Personal Names in Kashmiri

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1. Introduction

The study of personal names including surnames and nicknames in Kashmiri has not received adequate attention so far. Some earlier works (Lawrence 1895, Anand Koul 1924, R.K.Koul 1982) have made some direct or indirect references to the subject from different points of view. No attempt has been made to compile the data and study the subject from linguistic point of view.

Besides socio-cultural and religious parameters, linguistic factors must form an important aspect of the discussion of names, surnames and nicknames of any language or region. In this paper, an attempt is made to present a brief description of personal names including surnames and nicknames of Kashmiri. Wherever necessary, the description related to Hindu and Muslim personal names is provided seperately. Certain common characteristics of these names especially surnames and nicknames too are pointed out.

2. Personal Names

A personal name, also called 'given' or 'Christian' name, is the name given to a child after its birth. The *naamakaran* (name giving) ceremony, known under other names as well, is very common among various Indian societies. Lawrence (1895) has mentioned that a Kashmiri Hindu child received its name at the ceremony of *sondar* (the ceremony for bathing the mother and the child on the seventh day of the birth of the child). Though the ceremony of *shran-sondar* is still performed, but it is not necessary to give a name to child on that very day. A child is normally given an affectional nickname by elders soon after its birth and the personal name is given later either by parents or other elder relatives.

In ancient times, most of the Kashmiri Hindu names were after the names of gods and goddesses. Some names were after the names of places, names of animals and birds, and names of the objects of nature: sun, moon, stars, mountains, rivers etc. Whereas, in some Indian societies there has been a tradition of giving secret names to the child, besides its official name, this practice has never been adopted by Kashmiris.

3. Structure of Hindu Names

Samples of personal names of ancient Kashmiri Hindus are preserved in the Sanskrit texts in Sanskritic forms. We get a reference to a number of non-Aryan Naga names in the Nilamata Puran which were prevalent among Kashmiri Hindus. These names also appear Sanskritized: Ajkarna, Ashvakarna, Darimukha, Oran, Rocan, Hari, Nartani, Gayan etc.

The personal names of Kashmiri Hindus in ancient and medieval periods were mostly of single word structure. These are preserved in their Sanskritized form in the old Sanskrit literature and other texts written in or on Kashmir. There is no evidence available regarding their actual pronunciation by the native speakers of Kashmiri. Examples:

1. Males

> Abhinanda, Avanda, Avantivarmana, Bhaskara, Bilhana, Bhuumka, Cakarpala, Chandraka, Damodara, Dharmsoka, Cananda, Jonaraaja, Kalphana, Kanaka, Kshemendra, Lalla, Mammatta, Mankha, Pravarsena, Kalhana, Randitya,

Budrata, Shambhu, Srivar, Syamala, Sankuku, Sivaswami, Tilaka, Udbhata, Vamana, Vasudeva, Vijayapala, Yashke.

2. Females

Amritlekhaa, Anjanaa, Bapikaa, Bhinnaa, Bijjaa, Bimbaa, Candalaa, Candrii, Diddaa, Devlekhaa, Omadevii, Hamsii, Iraavatii, Indraa, Jayadevii, Jayalakshmii, Jayamatii, Kamalaa, Kayaa, Kshmaa, Lothitaa, Kanjarikaa, Maghavatii, Nonikaa, Nnaagaa, Nagalataa, Padmasrii, Sahjaa, Sammaa, Sharadaa, Shrilekhaa, Suyyah, Uddaa, Vallabhaa, yasomatii etc.

Early Modern period

Since the late nineteenth century the structure of Kashmiri Hindu personal names has
undergone various changes. There were mainly two developments: (1) Personal names derived from Sanskrit and of non-Aryan origin have been Kashmirized in both form and pronunciation., (2) Single-word personal names become less frequent and they were replaced by two-term or compound personal names.
The Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic borrowed personal names in Kashmiri have undergone
various phonological changes to confirm to the phonetic and phonological structure of Kashmiri in their spoken usage, but usually maintained their spelling system as per the original written conventions :

1. The diminutive mono-syllabic or disyllabic personal names are formed by adding /I/ suffix to the roots:
    dayI (< daya: 'kindness'), IshI (<i:shvar "God'), ga:shI (<ga:sh 'light'), veshI/veshnI (<vishnu 'Lord Vishnu'), IasI (< las "live long').

2. The voiced aspirated stops /bh/, /dh,/, /gh/ in Sanskrit borrowed personal names are replaced by voiceless stops /b/, /d/, and /g/ respectively:

bhu:shan	>	bu:shnI	Bhushan
ra:dha:	>	ra:da:	Radha
raghu	>	r>gI	Raghu

3. The uvular stop /q/, fricatives /f/, /G/, and /x/ in the Perso-Arabic borrowed personal names are replaced by velar stop /k/, bilabial stop /ph/, velar stops /g/ and /kh/ respectively:

qa:dir	>	kA:dir	Qadir
shari:f	>	shAri:ph	Sharif
Gula:m	>	g>la:m	Ghulam
xAzIr	>	khAzar	Xazar

4. The consonant clusters in the final position are split up by intrusive vowels:

farz	>	pharIz	Farz
fazI	>	phazII	fazI

5. The vowels /a/ and /a:/ change to /A/ and /A:/ respectively when followed by a constant and a vowel /i/ or /i:/.

ka:shi:	>	kA:shi:	Kashi
nazi:r	>	nAzi:r	Nazir
a:sif	>	A:siph	Asif

6. The vowel /u/ change into />/.

GuN	>	g>n	Gun
Gula:m	>	g>la:m	Ghulam
sukh	>	s>kh	Sukh

7. The semivowel /y/ is added in the initial position of the borrowed personal names beginning with the front vowel /i/ or /i:/

imra:n	>	yimra:n	Imran
i:shar	>	yi:shar	Ishar

8. The semivowel /v/ is added in the initial position of the borrowed personal names beginning with the back vowels /u/ and /o/:

omka:r	>	v>mka:r	Omkar
umar	>	vumar	Omar/Umar

9. The vowel /o:/ is replaced by /u:/

sho:bha:	>	shu:ba	Shobha
so:ma:	>	su:ma:	Suma

In the formation of compound or two personal names, a set of definite second member morphomes are used along with the first names. There are co-occurrence restrictions in their usage. Very common second member morphomes used in compound personal names of males are: *ra:m* (Ram), *cand* (Chand), *da:s* (Das), k*a:kh* (Kakh), *na:th* (Nath), *la:l* (Lal), *krIshin* (Krishen), amd *kuma:r* (Kumar). The terms *ra:m* and *ka:kh* are added to the diminutive first names only. The terms *na:th, cand, da:s, krishen* and *kuma:r* are the second member terms used in names borrowed from Hindi. The term *la:l* is used with some diminutive first names as well as their Hindi complete forms borrowed in Kashmiri. Following are the examples of their usage:

1.   ra:m (Lord Rama):
     dayI (<daya: 'kindness') ra:m (Daya Ram)< kA:NThI (<kaNTha 'throat') ra:m (Kantha Ram)< shavI (< shiv 'Lord Shiva') ra:m (Shiva Ram)< siriyI (<su:riya 'sun') ra:m (Siri/Suriya Ram), nA:thI (< na:th 'lord/master') ra:m (Nath Ram), dashI (< darshan 'glimpse') ra:m (Darshan Ram), kishI (< ke:shav) ra;m (Keshav Ram), veshI/veshnI (<vishnu 'Lord Vishnu') ra:m (Vishnu Ram), go:NdI (< go:vind 'name for Krishna') ra:m (Vishnu Ram), go:NdI (< go:vind 'name for Krishna') ra:m (Govind Ram), ishI (< I:shvar 'God') ra:m (Ishvar Ram), ga:shI (ga:sh 'light') ra:m (Gwasha Ram), lasI (< las 'live long') ra:m (Lasa Ram).

2.   cand (< candr 'moon')

ta:ra: (<ta:ra:) 'star') cand (Tara Chand), krIshin (<krishn 'Lord Krishna') cand (Krishen Chand), ra:m ('Lord Ram') cand (Ram Chand), amar (<amar 'immortal') cand (Amar Chand).

3. da:s ('servant')
krIshin (< krishen) da:s (Krishen Das), Tho:kur (< Tha:kur 'lord') da:s (Thakur Das).

4. ka:kh ('uncle')
It is frequently used as an honorific mode of address for addressing one's uncles or elder brothers and/or cousins by Muslims). It is used as an honorific term mostly with elderly males for whom respect is intended like the following names : gu:vind/go:NdI (< Govind) ka:kh, dayI (< daya:) ka:kh, shavI (< shiva) ka:kh, siriyI (< su:riya 'sun') ka:kh, nA:thI (< na:th) ka:kh, ishI (< i:shvar) ka:kh, ga:shI (< ga:sh 'lignt') ka:kh, prasa:dI (< prasad) ka:kh, mahi:shar/mahi (< maheshvar) ka:kh, ta:rakh (< tarakh 'stars') ka:kh, sarvI ka:kh, a:nand (< a:nand 'pleasure') ka:kh, sAhzI (<sahaj 'simple') ka:kh, labI (< la:bh 'profit') ka:kh, Iakh'man (< lakshman) ka:kh.

5. na:th ('lord' or 'master')
This term is very frequently used with the Hindu names from early twentieth century. This second name term is used with the following first names: brIjI/brIj (< braj 'Lord Krishna's birth place'; Krishna is called "Lord of Braj" as well) na:th (Brij/Braj Nath), v>mI/v>mka:r (< omka:r) na:th (Omkar Nath), dArgi/dorga: (< durga: 'Goddess Durga') na:th (Durga Nath), da:ri/da:rika: (< dwa:rika: 'Dwaraka', Lord Krishen is calld the 'Lord of Dwarika') na:th (Dwaraka Nath), ja:nI/ja:nki: (< ja:naki 'Sita)' na:th (janki Nath), hedI/heday (< hriday 'heart') na:th (Hriday Nath), kA:la:sh (< kailash 'Kailash mountain'; the Kailash mountain is abode of Lord Shiva) na:th (Kailash nath), prayI/preyam (< pre:m 'love') na:th (Prem Nath), gupI/gu:pi: (< go:pi: 'beloved of Lord Krishna') na:th (Gopi Nath), mAhi:shar (< mahesh 'Lord Shiva') na:th (Maheshar Nath), treyi/treylu:ki: (< trilo:ki 'the universe') na:th (Som/Soom Nath), sh>mbI/shombu: (< shambhu: 'Lord Shiva') na:th (Shambu Nath), jagI/jagar (< jag 'world') na:th (Jagar Nath), prathI/prathvi: (< prithvi: 'earth') na:th (Prithvi Nath), di:nI/di:na: (< di:n 'poor') na:th (Dina Nath), ra:de: (< ra:dha: beloved of Lord Krishna) na:th (Radhe Nath), arzan (< arjan) na:th (Arjan Nath) ba:skar (< bha:skar 'sun') na:th (Bhaskar Nath), kA:shi: (< ka:shi:- a holy place for pilgrimage, another name for Banaras) na:th (Kashi Nath), po:shI/po:shkar (< pushkar 'a sacred place for Brahma') na:th (Pushkar/Poshkar Nath). In the list of personal names given above before the first names listed, diminutive forms of these names are given ending in the vowel /I/. It is to be noted tht the second name na:th cannot be added to the diminutive names: *b>dI na:th, *jagI na:th, *di:nI na:th etc.

6. la:l ('ruby')

This term has also remained in use as a second term in a large number of compound personal names beginning with the following first names: ga:shI la:I (Gwash Lal). GirI/girdA:ri: (< giridha:ri 'one who holds mountain'; another name of lord Krishna, who is believed to have lifted a 'mountain' called Govardhan on his hand in order to save the lives of human beings and animals from being washed away in rain) la:l (Girdhari Lal), sha:mI (< shya:m 'black'- a name of Krishna after his black complextion (Shyam Lal), pya:ri (< pia:ra: 'dear one') la:l (Piare/Pyare Lal), javI/java:har (< java:har 'diamond') la:l (Jawahar Lal), camnI/caman (< caman 'flower bed') la:l (Chaman Lal), vedI (< ve:d 'Ved') la:l (Veda Lal), jiyI (< ji: 'heart') la:l,

(Jiya Lal), mu:ti: (< mo:ti: 'pearl') la:l (Moti Lal), ro:shnI/ro:shan 'shining') la:l (Roshan Lal), bu:shan (< bhu:shan 'ornament') la:l (Bhushan Lal). It is to be noted that most of the above names are used in Hindi as well.

7.   krIshin ('name of lord Krishna')

This term is used as a second member of a few compound personal names in Kashmiri. These names also have been borrowed from Hindi and are used in other Hindi speaking states as well: daya: krIshin (Daya Krishen), siri: (<   su:riya 'sun') krishin (Siri Krishen), gu:pi: krIshin (Gopi Krishen), mohan krIshin (Mohan Krishen), maha:ra:j ('king') krIshen (Maharaj Krishen), ra:da: (< ra:dha:) krIshin (Radha Krishen), ru:p ('beauty' or 'grace') krIshin (Roop Krishen), te:j ('grace') krIshin (Tej Krishen), p'a:re: (< p'a:ra: 'dear one') krIshin (Piarey Krishen), te:j ('grace') krIshin (Tej Krishen), jayi (<   jay 'victory') krIshin (Jaya Krishen) etc. The second term kriIshin cannot be added to the diminutive forms of the first names: *dayI krIshin, *p'a:ri krIshin etc.

8.   kuma:r ('prince')

This term has frequently been used along with a number of first names in Hindi. A number of such personal names have been borrowed from Hindi into kashmiri: asho:k kumar (Ashok Kumar), vijI/vijay (< vijay 'victory') kuma:r (Vijay Kumar), vino:d (< vinod 'enjoyment') kuma:r (Vinod Kumar), ra:jI/ra:j kumar (Raj Kumar), pawan kuma:r (Pawan Kumar) etc. The term kuma:r however cannot be added to the diminutive forms of the names given above: *vijI kumar, *ra:jI kuma:r etc.

Hindu Female Names

The second member terms of compound female personal names are: ma:l (< ma:la: 'garland'), Mal, ded (term normally used for addressing one's mother or grand mother). Ded, de:vi: (< de:vi 'goddess') Devi, vati: (Vati), and kuma:ri: (Kumari). There are co-occurrence restrictions in their use. The terms ma:l and kuma:ri: are added to complete first names of females borrowed from Sanskrit.

1.   ma:l ('garland')

This second term is very frequently used with the following given or first names: Arni: (< aranya 'forest'; also name of a flower) ma:l (Arni Mal), po:shI (< po:sh 'flower') ma:l (Posha Mal), k>ngl (< kong 'saffron') ma:l (Konga Mal), veshI (< vishva 'world') ma:l (Vesha Mal), bo:ni (< bu:n' 'maple tree') ma:l (Boni Mal), ra:da: (< ra:dha) ma:l (Radha Mal) hi: ('jasmine') ma:l (Hi Mal), vanI (< van/ban 'forest') ma:l (Vana Mal), zayi (< jay 'victory') ma:l (Jaya Mal), zItsI ('sparkles') ma:l (Zacha Mal), rIkhI (< rIkh 'line') ma:l (Rakha Mal).

2.   vati:

This term is added to the following first names: praba: (< prabha: 'light') vati: (Prabha Vati), ru:pa: (< ru:p 'beauty') vati: (Rupa Vati), g>nI (< gun 'qualities') vati: (Guna Vati), shu:ba: (< sho:bha: 'grace') vati: (Shobha Vati), kamla: (< kamal 'lotus') vati: (Kamla Vati), ta:ra: (< ta:ra: 'star') vati: (Tar Vati), danI(< dhan 'wealth') vati: (Dhana Vati), li:la: ('a devotional song') vati: (Leela Vati), vombra: (< vumbIr 'age') vati:

(Ombra Vati), su:ma (< so:m 'sun') vati: (Soma Vati), mi:na: (< maina: 'cookoo') vati: (Meena Vati).

3.   ded (an honourific term used for mother/grand mother)

This trm is frequently used as a term of address for mother or grand mother). It is normally added to a limited number of given names of elderly females for showing respect: g>nI/g>nIr (< guN 'qualities'; g>nIr 'one full of good qualities') ded (Gona Ded), r>pI (< r>ph 'silver') ded (Rupa Ded), rA:nim (< rA:ni: 'queen') ded (Ranim Ded), IaII (a famous Kashmiri poetess of the 14th century named Lala or Laleshwari:) ded (Lala Ded), zu:n ('moon') ded (Zoon Ded), yambIr (name of a flower), ded (Yambar Ded) etc.

4.   de:vi: 'goddess'

This term is added to a limited number of the first names: mu:hni: (< mo:hini: 'attractive') de:vi: (Mohini Devi), ratna: (< ratan 'diamond') de:vi (Ratna Devi), phu:la: (< phu:l 'flower') de:vi: (Phoola Devi), k>shI/k>shal (< kushal 'fine';. < Kaushalya was the name of the Lord Rama's mother) de:vi: (Kaushalya Devi), kishni:/krishna: (< krishan 'Lord Krishen') de:vi: (Krishna Devi), sarla: (< sarl 'simple') de:vi: (Sarla Devi), tolsi: (< tulsi: 'the name of a plant used for worship'; this term in Kashmiri is also used for a broad golden necklace) de:vi (Tulsi Devi), lakhimi: (< lakshmi: 'goddess of wealth') de:vi: (Lakhmi/Lakhimi Devi) etc.

5.   kuma:ri:

This term is also added to the first names of Hindu women mostly borrowed from Hindi: usha: (< u:sha: 'dawn') kuma:ri: (Usha Kumari), phu:la: (< phu:I 'flower') kuma:ri: (Phoola Kumari), krishna: (< krishn 'Lord Krishen') kuma:ri: (Krishna Kumari), santo:sh ('contentment') kuma:ri: (Santosh Kumari) etc.

Single-word Names

In recent years single-word personal names have again become popular. Most of these names are very common in Hindi as well, and have been brrowed from it by Kashmiri Hindus. Some ancient Kashmiri Hindu names are also used:

1.   Males

amit (< amrit 'nectar') (Amit), ashvani: (Ashvani), navi:n (Navin), sanjay (Sanjay), a:shu: (Ashu), puni:t (Puneet), vindit (Vindit), ra:hul (Rahul), kashap (after the Rishi Kashyap of Kashmir), kalhan (Kalhan), bilhan (Bilhan) etc.

2.   Females

re:kha: ('a line') (Rekha), pri:ti: ('love') (Priti), anjali: ('palm') (Anjali), gi:ta: (Geeta), soni: (< sona: 'gold') (Soni), nansi: (Nansi), hi:ma:l (Himal), indra: (Indra), suya: (Suya), lale:shvri: (Laleshvari) etc.

4.   Muslim Personal Names

With the spread of Islam in Kashmir, Muslim names based on Persian and Arabic names were introduced. There was a large-scale conversion from Hindus to Muslims. As per the convention, the first step for converting someone from any faith into Islam necessitates renaming the person in an Islamic name. These names are mostly drawn from Islamic texts including the Holy Quran.

Main Muslim personal names are of a compound structure, which may or may not be followed by surnames. During the early and middle periods, names were chosen strictly on the basis of Muslim religious texts. The ninety-nine names of the God in the Islamic literature (for the list see Koul 1982: 137-138) were the main sources of these names.

The compound personal names have undergone various phonological changes. In most of the cases only the second member of the compound name is retained in its Kashmirized spoken form. Following are the examples of such names giving both their actual spoken as well as written or traditional forms:

Spoken		Written
Short Form	Full Form	
a:hdI	abdul aha:d (< a:had)	Abdul Ahad
Azi:z	abdul Azi:z (< azi:z)	Abdul Aziz
kha:II	khA:likh (< xa:Iiq)	Abdul xaliq
rAhma:n	rAhma:n (< rahma:n)	Abdul Rahman
raza:kh	raza:kh (< raza:q)	Abdul Razaq
ganI	abdul gAni: (< Gani:)	Abdul Gani
kadI	kA:dɨr (< qa:dir)	Abdul Qadir
sata:r	abdul sata:r	Abdul Satar
va:hbI	abdul vaha:b	Abdul wahab
ga:phur	gapha:r (< Gafa:r)	Abdul Ghafar
majI/mAjid	abdul maji:d	Abdul Majeed
rAhimI	abdul rAhi:m (< rahi:m)	Abdul Rahim
rosul	g>la:m rasu:l	Ghulam Rasool
m>mI/ma:hmud	g>la:m mohamad	Ghulam Mohammad
nabI	g>la:m nAbi: (< nabi:)	Ghulam Nabi
amI/a:hmud	g>la:m a:hmad	Ghulam Ahmad
mahdI	mAhi:di:n (< mohi-u-din)	Ghulam Mohi-ul-Din
isI	ismA:yil (<isma:iI)	Mohammad Ismayil
kamI	kama:l ahmad	kamal Ahmad
akI	m>hmad akbar	Mohammad Akbar
ibI	ibIrrA:him (< ibra:hi:m)	Mohammad Ibrahim
khalI	khAlil (< xali:l)	Mohammad Khalil
musI	mustapha: (< mustafa:)	Mohammad Mustafa
magI	makbu:l (< maqbu:l)	Mohammad Maqbool
ramI/ramuz	ramza:n	Mohammad Ramzan
jama:lI	jama:l	Mohammad Jamal
jaba:rI	jaba:r (< jabba:r)	Mohammad jabbar
subIha:n	subaha:n	Mohammad Subhan
rajbI	rajab	Mohammad Rajab
yo:ku:b	yo:ku:b (< ya:qu:b)	Mohammad Yaqub
yu:suph	yu:suph (< yu:suf)	Mohammad Yusuf

The diminutive or short forms are not compounded and are used in informal speech only. Compounds of personal names are formed by adding the second fixed terms to the first names. The Kashmiri spoken forms of these words are: abdul/obdul (Abdul), g>la:m (Ghulam), and m>hmad (Mohammad). All these fixed terms are used in the beginning as illustrated above in both spoken as well as written versions. The spoken forms of the full names are illustrated as: abdul aha:d (Abdul Ahad), g>la:m rasu:l (Ghulam Rasool), m>hmad rajab (Mohammad Rajab) etc. In a few cases, however, it is the first member or part of the compound name which is retained in its Kashmirized spoken form. Examples are:

Spoken Diminutive	Soken Full Form	Written
Aliyi	Ali: m>hmad	Ali Mohammad
bashI	bAshi:r ahmad	Bashir Ahmad
gulI	gul m>hmad	Gul Mohammad
habI	habi:b ulla:	Habib-Ullah
sonI	sona:ulla:	Sana-Ullah
jalI	jala:l di:n	jalal-ul-Din
sira:jI	sira:j di:n	Siraj-ul-Din
khAzIr	khAzIr m>hmad	Xazar Mohammad
shAri:phI	shAri:ph di:n	Sharif-ul-Din

The honorific terms of address ka:kh (uncle), sa:b, or To:Th ('dear one') are added to the short as well as full forms of the personal names for showing respect and/or affection. Examples:

1. ka:kh
   Azi:z ka:kh, ramI ka:kh, sata:rI ka:kh etc.

2. sA:b
   a:had sA:b, rAhma:n sA:b, bashI sA:b, gulI sA:b, habI sA:b, sonI sA:b etc.

3. To:Th
   Azi:z To:Th, khAlil To:Th, ramI To:Th, magi To:Th, kA:dir To:Th, vaha:b To:Th, rosul To:Th etc.

Modern Muslim Names

Currently, there is a tendency towards using the single-word personal names followed by surnames for Muslim males. Most of these names are borrowed from the names of Muslims from outside the state and are not necessarily based on the religious texts. Examples are:
   hAsi:b (< hasi:b) Hasib, muni:b (Munib), nAzi:r (< nazi:r) Nazir, shabi:r (< shabi:r) Shabir, Ani:s (Anis), zi:nath (< zi:nat) Zeenat, A:siph (< a:sif) Asif, amjad (Amjad), yimra:n (< imra:n) Imran, shamsha:d (Shamshad), yi:sa:r (< I:sa:r) Isar, yA:si:n (< ya:si:n) Yasin, jami:l (< jami:l) Jameel, phiro:z (< firo:z) Firoz.

Among the Muslim female names, only a few traditional names such as 'Fatima' are chosen on the basis of Muslim religious texts. A large number of other Muslim female names are after the names of objects of nature, nice qualities and objects of beauty. Some female names borrowed from other languages have also been Kashmirized in their pronunciation.

sa:jI (< sa:jida) Sajida, pha:tI (< fa:tima) Fatima, Ami:nI (< a:mi:na) Amina, ra:jI (< ra:j) Raja, ha:jrI (< ha:jira:) Hajra, phazII (< fazl 'kindness') Fazli, sondar ('beautiful') Sundri, ma:lI (< ma:l 'garland'), Mala, sa:rI (< saira:) Saira, ja:nI (< ja:n 'life/good') Jana, pharlz (< farz 'duty') Faraz, zu:n ('moon') Zoon, bakhIt (< baxt 'fortune') Baxat, m>khtI ('pearls') Mokhti, rAhAt (< ra:hat 'peace') Rahat, ta:jI (< ta:j 'crown') Taj, rAhmat ('blessings') Rahmat, satar:I ('star') Sitara, kho:tan (< xa:tu:n 'lady') Khotan, khAtij (< xati:ja: < xadi:ja) Khatiji, zA:nI (zA:n 'basket') Zana, ze:bI ('suitable, attractive') Zeba, zayI (< zia 'light') Zaya etc.

Following are some modern names of kashmiri Muslim Females:

raphi:kI (< rafi:q 'friend') Rafiqa, shaml (shama: 'candle') Shama, nAsi:mI (< nasi:m 'morning breeze') Nasima, najmI (< najm 'star') Najma, rAshi:dI (< rashi:da:) Rasheeda, hAni:phl (< hani:fa:) Hanifa, hAli:ml (< hali:m 'polite') Halima, sAli:ml (< sali:m) Salima, nAphi:sI (< nafi:s 'good') Nafisa, nAyi:mI (< nayi:m 'gifted') Nayima, phAri:dI (< fari:da:) Farida, kulsumI (< kulsum) Kulsum, ziyI (< ziya:) Zia, ya:smi:n (jasmine/ 'name of a flower') Yasmin, salml (< salma:) Salma, riha:nI (< riha:na:) Rihana, parvi:nI (< parvi:n) Parvina, shaba:nI (< shaba:na:) Shabana, rukhsa:nI (< ruxsa:na:) Rukhsana etc.

The second member terms of compound Muslim female names are be:gam (Begum) ba:no: (Banu) a:pl, ded etc. The terms be:gam and ba:no: are very frequently used with most of the Muslim female first names:

1.   ra:jI be:gam (Raja Begum), zu:nI be:gam (Zoon Begum), ta:jI begam (Taj Begum), zA:nI begam (Zana Begum) etc.

2.   rAphi:k ba:no: (Rafiqa Bano), gulshan ba:no: (Gulshan Bano), sAli:m ba:no: (Salim Bano) etc.

The terms a:pl and ded are honorific terms added to the first names. The term a:pl is normally used for elder sisters, aunts etc.Examples:

zA:nI a:pI , sa:rI a:pI, ta:jI ded, sa:jI ded etc.

Certain 'derogatory' terms are added to the first male and female names by illiterates. These terms are khor/khAr (unsophisticated, one who has an eczema, a skin disease on head) and ko:n/kA:n' ('one eyed person'). Examples:

momI khor/ko:n, amI khor/ko:n, Ra:jI kA:n'/ khAr, zA:nI kA:n'/ khAr, ja:nI kA:n'/khAr etc.

5.   Surnames and Nicknames

The majority of Kashmiri Hindus belong to the category of Sarasvat Brahmans. Only a small minority group among Hindus – Buhuris and Purbis, stated to have come from outside the valley and settled in Kashmir are believed to belong either to Kshetri or Vaisha communities. 'Kashmiri Brahmins are said to have originally belonged to only six gotras, -- By intermarriage with other Brahmins the number of gotras multiplied to 199' (Koul 1924). In ancient Kashmir, the use of surname among Hindus was quite negligible. The present surname

Koul—a direct descedant of Dattatriya gotra appears to be a prominent surname of Kashmiri Hindus in ancient time. It is also believed that 'almost all the Kashmiri Pandits were Kouls and they were later on subdivided according to different nicknames and with the passage of time, their nicknames became permanent surnames (Koul 1982:89). The surname 'Koul' is derived from Mahakoul—one of the names of lord Lord Shiva. All the Kashmiri Hindus are Shaivites and it is likely that they chose the surname after the name of the Lord—they worship.

The practice of using surnames along with personal names was not followed in ancient period in Kashmir. Rajatarangini mentions the use of some nicknames. The practice of using surnames with the personal names has become popular from the late medieval or early modern period.

There is no caste system prevalent among Muslims. They are divided in professional groups and some religious sects. A definite set of surnames is associated with different sects of the community.

The study of surnames and nicknames is important from socio‑semantic point of view. The nicknames used as surnames among both communities are related to a person's profession, occupation, personality, locality to which a person belongs, particular incidents occurred in one's life, abnormal or extraordinary physical characteristics or temperament of the person concerned. Regarding the use of nicknames, it is not possible to explain why certain nicknames (used as surnames) are common to both Hindus and Muslims, and others are different. Here we will briefly list very common surnames (and nicknames) pointing out some socio‑semantic characteristics of these terms.

1.   *Nicknames Related to Profession or Occupation*

Among Hindus and Muslims, a large number of Nicknames are related to the profession or occupation of people. The nickname is associated with a person either for taking up a particular profession or occupation himself or for working for someone whose profession or occupation is known by the same name. Examples of such nicknames, which are related to the profession or occupation are:

a:rum ('vegetable grower') Aram, amba:rda:r (amba:r 'huge store') Ambardar, kra:l ('potter') Kral, gu:r ('milkman' or 'cowherd'), Guru, manuT ('one and half seers'/a measurement) Mantu/Manwati, o:khun ('a Muslim teacher of the Persian/Arabic language or Islam) Akhun, baka:ya: (< va:sil ba:ki: 'a revenue official who collects taxes') Bakaya, baza:z ('cloth merchant') Bazaz, ba:da:m ('almond') Badam, ba:mzai ('an employee of Bamzai Pathans') Bamzai, buhu:r' ('a grocer') Bahuri, cakbast (the officer entrusted with the job of keeping an account of chak or estate) Chakbast, cagut ('an employee of Chagutis) Chagtu, diva:n ('an officer in the Sikh court') Diwan, dra:l ('a broker') Dral, ha:kh ('name of a green vegetable'/sweeds) Hakh, pho:te:da:r ('a treasurer' during the Mughal period) Fotedar, merzI (some ancestor must have been in the service of a Mirza family) Mirza, munshi ('clerk') Munshi, misri: (an ancestor must have either visited Misr (Egypt) or worked for a trader from Egypt) Misri, tamIn' (tamun means 'the carbon formed on the bottom of utensils when used for cooking on fire'. It is possible tht an ancestor of the family might have been black complexioned. Another explanation given is that a person must have served with Taimini Pathans of Kabul) Tamani, tuphci (< to:ph 'a cannon', it is probably coined as a nickname for a person who was either a gunman or dealt with the business of making gunpowder etc. during the Muslim rule) Tufchi, turki (associated with Turks) Turki, darbA:r' ('courtier') Darbari, durA:n' (a person must have served Durrani Pathans) Durrani, nAhAr' (nAhAr in Kashmiri means a 'canal', those families who lived by the bank of

a canal were called nAhAr') Neh:u, na:lI ('a rivulet'; those who lived by the bank of a rivulet' got this name) Nala, na:sti: (< na:s 'snuff') Nasti, nagA:r' ('a person who beats a drum'; a person employed for making announcements at the beat of the drum got this nickname) Nagari, nA:zir ('a court clerk') Nazir, kandIhA:r', ('an employee of a trader from Kandhar) Kandhari, kuli: (this term relates to Afghan chiefs: Tarkuli Khan or Noor Kulikhan; an employee of the Pathan chief) Kuli, ko:ThI ('a granary') Kotha, karIvo:n' (a seller of 'peas') Karwani, kalIpu:sh (a typical headgear used by old Hindu women) kalapush, khaza:nci: ('a cashier') Khazanci, khar ('ass') Kkhar/Kher, khoc (a kind of open boat) Khachu, ganIha:r (' a kind of cereal') Ganahar, guzarva:n (an official of the excise check-post of the outskrits of a particular town) Guzarvan, tsi:riv ('made of apricot wood'; traders of the apricot wood have probably got this name) Cheru, jawa:nshe:r (name of an Afghan Governor of Kashmir) Jawansher, jalA:l' (an employee of Jallali Shia) Jallali, sho:rI ('gun powder') Shora, zarIdↄ:b ('a trader of turmeric') zaradcob, za:lpu:r' (an employee of traders from Zablistan) Zalapur, zarbu: (< zarIb 'currency'; an employee of a government mint), hAki:m (< hakim 'a medical practitioner'), hA:shi: ('margin') Hashia, hazA:r' (an employee of Hazari (minister) during Moghul or Pathan rule) Hazari, vazir ('minister') Wazir, va:tul ('cabbler/sweeper') Watal, va:zI ('cook') Waza, vo:n' ('a shopkeeper') Wani, vugrI ('watery cooked rice') Ogra, bA:Ng' (one who calls for prayer in the Mosque) Bangi, mogul (Mughal) Moglu, ka:ndur ('a bakeman') Kandru, kA:z' ('Qazi'- one who decides cases, a judge) Qazi, gu:r ('a milkman') Guru, ganay (people employed on odd jobs like that of butchers etc.) Ganai, ga:DI ('fish', one who sells fish) Gada or Gadu, cha:n ('carpenter') Chan, cu:dIr ('one who works on commission) Chaudri, ti:li: ('oilman') Teli, tilIvo:n' (oilman) Tilvani, Du:mb (sweepers and other people who perform odd jobs) Dump, dArzi: (means 'tailor' in Hindi-Urdu) Darzi, dA:Ndur ('a vegetable seller') Dandru, poT ('Kashmiri woollen cloth) Patu, pAT'gor(one who does embroidery work') Patigaru, pakhciva:l ('pieces or rag') Pakhcival, mistri: ('a mason or a mechanic') Mistri, maTIhA:Nz ('a boatman involved in a particular business) Matahanji, rangur ('one who dyes clothes') Rangru, vAki:I ('lawyer') Vakil, vA:sil (a revenue official) Vasal, shakdar (official assigned the duties of procuring foodgrains from the farmers) Shakdar, sa:ban ('soap') Saban, sa:leh ('vegetable seller') Saleh, harka:r ('a postman') Harkar, pAhol ('a shepherd') Pahlu, Topigor ('one who makes caps') Topigoru, thA:Nthur ('one who makes vessels and palates) Thanthur, Dolva:l ('one who plays drums') Dolval, la:yigor ('one who sells roast grains, cornflakes etc.') Layigaru, malI ('a Muslim Mullah') Malla, na:th ('master') Nath.

2.   *Nicknames and Surnames Related to the Names of Locality*

A large number of nicknames and surnames are related to the name of locality or the place of residence of a particular person or family. In certain cases, the persons of such families have actually migrated from their original places of their residence years or generations ago, but the families are still known by a surname or a nickname related to their original place of residence. Examples of such surnames are given below:

po:mpur (Pampore) Pmpori, pA:rim (ApA:rim 'from the other side'; those families who have come from the other side of Pir Panjal range got this nick name. The term pA:rim in Kashmiri also refers to any language other than Kashmiri) Parimoo, pu:rIb' (< pu:rab 'east', pur:Ib' 'of the east') Purbi, ba:g ('garden'; a family who had their residence near a garden got this surname. They are called baga:ti also) Bag/Bagati, bA:l' (ba:l 'mountain'; a family who had their residence near a mountain/hill got this

surname) Bali, madan (madanyar is the name of a mohalla in Srinagar) Madan, mombay (An ancestor must have come from Mumbay to settle in Kashmir) Mombay, muj ('raddish'; there are certain names of places like Muji Gond and Muji Marg. A person from either of these places must have settled in Srinagar) Mujoo, trIsII or tritshIl (Trisal is a name of a village) Trisal, nad (name of a ravine) Nad, na:gIr' (Nagar is a name of a village) Nagri, Thus (' a name of a villege') Thusi, danji ('a small ravine') Danji, ka:Thju: (< Kathleshwar 'name of a place') Kathjoo, kar (Karhama is a name of a villege) Kar, k>kur ('cock'; Kokargund is a name of a place) Kakru/Kokru, kunzur (Kunzar is a name of a villege) Kanzroo, krI:D ('a thorny bush'; a family must have lived near a thorny bush) Krid, kilam (Kilam is a name of a villege) Kilam, kha:nmush (Khanmoh is a name of a villege) Khan-Mushu, ganz ('bad smell'; a family having lived in a locality which was filthy got this surname) Ganz, chatsIbAl' (Chatsbal is a name of a village) Chatsbali, tshokur (tshokur is a name of a village) Chakur/Chokru, so:pu:r' (Sopore is a name of a town) Sopori, sapIr' (Sopar a name of a village. It is also believed that they have come originally from Iran and settled in Kashmir) Saproo, sum('a small bridge'; a family having lived near a small bridge probably got this name) Sumi, sombIl' (Sombal is a name of a villege) Sombli, haksar (Hakchar - a name of a villege) Haksar, ha:ngul ('deer'; ha:ngalgonD – a name of a village) Hangal/Hangloo, hA:l' (ha:l - name of a villege) Hali, zaD ('a marshy land', residents of an area of marshy land probably got this name) Zadu, zAb' ('wild grass') Zabu, rA:phiz (Shia Muslims'—a Hindu family which lived in the locality of Shias was probably given this name) Rafiz, rA:na: (Rainavari-name of a place in Srinagar) Raina, kA:bIl' ('Kabul', ancestors must have come from Kabul or worked in Kabul) Kabili, drA:b' Drabu, panjA:b' (Punjab) Punjabi, marA:z' (Maraz-south and southeast area of the Kashmir valley) Marazi, hA:jini (ha:jan - name of a village) Hajini, salar (salar- name of a village) Salar, ka:riho:m (karihoma - name of a village) Karihama, bochur (Bachur - name of a village:)Bachru, tA:r'gA:m' (Tarigam - name of a village') Tarigami etc.

The married women in their in-laws, mostly in villages, are known after the names of places of their parent's residence. For example shA:l'po:ric ('of Shalipora'), buga:mic ('of Begam), k>lIga:mic ('of Kulgam').

3.   *Nicknames Associated with Peculiar Incidents*

A large number of Nicknames are associated with peculiar incidents, which must have occurred with the persons concerned. It is not possible to make the speculations of such incidents and explain the associations of these names. Here only the literal meanings of the terms related to such incidents are given which are used as   nicknames or surnames. Examples:

Peshin ('afternoon') Peshin, pura:n ('pura:n' - books related to Hindu mythology) Puran, buji ('old women') Buji, bulI, ('fool') Bula, brA:Th (<   brashT -'a person who has derailed from a pious path') Brayth, ba:ND ('a folk entertainer') Band, bohgun ('a metallic cooking vessel') Bohgun, manuT ('one and half seer') Mantu, musI (< mus 'relaxation after hard work' e.g., mus kaDun 'to rlax') Musa, thapal/thapul ('snatcher') Thaplu, tha:lI tsu:r ('a thief of plates') Thalachoor, naka:b ('veil') Nakab, ko:tur ('pigeon') Kotru, kalIv'oTh ('a kind of wild flower') Kalawathu, ka:kh ('a term of address used for an elder brother/cousin or an uncle') kakh, gamkha:r ('a sympathiser in someone's grief',) Gamkhar, gADvI ('a metallic water container') Gadva, ju:g' ('a Yogi or a saint') Jogi, tengul ('burning charcoal') Tenglu, tsu:r

('thief') Churu, tsrong ('a handful') Chrongu, sas ('a kind of thick rice and lentils preparation') Sas, sapha:ya: (< saphA:yi 'cleanliness') Saphaya, za:r ('gambling') Zaroo, Zaharba:d ('carbuncle, a skin disease') Zaharbad, labur (< labur 'dry cowdung') Labroo, yach (< yaksha:; it is used for a particular wild animal which is not normally visible) Yach, vo:NT ('hard skinned walnut') Wantu, vol ('a hole' or 'fire chimney') Waloo or Wali, v>khul ('a deep bottomed stone mortar used for grinding spices etc'.) Wakhloo, va:Ngun ('brinjal') Wangnoo, cilim ('earthen pot used for smoking tobacco') Chilim, an'uT ('an earthen lid of a vessel') Anitu, animI ('rice water') Anima, bos ('wood dust') Basu, b'uch ('scorpion') Bichu, bambar ('irrittion') Bambar, bulbul ('cuckoo') Bulbul, boh ('a kind of fruit') Bahu, kapur ('cloth') Kapru, kanTh ('neck') Kanth, kanguv ('comb') Kangu, kra:yipa:kh ('frying of vegetables') Krayipak, kul ('tree') Kulu, co:NcI ('a ladle') Chonchi, caman ('a flower bed') Chaman, ja:nvar ('animal') Janvar, dagI (< dagun 'to beat') Daga, da:Nd ('bull') Dand, nadur ('lotus root') Nadru, no:zukh ('delicate') Nazki, poNz ('monkey') Panzu, ph>kut ('blister') Phaktu, b>kut ('an offspring) Boktu, muji ('raddish') Muju, maka:yi (< makA:y 'maize') Makayi, ma:zan ('broom') Mazan, mengan (shit drops of sheep/goats) Mengan, moh ('mosquitoe') Mohi, v>dru ('an animal which lives in water') Vodar, va:Ndur ('monkey') Vandru, sha:l ('jackal' or 'a shawl') Shal, sho:gl ('parrot') Shogu, sho:NTh ('dry ginger') Shonthu, hos ('elephant') Hosu, pa:Nzu ('about three sers in weight') Panzvu, pish ('bed bug') Pishu, TaTh ('a wooden open container used for feeding cattle') Tath, Thu:kur (< Tho:kur 'an idol') Thukar, Tha:kar (< Tho:kur) Thakar, Thag ('a cheat') Thag, Thas ('joke') Thas, na:rltsu:r ('one who sets houses on fire') Narachur, na:rlkAr' (literally 'fire bangles') Narakari, ka:v ('crow') Kaw, ku:T ('log of wood') Kutu, Domb ('intestines')Dembi, Dul ('an earthen vessel') Dulu, moND ('a huge log of wood') Mondu, ko:tar ('pigeon') Kotru, khar ('donkey') Khar/Kher, khanDlva:v ('a shallow person; a person who shows off') Khandavav, khra:vlhor ('a wooden sandle') Khravaharu, khu:r ('a barber's razor') Khuru, khokh ('an effigy used to scare away birds from fields of crop') Khokhu, z>vl ('lice') Zavu, zay (< jay 'victory') Zayi, ra:jI ('king') Raja, tsol ('an insect found in water') Cholu/Tsalu, tsar ('bed bug') Tsar, ts>civor ('a cake of local bakery') Tsocivari, loT ('a tail') Latu, koT ('a lad') Kotu etc.

4.   *Nicknames Associated with Physical Characteristics*

A good number of nicknames are associated with abnormal or extra-ordinary physical characteristics, handicaps or temperaments of the concerned persons. These nicknames once coined appropriately for a particular person have continued for generations. Some such nicknames are listed below giving their literal meanings and brief explanations wherever necessary:

paDar ('cloven hoof'—someone with a deformed foot') Padar, bombur ('black bee'-someone with dark complexion') Bambroo, bro:r ('cat' - a blue eyed person) Braroo, tut ('a person with long chin) Tut, trakur ('hard'- a person with hot temperament) Trakru, dara:z ('long, tall'- a very tall person) Daraz, dev ('a giant'- a huge person) Dev, DA:s' ('destroyer'; 'a spendthrift') Dasi, nikI ('an affectionate pet name given to a baby boy') Nikka, mushra:n ('an ugly man with a huge body') Mushran, mo:TI ('a fat man') Mota, moT ('thick or fat') Mattu, martsIva:Ngun ('pepper'- a red faced man or a person with a very hot temperament) Marchawangan, ma:m ('maternal uncle' – a person who pokes his nose in everything) Mam, miski:n ('poor or penniless') Miskeen, mandal ('buttocks'-a person with huge buttocks) Mandal, kob (hunch backed') Kaboo, ka:tsur ('a brown haired person') Kachru, kichul ('long bearded')

Kichloo, khosh ('left handed person') Khoshu, khor ('a bald person with eczema on head; a rowdy person') Khoru, ka:rihol ('a person with twisted nick') Karihaloo, kol ('dumb') Kaloo, ka:v ('crow'-a very black complexioned person) Kaw, kaIl ('head'- someone with huge or abnormal head) Kala, guruT ('clay colour'- a person with a clay color complexion) Gurtu, ganju: ('a bald person') Ganjoo, gagur ('mouse') Gagroo, shoNgul ('a person born with six fingers') Shangloo, sikh ('sikh-a person with long hair and beard) Sikh, honD ('sheep') Handoo, hokh ('dry'- a thin or frail person) Hakhoo, long ('a lame person') Langoo, tsok ('sour'or 'bottom') Chakoo, tshoT ('a short statured person') Chot, ca:cI ('paternal uncle') Chacha, vo:khI ('a funy person or a person with abnormal physique) Vokha, busI ('a person with pale face') Basu, kanur('a person with abnormal ears') Kanru, gurI ('a person with very fair complexion') Guru, co:r ('dumb') Choru, ca:pIr' ('one who talks a lot') Chapri, zor ('deaf') Zoru, tromb ('one with spots like that of smallpox on face') Trambu, bodur ('a person with white face') Badru, beDab ('inappropriate' or 'uneven'- a funny personality) Bedab, be:da:r ('active' or 'alert') Bedar, bacI ('a child or a child like person') Baca, led (horse's shit) Ledu, v>thal ('one who is always in his toes') Vothal, pu:t ('an offspring') Putu, nos (a person with abnormal nose) Nasu, da:r'al ('beaeded') Darel, dastA:r' ('with turban') Dastari, legI (leg 'dirt of eyes') Lega, lu:l' ('a physically handicapped person') Luli, kanI (< kan-'ear', someone with abnormal ears) Kana, kob ('a hench backed person') Kobu etc.

We have seen that a large number of nicknames are related to the occupation, profession, locality of residence, various incidents and physical characteristics of the person involved. Most of these nicknames are common among Hindus and Muslims.

Muslim surnames

Besides the above types of nicknames, a large number of surnames of Muslims are borrowed from Persian and Arabic languages, and are related with certain religious sects of Muslims. Most of these are common among non-Kashmiri Muslims living outside the valley and in other countries as well. The most common surnames of this kind are listed below:

asha:yi (Ashayi), alvi: (Alvi), kA:diri: (Qadiri), kure:shi (Qureshi), cisti: (Chisti), nAhvi (Nahvi), nakashbandi (Naqashbandi), pi:rza:dI (Peerzada), naka:sh (Naqash), mi:r (Mir), makdu:mi (Maqdoomi), masu:di: (Masoodi), yahya: (Yahya), rA:thIr (Rathar), sha:h (Shah), she:da: (Sheda), shehda:d (Shahdad), Sohra:vardi: (Soharavardi), pare (Parey), Ta:kh (Tak), Da:r (Dar), zahgi:r (Zahgir), ra:val (Raval), zA:di: (Zaidi), nakvi (Naqvi) etc.

Phonological changes

A large number of Kashmiri surnames and nicknames have undergone some phonological changes in their forms in other languages. These terms are generally Hindi-Urduized or Anglicized in their written form and also in pronunciation by the non-natives. There are some regular rules for this shift from original spoken to written form. Some of these rules are indicated below:

1.	In case the consonant ending surnames/nicknames are preceded by back vowels, the suffix /u:/ is added to them in their written form.

Kashmiri		Hindi-Urdu	English
bos	>	bosu:	Bosu
khosh	>	khoshu:	Khoshu
gu:r	>	gu:ru:	Guru
khoc	>	khocu:	Khocu
kol	>	kolu:	Kolu
muj	>	muju:	Muju

In the disyllabic terms, the second vowel is elided after the suffix is added.

Kashmiri		Hindi-Urdu	English
ManuT	>	manTu:	Mantu
Ko:tur	>	ko:tru:	Kotru
thapul	>	thaplu:	Thaplu
kunzur	>	kunzru:	Kunzru
va:tul	>	va:tlu:	Vatlu
k>kur	>	kokru:	Kokru
nohor	>	nehru:	Nehru

2.   The final vowel /I/ changes into /a:/

Kashmiri		Hindi-Urdu	English
va:zI	>	va:za:	Vaza
animI	>	anima:	Anima
DagI	>	Daga:	Daga
ra:jI	>	ra:ja:	Raja
bacI	>	baca:	Baca
sho:rI	>	sho:ra:	Shora

3.   In case the terms end in palatalized consonants, the suffix /I:/ is added to them and the preceding vowels are lowered in height. The palatalization is dropped.

Kashmiri		Hindi-Urdu	English
darbA:r'	>	darba:ri:	Darbari
nagA:r'	>	naga:ri:	Nagari
bA:l'	>	ba:li:	Bali
bu:n'	>	bo:ni:	Boni
ju:g'	>	jo:gi:	Jogi
durA:n'	>	dura:ni:	Durani
durA:n'	>	dara:ni:	Durani
jalA:l'	>	jala:li:	Jalali
hazA:r'	>	haza:ri:	Hazari
so:pu:r'	>	so:po:ri:	Sopori
dastA:r'	>	dasta:ri:	Dastari
panjA:b'	>	panja:bi:	Punjabi
marA:z'	>	mara:zi	Marazi

4. The consonant ending terms which are preceded by low central vowels /a/ or /a:/ do not change in their written form. Examples: paDar, cakbast, sas, ja:nvar, cak, kilam, jad, kra:l, baza:z, ba:dam, dra:l, ha:kh, di:va:n, guzarva:n, ka:r, ma:m, na:th, etc.

5. The dental affricates /ts/ and /tsh/ change into affricaters /c/ and /ch/ respectively.

tsol	>	colu:	Chola
ka:tsur	>	ka:cru:	Kachru
tritshIl	>	trichal	Trisal
tsengul	>	cenglu:	Cenglu

6. Conclusion

To sum up, the study of personal names in Kashmiri from linguistic point of view, though an interesting subject, poses various problems. The personal names are closely related to the socio-cultural structure of the people. It is therefore essential to understand the socio-culture mileau of the people comprising different strata across religious and ethinic identies. Thoughout its history, Kashmir has undergone various social, cultural and political changes and upheavals influencing the socio-culture patterns and ethos of the people in various contact situations. Nevertheless, it is possible to point out salient characteristics of the personal names of Kashmiri keeping in view various influences their structure has undergone.

As explained above, the oldest, forms of personal names of Hindus can be traced from the written texts which do not provide the authenticity of their exact use in spoken form. The available references of personal names in the Sanskrit texts composed in and on Kashmir, however, do help us to determine that most of the old Kashmiri personal names were closely related to their Sanskritic origin. The structure of two-word personal names in Hindus seems to be a later development during the medieval period. There are both indigenous and borrowed fixed second name terms used for male and female names. These names frequently appear in the religious texts of Hindus written during the contemporary period. The personal names of Muslims though largely borrowed from Perso-Arabic, are nativized amd have undergone various structural changes. There are significant differnces in their spoken and written forms.

The study of surnames and nicknames is a very important subject from sociolinguistic point of view. Besides some genuine surnames associated with Hndus and Muslims, a large number of surnames and nicknames have developed by the local influences and common socio-cultural pattern characterising the Kashmiri society. This is referred to as Kashmiriat. It is here that the well-defined religious boundaries do not have a role in the demarcation or distribution of these terms. A large number of these nicknames or so-called surnames are common among Hindus and Muslims. The phenomenon seems to be quite productive and has potentiality of further development. There is a common belief that Kashmiris are very rich in the coinage of names and nicknames, and perhaps it is this strong texture with which the Kashmiriat is woven.

As far as possible, certain linguistic rules which account for various changes in the coinage and derivation of the Kashmiri personal names including surnames and nicknames have been indicated in non-technical terms. Rules for Hindi-Urduization and Englishization of Kashmiri names have been mentioned. There is a scope for working out exhaustive set of such rules in a future study.

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