All in a Name:
Parental Naming Activity in
Multilingual Manchester

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October 2017

Abstract

One hundred and twenty mothers participated in structured interviews concerning their child's first name, the languages spoken in the home and their reasons for choosing the child's name. Altogether, 160 children's first names were compared to the Office for National Statistics Top 100 Names in England in 2010-2015 and the Top 10 Names for the North West. 60.6% of children had names that were absent from the Top 100 Names and therefore, their names are defined as 'unique'. The most commonly cited reason behind parental name choice was investigated and my results show that 'liked the name' is the most common factor, followed by the influence of the family and culture. Finally, it is concluded that the languages spoken in the home affect name choice and therefore, parental naming behaviour is a manifestation of language maintenance. Overall, this research contributes to the small amount of existing research into naming behaviour and language maintenance. Moreover, it combines these two fields to present a novel and detailed insight into naming behaviour in the multilingual city of Manchester.

Acknowledgement

Executive summary

The study finds that naming is influenced by parental background, language heritage and contributing lifestyle factors.

One hundred and twenty Manchester mothers were asked about the names they gave to their children born between 2010 and 2015. Altogether 160 first names were identified. Of those only 63 (39.4%) were found in the Office for National Statistics top 100 names for the year in which the child was born, while 97 names (60.6%) were absent from the top 100 list. Thus, 60.6% of children have a name that can be classified as 'unique'.

Girls are somewhat more likely to be assigned a 'unique' name by their parents. Out of the 160 children, 68 were boys and 92 were girls. 41.2% of boys had names that appeared in the top 100, compared to 38% of girls.

Asked for the reasons for choosing the particular name, most mothers stated that they "liked the name", while others said the child had been named after a family member, or that the name represented their culture. Relatively few said that they named the child after a famous person, or after somebody they knew. Boys were more likely than girls to be named after a family member or for cultural reasons, while for girls mothers were more likely to say that they simply "liked the name".

Children born outside of Manchester are more likely to be assigned a 'unique' name. Almost half (42.5%) of the children born in Manchester had names that were in the top 100, while among those born outside of Manchester only 27.3% had names in the top 100. Among those born outside of England, 74.8% had a 'unique' name.

Mothers who speak a language other than English in the home are more likely to give their children a 'unique' name. 68 children (42.5%) had mothers who stated a language other than English was spoken in the home, and of those 83% had a 'unique' name. By comparison, only 43.5% of the 92 children whose mothers spoke only English in the home had 'unique' names. Among mothers who spoke English in the home, most (over 60%) said they chose the name because they liked it, while those who had a different home language were more likely to choose the name for cultural reasons or to name their child after a family member.

Children whose mothers stated a language other than English is spoken in the home are likely to have a name that is influenced by the home language. Sixteen languages other than English were identified as home languages by the mothers, with Urdu and Arabic being the most common. With few exceptions, children whose families spoke another language in the home had a name that derived from that language. Among children from Arabic speaking households, almost 90% had Arabic names. This means that naming is an important way for parents to maintain their cultural heritage.

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1   Introduction

Our first name is imperative to our daily lives. We use first names to address and introduce each other, as well as to distinguish an individual from a group. First names play an integral role in first impressions and they are one of the most easily identifiable aspects of an individual. Unlike our surname – which maintains family ties and links us to a group of people, either through birth or through marriage – our first name heightens our individuality. Our first name is a distinctive characteristic of our individual self, despite our non-existent input into the naming decision. Our first name is more than just an identifiable label given to us at birth, it is unique to each one of us and is our own personal heritage.

Naming is a free choice in England and as a result, there are numerous different names that can be used. However, for some countries name choice is a rule-governed activity. Otta (1997) explains that in Brazil, it is common practice to join part of the father's name with part of the mother's name to form a unique child's forename. Furthermore, Brazilian legislation limits extravagant names, especially if they are likely to lead to ridicule. In Iceland, parents are required to submit their child's name within six months of birth for approval from the Icelandic Naming Committee. Similarly, parents in Germany must abide by specific naming legislation and are required to assign their child a name that designates their sex. Although unbound by legislation in most countries, the sex of the child is one of the most prominent factors that narrows down name selection in England and across the world, as many parents recognise certain names to only be suitable for either a girl or boy. However, it does not always influence a parent's decision as androgynous names such as 'Alex' and 'Charlie' are gender neutral and are consistently assigned to children of both genders. There are other factors that heavily contribute to the naming decision, including religious rules and cultural traditions. According to Lieberson (2000), the Jewish cultural tradition is to select a name beginning with the first letter of a deceased ancestor. Catholics also adhere to religious naming traditions, with children being assigned a Saint's name at their Confirmation, believing that this name unites the child with the religion.

Selecting a child's forename is a life-long commitment that is heavily influenced by numerous lifestyle factors and possible legislation determined by the geographic location of the child's birth. Many mothers give birth outside of their home country for varying reasons, including immigration, migration and seeking refuge. Manchester is said to be a centre of immigration (Werbner 1990), with some of its population originally descending from post-World War 2 European refugees, ex-colonies of the British Empire, as well as more recently, economic migrants from China and Eastern Europe. With 25.2% of its population being born outside of the UK (2011 Census), Manchester is a world city and is home to a 'culturally and linguistically diverse population' (Gaiser & Matras 2016:4). Government statistics show that English is the central language in Manchester, however the city has a wealth of language diversity and houses over 150 different languages (Multilingual Manchester: A Digest 2013). The population continues to increase and the city attracts individuals from different backgrounds, resulting in a multilingual community. The 2011 Census found that 16.6% of Manchester's adult population are multilingual, however it is thought that this is more likely to be close to 50% (Multilingual Manchester: A Digest 2013). With such a diverse population, language plays an important role within the city and there are numerous strategies in place to preserve minority languages in Manchester, including everyday language use and supplementary schools. One of the main strategies used to maintain a heritage language is the parental use of the language within the home and their decision to encourage the child's heritage language acquisition. Maintaining a heritage language across different generations

develops cultural identity, furthermore, it maintains cultural links between the family and the community (Verdon, et al. 2014). The importance of maintaining a heritage language in the younger generation is apparent in Manchester as around 40% of Manchester's school children are thought to be multilingual (The School Language Survey 2013).

Language is an 'authentic and widely accepted defining characteristic of identity' (Yigezu & Blackwood 2016:141). However, a child's forename is also a fundamental characteristic of an individual and naming is potentially influenced by the parent's heritage language. Whilst children are young, parents make decisions on their behalf frequently, with a child's first name being one of the most important life-long decisions a parent makes. It is possible that parental name selection is a manifestation of language maintenance as parents may name their child according to their language and cultural heritage as a means of preserving their background and presenting their child to belong to the same group. Therefore, it is possible that the forename assigned to a child is symbolic of the languages spoken within the home.

An interest in naming behaviour combined with an interest in Manchester's language community, resulted in the following research topic. Previous research into the field of naming focuses on social evaluation and negative stereotypes, the rise in popular names and the identification of the influential factors that contribute to parental name selection. Research into naming as a strategy of language maintenance is entirely absent. It is surprising that little research has been conducted into the field of names as naming behaviour can present a detailed insight into society (Johnson, et al. 1991) and successfully 'provide a window into cultural change over time' (Twenge, et al. 2016:669). Additionally, research into language use can provide a deeper understanding of a community. Combining the two fields offers an opportunity for an innovative study that details modern naming behaviour in the multicultural and diverse city of Manchester. Primarily, my research focuses on naming activity in multilingual Manchester and revolves around the languages spoken in the home and the child's first name. My research involves identifying the most frequent influential factors that contribute to parental name selection in modern day Manchester, as well as identifying whether the mother's first name is influential in the naming decision. Additionally, I seek to answer whether parental naming activity is a manifestation of language maintenance. Finally, by using the Office for National Statistics top 100 names in England in 2010-2015 for comparison, I am interested in whether mothers are preserving their cultural identity by assigning their child a name that is influenced by their background, or if they are integrating into the local community in Manchester and choosing more traditional English names. Therefore, my final research question is: are mothers who state a language other than English is used in the home more likely to assign their child a 'unique' name?

Overall, my research surveys 160 children's first names identified by 120 participating mothers through structured interviews. Some participating mothers had more than one child born in or between 2010-2015 and some children were born outside of Manchester, however all of the children currently reside in the city. Participating mothers were asked eight short questions concerning their child's first name, the languages spoken in the home, reasons behind name choice and the mother's first name. The name data was compared to the Office for National Statistics top 100 names in England for each year, identifying which of the 160 names are classified as 'unique'. Fundamentally, my research provides a novel insight into parental naming activity and language maintenance in the modern multilingual city of Manchester.

2   Literature Review

2.1 Parental Naming Activity

Surprisingly, research focusing on parental naming behaviour within multilingualism is entirely absent in the field of sociolinguistic analysis. In addition, there is a lack of research exploring naming patterns within Manchester and across the world. One aspect of naming activity that has been researched is the resulting psychological consequences that children may face due to many forenames being heavily stigmatised. Marcus (1976) presents the idea that certain names imply their owners have specific characteristics, whilst Levitt & Dubner (2005) argue that first names can have 'predictive powers' (2005:112) for the child's future. However, Levitt & Dubner (2005) conclude that a name is an indicator of a child's future and that parents use a name to try to signal their own expectations. Buchanan & Bruning (1971) also found that names are associated with expectations and that unfavourable names carry negative stereotypes. With first names being closely linked to first impressions, our forename is often the receiver of judgement, especially if the name is uncommon. This stereotypic nature is often a result of the cultural and social references that forenames carry and to avoid unwanted stigmatism, parents must have an awareness of other people's responses when they assign their child a name (Lieberson 2000). However, Fryer & Levitt (2004) argue that unusual names do not always carry negative outcomes. Children who grow up with uncommon names have an advantage in the job market as the individual with an unusual name is more likely to be remembered. On the other hand, compelling research has found that individuals with traditional African-American names suffer in the job market and are less successful than individuals with traditional white names, thus highlighting the stereotypic nature associated with forenames (Bertrand & Mullainathan 2004).

Naming a child is a life-long commitment, it is the 'first official act a parent commits' (Levitt & Dubner 2005:112) and the important decision can be influenced by numerous factors. Many mothers spend time reviewing baby name books and online forums, as well as asking for opinions from friends and family before making a definite name decision. According to Dinur, et al. (1996), parental name selection possesses an 'emotional quality' (1996:191) that mirrors the parents hope for their child's future. Further emotional links have been found in name selection as previous research has established that naming a child after another family member is one of the most frequent reasons behind name choice. According to Johnson, et al. (1991), naming a child after a relative is a way of extending one's self into the future, as well as providing the child with a place in the kinship network. It is also a sign of honour and usually children are named after grandparents as a term of endearment and a sign of respect. Rossi (1965) analysed the gender differences and naming patterns in middle class American mothers and found that unless parents felt considerable fondness towards a friend, they were unlikely to name their child after a non-relation. On the other hand, she found it to be commonplace for parents to name their child after a relative. 62% of children in Rossi's (1965) study were named after a family relation, in addition, boys were more likely to be a namesake than girls. Being a namesake can potentially have a detrimental effect on the child (Zweigenhaft, et al. 1980). It is suggested that having 'Jr.' at the end of a forename has negative connotations of that individual being smaller and younger than the person after whom the child was named. Conversely, Zweigenhaft, et al. (1980) also claimed that being a namesake can be positive if the name is followed by Roman numerals, as these numeric characteristics symbolise tradition and suggest that the individual is an 'important link in a long and valuable chain' (1980:209).

Significant research by Rossi (1965) found that male names tend to be more traditional and less subject to fashion trends. Similar supporting findings can be seen by the sociolinguistic analysis conducted by Lieberson & Bell (1992). They analysed data on births in New York between 1973 and 1985, concentrating on three factors they believed to influence name choice: gender, ethnicity and social class. Additionally, they examined whether personal taste contributed to naming activity and if so, whether this was influenced by intrinsic experiences or external sources such as the media. Their results suggest an individual's distinctive personal experiences have an impact on the name they assign their child. Further research from Lieberson (2000) claimed that the mass media can impact name choice but argued that this is a 'unintended by-product rather than an organised effort to direct and mould tastes' (2000:23). Levitt & Dubner (2014) argue that celebrities and the mass media do not have a strong effect on naming behaviour, despite the assumptions that naming trends are driven by those in the public eye. They believe that individuals from higher class backgrounds are the driving force behind the rise in certain names as parents from lower social classes aspire to be like their higher-class neighbours. Lieberson & Bell (1992) also found that female names are commonly a result of current trends in society and tend to be less conventional than male names. Therefore, female name popularity is consistently changing to match current trends within a community. Name fashion is somewhat of a recent development that is surprisingly becoming more influential than the extended family and religion (Lieberson 2000).

Finally, there is a small amount of research conducted into naming activity in relation to ethnicity. Sue & Telles (2007) researched the naming practices of Hispanic parents who gave birth in LA in 1995. Their multivariate analysis questioned whether ethnicity, gender and the parent's birthplace impacted name choice and as a result signified a child's ethnic identity. They relied upon data from the California Birth Records, focusing on the top 500 names registered in 1995. By focusing on a large amount of data, their research is not restricted and the magnitude of the study represents 61% of LA births in 1995. However, their study has limitations. By relying upon government data of registered births, they exclude any undocumented births from the immigration population. Although unavoidable, the excluded data would have impacted the results and potentially changed the findings. However, Sue & Telles (2007) research is methodologically advantageous compared to previous research considering the scale of their study. Overall, they concluded that Hispanic parents who had higher exposure to the American culture were more likely to assign their child an English name rather than a Spanish based name that reflects their ethnic background. They found that boys were more likely to receive an ethnic name, defining this to be a 'name given from the origin language rather than the standard American name' (2007:1392). They concluded that assigning a child an ethnic name is believed to help establish a strong ethnic identity, moreover, it is continually argued that men represent family continuity and therefore receive more traditional ethnic names. According to Twenge, et al. (2010), choosing an ethnic name shows a desire to connect with traditional custom. Supporting research comes from Fryer & Levitt (2004) who also looked at name data from the California Birth Records, focusing on the birth information for children born in California from 1961. Fundamentally, they found that black parents assigned their children very dissimilar names to those given by white parents. Fryer & Levitt's (2004) research concludes that there is a correlation between the mother's name and her child's, arguing that if a mother has a distinctively black name, she is more likely to assign her child a distinctively black name as the name is a sign of solidarity within the community. Overall, ethnicity can be influential in naming behaviour as individuals from different backgrounds differ in naming practices (Twenge & Manis 1998) and therefore, it is likely that the language spoken in the

home and a child's name are interrelated and can further provide a wealth of insight into the norms and values of a community.

2.2 Language Maintenance

The self-report 2011 Census shows that English is the most widely spoken language in Manchester, as well as detailing other languages that are used in the multilingual city. With 16.6% of adults residing in Manchester reporting a language other than English to be their main language (2011 Census), minority language maintenance in the city is very important. There are various community initiatives found within the city that operate to preserve and promote native languages, such as supplementary schools and community centres. Supplementary schools are available in numerous languages across the city, thus demonstrating the community commitment to language maintenance and cultural heritage (Gasier & Hughes 2015). Bouakaz & Persson (2007) researched supplementary schools in Sweden and found that parents involve their children in such schools to encourage cultural pride in the younger generation. According to Kheirkhah & Cekaite (2015), maintaining a minority language is of constant concern for families raising multilingual children. They conducted a study focusing on the language practices of a Persian-Kurdish family residing in Sweden. They found that heritage language maintenance was of extreme importance and that the parents wanted their children to be fluent in both the mother's and father's heritage language as well as the official language of Sweden. The parents believed that being able to communicate in all three languages would be beneficial for their children's future and noted the importance of their children understanding and taking pride in their language heritage and cultural background.

Extra & Yagmur (2004) focused on minority language vitality amongst primary school children in multicultural cities across Europe. The Multilingual Cities Project analysed the languages used according to age group. They found English to be the international language of power and prestige and consequently, English is commonly taught across primary schools in Europe. However, they also found that an increasing number of children are bilingual; using a native language within the home as a means of communicating with their family members – especially the older generation who may not have acquired English. Extra & Yagmur (2004) claim that the home language should be nurtured in schools as it is a powerful resource. The use of the home language has also been studied by Dyers (2008) who assessed language vitality and family attitudes towards their language heritage as an indication of the future generation's use of a minority language. For a lot of communities, maintaining their native language is of great importance and therefore, the use of minority languages is encouraged within young people.

Clyne & Kipp (1997) researched language maintenance in Australia and found that individuals from Islamic and Eastern European backgrounds are the most likely to maintain their native language within the home. Their research looked at whether the Census data underestimates the number of languages being used within the country. A similar aspect of language diversity has also been researched in Manchester by The School Language Survey (2013), reporting that the current method of recording home languages in the School Census fails to recognise the true diversity of languages within the city. The self-report questionnaire is easily misinterpreted due to the ambiguity of the wording of the question regarding languages spoken in the home as some respondents may speak several languages daily and be unable to conclude just one main language (Multilingual Manchester: A Digest 2013).

Research into language maintenance across the world is commonly conducted as a way of identifying and preserving smaller languages, as well as recognising the community aspect of language vitality and indicating the importance of all languages. Academic research into language maintenance is continuously providing new information and supporting new strategies that promote multilingualism. However, there is an absence of accomplished research that identifies the potential link between language maintenance strategies and parental naming activity. Therefore, my research will provide a novel insight into the relationship between forenames and languages in the diverse, multicultural and multilingual Manchester.

3   Methodology

3.1 Research Questions

Primarily, my analysis of naming behaviour across Manchester consists of four research questions. An interest in Manchester's languages, the diverse community and naming behaviour were influential in the formation of the research questions. Firstly, I intend to identify the current, most frequent factors that contribute to parental name selection in modern day Manchester. Secondly, I aspire to answer whether the languages spoken in the home are influential in name selection, fundamentally answering: is parental naming activity a manifestation of language maintenance? Focusing on the mother's role in naming, I aim to identify if there is a correlation between a mother's first name and her child's, moreover, identifying if the mother's first name has an impact on parental name selection. Finally, by using the Office for National Statistics top 100 names in England in 2010-2015 for comparison, I am interested to see whether mothers are preserving their cultural identity by assigning their child a name that is influenced by their background, or if they are choosing more traditionally English names. Additionally, I will consider the opposing side of this research question and analyse whether mothers are steering away from conventional English names in favour of forenames with different origins due to being influenced by their neighbours from diverse backgrounds. Therefore, my final research question is: are mothers who state a language other than English is used in the home more likely to assign their child a 'unique' name?

My final research question involves categorising whether a name is considered 'unique'. I defined a 'unique' name to be a name that is not found in the Office for National Statistics top 100 names for the year in which the child was born. This definition is derived from Twenge, et al. (2010) who examined naming practices in America. They used the contrasting term 'common' and instead explored how many parents used the same name within the same year, finding that in more recent years, parents are less likely to give their child a common name. The Office for National Statistics publishes an annual report that includes a recognised list of the top 100 baby names in England for both boys and girls, as well as the top 10 most common names for each gender in specific regions. The statistics are compiled from first names recorded when births are registered (a legal requirement in England). Unfortunately, they do not provide any data for individual cities and currently there is only data available up until 2015. Although still a current representation of naming behaviour in England, the Office for National Statistics top 100 names highlights the lack of accomplished research, especially in Manchester. When comparing a child's name to the top

100/10 names, I ignored spelling variations and evaluated a name to be in the top 100/10 if the name was phonetically the same, regardless of spelling. Additionally, if a child had a double-barrelled name, I only compared the first half of the hyphenated name to the top 100/10 as double-barrelled names are absent from the Office for National Statistics name data. It is important to acknowledge that the popularity name list provided by the Office for National Statistics lacks in non-traditional English forenames. The top 10 lists provided for girls in the North West for each year from 2010-2015 does not contain any names of Arabic heritage. Considering Arabic is one of the most common language spoken in Manchester (2011 Census), one would assume that the popularity findings would include at least one Arabic name. Therefore, a name that is not included in the popularity list will be considered 'unique', even though it may be a common name within a certain community.

3.2 Participants

One hundred and twenty mothers living in the city of Manchester participated in structured interviews concerning their child's first name. Eligible participants were mothers with children born in or between the years 2010-2015. Therefore, the name data is derived from children within the same six-year age range which is inclusive of all year groups up to and within Key Stage 1 of any primary school. The data is dense enough for comparisons and generalisations to be made and thus, provides an insight into current naming patterns across the city. Some of the participating mothers had more than one child born between 2010-2015 and as a result, this study consists of 160 first names. 42.5% of children had mothers who stated a language other than English was used in the home, totalling to 16 other languages identified and resulting in a representative sample of the multilingual city.

I used two methods of contacting participants, both of which involved asking the same structured interview questions to mothers residing in Manchester. Half of the participants were gathered through asking friends, family, neighbours and colleagues if they met the research conditions and were willing to participate. Additionally, I used snowball sampling to further obtain participants through friends and colleagues. However, I did not want to limit the data to peer groups and therefore, I also carried out structured interviews in public places such as school playgrounds and community centres, which resulted in participants from varying social, economic and cultural backgrounds. Prior to conducting the interviews, permission was granted from each establishment and they were informed of all the research details. Timing was of extreme importance when it came to carrying out the interviews, especially for those in the school playground. I wanted to make sure I conducted interviews at the most convenient time for both the school and the mothers and therefore, I completed my interviews in the afternoon whilst the mother was waiting to collect her child from school. I was always conscious of the time and tried to conduct the interviews in a quick manner, without making the participants feel rushed. Another potential problem in the data collection is that it is not always the mother who does the school run. However, this was not a big obstacle to overcome as the mother was easily identified when initially asking for the participant's permission to conduct the interview.

Prior to beginning the interview, I ensured that all the participants were aware that the nature of my research fundamentally focused on their child's name. Also, I informed them that did not have to answer any questions with which they felt uncomfortable. I was very aware of the ethical considerations and guidelines I needed to follow for my research and therefore, I ensured I had the participant's full consent before conducting the interview. I discussed my research purposes with each mother and consequently they were fully aware of

my research intent before I asked any questions. It was crucial that the questions I asked were not considered to be intrusive, nor cause any discomfort or offence. As my research included non-native English speakers, I was sensitive and conscious of considering different backgrounds, social and cultural norms. Some element of naming is unavoidable due to the nature of my study, however I only recorded the information that the mother was happy to provide and in addition, I tried to preserve the participant's anonymity.

3.3 Procedure

For my analysis of naming patterns across Manchester, I used structured interviews to obtain data from mother residing in the city. I decided upon using structured interviews due to the standardised nature of set questions, in addition, the question order was uniform and consistent for all participants. I used a questionnaire to record all the data, however the questionnaire was not self-administered as I believed I would get a better response by conducting face to face interviews. Although interviews required more time, they were advantageous as I could be certain that all the questions had been answered in full and if necessary, I was able to probe deeper and ask for further information. When carrying out the interviews I recorded the location of where the interview took place. The purpose of the location information was to ensure I conducted interviews in a variety of different areas across the city in order to ascertain a representative sample of Manchester.

3.4 The Questions

The questionnaire (appendix 1) consisted of short, simple and easy to understand questions. I was mindful to compose straightforward questions that contained high frequency language because I was aware that some of my participants may not have been native English speakers, moreover, I wanted to avoid confusion and misinterpretation. Being conscious of the importance of not asking too many questions, I created a questionnaire of only eight questions to avoid making the interview process too time consuming for willing participants or myself as the researcher. Maintaining a smaller amount of questions proved advantageous because I did not ask for any unnecessary information, in addition, I have been able to complete more interviews as a result.

I structured the questionnaire in a logical order, with the most basic yet important questions at the beginning and the only open-ended question occurred at the end. The first question in the interview was: 'What is the child's first name?'. Essentially this is the focus of my research and therefore it was the first question asked. When composing each question, I considered how personal the question was and whether the wording could be misinterpreted. Therefore, I did not ask for the child's middle name as not everybody is assigned one, in addition, middle name information is not as easily disclosed as some individuals may feel it to be unnecessarily personal. I contemplated using terms such as 'forename', 'given name' and 'Christian name', however, I selected 'first name' because it is the most accessible and widely used term that avoids religious connotations. The second question I asked was: 'What is the child's gender?'. This information was necessary to categorise data and make comparisons. Although many names indicate gender, I did not want to assume. For the third question, I was originally going to ask: 'How old is the child?' because I wanted to avoid asking for the date of birth as it is too personal. Initially, I thought asking for the child's age in years would be more beneficial because it is easier for the mother to answer. However, it would prove problematic when analysing my data because if a mother stated her child was six, the child could have been born in 2010 or 2011 depending on their birth month and the time of the

interview. Consequently, I would not have been able to correctly categorise the child's age by year and this is necessary for effective comparison to the Office for National Statistics top 100 names. Therefore, the third question was: 'What year was the child born?'.

The following three questions centre around one of my research questions – is parental naming activity a manifestation of language maintenance? The fourth question I asked was: 'Was the child born in Manchester?'. If the mother answered 'no', I enquired as to where the child was born, noting down the city and country. My research is based on Manchester and I felt it was important to identify the child's birthplace in order to determine if it is a contributing factor to name choice. However, I deemed it unnecessary to ask which area of Manchester the child was born, in addition, I wanted to avoid wording the question as 'Where was your child born?'. This open-ended question could encourage a variety of unnecessary responses, with some mothers openly detailing the hospital in which their child was born and others simply stating which country. With language maintenance being one of the main interests of my research, I then asked the participating mothers: 'What languages are spoken in the home?'. I expected the participants to provide the languages in which the parents spoke (or anyone else living in the household) as some of the children were too young to have acquired any basic language skills. I did not ask what languages will the mother teach their child as this could cause embarrassment for monolingual mothers. The sixth question I asked was: 'Do you call your child by any other names in another language?'. If the mother said 'yes', I asked for the name providing the mother did not mind revealing it. I avoided asking if there were any other names used to refer to the child because I wanted to avoid mothers detailing any nicknames. I asked the sixth question specifically about additional names in another language because it is common practice in Chinese cultures to give children both a traditional Chinese name as well as an English name. I anticipated as a white British interviewer, the participants would be more likely to provide the English name as the child's first name, rather than any alternative names used in their home language. Therefore, I tried to avoid this interviewer effect with the wording of the sixth question. Structurally, I asked this question after the home language question because the two are related and I believed that the participants may have felt more comfortable with the interview process at this point, compared to if I had asked at the very beginning.

One of my research questions involves identifying the most frequent contributing factors involved in parental name selection. The seventh question I asked was: 'Reasons for the child's name?'. I provided seven different reasons that the mother could select: 'named after a family member', 'named after someone famous/an idol', 'culture', 'know somebody else with the name', 'liked the name', 'no reason' and 'other reason' (for the latter I encouraged the participants to explain any other factors that influenced name selection and included these additional notes in my research). I provided reasons for the mother to select from because of the time constraints of an interview and in order to avoid unwanted numerous detailed responses. After careful consideration, I adapted the criteria used by Otta (1997) in her research into gender differences in naming behaviour for two overlapping generations in Brazil. Her research also used seven different reasons for name choice, including: aesthetics, honour, TV/cinema and religion. For my research, I identified reasons that had been given in previous literature and provided seven reasons that I felt covered all aspects of the decision. As well as research by Otta (1997), research from Rossi (1965) and Lieberson & Bell (1992) concluded that 'naming a child after another family member' is one of the most influential factors in the parental name selection process and therefore I included this reason first. Secondly, I included being 'named after someone famous/an idol' because this is becoming more popular with the increase of the mass media and an awareness of

popular culture (Lieberson 2000). I intended for this reason to cover anyone famous, regardless of genre and if this was selected, I encouraged the mother to detail the celebrity figure after whom the child was named. I decided to use the term 'culture' because although Otta (1997) uses the term religion, it is noted in her research that is specifically for children named after a religious figure. As a result, I used 'culture' as I thought it captured a wider variety of reasons. I identified that 'knowing someone else with the same name' could be a potential influence in the naming decision. Aside from family members, mothers may name their child after a friend and may also choose a forename because they know someone else with it already. This does not necessarily have to be a sign of honour but could simply be that the mother liked a name assigned to someone else and therefore used the same name for their child. Finally, I included 'liked the name' as a reason behind name choice because this is an incredibly important aspect of a forename. Mothers must think the child's forename is aesthetically pleasing as it is unlikely that a mother would assign her child a name she did not like. I felt it was important to offer 'no reason' as an option because some mothers may simply like a name because it 'appeals to them and they cannot explain why' (Lieberson 2000:28). I did not want to exclude any participants by not giving them this option if they simply did not know why they decided upon their child's name.

The final question in the interview was: 'What is your (the mother) first name?'. I thought it would be interesting to identify whether a mother's first name could be a potential contributing factor in their child's name selection, moreover, if the two names were similar in terms of origin. I asked this question last because I was unsure as to how some individuals may have felt about answering. However, I assured the participating mothers that alike every other question in the interview, they did not have to answer if they felt uncomfortable.

4   Results

4.1 The Top 100 Names

Of the 160 children's first names (appendix 2), only 63 (39.4%) were found in the Office for National Statistics top 100 names for the year in which the child was born. In comparison, 97 names (60.6%) were absent from the top 100 list. As a result, 60.6% of children have a name that is classified as 'unique' due to its absence from the top 100 names for the year in which the child was born.

4.1.2 Gender

The sex of the child is one of the most prominent factors in name choice, narrowing down the selection of names by half as parents associated certain names with either boys or girls – except androgynous names that can be used for either gender. Out of the 160 children, 68 were boys and 92 were girls. 41.2% of boys had names that appeared in the top 100, compared to 38% of girls. There is a small difference in gender showing that girls are more likely to be assigned a 'unique' name by their parents. This contributes to and supports previous research from Rossi (1965), Lieberson & Bell (1992) and Sue & Telles (2007).

4.1.3 Birthplace

Only 33 children (20.6%) were born outside of Manchester. Only 27.3% of those born outside of Manchester had names in the top 100, whereas almost half (42.5%) of the

children born in Manchester had names that were in the top 100. Children born outside of Manchester are more likely to be assigned a 'unique' name.

When birthplace is broken down further, 74.8% of children born outside of England had a 'unique' name. This extremely high percentage is not surprising because it is unlikely that a child born outside of England would have a name that appeared in a popularity list compiled of names registered after birth in England. 25.2% of children born outside of England had a name that appeared in the top 100. However, one child was born in America (a country that shares the same language as England) and one child only had their name in the top 100 because it is their English based name - if the additional Chinese name was given as the forename in the interview, the child would have a 'unique' name. The mother of the latter child is unlikely to assign their child a 'unique' English name as it almost defeats the point of having an English based additional name. Overall, the high number of children born outside of England with 'unique' names concludes that birthplace is influential over name choice, agreeing with previous research conducted by Sue & Telles (2007).

4.1.4 Languages Spoken in the Home

68 children (42.5%) had mothers who stated a language other than English was spoken in the home. Out of the 68 children, 83% had a 'unique' name. In comparison, 92 children had mothers who stated only English was spoken in the home and less than half of these children (43.5%) had 'unique' names. Therefore, these findings successfully answer one of my research questions as they show that mothers who state a language other than English is spoken in the home are more likely to assign their child a 'unique' name.

Excluding English, there were 16 languages identified, with the most spoken languages being Urdu and Arabic. These results were expected and are in line with the 2011 Census data for language use in Manchester - with the exception of a limited number of Chinese speakers. In the 2011 Census, Chinese is amongst the top 5 spoken languages in Manchester, however my research does not contain many Chinese speakers. However, it is important to recognise that the population of Chinese speakers living in Manchester are more likely to be students or elderly individuals who are less likely to have young children (and therefore be an eligible participant in my research). Table 1 shows the number of children whose mothers speak each language, as well as the number of names found in the top 100 for each language. Only 5 of 16 languages had names in the top 100 (Arabic, Urdu, Polish, Mandarin and Japanese), moreover, of these 5 languages, altogether there were only 11 children with names in the top 100. Over half (56.5%) of children whose mothers stated only English was spoken in the home had a name in the top 100. The only language to have a higher percentage of names in the top 100 is Mandarin (75%). However, it is important to acknowledge that out of the 4 Chinese children, 3 had names in the top 100, but the names in the top 100 are the additional English names, rather than the Chinese traditional names. All 4 children had both an English and a Chinese name as it is common practice in Chinese cultures to assign both types of names to a child. Although the results look as though children who speak Mandarin in the home are the most likely to have a name found in the top 100, this is not the case. If the mother had given the traditional Chinese name as the child's first name in the interview, this would result in the percentage of names in the top 100 for Mandarin being 0%. The same applies for Japanese.

Language	Number of Children	Number of names in the Top 100	Percentage of names in the Top 100
English	92	52	56.5%
Urdu	22	3	13.6%
Arabic	14	2	14.3%
Punjabi	4	0	0%
Polish	4	1	25%
Mandarin	4	3	75%
Japanese	4	2	50%
Gujarati	4	0	0%
Turkish	3	0	0%
Yoruba	2	0	0%
Swahili	2	0	0%
Kurdish	2	0	0%
Welsh	1	0	0%
Thai	1	0	0%
Korean	1	0	0%
Hindi	1	0	0%
Hungarian	1	0	0%

Table 1: The number of children, the number of names and the percentage of names found in the top 100.

Finally, it is interesting that out of the 11 children whose mothers stated a language other than English was spoken in the home, 3 of the children were called 'Muhammad'. This is a common name used in Arabic speaking countries and it is common to name a child 'Muhammad' after the Islamic Prophet. The name associates with religious practice and has numerous spelling variations that all descend from the same root. 'Muhammad' has become increasingly popular in England as the latest Office for National Statistics show that in 2015, the name was ranked in 12th position in the top 100 names given to baby boys in England. Interestingly, the name also appeared in 28th and 64th position in 2015 due to different spelling variations.

4.2 The Top 10 Names

The Office for National Statistics publishes an annual report of the top 10 names determined by region for both boys and girls. I relied upon the data for the North West as although it is not specifically Manchester, it is more relatable than the generic top 100 names ranked for the whole of England. Of the 160 children's names, only 16 (10%) are in the top 10. Therefore, 90% of the names are considered 'unique' and are absent from the top 10 names for the year in which the child was born. Overall, the top 10 data for 2010-2015 consists of only 16 different female names and 15 different male names. The same names are consistently ranked within the top 10 for the North West each year, highlighting that only very few names are consistently maintaining their popularity.

4.2.1 Gender

Of the 16 names found in the top 10, 6 were girl's names (37.5%) and 10 were boys (62.5%). Overall, 6.5% of all the girls in this study had a name in the top 10 for the year in which they were born, compared to 14.7% of boys. This supports my findings for the top 100 data, as well as previous research from Rossi (1965), Lieberson & Bell (1992) and Sue & Telles (2007) who consistently found that boys are more likely to be assigned a common name by their parents.

4.2.2 Birthplace

Of the 33 children born outside of Manchester, only 4 had a name that appeared in the top 10 for the year they were born. One child was born outside of England (in Pakistan) and three were born in England, but outside of Manchester. Two of the children born in England were still born within the North West and considering that the top 10 is a popularity ranked list of names specifically for the North West, it is not surprising that their name appeared in the top 10 list. These findings strengthen the reliability of the top 10 statistics because out of the 16 children with names in the top 10, 14 (87.5%) of them were born in the North West.

4.2.3 Languages Spoken in the Home

Mothers who stated only English was spoken in the home were more likely to give their child a name that appeared in the top 10. Out of the 16 names found in the top 10, 13 of them belonged to children whose mothers stated only English was spoken in the home. The other 3 children were the 3 boys who shared the same name, 'Muhammad'. Two of these children used Arabic in the home and one used Urdu. The name 'Muhammad' is a recent addition to the top 10 data for the North West as it first appeared in 2012 but has increased in popularity every year since, ascending from 10th position in 2012 to 4th position in 2015.

4.3 Additional Names

An additional name is an alternative name that is usually assigned to children who speak another language other than English. Some children are assigned an English based name as well as an alternative name that reflects their ethnic background. Out of the 160 children, only 8 (5%) had an additional name. In the interviews, 75% of mothers who had children with additional names offered the English name as the first name and detailed the additional name to be based on their cultural background, for example: one mother said her daughter was called 'Millie' but when asked if she referred to her child with any other names in another language, she stated the Chinese based name 'Li Mei'. Interestingly, the mother assigned her child an English name ('Millie') with a reverse sound pattern to the traditional Chinese based name ('Li Mei'). Overall, there were variations in interview answers, as one Japanese mother used traditional Japanese names for her two daughters and did not offer an English alternative, whereas another Japanese mother detailed the English names for her two daughters as the forename and only offered the Japanese additional names when asked.

Out of the 8 children with an additional name, 4 had mothers who stated Mandarin was spoken in the home, 2 stated Japanese and 2 stated Yoruba. For the latter, the additional

names were the English names ('Michael' and 'Kevin') given to the children as the mother stated her son's culturally traditional names ('Eroliosele' and 'Agbonihielu') as their first name. The two children shared the same mother and she explained that in her culture it was tradition for the Grandfather to assign the children their name. The participating mother explained that she also assigned her children an English based name because they were born and live in England and she wanted to give them the opportunity to use an English name if they so wished. The mother said that the children were only referred to by their first name at home and the elder child disliked his English name.

Only one of the additional names was found in the Office for National Statistics top 100 names. 'Michael' was the only name found and this is the English name given to the child whose first language is Yoruba. The only other additional name that has an English heritage is 'Kevin', however, this was not found in the top 100. 'Kevin' is an old-fashioned name and may not be found in the top 100 names because it is not a name you hear for a young child in modern day England. This could then lead to an explanation that when assigning a child with an additional English based name, mothers from a different background respect and favour traditional names.

Overall, of the 8 children with additional first names, 5 (62.5%) had their first name in the Office for National Statistics top 100 names in England. All 5 of these first names were traditionally English names, such as 'Emma' and 'Zoe'. The fact that these 5 children had their English name in the top 100 supports my previous explanation of parents from different backgrounds assigning their child with conventional English additional names. Finally, none of the children with additional names had either their first name or their additional name appear in the Office for National Statistics top 10 names for the North West for the years in which they were born.

4.4 Reasons Behind Parental Name Choice

In the interviews, I asked mothers to select the reasons they felt best described the reasons behind their child's name. There were seven options and most mothers selected more than one reason. Figure 1 shows the distribution of reasons, highlighting 'liked the name' to be the most common, influential factor in name choice. 51.8% of mothers selected 'liked the name', supporting similar previous findings from Lieberson (2000) who concluded that the influence of the extended family has decreased in favour of aesthetics and an awareness of popular culture. Although 'liked the name' was the most popular choice, 29.4% of mothers stated that their child was 'named after a family member', thus showing that the extended family are still influential over name choice. 0% of mothers selected 'no reason', however, 20.6% selected 'other reason'. A lot of mothers who selected 'other reason', also selected another one of the seven reasons, in addition, they offered additional information as to why they had selected 'other reason'. The meaning behind the name was a popular motive for mothers selecting 'other reason' as they detailed how the name meaning contributed to the decision because they wanted a name that represented their beliefs for their child. One mother decided upon the name 'Phaedra' because the name means 'bright future' in Greek.
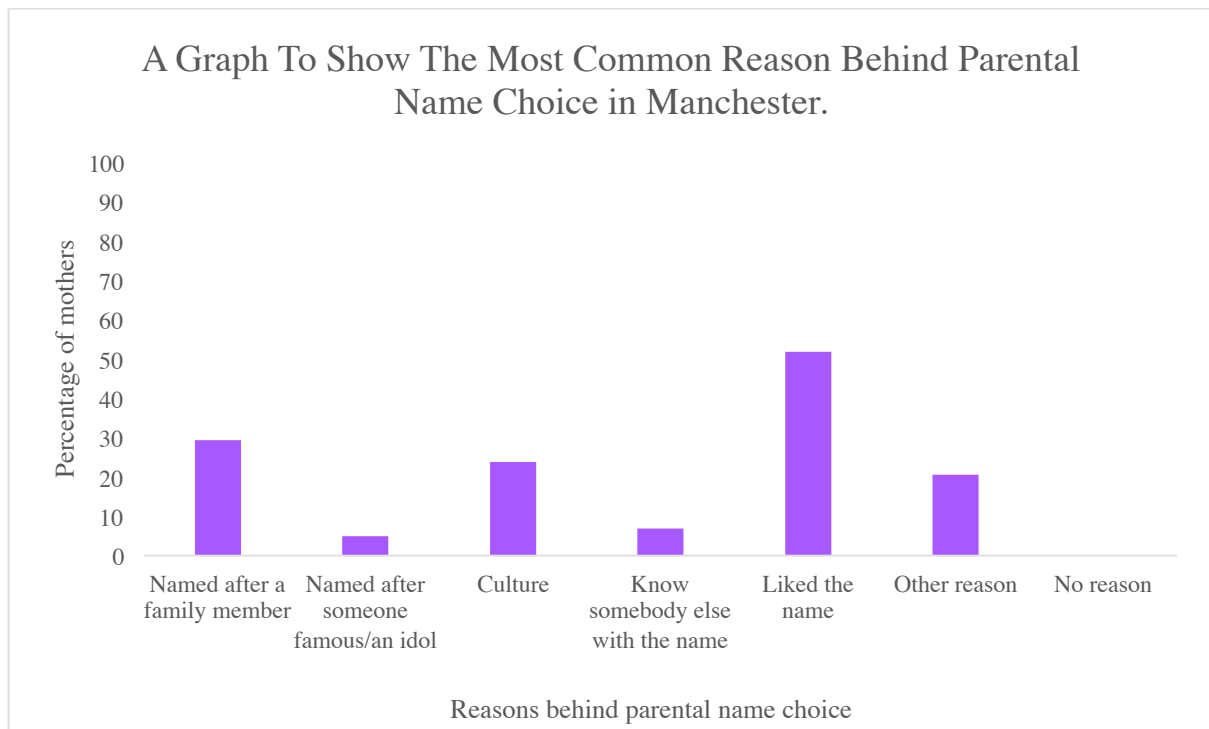
A Graph To Show The Most Common Reason Behind Parental
Name Choice in Manchester.

Figure 1: The percentage distribution of reasons behind parental name choice

4.4.1 Gender

Previous research has detailed gender differences within parental name selection. Rossi (1965) stated that boys are more likely to be a namesake, whereas girls are more likely to have a name that is subject to fashion trends. Figure 2 shows the gender differences between the most influential reasons behind parental naming activity. For both genders, 'liked the name' was the most frequently selected reason, however this was higher for girls (58.7%) than boys (42.6%). The second most common reason for boys was 'named after a family member', with 39.7% being named after a relation, compared to only 21.7% of girls. Boys were more likely to be named in regard to their cultural heritage, with 30.8% of boy's mothers selecting 'culture' as the motive behind name choice, compared to only 18.5% of girls. This is in line with previous research by Sue & Telles (2007) who claimed there is a standing argument that boys are the carrier of tradition and are more likely to receive an 'ethnic name'. On the other hand, girl's names are more influenced by fashion, current trends and popular culture. 6.5% of girls were 'named after someone famous/an idol', compared to only 2.9% of boys. Parents are more likely to 'turn to more fashionable names for daughters' (Sue & Telles 2007:1511) and these names are most likely influenced by celebrity naming behaviour. However, for both genders, being 'named after someone famous/an idol' was the least frequent reason (aside from 'no reason'), showing that aesthetics and the extended family are still the most prominent in naming selection, regardless of gender. Therefore, these findings support Otta (1997) who concluded that for girls, aesthetics was the most frequently reported naming criteria, whereas honour (named after a relation) was found to be the most common reason behind male names.

A Graph To Show The Most Common Reason Behind Parental Name Choice For Both Boys and Girls.
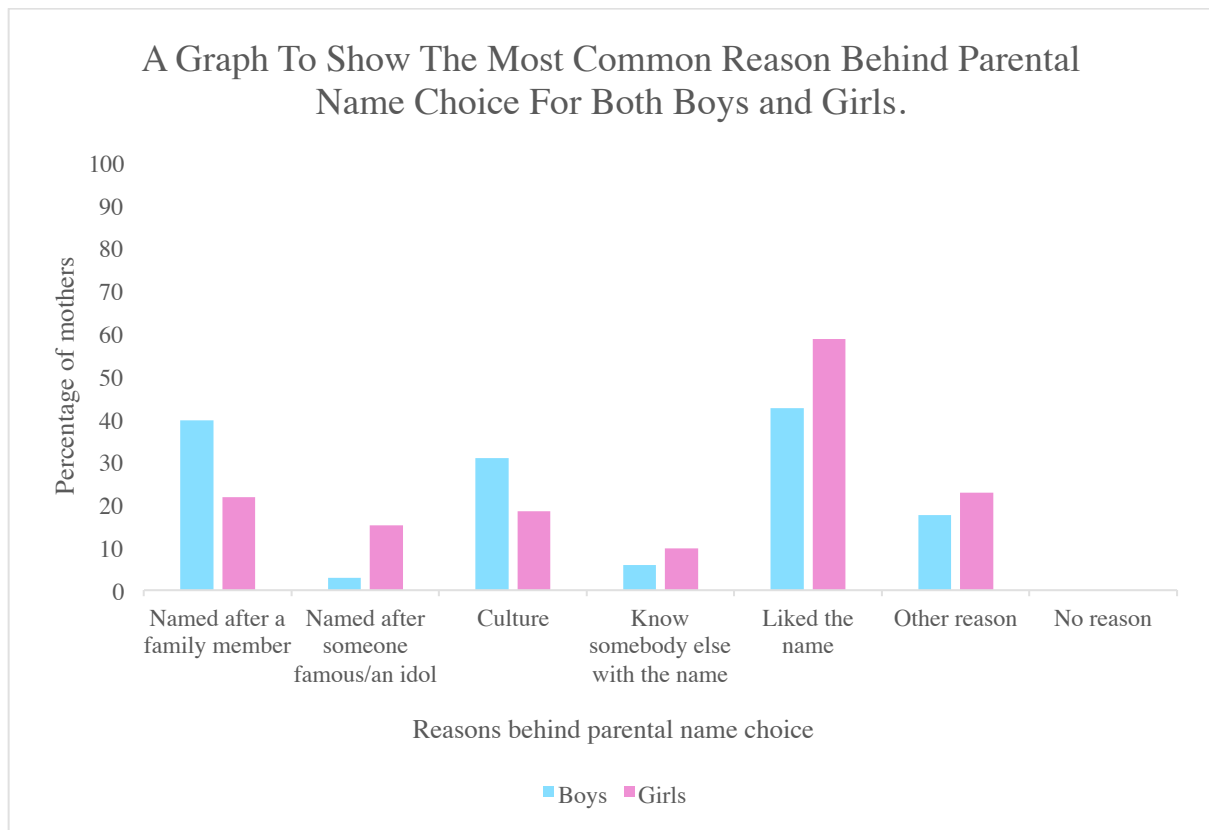
Figure 2: The percentage distribution of reasons behind parental name choice for boys and girls.

4.4.2 Birthplace

The most common reason behind parental naming activity for children born in Manchester was 'liked the name' (39.8%), followed by 'named after a family member' (20.5%) and then 'culture' (15.3%). In comparison, for those born outside of Manchester, parental name selection was mostly a result of 'liked the name' (32.6%), 'culture' (23.9%) and 'named after a family member (23.9%). 5% of children were 'named after someone famous/an idol' and all 5% were born in Manchester. Therefore, it appears that celebrities and popular culture are potentially more influential over those born in Manchester (and England) rather than other countries.

4.4.3 Languages Spoken in the Home

Mothers who stated only English was spoken in the home frequently selected 'liked the name' as the motive behind their name choice. Over half of these mothers (60.9%) selected 'liked the name', however, for the mothers who stated a language other than English was spoken in the home, 'liked the name' dropped to the third most common reason. For mothers who stated that a language other than English was spoken in the home, 'culture' was the most frequently selected reason (51.5%), followed by 'named after a family member' (38.7%). These findings highlight the importance of maintaining cultural identity and continuing with cultural traditions, moreover, answering my research question regarding whether the language spoken in the home plays an influential role in parental naming activity. As 'culture' is the most frequently selected reason for over half of mothers who stated a language other than English was spoken in the home, it shows that language does influence

and motivate name choice. Figure 3 shows the distribution of reasons across mothers who speak only English in the home compared to mothers who speak other languages.
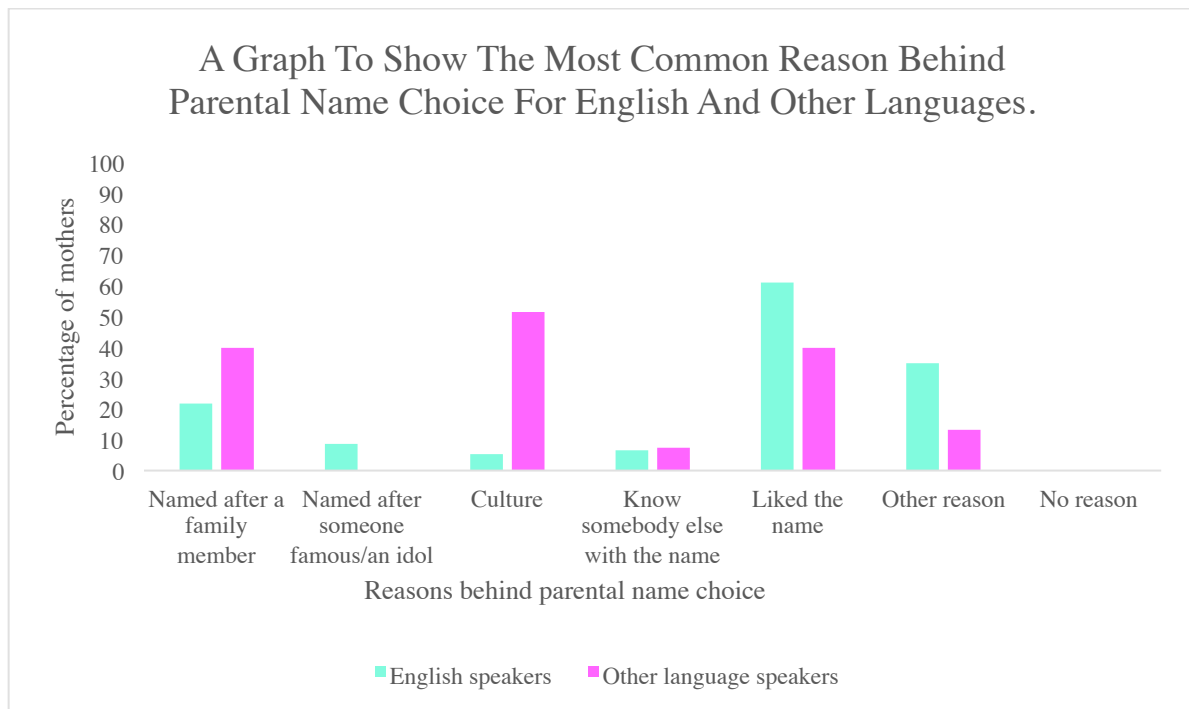
Figure 3: The percentage distribution of reasons behind parental name choice for English and other languages.

Table 2 shows the most frequently selected reason for each language. Some language speakers selected more than one reason and therefore there is not one common reason for each language. This table shows that 'liked the name' and 'culture' are the most influential for all 17 languages identified. As culture is one of the more frequently selected reasons, this could imply that the parental name selection is a manifestation of language maintenance as parents provide their child with a name that reflects their language heritage and cultural lifestyle.

Language	Most common reason
English	Liked the name
Urdu	Culture
Arabic	Culture
Punjabi	Culture/Know somebody else with the name
Polish	Named after a family member
Mandarin	Culture
Japanese	Liked the name
Gujarati	Liked the name
Turkish	Culture
Yoruba	Culture
Swahili	Culture/Named after a family member
Kurdish	Culture/Liked the name
Welsh	Culture
Thai	Named after a family member/Liked the name/Culture
Korean	Liked the name/Other reason
Hindi	Culture/Liked the name
Hungarian	Liked the name

Table 2: The most common reason behind parental name choice for each language.

4.4.4 Fluctuation By Year

Previous research has investigated the distribution of reasons across the years to see if any reasons are gaining or alternatively declining in popularity. From 2010-2015, only one year (2012) saw 'liked the name' to not be the most influential reason in parental name choice. 'Named after someone famous/an idol' and 'know somebody else with the name' are the least common reasons each year. However, there is not one reason that shows a consistent increase in frequency from 2010-2015. Although 'liked the name' has been the most common for many years, it does show a decline in popularity every other year. Figure 4 shows the rise and fall of each reason between 2010-2015, providing an insight into naming behaviour in Manchester over a six-year period.
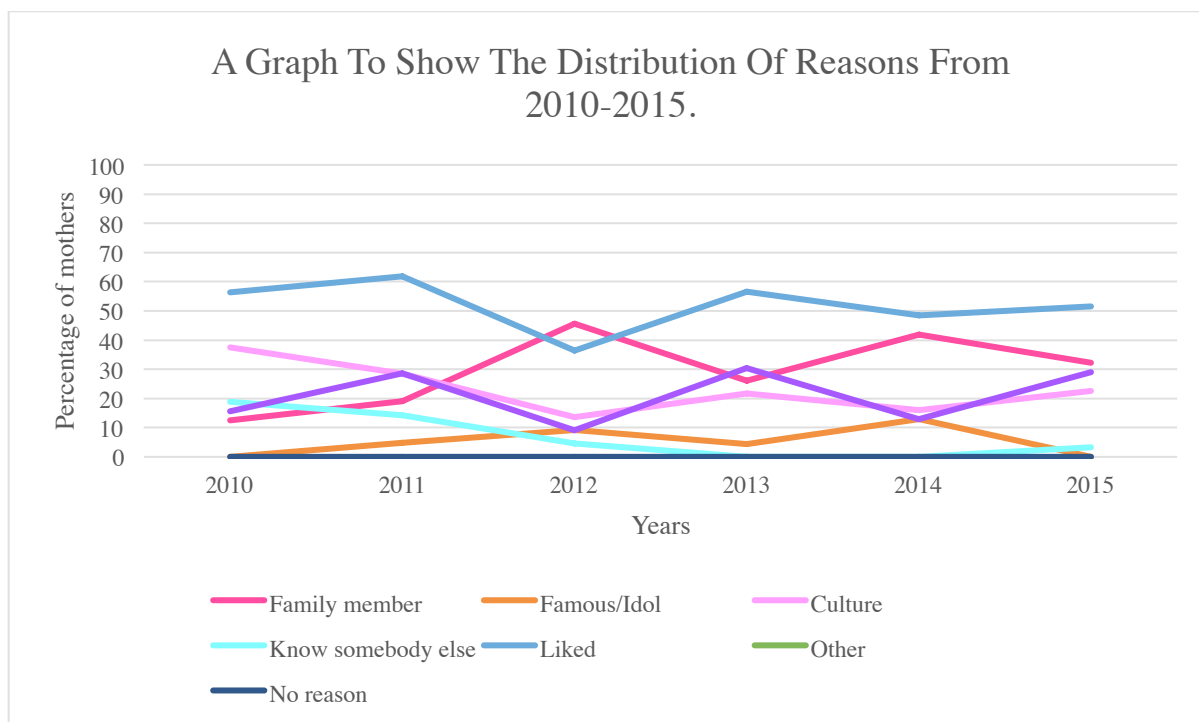
Figure 4: The distribution of reasons across the years 2010-2015.

4.5 The Mother's First Name

I compared the child's first name to their mother's first name (appendix 3) to see if there is an apparent difference between the naming of two generations. I subjectively decided whether a name was conventionally English and found that 45% of participating mothers share a similar, traditionally English name as their child, for example 'Natalie' and 'Lucy'. Of those who have traditionally non-English names, I found 23% to share a similar name to their child. The mother's name and the child's first name were not typically English, however they both seemed to be from a similar origin, for example 'Yukiko' and 'Chisaki'. 10% of children had names that did not qualify as traditionally English or non-English, for example 'Blaize'. Sue & Telles (2007) referred to these names as 'language neutral' names as they do not 'connote one language or another' (2007:1392). 13% of children had a name that differed to their mother's name because of different cultural backgrounds between mother and child. Many of these mothers detailed the reasons as to why their names differed by culture, for example, one mother had three children with traditional Arabic names such as 'Haaris', however, her name 'Amy' is a conventionally English name. This name difference was explained by the mother in the interview as she detailed how she had married a Muslim man and adopted the religion of Islam. She therefore felt it was important for their children to have names that represented their faith. This reasoning was found for a few participant mothers, including one Japanese mother who married an English man and therefore assigned their children both English first names and Japanese additional names. Sue & Telles (2007) also found that marrying someone with a different cultural background impacts name choice as many desire their child's name to reflect both parents and their heritage.

Overall, this research shows that the mother's first name may have an influential effect on parental name choice. One mother was called 'Louise' and named her son 'Louis' because she wanted their names to be similar. Another mother was adamant that their children

shared the same first initial as herself. A third combined the letters of both the mother and father's forename to produce a unique name for their daughter. Naming is very important to the family and a lot of mothers want a connection to be seen between their names. Otta (1997) explained that in her research she expected there to be a link between a mother's name and her daughter's name, in addition, she explained that boys were more likely to have a name that linked to their father due to gender roles. This idea is supported by my findings as of the 18 mothers who detailed who their child was named after, only 2 (11.1%) participants did not follow the pattern of a baby girl being named after a female relative and a baby boy being named after a male relative. The 2 children who did not follow suit were both boys; 'Cameron' received his name from his Grandmother's maiden name and 'Louis' was named after his mother 'Louise'. However, not every participating mother related her own name to her child. One mother believed her name 'Jane' was boring and plain and therefore, she purposely named her children with unusual names so that they would not share the same name as anyone else in school the same way the mother had. Although this mother did not directly name her children in relation to her own name, the mother's first name still influenced the name choice as she purposely tried to avoid similar names. Finally, one mother's first name differed in origin compared to her three children because she adopted the children at a young age from Jamaica. The three children have names of African origin, such as 'Kofi', whereas the mother's name is typically English, 'Lesley'. However, although this does show that the mother's name is not always directly influential in the naming decision, this is an exception as the mother did not have the opportunity to name her adopted children.

4.6 Additional Information

When conducting the interviews, many mothers took up the opportunity to give additional information and were more than happy to explain why they decided upon a specific name. Like Rossi (1965), I found that 'the mothers enjoyed talking about naming their children and often gave detailed explanations concerning their choice' (1965:502). 'Other reason' was the fourth most frequent reason selected during the interviews and many offered additional information that explained their motive. Nine of the mothers said that the actual meaning of the child's name was a prominent factor in their decision, 6 said it was specifically religion that influenced them into assigning their child's name and 10 stated that cultural background was a contributing factor. Although 'culture' was offered as a reason to select, many also selected 'other reason' because the parents had two separate cultural backgrounds that contributed to the parental name selection, for example one mother was from Korea and the father was from England. Fourteen mothers said they chose their child's name because they thought it was unique and they liked that no one else would share the same name. Finally, of the 8 children 'named after someone famous/an idol', 6 of the children were named after fictional characters, such as book characters, film characters from 'Twilight' and 'The Avengers' and TV characters from 'Friends' and 'Game of Thrones'. Only 2 children were named after celebrities, one being Prince Harry and the other was named 'Harper' after Victoria Beckham's daughter.

5   Discussion

Overall, my research begins to fill a gap within the field of naming, as well as contributing to existing research conducted into language maintenance in Manchester. My research has uncovered new findings surrounding parental naming activity within the city. Additionally, I have highlighted an awareness of the communities living within Manchester and their desire to maintain their language heritage and cultural background within the community and across generations. Naming a child is a personal experience (Lieberson & Bell 1992) and differs to other language maintenance strategies that rely upon community initiatives and the public sector. Heritage language acquisition and parental naming selection show a personal desire to connect with one's ethnic background (Twenge, et al. 2010) and provide children with a similar cultural experience. One of my most novel findings is that the language spoken in the home does directly influence name choice, furthermore, it can be said that the naming decision is part of parental strategy to preserve and promote language heritage in future generations. Parental strategies in language maintenance are important as previous research from Dyers (2008) shows that positive parental language maintenance indicates the younger generations use of a language. 68 children (42.5%) had mothers who stated a language other than English was spoken in the home and only 10.3% of those children had a name that classified as traditionally English, for example 'Emma' and 'Jason'. 89.7% of children had names that were influenced by the languages spoken in the home. All of the mothers who stated Arabic was spoken in the home assigned their children traditional Arabic names such as 'Muhammad', 'Saif' and 'Amina'. The same naming pattern was found for all the other languages, except Polish, Mandarin and Japanese. Overall, children whose mothers stated a language other than English is spoken in the home are likely to have a name that is influenced by the home language. Assigning a child a name that reflects the home language aids in maintaining cultural links and positively promotes language maintenance to the younger generation. In conclusion, my findings show that language does influence parental naming activity.

Lieberson & Bell (1992) state that due to the ever-changing nature in the field of naming behaviour, there will always be room for more academic research. Additionally, as Manchester's population continues to increase, research needs to be continually conducted in order to reliably represent the multilingual city. As the population continues to increase, it would be interesting to see if the patterns found in my research continue to exist. In time, Manchester could see an increase in the popularity of non-English names such as 'Muhammad' and 'Hassan', moreover, the name popularity data compiled by the Office for National Statistics may eventually contain more non-English forenames and reflect the different communities that reside in England. It is possible that those who are monolingual English speakers may begin to be influenced by their neighbours from different backgrounds and assign names that reflect an origin different to their own. Although a few participating mothers had married into a different culture and have children with names that represent a different culture to their own, for now, my research concludes that monolingual English mothers are more likely to assign their child 'unique', yet traditionally English names. On the other hand, as diversity increases, we may see an increase in multilingual language speakers choosing traditional English names for their child's forename and additional names that reflect their cultural background. Naming activity is interesting to research because of the continuous changes and the insight it offers into different communities. Another interesting prospect for future research would be to further detail the generational differences in naming behaviour, going beyond the mother's name and investigating whether the younger generation are less likely to assign names that are influenced by language than their

grandparents. Finally, there are communities in Manchester whose languages have not been identified in this study, for example, Bengali and Yiddish and even global languages such as French and German. Furthermore, it would be interesting to see if other language communities show similar patterns and use parental naming activity as a language maintenance strategy.

My research provides an interesting insight into the diverse language communities of Manchester, however there are methodological improvements that could be made. The wording of the question that enquired about the languages spoken in the home is a limitation of my research that could be improved for future studies. All participating mothers stated English was spoken in the home, regardless of any additional languages spoken. However, this could have been an investigator effect as the participants were interviewed in English. Many mothers listed English as the last language when asked what languages were spoken in the home. This could mean that English is not actively spoken, but was listed because they were interviewed in English, showing they can speak the language. This investigator effect was difficult to avoid as a monolingual English researcher and therefore, potentially could have impacted the results. Future research could change the wording of the question or directly ask if English is spoken within the home. This would therefore improve the research findings and portray an even more realistic picture of language use in Manchester. Additionally, in terms of the questions asked in the interview, another limitation of my research involves relying upon retrospective answers from participating mothers. My research assumes that the answers the mothers provide for the reasons behind name choice are the exact, identical reasons they processed when assigning their child a name numerous years ago. However, this methodological disadvantage is hard to overcome as other than conducting a longitudinal study from the time of the child's birth and name registration, there is not another way to obtain these answers.

Another limitation of my research is that although names were compared to reliable data from the Office for National Statistics, the top 100 names lack in non-English forenames, and unfortunately, there is not any valid data to compare non-English names. If there was a similar list for the most common Polish names (for example), it would have been easier to identify the child's name as being traditionally Polish rather than subjectively defining it as simply non-English. Looking at the actual origin of the name does not always show a true representation of a name as 'Amy' has a French origin but would be viewed as a traditional and common English name. Therefore, having data that could less subjectively identify a name to be from a particular language would have made this aspect of the research more objective. However, this data is not yet available and therefore highlights the lack of prior research available into naming activity across the world.

Previous research by Lieberson & Bell (1992) and Twenge, et al. (2016) indicated spelling variations to be a limitation of their research. Some first names are regarded as unique because of intentional spelling differences, for instance, using the suffix '-ie' instead of '-y' for names such as 'Holly' or 'Lucy'. For Twenge, et al. (2016), recording each spelling variation of the same name resulted in finding an increase in the use of unique names. The spelling of a name is an important part of parental name selection, however, a parent initially selects a name and then later decides upon the spelling. Using an unusual spelling of a common name may indicate a parent's desire for uniqueness. In my research, there were few spelling variations and therefore, they were all ignored. Names that sounded phonetically the same were classed as the same name, regardless of spelling differences, for example: three different mothers adopted three different spellings of the male name 'Harris' (other variations

were 'Haris' and 'Haaris'), however I classified all three variations as the same name. I acknowledge that spelling is an important aspect of naming, however limitations of previous research led to my decision to ignore spelling variations. As a result, my findings are not affected by spelling differences and a name is defined as 'unique' solely because of its absence from the top 100 names. Only one of the mothers interviewed stated they used a different spelling for uniqueness purposes, stating that they added an additional letter 'l' in 'Lilly' so their daughter's name differed to the original spelling of the flower.

Eleven of the children (6.9%) had double-barrelled first names. Double-barrelled names used to be a surname tradition, in which a hyphenated surname was heritable and usually a way of preserving family surname tradition. However, double-barrelled forenames appear to be a modern trend with potential celebrity influence. As with spelling variations, double-barrelled names increase the potential for uniqueness. For research purposes, I decided upon solely focusing on the first half of the double-barrelled name, for example regarding 'Tyler-Joseph' as 'Tyler'. The Office for National Statistics top 100 names does not include any hyphenated names. Therefore, if I had compared the double-barrelled name to the top 100, 100% of the 11 children with hyphenated forenames would have a 'unique' first name. However, when focusing on the first half of the hyphenated name, 6 of the 11 children had 'unique' names and the other 5 children had a first name that appeared in the top 100. Overall, the decision to solely focus on the first half of the name was influenced by the data from the Office for National Statistics, as well as the participants who stated they only used the first half of their child's double-barrelled name. Two mothers stated they used a double-barrelled name primarily because the child's two parents could not agree on one name. Additionally, the mother of 'Calla-Lilly' stated she initially only wanted to use the first name 'Calla' as she liked the flower but as this was an unusual name, she found 'Calla-Lilly' easier to explain.

6   Conclusion

Overall, I have begun to show an interesting insight into naming behaviour within the multilingual community of Manchester. I have identified that mothers who speak a language other than English are more likely to assign their child a 'unique' name, moreover, the name they do assign their child is likely to be influenced by the languages spoken in the home. Furthermore, I have shown a relationship between the mother's first name and her child's, highlighting the importance of family relationships and generational links. Like previous research, I have found that aesthetics is one of the most influential factors in name choice, with 'liked the name' being the most frequently selected reason by mothers residing in Manchester. My research supports Rossi (1965) as I found that boys are more likely to receive conventional names and girls are more likely to be assigned a 'unique' name that is subject to fashion trends and popular culture. Additionally, my research supports Lieberson & Bell (1992) and Lieberson (2000) as I have found that aesthetics is the most influential reason, however the family and culture are still contributing factors to parental name choice. Finally, my research contributes to and supports Sue & Telles (2007) as I conclude that naming activity is influenced by language heritage and mothers are more likely to assign their child a name that reflects their cultural background.

In terms of language maintenance, my research adds to prior findings as I have shown an insight into the actual communities that are residing in Manchester. Unlike Sue & Telles

(2007) I spoke to real people in a self-report study, rather than relying solely on government data that does not provide participants an opportunity to voice their opinions. The mothers in this study seemed to enjoy talking about their child and were more than happy to disclose further information as to what motivated them to decide upon a specific name.

Although naming in Manchester is certainly not bound by any legislation, it is influenced by parental background, language heritage and contributing lifestyle factors. There are still questions left to be answered, more communities left to be researched and a deeper understanding left to be obtained over time. However, my research successfully offers a detailed insight into the communities of Manchester, an awareness of their thoughts and an understanding of their opinions on name choice, as well as portraying a realistic picture of parental naming activity in the diverse, multicultural and multilingual city of Manchester.

7   Appendices

i. The Questionnaire Used in the Structured Interviews

Participant No.
Location:

1. What is the child's first name? _____

2. What is the child's gender? Girl / Boy

3. What year was the child born? _____

4. Was   the   child   born   in   Manchester?   Yes   /   No

    If no, where were they born? _____

5. What languages are spoken in the home? _____

    _____

6. Do you call your child by any other names in another language? Yes / No

    If yes, what are the names? _____

7. Reasons for the child's name?

    Named after a family member   ☐

    Named after someone famous/an idol   ☐

    Culture   ☐

                                                 ☐
    Know somebody else with the name   ☐

    Liked the name

    No reason   ☐

    Other reason   ☐

    _____

    _____

    _____

8. What is your (the mother) first name? _____

ii. List of the 160 Children's First Names

Child's Name

1	Aaleyah
2	Aaron
3	Abel
4	Agbonihielu
5	Alfie
6	Alfie
7	Ali
8	Alina
9	Amaya
10	Amelia
11	Amina
12	Amna
13	Anayah
14	Areesha
15	Arnie
16	Ashna
17	Aspen
18	Aubree
19	Ayesha
20	Ayla-Marie
21	Belle
22	Berrie
23	Blaize
24	Blake
25	Brooke
26	Calla-Lilly
27	Calli-Rai
28	Cameron
29	Charlotte
30	Chisaki
31	Deliss
32	Devon
33	Ellie-Mae
34	Elsie
35	Elson
36	Emma
37	Eowyn
38	Erica
39	Eroliosele
40	Esmae
41	Esme
42	Ethan
43	Eva

44	Fatima
45	Fehan
46	Felix
47	Felix
48	George
49	Georgie
50	Gia
51	Gianna
52	Gracie
53	Haaris
54	Haris
55	Harley
56	Harlow
57	Harper
58	Harris
59	Harry
60	Hasan
61	Hassan
62	Hassan
63	Ibrahim
64	Imogen
65	Imogen
66	Imogen
67	Irsa
68	Isla
69	Jacob
70	Jaina
71	Jamal
72	Jason
73	Jayden
74	Jayesh
75	Jessica
76	Jilly
77	Joseph-George
78	Joshua
79	Kacper
80	Kane
81	Kayhra
82	Kofi
83	Labake
84	Laelya
85	Lamia
86	Lanka
87	Laura
88	Layla
89	Lazo
90	Leah
91	Leo
92	Levi-Junior

93	Lilly
94	Lilly
95	Lily
96	Logan
97	Lola
98	Louis
99	Lucy
100	Lukaz
101	Lydia-Lavendar
102	Madiha
103	Maisie-Rose
104	Mario
105	Mark
106	Martha
107	Max
108	Mayang
109	Mia
110	Millie
111	Minori
112	Miyah
113	Mohammad
114	Mohammed
115	Muhammad
116	Nancy
117	Natalia
118	Niamh
119	Noor
120	Noreen
121	Nusrat
122	Ocean
123	Oliver
124	Olivia
125	Paisley-Mai
126	Patryck
127	Phaedra
128	Phoebe
129	Phoebe
130	Rayyaan
131	Reem
132	Roman
133	Roya
134	Ruby
135	Ryan
136	Safir
137	Saif
138	Saif
139	Salma
140	Sara

141	Sara
142	Scarlet
143	Seeta
144	Shabia
145	Sienna
146	Simran
147	Skye
148	Storm
149	Teddy
150	Tenten
151	Teodroa
152	Teresa
153	Thomas
154	Thomas-Ethan
155	Toby
156	Tom
157	Tommy
158	Tundee
159	Tyler-Joseph
160	Zoe

iii. List of the 160 Children's First Names and Their Mother's First Name

	Child's Name	**Mother's Name**
1	Aaleyah	Amy
2	Aaron	Julia
3	Abel	Bethany
4	Agbonihielu	Oluwakemi
5	Alfie	Leanne
6	Alfie	Abby
7	Ali	Christina
8	Alina	Summaira
9	Amaya	Asiya
10	Amelia	Lauren
11	Amina	Kit
12	Amna	Ferhana
13	Anayah	Maria
14	Areesha	Shehida
15	Arnie	Faye
16	Ashna	Shilpa
17	Aspen	Beth
18	Aubree	Faye
19	Ayesha	Aklima
20	Ayla-Marie	Chantelle
21	Belle	Hannah

22	Berrie	Jenna
23	Blaize	Laura
24	Blake	Kerry
25	Brooke	Tanya
26	Calla-Lilly	Tara
27	Calli-Rai	Casey
28	Cameron	Kathryn
29	Charlotte	Natalie
30	Chisaki	Yukiko
31	Deliss	Laura
32	Devon	Viv
33	Ellie-Mae	Maria
34	Elsie	Abbie
35	Elson	Monica
36	Emma	Michiko
37	Eowyn	Beth
38	Erica	Monica
39	Eroliosele	Oluwakemi
40	Esmae	Danielle
41	Esme	Janice
42	Ethan	Rheannon
43	Eva	Harriet
44	Fatima	Ghazala
45	Fehan	Asra
46	Felix	Hannah
47	Felix	Jill
48	George	Alison
49	Georgie	Lauren
50	Gia	Ji-Young
51	Gianna	Sejal
52	Gracie	Jasmine
53	Haaris	Amy
54	Haris	Christina
55	Harley	Maria
56	Harlow	Danielle
57	Harper	Liz
58	Harris	Sarah
59	Harry	Helen
60	Hasan	Christina
61	Hassan	Sonia
62	Hassan	Tahmina
63	Ibrahim	Shehida
64	Imogen	Angela
65	Imogen	Charlotte
66	Imogen	Ruth
67	Irsa	Razia
68	Isla	Sarah
69	Jacob	Angela

70	Jaina	Praba
71	Jamal	Alia
72	Jason	Julia
73	Jayden	Chelsea
74	Jayesh	Praba
75	Jessica	Vanessa
76	Jilly	Jane
77	Joseph-George	Soraya
78	Joshua	Katie
79	Kacper	Justyna
80	Kane	Bernadette
81	Kayhra	Sam
82	Kofi	Lesley
83	Labake	Abiodun
84	Laelya	Rose
85	Lamia	Salma
86	Lanka	Lesley
87	Laura	Chrissie
88	Layla	Anna
89	Lazo	Bushra
90	Leah	Tanya
91	Leo	Vienna
92	Levi-Junior	Joanna
93	Lilly	Holly
94	Lilly	Emma
95	Lily	Robyn
96	Logan	Donna
97	Lola	Ruth
98	Louis	Louise
99	Lucy	Natalie
100	Lukaz	Joanne
101	Lydia-Lavendar	Jane
102	Madiha	Rukhsana
103	Maisie-Rose	Beth
104	Mario	Sejal
105	Mark	Donna
106	Martha	Angela
107	Max	Claire
108	Mayang	Mida
109	Mia	Caroline
110	Millie	Hannah
111	Minori	Yukiko
112	Miyah	Kathryn
113	Mohammad	Salma
114	Mohammed	Sarah
115	Muhammad	Rajjo
116	Nancy	Danielle
117	Natalia	Justyna

118	Niamh	Chrissie
119	Noor	Nosheen
120	Noreen	Nosheen
121	Nusrat	Fahreen
122	Ocean	Suzanne
123	Oliver	Lauren
124	Olivia	Chris
125	Paisley-Mai	Casey
126	Patryck	Adrianna
127	Phaedra	Natalie
128	Phoebe	Jennifer
129	Phoebe	Tulisa
130	Rayyaan	Amy
131	Reem	Maitha
132	Roman	Chynna
133	Roya	Jane
134	Ruby	Sohena
135	Ryan	Claire
136	Safir	Summaira
137	Saif	Maitha
138	Saif	Sadia
139	Salma	Saima
140	Sara	Helen
141	Sara	Nadia
142	Scarlet	Kimbereley
143	Seeta	Sunita
144	Shabia	Nazia
145	Sienna	Fiona
146	Simran	Shilpa
147	Skye	Val
148	Storm	Val
149	Teddy	Lucy
150	Tenten	Abidoun
151	Teodroa	Madalina
152	Teresa	Adrianna
153	Thomas	Kerry
154	Thomas-Ethan	Vanessa
155	Toby	Kerry
156	Tom	Claire
157	Tommy	Alex
158	Tundee	Lesley
159	Tyler-Joseph	Emma-Jane
160	Zoe	Michiko

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