Athens Journal of Humanities & Arts - Volume 12, Issue 1, January 2025 – Pages 85-112

Going English: Anglicisation of Family Names in Greek Migrant Communities in Australia

*By Phil Kafcaloudes**

Greek migration to Australia over the last 200 years has necessarily meant a confluence of cultures: European to Antipodean; Greek to British-Australian. Across this period Australia has devolved from a Fortress Australia mentality, exemplified by the softening of the racially exclusionary White Australia policy years into a period of assimilation in the 1940s, to integration (1970s) to multiculturalism from the 1980s onwards. Nevertheless, attitudinal remnants of the race-based exclusionary policies of the pre-war era continued to be felt even in the more inclusionary late 20th century. Across these periods many Greek migrants to Australia felt the need to anglicise their family names. For this paper Australian Greeks and their children are surveyed to assay how and why these anglicisations were done, with the questions also aiming to assess whether such anglicisation is as prevalent now as it was in the post-war period and, as a result, have migrants' perceptions of Australian attitudes changed over the last two generations. On a sociological level, for a name-proud Greek culture, this is a study central not only to migratory and cultural issues but to the broader question of personal identity and how that may change when moving from one country to another.

Our name is our identity. It connects us to our family, our people and our homeland.
- Australian journalist Angela Pippos.

Introduction

Our identity is central to our understanding of ourselves. Some of us identify by our political view, marital status, financial success, perceived intelligence, education, employment, sexuality, or sex identity. Identity can apply to heritage as well, but are we Jewish because we were brought up in a Jewish household? Are we a Greek Orthodox person because we were Christened Greek Orthodox? Identity may also change across a person's lifetime. The smartest kid in the class may become the office dolt and at the same time a good mother, all the while harbouring a self-identity that represented none of these categories.

Our name can be seen as a tag or label, but it may tie us to our forebears and genetic history. If this is so, a name change has an extra significance, as family names represent family lineage: it is a sign of continuity. To throw that continuity away in adopting a new name might be to many unthinkable. And to many it has been. There are no statistics on the ratio of those Greek migrants to Australia who

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https://doi.org/10.30958/ajha.12-1-4 doi=10.30958/ajha.12-1-4

anglicised their names to those who didn't, but from my understanding as an Australian-Greek who grew up in an immigration area of Sydney that the latter is in the great majority.

When I reverted from my own family name *Kaff* back to the Greek original, *Kafcaloudes*, in 1988, I had not heard of any other Greek-Australian who had made such a reversion. My decision was based on a rising Greek pride. I had visited Greece for the first time as a 28-year-old and was married there. At this point I reflected on the Greece from which my forebears came, and this played a big part in my decision to revert to my original family name. Others will have their own reasons for doing so, just as their forebears had their own personal reasons for anglicising their family names in the first place.

That is what this paper examines: the reasons why Greek immigrants to Australia changed their family names and whether they (or their children) have considered reverting to the original Greek family name. In studying this, this paper touches on the essential nature of identity and why some migrants deemed it necessary to let go of this part of their heritage. Although this research did not overtly ask respondents about their perceptions of their identities per se, the visualisation of identity is implicit in many of the questions, particularly the questions about the reason for the change and whether they would consider reverting to the original Greek name, questions which may elicit information about self-perception.

The Literature Review examines the concept of identity and sets the history and context of the Australian social environment for the period in which Greek migration to Australia was strongest. That section also presents the context of a previous study on the study of the anglicisation of Greek names, although in a setting of another time (the 1950s) and place (The United States). The Methodology section explains how a mix of survey and analysis of memoir provided the data for the study. The *Research Results, Analysis and Discussion* section runs through the inputs from the survey and the existing memoir. As the name suggests, this section also contains discussion of the results, contextualising and categorising them as the section progresses and each result is disclosed.

Literature Review

Identity

Identity exists on many levels, from the identity offered by the names by which a person is called (which is central to this research), to one's self-perception as a human being, parent, child, professional or personality. Identity, then, is a wide-ranging concept and, as Narain contends, can have a fluidity:

> *The concept of "being" or "becoming" of identity is a contextual term that is affected by time and space. No one can be independent of his/ her identity of past or present. It is the political, cultural and social scenario of the place and time which have an impact upon the individual's identity. Thus, identity relates itself to the individual, social, cultural and national aspect.*[1]

Bellou takes this even further (in the Australian context), arguing that identity is central to our belief of our place in society and, for a migrant, this perceived place may change with a changing identity:

> *There's always an 'otherness' which comes into both the formation of identity and difference. It is an 'otherness' which is irreducible to clear cut constructions of identity and difference. A number of so-called first-generation Greeks describe themselves as Greek-Australian while number of second-generation describe themselves as Greeks and even a third-generation person after visiting Greece and liking it too much referred to herself as Greek.*[2]

This sets up an intriguing concept in the context of this research. This "otherness", which has been explored elsewhere in other contexts (for example, Maier[3] discusses otherness in the context of religious pluralism in northern America), seems also to have a new relevance here. It may be this fear of being in this "other" space that drove the need for some to make their anglicisations.[4]

Greek Migration and the White Australia Policy

Identity changes among the migrant populations may possibly have been informed by the factors that led to the migration, but it was certainly informed by how the existing Australian population received (or were perceived to receive) these migrants.

Greek migration to Australia has been happening for almost as long as white settlement. The first Greeks are believed to have arrived in Australia in 1817,[5] with Greek migration ebbing and flowing over the following 200 years depending on the various economic, and social factors both in Greece and Australia. One example of a rising influx was migrants from the Dodecanese islands coming to Australia in larger numbers in the early twentieth century because of the instability caused by

1. Narain, P. "Constituents of Identity: Diasporic, National, Cultural and Subaltern in Amitav Ghosh's Sea of Poppies." *Modern Research Studies*, 3, no. 1, 2016, 96.

2. Bellou, K. *Identity and difference. First and second-generation Greeks in Australia, Greeks in English speaking countries: proceedings for the first international seminar*. Melbourne: Hellenic Studies Forum, 1992, 228.

3. Maier, H. *Encountering the Other. Christian and Multifaith Perspectives*. Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2020.

4. This will be examined when discussing the reasons for the anglicisation.

5. Tamis, A., and E. Gavaki. *From Migrants to Citizens: Greek Migration in Australia and Canada*. Melbourne: La Trobe University, 2002, 89.

the 1908 rise of a dawning Turkish xenophobia.[6] In the case of the island of Kastellorizo, half its population emigrated in the early part of the twentieth century because of the administrative and social instabilities and the effects of war.[7] Other Greek migrants had economic, family-related or safety reasons (particularly during and after the post-WWII civil war). This coincided with the Australian government instituting its Post-War Immigration Scheme that actively encouraged European migration by granting cheap passage to Australia and assistance on arrival. Although this scheme was primarily aimed at British citizens, Greeks, Italians, Slavs, and other nationalities also increased. Tamis says by 1947 the number of Greek migrants was 12,000 compared to 2000 in 1911.[8] Between 1947 and 1983 another quarter of a million Greeks migrated to Australia, coinciding with three periods of great flux in Greece: the 1943-49 civil war; the usurping right-wing military government of 1967 to 1974; and the Cyprus conflict with Turkey in the mid-1970s, which led to 6000 Cypriot Greeks emigrating to Australia.[9] Yiannakis suggests that the increase of Greek migration was not just a coincidence; these Greek difficulties were a major driver for much of this migration.[10]

The numbers could have been even more except for an earlier long-standing Australian immigration policy which actively discriminated against people of non-English speaking backgrounds. That policy was the Immigration Restriction Act. This was one of the first laws to be passed after Australia was proclaimed a nation on the 1st of January 1901. Universally known as the White Australia policy, the Immigration Restriction Act was a long-running (seventy-five year) race-based law that was designed to keep Australia's majority white Anglo-Saxon population white and Anglo-Saxon. The reasons for this rushed legislation (it was enacted by December in the new nation's first year) was clearly based on a belief that non-white migration could be destabilising to the fledgling country:

> *The founding fathers of the Australian nation regarded.. racial conflict as the inevitable consequence of a multi-racial society. In their view, ethnic homogeneity was one of the great strengths of the Australian nation, one that ought to be preserved and not squandered or thrown away in pursuit of utopian visions of universal harmony in which lions could be re-educated to lie down with lambs.* [11]

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6. Kasaba, R. (Ed.) *The Cambridge History of Turkey*. Volume 4. Cambridge University Press, 2008, 66.

7. Pappas, N. *Castellorizo: An Illustrated history of the island and its conquerors*. Sydney: Halstead Press, 1994, 134.

8. Tamis, A., and E. Gavaki. *From Migrants to Citizens: Greek Migration in Australia and Canada*. Melbourne: La Trobe University, 2002, 127.

9. Ibid, 132.

10. Yiannakis, J. *Odysseus in the Golden West*. Perth: API Network, 2009, 34.

11. Fraser, A. "The White Australia Policy in Retrospect. Racism or Realism?" *The Occidental Quarterly*, 5, no. 4 (2005), 8.

Historian Isaac Selby, writing in 1924, claimed the White Australia policy entwined labour and social racisms:

> *The Chinaman did not buy a newspaper, attend a church, keep a wife, build a house, limit his labour to eight hours, and demand a living wage. The Chinese herded together in numbers and took a long time in coming to our conditions of life.*[12]

This discriminatory legislation was sponsored by Alfred Deakin, Australia's first attorney-general,[13] who at the time spoke explicitly of homogeneity when describing what the policy meant:

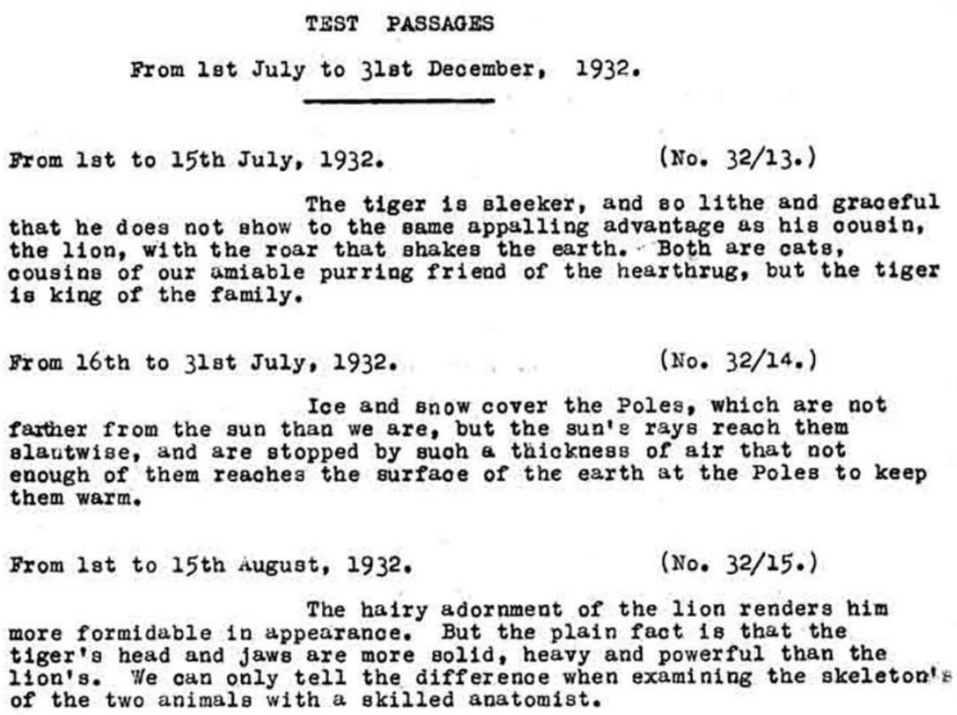
> *… means the prohibition of all alien-coloured immigration, and more, it means at the earliest time, by reasonable and just means, the.. reduction of the number of aliens now in our midst.. the necessary complement of a single policy – the policy of securing a 'white Australia'* (author emphasis).[14]

While the White Australia policy was generated because of a fear of at the numbers of Asians who had come to Australia for the gold rushes in the Australian colonies the mid-nineteenth century (and remained after the rush finished), it also affected would-be migrants from other countries, such as Greece. They were caught by the White Australia policy's principal tool, the so-called Dictation Test, which worked this way: immigration officers were given the power to demand the prospective immigrant translate a fifty-word passage into any language. A Greek could be asked to translate it into Russian, Zwahili or Japanese. In effect, the dictation test was not an examination of education, but an easy tool to keep non-white migrants out. Figure 1 is an example of the dictation test from 1932:

12. Selby, I. *The Memorial History of Melbourne*. Melbourne: The Old Pioneers Memorial Fund, 1924, 150.

13. Deakin would later be a three-time prime minister and then High Court justice.

14. Deakin, A. 1901. *Australian Parliamentary Hansard,* September 12.



TEST PASSAGES

From 1st July to 31st December, 1932.

From 1st to 15th July, 1932. (No. 32/13.)

The tiger is sleeker, and so lithe and graceful that he does not show to the same appalling advantage as his cousin, the lion, with the roar that shakes the earth. Both are cats, cousins of our amiable purring friend of the hearthrug, but the tiger is king of the family.

From 16th to 31st July, 1932. (No. 32/14.)

Ice and snow cover the Poles, which are not farther from the sun than we are, but the sun's rays reach them slantwise, and are stopped by such a thickness of air that not enough of them reaches the surface of the earth at the Poles to keep them warm.

From 1st to 15th August, 1932. (No. 32/15.)

The hairy adornment of the lion renders him more formidable in appearance. But the plain fact is that the tiger's head and jaws are more solid, heavy and powerful than the lion's. We can only tell the difference when examining the skeleton's of the two animals with a skilled anatomist.

Figure 1. *Test Passages. Immigration Act 1901-33*
Source: File No.1. [Dictation test] NAA: A1, 1935/704.

Despite the discriminatory nature of the Australian government and its Dictation Test tool, there were occasional policy exceptions made towards non-British immigrants. In one, the government decided to support Greeks' entries into Australia in the last years of WWI. This was to bolster the workforce on two major northern Australian projects: the Northern Territory railway between Tennant Creek and Pine Gap; and the Vestey's meatworks in Darwin. My own grandfather, Soteres Kafcaloudes was one of these Greeks.

Why were Greeks singled out as suitable immigrants in this case? Harvey suggests that the Australian authorities believed the Greeks were the lesser of two evils: it was believed that Greeks were to be preferred to what they called coolies from Asia who were not as light skinned and had no European connection.[15]

These Greeks may have been allowed into Australia, but for many it was not without difficulty. The pronouncements by Deakin were still in recent memory and the legislative discriminations would have fortified the view of some that these migrants were undesirables. Hence, the Greek immigrants, although temporarily supported by a benign Australian government attitude, were not completely welcomed by the Australian community:

15. Harvey, J. Y. *The Never Never Line*. Melbourne: Hyland House Publishing, 1987, 86.

It.. went against the grain of the common people: they would have preferred Australia to have been populated exclusively by settlers from the environs of Great Britain.[16]

This xenophobic feeling present in parts of the Australian community gives context to the decision of some of these new immigrants to make the life-changing decision to alter their identity. The results of this paper's survey reinforces that an 'otherness' attitude among the Australian community was certainly a factor in migrants' decisions to anglicise their family names.

Methods of Anglicisation

There has been little study of the methods used by Greek-Australian migrants to anglicise their names. However, in the 1950s Alatis studied American Greeks and discovered some common types of anglicisations by Greek coming to the U.S, while also noting that these types were often fluid.[17] Alatis' types are as follows:

(i) Direct or Partial Translation is where the name is directly changed to the English meaning of the name (or the meaning of one of its parts):

Thus, Mr. Foteinos (from foteinos: 'luminous, lucid, clear'), becomes Mr. Brilliant. A man by the name of Chrysoules: (from chrys: 'gold, golden,' and the diminutive suffix -oules denoting 'dear, little, or son of') becomes Golding.[18]

A partial translation may take elements of the name and turn that into the new name:

An example of partial translation is the name Diamantides (from diamanti) 'diamond,' and the diminutive suffix -ides) 'son') which simply becomes Diamond.[19]

(ii) Aphaere: This is where a letter or group of letters is excised from the beginning of the original Greek name, leaving one the last part of the name. Alatis says this accounts for the high incidence of the names "Poulos" and "Pappas", which were the tail ends of the original Greek name.[20]

(iii) Apocope: This is where the name is shortened by cutting off the last syllable(s) of the original Greek name:

16. Vondra, J. *Hellas Australia*. Melbourne: Widescope Publishers, 1979, 50.

17. For example, a letter or syllable might be changed simply because the possessor might think it unattractive.

18. Alatis, J. "The Americanization of Greek Names." *The Columbus Dispatch* (10 February 1953), 141.

19. Ibid, 141.

20. Ibid, 147.

Mr. Anastopoulos became Mr. Anast; Mr. Leontsines) became Mr. Leon)'.[21]

(iv) Syncope: This is the removal of a letter from the middle section of the original Greek name:

Thus, the central part of Adamantides (-antide-) is removed to produce Adams). The element -asopoul- is removed from Anastasopoulos to produce Anastos).[22]

(v) A combination of apocope and syncope:

.. may be seen in the name Polymenakos. The suffix -akos is first removed, leaving Polymen- which by syncope, loses its middle y) thus leaving Polmen."[23]

(vi) Multiple operation:

.. is illustrated in the change of the name Filiopoulos. The compositional-o- is removed by syncape, leaving Fili- and -poulos. The -oulos is then removed by apocope, leaving -p- which is then attached to Phili- giving us Filip. The letter L is then inserted in the middle (epenthesis) and the F is changed to Ph (by phonetic respelling or various transliteration), resulting in the name Phillip; to the end of that is added the letter S to produce the surname Phillips.[24]

(vii) Phonetic approximation or accidental changes: Alatis says it would be ridiculous to assume that every anglicisation was carried out with such methodical rigour. Sometimes, he suggests, a name may be chosen on a whim:

Mr. Phillips may have picked this name out by analogy with the common English name Phillip, without noticing any phonetic similarity between that name and Filiopoulos.[25]

Woodley adds to the accidental theory by saying sometimes the anglicisation might be chosen simply because a name is close to an English one. She cites "Miliotis" being anglicised to "Miller".[26]

(viii) Transplanting given names: This, as the name suggests, is where one of the migrant's given names is used as the new family name. For example: *Peter John Markopoulos* becomes *Peter John*, or *Peter Peters.*

21. Ibid, 147.
22. Ibid, 148.
23. Ibid, 148.
24. Ibid, 150.
25. Ibid, 151.
26. Woodley, E. *Groundbreaking Greeks*. Progenitor, 29 April 2006. https://www.kythera-family.net/en/history/archive-research/groundbreaking-greeks.

Although these anglicisation methods came from the US context, I will apply these categories against the survey results, providing a framework for how Greek-Australian migrants anglicised their names.[27]

Methodology

This study relies on a qualitative surveying of two sources. The material relied upon is:

(i) A survey of Australian Greek families who have anglicised their names, and:
(ii) An examination of existing memoir, where there has been a reference to family anglicisations.

Because the stories in both (i) and (ii) have shared themes, (ii) was not included in the Literature Review. Rather, I have chosen to entwine them throughout the paper's results section, so that a respondent's answer may be followed by a reference from memoir if they are relevant to each other.

For the survey of families, the primary method employed to collect data was via online callouts to Greek community groups across Australia. These groups included Greek area-specific migration groups such as Kastellorizian associations and Pontian communities, while others were broad-based state-based organisations such as AHEPA in NSW, and The Greek Community of Melbourne in Victoria. I also reached out to students in Greek courses at La Trobe (Melbourne) and Charles Darwin (Darwin) universities. The callouts requested that people whose families anglicised their names respond, via email, to the questions below:[28]

(1) From where in Greece does your original name come from?
(2) What was your original Greek family name?
(3) What was that Greek family name changed to (how was the name changed)?
(4) When was the change made?
(5) Why was the change made?
(6) Are you considering changing back to the original Greek family name?
(7) If yes or no: Why?

And finally, they were asked two research ethics-related questions:

(8) Are you happy for your family name to be used in the study? Y or N
(9) Are you happy to be quoted using your full name Y or N

27. See "The Research Results and Discussion".
28. Note the confidentiality questions at the end of the survey.

Questions 1 is a mechanical question to give context to the person's background. Questions 2 & 3 give an indication of the mode of transposition and how they fit into Alatis' categorisations.[29] The purpose of Question 4 is to see if anglicisation was time-dependent among the respondents. For example, did the anglicisation occur at the peak of a certain period in Australia's history? Is there a correlation between when the change was made and ructions in Greece.[30] Question 5 is central to this study. It aims to elicit the purpose of the name change. Question 7 aims to see if there is any trend for a recapturing of Greek identity. Questions 8 & 9 are standard ethics responsibilities.

Difficulties and Caveats

In the case of the examination of memoir, there were surprisingly few cases where the anglicisation was explained in detail. In most cases the memoir simply states the fact of the anglicisation and not the rationale behind it. However, as we shall see, the memoir also offered instructive examples of people who refused to anglicise their family names, particularly in the case of Greek Australians seeking employment in the media.

In the survey, many responses were not from the actual people who anglicised their own names, but their progeny, who were telling stories based on oral history. Oral histories can have serious reliability issues: memory faults, bias, imagination, and wishful thinking among them.[31] Also, in some cases these progeny might have simply been surmising. There is also a caveat that the sample size of the survey responses was small[32] and quality of the responses varied. Some provided information in great detail, answering every question fully, but several only answered one or two questions.[33]

It should be noted that most of the anglicisations in the survey occurred in the early to mid-twentieth century. This is not to suggest that anglicisations stopped happening after this time; but simply that we received few examples of it. Accordingly, there should be no inference that this is a study of behaviours in 2023 (except for the question about reversion).

29. See "Question 3 responses: How was the name changed?"

30. However, the sample size was too small to make such inferences and is not part of the findings.

31. Kafcaloudes, P. *Going the Way of the Ancients*. PhD Thesis. La Trobe University, 2020, 48.

32. There were twenty-four survey responses.

33. Also, after I was interviewed in the media about this research, a further dozen respondents who had heard the interviews contacted me through my webpage sharing their anglicisation stories. This provided extra data.

Research Results, Analysis and Discussion

> *I still hate my long ethnic surname. But I love it too. And this isn't Australia in the 1980s anymore. So my self-hatred has to stop, if not for my sake then for the sake of my own children who have inherited the same troublesome, annoying, beautiful 13 letters.*[34]

This quote hits the nub of this issue: does a name indicate self-identity? As we will see the survey results indicate that the nature of the relationship is a complex one [see *Conclusions].*

The survey results were categorised, and in the case of the reasons for the anglicisation, the categories were formulated after the results had been collected. This meant the researcher's expectations could not affect the results. The drawback with this methodology is that there is the possibility that the responses might not give the complete range of answers. However, this is the nature of surveying, both qualitative and quantitative. Neither could ever be comprehensive.

A major part of the initial analysis was the categorisation of the answers for each question. Occasionally this required a subjective decision about the category into which the answer should fall. This would be an issue particularly for Question 5 where the issue of racism overlapped with racial acceptance [see *Question 5 responses* below]. Where there was such a demarcation issue, I discuss the result and explain why it was categorised as it was.

I posited the responses in the following order: Question 5 responses: Why make the change; Question 6 responses: Is reversion a possibility; and Question 3 responses: How was the name changed?

Question 5 Responses: Why Make the Change?

This research indicates there is a sliding scale of reasons for the anglicisation. At one end is simple convenience, and at the other end, an apprehension of racism. In several cases it was difficult to discern where on the scale a particular case fitted. For example, if a migrant felt that they would not be accepted because they had a Greek family name, then is this not in itself racism? To address this, I added a mid-range categorisation of 'acceptance'. This categorises the response motivations as follows: (1) Convenience, (2) Acceptance and (3) Apprehension of racism. I decided to reserve for (3) for the most extreme of the cases, where the migrant may have an apprehension of harm or inability to live a fruitful life.

34. Papathanasiou, P. *I hate my long ethnic surname, and that's got to stop. In this day and age, why should someone be embarrassed about their name?* The Sydney Morning Herald, 16 December 2015. https://www.smh.com.au/opinion/i-hate-my-long-ethnic-surname-and-thats-got-to-stop-20151215-glnoe9.html.

Reason 1: Convenience

This is where a change is made because the migrant believes an anglicisation might make personal, business, or official dealings easier. In these cases, there appears to be no fear of bias against the foreignness of the migrant. For example, respondent 1's father-in-law's choice to Anglicise *Kalafatis* to *Kalaf* was made because he believed the shorter name would be more convenient as he was a shop-owner is the outback city of Kalgoorlie in the 1930s. The respondent goes further and says an even simpler change would have given it even more expediency in later times:

> *They were conscious of the Greek name so they chopped the name in half which brings an Arabic twist to it, so perhaps it may have been better to have kept the Greek sound with the s and made it Kalas to save the scrutiny at airports* etc.

Respondent 2's family name change from *Antonakakis* to *Anthony* was made because the family felt it was too difficult for locals to get right. Convenience was also motive for Respondent 12 - a second-generation Australian - to make the decision to change his family name from *Loulatzis* to *Lolas* as a teenager in 1960:

> *At my birth (in Melbourne) my father was asked by the hospital what would be my name. My father verbally answered and the nursing staff wrote down what they believed they heard. This was written as Antonios Lolajis. I used the name Anthony Loulatzis as my parents then used for schooling. As I grew up, I then required a birth certificate. This had a different spelling. I decided to change my name so as to remove any future complications.*

When Respondent 4's father changed his name from *Kondouzoglou* to *Condous* in the early 1940s, it was also to make it easier to adapt to the new environment, in this case business:

> *I believe the name was changed mainly for business reasons. No one in the early 1940's could pronounce or wanted to spell the Greek name Kondouzoglou. Today it would be more fashionable and tolerated in our multicultural society.*

The use of the word tolerance that response suggests there was also an element of a fear of non-acceptance as well as convenience in the change to Condous. It would not be the only example of this cross-over in this study.[35] Similarly, a real estate agent in Perth changed his name from Hadjimihalakis to Mitchell. Respondent 18, a friend of the Hadjimihalakis family, remembers hearing the (unsubstantiated) reason for this anglicisation:

> *..it would have been impossible to have the agency named that.*

35. I have put this case in the 'Convenience' column because this appears to be the prime motivation for the name change.

Mitchell's partner in the firm was also a Greek (Tsokos) so it was unlikely the anglicisation was made because of a fear of racism or racial acceptance. Perhaps he considered "*Hadjimihalakis and Tsokos*" would have been a step too far for billboards and leaflets.

While Pippos and Kapelos insisted on keeping their names, Sydney-based writer Peter Papathanasiou found a playground convenience in a truncated name:

> *When I was a kid at primary school in the 1980s, I went by the "slave" name Peter Pappas. Mercifully, my parents figured it was easier to pronounce for teachers and children alike. And fair enough, really – fitting in when you're the only kid with dark hair and brown eyes was hard enough.*[36]

Nikos Maniarizis had no control over the decision to change his name. Arriving in Sydney as a 25-year-old refugee in 1952, he became Nick *Manning* on his first day in Australia, but the decision to change his name was made by someone else:

> *The Consul-General's wife, Madam Vrisakis, came into the room. She looked over the secretary's shoulder and read the letter. She called out aloud: 'How can you send him out for a job with a name like Maniarizis?' She looked at me and briefly explained that names that were easy to pronounce and remember were more acceptable. She turned to the secretary and said: 'Type the letter again and make him...Manning.' Then, with a swift movement, she was out of the room.*[37]

It is interesting to note that the work that Manning was applying for was a Greek restaurant. So, even in an environment where he would be working with Greek migrants for Greek migrants, it was still felt he needed to anglicise his name. Although Manning uses the word 'acceptable' in this passage, he is most likely referring to the convenience of an anglicised name, given that in the environment of a Greek restaurant acceptance of his Greek name would not have been an issue.

A similar situation happened fifty years earlier when Respondent 9's grandfather arrived in Australia from Ithaca in 1899 as a fifteen-year-old.

> *His name was Ioannis Kallinikos, but English-speaking officials wanted an English name, so they called him John Caling. He kept that "official" name until he died in 1951.*

One difference between the Caling story and that of Manning is that Caling continued to use his Greek names privately and continued to be known in the Greek community as Ioannis Kallinikos. It is interesting that Kallinikos was prepared

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36. Papathanasiou, P. *I hate my long ethnic surname, and that's got to stop. In this day and age, why should someone be embarrassed about their name?* The Sydney Morning Herald, 16 December 2015. https://www.smh.com.au/opinion/i-hate-my-long-ethnic-surname-and-thats-got-to-stop-20151215-glnoe9.html

37. Manning, N. *In Search of a Home*. Sydney: Wild & Woolley, 1995, 166.

to use his Greek names in the early days of White Australia, while Manning, in the last days of that policy, always used his anglicised name.

Reason 2: Acceptance

> *Many post-war migrants who came to Australia anglicised their names just to "fit in". Migrants let go of their names for convenience, ease and practicality – but mostly for the need to feel accepted*.[38]

The apprehension of a lack of acceptance was the motivation for most of the anglicisations cited by respondents. For example, Respondent 5 believes his grandfather, who arrived from Kefalonia in March 1888, hanged his name from *Dionisus Vitoratos* to *Denis Victor* to help him "fit into society a bit more".

Likewise, Kostas Goulopoulos says his uncle changed his name from Nikolaos Goulopoulos to Nick Goulas for acceptance, and he wanted a relative, Kostas, to do the same:

> *He reasoned that shortening Kostas' name would make it easier for the Australians to pronounce, therefore making it more acceptable. And so, from then on, Kostas Goulopoulos was known as Con Goulas*.[39]

In making this change there was clearly an underlying view on the part of Nikolaos that the migrant's identity might be a nuisance if it is perceived to be difficult to pronounce. The subtext to this anecdote is that the effort must be placed on the migrant, who is the one who must fit in with the new society, and part of the fitting-in required a change of identity.

The literature reveals that one of the earliest examples of Greek anglicisations was South Australia's first Greek migrant George *Tramountanas*, who arrived in Port Adelaide in 1842. George Tramountanas' decision to Anglicise his name was one borne of practicality. Kanarakis writes that Tramountanas believed the English-sounding name *North* was:

> *..an easier name for the Australians of the time but also one which he believed would make him more acceptable in the Conservative South Australian society of those days*.[40]

38. Pippos, A. *Having your migrant name mispronounced is neither 'fun', nor a joke*. The Sydney Morning Herald, 13 May 2019. https://www.smh.com.au/lifestyle/life-and-relationships/having-your-migrant-name-mispronounced-is-neither-fun-nor-a-joke-20190512-p51mj7.html.

39. Koziaris, O. *Yiasou Yarraville*. Melbourne: Doublethread, 2021, 186.

40. Kanarakis, G. *In the Wake of Odysseus*. Melbourne: RMIT University Publishing, 1997.

This moves us more towards the racism end of the scale. As does Respondent 3's statement about her father's reasons for his anglicisation in the White Australia period in the 1930s:

> *.. as foreigners were not readily accepted. He wanted to fit into the community.*

Respondent 13's uncle changed his name on arrival from Kastellorizo in the early 1930s because he was an academic and sought to have his name more easily accepted in Australia. It was not clear whether the uncle anglicised his name in the hopes of getting a job, or that he was already employed and the acceptance he was seeking was within university circles.

In many of the cases outlined so far, the immigrant anglicised their name on the apprehension of a lack of acceptance. It was rare for them to be told by the community to do so. An exception was Respondent 20's great-grandfather, who came to Australia in 1928 with the family name Perpirakis.

> *The story goes that he was visiting Canberra, and talking to a stockman, and the man said that if he was going to fit in here, he had to "change his name and get rid of his silk suits". So, he changed it (to Parris) on his naturalisation documents in 1934.*

Acceptance by an Australian television audience was at the heart of the push by a media executive for Australian journalist Angela Pippos to anglicise her family. She resisted this.[41] This is significant, as Pippos' name has been no impediment to her career; she has become a well-known face on national television,[42] and an ambassador for a professional football club.

Pippos also cites fellow Greek-Australian broadcaster George Donikian's story as typical:

> *'You've got a job tomorrow,' a prospective boss told him. 'But I can't do Donikian. You can be George White, George Green, any colour George except Donikian'. So, George said, 'How about I take one letter off my name and make it Donikan?' And his prospective employer said, 'Yeah, good. You've got the job.'*[43]

41. Pippos, A. *Having your migrant name mispronounced is neither 'fun', nor a joke*. The Sydney Morning Herald, 13 May 2019. https://www.smh.com.au/lifestyle/life-and-relationships/having-your-migrant-name-mispronounced-is-neither-fun-nor-a-joke-20190512-p51mj7.html.

42. Pippos was a sports reporter and presenter for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation between 1997 and 2007.

43. Pippos, A. *Having your migrant name mispronounced is neither 'fun', nor a joke*. The Sydney Morning Herald, 13 May 2019. https://www.smh.com.au/lifestyle/life-and-relationships/having-your-migrant-name-mispronounced-is-neither-fun-nor-a-joke-20190512-p51mj7.html.

It should be noted that this change was short-lived. Donikian was soon to revert to his original name. Another Greek-Australian television journalist, Helen Kapelos, was given no choice: an anglicisation was demanded by her employer:

> *Early on in my career, I did have a news editor who wanted me to change my name from Kapalos to Smith. It was really jarring to have that happen.*[44]

Like Pippos, Kapelos refused to make the change, and compared the demand to the tradition of women changing their family name on marriage:

> *I remember telling them (her parents), 'I know you want me to change my name if I'm married, or have a family and so on, but I'm very attached to my name.' It's a really important part of my cultural identity and that heritage is something I'm proud of. I made a decision… in my teenage years that I'd always have my name. My Greek surname was more of a problem early in my career, (and) maybe it was part of that cycle of time.*[45]

Again, the television audience had no concern about their news presenter having a Greek family name, and she went on to have a long career as a prime-time news presenter.

Reason 3: Apprehension of Racism

The preceding rationales for anglicisation suggest a level of unwillingness on the part of existing Australians to adapt to the names of the new migrants, but they fall short of outright racism. However, among the respondents there were several cases where racism was a motivating factor in the name change.

When Respondent 1's father changed his family name from *Panagiotakis* to *Panos* on arrival in Australia, it was certainly because of a perceived racism:

> *My father was urged to shorten his name when he came to Brisbane Australia in 1948, by his sister's family who were already here for quite some years and were sensitive to the "neo-fermeni" i.e.: new Australians, having long names and being called dago.*[46] *My cousin Sofia virtually renamed our family in English when the rest of us came out to Australia in 1951. So Panagiotakis became Panos.*

Respondent 2's father-in-law, who changed his name from *Grigoriou* to *Gregory*, did it in the aftermath of the Kalgoorlie Riots in Western Australia in 1934. These

44. Simos, A. *Helen Kapalos on her Greek heritage and 'undignified' sacking from Channel 10*. The Greek Herald, 16 November 2020. https://greekherald.com.au/community/1-people-community/helen-kapalos-greek-heritage-undignified-sacking-from-channel-10/.

45. Ibid.

46. A common deprecating term used in mid-century Australia against immigrants from Europe.

riots came after an Italian barman accidentally killed a local football player with a British heritage.[47]

This was to be a common theme in the responses. Respondent 6:

> *Dagoes where not liked in Australia in 1925 and onwards up until 1970 when the term changed to wog. So, to camouflage the nationality / race the name was changed to Caldis.*

Respondent 14's grandfather made the change in 1928:

> *I remember my grandfather telling me there was a lot of discrimination. He was a hawker travelling around the country towns of South Australia and Adelaide.*

Respondent 15's father anglicised his name in 1955:

> *My father Dimitri Vournazos was marrying an Australian girl and wanted an "Australian" name, or one that had no nationality associated with it, as he was aware of the racism that abounded in this society at that time.*

It was not just an apprehension of racism that led to a name change, but actual racism. In the case of Respondent 11's grandfather, he had not anglicised his family name immediately on arrival, but made the change four years later after finding it necessary after being confronted with racist attitudes:

> *In many job interviews he was discriminated against and to this day doesn't like the use of the word 'wog'.*[48] *I think this is the main reason, to appear more 'Australian' as an employability tactic.*

There were cases where even anglicisation offered no protection. When Peter Papathanasiou was changed to Peter Pappas by his parents, the discovery of the change led to schoolyard violence:

> *When the kids heard that Pappas wasn't my real name, they went on a quest of discovery. Finally, in high school, someone found it. I was teased relentlessly and got beaten up by some of the bigger bullies*.[49]

47. Chiat, J. *Bar fight led to infamous 1930s race riots*. Kalgoorlie Miner, 4 September 2016. https://www.kalminer.com.au/news/goldfields/bar-fight-led-to-infamous-1930s-race-riots-ng-ya-117256.

48. Another deprecatory term for mid-century European migrants.

49. Papathanasiou, P. *I hate my long ethnic surname, and that's got to stop. In this day and age, why should someone be embarrassed about their name?* The Sydney Morning Herald, 16 December 2015. https://www.smh.com.au/opinion/i-hate-my-long-ethnic-surname-and-thats-got-to-stop-20151215-glnoe9.html.

The racism was also institutionalised. When Sydney academic Vassiliki Veras was in kindergarten her teacher encouraged her to adopt an English given name:

> *My kindergarten teacher was one who believed every child should have an Anglo name. If your name was a "funny ethnic name" she would give you one that would make you fit right in. Except it didn't work with me. She gave me Vicki (no thanks), Vi (why would you rip the ass and lik out of my name), Victoria (um still no thanks), Bessie (um…no), Veronica (no x 2), Vasi (no, no, no, no, no), Sylvia (I kid you not) and Vivian. Exasperated she asked me what I would like to be called. To which I answered Vasiliki.*[50]

Veros is not alone in her pride in her original Greek name. Koziaris says name anglicisations by Greek immigrants is something that has become less common in the last half-century:

> *It may be noted that despite many earlier Greek Australians feeling compelled to Anglicise their names, there is now an increased trend towards maintaining the original Greek version.*[51]

Respondent 17 was the only survey respondent to have changed her name in the last fifty years. Her family migrated from Constantinople in 1922, and she was born in Australia. The family kept their original family name, *Moutsidis*. The respondent, an actor, changed her name to *Mercedes* in 1974 after an incident on national television:

> *I had won the Young Talent Time talent competition & New Faces in 1973. Thereafter I was appearing on all the TV variety shows. One such performance was on 'The Graeme Kennedy Show'. He introduced me and started mispronouncing my name as a joke. The audience were laughing along with him, which was embarrassing to me being young and inexperienced (and of Greek migrant background trying to fit in). (The show's producer) told me my name is problematic and difficult to pronounce and would only encourage more jokes from TV comperes. I reluctantly told my father my name was being changed which upset him.*

The fact the TV producer told her that Moutsidis would be a hard name to pronounce suggests part of the reason for her subsequent anglicisation was convenience. But Moutsidis' experience is clearly one of a form of racism. She was not threatened like the migrants after the Kalgoorlie riots, but she was subject to ridicule, a racist ridicule. As she says, she was a young performer and her decision to anglicise her family name was influenced by people more senior in the arts. However, she says if she was starting out now, she would not change her name. This leads onto the second major question in this research.

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50. Veros, V. *No one rips the ass out of Vassiliki*. Shallowreader: Hidden Depths, 3 June 2013. https://shallowreader.com/2013/06/03/no-one-rips-the-ass-out-of-vassiliki/.

51. Koziaris, O. *Yiasou Yarraville*. Melbourne: Doublethread, 2021, 197.

Question 6 & 7 Responses: Is Reversion a Possibility?

As well as regretting her name change, Moutsidis says she has been planning a reversion for two decades:

> *Yes, I consider changing it back regularly. When I had my first lead role in the film 'Dreams for Life' in 2004 I suggested to my Director Anna Kannava that they credit me as Maria Moutsidis, but she said we couldn't because everyone knows me as 'Mercedes'. I'm of an age now where my Greek heritage and my family name is of the upmost importance. I don't need to try and fit in anymore.*

Such a reversion would be a major change because Moutsidis is a theatre and television actor with a career established on her anglicised name, *Mercedes.*

Journalist Angela Pippos, who refused to change her name, sees no reason for people not to revert to the Greek original:

> *Only in recent years have they proudly insisted people call them by their actual names. It doesn't seem like such a big thing to expect – it's not like they were asking people to recite passages from The Odyssey in its original ancient text.*[52]

Pippos is here talking about some of her reversionary contemporaries who she, perhaps ironically, decides not to name.

Despite his initial shame at his long Greek names (and the inherent schoolyard danger), Peter Papathanasiou did go back to his original family name in 2016, saying he did it for his children:

> *My self-hatred has to stop, if not for my sake, then for the sake of my own children who have inherited the same troublesome, annoying, beautiful 13 letters. Pappas was just a bastardised version of my real surname. I dropped it right there and haven't used it since.*[53]

Papathanasiou was the only respondent to have made the reversion. Respondent 3 says she has often wanted to change her name back and adds that her children have also wanted to do the same. Why they have not done it is unknown. It could be, as mentioned in the introduction, that the legal requirements of reverting to another name for passports, health, property, and superannuation

52. Pippos, A. *Having your migrant name mispronounced is neither 'fun', nor a joke*. The Sydney Morning Herald, 13 May 2019. https://www.smh.com.au/lifestyle/life-and-relationships/having-your-migrant-name-mispronounced-is-neither-fun-nor-a-joke-20190512-p51mj7.html.

53. Papathanasiou, P. *I hate my long ethnic surname, and that's got to stop. In this day and age, why should someone be embarrassed about their name?* The Sydney Morning Herald, 16 December 2015. https://www.smh.com.au/opinion/i-hate-my-long-ethnic-surname-and-thats-got-to-stop-20151215-glnoe9.html.

might just mean it is much harder today to change a name than it was one hundred years ago.

Respondent 11 is considering a reversion as he is considering applying for Greek citizenship, but his grandfather, who made the original anglicisation, believes it would cause financial issues if he was to change back from *Archon* to *Archondakis*:

> *He thinks it's too late as his children and now grandchildren have the surname Archon, which would complicate the transfer of property.*

Respondent 13 also said a reversion would affect his children. It is interesting that even the anglicised version of the name causes confusion, so he thinks a reversion would only add to this problem:

> *No change is planned to the name as we are all very happy and content - people still have trouble spelling Condous e.g., miss -spelt Condon, Condus, Condom, Condi.*

Respondent 4 was definite about not reverting to the original Greek family name, saying there are many professional family members using the anglicised name, including a prominent mayor. Respondent 15, a daughter of the anglicising migrant, is also not reverting her name:

> *My father strived to be accepted as an Australian and chose that name for himself. He was very pleased with his achievements. And I keep this name to honour him.*

This respondent's choice of the word 'honour' is interesting. Instead of honouring her forebears and her Greek history by reversion, she instead finds the value of honour to be in maintaining the new name.

Several respondents said there was little point in reverting. Respondent 6 says he has only daughters, and they have taken the names of their husbands, leaving him is the last of the patriarchal line, so there is little point. Respondent 9's response was that: "no-one in the family ever *bothered* (author emphasis) to change, legally, the surname back to the Greek", which suggests it was not a priority, or even a serious consideration. Respondent 5 has an English name she accepted through marriage, but she says she has cousins who still use the anglicised name and have not reverted. Respondent 10 simply stated that she had no intention to return to the Greek original. Respondent 12, who anglicised his name in 1960, also has no intention of reverting, saying:

> *I am now 81. My life since from 19 has been with Lolas. (education qualifications, employment, marriage, my childrens and grand- childrens' name, business property etc.)*

Respondent 16 is a well-known Australian journalist and has kept his anglicised name, but he says he has cousins who did not change from the Greek name (although these are U.S-based relatives, so outside the scope of this study).

These responses indicate that while there may be intention, only one from the sample group made the reversion. Whether the others who claim to want to revert, like Moutsidis, make the change might be the subject for a revisiting of this research at a future date.

Question 3 responses: What was that Greek name changed to (how was the name changed)?

> *Letters were added, moved around and disappeared altogether from both first names and surnames to make them sound less ethnic*.[54]

As Alatis had found in his study of 1950s Greco-American anglicisations,[55] the survey in this paper also showed that there was a range of methods used by Greek migrants to anglicise their names in Australia. Many of these methods matched those of Alatis' survey, although there were some differences, such as a lack of examples of respondents who used Aphaere (removing letters from the beginning of the original Greek name). Below are the anglicisation methods used by respondents, in order of Alatis' types:

Method 1: Direct or Partial Translation:

Respondent 2's father-in-law, who was from Kastellorizo, made a direct translation of his name from *Grigoriou* to *Gregory* in 1934. Respondent 8's father-in-law also made a direct translation of his family name when he arrived from Cyprus in the early-20th century, changing Charalambos *Yannis* to Charlie *John.*[56] Respondent 6 forebears changed their name on arrival from Lesbos. Καλδής was given a direct letter-for-letter translation into Caldis, although the original Greek name was also known as Καλδελλης (Caldellis), which would be a case of translation and syncope. Respondent 10's maternal grandfather changed his name on arrival in Australian from Cyprus in 1924 and made the unusual decision to (roughly) translate his given and family names and then swap them, so *Ilias Antoniou* became *Anthony Lewis.*

Method 2: Apocope (Removing Letters from the Tail):

Among respondents this was the most common method of anglicisation. Respondent 1's father Nicholas *Panagiotakis* changed his name to *Panos*. The

54. Pippos, A. *Having your migrant name mispronounced is neither 'fun', nor a joke*. The Sydney Morning Herald, 13 May 2019. https://www.smh.com.au/lifestyle/life-and-relationships/having-your-migrant-name-mispronounced-is-neither-fun-nor-a-joke-20190512-p51mj7.html.

55. See Literature Review: Methods of Anglicisation.

56. It should be noted that John is written in Greek not as Yannis (Γαννης), but Ioannis (Ιοαννης). The pronunciation however is similar.

respondent believed that the -takis ending was a particular Cretan designation. Respondent 11's grandfather's family name was *Archondakis* (Αρχοντάκης), and he shortened it to *Archon.* Note that in the Greek the 'n' sound is implied, but in the anglicisation it is the last letter. Likewise, respondent 1's husband's used apocope in changing his name from *Kalafatis* to *Kalaf.* Respondent 2's family name was *Antonakakis* which was anglicised by her siblings by cope to *Anton*, but the rest of the family changed the spelling (using syncope and letter additions) to become *Anthony.* Respondent 4's father used a simple apocope to change his name from *Kondouzoglou* to *Condous*, cutting off the Turkish *-glou*, which was an ending appended to the original Greek name when his father lived in Kastellorizo, to assist in his business dealings with the nearby Turks. Respondent 7 also applied apocope to change his name from Elisseos *Georgoulidis* to Leo *Georges* when he arrived in Australia.

Method 3: Syncope (Removing Letters from the Middle)

Of the responses, this method was the least used. Respondent 12 made his own name change in 1960, using syncope to remove the *-u-* and the *-tzi* from *Loulatzis* to arrive at *Lolas*. Similarly, Respondent 13's uncle changed his family name from *Barabinos* to *Barris* by removing the *-bino-* from the middle.

Method 4: Multiple Operations:

This is a broad-church method which may involve translation, syncope, apocope and phoneticism. George Tramountanas' decided to use a twofold process in anglicising his name: first, by making the literal translation into Northwind and, second, using apocope to change the name finally into *North*.[57] Another early Greek migrant to make a similar change was the Ithaca-born *Dionysios Mavrokefalos* who arrived in Melbourne in 1882. Although the date and reasoning for his anglicisation is not recorded, it is known *Dionysios Mavrokefalos* changed his entire name to *Dennis Black.* Janiszewski says the family name change was a combination of anglicisation and apocope.[58] *Mavrokefelos* literally translates to 'black head' So in this case, after the anglicisation the second half of the name was cut. Respondent 3's father used a mix of methods in Anglicising his name in the 1930s when he arrived in Australia from northern Kythera. The Greek family name was *Venardos,* and he made a phonetic translation and an apocope in changing it to *Bernard.* Respondent 5's grandfather Anglicised his name is a similar manner, changing the name from

57. Kanarakis, G. *In the Wake of Odysseus*. Melbourne: RMIT University Publishing, 1997, 16.

58. Janiszewski, L. *Greek Australians in Their Own Image: Nina Black*. Greek City Times, 20 March 2022. https://greekcitytimes.com/2022/03/20/greek-australians-in-their-own-image-nina-black/.

Dionisus Vitoratos to *Denis Victor*. The name was given another phonetic translation and apocope, removing the *-atos.*

Method 5: Phonetic Approximation or Accidental Changes:

There were several cases where the anglicisations were not translated or transformed but, rather, were chosen on a whim or with the slightest connection to the original family name. In 1955 Respondent 15's father, whose Greek family name was *Vournazos* considered a range of names which progressively went further from the original:

> *Together with my mother, they thought about alternatives such as Vourn, Vorne, Bourn… too British, so came up with Jim Verne. It was only later when his English improved and he was reading more widely that he discovered the French 'Jules Verne'. Oh No!! Too late.*

When Respondent 9's grandfather new name was apparently a spur of the moment made by officials when he arrived in Australia in 1899. It was probably a change made based on simple phonetics from *Kallinikos* to *Caling.* Similarly, Nikos *Maniarizis'* name change to Nick *Manning* was made on a spur of the moment. The story of the name change [see "Rationale" below], indicates the suggested anglicisation was made on a purely phonetic basis, taking the first three letters of his Greek family name, and extrapolating the name into something that sounded English.[59] The same applies to the Darwin-based *Paspaley* family. Originally called *Paspalis*, the family migrated to Western Australia from Kastellorizo in 1919. After moving to Darwin, the family patriarch Nicholas changed the family name in 1935 to *Paspaley*.[60] Despite the inherent Greekness in the first part of the name, it may be assumed that the change of -is to -ey would give the name an Anglo inference. It should be noted that Bailey and Bradley are the two most common English names with an -ley ending, with 1.5 million and 500,000 people respectively by those names. Respondent 16's father also chose to replace the *-is* at the end of the name to *-y*, making *Maniatis* into *Maniaty.* The respondent however says the transformation came through a Greek change first before anglicisation (See Figure 2):

59. Manning, N. *In Search of a Home*. Sydney: Wild & Woolley, 1995, 166.

60. Chrysopoulos, P. *Greek-Australian Paspaley Family Celebrates One Century as the King of Pearls*. The Greek Reporter, 15 October 2019. https://greekreporter.com/2019/10/15/ greek-australian-paspaly-family-celebrates-once-century-as-the-kings-of-pearls/.

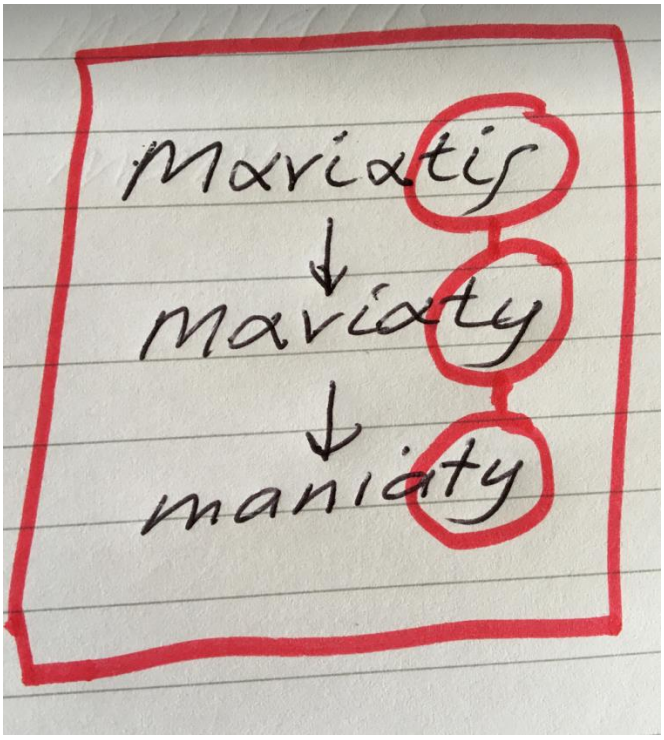

Figure 2. *The Transformation Process from Μανιατις to Maniaty*
Source: Respondent 16.

The respondent surmises the change came about in the following way:

> *One theory is that the 'i-s' at the end was written in the Greek way - the final 's' in a word being with a long tail, thus 'i-s' became 'y' on the immigration form. That seems feasible.*

It seems that early twentieth century immigrant Joachim *Tavlaridis*' name choice was even more random. *Tavlaridis* founded Australia's oldest milk bar in Martin Place in Sydney in 1932 and had already chosen the name of Mick *Adams,*[61] a name which appears to have no relation to his Greek family name, nor his Hebrew-origin given name.

An interesting phonetic transformation was the case of Respondent 14's grandfather who changed his family name in the 1920s from *Apostolis* to *Paul*. Although there is a slight phonetic connection between the two names, in terms of Greek to English language there is no such connection. Apostolis does not translate to Paul or an approximation of it. It appears phonetics was the only consideration here.

61. Mazonakis, S. *Australia's oldest milk bar honoured*. Greek City Times, 12 October 2022. https://greekcitytimes.com/2022/10/12/australias-oldest-milk-bar-honoured/?amp&fbclid=IwAR2cGF1c0qcXqowF7VMkBqIifXJBUZFmh4xmeZBznovA5x86f1IbfJPZbIk.

Method 6: Transplanting Given Names

Among the responses there was just example of this. In the 1930s Respondent 2's grandfather, *Constantine Turbetakis* changed his name to *Constantine Markos*, using his father's given name as his new family name.

Conclusions

Many of the findings in this research will not be a surprise. The reasons given for the anglicisation of family names was universal: they simply wanted to fit safely and conveniently into Australian society. They may have wanted to give themselves the best chance of success in the then-White Australia era; they may have wanted their names to be easier to pronounce (put simply, they didn't want their Greek heritage to be a nuisance); or, most darkly, they may have wanted to avoid discrimination or racism. But these decisions explain as much about the immigrants' perceptions about their new home as they do about the country they were entering. It may have been a mindset of pragmatism of doing whatever it took to make a success in their new land. On a deeper level it might also betray a deeper issue: a fear of failure and of the consequences of that failure. As explained in the introduction, large immigration surges from Greece to Australia often took place at times of upheaval in Greece: the rise of the Young Turks and the subsequent violence and displacement; the post-WWII civil war; the 1967 military junta. These were all times that made emigrants akin to refugees: displaced persons who may have feared a return to Greece. This made the need for success in Australia more compelling. If a change of name could help in ensuring their success in their new country, then, in the context of the situation, they may have viewed a name change as a necessary evil.

There is no evidence in the survey that migrants had planned to change their names when they started their diaspora journey, and it seems that some of these decisions were made on the spot or soon after arrival. Nick Manning's short consular visit was to change his identity for the next sixty-five years. The fact that Manning remained a Hellene was never in doubt. There was no renunciation of his Greek heritage. He lived in Greece for six months of every year and was also a prominent member of Sydney's AHEPA. The fact he kept that anglicised name in both business and in his personal life (even keeping it in his memoir) attests to him not being concerned by the loss of name identity. Here was a man comfortable in his own skin, and that skin was not changed by a new name. It could be argued that his identity was not altered, just his name. And here it seems that most of those who anglicised their names did not subsequently see themselves particularly differently; their identity, their view of themselves, was not turned in its head by changing their name. None of the respondents suggested that their Greek Orthodox religion was abandoned; their Greek language was forgotten, or that name days

were no longer celebrated. A name, it appears from this study, was considered by most to be simply a name, not an identity of self.

There are plenty of Greek names in public space this country. Australia Football League superstars have been Koutoufides and Zaharakis; Rugby League chairmen can be a Pappas; politicians get elected with names like Pandazopoulos and Bolkus; successful novelists can be called Tsiolkas. Fear of racism or inconvenience, it seems, no longer apply. The public figures above may or may not go to Greek communion, speak Greek, or know the land of their forebears, just as people who anglicise their names may do all these things. Their identity is their own, and from this research it appears a person's identity with Greekness cuts far deeper than a simple decision to change a family name.

It should also be noted that there are many Greek migrants who did not change their names during the more difficult times of Australian racial tolerance, although the proportion between those who did and those who did was beyond the scope of this study, this would made interesting further research. There is also scope for further study to examine whether this decision made their lives difficult or hindered their prospects of success.

It appears from this study that the decision to anglicise was not a particularly difficult one for the new migrants, often done quickly, sometimes on the spot. Conversely a reversion appears to many respondents to be a much more difficult a decision. While a Greek family name might have been quickly shed for pragmatism, pragmatism has kept the anglicised name in place in most cases.

Perhaps contrary to Angela Pippos' statement at the start of this paper, identity is much more than just a name.

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