

From Group Labels to Family Names: The Onomastic Aspects of Modernization in Pakistan

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Abstract

Names are connected with several societal variables such as identity, power and belief-system. This study examines the transition of group labels to family (last) names along the western pattern of naming in Pakistan's modernizing society. These group labels were formerly prestigious titles (Khan, Sardar, Nawab etc.); names referring to prestigious places of origin (Bukhari, Hamdani etc.) or religion (Farooqi, Qadri etc.) or caste components (Rajput, Afridi etc.). Such components are used more as assertion of power than as family names in the traditional, especially rural, gentry even now. They are also part of the names of men rather than women since the assertion of prestige is more a male domain than a female one. Women in the rural traditional society have old-fashioned components in their names (Bibi, Bano, Khatoon etc.) which have been abandoned by urban women who are taking up male names. However, the male names taken are not necessarily the last or family names of men but their first names too. The process of adopting family name is part of the modernization process going on in Pakistan.

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Introduction

Names are products of history and embody layers of existence of a socio-cultural group for ages. In a sense, Bourdieu's theoretical construct 'habitus' describes them well.¹ Thus the name 'Muhammad' [Arabic: one who is praised] is as much embodied in history of Islam as is 'Ram' or 'Christina' of Hinduism and Christianity, respectively. They are very much part of the language — meaning not a formal code such as Urdu, Punjabi or Pashto — but a way of 'talking about' human beings which actually helps us construct our reality — the way we look at those human beings and, of course, how we feel for them and treat them.²

Review of Literature

In a comprehensive review of scholarship on identity-construction, Cerulo argues that "Anti-essentialist inquiries promote the social construction of identity as a more viable basis of the collective self".³ Names, though not mentioned in Cerulo's article, are a crucial variable for one's own as well as other people's perception of one as a member of a group, or sub-group, of the human race. Although philosophers⁴, linguists⁵, scholars of business studies⁶,

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- 1 Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 56.
 - 2 W. Grace, *The Linguistic Construction of Reality* (London: Routledge, 1987), 3.
 - 3 Karen A. Cerulo, "Identity Construction: New Issues, New Directions," *Annual Review of Sociology* 23 (1997): 387.
 - 4 Eugene E. Ryan, "Aristotle on Proper Names," *Aperion: A Journal for Ancient Philosophy and Science* 15: no. 1 (June 1981), 38-47; A. Gardiner, *The Theory of Proper Names* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957); Mark D' Cruz, "A Theory of Ordinary Proper Names," *Mind* 109, no. 436 (Oct 2000): 721-756.
 - 5 John M. Anderson, "On the Grammatical Status of Names," *Language* 80, no. 3 (Sept 2004): 435-474; Marice Bloch, "Tekonymy and the Evocation of the 'Social' Among the Zafimaniry of Madagascar," in *The Anthropology of Names and Naming*, Gabriele vom Bruck and Bodenhorn, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 98-114.
 - 6 Marianne Bertrand and Sendhil Mullinathan, "Are Emily and Greg more Employable than Lakisha and Jamal? A Field Experiment on Labour Market Discrimination," *The American Economic Review* 94, no. 4 (2004): 991-1013.

psychologists⁷, historians, especially those of religion⁸ and students of population⁹ etc. have shown interest in names, it is the work of sociologists and anthropologists which provides the most relevant work for our purposes. Sociolinguists have moved to their relationship with culture. Rymes, for instance, argues that they are 'indexical of a rich realm of cultural and personal associations'.¹⁰ Taking the case study of a gang member of Los Angeles called 'Little Creeper', she argues that names may be criminalized and 'hold both implicit meanings and exploit referent'.¹¹ As for anthropologists, beginning with the pioneering work on naming systems in from that doyen of anthropologists Claude Levi-Strauss in his book *La Pensee Sauvage* [French: *The Savage Mind*]¹² one can name many others with similar interests. Levi-Strauss examines the basic issue of universalization and particularization in human societies. He refutes the claims of philosophers and linguists that names are meaningless labels.¹³ Besides innumerable onomastic studies of individual societies, there are comparative studies too. One such study which is an

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- 7 John W. McDavid and Herbert Harari, "Stereotyping and Popularity in Grade-School Children," *Child Development* 37, no. 2 (Jan 1966): 453-59; Arthur A. Hartman, Robert C. Nicolay and Jesse Hurley, "Unique Personal Names as a Social Adjustment Factor," *The Journal of Social Psychology* 75, no.1 (June 1968): 107-110.
- 8 Richard W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*, Cambridge (Mass & London: Harvard University Press, 1969); Richard M. Eaton, "Approaches to the Study of Conversion to Islam in India," in *Religious Movements in South Asia (600-1800)*, ed. David N. Lorenzen (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 105-127; Alfons Hilka, *Die Altindischen Personennamen* [German: Old Indian Personal Names] (Breslau: Verlag von M. & H. Marcus, 1910), 43.
- 9 Diane S. Lauderdale and Bert Kestenbaum. "Asian American Ethnic Identification by Surname," *Population Research and Policy Review* 19 no. 3 (2000): 283-300.
- 10 Betsy Rymes, "Naming as Social Practice: the Case of Little Creeper from Diamond Street," *Language in Society* 25, no. 2 (June 1996): 246.
- 11 Rymes, "Naming as Social Practice," 258.
- 12 Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Letchworth, Herfordshire: The Gordon City Press, 1966), 172-216.
- 13 Levi-Strauss, *La Pensee Sauvage* [French: *The Savage Mind*], 172.

overview of sixty such societies compares how names are given, who gives them, whether a ceremony is held when they are given, whether nick names are used or not, how and why are names changed and so on¹⁴. Another valuable study of onomastics is Bruck and Bodenhorn's edited volume entitled *The Anthropology of Names and Naming*.¹⁵ Yet another one is *Framing My Name*¹⁶ which not only relates to the experiences of students in higher education in Australia but also gives valuable information and insights about names and identity in India and other work which will be referred to below.

Although names are related in numerous and complex ways with identity; a few examples may be helpful. In some cases, collectivities use names in a bid to emphasize one or the other identity. For instance, the Afro-Panamanian residents of the island of Bastimentos have an official Spanish-derived and an ethnic Creole-derived name. They use the latter for in-group solidarity¹⁷. The Meithei-speaking people of Manipur in India, who accepted Hinduism in the 18th century, use names as a site for contestation between political ideologies. Those who choose pre-Hindu indigenous names want to break with India while those who use Hindu names want integration.¹⁸ In such cases one constructs a politically oriented group identity. In other cases, however, as in the Gaelic communities of East Sutherland in the

14 Richard D. Alford, *Naming and Identity: A Cross Cultural Study of Personal Naming Practices* (New Haven, Connecticut: HRAF Press, 1988).

15 Bruck and Bodenhorn's eds. *The Anthropology of Names and Naming*, 98-114.

16 Margaret Kumar, S. Pattanayak and Richard Johnson, *Framing My Name: Extending Educational Boundaries* (Altona, Victoria: Common Ground Publishing, 2010).

17 Michael Aceto, "Ethnic Personal Names and Multiple Identities in Anglophone Caribbean Speech Communities," *Language in Society* 31, no. 4 (Sept 2002): 577-608.

18 Shobhana L. Chelliah, "Asserting Nationhood through Personal Name Choice: The Case of the Meithei of Northeast India," *Anthropological Linguistics* 47, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 169-216.

Highlands of Scotland by-names rather than formal names are used for in-group solidarity.¹⁹

In short, the study of names (including alternative names) can provide insights into the construction and perception of identity. These, in turn may be related to belief-systems, power differentials and social stratification within societies.²⁰ Changes in names—as among the Zulus—are related to the identity of societies as a whole²¹.

Despite the significance of personal names in understanding the complex issues of identity, power and belief-system, there is no study of personal names in present-day Pakistan. The pioneering study of Punjabi names is Richard Temple's *Dissertation on the Proper Names of Punjabis* which is based on data gathered in the 'Ambala District and neighbourhood, where the Hindu element largely predominates'.²² However, Temple devotes a whole chapter (IV) to Muslim names²³ which is partly relevant even today for a scholar of Pakistani names. W. F. Sinclair's essay, though lacking detail, mentions that prestigious titles (or 'caste' names) such as Syed [Arabic: the best], Khan [Turkish: chief] and Sheikh [Arabic: chief, venerable]—all proclaiming foreign descent—have actually been appropriated by local Muslim converts because they

19 Dorian, Nancy C. Dorian, "A Substitute Name System in the Scottish Highlands," *American Anthropologist* 72, no. 2 (Apr 1970): 303-319.

20 George A. Collier and Victoria R. Bricker. "Nicknames and Social Structure in Zinacantan," *American Anthropologist* 72, no. 2 (Apr 1970): 289-302; Yvonne Treis, "Avoiding their Names, Avoiding their Eyes: How Kambaata Women Respect their In-laws," *Anthropological Linguistic* 47, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 292-320; R.H. Barnes, "Hidatsa Personal Names: an Interpretation," *The Plains Anthropologist* 25, no. 90 (Nov 1980): 311-331; T.O. Beidelman, "Kaguru Names and Naming," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 30, no. 4 (Winter 1974): 281-293.

21 Susan M. Suzman, "Zulu Personal Naming Practices," *Language in Society* 23, no. 2 (Jun 1994): 253-272.

22 Richard Temple, *Dissertation on the Proper Names of Punjabis: With Special Reference to the Proper Names of Villagers in the Eastern Panjab* (Bombay: Education Society Press, 1883), 2.

23 Temple, *Dissertation on the Proper Names of Punjabis*, 40-51.

facilitate claim to a high social status.²⁴ Unfortunately, the only study purporting to be on Muslim names merely adds to the literature on Muslim (mostly Arabic) names without adding to our knowledge of Indian Muslim names.²⁵

There is, indeed, more to be gained by reading scholars working on Hindu names in India if one is trying to understand Indian Muslim names. For instance, M. B. Emeneau in his article on Hindu names tells us that the Islamic heritage languages contribute linguistic components to Hindu names in North India such as Ram Baksh and Jawahar Lal [Jawahar: Persian: pearls; Lal: Hindi-Urdu: red, precious stone].²⁶ Francis Britto in his study of personal names in Tamil society tells us that Muslims do not use traditional Tamil names 'since most indigenous names have some connection with Hinduism'.²⁷

The only major study of Muslim names which also looks at South Asian names, though in passing, is Anne Marie Schimmel's monograph called *Islamic Names*.²⁸ But Schimmel's study is actually on Arab (and some Turkish) names and most of her observations are about the incorrectness of South Asian Muslim names on account of their ignorance of Arabic.²⁹ However, there are other aspects of naming which Schimmel does not touch upon.

Objectives

The present article is part of the author's ongoing work on onomastics in Pakistan. Questions like the indexation of the

24 W. F. Sinclair, "Indian Names for English Tongues," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 21, no. 1 (January 1889): 171-172.

25 J. Colebrooke, "On the Proper Names of Mohammedans," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 13, no. 2 (April 1881): 237-280.

26 M. B. Emeneau, "Personal Names of the Coorgs," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 96, no. 1 (Jan-Mar 1978): 117.

27 Francis Britto, "Personal Names in Tamil Society," *Anthropological Linguistics* 28, no. 3 (Fall 1986): 354.

28 Anne Marie Schimmel, *Islamic Names* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2005).

29 Schimmel, *Islamic Names*: 25, 28, 62.

Islamic identity (sectarian, orthodox, radical etc.) with names, beliefs about names, choice of names, changes in names since the early years of Pakistan, the concealment of problematic identities by safer names, the names of religious minorities, the expression of ethnicity through names and so forth will be explored in other articles. This article, however, is confined to investigating the use of family (last) names in Pakistani society. It is suggested that family names are part of the modernization of Pakistani society and are still not used in the rural areas or the working classes. Caste or other group labels have started functioning as family names though they also continue to function as prestige-conferring onomastic markers among the traditional gentry. This information, it is hoped, will provide insights into the construction and perception of identity and their relationship with power, class and modernization in Pakistan.

Methodology

First, a pilot survey was taken. In this small samples of less than 500 names were taken from the villages of the Punjab; of urban, modern youth from Lahore and lower-middle and middle-class people from Rawalpindi. These samples are described in Annexure-B. The large samples for the detailed study were taken from all over the country with the exception of Balochistan where militancy precluded both visits or other ways of collecting names. However, the names from the Benazir Income Support Programme (BISP) do contain names from that province also. Details of these databases are given in Annexure-C.

Some information about names is found in Urdu literature which has been used here. Further information on names was obtained through unstructured interviews and informants from the people mostly in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) provinces. Only some of these interviewees and informants have been identified in the section on references. Most are not mentioned individually because the information was volunteered in the midst of normal, spontaneous conversation in which many people

participated without being recorded as that would have made them less communicative.

Names have components—Asif Ali Zardari, for instance has three components; the last being a tribal or ‘caste’ one—which have been used to calculate the percentage of caste or prestigious components in names from different ethno-linguistic groups and periods of Pakistan’s history. The calculation of caste and prestige components is based on counting the frequency of titles used as names (Khan, Malik, Sardar, Syed, Nawab etc.); caste (Bhatti, Raisani, Afridi etc.) and names referring to foreign prestigious places of origin (Bukhari, Hamadani) or well-known family names (Bilor, Isphahani). In female names, rural components (*Bibi, Bano, Khatoon* etc.) are used to index rural or old-fashioned identities. The use of men’s names, whether first names or caste ones, in women’s names is also an indicator of identity and has been computed though partially. This is because the data does not permit the counting of men’s first names used by women as they are so many and so varied. It does allow finding the frequencies of occurrences of titles, place and ‘caste’ as well as religious group labels which has been done. But since many urban women do take up the first names of men one cannot count them though the absence of old-fashioned components indicate onomastic modernization.

The Right to One’s Full Name

Powerless groups named by others have to settle down for labels—often short ones—for whatever names are conferred upon them. Susan Benson, for instance, mentions the ‘injurious’ naming practices of masters towards slaves.³⁰ In Jamaica indigenous people were given ‘day names’ (e.g. Quashie born on a Sunday) which were considered

30 Susan Benson, “Injurious Naming: Naming, Disavowal, and Recuperation in Contexts of Slavery and Emancipation,” in *The Anthropology of Names and Naming*, ed. Gabrielle vom Bruck and Barbara Bodenhorn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 178-199.

pejorative.³¹ Even when they were given European names 'they were usually in the diminutive form'.³² Burnard, quoting Croton, says that 'some names were obviously intended to demean. Croton discovered slaves on Worthy Park Estate called Monkey, Villain, and Strumpet'.³³ Indians settled in South Africa, responding to their lack of power as individuals, themselves adopt Anglicized first names 'in work places to pre-empt the often humiliating nicknaming by white superiors of staff'.³⁴ In South Asia too, names based on days such as Jumrati (Thursday), Mangal (Tuesday) Juma (Friday), Itwari (Sunday) were common among the working classes. In some cases, despite Islamic belief in egalitarianism, working-class people were forbidden to take the names of prominent local dignitaries³⁵. Even the name Ali Mohammad [Ali: Arabic: exalted], when that of a servant, was shortened to Mammad. Such shortening also took place in Hindu names³⁶. Indeed, simple names were the norm in the Indo-European languages too although, for upper-class names, 'dithematic compounds' were the common form³⁷.

In this context folklore and literature provide examples. Temple quotes the story of a poor boy called Parsu who grew up to be called Parsa and finally, when he got some

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- 31 David DeCamp, "African Day-Names in Jamaica," *Language* 43, no. 1 (Mar 1967): 139-49.
- 32 Trevor Burnard, "Slave Naming Patterns: Onomastics and the Taxonomy of Race in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* xxxi, no. 3 (Winter 2001): 334-35; Newbell N. Puckett, "American Negro Names," *The Journal of Negro History* 23, no. 1 (Jan 1938): 36, 38.
- 33 Burnard, "Slave Naming Patterns", 334-35.
- 34 Thomas Blom Hansen, "Where Names Fall Short: Names as Performances in Contemporary Urban South Africa," in *The Anthropology of Names and Naming*, ed. Bruck and Bodenhorn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 216.
- 35 Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, *Jab Iman ki Bahar Ayi* [Urdu: When the Spring of Belief Arrived] (Karachi: Majlis-e-Nashariat-e-Islam, n.d), 45.
- 36 Sinclair, "Indian Names for English Tongues," 161; Temple, *Dissertation on the Proper Names of Punjabis*, 32.
- 37 Ernst Pulgram, "Indo-European Personal Names," *Language* 23, no. 3 (Jul-Sep): 189-206.

money, Paras Ram expresses his feelings in the following couplet:

Is daulat men tin nam

*Parsu, Parsa, Paras Ram*³⁸

[Hindi: With respect to wealth you have three names/ Parsu, Parsa, Paras Ram]³⁹

So common was the use of abbreviated names that some British officers did not believe that the real names of people in inferior social positions could be longer. For instance Richard Temple says:

Prisoner Ali Nawaz Khan of the police report is the 'Alia of the evidence, and that the witnesses Govardhan Das and Durga Parkash are known as Gobra and Durga to their friends, and I would remark that 'Alia, Gobra and Durga are the real names of these worthies, the grander ones being used merely for the occasion...'⁴⁰

In fact, the longer names were authentic but the British officers thought they were too prestigious to be used for common people. They were, in their experience, only the preserve of respectable people. 'The Dou Mbojo of Indonesia also abbreviates their full Arabic names, which are used in official documents, to short form' (Halimah becomes Lima and Abdur becomes Dura).⁴¹

In Urdu fiction low-status people are never called by full names. For instance, in Asmat Chughtai's story '*Kafir*' [Urdu: infidel] when the Nawab calls her son by his full name as the boy's father did in formal writing, the mother is touched:

Kaleem Uddin—big tears came in eyes of Kullu's mother... only his father would write Kaleem Uddin like this (Author's translation from Urdu)⁴².

38 Temple, *Dissertation on the Proper Names of Punjabis*, 32.

39 Also found in the following variant. In ordinary Hindi-Urdu the word for hole (*ched*) becomes the Persian *soorakh* when a person gains social prominence and *khan* is added to the name.

40 Temple, *Dissertation on the Proper Names of Punjabis*, 32.

41 Peter Just, "Bimanese Personal Names: The View of Bina Town and Donggo," *Ethnology* 26, no. 4 (Oct 1987): 314.

42 Asmat Chughtai, *Kulliyat-e-Asmat Chughtai* [Urdu: Complete Works of Asmat Chughtai], ed. & Comp. Tariq Mahmood (Lahore: Book Talk, 2008), 584.

Sometimes poor people are addressed with reference to other people and their real names are virtually lost. Thus in Asmat Chughtai's story *'Nanhi ki Nani'* [Urdu: Nanhi's maternal grandmother] the Nani was never known by her own name but as the daughter-in-law, mother or grandmother of other people.⁴³ Names from the Punjab in 1947 follow the same pattern. Ordinary people go by one name or nickname — Dullah (from Abdullah), Bhala (Mehraj Din), Kaada (Mian Nuruddin) and so on⁴⁴ while respectable people have longer names like Mujahid al-Hussaini who said his surname was 'based on my devotion to the ideas of Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani'.⁴⁵

Onomastic Politics

Pakistani names, like those of the Tamils⁴⁶ and the Hindus of North India⁴⁷, do not have a fixed family name and even the 'caste name' may be optional. Thus fathers, sons and brothers may not share the same last name. Moreover, prestigious components in names are correlated more with power than belonging to the same clan or family. The dominant classes of Pakistan exercise power through what may be called 'onomastic politics' i.e. the use of prestigious components in names in order to assert their high status and so the right to be natural rulers.⁴⁸ Higher status calls for more sonorous naming and high caste names are invoked. In this context it is pertinent to mention that scholars disagree on the use of the term 'caste' [used interchangeably with '*quom*' [Arabic: nation] and '*zaat*' [Urdu: type] and '*biradari*' [Urdu: fraternity] among Muslim communities in India. Sir Denzil Ibbetson, who compiled lists of castes in the Punjab, remarks that 'nothing can be more

43 Chughtai, *Kulliyat-e-Asmat Chughtai*, 715.

44 Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab: Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012), 32.

45 Ahmed, *The Punjab: Bloodied*, 142, 241.

46 Britto, "Personal Names in Tamil Society," 349.

47 Sylvia Vatuk, "Reference, Address, and Fictive Kinship in Urban North India," *Ethnology* 8, no. 3 (July 1969), 256.

48 Bruck and Bodenhorn, eds. *The Anthropology of Names and Naming*, 14.

variable and more difficult to define than caste'.⁴⁹ Hamza Alavi mentions that 'all *biradaris* in the endogamous system have *zaat* names. Such names are used locally, as surnames, to identify the *biradaris* but the existence of *zaat* names does not signify the existence of caste in the contemporary society'.⁵⁰

Imtiaz Ahmad, while doing research in U. P., equates *zaats* with castes [*Julaha* (weaver), *teli* (provider of oil) etc.] saying 'caste and kinship co-exist and overlap'.⁵¹ But caste is not to be understood as a primordial given nor does it have the support of religion as it has in the Hindu *varana* system. Chaudhary⁵² provides definitions of terms used in discussions of kinship units in Pakistan such as *qaum*, *biradari*, and *sharika* (used in the Punjab) and opines that *qaum* and *biradari* are useful for understanding the kinship units in a village. And the anthropologist Stephen M. Lyon, studying power relations in such a village, finds 'categories such as *zaat* and *qaum*, both of which may be used to indicate caste terms, are important'.⁵³ Perhaps, it is accurate to say that South Asian Muslims 'have ascribed status based on certain conceptions of lineage that correspond to Hindu notions of caste'.⁵⁴ But, while surnames can bind Syeds, Pathans, Sheikhs etc. it is often too loosely scattered to do so except in an imagined community. However, following ethnicity is best seen as 'socially constructed' so this act of

49 Denzil Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes* Repr. (Lahore: Sheikh Mubarak Ali, 1974), 2. Also see, Denzil Ibbetson, E. D. Maclagan and H. A. Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F. Province* Vols. 2 & 3 Repr. (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1911).

50 Hamza Alavi, "Kinship in West Punjab Villages," *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 6, no.1 (1972): 1-27.

51 Ahmed, *The Punjab: Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed*, 342.

52 Open-ended interview with Dr. Azam Chaudhary, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Quaid i Azam University, November 13, 2012.

53 Stephen M. Lyon, "Power and Patronage in Pakistan" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Kent, Canterbury, 2002).

54 Syed Ali, "Collective and Elective Ethnicity: Caste among Urban Muslims in India," *Sociological Forum* 17, no. 4 (Dec 2002): 593-620.

imagination may be a crucial determiner of self-concept and how others view one.⁵⁵

The boundaries of this 'caste' are porous. There is no certain way of determining that one is authentically a Syed or a Pathan. And, of course, the trend of Ashrafization—the claiming of gentlemanly status among Muslims is as common as the status-enhancing Sanskritization (aping the behaviour of upper castes) among Hindus which Srinivas mentions.⁵⁶ Thus lower-caste Muslims claim they are Sheikhs⁵⁷ and the '*tantis* [Hindi: weavers] of Bihar began to call themselves Ansaris after becoming Muslims'.⁵⁸

Thus the 1901 census of the Bengal recorded many 'Sheikhs' which claims Arab descent. However, the Bengal was conquered by the Pathans not the Arabs and, in any case the claim to this name was recent⁵⁹ which means that the name had been usurped to claim gentility. As Gauri Viswanathan points out:

For instance, almost in a crude sort of parody, the gradual upgrading of a low-caste convert like Meher Chand is seen in the progressive combination of names and titles that he acquires through conversion to Islam: first the name of Meher Ullah, then Meheruddin, next Meheruddin Muhammad, then Munshi Meheruddin, Munshi Muhammad Meheruddin Ahmad, then finally Maulavi Munshi Muhammad Meheruddin Ahmad.⁶⁰

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- 55 Frederik Baarth, "Introduction" in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, ed., F. Baarth (London: Allen and Unwin, 1969).
- 56 M. N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).
- 57 Douglas Goodfriend, "Changing Concepts of Caste and Status among Old Delhi Muslims," in *Modernization and Social Change Among Muslims in India*, ed. Imtiaz Ahmed (Delhi: Manohar, 1983), 123.
- 58 Yoginder Sikand and Manjari Katju, "Mass Conversions to Hinduism among Indian Muslims," *Economic and Political Weekly* 29, no. 34 (August 20, 1994): 2214-19.
- 59 Census-B, *Report of the Census of India, 1901: Bengal-Extracts from District Reports Regarding Causes of Conversion to Muhammedanism*, Appendix 11, Vol. 6 Calcutta: Govt Press, 1902.
- 60 Gauri Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold: Conversion, Modernity, and Belief* (N. S: Princeton University Press, 1998), 162.

Lyon tells us that he encountered many people whose occupation was considered menial in Pakistan but they pretended to belong to a more respectable social group. The servant of his host, a Malik, called himself 'Bhatti' though people outside the village of Bhalot did not accept him as a Rajput.⁶¹ In another instance, 'a man was a *nai* [Urdu: barber] but his *qaum* was something different'⁶². This desire to appropriate a higher caste status may, however, meet with resistance. Lyon goes on to tell us that 'on one occasion a barber told me he was a Gujar. A young landlord laughed at him and told him he could be Awan if he wanted but not Gujar'.⁶³

It is perhaps this obsession with social status as expressed through titles and caste names which make members of the rural aristocracy, who are also politicians, use several such components in their names. Naming for this class is, in Bourdieu's words, an act 'of institution' (social class as institution in this case)⁶⁴ which constructs a person's identity for others and himself or herself to perceive. In this case the piling up of prestigious components adds up to the social superiority and the right to control others in society. Thus, the legislative assemblies of Pakistan, both at the federal and the provincial levels, have names which were titles and even now betoken leadership and control roles in the rural areas. The rural gentry and aristocracy comprise khans, sardars, chaudharys and maliks. However, as mentioned by the anthropologist Stephen M. Lyon in his doctoral dissertation on the power and patronage structure in Pakistan, 'the terms Malik, Khan, Choudry and Sardar all indicate titles of respect, but in other contexts these may simply be names'.⁶⁵ Moreover, 'it is not uncommon to employ a Punjabi and a Pathan title (Sardar

61 Lyon, "Power and Patronage in Pakistan," 101.

62 Lyon, "Power and Patronage in Pakistan," 127.

63 Lyon, "Power and Patronage in Pakistan," 134.

64 Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*,.

65 Lyon, "Power and Patronage in Pakistan," ii.

Ovais Ali Khan)' .⁶⁶ An analysis of prestigious components in the legislative assemblies of present-day (2013) Pakistan may be useful for understanding how certain caste names indicate social dominance in Pakistan—especially in rural Pakistan. These components are as follows:

Components of Names	National Assembly	Sindh Assembly	Punjab	Balochistan	KP
Khans	50	17	47	14	55
Syeds	35	35	21	2	9
Sardars	18	3	24	4	4
Chaudharys	21	Nil	42	Nil	Nil
Maliks	15	Nil	33	Nil	2
Eminent	29	12	14	19	2
Caste/ tribe/ biradari	141	63	221	42	22
Religious titles	20	Nil	7	1	Nil
Total components	329 components in 256 names	191 in 105	417 in 359	82 in 63	95 in 123
Total components of all names	1054	398	1162	219	328
Percentage	31.21	47	35.89	37.4	28

SOURCE: See Annexure D

The percentage of occurrence of prestige and caste components in the names of these politicians is more than the names of ordinary people having, on the average, three components at least. The working-class men of Pakistan—WC-M sample of 500,000 names with 1,030,000 components—have only 1188 such components. Even among the lower-middle and middle classes they range from between 05 to 20 per cent. It is, however, more (22.20 per cent) in the urban upper-middle and upper-classes. Even boys ranging between the ages of four and thirteen (i.e. those named in the 2000s) have 11.60 such components in their names though, in general, people use such components as grown-ups (Annexure-D). It should also be

66 Lyon, "Power and Patronage in Pakistan," iii.

pointed out that Sindhis and Baluch use caste components much more than Punjabis and even Pashtuns. Yet another point is that people tend to use such components when they leave their immediate neighbourhood so that a Pashtun inevitably uses the prestige component 'Khan' which he does not use at home. It should, however, be clarified that the title 'khan' is not used as a title but loosely as a part of the name even among poor people. Also, that it is not a Pashtun monopoly, contrary to popular perception, but is used by the Baloch and the Punjabis and even in Sindh.⁶⁷

Among the category of 'well-known family' the names of landowning families are categorized under the head of 'caste'. Families which have gained prominence through business, such as the famous twenty-two industrialist families of Pakistan are included under this head. However, some of their names such as Dawood, Jalil and Habib are too common to be distinctive. Other names, such as Saigol, Isphahani and Adamjee may be used for this purpose. The change which came in this entrepreneurial class is that 'the Karachi-based Memon groups fell in ranking while the Punjab-based Chinoti groups rose'.⁶⁸ This, however, has not given us any distinctive family names as these new capitalist families use the caste names common to others not so distinguished members of the same extended family. As mentioned earlier, titles once exalted are used by humble people as names. The *nawabs*, for instance, were feudal⁶⁹ noblemen and the name is still used as a title denoting that status among the feudal and political elite. However, the title becomes just a name like any other name among the poor.

67 Open-ended interview with Dr. Azam Chaudhary; Open-ended interview with Wahid Baksh Buzdar, Assistant Professor of Baluchi and Brahvi, National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, February 21, 2013; Open ended interview with Hanif Khalil, Assistant Professor of Pashto Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, November 13, 2012.

68 Taimur Rahman, *The Class Structure of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012), 220.

69 The term feudal is controversial as used for the landowning elite of Pakistan as, among others, Taimur Rahman contends (2012).

The Malikis and the Chaudharies might well have come from landowning families in the past though now they may be impecunious but the family name might still be used for prestige. In short the prestigious components are hollow of meaning, being mostly labels and pretences, though the Syed [Urdu: Shah Ji] is still given respect even if the family is impoverished. The prestigious caste labels are what Taimur Rahman calls 'zamindar quoms' (Syed, Awan, Rajput, Gakhar etc).⁷⁰ The *kammi* [Urdu: working-class] labels such as *musalli* [Urdu: sweeper], *nai*, *kumhar* [Urdu: potter] etc. are so low on the social scale that these are concealed rather than displayed. Thus they are absent from names as a rule though some trades, like *mallah* [Urdu: sailor] in Sindh are displayed. Thus the caste names which are assumed in order to climb the social ladder are the prestigious caste labels and not the working-class ones.

Although Syed, Shah and Meer are seen as having Islamic roots, they are used as caste names in Pakistan. Similarly, the names evocative of saints famous in India such as the pioneers of the Qadiri and the Suhrawardy orders Sheikh Abdul Qadir Gilani (1077-1166), Sheikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardy (1155-1191 or probably 1208), Sheikh Moinuddin Chishti (1141-1230) and Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624) who, being known as a reformer (*mujaddid*) also supplied the surname Mujaddidi in addition to Naqshbandi and Sirhindi are seen as labels for fraternities rather than religious tokens. Certain other places associated with pious people are also deemed as having spiritual significance e.g. Hamdan (Hamadani), Bukhara (Bukhari), Gardez (Gardezi) etc.

These are not last names in the Western sense of the term since they are not used by all irrespective of social status but manifestations of one's caste status. However, the Pakistani upper-middle class and the middle-class in the urban areas of the country are developing a sense of the family name not necessarily based upon caste. In short,

70 Rahman, *The Class Structure of Pakistan*, 116.

prestigious caste names still index a socially dominant identity, especially in the rural areas of Pakistan.

Rural, Urban and Class Identities through Names

Rural identity is indexed with certain kinds of first and second names. For instance, women use some old-fashioned names which are of local origin and not from Arabic and Persian. They also do not take the names of their fathers and husbands in the villages. Instead they use components like Bibi, Mai, Bano, Begam and Khatoon and also include morphemes like *nissa* [Arabic: women], *-dil* [Hindi-Urdu: heart] and *gul* [Persian: flower]. The first five components are hardly ever found in urban names. The others are still found in the middle-class and—*gul* is popular among the Pashtuns of all classes. The following data illustrates this (see Annexure-E):

Name	WC-F	UC-F	UC-G (P)
Bibi	104,634	Nil	01
Mai	9270	Nil	Nil
Bano	4708	5	01
Begam	11100	9	Nil
Khatoon	24907	3	01

SOURCE: See Annexure E

Besides having less or none of these components, urban women generally have male names in the end so that in the data of the 1990s hardly any woman has only feminine names (Annexure-F). Even the prestigious components in female names are Syed and Khan (used for men) nowadays though they used to be Syeda and Khanam in the early years of Pakistan (Annexure-E). While in India, 'a strong tendency in favour of secular names' has supplemented religious naming,⁷¹ in Pakistan the modern identity is proclaimed through short, sometimes Western but mostly Arabic and Persian names not used in the previous generations. Such names are modern-sounding like Mahak [Persian: good smell], Sadaf [Persian: pearl], Mona,

71 R. R. Mehrotra, "Name Change in Hindi: Some Sociocultural Dimensions," *Anthropological Linguistics* 21, no. 4 (April 1979): 205-10.

Romana, Hira etc. for girls and Kashif, Shaheer, Jawad for boys. Population census reports of Pakistan show that urbanization has increased in the country from 17.8 per cent in 1951 to 32.5 per cent in 1998.⁷² This corresponds with the decrease of rural components in names as immigrants to the cities often change them because of culture shame. Thus, while our pilot survey of rural women named in the early years of Pakistan tells us that nearly 90 per cent of them had names with components like Bibi, Bano, Khatoon, Mai etc., those who migrated to the cities, the lower middle-class, had only 8.87 per cent such components. But such components seem to have decreased in the villages also since in girls' names (from 6 to 14 years of age) they were 8.87 per cent. On the other hand the affluent young women in a private university of Lahore had only 1.03 per cent such components in their names (Annexure-F). In short, rural or old-fashioned names are abandoned when people migrate to the cities.

Indeed, there is so much culture shame for these quintessentially rural Punjabi names that a woman working as a maid servant who had once told her employer that her name in the village was Allah Ditti refused to acknowledge that as her name insisting again and again that her name was Saima. When confronted by her employer in private she said that the village name was not to be told to an outsider (the researcher).⁷³ Such name-changing out of embarrassment about old-fashioned or rural names has also been reported for India.⁷⁴

Naming for a Modern Identity

Modernity was introduced to South Asia through the colonial experience. Education and employment under the British were its most powerful vehicles. But, as Partha Chatterjee

72 Rahman, *The Class Structure of Pakistan*, 169.

73 Saima, 'Conversation with Ms Adiah Afraz, Lecturer of English at the Lahore University of Management Sciences and her domestic help called Saima'.

74 Mehrotra, "Name Change in Hindi," 207.

argues, women were expected to preserve the 'inner space of a community'.⁷⁵ They were to preserve the Hindu or Muslim—as the case might be—identity while men could acquire the linguistic, sartorial and culinary tastes and fashions necessary for their partial integration with the British rulers.⁷⁶ Among South Asian Muslims, however, while women did not take to Western dress or other cultural patterns in large numbers even in the cities, they did take up what may be called family names which will be discussed below.

Let us put this change into context by remembering that onomastic modernization was not carried out by decree in Pakistan in contrast to some other Muslim countries. In Turkey, Iran and the Central Asian States—the ruling elite carried out forced Westernization of names. In Turkey the Kemalist Grand National Assembly of the Turkish Republic passed a law on June 21, 1934 to the effect that every citizen must have a family name.⁷⁷ In Iran, the surnames were introduced by Reza Shah (r. 1925-1941).⁷⁸ People took family names pertaining to their professions, place of origin and other affiliations so that the present-day surnames in Iran are a modern innovation. In the Central Asian Republics traditional Muslim names were Russified—thus Rahman became Rakhmanov and so on—probably 'to destroy the tribal organization among the Kyrgyz and by this strengthen the control over them'.⁷⁹ And now there is a movement for the 'Kyrgyzification' of names to accentuate the national

75 Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Post-colonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 147.

76 Robert F. Spencer, "The Social Context of Modern Turkish Names," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 17, no. 3 (Autumn 1961): 205-18.

77 Spencer, "The Social Context of Modern Turkish Names," 116-57.

78 *UNICEF Iran Information Series*, 2005.

79 Erlend H. Hvoslef, "The Social use of Personal Names among the Kyrgyz," *Central Asian Survey* 20, no. 1 (2010): 89.

identity⁸⁰. Roughly, similar trends can be found in the other former Soviet republics of Central Asia.⁸¹

In Pakistan, not being imposed by the state, women's taking up of men's names is related to modernization, urbanisation and Westernization. Hence, it is found in the urban upper and middle classes though less often in the lower-middle classes. Among rural women, suffixed components of femininity such as Bibi, Bano, Khatoon, Begum or Mai are still used. However, as mentioned earlier, no rigid system of surnames—unless they are tribal or caste labels—is in place, they often take up their husband's or father's first names. In addition to that, purely Western names like Sonia, Tania, Dushka, Romana are given to girls while nicknames in the affluent urban elite are quintessentially Westernized both for girls and boys. The pressures of getting passports made and settling down in Western countries sometimes forces women to change these first names to last names. However, those who remain in the country often do not change. This preference for first names is sometimes explained on the grounds that last names are less attractive for aesthetic reasons. It is possible that women find the religious components (Peer, Syed etc.), the prestige ones (Khan, Sardar, Jam etc.), and even the tribal (caste) labels (Rajput, Khokhar, Khakwani etc.) less aesthetically appealing than the first names. After all, in the past and even now in the rural areas, these are male-sounding names some of which have feminine equivalents (Khanam for Khan and Syeda for Syed etc.).

Among men other stratagems to sound modern and Westernised were adopted. For instance, a local sounding pronunciation could be changed so as to eliminate the double consonants. Thus Mohammad Ali Jinnahbhoi became M.A. Jinh (substituting the single 'n' for the doubled letter in the pronunciation though it remains in the

80 Hvoslef, "The Social use of Personal Names among the Kyrgyz," 91-92.

81 Rafis Abazov, *Culture and Customs of the Central Asian Republics* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007).

spelling). Moreover, in this case, the suffix 'bhoy'—a typical Gujrati ethnic indicator—was also dropped.

Other names changed by literary personalities during the 20th century are as follows:

Original Name	Modernized Version
Nazar Muhammad	N. M. Rashid
Fazal Deen	Anjum Roomani
Kazim Ali	Waqar Anbalvi
Aurangzeb	Qateel Shifai
Sanaullah	Meera Ji
Dilawar Ali	Mirza Addeb
Muhammad Omar	Shaukat Thanvi
Mohammad Deen	M. D. Taseer
Deena Nath	D. N. Mudhok

SOURCE: The above information is from Manto, 1991: 413-15. More detailed information on Taseer is in Mirza, 1978: 9.

The adoption of English initials for old-fashioned or rural names or changing the name altogether to adopt a unique, literary persona are the most popular devices for onomastic modernization.

Conclusion

This analysis of Pakistani personal names has brought out that naming practices in Pakistan's modernizing society are related to the perception of identity of various kinds. Certain names, for instance, are indexed to class identities i.e., rural and urban, and within these two broad categories to other forms of social stratification. Others are correlated with ethnic identity and with the tension between modernization and the desire to seek an authentic identity. Urban naming is governed by the desire to seek novelty without, however, losing consciousness of the meaning altogether. Rural naming is traditional. Naming practices are related to power differentials. Hence one naming strategy—an upper-class

one—is to assert one’s high social position by giving big names with prestigious honorifics, titles and clan affiliations. Another strategy, this time to conceal one’s lack of power, is to adopt the names of the powerful. However, group labels are becoming stable family names in urban areas during the ongoing modernization of Pakistani society.

Notes

1. Also found in the following variant. In ordinary Hindi-Urdu the word for hole (*ched*) becomes the Persian *soorakh* when a person gains social prominence and *khan* is added to the name.

Daulat tere teen nam

Chiddva, ched, soorakh khan

2. The term feudal is controversial as used for the landowning elite of Pakistan as, among others, Taimur Rahman contends (2012).
3. In a number of cases of the author’s acquaintance women used their husband’s first names because they found the second name too ‘masculine’ or ‘rough’ as they said. However, they changed them to the last name when they found that it made travelling and settling down in Western countries easier.
4. In Meera Ji’s case the story is that he fell in love with a girl called Meera. Because of her he also started appreciating the poetry of Meerabai (1498-1547) (Manto 1991: 60).

Annexure-A**ABBREVIATIONS AND SPECIAL TERMS**

For counting the number of caste components in names the following abbreviations have been used.

A	Arabic language.
Caste	Includes names used to indicate group identities which are also called <i>quom</i> , <i>zat</i> and <i>biradari</i> .
Density	The number of components per name.
Families	Names of well-known families.
H-U	Hindi-Urdu
P	Persian language.
Place	Names inspired by prestigious places such as Bukhari from Bukhara.
Rel	Names inspired by religious associations but now used as group identity labels.
Rural (W)	Components indexing an old-fashioned or rural identity among women.
Titles	Prestigious titles now used as names e.g. Khan, Pasha, Mirza etc.

Annexure-B**ABBREVIATIONS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF PILOT SAMPLES**

1	Rural- F (P) (1950s)	Women of the age of 50 and above from the villages of Padhana and Barki from Lahore and a village from South Punjab. These people were named in the early years of Pakistan.
2	Rural-G (P) (1990s)	Girls of the same sample.
3	LMC-G (P) (1990s)	Girls of the lower-middle classes studying in the Apna charity school in Rawalpindi from the ages of six to 15 years named in the late 1990s or early 2000s.
4	UMC-G (P) (1980s)	Girls from an expensive private university in Lahore in early twenties i.e. named in early 1990s or late 1980s.

Annexure-C**ABBREVIATIONS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF MAIN SAMPLES**

1	WC-M (Pak)	Working-class, partly-employed and unemployed men who receive financial aid from the government through Benazir Income Support Programme from all districts of Pakistan ranging from 20 to 60 years.
2	WC-F (Pak)	Women of the same sample.
3	MC-M (P) (1990s)	Middle and lower-middle class males from the Punjab whose names are in the 2012 matriculation gazette of the Lahore Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education. Their ages being between 15 and 16, they were named in the late 1990s.
4	MC-G (P) (1990s)	Girls of the above sample.
5	MC-B (KP) (1990s)	Boys of the same ages and classes in the gazette of the Peshawar BISE, 2012.
6	MC-M (S) (1950s)	Men of the middle-class from Sindh named in the early 1950s.
7	MC-M (S) (1950s)	Men of the middle-class from Sindh named in the early 1950s.
8	MC-B (S) (1990s)	Boys of the middle-class from Sindh named in the 1990s and early 2000s.
9	MC-G (s) (1990s)	Girls of the same sample.
10	UC-M (P) (1950s)	Upper-middle and upper-class men from an elite club and an English-medium school in Lahore named in the 1950s.
11	UC-F (P) (1950s)	Women of the same sample.
12	MC-M (P)	Middle and lower-middle class males from

	(1950s)	the Punjab whose names were in the matriculation gazettes of the Lahore BISE of the 1950s and 1960s named in the late 1940s and 1950s.
13	MC-F (P) (1950s)	Women of the above sample.
14.	MC-M (KP) (1950s)	Names of males of the above classes in the matriculation gazette of the Peshawar board of 1961. They were named in the 1950s.
15.	MC-F (KP) (1950s)	Women of the above sample
16.	UC-B (P)	Boys from the upper-middle and upper classes of urban Punjab named in 2000s.
17.	UC-G (P)	Girls of the same sample.

Annexure-D**CASTE/QUOM/ZAAT/PRESTIGIOUS COMPONENTS IN MALE NAMES**

No	Names	WC-M (Pak)	MC-M (P) (1990s)	MC-M (KP) (1990s)	MC-M (P) (1950s)	MC-M (KP) (1950s)	MC-M (S)	MC-B (S) (1990s)	UC-M (P) (1950s)	UC-B (2000)
	No of Names	500,000	65,331	42,692	22,464	63,013	2,950	2,208	3,649	512
	Components	1,030,000	148,057	89,270	53,717	135,621	6,632	4,673	10,198	1,138
	Density	2.06	2.27	2.09	2.39	2.15	2.25	2.12	2.79	2.22
1	Titles	1,20,780	3,012	8,971	3,008	19,768	426	233	1,014	58
2	Religion	318	2,330	3,077	1,523	6,141	290	152	359	35
3	Place	105	87	21	43	37	11	01	55	01
4	Caste	9,401	2,094	629	1,173	682	530	245	774	34
5	Families	Nil	21	48	19	102	5	04	62	4
	Total Components	1,30,604	7,544	12,746	5,766	26,730	1,262	635	2,264	132
	Percentage	11.88	5.10	14.28	10.73	19.71	19.03	13.59	22.20	11.60

Annexure-E**NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RURAL/OLD-FASHIONED FEMALE NAMES**

	WC-F (300,000)	MC-F(P) (2,828) 1950s	MC-F(P) (65,532) 1990s	MC-F(KP) (413) 1950s	MC-F (KP) (17,333) 1990s	MC-F (S) (614) 1990s	UC-F(P) (1900) 1950s	UC-G(P) (608) 2000s
BIBI	1,04,634 (34.88)	112 (3.96)	418 (0.64)	22 (5.33)	2,509 (14.480)	4 (0.65)	NIL	1 (0.16)
BANO	4,708 (1.57)	71 (2.51)	317 (0.48)	16 (3.87)	400 (2.31)	1 (0.16)	5 (0.26)	1 (0.16)
KHATOON	24,907 (8.30)	55 (1.84)	20 (0.03)	13 (3.14)	11 (0.06)	3 (0.49)	3 (0.16)	NIL
BEGUM	11,100 (3.70)	377 (13.33)	13 (0.02)	86 (20.82)	399 (2.30)	1 (0.16)	9 (0.47)	NIL
MAI	9,270 (3.09)	02 (0.07)	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
JAN	8,402 (2.80)	05 (0.18)	25 (0.04)	8 (1.94)	68 (0.39)	1 (0.16)	10 (0.53)	NIL
-NISSA	4,077 (1.36)	56 (1.98)	227 (0.35)	9 (2.18)	86 (0.49)	NIL	5 (0.26)	04 (0.66)
-DIL	1,819 (0.61)	09 (0.32)	48 (0.07)	1 (0.24)	12 (0.07)	NIL	1 (0.05)	2 (0.33)
-GUL	7,214 (2.40)	19 (0.67)	624 (0.95)	9 (2.18)	1,051 (6.06)	04 (0.65)	22 (1.16)	5 (0.82)
KHANAM	448 (0.15)	117 (4.14)	54 (0.08)	7 (1.00)	15 (0.09)	Nil	NIL	NIL
NAMES	1,76,579	823	1,746	171	4,551	14	55	13
PERCENTAGE	58	29.10	2.66	41.4	26.25	2.28	2.89	2.14

The percentages refer to the proportion of people having rural/old-fashioned components in their names.

Annexure-F**OLD-FASHIONED/RURAL/ COMPONENTS IN FEMALE NAMES**

PILOT SAMPLES					
No	Names	Rural-F (P) (1950s)	Rural-G (P) (1990s)	LMC-G (P) (1990s)	UMC-G (P) (1980s)
	No of Names	398	705	282	389
1	Bibi	398	243	23	Nil
2	Bano	03	10	nil	04
3	Khatoon	02	02	01	Nil
4	Begam	20	Nil	01	Nil
5	Mai	04	Nil	Nil	Nil
6	Components	427	253	25	04
7	Percentages	89.71	35.89	8.87	1.03

Annexure-G**MEN'S NAMES/ GROUP LABELS IN FEMALE NAMES**

MAIN SMAPLES									
No	Names	WC-F (Pak)	MC-F (P) (1990s)	MC-F (KP) (1990s)	MC-F (S) (1990s)	UC-F (P) 1950s	MC-F (P) 1950s	MC-F (KP) 1950s	UC-G (P) 2000
	No of Names	300,000	65,532	17,333	614	1900	2,828	413	608
	Components	609,000	134011	29,994	1155	4,313	5,938	838	1265
	Density	2.03	2.05	1.73	1.88	2.27	2.1	2.03	2.08
1	Titles	4,744	1517	640	47	194	48	7	61
2	Religion	1,615	1048	418	49	98	95	4	25
3	Place	89	136	13	Nil	18	5	1	3
4	Caste	2058	989	279	65	135	61	9	31
5	Families	04	19	21	Nil	34	03	Nil	3
6	Total	8510	8540	1371	161	479	212	21	123
7	Percentage	1.40	6.37	4.57	13.94	11.11	3.57	2.5	9.72