (and as part of) the Soviet Union.

The hereditary surname always comes from the father's side. The surname is inflected for gender, as in Russian, again showing Soviet influence. So -a and -ova suffixes are used to mark female names. There are very few Azerbaijani surnames which are not inflected in this way.

Kosovo Albanian

Structure A: [Forename] [Surname]

Structure B: [Forename] [Maiden name] [Surname]

According to the Kosovan informants, middle names were apparently never given. One informant commented that "I don't know how middle names work". A person would always have a first name and a hereditary surname.

There was also the possibility of including the maiden name before the husband's surname after marriage, as in Structure B. These appeared to be the only structural options for official names. This limited choice may relate to communist official practices, as it seemed to with Azerbaijani names.⁵¹

⁵¹ However, I have not been able to verify this.

8.4.1.2 Forenames

There was a common corpus of Muslim names in all these cultures, drawn from the Qur'an and from a stock of Arabic words which largely denoted attributes such as beauty and strength (though could also be more concrete, such as king and flower). This was largely summarised in section 7.4.2.1. Mohammed was popular in every culture under discussion, as it is the name of the Muslims' most important prophet and the founder of their religion.

However, there was considerable variation between cultures and that seemed to relate to some extent to how secular the societies were and/or how much culture and religion were separated.

8.4.1.2.1 Societal influences

Pakistani forenames were perhaps the most pan-Muslim, using largely Arabic words and figures from the Qur'an with some Farsi influence. The forename was not generally given from a relative, as it would often be expected that the 'surname' would be the forename of the father.

Algerian forenames largely followed a similar pattern. This is unsurprising as it is an Arabic-speaking country, though the form of Arabic spoken in Algeria has been heavily influenced by French. However it did seem to differ from the pan-

Muslim name stock a little (possibly for this reason), as other Arabic names relating to nature were given. Of course the general name stock would be semantically transparent to Algerians (while Pakistanis might know a smaller range as they would know what the Arabic 'names' meant but might not know much more Arabic than this).

Algerian forenames were reported to have been changing over the past several decades. Names seem to have internationalized to some extent, becoming more pan-Muslim and in some cases more European-sounding. It used to be common to name a child after the day of the week on which it was born or something else around the circumstances of its birth. This is similar to other African naming practices, as discussed in section 8.4.2.3. These names are now seen as old-fashioned and avoided.

It apparently used to be common to name after relatives, particularly the father and mother (Algeria uses hereditary surnames now rather than patronymics), however this has now become less common.

Arabic Iraqis were reported to name in a similar way to this pan-Muslim tendency, but this is not the case for Iraqi Kurds. Apparently the elderly generations may well have Arabic/Muslim names; however the forenaming

system has changed with the rise of Kurdish nationalism. Kurdish names are usually lexical items from the Kurdish language or names of places important to the family or to Kurdish people more generally. There are some Arabic names, mostly relating to Mohammed (or more likely the Kurdish version Hammat).

Iraqi Kurds are not generally named after relatives, but they have both their father's and grandfather's names in their full official name anyway so this would seem unnecessary.

Azerbaijani and Kosovan names have been affected by Soviet rule and the separation of religion from both state and culture under communism. The majority of people in both countries are Muslim (around 90% in Kosovo, 96% in Azerbaijan).⁵²

There seem to be more Arabic Muslim names in Azerbaijan than Kosovo. This could be partly because of its position in the region and its close ties to 'South Azerbaijan' across the border in modern-day Iran. Mohammed is used in Kosovo but this was the only obviously Muslim example I was given. Kosovan informants believed that it was important to have a Muslim name but were very unclear as to what this was.

⁵² US report on religious freedom 2010 <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2010/148912.htm>

Azerbaijani names were also derived from the Turkish and Azeri languages, as well as being from Arabic. Kosovan names were largely Albanian with some more pan-European/Russian names.

Soviet rule had affected Azerbaijani forenames to a certain extent, in that they were administered by Russian speakers so names would be often altered when being officially recorded. The letter <j> was often altered to <t>, so Jamilla would be recorded as Tamilla, likewise <h> to <g> so Hamlet would become Gamlet, and so on. The bearer of the name might use either of these forms.

8.4.1.2.2 Meaning

Meaning was described as being very important in naming a child by the Pakistani, Algerian and Iraqi Kurd informants. These are also the cultures where people would be more likely to know what the pan-Muslim Arabic names meant.

The Pakistani and Algerian informants felt that either lexical or religious meaning could make a name a 'good' name to give to a child and felt somewhat uncomfortable with the practice of giving lexically opaque or 'meaningless' names in the UK. Interestingly, astrology and numerology had been used in some of the Pakistani naming decisions to produce what was to be a 'good' name.

Iraqi Kurds give Kurdish lexical items or place-names to children as forenames, and so their desire to give a name with meaning is less religiously and more culturally/politically motivated. Any Kurdish word can potentially be used which leaves the parents with a great deal of personal choice. Examples given included words for beautiful, hope, shepherd, chief, brightness, lonely, etc. as well as mountain and settlement names.

Meaning was much less important in Azerbaijani naming. A name which sounded nice was thought to be important and the meaning did not really matter. Some names were Azeri lexical items so could be understood, but it was suggested that even then people would not really think about the meaning of the name but see it as simply a name.

It was also seen as fairly unimportant in Kosovan naming. How the name sounded was usually more important than meaning and the meaning of names was not generally known. Further to this, names were regarded as Muslim because they were popular amongst Kosovo Albanians without a real understanding of their etymology or wider association (outside the country). For example, names such as Agnessa were seen as appropriately Muslim. However, other names were Koranic and there was an awareness that that was where they came from.

In certain circumstances Kosovan lexical items had been conferred on children as a nationalistic act. In some cases this was as a direct response to the war. For example a child had been given the name Flamur meaning ‘flag’ to commemorate the Kosovan flag.

8.4.2 Refugees/asylum seekers – African Christian naming practices

8.4.2.1 Structure

Zambia (From central region, but lived in capital from early adulthood)

Structure A: [‘English’ Forename] [Vernacular name] [Surname]

Structure B: [Vernacular Forename] [Surname]

Structure C: [English Forename which is also word in vernacular] [Vernacular name] [Surname]

In Zambia, as in much of Africa, naming is different within different tribal groups. However, Zambians always have their father’s surname, and this is hereditary.

Surnames differ for men and women, with women's surnames having the prefix Na- and men's surnames having the prefix Se-.

The English forename is given as a result of religious influence and is seen as a Christian name. However, though these names are of English stock they are not necessarily names from the Bible or names which are explicitly Christian in origin. They are generally names which have been popular with native English speakers. Nevertheless, the Bible was identified as a source in which many Zambian parents searched for potential names for children.

Every child has a vernacular forename, whether or not they have an English forename as well. This was described as 'the umbilical cord name'. The vernacular forename is meaningful in at least one of the parents' mother tongues. Zambia is a multilingual society with many tribal languages, so parents often have different mother tongues if they are from different tribes. The name relates to a circumstance of the child's birth, an apparent trait of the child, or the circumstances of the parents in the period leading up to the birth. It can also be a name requested by one of the grandparents.

It was unusual, but not impossible, for an English forename to be given which closely resembled a word in a local language, as in Structure C. In this case the

name would have a double significance as representing both, but would still be given alongside a vernacular forename. Natasha is an example, meaning ‘we thank you’ in Bemba but given in the position of the English name.

Uganda (From Iteso tribe)

Structure A: [Christian Forename] [Relative’s name]

Structure B: [Local Forename] [Relative’s name]

In the Iteso tribe, a large ethnic grouping in eastern Uganda, there are no hereditary surnames. The last name originates from within the clan and is always the name of a relative, particularly a close relative or someone who has died. The last name is a local, African name. This non-hereditary system means that members of a family will not share a last name. However, a woman always takes her husband’s last name and is generally known as ‘wife of X’, so marriage partners will share a name though their children will not.

The forename given within the Iteso tribe is usually a name from the English Christian tradition. However, this also repeats in the same way as the last name, as people usually give relatives’ names for the first name as well. So a boy might

be given his grandfather's first and last names (English and African) and be favoured by his grandfather because of this.

Some people do not use Christian names, preferring instead to give themselves an African first name (often later in life). This is chosen from the same local naming stock that gives rise to the last names.

Nigeria (From Lagos, though family influence from more rural province)

Structure A: [Vernacular name] [Surname]

Structure B: [Vernacular name] [Vernacular name] [Possibility of more vernacular names] [Surname]

Structure C: ['English' Baptismal name] [Vernacular name] [Surname]

Structure D: ['English' Baptismal name] [Vernacular name] [Vernacular name] [Possibility of more vernacular names] [Surname]

Nigerians use hereditary surnames. These pass along the paternal line and are used for everyone of the same family. However, these surnames are generally semantically transparent and originated in the vernaculars themselves. As a result of this, some may refer to non-Christian beliefs. If this is the case then they

may be changed later in a person's life to refer to the Christian god, rather than other gods.

The vernacular names in Nigeria are from different local languages, depending on where the child's family is from (or where they have ancestral roots in the case of city dwellers). These names are meaningful and indicate something about the parents' circumstances or outlook at the time, or something more specific about the birth of the child. The grandparents might also ask the parents to give a particular name to the child, but this would probably be one of several names given.

Some Nigerians are given 'English' baptismal names. This is particularly common for those of the Catholic faith but not necessary (though still fairly common) for other denominations such as Pentecostalism.

Some families or clans use particular prefixes (such as Ade- or Ola-) within their forenames to indicate something about their origin (that they are descended from a royal family for example).

In Structures B and D, many vernacular names can be given (rather than just two). One example included twenty names, of which most were not in general use.

There is a degree of flexibility in which name to use as the usual, everyday name of a person. This could change in different domains (e.g. home, school, university, workplace) according to the person's (and, as a child, their parents') wishes.

DRC Congo (From eastern DRC Congo, close to borders with Rwanda, Uganda, Zimbabwe)

Structure A: [Forename] [Surname]

Structure B: [Forename] ['French' Baptismal name] [Surname]

Structure C: ['French' Baptismal name] [Forename] [Surname]

Structure D: (Written on official documents, rather than oral usage)

[Surname] [Forename]

[Surname] [Forename] ['French' Baptismal name]

[Surname] ['French' Baptismal name] [Forename]

Hereditary surnames are established in the Democratic Republic of Congo and are apparently used by everyone. All members of the same family will share a surname, and this will be passed along the paternal line.

The [Forename]s used in each structure are African, and often written in the local/tribal vernacular. They are words within a language meaningful to the parents and reflect some circumstance surrounding the birth of the child, either immediately or relating to the parents' wider circumstance.

There were also examples, however, of children named after older relatives. The language would not necessarily be understood in this case and the reason for giving the name is different from the norm.

French baptismal names are given as part of a Christian naming ceremony and reflect names in the bible or of saints, slanted through a French-language/naming prism.

As DR Congo is a former Belgian colony, names are recorded in the French style. This means that the surname must come first on official documents, with any forenames coming afterwards, as in the examples in Structure D. This has caused

problems for refugees claiming asylum in the United Kingdom as, when asked to write their name they often use the convention with which they are familiar, particularly if they do not speak English. There were examples of this resulting in first names and surnames being mixed up and causing confusion.

8.4.2.2 Surnames

Surnames of the African Christian informants were not necessarily hereditary but often were – it depended to which country and tribe the informant belonged. Even when they were hereditary they were in some cases, as in Nigerian names, still semantically transparent and, even if not, they always conveyed information about the ancestry and clan of the informant.

The Ugandan informant described a system where last names were not hereditary but were drawn from the vernacular name stock of the clan grouping. In this way a link was maintained to the clan and particularly to older relatives and members of the tribe who had died and were commemorated in this way.

The societies were described as extremely male-dominated by all informants. Women always took their husband's surname (or were known by the name of their husband), and children always took the father's surname in societies where hereditary surnames were customary.

8.4.2.3 Forenames

8.4.2.3.1 Societal influences

Religion and colonialism (reflected through this) have clearly had an effect on names given in these African Christian societies. English or French names are given (depending on the previous colonial European power) to most children. Even in societies where this is less likely to be the case, such as Nigeria, the name may reflect a religious belief. Many of the names given as examples translated to phrases such as ‘God’s work is timely’ and ‘God’s wish has come to pass’.

Despite the use of English and French names, at least one local name would always be given as well reflecting the local vernacular and the local tribal grouping.

Twins were seen as very important in each informant’s society. This had an effect on the naming systems. Every twin was given a specific name which conveyed their status as a twin and whether they were the first or second born. This was not necessarily the equivalent of the word for ‘twin’ in the local language. Rather it denoted the concept of a twin through a specific, universally-understood name. This could also affect the names of later children, as there were also specific names which should be given to subsequent children born after twins but in the same family.

8.4.2.3.2 Meaning

The meaning of the names was extremely important in most of the informants' societies. This relates to the vernacular names, which seemed to fall into certain patterns of relation. Some related to the parents' circumstances in the period before the birth, such as 'gift' or 'wealth has risen' for a child born at a time of good fortune, or 'tears' for a child born at a time of mourning or sorrow. Others would commemorate a festival ongoing at the time of the birth or a perceived attribute of the child. Alternatively, the name might reflect the circumstances of the birth itself. This was particularly common if it had been a breech or coiled birth. In these cases it was reported across cultures that a child would be given a specific name relating to this.

In the Ugandan society discussed, lexical meaning was not important in this way. The important meanings here were social and relational. The name served either to commemorate the dead or to bind closer ties between the living bearers of the name. Both of these possibilities also contributed to reusing and continuing the names within a particular clan.

Name-givers were not concerned with the meaning of English or French names in the same way as the majority of the vernacular names. These were simply given because the parents liked them or because they were connected with a relative. In isolated cases names were given which resembled meaningful local words or

which seemed to commemorate a festival (e.g. Esther for children born at Easter).

8.4.3 Refugee/asylum seeker experience in UK

8.4.3.1 Official experience

This section relates to how the informants in this community had been treated by official bodies in relation to their names. ‘Official bodies’ in this context largely refers to government organisations, but also includes companies such as banks as well as educational establishments. The individuals’ experiences varied greatly according to their circumstances, how different their naming practices were from British norms, and even which language they spoke. However, some common threads could be identified and these are set out below.

Asylum seekers who already had reasonable English language skills before coming to the UK had fewer problems with the immigration services misrendering their names. This was the case even when their names did not correspond to the typical British style as they could ‘educate them’ about the names.

French-speaking Africans were reported often to have their surname and forename swapped around in initial immigration documents, as when confronted

with a form their cultural official practice would be to write [Surname] [Forename] rather than [Forename] [Surname].

Names had been spelt wrongly on initial immigration documents which had to be later corrected, as a lack of English language skills and different letters and alphabets in the home language could cause problems when officials were writing down names.

The immigration services were reported to be confused or even suspicious if members of the same family had different last names, despite this being traditional practice in the home culture.

The child of one informant had had his clan name (which came last) deleted by immigration officials. This caused problems later when trying to open bank accounts etc. using his real name, as in his home culture the clan name was used as the surname. He did not wish to change his name in this way and reject his surname/clan name which was shared with his father and sibling.

One informant reported problems with the Home Office and naming but did not feel comfortable divulging details in an interview.

8.4.3.2 Unofficial experience

There were also some problems in less official circumstances, when asylum seekers and refugees had begun living amongst both indigenous Scottish people and other immigrants in Glasgow.

In the Glasgow community where this study was based there are many different cultures and languages, and this had caused certain problems with naming. Many non-Africans found traditional/vernacular African names difficult to pronounce, particularly those which had initial consonant clusters (such as Mb-, Ng-). There were also a number of Sri Lankans in the community and informants found their names particularly difficult due to length and linguistic complexity.

Within both the Scottish population who had extensive contact with asylum seekers/refugees, and the multicultural community itself, remembering people's names was a major problem. These names were unfamiliar and therefore not accessible to them as words which were easily retrieved. Within the community, people from different cultural backgrounds often avoided using names entirely as a way of countering the embarrassment of this situation. This clearly affected intercultural interaction.

Indigenous Scots often had difficulty with the names of the asylum seekers, sometimes seemingly without realising it. It was very common for asylum seekers to have their names pronounced incorrectly by native English speakers. However, most asylum seekers did not correct these erroneous pronunciations. Some were frustrated by it, while others did not mind a great deal. Native English speakers also shortened names which they found difficult. Sometimes this was their own choice, while at other times people shortened their own name to make things easier for others. This was particularly common amongst cultures with long names, such as the Sri Lankan community. These were particular issues for young refugees in the school environment, some of whom had names changed by teachers and other pupils.

Some asylum seekers also had problems with the names of indigenous Scots. Pronunciation could be a problem, with informants being aware that they were pronouncing British names differently to native English speakers. A difference in transliteration, or mapping of sounds to letters, between languages caused problems in using names, as informants sometimes had very little idea of how a name should be pronounced. This happened particularly with names of Gaelic origin. However, it was also the case with British names more generally and could cause difficulties when dealing with officials or bank staff, and when attending appointments. Examples were given of informants asking to speak to an official

named in a letter and other members of staff being unable to understand which name was being given. Often the response was that there was no one of that name there.

Some informants from this community initially had difficulty knowing what part of a Scottish name to use, when there was a choice within the home culture. So a female co-worker might be addressed simply by her surname and this could cause offence. There was also some level of confusion with hypocoristic and official forms of names being used for the same person.

As with the names of other cultures, some informants also had trouble remembering Scottish/British names as these names were unfamiliar. This was less of a problem for these Western names though, as people had often obtained some level of familiarity through exposure to Western popular culture and Christianity within the home culture.

8.4.3.3 Effect of UK on naming practices

The Asylum application process can be a very long one. One of the informants had been in the UK for nine years and still had not had a decision at the time of my interview, though she subsequently got leave to remain in the UK. This meant that despite being in official limbo and unable to work, some of the informants

had had children since they came to the UK. Others had friends who were asylum seekers or refugees in the community who had had children. This allowed for some insight into whether British (or Glaswegian) naming practices had influenced the naming of children.

In most cases it seemed not to have done so, and the child would be given a name from the parents' culture. This was particularly common amongst African Christians who had the option of giving a Christian, as well as a vernacular, name.

Zambia-AS-F: Well it depends what roots they have, how they are feeling about this place eh (.) But most people name them after their culture, their traditional name. Like I have a friend who had a baby last week. She named her Princess and er she named her M-Mgoli. Yeah- that's the eh traditional name, so that's [...]
Most people go on and name them with their vernacular name

Here, an African name had been given alongside a fairly non-traditional English name.

Another African Christian informant discussed why he thought that there was little point in adopting British names to fit in.

Uganda-AS-M: Maybe there might be [coughs] circumstances (.) of course (.) that might influence change of name but (.) that does not mean that you will change colour as well then [laughs]

Changing his name, or giving a newborn child a name from the Scottish anthroponymicon, would not make an African person look like a white Scottish person.

There was one example given of an African woman having married a white Englishman. Rather than following British naming traditions in this case, despite the fact that they were living in the UK, they had given an African name to the baby.

Zambia-AS-F: I've got a friend of mine she is married to an English man, she had a child but she named her ve- vernacular name [...] But the man, the English man, he is very proud of that name and he calls the child Mwela

This example shows a lack of assimilation in forenaming practices, even when given a strong reason to assimilate. There were also other examples given of African children, who also had Christian names, choosing to use their African vernacular name instead.

Some Muslim asylum seeker and refugee parents had also given traditional names to their children. However, there were instances where this was not quite the case. One woman had had a child after coming to the UK and had given him a name which is in the British anthroponymicon. Another asylum seeker, who had had two children since coming to the UK from Algeria, had chosen to give his

children names which had cognates in both cultures. He discusses his reasons for this in the extract below.

Interviewer: Yeah and people will remember these names and they won't-

Algerian-AS-M: Yeah and b-

Interviewer: Ah (.) ok

A-AS-M: that's why give them these names because I don't want to give them names (.) example that relate to the (.) to the- any religions. Not-

Interviewer: Right

A-AS-M: especially Islam religion

Interviewer: Mm-hm

A-AS-M: Is just because I don't want- because we live in Scotland here and (.) I know ey you have bad and good people (.) and er just to (.) not put them on the situation when they have harassment er because their names and everything. I don't er want to give them example name relate to Mohammed or relate to example Abdullah or Abdul

Interviewer: Mm-hm. Do you think they would get harassed because of that?

A-AS-M: Sure

In this case, it is very clear that the fear of racism and victimisation has influenced this man to give his children forenames which might be seen as assimilating to the dominant naming system.

It did appear that Muslim asylum seekers were more hesitant than the African Christians about giving their children traditional names from their home culture. This may relate to a perceived threat of Islamophobia within Scottish or wider society, which seems more threatening than racism against Africans. Fear, then,

might play a part in assimilation, rather than assimilation happening because minorities want to become subsumed into the majority.

8.4.3.3.1 High School

In the local High School, interviews were carried out with Teenage members of the Refugee and Asylum Seeker community, in order to try and get some kind of cross-generational perspective on the names in this community. This was not possible for the African Christian names, as there were not enough willing informants. However, there were enough for the Muslim names, and results from this have been used in the summary table in section 8.5.1.

Questionnaires were used at this school as an alternative way of gaining anthroponymic data and as a way of testing the information collected in interviews. The questionnaires (Appendix H) were useful for gathering data, but the data obtained was nowhere near as rich and detailed as interviews carried out with the same Teenagers. However, the analysis was much quicker and so this seems a method which would be suitable for use with large numbers of people.

Both refugee and asylum seeker pupils and Glaswegian pupils filled out this survey. There were 11 forms completed by refugee and asylum seeker pupils and 12 by Glaswegian pupils. There were very clear differences between these two

groups, especially in relation to the importance attached to the meaning of a name. The questionnaire results suggest that the refugee and asylum seeker group would be likely to maintain the traditional names of their parents' home culture, and interviews supported this. However, until they grow older and begin having and naming children within the UK this cannot be substantiated.

8.5 Summary of naming practices in Asylum Seeker and Refugee community in Glasgow

This summary is rather different from those in sections 4.5, 5.5, 6.5 and 7.5. As has been emphasised throughout, this community was not cohesive and cannot be reported on in the same way as the others. The two rough groups identified within the Asylum Seeker and Refugee community, as regards naming practices, were the Muslim and African Christian groupings. These contained much diversity within as well as between them. It is also important to remember that these were not interviews within many informants from one culture where the results could be aggregated and checked with those of different informants, as they were in the other communities. As a result of this, the summary tables below will report the practices approximately on a Likert-type scale (with 1 rare and 5 very frequent, as before), but will reflect diversity within the categories by giving more than one number where there are different levels of this practice in the broad categories 'Muslim' or 'African Christian'.

The Muslim practices could be measured across the Adult and Teenage generations, as there were enough Muslim Teenagers from this community in the High School to form a reasonable grouping. However, there were not enough African Christian Teenagers in the study for this to be a meaningful category so they are not represented in the table. Instead, Christian and African vernacular

naming practices are compared, as it would be meaningless to try and represent these as a single number. However, it is important to remember that they are not two systems, but two very different parts of the same system.

8.5.1 Muslim practices

| Naming practice | Adult | Teenage |
|---|--------------|----------------|
| First name after relative | 2-4 | 2 |
| Middle name after relative | 2 | 2 |
| Lexical meaning of forenames important | 3-5 | 5 |
| Different versions of names for diff. languages | 1-3 | 1 |
| Hereditary surname from father | 1-5 | 1-5 |
| True patronymic ⁵³ | 1-5 | 1-5 |
| Patronymic as unofficial name ⁵⁴ | 3 | No data |
| Last name no connection to relative | 1-4 | 1-4 |
| Women's surname changed on marriage: | | |
| -officially | 1-5 | N/A |
| -unofficially | 1 | N/A |
| Use of semi-official names ⁵⁵ | 2-3 | 1 |
| Use of nicknames/unofficial names | 3 | 3 |

⁵³ As the official 'surname'.

⁵⁴ This table takes into account true patronymics used in official and unofficial forms of the name in this community, in order that the full extent of patronymic usage is denoted.

⁵⁵ Different from an official one, but could be used in a community publication/newspaper, for example, to identify someone within that community.

8.5.2 African Christian practices

| Naming practice | Vernacular | Christian |
|---|-------------------|------------------|
| First name after relative | 1-5 | 2-4 |
| Middle name after relative ⁵⁶ | N/A | N/A |
| Lexical meaning of forenames important | 5 | 1 |
| Different versions of names for diff. languages | 1* ⁵⁷ | 1* |
| Hereditary surname from father | 1-5 | N/A |
| True patronymic ⁵⁸ | 1* | 1* |
| Patronymic as unofficial name ⁵⁹ | No data | No data |
| Last name no connection to relative | 1-5* | 1-5* |
| Women's surname changed on marriage: | | |
| -officially | 5* | 5* |
| -unofficially | 5* | 5* |
| Use of semi-official names ⁶⁰ | 3 | N/A |
| Use of nicknames/unofficial names | 4 | N/A |

⁵⁶ This is not applicable here, as if Christian and vernacular names are being used, then one of them is the middle name as they are used together.

⁵⁷ All entries in this table with * next to them should not really be split into vernacular and Christian names so are given the same score in both columns.

⁵⁸ As the official 'surname'.

⁵⁹ This table takes into account true patronymics used in official and unofficial forms of the name in this community, in order that the full extent of patronymic usage is denoted.

⁶⁰ Different from an official one, but could be used in a community publication/newspaper, for example, to identify someone within that community.

9. Comparison of naming practices

9.1 Tables of comparison

This chapter presents a comparison of naming practices between the communities studied in the thesis and over generations. The practices of the five communities – the communities in the Western Isles and Buckie, the Glaswegian community, the Pakistani Muslim and Refugee/Asylum Seeker communities in Glasgow – have been detailed in the preceding chapters. The following tables are based on the summary tables at the end of each community chapter (see 3.3 for overall methodology).

The level of a specific practice in each community and generation is scored using a Likert-type scale. Each practice is rated from one to five, with one indicating the almost total absence of this practice in that community and five indicating that it happens almost all of the time. So if a community never used hereditary surnames it would be rated 1, while if everyone in that community had hereditary surnames it would be rated 5 on that measure. The numbers in between reflect a scale between these two opposing points as follows:

- 1 – Never/rarely occurs
- 2 – Occasionally occurs
- 3 – Sometimes occurs
- 4 – Regularly occurs
- 5 – Always/very frequently occurs

These are – necessarily – interpretive and subjective measurements. They are based on the practices identified in each community in the preceding chapters, so have a strong basis in the qualitative data analysis underlying those chapters. Informants often gave examples of other people's names (even of close family) without being entirely sure of the practices underlying the name that had been given in that instance. They were often able to articulate ways in which people were named within their own community by giving examples of types of names which resulted from a practice, rather than simply giving a straight-forward example which could be recorded as the name of a real person.

These data, then, are collated from the community-based evidence discussed in Chapters 4 to 7. The concluding summary tables, showing changes in practices in the community over the generations, have been collated into tables displaying each naming practice over the four communities. Chapter 8 is more problematic, as the Refugee and Asylum Seeker community contains many widely differing traditions rather than a cohesive set of practices which can be generalised about,

so will not be included in the tables. The Refugee and Asylum Seeker summary tables in section 8.5 are simply not compatible with those of the other communities.

Each practice within the Western Isles, Buckie, Glaswegian and Pakistani Muslim groups has been interpreted as being at a point on the scale shown above. This is an attempt to draw together the detailed observations made in previous chapters in the form of generalisations about the naming practices present, as a way of comparing these communities.

| | Elderly | Middle-Aged | Teenage |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Western Isles | 5 | 4 | 3 |
| Buckie | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| Glaswegian | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| Pakistani Muslim | 2 | 2 | 2 |

Table 20 – First name after relative

Table 20 shows a strong pattern in the indigenous communities, where it has become less common for children to be named after a relative. This has happened in every community but the tradition (which used to predominate in Scotland) has remained stronger in the Western Isles than in the less isolated, monolingual communities.

| | Elderly | Middle-Aged | Teenage |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Western Isles | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Buckie | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Glaswegian | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Pakistani Muslim | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Table 21 – Middle name/s after relative

In contrast with the picture for first names, relatives' names are far more likely to be given as middle names in the indigenous communities. This is still a strong trend across all three communities, and has remained so through the generations. However, it is important to note that middle names are not compulsory in any of these communities so many children would not be given middle names at all while others would be given several.

| | Elderly | Middle-Aged | Teenage |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Western Isles | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Buckie | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Glaswegian | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Pakistani Muslim | 4 | 4 | 4 |

Table 22 – Lexical meaning of forenames important

Table 22 shows the lack of importance those in the indigenous communities attach to the meaning of the root word from which the name stems. Although

some indigenous parents had looked up the meaning of their preferred name in baby-naming books or websites, none volunteered this as being a reason for choosing that name in itself. Most did not know what their own name meant or did not attach any particular importance to the meaning of a name. In contrast, those in the Pakistani Muslim community attached a great deal of importance to a name having a ‘good’ meaning, even at the expense of the way the name looked or sounded. This was also the case, to a greater or lesser degree, for the Muslim and African names volunteered by the asylum seeker and refugee informants in Chapter 8.

| | Elderly | Middle-Aged | Teenage |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Western Isles | 5 | 4 | 3 |
| Buckie | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Glaswegian | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Pakistani Muslim | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Table 23 – Use of bilingual, ‘translated’ names

In the Western Isles community forenames and surnames could be ‘translated’ into Scottish Gaelic or English, as discussed in Sections 4.4.2.1.2 and 4.4.3.1.2. Traditionally within the community these would follow a diglossic pattern, with English names being used for official purposes and the Gaelic version being used orally and in community life. They also vary depending on which language is

being spoken. As Gaelic has been declining it is unsurprising that the pattern across generations shows the use of bilingual versions of a name to be decreasing. However, this is not just a result of Gaelic language decline. It has also become more common to record Gaelic versions of forenames as official names in the younger generations. These would then be used in all situations, as the individual's only forename, rather than the English version being officially recorded and the Gaelic version used in the community. So the picture is more complex and encompasses both a decline in Gaelic and a rise in recording of Gaelic names. None of the other communities showed a similar pattern of usage, though in the asylum seeker and refugee community there seemed to be some evidence to show that an onomastic diglossia may exist (or have existed) in colonial situations.

| | Elderly | Middle-Aged | Teenage |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Western Isles | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Buckie | 5 | 5 | 4 ^{*61} |
| Glaswegian | 5 | 5 | 4 [*] |
| Pakistani Muslim⁶² | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Table 24 – Hereditary surname from father

⁶¹ Can be from mother in the communities marked with a *, especially if parents unmarried or not in a relationship.

⁶² Hereditary surnames not traditional in this community.

Hereditary surnames are universal in the indigenous communities and most children are given the father's surname. The only exceptions to this were when the parents were not in a relationship, where sometimes the mother's surname was given. In other (rare) cases children were given the surname of their step-father later in childhood.

The Pakistani Muslim community does not have a tradition of giving hereditary surnames. However, this is becoming more common through the generations as shown by the table and as discussed in Section 8.4.3.1.1.

| | Elderly | Middle-Aged | Teenage |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Western Isles | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Buckie | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Glaswegian | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Pakistani Muslim | 4 | 4 | 3 |

Table 25 – True patronymic (as official last name)

As shown by Table 25, the indigenous communities did not use true patronymics as official names at all, while it was reasonably common in the Pakistani Muslim

community. However, this practice is declining in that community too with the rise of hereditary surnames, which are already universal in the indigenous communities.

| | Elderly | Middle-Aged | Teenage |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Western Isles | 5 | 5 | 3 |
| Buckie | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Glaswegian | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Pakistani Muslim | 5 | 4 | 3 |

Table 26 – Patronymic as unofficial name

Unofficial patronymics are fairly common in the Pakistani Muslim community, which also uses patronymics as official surnames, and in the Western Isles community, where the Scottish Gaelic tradition of patronymic naming has been retained within community use. In both of these communities there has been a decline over the three generations, however. The Buckie and Glaswegian communities have also experienced a decline in usage, though from a lower starting point.

| | Elderly | Middle-Aged | Teenage |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Western Isles | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Buckie | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Glaswegian | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Pakistani Muslim | 2 | 2 | 2 |

Table 27 – Last name no connection to relatives

A child being given a last name which had no family connection at all was unheard of in the indigenous communities and was still fairly rare in the Pakistani Muslim community, though it was recorded. This practice does seem to have a connection to Pakistani tradition though, particularly as the structure occurred in the names of Pakistani asylum seekers (Chapter 8).

| | Elderly | Middle-Aged | Teenage |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Western Isles | 5 | 5/4 | N/A |
| Buckie | 5 | 5/4 | N/A |
| Glaswegian | 5 | 5/4 | N/A |
| Pakistani Muslim | 2 | 4 | N/A |

Table 28 – Women's surname changes on marriage – officially

In the indigenous communities almost all women changed their surnames on marriage. The few instances where this did not occur were for professional reasons. It is possible that women retaining their maiden name would have been reported more frequently had the community demographics been more middle-class. In the Pakistani Muslim community, women did not traditionally need to change their name on marriage. Now they were fairly likely to change their last name on marriage, though they were aware that their religion did not compel them to do so.

| | Elderly | Middle-Aged | Teenage |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Western Isles | 2 | 3 | N/A |
| Buckie | 3 | 3 | N/A |
| Glaswegian | 4 | 4 | N/A |
| Pakistani Muslim⁶³ | 4 | 3 | N/A |

Table 29 – Women’s surname changes on marriage – unofficially

Table 29 shows how likely it is that a woman in each community will be known by her husband’s surname in unofficial circumstances, such as being referred to informally. This is most likely in the least close-knit social group, the Glaswegian

⁶³ Women were/are often known by their husband’s first name in the community.

community. In many of the other communities it is likely that a woman would be referred to by her maiden name even after marriage, and this seems to be a result of the more static and close-knit populations in those other communities. If people knew the women by her original name then they will keep using that. In Buckie and the Western Isles, the high proportions of people sharing a surname may also make it more desirable to continue using another name (particularly if the husband's surname was MacDonald or Smith).

| | Elderly | Middle-Aged | Teenage |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Western Isles | 5 | 5 | 3 |
| Buckie | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| Glaswegian | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Pakistani Muslim⁶⁴ | 4 | 4 | 3 |

Table 30 – Use of semi-official names⁶⁵

Semi-official names for this purpose are different from official names in that they are not what is written on a birth certificate, but are well-established and known throughout a community as the name a person is commonly referred to by. In the Western Isles and Buckie, it was not uncommon to see non-official names such as

⁶⁴ Clan names/biraderi included here

⁶⁵ Different from official ones, but could be written in a community publication, for example

these used in local newspapers to identify individuals. In both communities, it was most common for the Elderly generation to have this type of name and usage decreased through the generations. However, in Buckie the practice had decreased very steeply, with tee-names in particular dropping out of use, while in the Western Isles the decline was more gradual and the use of semi-official names (or bynames) is still a living practice amongst the Teenage informants.

Biraderi have been classified with semi-official names for the purposes of this table, and their use in the Pakistani Muslim community is still strong, though declining slightly in the Teenage generation (see Section 8.4.3.2.1 for more discussion).

| | Elderly | Middle-Aged | Teenage |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Western Isles | 5 | 5 | 5/4 |
| Buckie | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Glaswegian | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Pakistani Muslim | 3 | 3 | 4 |

Table 31 – Nicknames/unofficial names

Unofficial names in this table only cover nicknames and other transient names for individuals (unlike semi-official names which were more closely connected

with families). These seem more prevalent in communities with closer-knit social ties.

In summary, many of the naming practices examined in this study are changing over the course of three generations. The preceding tables show patterns which allow comparison between these practices but also between the rates of change across the communities. These comparisons can help in establishing differences and similarities between naming systems and can also aid in exploring the research questions set out at the beginning of this thesis.

9.2 Research questions revisited

9.2.1 Aim 1 – Model of empirical anthroponymic research

- **To produce a model of empirical anthroponymic research by investigating several personal naming systems in a comprehensive way and developing a cross-cultural study of personal naming**

Chapters 4 to 8 of this thesis provide detailed descriptions of the naming practices in five communities within Scotland. As these were designed as comparable, in-depth studies within the same document, they can be fairly easily contrasted. The comparative tables in section 9.1 of this chapter illustrate the cross-cultural and cross-generational patterns found in the data as a whole.

This study could provide a model for other studies of personal names, as the methods employed yielded large amounts of very detailed data on naming practices. These data were generalizable enough to construct a comprehensive representation of the naming system in each community, and these were set out in the individual chapters.

9.2.1.1 What types of personal names are used within these communities?

The types of names used were very generally categorised, first as names recorded officially and unofficial names. These were split into forenames, middle names, surnames, bynames and nicknames for comparative purposes, but that does not provide a complete account. The ways that these names were given and used were not the same in all communities, particularly among the immigrant communities. Setting out their potential form and usage in clear structures in each community chapter allows comparisons to be made. As well as simply hereditary surnames, there are true patronymics (both official and unofficial), clan names (in oral tradition and used formally), tee-names (which were used alongside official surnames), bynames (including occupational, characteristic, locative and nickname), and names used as official surnames but bearing no relation to family. There are also cases where no surname is present at all. With traditional forenames, there are nicknames (some of which replace the forename entirely), hypocoristic versions of names (some of which are localised to particular regions), double-barrelled names, and names which can be translated between two languages.

The specific personal names used (as opposed to ‘types’ of name) are taken largely from the anthroponymic repertoire of that cultural grouping. Extensive fieldwork and interviewing were necessary to find out what these repertoires consist of and what cultural groupings these relate to. In a geographically-restricted community with little in-migration, it might be unproblematic to collect the personal names of those in the local area from official sources and present these as the official names available. In an urban area, this is impossible without making prior assumptions based on names as to cultural grouping or ethnicity and doing so would pre-empt any findings.

Simply collecting names from a telephone directory or birth records also reduces the complexity and richness of the name data available. This is because these types of official records deal only with official names. In this study all types of names have been considered. This includes unofficial names and altered forms of official names which can be equally important as regards identity, or even more so in some contexts.

9.2.1.2 What are people's motivations for giving these names?

9.2.1.2.1 Does this differ between communities?

People's motivations for personal naming varied between individuals, across communities and over different types of name. However, it is possible to group them into rough categories.

For forenames, which were amongst the names which provided most choice for individuals, there were several factors which seemed particularly important in naming children. These were: sound, meaning (denotative), religion, connotations (based on other people or popular culture), relationships and notions of identity. More than one of these factors could be invoked by a parent explaining why they had chosen the exact name for their child.

The comparative tables in Section 9.1 highlight the differences in naming practices between communities and generations. Some communities (and generations) had far more free choice than others. The older indigenous generations had to overcome social pressure if they wanted to give their child a name which was not that of a relative. If one of the African Christian refugees or asylum seekers had twins in their home country, it would be very unusual for them not to give specific names, reserved only for twins.

Denotative meaning was not important at all for the indigenous communities, though the connotations they had of the forenames selected were important to them. However, for the Pakistani Muslim community meaning was perhaps the most important thing to consider when naming a child. It was also important to the Muslim informants within the Asylum Seeker and Refugee community to varying degrees, depending on their country of origin (or perhaps their own individual beliefs, as they were from varied backgrounds). The African Christian informants within that community had a dichotomous position. They could give a name from the Christian onomasticon, which was meaningful religiously but not in terms of denotation, and a name from their vernacular which was entirely meaningful, often relating to the circumstances of the birth. This suggests that the idea of names not being meaningful, but simply labels, may be more appropriate when considering Western names.

Religion could be important, but was less so in the indigenous communities. Many of the traditional names were biblical in origin, but had usually been chosen for their social meaning (as the name of a relative) or as part of the traditional name stock. This was not necessarily due to a lower incidence of religious people within the indigenous communities – the Western Isles maintains a strong Christian tradition, as did many of the Buckie informants. The naming systems in these communities were simply not religious in nature. In

contrast, the naming traditions of the Pakistani Muslim community and many of the Asylum Seeker and Refugees informants were overtly connected with their religion.

The sound of a name was a remarkably frequent reason given by parents for their choice of forename, particularly in the three indigenous communities. These choices based on sound were also often attached to other factors such as the connotations they attached to that name (and presumably sound), including others who bore the name in their own social world and in wider culture. Notions of individual and collective identity also motivated parents to choose types of name: such as Gaelic names, Muslim names, 'unique' names or literary names.

Surnames provided less choice as these were often hereditary. In that case the most important factors were continuity of tradition and relationship to parents. The only real choice available when parents were unmarried was whether to give the surname of the father or mother. Generally the father's surname was used, reflecting the tradition of male surname lineage. However, there were a small number of examples in the indigenous communities where the mother's surname had been used instead.

In non-British traditions where the surname was not hereditary, there also tended to be little choice in the last name. Patrilineal naming was still important, with the father's first name often used as a true patronymic 'surname'. In a very few number of cases there was the option of choosing a 'surname' which had no relation to the family. When this occurred, selection rules were akin to those of forenames, with the last name coming from the same anthroponymic repertoire as the first.

Unofficial names could also follow familial lines. Tee-names in Buckie and the by-names used in the Western Isles were good examples of this. There were also some examples of nicknames in these two communities demarcating families, rather than simply individuals (in the form of a nickname given to multiple members of the same family). These names are motivated then by a need, or wish, to describe people's relationship to others within their community.

There is more choice in the motivations for nicknames. But, as with forenames, this is not the choice of the individual who bears the name. Nicknames are bestowed by others in their social group (or family group). The potential motivations for the individual names here are vast, and have been covered in more detail in individual chapters. However, the main motivations behind giving nicknames at all can be stated as social categorisation, social bonding and

identification. So nicknames are used either to highlight where someone fits within the community (by giving them the same name as a relative, for example), to show solidarity and camaraderie with that person (bonding socially through using unofficial names), or simply to point them out as an individual (by emphasising an aspect of their appearance, for example).

9.2.2 Aim 2 – Links

- **To investigate possible links between naming systems, social structure and cultural contact.**

One of the primary aims of this thesis was to investigate naming in different types of community in order to investigate the links between social factors and naming systems. As discussed in the introductory chapter, the communities chosen for the study displayed distinct social features which made them particularly relevant for comparison as part of this wider project. These social factors were: rurality to urbanism; language; immigrant or indigenous; closeness of social networks; and transiency of the community. Table 32 shows the features present in each community and is repeated below (it is also in section 3.1).

| Community | Area of Scotland | Type of Area | Indig./ Imm. | Close-knit/ Loose-knit | Stable/ Transient | Language(s) Spoken |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| Western Isles | Western Isles, North-west | Rural, isolated | Indigenous | Close-knit | Stable | English, Scottish Gaelic |
| Buckie | Moray, North-east | Small-town, well-connected | Indigenous | Close-knit | Stable | Scots/Doric, English |
| Glaswegian | Glasgow, South-west | Urban | Indigenous | Loose-knit | Fairly stable | English, Glaswegian dialect |
| Pakistani Muslim | Glasgow, South-west | Urban | Immigrant | Close-knit | Stable | Punjabi, Urdu, English |
| Refugee/ Asylum seeker | Glasgow, South-west | Urban | Immigrant | Loose-knit | Transient | Multilingual (varies with origin of speaker), English |

Table 32 – Communities in Scotland chosen for the study

9.2.2.1 How does social structure affect the naming practices of a community?

Social structure is a complex concept and, taken in a broad sense, could encompass many aspects of a community. However, for the purposes of this thesis, social structure has been defined as the strength and concentration of social ties which exist between individuals in each community. This involves judging the density of the social networks and allows a continuum from close-knit to loose-knit communities (Milroy, 1980; 1987). Rurality and urbanism was also taken into account. This at first appeared to affect the social ties of the indigenous communities, with the most urban being the loosest-knit socially. But this would not explain why the Pakistani Muslim community is close-knit and yet exists in Glasgow, the biggest city in Scotland, and so the two must be considered separately. The stability of the communities could also be considered. Within the indigenous communities, the Glaswegian community was somewhat less stable over the course of generations, partly due to forced movement of population within the city. Both the Western Isles and Buckie were fairly stable, with the latter experiencing more in-migration but the former experiencing more out-migration, particularly of young people.

It is well-attested within sociolinguistics that close-knit social ties aid in the maintenance of linguistic norms within a speech community (Milroy, 1980; Chalmers, 2003). It might be expected that close-knit communities would also be

more likely to retain norms of personal naming as well. There is some evidence from this study that this may be the case.

The Western Isles community is close-knit, rural and stable (with out-migration, as discussed above). It has also retained many Scottish Gaelic naming traditions in an environment where English is the prevailing national language and British naming conventions are expected to be adhered to in the official sphere. This is the case for Gaelic forms of forenames, which are now being used officially as well as unofficially, despite the choice of the English official name being present within the individual's personal onomasticon. A resilient bynaming culture, including traditional *sloinneadh* (or patronymics), has also been maintained entirely as an oral, community-based tradition.

Despite being within an urban environment, the Pakistani Muslim community in Glasgow is also a stable and close-knit one. This community has continued using traditional forenames linked with Islam and Pakistan, rather than the UK. A child born into this community will most likely be given an Arabic name and it is extremely unlikely that a name would be selected from wider Glaswegian or British culture. Again, this suggests that close-knit social ties help to maintain anthroponymic norms. As discussed earlier, however, the structure of surnames is changing within this community, and they might be seen as being rather socially isolated from the dominant culture.

Buckie is a different case. This is a small-town environment, which is also fairly stable and fairly close-knit, though a little less so than the Pakistani Muslim and Western Isles communities. However, official personal name trends here seem to more closely mirror those of the looser-knit Glaswegian community (see comparative tables in section 9.1). Tee-names were an extremely important part of the local naming system until the Elderly generation, and yet they have fallen out of use so quickly that the Teenage generation did not even know that tee-names had existed. Some informants blamed this on changes in society and looser social ties, yet my ethnographic experience suggested that the community was still a fairly close-knit one. Buckie also has a strong regional identity and the population take pride in their Doric Scots language and fishing heritage so these changes are unlikely to be as a result of a close identification with Glasgow.

This seems to suggest that it is not close-knit social ties alone which lead to the maintenance of personal naming systems. It is possible that the changes in Buckie are as a result of an earlier and wider engagement with Scottish and British culture. The Western Isles and Pakistani Muslim communities have both been isolated in different ways, physically and culturally. The majority of their anthroponymic repertoires are also different to the Scottish and British norms, because of their linguistic and cultural situations. Buckie names were not so different from those given in other communities and areas of Scotland, so it

would make sense that they would be more quickly affected by national trends, as would the Glaswegian Scots. They may also be connecting more globally.

Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (2003: 537) tie globalisation in with social network theory, noting that greater globalisation paradoxically is associated with increased localisation, so having a strong regional identity does not preclude global influence. Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) identified multi-national diffusion within the linguistic system, and it is possible that something may be happening as regards globalisation (or (multi-)national diffusion) of personal names in some areas.

It seems that close-knit ties are significant in the maintenance of personal naming systems, but they are not the only social factor involved. The results of this study suggest that a cultural and linguistic identity which includes these names and a high degree of anthroponymic distinctiveness may also be important.

9.2.2.2 What happens when one set of naming traditions faces competition from another?

There are several examples within this study of communities where very distinct and separable naming systems face competition from each other. These include the indigenous community in the Western Isles, the stable and well-established

Pakistani Muslim immigrant community in Glasgow and the transient and multicultural Asylum Seeker and Refugee immigrant community in Glasgow.

The naming systems in these communities have reacted differently to the existence of the dominant British/Scottish naming system. Fishman's (1989) model for language contact was discussed in Section 2.2.4. The model hypothesises three potential outcomes of situations of linguistic contact as follows:

- (1) $B \rightarrow A = A$ (The intrusive language is lost)
- (2) $B \rightarrow A = B$ (The native language is lost)
- (3) $B \rightarrow A = B + A$ (Both languages are maintained)

(Fishman, 1989: 202)

In outcome (3) there is the possibility of territorial diglossia, where the two languages are spoken in different areas, and societal diglossia, where the languages are spoken in separate domains (usually one in High domains and one in Low domains). This seems a useful model with which to discuss the results of anthroponymic contact, substituting 'language' with 'personal names'. The concepts of diglossia and multilingual societies have been discussed in detail more recently, notably by Hudson (2002) and Fishman (2002), as they were, of course, originally by Ferguson (1959). Fishman has also published widely on languages in contact situations, with Fishman (1991) and Fishman (2001)

particularly influential. However, Fishman's (1989) language contact model is most useful for the purposes of this section.

The Gaelic-based personal naming system in the Western Isles has been influenced by the Scottish/British system for centuries. The latter system has been dominant for official purposes. The resulting naming system seems to fit well within outcome (3). Neither the traditional Gaelic system on the islands nor the official English-based system has dominated entirely. Instead, there has been some level of societal diglossia.⁶⁶ English versions of names, similar to those of people from other parts of Scotland and the UK, were used for official purposes. These were matched with hereditary surnames as expected in Britain. Therefore this was the system used for High, governmental and official, domains. Gaelic versions of the names, along with the traditional Gaelic patronymics and bynames, were used orally, within the community. This was the naming system reserved for Low domains, such as the home and locality. This diglossic system has begun to change, but remains in use amongst the Elderly and Middle-Aged generations.

The Pakistani Muslim community in Glasgow is also bilingual (and multilingual), but what Fishman would call the 'intrusive' naming system seems to have taken a different course, with a different anthroponymic outcome from the situation in

⁶⁶ Though the term 'diglossia' is used here this usually refers to languages and not naming systems. A more appropriate term might be 'dionomia'. Hough (2011) discussed the problem of linguistic terms not mapping directly onto onomastic concepts and this may be another example.

the Western Isles. Outcome (1) is most appropriate here, where the intrusive system is lost and the original naming system maintained. This does not mean that the original system has been entirely unaffected by this contact, but it has been retained in some form by its users who have not adopted the system coming from outside the community. This does not stop the Scottish system from encroaching outside the community, however, where it is dominant. The Pakistani Muslim informants gave examples where the pronunciation or even form of their name had been changed to suit the wider culture in the school and workplace, usually by those in the dominant culture.

The Asylum Seeker and Refugee community is more difficult to characterise, as it is so transient, multicultural and uncohesive. It does not really fit Fishman's model, which imagines one language (A) encroaching on another (B). In this situation there is one naming system encroaching on many, and perhaps those many systems intruding on each other. These systems seem still to be in flux. The parents within the community are largely staying with the traditional naming system from their own culture, while some new parents have decided to give their children names which might be acceptable under systems A and B. The Teenage informants were already aware that they would be making a choice, though many felt that their parents would encourage them to choose names from the home culture. However, in some cases the British system has already become intrusive,

with officials changing names by accident and names being made easier to pronounce for English speakers outside the home.

The anthroponymic system of Glasgow as a whole could be characterised using the term ‘territorial diglossia’. There are different naming systems dominant in the different Glaswegian, Pakistani Muslim and Refugee and Asylum Seeker communities. However, the Glaswegian system is dominant in the city as a whole and the term diglossia does not quite fit; personal names are used outwith community boundaries and so are employed in ways that separate languages are not (cf. Hough, 2011).

In all indigenous and immigrant communities in the study, the older generations were often uncomfortable with, or incredulous about, what were seen as ‘different’ names. These were often from a more global or national celebrity culture, or came from popular culture more generally. Though these could not be described as a naming system within themselves, they added to the anthroponymic repertoire of young parents within each community.

9.2.2.2.1 How do people use names when people from many naming traditions come together?

This research question can be discussed using experience gained during ethnographic fieldwork in the Asylum Seeker and Refugee community and the Glaswegian community. As these were based around the same blocks of flats in the west of Glasgow, interaction was observed in the local community centre over a two year period as well as interviews being undertaken with informants.

The most prominent finding from these observations was that names were often avoided altogether in multicultural situations. In interviews, informants from many different backgrounds stated that this was for two reasons. Firstly, they found it difficult to remember names from other cultures. The names were not fixed as lexical units in their memories so they found it very difficult to store and retrieve them. Having repeatedly asked what a person's name was and then forgotten, they would become too embarrassed to ask again and simply stop trying to use the name altogether. It is also possible that some asylum seekers and refugees are unsure of the communicative strategies for politely discovering a name or introducing themselves within the dominant culture (Rehbein & Fienemann, 2004: 227).

Secondly, many informants had difficulty with the pronunciation of names which were unfamiliar to them and so were uncomfortable in using them for this

reason. This applied particularly to the Glaswegian informants who interacted with the asylum seekers and refugees, but also to informants from many different cultures. As a result of this, there were misunderstandings and some confusion as to referents. Often a description, rather than a name, was used to refer to a person when they were not there and name-use would simply be avoided in conversation.

9.2.2.2.2 Can naming systems give an indication of the level of assimilation of immigrant communities?

It has been suggested that immigrant naming systems will shift towards the intrusive system of the dominant culture (as in Fishman's model) as communities assimilate into that culture (e.g. Lieberman 1984). This has been discussed with reference to immigrants to the USA in the early twentieth century (Watkins & London, 1994) and earlier (Hanks, 2003). There have also been some, though fewer, primary studies of the names of immigrants in present-day societies (Lawson & Glushkovskaya 1994; Thompson 2006). Therefore the level of cultural assimilation of a community might be gauged through observing the level of onomastic assimilation.

Within this study, the Pakistani Muslim community are most appropriate for this assessment. As discussed earlier in this section, and in Chapter 7, the personal names given in this community are distinctly Muslim. Using Fishman's model, it

was concluded that the intrusive naming system had not overcome the Pakistani Muslim traditions, though it had had some effect on them. There are two potential conclusions from this. One is that the Pakistani Muslim community in Glasgow has not assimilated culturally, and so has not assimilated onomastically either. The other possibility is that the theory that immigrant naming systems reflect assimilation is either incorrect or too simplistic.

Both conclusions are plausible. Previous studies have shown names changing as a result of immigration and assimilation. However, these may not take into account specific social factors which might alter this. The Pakistani Muslim community in Glasgow is the largest ethnic minority community in Scotland and has been fairly successful in business and wider society (Maan, 1992). Some members of the community have integrated well into Scottish life, while others have not. The community itself is well-established. Integration and assimilation are different though, and that may be why the traditional naming system has been maintained if the assimilation theory is correct. The community has retained its religion and language⁶⁷, which are distinct from those of the wider Glaswegian community. The community has taken on the English language in addition, in order to integrate. Onomastically, the names used are from the Pakistani Muslim tradition, but structures are shifting towards British norms and biraderi/clan names are less frequently used. These alterations suggest integration and

⁶⁷ Though there is slow language-shift towards English in this community (Alam, 2007)

maintenance of the original culture as well. This situation of integration rather than assimilation would fit well with the idea of a close-knit community maintaining onomastic and cultural norms in parallel. The maintenance of these norms means that assimilation is not taking place to the degree by which the personal naming system would be abandoned.

The Refugee and Asylum Seeker community is much looser-knit and might be expected to assimilate. However, the community is so newly arrived and so transient that it is difficult to see whether these trends exist. The assimilation to the structure of names in the UK has been fairly immediate for this community, as they have had to fill in numerous forms since arrival in the UK, giving 'first names' and 'surnames'. Some of those who have become parents since arrival have given forenames which work in both cultures. This suggests deliberate assimilation on their part, on behalf of their children. However, there were also several cases amongst informants of African Christian children having been given two names, one of which was similar to UK name stock, and the African one being used deliberately by the children. Individual decisions may relate to how secure the immigrants feel within the UK. It is possible that being Muslim outside of a close-knit and accepting community might affect that. At this point it is difficult to generalise, particularly as this population is so disparate.

9.2.3 Aim 3 – Possible universals

- **To investigate possible universals within naming systems.**

It is really beyond the capability of this thesis to say anything authoritative on the subject of naming universals, but perhaps the descriptions of these naming systems can contribute to wider research on this. What this section can do is compare the naming systems studied and place these into a wider context.

9.2.3.1 Are there particular features within the naming systems studied which are universal across all of them?

Including all five communities, and the multiple naming traditions present in the Refugee and Asylum Seeker community, there were actually very few types of name which were common to every one of them.

Forenames were present in every naming tradition discussed by informants in this study. The form that these took and the motivations for giving them varied according to each naming tradition, but were given to every child in every community. It was less common for children to be given middle names, though this did happen in some communities including all the indigenous Scottish communities to a greater or lesser degree.

Every informant in the study had a surname, but this was not necessarily the case for all the people they discussed. The original Pakistani immigrants to Glasgow and the United Kingdom did not necessarily have more than one official name. However, they were required to officially register in Britain with a 'surname'. Some of the Refugees and Asylum Seekers did not have surnames in the strictly British sense, using true patronymics, clan names (which could be used or not) or names which could be used in any order and which did not connect them with family. Surnames were present across the communities, but this was as a result of rigid officialdom rather than naming tradition.

Unofficial names were also present in every community. Bynames and other semi-official names were more common in communities with few surnames. This seemed to make identification through unofficial names more necessary. The amount of nicknaming varied considerably, from only family, to mostly in school to throughout a community. However, it was always practised.

9.2.3.1.1 If there are, have these features been found in previously studied naming systems?

In Alford's (1988) meta-analysis of the naming practices of 60 disparate societies, he identified the structure present in each society. A forename was given in every society, as with the communities in this study. In 40% of Alford's sample, only a

forename was given to each individual and no other name (Alford, 1988: 52). In 33%, surnames or patronymics were given alongside the forename, and in 15% of the societies a clan name was given (Alford, 1988: 53). Nicknames were also present, either commonly or occasionally, in two-thirds of his 60 sample societies (Alford, 1988: 83).

The only truly universal name, according to Alford's broad study, is a given name. This fits well with the findings of the narrower, more detailed study in this thesis, though the personal naming systems of these communities have been altered by British official norms.

9.2.3.2 Are there features which seem culture-specific? If so, how do they manifest themselves?

The culturally specific features, as individual anthroponymicons themselves, are too numerous to list. However, there are no naming structures which only belong to one community. Different naming structures seem to have the potential to exist in many societies but whether they do or not appears to be largely related to socio-cultural factors.

Whether forenames is enough depends on the population, and whether the naming stock allows a given name to be distinctive enough to identify an individual. If not, bynames will usually result, often becoming formalised

surnames. Often this is enough to distinguish people. This is not the case in the Western Isles community, where many people share the same forename and surname, and was not the case in Buckie, where there are many people with the same surname. In these cases, the lack of distinction is again circumvented with unofficial names which seek to distinguish people as part of a family or place. This seems to be a universal tendency in personal naming, where the inclination is to individualise and simultaneously to categorise.

10. Conclusion

During the course of this research, it has become clear that detailed qualitative studies of naming systems can produce valuable results, allowing for a nuanced understanding of naming practices in their social context. Chapters 4 to 8 described the naming practices in five separate communities in Scotland and, alongside Chapter 3, attempted to provide a model of empirical anthroponymic research. However, rather than simply providing a guide to conducting this type of research, the value of these studies is also in showing how a model can be adapted to different situations. No two communities were the same, presenting differing levels of access for the researcher, diverse social factors and different languages spoken. This meant that the overarching methodology, which had been formulated before the fieldwork had begun in order to make the studies compatible, had to be adapted to each community.

These comprehensive qualitative studies can be valuable in cross-cultural analysis, as shown by their use in examining the research questions posed in the thesis. In addition, the results of this type of research could be useful in helping to understand larger data-sets and historical archives. Greater knowledge about the potential motivations for giving personal names and the use of these names within communities could complement research based on official documents.

An important trend revealed by this research is the shift in naming practices over time. In the indigenous communities studied, the loosening of kinship naming obligations has caused parents to choose names for very different reasons than in earlier generations. Changes across time may tie in with research on forename choice being influenced by social fashions, as also with wider trends in globalisation and their effect on language and culture in the UK.

It is also possible that the description and discussion of naming practices in the preceding chapters might help to contribute towards more general theories of names. Primary studies, such as this one, can supply evidence for how names are actually used and considered within particular contexts. These data can help to provide support or refutation for more theoretical stances within the onomastic and semantic literature.

An area of potential further research which has emerged from this study is in connecting the semantic and social aspects of anthroponymy. It may be possible to relate personal name change to social change using the framework of prototype theory. Some types of name might be thought of as more ‘name-like’, and therefore more prototypical, than others. Others, such as nicknames, might be more peripheral. This would of course be culturally determined. Peripheral members of the naming system may respond more to pressures at a micro-societal level, whilst core members may require a change in society at a macro-

level to alter. However, this potential link between name-type, prototypicality and society requires more research to determine its validity.

Finally, this research has concentrated on providing rich descriptions of personal naming systems as well as discussing evidence for links between naming and society. In doing so, it has endeavoured to show the value of, and to provide a model for, empirical anthroponymic research which takes an in-depth, qualitative approach to data collection. The cross-cultural element was crucial in constructing this thesis as more than simply a description of naming practices. Comparison allowed the naming systems in each community to be contrasted and thus employed more widely in order to discuss the personal naming practices in relation to social factors, to cultural contact and to change over time.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Western Isles prompt sheet

Ask age, language/s spoken, length of time lived in [REDACTED] (and elsewhere)

1) Ask about their name – Do they know why they were called it? What it means? Are their names particularly common?

2) Ask about the structure of names in [REDACTED].

[Prompts – How many names are people given at birth? Are people given middle names? How common is this?]

3) Why are particular names given?

[Prompts – How is a baby's name decided upon? Is it connected with a relative? Are there any names which are particularly popular? What tradition do they stem from or where do they come from? Does Scottish (or local) identity play a role in the names chosen? Are there different reasons for choosing middle names if they are used?

Do people know why they were given a certain name at birth? Is this important?]

4) Do people use the Gaelic or English version of their name? Would this alter in different situations? When would you use the Gaelic version and when the English? Is it affected by the language that you are speaking at the time? Are there some people who always use one or the other?

5) What happens to a person's name when they marry? If it does change formally are they known by this name in the community, or by their original name? Do names change at any point besides marriage?

6) Are the forenames people are given changing do you think? Can you tell what generation someone comes from by their name? What seems a 'normal' name to you?

7) Are people ever identified within the community through ways other than their official name?

[Prompts – ask about bynames

For example, would you ever refer to anyone through reference to a relation, or their occupation, or the place they are from, or through their looks or character or anything else that is not officially their name but identifies them? Are these names for entire families or just for individuals? How far back do they go? Ask for lots of examples of different kinds of bynames and how they are used!

THEN ask whether other types of nicknames are used (e.g. in school or work? or are these the same as bynames) and how they are used. Ask for examples and how they know these people. Also find out how widespread]

8) Ask about whether the bynames/nicknames are changing.

9) How does the formality of a situation affect the way people are addressed?

Would you refer to people in the same way whether you were speaking to someone inside or outside the community? (or would this have an effect on the name you used?)

Remember – always ask 'why?' these things happen, what people understand by them.

Appendix B – Buckie prompt sheet

Ask age, language/s spoken, length of time lived in Buckie (and elsewhere)

1) Could you tell me about how the naming system works in the Buckie community?

[Prompts – How many names are people given at birth? What kinds of names are these? e.g. are people given middle names?]

2) Thinking about the names themselves, tell me about why a particular name is given.

[Prompts – How is a baby's name decided upon? Is it connected with a relative? Are there any names which are particularly popular? What tradition do they stem from or where do they come from? Does Scottish (or local) identity play a role in the names chosen? Are there different reasons for choosing middle names if they are used?

Do people know why they were given a certain name at birth? Is this important?]

3) What happens to a person's name when they marry? If it does change formally are they known by this name in the community, or by their original name? Do names change at any point besides marriage?

4) Are people ever identified within the community through ways other than their official name?

[Prompts – ask about tee-names

For example, would you ever refer to anyone through reference to a relation, or their occupation, or the place they are from, or a fishing boat, or through their looks or character or anything else

that is not officially their name but identifies them? Are these names for entire families or just for individuals? How far back do they go?

Ask for lots of examples of different kinds of tee-names and how they are used!

THEN ask whether other types of nicknames are used (e.g. in school or work? or are these the same as tee-names) and how they are used.

Ask for examples and how they know these people.

Also find out how widespread]

5) Are the names and the naming system we've been talking about (both official and unofficial) changing in any way?

6) Does the Scots language have any effect on the names we've been talking about?

[e.g. Scots in tee-names but not formal names? What about shortened forms of names – Jimmy, Jock etc? Even pronunciation of names – do people feel Scots has an effect?]

7) How does the formality of a situation affect the way people are addressed?

Would you refer to people in the same way whether you were speaking to someone inside or outside the community? (or would this have an effect on the name you used?)

Remember – always ask 'why?' these things happen, what people understand by them.

Appendix C – Glaswegian prompt sheet

Ask age, length of time lived in [REDACTED]/West Glasgow (and elsewhere)

1) So, how many names are people given at birth? What kinds of names are these? Are people given middle names? Are the names decided before birth or after?

2) Why are those names decided on?

[Prompts – How is a baby's name decided upon?

Is it connected with a relative?

Are there any names which are particularly popular?

Do you know what tradition they stem from or where they come from?

Does religion have an effect?

Do people tend to give particularly Scottish (or local) names?

Are there different reasons for choosing middle names if they are used? e.g. are surnames used as middle names?

Do you know why you were given your name at birth? Do other people? Is this important?

Have the names babies are given changed an awful lot over the years?]

3) Are the forenames people are given changing do you think? Can you tell what generation someone comes from by their name? What seems a 'normal' name to you?

4) What happens to a person's name when they marry? If it does change formally are they known by this name in the community, or by their original name? Do names change at any point besides marriage?

5) Are people you know ever identified through ways other than their official name?

Does this depend on the situation – if it's between friends or with people you hardly know?

[Prompts – explain about situation in

For example, would you ever refer to anyone through reference to a relation, or their occupation, or the place they are from, or through their looks or character or anything else that is not officially their name but identifies them?

Are there names for entire families or just for individuals? How far back do they go?

Ask for lots of examples of different kinds of names and how they are used!

THEN ask whether nicknames specifically are used (e.g. in school or work? Did the workers at the shipyards use nicknames?) and how they are used.

Ask for examples and how they know these people.

Also find out how widespread]

6) What do you feel is your community in Glasgow? Do you feel part of a community?

7) Have the different nationalities and cultures coming into the area had an effect on the names people are called? (children or nicknames) How do you find names from different cultures?

[Difficult to pronounce? Easy to remember? Etc]

Remember – always ask 'why?' these things happen, what people understand by them.

Appendix D – Pakistani Muslim prompt sheet

Ask decade of birth, language/s spoken, length of time lived in Glasgow (and elsewhere)

1) Could you tell me about how the naming system works in the Muslim community in Glasgow/
your community?

[If need prompts – How many names are people given at birth? What kinds of names are these?
How does it compare with the forename and surname combination traditionally given in British
culture?]

2) Thinking about the names themselves, tell me about why a particular name is given.

[Prompts – How is a baby's name decided upon? Is it connected with a particular language? Or
with religion? Or with culture? Do people know why they were given a certain name at birth? Is
this important?]

3) What happens to a person's name when they marry? Do names change at any point besides
marriage?

4) Are the names and the naming system we've been talking about changing in any way?

5) Are people ever identified within the community through ways other than their official name?

[Prompts – explain about Western Isles system. Is there anything comparable?

or

For example, would you ever refer to anyone through reference to a relation, or their occupation, or the place they are from, or through anything else that is not officially their name but identifies them?

AFTER this mention nicknames and ask about whether and how they are used.

Ask for examples and how they know these people

Also find out how widespread]

6) Can you tell me about links between naming in Pakistan and in the Pakistani community in Glasgow? (if appropriate)

[ask them where in Pakistan they are referring to, and if they know how naming works in other areas of Pakistan]

7) How does the formality of a situation affect the way people are addressed?

Would you refer to people in the same way whether you were speaking to someone inside or outside the community? (or would this have an effect on the name you used?)

Remember – always ask ‘why?’ these things happen, what people understand by them.

Appendix E – Asylum Seeker/Refugee prompt sheet

Ask age, country which they are from, religion, language/s spoken, length of time lived in Glasgow (and elsewhere)

1) Ask about their name – Do they know why they were called it? What it means? Are their names particularly common where they come from?

2) Ask about the structure of names in the home culture. How many names were they given? Is this usual?

[Prompts – How many names are people given at birth? Do people have surnames? Are these hereditary? Are people given middle names? How common is this?]

3) Why are particular names given? Why was their name given? What about the names of people in their family?

[Prompts – How is a baby's name decided upon? Is it connected with a relative? Are there any names which are particularly popular? What tradition do they stem from or where do they come from? Is it connected with a particular language? Or with religion? Or with culture? Are there different reasons for choosing middle names if they are used?

Do people know why they were given a certain name at birth? Is this important?]

4) Is someone always known by the same name or are there equivalents? Does it remain the same regardless of the language being spoken?

[Explain about Gaelic/English possibility in Western Isles names]

5) What happens to a person's name when they marry? Do names change at any point besides marriage?

6) Are people ever identified within the community through ways other than their official name?

[Prompts – explain about Western Isles system. Is there anything comparable?

For example, would you ever refer to anyone through reference to a relation, or their occupation, or the place they are from, or through anything else that is not officially their name but identifies them?

AFTER this mention nicknames and ask about whether and how they are used.

Ask for examples and how they know these people and find out how widespread]

7) How does the formality of a situation affect the way people are addressed?

Would you refer to people in the same way whether you were speaking to someone inside or outside the community? (or would this have an effect on the name you used?)

8) Are the names and the naming system we've been talking about changing in any way in the country you are from?

9) How did you find people's names when you moved to Glasgow/Britain?

[Very different to home? Difficult to pronounce? Easy to remember? etc]

10) How did people in Glasgow deal with your name (both Scottish people and people from different countries)?

[Can they say it/remember it/know how to use it or what bit to use?]

11) What do you feel is your community in Glasgow? Do you feel part of a community? Are there a large number of people with a similar background to you in [REDACTED]?

12) Has anyone you know changed the name they use since coming to Glasgow/Britain? What about the names people give to their children? Are these from their own traditions or British traditions? Do you think their children will give names from their parents' tradition?

[Check - Are surnames hereditary (were they before)? Do people make their name 'easier' to pronounce for English speakers?]

13) Do people have nicknames etc in [REDACTED]? Or any other names they are known by?

Remember – always ask 'why?' these things happen, what people understand by them.

Appendix F – Interview information sheet

Naming in Society – Information sheet

I am currently researching naming in indigenous and immigrant communities in Scotland. This is being undertaken as part of my PhD degree within the Department of English Language at the University of Glasgow. The aim of the project is to gain an idea of naming practices in use in everyday life within these communities. This should include all ways of referring to people. Names which do not appear on official documentation are rarely recorded, yet they can be important in the construction of identity, both from the point of view of the individual and the community.

The project looks at both the official naming system and the use of unofficial names (such as nicknames and by-names/tee-names) in indigenous communities in the Western Isles, Glasgow and the North-East of Scotland, and in immigrant Pakistani and refugee communities in Glasgow.

In [REDACTED] itself, I plan to get a general overall picture of how official names are given and used, including varied topics such as why names are chosen and whether they change on marriage. Whether the use of these names has changed over time will be an important part of this investigation. I am also interested in learning more about unofficial names used in [REDACTED]. These are names which don't appear on birth certificates – such as nicknames, patronymics, bynames, etc. – but which can play a significant role in identifying people within the community.

In order to compile the information necessary for the project I will conduct a number of interviews. All interviewees will have a choice in whether their interview is recorded on tape or through hand-written notes.

I will ensure that everyone is happy with and gives informed consent to the interview. Those interviewed will remain anonymous unless they express a particular wish to be acknowledged. Other people's names which have been given as data will largely be used to form categories. However, real examples will be used for illustrative purposes.

Ellen Bramwell

Department of English Language, 12 University Gardens,
University of Glasgow.

[REDACTED]

Supervisors: Dr Carole Hough, Dept. English Language (address as above)

Dr Jane Stuart-Smith, Dept. English Language (address as above)

Appendix G – Interview consent form

Naming in Society – Consent form

I agree to be interviewed about the names which are used in [REDACTED] and to have the information that I give recorded either on tape or in writing.

I understand that information that I give will be used in a dissertation submitted for the degree of PhD at the University of Glasgow. It may also be used in University research, writing and presentations, including published work. The information will not be used for other purposes. It will be processed by the University in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

If I give a piece of information which I later want to withdraw then I can contact the researcher (contact details at bottom of page) and this information will be deleted. If I want to view a transcript/notes (depending on whether it is recorded on tape or in writing) of my interview then I can also contact the researcher about this and a copy will be made available to me.

The information that I give will be kept secure by the researcher and the fact that I have been an interviewee will be kept confidential unless I ask to be acknowledged.

Signed.....

Print name.....Date.....

Signature of parent/guardian (if under 18).....

Researcher: Ellen Bramwell,

Department of English Language, 12 University Gardens,
University of Glasgow, Hillhead, Glasgow. G12 8QQ.

Email: [REDACTED]

Supervisors: Dr Carole Hough, Dept. English Language (address as above)

Dr Jane Stuart-Smith, Dept. English Language (address as above)

Appendix H – High school questionnaire

Naming in Society - Questionnaire

You don't have to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable in any way in any part of this questionnaire. Just answer what you can and it will still be very helpful.

You also don't have to give your own name in answer to any of the questions, though if you do then I guarantee that this data will not be used in any way that will identify you (there is more information about this on the Questionnaire information sheet).

Where did you spend the first few years of your life?.....

Where are your parents from?.....

What religion are you/your parents?.....
(if no religion just write 'None')

Which part of Glasgow do you live in?

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------|--|-------------|--|----------------|--|--------------------------------|--|
| Drumchapel | | Yoker | | Scotstoun | | Drumry | |
| Knightswood | | Clydebank | | Temple | | Other (write in area below) | |
| Blairdardie | | Annie'sland | | Whitecrook | | | |
| Scotstoun | | Kilbowie | | Old Drumchapel | | | |

How old are you?..... Are you male or female?.....

What language(s) do you speak?.....

.....

PART 1 - NAMES IN OTHER CULTURES

1. How much do you know about names from other cultures?

(please circle, 1= a lot, 5= nothing at all)

1 2 3 4 5

2. Has mixing with people from other cultures taught you about names in their home culture? Yes/No

What has it taught you?

If you can, give examples of the names of people you know from different cultures.

3. Do you think you would give these names to your own children (if you ever have any)? Yes/No

Why/why not?

4. Do ‘foreign’ names get changed or shortened in school (or outside school)? Yes/No

If yes, please give examples:

PART 2 – PERSONAL NAMES

5. How many names do you have? (including middle names and surname).....

6. Do you like your name(s)? Yes/No/Not bothered

Why or why not?

7. Do you know why you were given your name(s)? Yes/No

If so, why?

| | | | | | |
|--|--|-----------------------------|--|-----------------------|--|
| Named after relative | | Something unique | | Scottish-sounding | |
| Liked way it sounded | | Religious name | | British-sounding | |
| Traditional name | | Has a good meaning | | Other (specify below) | |
| After person they knew (not relative) | | After film/TV/music star | | | |

8. Do you know the meaning of your name? Yes/No

If yes, what does it mean and how do you know this?

Is the meaning of a name important to you? Yes/No

Why or why not?

9. Write down 5 male names and 5 female names that you like:

Male

Female

Why do you like the names you wrote down in question 9?

10. If you had to name a child, which of these factors might influence you to choose a name?

(You can tick more than one and add more to the list if necessary)

| | | | | | |
|---|--|-----------------------------|--|-----------------------|--|
| Name after relative | | Something unique | | Scottish-sounding | |
| Like way it sounds | | Religious name | | British-sounding | |
| Traditional name | | Has a good meaning | | Other (specify below) | |
| After person you know (not relative) | | After film/TV/music star | | | |

11. Is it usual for everyone in a family to have the same last name or surname in your community/culture? Yes/No

Why/why not?

12. Amongst your own family/relatives do people have names other than their last name in common? (e.g. first name, middle name, etc.) Yes/No

If so, what are they? Are they named after each other?

PART 3 - NICKNAMES

13. Do you have a nickname (or nicknames)? Yes/No
(i.e. a name that people call you that is different to your 'official' name on documents, e.g. Jimmy, Jo, Doey, Ginge, the Space Cadet)

What is it? If you have more than one please write all of them down.

Do you like it? Yes/No

Why/why not?

Who calls you by your nickname(s)? (tick as many as apply)

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|--|------------------------|--|-----------------------|--|
| Family | | Everyone | | Other (specify below) | |
| Relatives | | Teachers | | | |
| Friends at school | | Friends outside school | | | |

14. List other nicknames of people in the school.

Say why they are called this (if you know) **and whether they are male or female.**

(Try and give examples of both positive and negative nicknames if both are used.)

15. List nicknames of people you know outside school, why they are called this and how you know them.

16. Do you know any of the people in questions 14 and 15 only by their nickname? Yes/No

Which ones?

17. Does your family (including relatives) have nicknames for each other? Yes/No

If yes, what are they and why were they given?

18. Please add anything else you think is relevant to names and yourself/ your school/ your community:

The End

Thank you so much for all your help!

Appendix I – Questionnaire information sheet

Naming in Society - Questionnaire information sheet

This research project looks at the names of people in different communities in Scotland. These include communities, such as the Western Isles, where there are very few incomers and others, such as those in the west of Glasgow, where the population is more multi-cultural. Instead of just thinking about what a name means or where it comes from, the aim of the project is to gain an idea of how names are used in everyday life within these communities and why they are given. This should include all ways of referring to people, including nicknames, because names that don't appear in official documents can still be important to someone's identity within a group of people.

Through the project I would like to get an idea of the system of personal names in several communities in Scotland, which are different in culture and structure (urban, small-town, rural, bilingual, etc.). These systems will then be compared and through this I will build up a picture of diversity and similarity in the way people use names in Scotland, as well as discussing how people's names are connected to their background and to the society in which they live.

This part of the project uses questionnaires and a small number of detailed interviews in [REDACTED]. The information collected will be used alongside other data from middle-aged and older people in the west of Glasgow, and data given by people of differing ages in other communities.

In order to preserve anonymity, the questionnaires do not ask for your name. However, if you do decide to give it on the questionnaire then this will never be used in a way that could identify you. This guarantee is also given for any other names that you supply. See the examples over the page to show how the information you give might be used. The questionnaires themselves will be kept secure and access to them will be restricted to myself and my supervisors, so information you give will be kept safe.

Examples of some of the ways in which information you give might be used:

Question 12 (Do you have relatives with same name?) - if you tick 'yes' and write that your brother's name and uncle's name are both 'David', because your brother was named after your uncle, then the results for everyone combined might be stated something like:

- 20% of respondents indicated that people within their family had other names in common than their last name. The majority of examples indicated that son had been named after male relatives, especially after the father and uncles. Examples of this type included names such as George, David and James.
- Comparatively few examples were given of females with the same first name as relatives (only 10% of the 20% of positive respondents gave one or more female examples, so 2% of the overall sample).
- Middle names were more likely to be shared... [Etc.]

Question 17 (Are nicknames used in your family?) – if you tick 'yes' and write that your mum used to call you 'Doddy' and that you and your brother used to call your sister 'Melon' and your mum's friends 'Aunty' (though they are not related to you), then the overall results might read something like:

- Family nicknames were common, with 80% of respondents reporting using at least one in their family. Most were fairly idiosyncratic; examples given for brothers included Big Ears, Doff and Skinny, for sisters nicknames included Melon, Furry and Tomboy...[Etc.]

My contact details:

Ellen Bramwell

Department of English Language, University of Glasgow

12 University Gardens

Glasgow, G12 8QQ.

Appendix J – Questionnaire consent form

Naming in Society – Questionnaire consent form

I am happy to fill in a questionnaire and participate in a class about people's names and to have the information that I give recorded and analysed. (For more information about how the examples you give might be used see page 2 of the Questionnaire information sheet).

I understand that information that I give may be used in a dissertation submitted for the degree of PhD at the University of Glasgow. It may also be used in University research, writing and presentations, including published work. The information will not be used for other purposes. It will be processed by the University in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

The information that I give will be kept secure by the researcher and the fact that I have been involved in this research will be kept confidential.

Signed.....

Print name.....Date.....

Signature of parent/guardian (if under 16).....

Researcher:

Ellen Bramwell, Department of English Language,
12 University Gardens, University of Glasgow, Hillhead, Glasgow. G12 8QQ.

Email: [REDACTED]

Supervisors: Dr Carole Hough, Dept. English Language (address as above)

Dr Jane Stuart-Smith, Dept. English Language (address as above)