English personal names in international contexts

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Abstract

The world-wide expansion of the use of English has, among others, an impact on personal names. Starting from the distinction between English as a native language, English as a second language, and English as a foreign language, we will examine the giving and the use of English names in South Africa, Singapore, Germany, China and Brazil. Several motives determine the choice of given names, in particular the prestige of English as a gateway to better job perspectives, and as an international means of communication.

Keywords: *lingua franca, English as a second language, English as a foreign language, personal names, Englishization, transnationalization, principle of dosed deviation, modernization*

1   English as a world language

Based on the belief that social change is also reflected in name giving, this article examines in what way the global spread of the English language has had an impact on naming practices world-wide. We assume that name-giving is related to a person's sense of identity, and that the deliberate giving of a name that has been taken from the English-speaking world implies a positive attitude towards the use of the English language and the values it is associated with.

English is nowadays considered a world language, since it is used internationally as a lingua franca and is taught widely as a second and a foreign language. Kachru (1985a: 12-15) represented the global community of English speakers in three circles. The inner circle refers to the speakers of English as a native language (ENL); the outer, or expanded, circle to the speakers of English as a second language (ESL), and the expanding circle to the number of people learning English as a foreign language

(EFL).[78] Kachru (1985b: 212) estimated that in 1985 there were 300 million ENL speakers and 300-400 million non-native English speakers, amounting to a number of 700 million users of English around the world. Crystal (1995: 107) took up Kachru's findings and reviewed and reassessed them. He calculated that there were 320-380 million ENL speakers, 150-300 million ESL speakers, and 100-1,000 million EFL speakers in 1995. We expect the numbers of ESL and EFL speakers to have risen in the meantime, which is indeed the case. Using current population numbers as a base, Schneider (2011: 56) assumes that nowadays the inner circle encompasses 350-380 million speakers, the outer circle up to 600 million speakers, and the expanding circle 500-1500 million, or even up to 2 billion speakers.[79] Thus, the ESL speakers now outnumber the ENL speakers, and the EFL speakers have more than doubled over the last 16 years. Graph (1) gives a survey of the rise of ENL, ESL, and EFL speakers 1995-2011 (depicted on the x-axis), in millions (depicted on the y-axis).[80]

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[78] According to Kachru (1985b: 211), an ENL speaker is somebody "for whom English is the first language in almost all functions"; an ESL speaker "uses an institutionalized second-language variety of English; and an EFL speaker "considers English as a foreign language and uses it in highly restricted domains".

[79] Schneider (2007: 12-13) points out that the Kachru model has its shortcomings, though it is widely applied, especially in the context of language policies and language teaching. For instance, the model does not acknowledge non-native speaking groups in ENL countries.

[80] The numbers represent the means of Crystal's and Schneider's estimates.

(1) ENL, ESL, and EFL Speakers (1995-2911, in Millions)
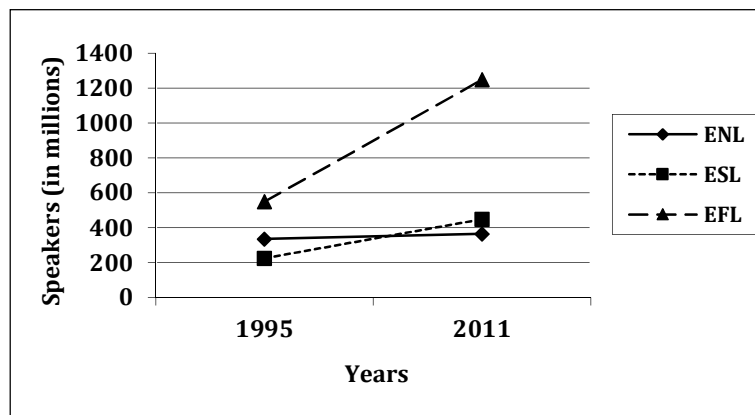
This paper traces the influence of English on personal names in ESL and EFL cultures. We will investigate the international spread of English name-giving by taking countries from different continents into account. A particular question to be answered is in how far former British colonies are applying English naming patterns today, as English was the language of the colonial power. So far, no comprehensive work has been published on this topic. Our investigations are therefore based on existing studies about English given names in a selection of ESL and EFL countries, which determines the choice of the countries dealt with. In addition, we complemented some results of the studies with more recent numbers. Though a more balanced and thorough study will remain a project for the future, some general observations and conclusions can nevertheless be drawn from the data examined here.

English or English-based names are generally defined as names that originate from Anglo-American culture, including names that ultimately go back to other languages, such as Hebrew, Greek or Latin. The use of English names includes both previously rare names that were revived and names that have been fairly unknown so far in other cultures. The studies considered here are based on data from registry offices, governmental birth records, lists of school children or graduated students. Having

obtained the data, the researchers classified the names according to origin and calculated the percentage of English names over a period of time, thus gaining insights into social changes.

The present paper is structured as follows: In order to ascertain the influence of English name patterns around the world, we will first give a brief sketch of English naming in the two ENL countries England and the United States. We will then consider name-giving in the ESL countries South Africa and Singapore, followed by the EFL countries Germany, China and Brazil. Finally the situations in these countries will be compared, facilitating new insights into the spread, motives and functions of English name-giving in a global world. Examples of names will be provided throughout.

2   Personal names in England and the United States

When Germanic tribes conquered England in the middle of the first millennium AD, they also brought their names and their naming conventions with them. Old English personal names were mostly formed by two meaningful elements denoting certain admired qualities (*Gōdwine* 'friend of God', *Cwēnhild* 'queen of battle'). Following the Norman Conquest in 1066, the former Old English Germanic names were eventually replaced by the Norman name stock, which largely consisted of continental Germanic names that had been adapted to French (*William, Alice*). Names from the Bible or from saints' legends were also common (*John, Margaret*) (cf. McClure 2013). With the rise of puritanism in the late 16th and 17th century, names from the Old Testament became especially popular (*Abraham, Abigail*). The followers of the movement also started to derive personal names from generic nouns denoting Christian virtues. They were mainly used for girls (*Grace, Prudence*). Furthermore, surnames began to be given as personal names (*Sidney, Neville*).

The late 20th and early 21st centuries see a liberal approach to given names. There are no specific baby-naming laws. The number of names given has diversified; parents are in search of the special name for a special person. McClure (2013) reports that nowadays more than 60,000 personal names are registered as baby names in England and Wales, while there were probably fewer than 1,000 names in use towards

the end of the Middle Ages. When choosing a name, parents adhere less and less to family traditions. Shortened names are popular; some old names are being revived. Names of places, plants, and precious stones are also chosen; or names are made up, and new blends occur (*Beverley, Daisy, Jade, Marylou*). Some of these newer trends may have been influenced by naming fashions in the United States, which we will now turn to.

When the English settled on the new continent, most of them chose personal names for their new-borns just as they had been used to doing in their home country. The Puritan settlers in New England favored biblical names from the Old Testament and names for Christian virtues (*Daniel, Nathaniel; Charity, Mercy*) (Stewart 1979: 12-18, Wilson 1998: 290-297). In the next centuries, further immigration waves brought non-native English speakers to America, who either chose English names for their siblings or adjusted their names to English names and English pronunciation (*Lewis* from *Ludwig, Steven* from *Sven*, *Stanley* from *Stanislaw*) (Mencken 1962: 505-508). This large number and diversity of immigrants is also mirrored in the number and diversity of names in the United States today. The 19th century saw a growth in the use of middle names, and of family names as given names. Further developments were the use of nicknames as full-fledged names (*Betsy, Liz*), the use of some common nouns for names (*Pearl, Diamond*), and the loosening-up of the gender divide (*Marion, June* for boys*; Nigel, Vincent* for girls) (Stewart 1979: 28-37, Wilson 1998: 298). These tendencies have continued to increase until today, with the names having become more and more imaginative and diverse. Similar to England, there are almost no legal restrictions on parental naming rights. African-American names seem to have contributed to the diversity of American names as well (cf. Fryer and Levitt 2003, Wilson 1998: 310-15).

3   Personal names in former colonies

3.1 South Africa

After having been a Dutch colony from the 17th century onwards, in the early 19th century the Cape area of South Africa became British. Armed conflicts and successive expansion followed, resulting in the British dominion Union of South Africa in 1910,

predecessor of the Republic of South Africa, founded in 1961. Racial segregation continued until 1994, when apartheid was abolished and Nelson Mandela became president. Today, South Africa's economy is the second largest in Africa, and a sizeable African middle class has emerged. South Africa has 11 official languages, including English.

The colonial history of the country left its mark on name-giving. With the establishment of a British government and a British educational system, and through Christian missionary activity, Africans received English names in addition to their original African names, and surnames were introduced. African naming traditions differ considerably from the English ones, however: They carry meaning, and they are unique. They typically relate to certain events associated with the birth of the child. Throughout life, several names are possible, and there are no surnames (Herbert 1996).

After Apartheid, a shift from English names to traditional African names occurred, especially in urban areas. English was rejected as the language of the former colonial power (Herbert 1997, de Klerk & Bosch 1996). Nevertheless, English names have often been kept, either as first or second names, and further evidence suggests that the attitude towards English naming is still relatively positive (Neethling 2008). Some studies even indicate that in recent years English names have been growing in popularity. Vivian de Klerk (1999, 2002) found out that there is a trend toward English among speakers of African languages. Out of 1,000 official name changes, as documented in governmental gazettes in 1997, 34% of African language speakers either placed an English name first, or added an English name, or replaced an African name with an English name. Three years later, the percentage of African name-changers preferring English had already risen to 38% (de Klerk 2002: 215). The results are rather surprising, in view of the political changes occurring since 1994. The main reasons, according to de Klerk, are first of all sociocultural reasons, reflecting the wish to affiliate with a cultural or linguistic group, which can be related to the highly favourable economic, social and educational status of English. Her line of argumentation is supported by the fact that the percentage of the black and coloured population speaking English as their first language more than doubled from 2.0% (1996) and 2.3% (2001) to 4.7% (2011), according to the post-Apartheid population censuses of South Africa

(http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/). Furthermore, as was pointed out by Janina Brutt-Griffler (2002: 65-85, 161-167), the English language was not only the language of the colonial power. During the struggle for freedom, English was used by the African National Congress, thus being employed as the medium of resistance (Brutt-Griffler 2002: 66-85, 163-167). Secondly, there are aesthetic reasons or reasons of personal taste, which may be connected to a desire for unique and different names. De Klerk (2002: 218) concludes that taking on an English name is a symbol of "upward mobility, education, and multiculturalism".

Neethling (2003, 2005: 99-113) investigated around 1,000 names of Xhosa speaking students. He showed that the majority of the English names consisted of standard English ones. Apart from that, there were numerous names which deviated from standard English naming conventions. They can be classified into several groups: (1) names consisting of English lexemes not used as names in ENL countries, including translations of African names (*Wiseman, Beauty*), (2) names with non-standard English spellings (*Daphney, Jerald, Sheperd*), (3) hybrids, new coinages, phonetic spellings etc. (*Degruta, Durven*), further (4) new names ending on *-ia* or *-ina(h)* (*Cyntheria, Tryphina*), (4) first names after famous people (*Livingstone, Lancelot, Elvis*), and (6) English names with Xhosa name markers (*Noma-India, NoPinky*). Some name-givers create special sound effects (*Pax Paul Phumelele, Mantebele Mimi Maria*). The diversity of the English-based names is quite remarkable, reflecting the multitude of given names deriving from native African languages and foreign languages other than English.

3.2 Singapore

Singapore was a British crown colony from the early 19th century until its independence in 1963. It is now a city state with more than five million inhabitants and ranks among the world's top ten financial centres. Official languages are Chinese (Mandarin), English, Malay, and Tamil. English is the language of business, government, and education. For the transcription of English, the Wade-Giles system was formerly widely used, analogous to the transcription of south Chinese dialects spoken by most Singaporeans until about 50 years ago. However, since the last decades, the Pinyin

orthography has become widely spread, due to the increased use of Mandarin, which is spelled in Pinyin (cf. Singapore Census 2010). Both transcription systems are based on the Latin alphabet.

Chinese naming conventions differ considerably from English ones. The family name comes first, and the personal name follows. The family name consists of one syllable. The majority of the (Han) Chinese possess one of the 100 most common family names. The personal name typically consists of two syllables, the first denoting the so-called generation name shared by the siblings, and the second representing the personal name proper. Just as with African naming patterns, the personal names are individual and carry meaning. Technically, all the characters of Chinese are available as personal names. Several names are possible during one lifetime as well.

Peter K. W. Tan (2001, 2004) studied the influence of English and English naming conventions on Singaporean names of the last 50 years. He points out that the situation in Singapore is rather complex, due to the different languages and dialects and the different Latinate spelling systems. He (2001: 46) has observed a development called *Englishization*, i.e. the influence of English on other languages. He rejects the term *Anglicization*, since it mainly refers to the people of England. Since birth records in Singapore were not open to inspection, Tan examined lists of university graduates from 1960 until 2000. He shows that the percentage of English personal names rose from 16% in 1983 to 38.3% in 2000 (2004: 377-381). Tan (2001) distinguishes between five kinds of Englishization: (1) the use of the Latin alphabet for Chinese names, as in *Ong Chooi Koon*, (2) The application of English spelling conventions, as in *L<u>ee</u>* /li:/ (letter doubling) and *C<u>u</u>m* /kʌm/ (<u> for /ʌ/), (3) The use of English names, (*<u>Mark</u> Lee Tze Ming*), (4) the abandonment of Chinese personal names (*<u>Victoria</u> Hsui*), and (5) adoption of English name order, either surname last, as in *Yo-Yo Ma*, or English name + (Chinese) surname + Chinese personal name, as in *<u>Mabel</u> Lee Siew Peng*. In addition, Tan also noticed changes in favour of the use of Mandarin and Pinyin. Tan attributes Englishization to modernization, new learning, new technologies, and a cultural shift that reflects a re-negotiation of cultural values. He supports this opinion using some demographic statistics: Literacy in English for residents rose from 63% (in 1990) to 71% (in 2000), and the number of ethnic Chinese speaking English at home increased

from 18.8% (in 1990) to 23% (in 2000) (Tan 2001: 46, 52). We can complement his numbers with data from the Singapore population census ten years later: In 2010, literacy in English was 90%, and the number of ethnic Chinese using English at home was 32%.

Tan (2001: 49-52, 2004: 378-381) also examined the types of English names and found that the majority of the names conformed to English standards. There were a few unorthodox names, either derived from ordinary English words (*Wendy Praise Cheng Kai Huey*), or invented or fanciful (*Odilia Teo San San, Wagen Teh Kan Wee*). They express the name-givers desire for individuality. Noticeable were also names that were pet forms given as official names, which may be related to the fact that Singaporean English does not have the same formal-informal distinctions as other varieties of English (*Annie, Betty, Teddy, Willie*). A reduced form could also be easier to pronounce for some who are not too fluent in English (e.g. *Betty < Elizabeth*).

4   Personal names in countries with English as a foreign language

4.1 Germany

After World War II, and with the financial support by the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany eventually developed into one of the major global economic powers. For that reason, a certain openness to other cultures and a sufficient knowledge of English as a means of international communication are indispensable. It therefore stands to reason that German parents are open to baby names of other cultures. German naming laws are also quite liberal, except that place names, family names, brand names and titles are not allowed as baby names, in contrast to Anglo-American naming rights.

With the studies provided by Gerhards and Hackenbroch (2000) and Gerhards (2010), among others, we encounter a good research situation regarding personal names in Germany. The sociologists Gerhards and Hackenbroch traced changes in naming conventions in two German towns from 1894-1994. They were interested in social changes and assumed that changes in the naming conventions of a country are an indicator of precisely these changes. According to the authors, cultural modernization involves four main trends of cultural change, which are also reflected in the choice of

first names. The first trend is the dissolution of family ties. The maintenance of family traditions has become less important, as can be illustrated by the decline in the percentage of parents passing on their name to their children. The second trend is secularization, which coincides with a decrease in Christian or Biblical names. Thirdly, there is a tendency towards individualization. Whereas in 1894 32% of the German names examined were different, a hundred years later 77% were different, with the trend already tapering off by 1950 (Gerhards and Hackenbroch 2000: 516). Finally, a so-called *globalization of culture* can be observed, which corresponds to the continuous increase in foreign names from other cultures (ibid. p. 518). The phenomenon was later renamed *transnationalization*, since this term points to the development of nation-state-based societies and leaves open whether the process results in globalization, Europeanization or Americanization (Gerhards 2010: 130). This fourth tendency interests us most and will receive attention in greater detail in the following.

The analysis of the names found in the two German towns yielded the result, among others, that between 1894 and 1994 the names stemming from foreign cultures increased from 25% to more than 65%, with the trend accelerating in the early 1950s, after World War II (Gerhards 2010: 131). The foreign names were mostly borrowed from the Anglo-American and Francophone cultures. According to Gerhards and Hackenbroch (2000: 526), English names rose from 3% (1950) to 11% (1994); and French names increased from 2% (1950) to 17% (1994). Some current English examples are *Alice, Cathleen, Silas* and *Mike*. Gerhards (2010: 134-144) gives a variety of reasons for this development. For one thing, Christian names had generally become less important, and for another, German names experienced a sharp decline after WWII due to the delegitimization of German traditions after the breakdown of the Nazi regime. The Germans encountered these new names through mass media communication, of which television, which was introduced in the fifties, became the most important.

Gerhards (2010: 147-153) also tackles the question of why certain foreign names and not others have become popular in Germany. He suggests that although parents today are relatively free to choose the name they like, their creative imagination is influenced by existing cultural practices and beliefs. The pre-determination through

current fashion trends leads parents to choose names that deviate somewhat from existing popular names. Gerhards calls this phenomenon the *principle of dosed deviation* (*Prinzip der dosierten Abweichung*). Frequently names are chosen which deviate phonetically from the original version of the name, or which form a phonetic pattern. Foreign names which sound similar to German equivalents are particularly suited. For instance, parents may choose the names *Marc, Marco* and *Marcel* instead of the more traditional *Markus*.

Gerhards and Hackenbroch as well as other scholars do not elaborate on different types of English names in a German context (cf. Neethling and Tan above); obviously it is taken for granted that the names conform to English standards.

4.2 China

In 1978, Deng Xiaoping initiated radical economic reforms in China, resulting in the opening up of the People's Republic to the global market. Since then, China has developed into the world's second largest economy (after the United States), with English as the international language of education, business, science, and politics. Because the naming system in Chinese differs significantly from those in the western world (see above), the Chinese often encounter problems of personal identification: For their western partners, their names are difficult to pronounce and write, and the order of personal name and family name is confusing as well. A possible pragmatic solution is to adopt an English name. According to Laurie Duthie (2005), it has become common practice to acquire and use western personal names among Chinese professionals. For the Chinese speakers, the name is not only a practical matter, but also a contribution to improving China's economic and social development.

Young Chinese already take on English names in the classroom, or the teacher or the parents choose a name for them. In a childhood English class, as Eric S. Henry (2012) observed, some names are randomly assigned (*John, Helen*), or teachers give names based on the children's Chinese names, also translating the names literally if possible (*Snow, Jade, Eagle, Pony*). When older, the students are eager to name themselves in an attempt to find a name that suits their personality. For name changes, no formal documentation is necessary, which allows the name giver a high degree of

flexibility. The name should reflect the Chinese name; it should also sound good; and it should usually have a positive meaning.

In a study of the English names of Chinese employees at a German company, Brendler (2002) discerned the following main reasons for the choice of personal names: (1) no special reason at all (*Robert* *Chen* alias *Chen Ming-ho*), (2) easy pronunciation and melodiousness (*Steven* *Chen* alias *Chen Chi-wen, Simon* *Wu* alias *Wu Chi-hui*), (3) phonetic resemblance between the Chinese and the English name (*Charles* *Lin* alias *Lin Charng-shyang*), (4) semantic resemblance between the Chinese and the English name (*Felix* *Liu* alias *Liu Chang Fu* – both *Felix* and *Fu* refer to happiness), and (5) names given after famous people (*Homer* *Chen* alias *Chen Chih-hung*). Brendler (2002: 50) states that it has recently become popular to bear a western personal name. Jennifer Eight Lee (2001) told of people who gave themselves fancy names, such as *Jekyll Ji, Redfox Cui* and *Seven Lee,* expressing a desire for uniqueness. Furthermore, since the stock of Chinese surnames is relatively small (see above), personal names are a means to set oneself apart from the others.

The Chinese do not seem to be intimidated by the unknown and the new, integrating English names and naming patterns smoothly into their own system. Facilitated by liberal naming laws in China, the English name becomes a symbol of an emerging international identity, while the Chinese name represents one's national heritage. In addition, as Huan Hsu (2009) has explained, using English names also creates a more egalitarian atmosphere, freeing users from traditional cultural hierarchies.

4.3 Brazil

From the 16th to the 19th century, Brazil was a Portuguese colony, gaining independence in 1822. Since 1988 it has been a presidential federal republic. Today it is believed to be one of the largest and fastest growing economies in the world. Portuguese is the official language, and there are about 180 indigenous languages, spoken mainly in the Amazon region (Richter 2013: 176). The knowledge of English in Brazil is low overall, but some improvements have been made in recent years (EPI 2014: 30-31). Basic English skills

are usually taught in secondary schools. For a higher proficiency in English, people have to turn to private schools, private language institutes or tutors at their own cost.

In Brazil any personal name can be given to a child unless obscene or ridiculous. Terese Thonus (1991, 1992) claimed that traditional Brazilian names inherited from Portuguese are increasingly exchanged for those influenced by English. She examined about 50,000 names on birth certificates from 1967-1987. Of the names, more than 10,000 (22%) showed some influence from the English language, and the diversity of the English-based names increased from year to year.

The names can be categorized into four groups, in descending order of frequency: (1) names identical to English names in terms of spelling and pronunciation (*Patrick, Vanessa*), (2) English names with Portuguese spellings (*Wilian, Sirlei*), (3) names with elements of English origin (*Dryelen, Francyane*), (4) Portuguese names with pseudo-English spellings (*Adryano, Crystane*), and (5) English names with pseudo-English spellings (*Wellingthon, Keitthy*). As for pattern (2), certain regularities can be observed, such as simplification of double consonants and consonant clusters (*Jeferson*); substitution of <m> for word-final <n> (*Alam*); and the use of diacritics (*Dénis*). The variety of spellings is particularly striking. Since there are no spelling rules for foreign names, people spell as they like or as they believe the spelling to be correct. The principle of dosed deviation may also apply (see above). Another factor involved may be how versed the clerk at the registration office is in orthography, because it is customary that the new parents inform the clerk about the birth and the chosen name, and the clerk writes it down. Thonus (1991: 36) relates her results to the kind of identity a person wants to develop. She argues that the increasing use of English in professional life and in the media and other forms of popular culture has given rise to a proliferation of names which are either English or look and sound like English. In addition, she mentions (1992: 187) the ongoing democratization process in Brazil, going hand in hand with a greater desire for individual freedom, which may also be reflected in the search for a more unique personal name.

5 Conclusions

When comparing the data presented so far, it becomes apparent that English names are enjoying a certain worldwide popularity, with increasing tendency. The percentage figures, however, can only be compared to a limited extent, since the results of the respective studies are based partially on different data sources. When examining the reasons for the trend, certain general developments can be observed, which have to be distinguished from more culture-specific ones. In the studies, the concept of *modernization* is frequently taken up, mainly implying the tendencies of detraditionalization, individualization, and transnationalization. As another characterizing element of modernization, Gerhards mentions secularization, which at least seems to apply to Western European cultures, for instance Germany (see above). Closely connected to individualization is personal taste, which, being based on existing cultural practices and beliefs, is shaped by existing fashions, and will shape future ones as well. Thus fashion and the aesthetics of names have gained in importance. Based on liberal naming laws, all these tendencies have motivated a great diversity of names in terms of origin and phonetic/orthographic form.

Apart from that, each country has its own specific characteristics. Though English name-giving was perceived as a social practice of the colonizers and was met with resentment, some South Africans have deliberately decided to at least add an English name to their African name, because they associate English and English personal names with education and social and economic advancement. With Singapore being a central hub of Asian and international trade and commerce, English plays an important role as the language of the global market. The names are integrated into an existing Chinese name; or they are used alone, depending on the situation. Since it is a traditional naming practice to adopt other names at different stages of life, the addition of an English personal name contributes to an expansion of one's own identity.

Germany, China and Brazil are the countries with English as a foreign language. German speakers seem to be rather open to European cultures in general; and English names are chosen beside names of other foreign origin. The Chinese who are living in urban areas and have access to education nowadays adopt English names because they

are conducive to communication with international partners, both at home and abroad. In Brazil, naming fashions and the growing role of English in professional life have a positive influence on the giving of English-based names.

Turning to the types of names, we can distinguish mainly two patterns: names that comply with standard English forms, and names that deviate from them. With regard to orthography, Brazil offers the largest range, which is related to a liberal and flexible approach towards spelling. Apart from that, we encounter unusual spellings in China and South Africa, in contrast to Singapore and Germany. Concerning names derived from common nouns, South Africa, Singapore and China rank highest, which is related to the fact that names in these countries traditionally carry meaning. Some of these names also represent translations of African or Chinese names. In Germany, due to less liberal naming laws, English names from general nouns are virtually absent, as are names derived from surnames, plants, and places. Except partly for Germany, hybrids, fanciful names and innovative creations occur in all countries examined, coinciding with the Anglo-American naming customs. It is likely that the African and Asian cultures display even more flexibility in the giving of English names, since they apply the flexibility of their own naming conventions. It is also conceivable that African patterns of name-giving have influenced Western naming customs in one way or the other.

The enormous diversity and variation of English-based names in international contexts reflect a skilful and creative way of dealing with Anglo-American norms and concepts. English names are adopted and integrated into the naming patterns of one's own culture. This practice is a living proof of a deliberate mixing of different cultures, thus contributing to transcultural hybridity and the formation of multi-ethnic identities. It thus disconfirms the theory of linguistic imperialism and reinforces the active role of the name giver.

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