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PERSONAL NAMES OF HYDERABAD ANGLO-INDIANS: ETHNICITY, EUROPEAN NAMES, AND RESISTANCE TO NATIVISING TENDENCIES[1]

Smita Joseph

ABSTRACT

This study investigates how personal names of Hyderabad Anglo-Indians constitute an important aspect of their ethnic identity. A combination of judgment and random sampling was employed to elicit the data on Anglo-Indian names.[2] Their names were taken from three decades, the 1950s, 1980s, and 2000s, to arrive at the naming styles across the variables of age and gender. The data was collected from the registers of different schools located in Secunderabad, within Greater Hyderabad. In common parlance, the placenames, Secunderabad and Hyderabad are used synonymously. Additionally, the study also investigated the motivation to give Anglo-Indian names to community members, elicited through structured interviews conducted with fifteen community members. The study showed that their first names (for example, Gavin, Evelyn) clearly aligned with the naming customs of the European and English-speaking world. I suggest that this is an example of projecting a distinct identity that is British or western in style. This aspect of their identity, communicated through personal names, diverges from other Indian Christian communities (such as Telugu Catholics) who give local names to their children.

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the naming styles of the Anglo-Indian community of Hyderabad. It finds that the naming styles of the community – that is, the structure of the personal names – aligns with that of Europeans. The study also investigates the motivation to give specifically ‘Anglo-Indian’ names to community members. Before presenting the problem under study, I will give a historical background of the community.

HYDERABAD ANGLO-INDIANS

The origin of the community in Hyderabad[3] can be traced to the development of the military town of Secunderabad as a centre of the Railways towards the end of the nineteenth century. The setting of railway connections was to establish the presence of the British in the region (Jaganath, as cited in Sengupta, 2016, p. 3).

The railway network in the area required the skills of the Anglo-Indians. This led to the development of a sizeable population of Anglo-Indians as the railway functions of the area grew owing to the increasing demands in the southern region of British India (Kochattil, as cited in Sengupta, 2016, p. 4). Due to the employment opportunities provided by the military and the railways in the nineteenth century, people from different parts of the country came to live in Hyderabad. Many among these were Anglo-Indians. There were specific localities in the emerging town of Secunderabad that saw clusters of the Anglo-Indian population (such as, in places like Mettuguda, Lallaguda, etc.). In comparison to Hyderabad, Secunderabad is a small town and a greater number of Anglo-Indians have lived in Secunderabad since the times it was developed as a British cantonment (Sengupta, 2016, pp. 3-4, 8).

The community faced a major crisis[4] in the second half of the twentieth century when employment reservations in the railways were stopped (Williams, as cited in Sengupta, 2016, p. 5). There was a positive shift in their fortunes from the 1990s which came with a thriving IT industry. There was an upward leap in the number of multinational companies being established and tertiary sector services being provided from this period onwards and all of this had a positive impact on the community.

The IT companies cater to the software requirements of different industries that are based in Hyderabad. The ITES (IT-enabled services) companies deal with the BPO (Business Processing Outsourcing) companies and customer support (Hyderabad, n.d.). The practice of contracting out a portion of the operations of a company to an outside vendor or service provider is known as business-process outsourcing or BPO. It is a group of contracted agents that handle calls from clients on behalf of other companies, in what is known as BPO call centres. It was the outsourcing of jobs related to voice processing that gave Anglo-Indians an edge over others. Their fluency, competence, native accent in English, and familiarity with “Western colloquialisms”

gave them an advantage over the native Telugu-speaking populations (Sengupta, 2016, pp. 6, 11).

Thus, the community witnessed a change in fortunes from the 1990s onwards. In addition, due to the employment opportunities provided by the IT boom, the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad underwent a major transition in demographics. People from different parts of the country came to Hyderabad to take advantage of the employment opportunities provided by the IT industry during this time. The areas which were predominantly occupied by the Anglo-Indians before this period soon became the territory of other Indian groups. The population of the Anglo-Indian community was also dwindling due to constant migration to other countries. Hence, the IT boom during the 1990s and the continuous emigration of the community to other countries changed the demographic composition of Hyderabad (Sengupta, 2016, p. 7).

To sum up, the community underwent shifts in employment. From the 1960s and the 1970s onwards, reservation benefits to the community in the government sector was stopped. As far as employment opportunities are concerned, the community witnessed a boom period from the 1990s onwards with the emergence of the IT industry. According to Dhavle, the community pursued “different economic activities at different periods” (Dhavle, 2010, pp. 22-23). Currently, within India and the larger diaspora, community members are employed in various highly paid occupations (Dhavle, 2010, pp. 22-23).

Even though the community was, at times, marginalised historically (see Cressey, in Grimshaw, as cited in Moss, 2012, p. 4; Gist & Wright, as cited in James, 2010, pp. 54-55; Wright, 2000, p. 21), they saw Europeans as their role models, ancestors, and cultural kin. After India’s independence, the community tried to maintain a culture that drew on European and Indian ways. The Europeans were no longer a significant population, but a set of cultural bearings that the wider society understood Anglo-Indians to have connections to. Ango-Indians incorporated the features of both groups which gave them a unique identity. By looking at the example of Anglo-Indians, we see that ethnicity is a social and not a biological construct (Wright, 2000, pp. 21-22). It is a social construct in which people are perceived and are perceived by others as distinct entities or groups (Siniša Malešević, as cited in Banton, 2018, p. 117).

THE FOCUS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The findings of this study are based on two kinds of datasets. The first one was derived from the names registers of three schools in Hyderabad. The personal names of community members were selected from three decades for analysing intergenerational trends. The data comprised three hundred personal names and the fieldwork was conducted from 2014 to 2015. The second dataset was derived from qualitative interviews administered to fifteen community members. The fieldwork for the second study was conducted in 2024.

This study explores the structure and patterns in the naming styles of Hyderabad Anglo-Indians across three generations (the 1950s, 1980s, and 2000s) and gender (males and females). The first and the second datasets were analysed for structural patterns in the personal names of the community. It was found that children were mostly assigned European personal names. Ethnicity and ancestry play an important role in defining an Anglo-Indian (Wright, 2000, p. 22) and the use of European names instantiates this. The morphological form of personal names was investigated in this study to compare and contrast Anglo-Indian and European personal names with other Indian Christian names (e.g., Telugu Catholics).

The study also looked at the motivations for naming community members. The second dataset—the qualitative interviews—was to analyse the motivations for assigning personal names to community members. The qualitative interviews revealed the most valued cultural attributes that became the motivations for their personal names e.g., cultural proximity with the Europeans, being named after relatives who had European names, and the need to maintain a distinct identity vis-à-vis Indians.

As mentioned in the preceding discussions (see Moss, 2012; James, 2010; Wright, 2000), Europeans have been the most influential in the social and cultural lives of Anglo-Indians as they identified with them and not Indians. It is the European, western, and/or British style that is adopted by the Anglo-Indians, often reinforced through the media (Wright, 2000, pp. 22-25). Aligning with the British and Western or European models can also be seen in their naming styles. Furthermore, the community identifies with British and Western patterns of behaviour such as in the use of English, eating

habits, clothing, etc. They do not completely reject those behaviours that are Indian (e.g., Anglo-Indian women wear salwar kameez, the community members are now quite likely to be fluent in local Indian languages, and some may assign Indian names to their children,[5] etc.). The study shows that the use of European names contributes to the creation of Anglo-Indian group markers.

LITERATURE REVIEW

What makes for ethnically marked names? This section gives a review of the literature on ethnic names. It defines the notion of an ethnic name and discusses the choices and strategies exercised by immigrant or ethnic groups in multicultural and multilingual societies while assigning names to their children. These aspects have been discussed within classical and contemporary theories of assimilation models.

The names assigned to individuals affect how society perceives those individuals. Naming may also indicate how individuals want to be perceived by society; one's preference to be viewed in a certain way via naming is constrained by "the identities, roles, expectations, hierarchies, or values" created within a sociocultural context (Aceto, 2002, pp. 577-579). Thus, names are indicators of ethnic identities, especially an identity hoped for the child. An inquiry of naming practices addresses how ethnic identity is affected across successive generations. According to Sue and Telles, for those in minority groups, an ethnic name is defined as a name based on the ethnic language rather than one based on the language of the mainstream culture (2007, pp. 1383, 1385, 1392). The English names of Anglo-Indians function as ethnic names especially if they are based on the English people or trace their origin to England. The use of Sanskrit-derived Indian names would not be perceived as ethnic by community members and non-Anglo-Indians.

It has been found that in multilingual and multicultural societies, members of minority groups show resistance to assimilating to the dominant culture. One of the ways by which this resistance is manifested is by preserving ethnic names along with the names of the dominant culture. In such cases, the personal names of the dominant culture appear as official names whereas ethnic names are used in local contexts. For instance, in a study on the English-speaking Creole[6] speakers of Bastimentos Island, a town in Panama, it was found that the community was under pressure to compromise

between two linguistic and cultural identities. A majority of people in Panama speaks Spanish. But there are also English-based Creole speakers in the region. The Creole-speaking community of Bastimentos did not give in to the daily pressures to acculturate completely into Spanish. One of the strategies adopted to cope with this cultural pressure was via the maintenance of a dual naming system. The community members maintained Spanish personal names for official purposes whereas English-based Creole names or ethnic names were used in local contexts. An individual could thus have a Spanish personal name, such as, *Alvaro* in official records and the English-based Creole name *Coon* for use in local contexts (Aceto, 2002, pp. 577-588).

Ethnic names denote the unfolding or construction of an original social identity and index both ethnic and linguistic identities. They are culture- and context-specific and can be used to reverse the influence of dominant cultures and languages (e.g., by being derived from the ethnic language). They fulfil several other functions such as emphasising (or differentiating) the community members' ancestry (Aceto, 2002, pp. 584-591), negotiating different social identities that compete due to membership in different multilingual communities (Aceto, 2002, pp. 584-591; Sue & Telles, 2007, p. 1384), indicating linguistic and cultural hierarchies across various situations, establishing solidarity with the ethnic community through name choice, individualising the name bearer in local contexts and within the ethnic community, and showing contrasts between the ethnic community and the mainstream standard community (Aceto, 2002, pp. 584-591).

Choosing personal names for children, which are assigned to people in one's place of nativity by immigrant parents, would be a sign of ethnic maintenance, whereas choosing names frequently used in the host country would be an indicator of acculturation. Through the process of assigning personal names to children, parents express the extent to which they lean towards one's ethnic group or community (Gerhards & Hans, 2009, pp. 1104-1105, 1124). It can be argued that names assigned to individuals quantify the extent of "the parents' sociocultural assimilation" (Sue & Telles, 2007, p. 1409).

Personal names assigned to their children indicate the choices made by immigrant parents in the face of competition between two or more ethnic groups.[7] The study of

naming practices provides us with opportunities to assess classical assimilation theories vs. current theories of assimilation. The former theories speculate that immigrants and their subsequent generations are more likely to choose the names from the host country for their children (Gordon; Park & Burgess; as cited in Sue & Telles, 2007, p. 1384). The latter theories hypothesise that ethnic identity can, in this way, be preserved by the immigrants and that they can resurface in the host country (Alba; Glazer & Moynihan; Greeley; as cited in Sue & Telles, 2007, p. 1384). Furthermore, the latter theory predicts that immigrant parents and their descendants might assign names to their children that show some kind of link to their ethnic identities (Sue & Telles, 2007, p. 1384).

The classical theory of assimilation, as espoused by Gordon (1964),[8] Park & Burgess (1921),[9] hypothesises that if immigrants spend more time in the host country or the mainstream culture, there is a high likelihood that they assimilate to the majority culture. With the passage of time, as immigrants adopt the language and cultural practices of the host country (e.g., through intermarriage), they will give names from the dominant culture to their children instead of names from their ethnic language. The theory also predicts that, for immigrants, the maintenance of ethnic identities impedes their integration with the dominant culture (Sue & Telles, 2007, p. 1386). There are critiques to the classic theory of assimilation, however. One of them being that the maintenance of ethnic identity should not be seen as an impediment to successful integration with the host country. Giving an ethnic name to children by parents should only be interpreted as forming feelings of ethnic pride and identity (see discussion by Alba & Nee, in Sue & Telles, 2007, p. 1386). Names may indicate the extent to which members lean towards a particular ethnic group, through the choice of ethnic or nonethnic names. They do not give much information about the linguistic and/or cultural knowledge of the community members (Sue & Telles, 2007, p. 1387).

The contemporary theory of assimilation hypothesises the blurring of ethnic distinctions between the ethnic and mainstream groups while at the same time maintaining certain ethnic features among the ethnic groups in question (e.g., through the use of translatable English names by immigrant communities in America) (see Alba & Nee, in Sue & Telles, 2007, p. 1410).

Studies that refer to immigrant groups or the children of immigrants and their naming practices establish links both to the parents' native land, language and ethnicity, as well as that of the host country. The comparison with Anglo-Indians cannot be direct, however. Since Anglo-Indians are not immigrants to India, and the origin point of their mixing is up to five centuries ago. So, there is no living memory of the foreign ancestry. In other words, the community has no proximate connection to an immigrant experience so their nativity in India is unquestionable for generations.

Naming among ethnic groups (e.g., Anglo-Indians, immigrants, etc.), however, can be understood within the Social Identity Theory (SIT) framework as theorised by Tajfel and Turner (1986). The basic principle of SIT is that people aim towards (or build) a positive social identity which can be accomplished by demonstrating a positively evaluated difference between an individual's own group vis-à-vis the pertinent comparison groups. There are different ways to enhance one's social identity. Individuals can change the social groups to which they belong when the groups in question cease to enhance or contribute to their social identity positively or by changing the features of the ingroup in a positive way (Knippenberg, 2007, p. 563).

According to the SIT, an individual's social identity is derived from their memberships to the various social groups to which they belong to (Tajfel; Tajfel & Turner; as cited in Brown, 2007, p. 608). Furthermore, individuals are driven to build a positive social identity, which is accentuated "by a positive evaluation of one's own group" (Brown, 2007, p. 608).

The theoretical principles of social identity are as follows:

(a) Positive social identity is something that people work to attain or preserve.

(b) Positive social identity is mostly dependent on comparisons that may be drawn favourably between the ingroup and pertinent outgroups; the ingroup must be seen as positively differentiating itself or standing out from the pertinent outgroups in question.

(c) People will attempt to either quit their current group and join one that is more positively unique or they will attempt to enhance their current group's positive distinctiveness when social identity is unsatisfactory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 284).

SIT and social categorisation theory are deeply connected to each other. Social identity is a person's self-concept, a derivative of the referential information attained via membership in a social group and the affective component associated with that membership. On the other hand, social categorisation enables individuals to define their social stance as a member of the different social groups to which they belong to. As members of a social group, individuals are able to work out which features are attributed by others to them and the social meanings assigned to their behaviour by others (Knippenberg, 2007, pp. 561-563).

From a social-psychological point of view, membership in a group does not depend on frequent interactions between the members, or shared goals. It refers to the self-categorisation of a community of individuals into a particular social group and others' categorisation of them as a social group and coming to some sort of social agreement over how their group and their membership in it are seen. Thus, explicit references to group membership by self or others become important for a group to exist (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, pp. 281-283).

Social categorisations are seen as cognitive tools that divide, group, and organise the social world, allowing individuals to engage in a variety of social actions. But they do more than simply organise the social environment. They establish and specify a person's position in society. Social groupings provide their members a relational and comparative identity by defining the person as comparable to or different from, as "better" or "worse" than, members of other groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 283).

Members of a psychosocial group share the same social identity. Social categorisation has cognitive implications on how individuals define and perceive themselves, "the self-concept", which in turn affects group behaviour. The idea of self-concept is integral to group behaviour which can be defined in terms of enhanced perceived similarities between members of a social group, interdependence and cohesiveness, uniform group behaviour that includes complying with group norms, and so on (Turner, 2007, pp. 526-528).

The analysis of names within the SIT framework explores the naming choices exercised by minority ethnic groups to build positive social identities. If the ethnic group

positively evaluates their ingroup, they will give ethnic names to community members to show a positively evaluated distinction between the minority group (or ingroup) and the dominant communities (or outgroups). If the ethnic group perceives their ingroup as of lower status, they will assimilate to the dominant groups by giving names of the dominant culture to their community members. Another strategy used by ethnic groups to enhance their social identity in a positive way would be through the use of translatable names from the dominant community since such names function as compromise strategies between the ethnic and mainstream groups. Names thus function as tools that indicate and establish an individual's position in their ingroups and in distinguishing them from members of the relevant outgroups.

DATA ELICITATION METHOD

The data on Anglo-Indian names was elicited from the registers of three schools that were based in Secunderabad. The names of boys were collected from St. Patrick's High School and the names of girls were collected from St. Anne's High School (based in Secunderabad and Tarnaka[10] respectively). From each register, every fifth name was selected for analysis. The names were selected from three decades, the 1950s, 1980s and 2000s. This was done in order to compare and contrast the naming styles of the community across three generations. From each decade, names of fifty boys and fifty girls were selected. Thus, age and gender were the two social variables that were considered in analysing the naming patterns of the community.

In addition, in order to analyse the name motivations of community members, a structured interview was conducted with fifteen participants (six females and nine males). They were selected from the same database of participants who took a survey conducted from 2014 to 2015 on Anglo-Indian slang for my doctoral research (see Joseph, 2020). The participants were born in Hyderabad and had spent a major part of their lives in the city. The mean age of the participants was 64.6 years. The first question of which was, "In a study on Hyderabad Anglo-Indian names from the 1950s to the twenty-first century, it was found that the community's naming styles were close to European naming conventions. Why do you think this was the case?" This question investigated participants' opinion on their names being similar to European names.

The second question investigated the reasons for gendered naming patterns and it was as follows: “In the same study, fashionable names were given to females (e.g., Marlyn, Marlene, Claudette, etc.) and traditional names to males (e.g., Thomas, John, Charles, Gerald, etc.). Why were females given fancy and males given traditional names?”

The third and fourth questions investigated the name motivation of community members and the following questions were asked: “Why were you given the name ____? Is there a story behind your given name?” and “How were other members in your family given names?” The fifth question investigated intergenerational differences in naming and the following question was asked: “Is there any difference in naming styles between the previous generations and the current generations among Hyderabad Anglo-Indians? If yes, what kind of differences do you see between the two groups?” The responses of the participants were subjected to qualitative analysis in order to explore the common themes underlying the similarities and differences in various aspects of naming such as name motivations, intergenerational differences, gender differences, etc.

THE FEMALE PERSONAL NAMES OF HYDERABAD ANGLO-INDIANS

This section compares the female personal names of Hyderabad Anglo-Indians with European naming styles. The comparison of names has been done with respect to the dataset based on the names’ registers.

A common practice by which European female personal names were generated in the twentieth century was through the feminisation of male first names. This could be done by adding *-a* as a suffix in French names, for instance. Examples of such names found in the literature are Rafel < Rafela, Martí < Martina, etc. (Wilson, 2004, pp. 207, 337-338). Traditionally, the feminisation of names was done so that females could inherit the names of their godfathers. It also ensured the protection of the saint[11] whose name was given to the individual (Wilson, 2004, p. 207).

Table 1 presents the personal names of females of Hyderabad Anglo-Indians by decade of birth.

Table 1: The Morphological Structure of Hyderabad Anglo-Indian Female Personal Names

DECADE OF BIRTH	TYPE OF AFFIX	NAMES
1950s	a) Irish feminine diminutive suffix -een	Maureen; Kathleen; Doreen; Eileen
	b) French feminine diminutive suffix -ette	Claudette; Bernadette; Nicolette
	c) French feminine suffix -a	Virginia; Gloria; Andrea; Clara; Patricia; Louisa
	d) English hypocoristic forms	Debra/Deborah; Sandra; Trudy
	e) English and French feminine diminutive suffix -line/-lyn	Marlene; Carolyn; Marilyn
	f) English suffix -yl	Cheryl
	g) French feminine suffix -ine	Delphine
	h) Welsh feminine suffix -ys	Glenys
	i) Spanish feminine diminutive infix -it-	Margarita; Juanita
	j) Names without fashionable suffixes	Mary; Jenifer/Jennifer; Ann (Anne); Lorraine; Cynthia; Ernest; Ingrid; Myrtle; Maria; Margaret; Mona Liza; Joyce; Shirley; Judith; Elizabeth; Amber; Vivien
1980s	a) French feminine suffix -ine	Wendeline; Jacqueline
	b) English and French feminine diminutive suffix -line/-lyn	Evelyn
	c) English hypocoristic forms	Steffi; Tracy; Tanya; Sandra; Tina
	d) Spanish feminine diminutive infix -it-	Evita
	e) Norman diminutive suffix -on	Alison
	f) English feminine suffix -ina	Georgina; Angelina
	g) French feminine suffix -a	Amanda; Miranda; Patricia; Leona; Lorna; Marina; Agatha; Angelica
	h) French feminine ending -e	Denise; Michelle; Suzanne
	i) English feminine suffix -antha	Samantha
	j) French feminine diminutive suffix -elle	Lorelle
	k) English feminine suffix -inda	Belinda

	l) Italian feminine diminutive suffix -ella	Prunella
	m) English suffix -yl	Cheryl
	n) Indian names	Divya; Priyanka; Nisha
	o) Names without fashionable suffixes	Venessa; Gillian; Candida; Mary/Maria; Melissa; Crystal; Hayley; Beatrice; Iris; Sharon; Lorraine; Corinna; Karen; Sarah
2000s	a) French feminine suffix -ine	Evangeline; Catherine
	b) French feminine suffix -a	Joanna; Olivia; Leandra; Celia; Chrysantha; Kiara; Leona
	c) French feminine diminutive suffix -elle	Shanelle; Shonelle; Chantelle; Gabrielle
	d) English hypocoristic forms	Tricia
	e) French feminine ending -e	Nicole; Renée; Céleste; Desirée
	f) English and Scottish feminine suffix -ina	Celestina; Angelina
	g) Spanish feminine diminutive infix -it-	Sanorita; Evita
	h) English feminine suffix -antha	Samantha
	i) Indian/non-Anglo-Indian names	Malaika; Aditi; Nikita
	j) Names without fashionable suffixes	Chelsy; Ann; Esabel; Gwyneth; Sharon; Catalin; Angel; Esther; Abigail; Candice; Cassandra; Alice; Jennifer; Mary; Shaniya; Crystal; Vivien; Venessa; Shanaya; Shirley

Certain affixes like -ine, -it-, and hypocoristic forms are a feature of female names across the three decades and have generated numerous Anglo-Indian names found in the data (see Table 1). The French suffix -ine was invented during the mid-nineteenth century in Europe. Names generated with this suffix became very popular from 1918 to 1939 in France and were restored in the latter part of the 1970s (Wilson, 2004, pp. 207, 318).

According to Wilson, European names were also derived by shortening the original given names. English diminutives were commonly formed by suffixing -y or -ie to the first syllable of the original name (e.g., Elsie < Elizabeth, Aggie < Agnes, etc.). Such names could also be formed by taking the second syllable or the latter part of the name (e.g., Beth < Elizabeth, Tony < Anthony) (2004, p. 237). Table 1 shows that hypocoristic names such as Sandra, Trudy, Steffi, etc., were also found in the names assigned to Hyderabad Anglo-Indian females.

On the other hand, the Anglo-Indian female names Claudette, Bernadette (a spelling variant of Bernardette) and Nicolette have been derived via the French feminine suffix -ette (see Table 1). There are examples of these names being assigned to female members born during the 1950s.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, many names in France were generated with suffix -ette. Along with the traditional names (e.g., Antoinette, Juliette, etc.), new names were also created from this suffix (e.g., Georgette, Josette, etc.). Such names were quite in vogue till the mid-twentieth century (Wilson, 2004, p. 318). The data on Anglo-Indian names also shows the same trend. The given names of females ending with this suffix were only found in the 1950s data. No new names were generated through this suffix in the 1980s and the 2000s (see Table 1).

The names generated with the Irish suffix -een are associated with the Celtic cultural revival movements. They began in the late nineteenth century and lasted till the early twentieth century. The European countries affected by these movements were Ireland, Wales and England. The Irish names Maureen, Doreen, and Eileen, generated through this suffix, were very popular during the early twentieth century and the name Maureen was very popular even during the 1950s in the countries of its origin (Wilson, 2004, p. 329). The Anglo-Indian names with this suffix (see Table 1, for the 1950s data) were also given to females born during the 1950s.

French-sounding names became fashionable in Britain during the twentieth century. Instances of such names were Nicole, Denise, and Diane (Wilson, 2004, p. 330). Nicole and Denise were also found in the data on Anglo-Indian female names, from the second half of the twentieth century, that is, the 1980s and the 2000s (Table 1). In addition, the French feminine hypocoristic suffix -elle was quite productive and generated several first names during the latter part of the twentieth century in America (Hanks & Hodges, 2003, p. xxv). This onomastic trend was based on the tradition of deriving feminine names from male saints' names towards the end of the medieval period in Europe (Wilson, 2004, p. 207). Instances of names based on this suffix in Anglo-Indian female names are Gabrielle, Chantelle, Shonelle, etc. They appear in the 1980s and the 2000s data (see Table 1).

Other productive affixes of twentieth-century Europe include -line/-lyn, -it-, -ina, -ella, -ys, and -inda (Hanks & Hodges, 2003). These affixes also generated the female names of Hyderabad Anglo-Indians (see Table 1).

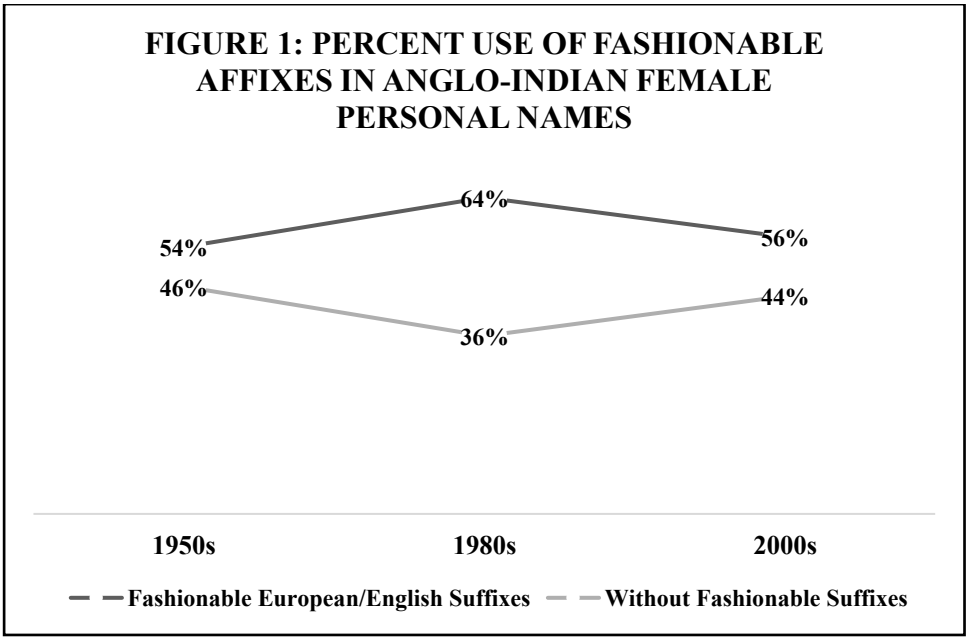

Figure 1 shows trends across three generations, the 1950s, 1980s and 2000s, in the use of fashionable affixes in female Anglo-Indian personal names. The community has consistently preferred fashionable affixes in female personal names over names without affixes. For instance, in the 1950s, 54% given names were assigned to females which had fashionable European affixes vs. 46% names without such affixes. The trends are similar during the 1980s and 2000s. Names without fashionable affixes could be traditional biblical names (e.g., Esther, Abigail), names derived from the category of legend and literature (e.g., Alice, Gwyneth), saints' names (e.g., Mary, Candida), etc.

A significant aspect of European personal names is that female names are derived from male names. This practice was prevalent from the Roman era in which women took the feminine variant of their father's gentile name. Women of the Middle Ages and early modern period used feminised variants of male saints' names through suffixation. The female names follow this pattern by using productive feminine suffixes (Wilson

2004, p. 337), generally appended to male saints' names (e.g., Georgina), Christian virtues (e.g., Glenys),[12] traditional names (e.g., Alison), etc.

From the 1980s onwards, Indian names also appeared in the data of female personal names. In the 1980s, 6% Anglo-Indian females were assigned Sanskrit-derived Indian names (e.g., Divya, Priyanka) and in the 2000s, 8% were assigned non-Anglo-Indian names (Arabic and Sanskrit-derived Indian names, e.g., Malaika, Nikita).

In this section, I have tried to show the parallelism between the female personal names of twentieth-century Europe and the personal names of Hyderabad Anglo-Indians. The comparison between the names was done with respect to fashionable affixes. The next section looks at the male personal names of the community.

THE MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF MALE PERSONAL NAMES

Unlike female names, European male names were not so impacted by fashionable suffixes, as shown in Figure 2. There are exceptions to this as in the case of French names Julien, Damien, etc. As seen in the previous section, personal names indicate the gender of the bearer of the name. While female names had fashionable suffixes, male names were more conservative[13] in style. As a result of this, there were fewer male names in comparison to female names. The female names were more due to the fancy suffixes appended to male names in order to derive them (Wilson, 2004, pp. 318-319).

FIGURE 2: PERCENT USE OF FASHIONABLE AFFIXES IN ANGLO-INDIAN MALE PERSONAL NAMES

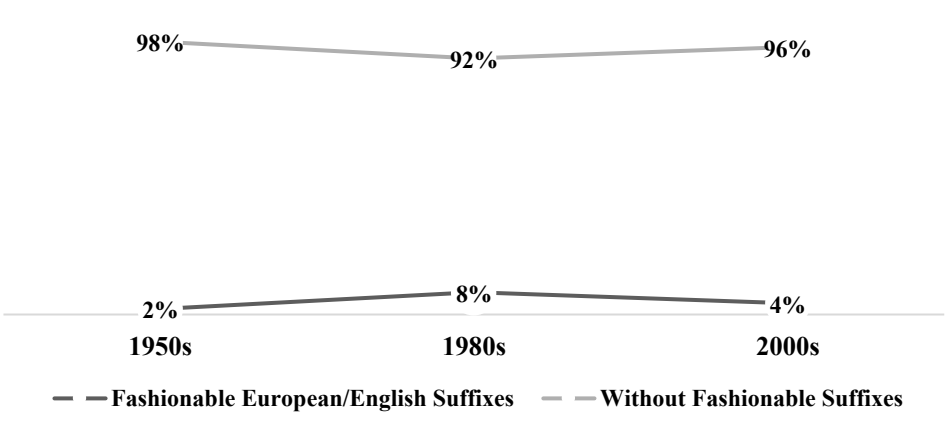

Table 2: The Naming Styles of Hyderabad Anglo-Indian Male Personal Names

Decade of birth	Category	Names
1950s	a) Biblical/Saint names	Thomas; Joseph; John; Anthony; Patrick; George; Cyril; Philip; Stephen; Ambrose
	b) European/English variants of traditional names	Ian; Eugene; Aubrey; Owen; Robert; Leonard; Ivan; Adrian
	c) Germanic names	Geoffrey; Ronald; Godfrey; Ernest; Rudolf
	d) Names derived from European/English surnames	Douglas; Benson; Grenville; Trevor; Gordon; Carlton; Derrick; Everett; Percy; Cecil; Dudley; Russell; Desmond
	e) Royal European/English names	Charles
	f) Names from classical mythology	Hector
	g) Names of ethnic revival	Harold
	h) English hypocoristic forms	Jude; Melwyn; Jerry
1980s	a) Biblical/Saint names	Marcus; Crispin; Dominic; Marcel; Patrick; Samuel; Anthony; Mark; Stephen; Cyril
	b) Names derived from European/English surnames	Ashley; Calvin; Keith; Curtis; Lawrence; Sheldon; Royceton; Winston; Denver; Dunford; Trevor; Ryan; Graham; Clyde
	c) European/English variants of traditional names	Andre; Leonard; Neil; Alistair; Ian; Floyd; Adrian; Llyod; Shawn
	d) Names with European suffixes -o	Angelo; Savio
	e) Germanic names	Ernest; Gerard; Richard
	f) English hypocoristic forms	Jude; Tony; Greg; Kim; Jeff
	g) Names of European/English mythological characters	Percival
	h) Sanskrit-derived Indian names	Ajay
	i) Names of ethnic revival	Nigel

2000s	a) Names derived from European/English surnames	Troy; Bennett; Vian; Blake; Desmond; Ryan; Douglas; Lyndon; Tyronne; Sheldon; Clyde; Graham; Royceton
	b) European/English variants of traditional names	Kevin; Shaun; Neil; Alan/Allen; Shane; Gareth; Adrian; Leonard; Brendan; Llyod
	c) Germanic names	Norman; Randolph; Ronald; Gerald; Rodolf
	d) Biblical/Saint names	Shadrach; Micheal; Crispin; Gregory; Jason; Azriel; Dennis; Clement
	e) Sanskrit-derived Indian names	Aryan; Nikhil; Harish
	f) Royal European/English names	Clarence; Charles/Karl
	g) English hypocoristic forms	Ricky; Gary; Collin
	h) Names of European/English mythological characters	Gavin

Table 2 presents the male personal names of Hyderabad Anglo-Indians by decade of birth whereas Figure 2 shows trends with respect to fashionable affixes across the three generations.

From the fifteenth century onwards, in Europe, names were derived from legend and literature and surnames (Redmonds, 2004, pp. 107-138), and approximately from the twentieth century onwards, names of ethnic revival and names from media were also added to the old stock of personal names, that were mainly names of saints (Wilson, 2004, pp. 320-329).

As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, literature was one of the sources from which names could be derived in fifteenth-century Europe. This was a time in European history when family names were associated with prestige to an increasing degree. This explains why names derived from literature, which were most often names of heroes and romantic figures, were used as people wanted to be linked with such personages. These kinds of names were generally taken and led by the upper classes. Instances of such names were Percival, Gavin, Cassandra, and Jason (Redmonds, 2004, pp. 107-108, 120). These names were also assigned to Anglo-Indians (see Tables 1 and 2).

The practice of deriving given names from surnames was also led by the upper classes. Such names indicated class and prestige and were meant to preserve family names. Instances of such names were Percy (Redmonds, 2004; Hanks & Hodges, 2003) and, for females, Lorraine (Hanks & Hodges, 2003). These names, and many names belonging to this category, were also assigned to Anglo-Indians (see Tables 1 and 2).

Hypocoristic names also comprised the traditional stock of European names (Redmonds, 2004, p. 160). Many diminutives such as Trudy and Gary, classified as European names (Hanks & Hodges, 2003), were also found in the data on Anglo-Indian names (see Tables 1 and 2). Similarly, names of famous people from the media were also commonly used in twentieth-century Europe (Wilson, 2004, pp. 320-329; Redmonds, 2004, p. 158). Names belonging to this category were also assigned to Anglo-Indians (e.g., Vivien, Hayley, etc., see Tables 1 and 2).

Names of ethnic revival[14] were also common in twentieth-century Europe. Names like Harold and Nigel (Hanks & Hodges, 2003) belong to this category of names and they also appear in the data on Anglo-Indian male names (see Table 2).

Personal names from the categories of literature, surnames, media, classical revival, and diminutives can be classified as European. Since many Anglo-Indian male given names belonged to this category (see Table 2), they can be classified as traditional. With respect to the stock of names from which personal names were derived, Anglo-Indians whose names were analysed in the study demonstrated ethnic affiliation with European naming styles. The community is influenced by the same socio-cultural practices that affected European nomenclature.

In the next section, I will present the qualitative findings of the interviews conducted with fifteen Anglo-Indians.

QUALITATIVE FINDINGS OF THE INTERVIEWS

In order to corroborate the relationships between Anglo-Indian names and European names, the perspectives of fifteen community members were elicited through

interviews. The information provided in each interview varied significantly. In this section, I will present the themes that emerged in the data from the interview transcripts. It will also look at specific examples to show how a particular theme manifested.

The interview questions were meant to address different aspects of Anglo-Indian names. The first question in the qualitative interview elicited the reasons for similarities in naming styles between Anglo-Indians and Europeans. The question was as follows: "In a study on Hyderabad Anglo-Indian names from the 1950s to the twenty-first century, it was found that the community's naming styles were close to European naming conventions. Why do you think this was the case?"

Nearly half of the participants attributed the similarities between Anglo-Indian and European names to the social networks between them. Some mentioned that Anglo-Indian networks were always close—they were connected only to other Anglo-Indians and to Europeans, for a very long time. This close proximity with the Europeans was suggested as a factor that contributed to their names being similar. Moreover, the tendency of Anglo-Indians to imitate the lifestyle of Europeans caused their names to be similar to members of their reference group.

Most of the participants also said that, traditionally, Anglo-Indians were named after relatives who had European names. A couple of them felt that since Anglo-Indian names reflect a European or British ancestry from the paternal side, as they are the descendants of Europeans, they are given European names.

One of the participants named Anna[15] also stated that Anglo-Indian names were meant to create a unique identity with respect to other Indians. For several of them, Anglo-Indians were Indians (e.g., they were brought up as Indians) except for the names which were English. This point is illustrated in example (1) that quotes Anthony.

(1) I gave my daughters European names. I am an Indian. But when the name comes, it is the tradition; it's the descent of an Anglo-Indian family, the community … If we dilute the names, the name will identify you away from the Anglo-Indian community. By our names and surnames, we can be identified as Anglo-Indians. That's the reason I wanted my daughters to continue with Anglo-Indian names, European names…

The next question elicited the cause of gender differences in Anglo-Indian names. Accordingly, the question was as follows: "… fashionable names were given to females … and traditional names to males … Why were females given fancy and males given traditional names?"

A handful of them felt that Anglo-Indians followed the trends in European and British names and since the latter also displayed similar distinctions in naming styles, gender differences in Anglo-Indian names were expected. There were a few others who opined that Anglo-Indians were named after celebrities from the west. For instance, Anthony, Mark, and Charles (names of interviewees in the study) noted that fanciful female names and traditional male names were given to identify with the stars and celebrities of European or western countries during those times, that is, during the 1920s and the 1930s.

On the other hand, a few others felt that gender-based differences in names weren't unique to Anglo-Indians. This was a universal feature applicable to all communities and groups. Anglo-Indian male names were traditional and old-fashioned because males were named after ancestors in the hope that the child will imbibe their good qualities or continue the family name. The reasons given for female names being fanciful were quite varied. For Alloysius (an interviewee in the study), female names were fashionable and fanciful because females are pretty so their names have to be pretty as well. But Gary, another Anglo-Indian who participated in the study, noted that Anglo-Indian female names were names of celebrities from Europe since people wanted to "give a tagline of Europe" through names, and according to Anna, people could experiment with female names as they were not a part of the progeny.

The third and fourth interview questions explored the name motivations of the community and the questions were as follows: "why were you given the name … ? Is there a story behind your given name?" and "how were other members in your family given names … ?"

Some of the findings on name motivations were similar to the findings of the previous questions. These were as follows:

- Anglo-Indians were often given names of celebrities from English-speaking countries.
- They show a connection with Europe.
- They indicate European ancestry.
- They could be names of ancestors or relatives.
- They indicate a unique Anglo-Indian identity.

In addition, quite a few respondents said that they and their relatives were given biblical names and names of saints. Other motivations included Anglo-Indian names based on European placenames, names of characters derived from British novels, and names that were different.

The last question investigated intergenerational differences in naming styles and the following question was asked: “Is there any difference in naming styles between the previous generations and the current generations among Hyderabad Anglo-Indians? If yes, what kind of differences do you see between the three groups?”

Most of the respondents felt that modern names were being assigned these days. These were names that emerged due to intercommunity marriages or the need to blend in with the mainstream Indian populations. Such kinds of names functioned as compromise strategies between two cultures—Anglo-Indians and Indians. In such cases, Anglo-Indian personal names could include two first names, where one is Indian and the other, English (e.g., Smriti Evangeline), or one first name which would be a common Indian name (e.g., Priti).

There were diverse definitions of modern Anglo-Indian names. A participant named Ronald defined it as names that combined the syllables of parents’ names (e.g., the name Shonelle which is derived by combining the names, Sharon and Noel, the parents of the child), and for him and Anna, such names were not specific to any community. For Beryl, another participant in the study, modern names are shortened versions of traditional, biblical names, which are quite fashionable at the time. A few other participants (Mark, Gary, and Lisa) stated that there was a tendency to give names of celebrities to children these days.

Furthermore, Anna noted that people preferred giving rare names to children these days as “no one wants ten James or Marys. Everyone wants unique names for their child and that which is remembered.” This could be contrasted with the names of the older generations, described by Lisa as “traditional names that could be biblical, European, or named after a relative.”

The next section discusses the conclusions of the study.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This section analyses the naming styles and name motivations of Hyderabad Anglo-Indians, within the theoretical frameworks discussed in the ‘Literature Review’ section.

Proper names are one of the criteria to place individuals in an ethnic group. The qualitative interviews revealed that Anglo-Indians self-categorise, and are categorised by others, as descendants of Europeans. One of the participants named Hubert said, “to be identified as Anglo-Indians, we need to have three things: descendant from the male side of Europeans, a Christian name, and English as mother tongue. That is why our names are English.” The name choices exercised by the community enabled them to adhere to a uniform group behaviour that was chiefly European.

The community members were also assigned hybrid names (e.g., two first names where one was English and the other Indian or where the personal name was Indian and the surname was European/British). Such naming styles can be understood as strategies employed by minority groups to prevent full assimilation to the dominant culture by assigning ethnic names along with the names of the dominant groups (see Aceto, 2002). Alhaug and Saarelma (2017) interpret the use of two first names as outcomes of language contact situations. Also labelled as first names of “cultural encounter,” these names function as accommodation strategies due to the contact between two linguistic and cultural groups. Here each personal name represents a particular culture (2007, pp. 69-70). Though two first names were not found in the data, they were discussed as a category of modern names assigned to Anglo-Indians of the present generation (see the section on ‘Qualitative Findings of the Interviews’).

The data on Hyderabad Anglo-Indian names (see Tables 1 and 2; Figures 1 and 2) shows that the community has adhered to the naming styles of Europe and the English-speaking countries, from the twentieth to the twenty-first century. A consistency in naming styles was observed with respect to European or English fashionable suffixes in Hyderabad Anglo-Indian female names and the lack of these affixes in Hyderabad Anglo-Indian male names. The repertoire of Hyderabad Anglo-Indian names (e.g., biblical names, names of saints, names from literature, the use of surnames as given names, names of ethnic revival, and short forms of conventional names) was also similar to European naming styles (Joseph, 2020).

The only intergenerational difference is in the use of Hindu names found in the 1980s and the 2000s data (see Tables 1 and 2), even if they constitute less than 10% of Hyderabad Anglo-Indian male and female names (see Joseph, 2020). The findings from the qualitative interviews also corroborate this aspect of intergenerational differences in naming patterns (see 'Qualitative Findings of the Interviews'). The consistent use of ethnic (English) names by the community across the three decades can be seen as an act of resistance to assimilate to the naming styles of the dominant mainstream populations. The proper names highlight the lineage of the community members (i.e., the surnames), indicate an Anglo-Indian identity, clearly distinguishing the community members from the mainstream populations (Aceto, 2002). In other words, the use of European/English personal names contribute towards constituting an Anglo-Indian identity by differentiating them from other Indian groups. As one of the interviewees named Douglas felt that, "Anglo-Indian names are different, they stand out among other Indian names and are sometimes difficult to pronounce and spell. They are not common within the Indian context."

Within the SIT model, the naming styles of the community can be interpreted as follows: For Hyderabad Anglo-Indians, the Europeans are their reference group and this is reflected in their naming styles. The naming styles of the community, which is chiefly European or British, positively differentiates them from other Indian groups. As one of the participants, Alloysius, stated, "The community can be defined Indian except for the names which are English. I keep telling people that *naam angrezi hai par dil Hindustani* [My name is English but the heart is Indian]." For other Indian Christians

(e.g., Telugu Catholics who use pre-convert Hindu names), mainstream Hindu populations have been their reference groups with respect to naming styles.

For example, a majority of Telugu Christians are Dalits. They have converted into Christianity to improve their social status among Telugus who are highly casteist. Telugu Christians can be assigned Hindu or Christian names. The use of Hindu names (Sanskrit-derived names) can be seen as an imitation of upper castes and their naming styles. Such names are also used for availing reservation benefits. As per the Indian Constitution, a Christian does not have a caste so Dalit Christians avoid being identified as Christians in any way (Taneti, 2022) as this would deprive them of reservation benefits in government jobs or for admission to schools, colleges, and universities. Additionally, they can also be given local variants of Christian names. For example, the names Mariamma and Marreddy are the Telugu variants of the Christian name Mary. The morphological markers *amma* in Mariamma and *Reddy* in Marreddy are used to distinguish them from other Indian Christian groups such as Anglo-Indians.

Young Hyderabad Anglo-Indians and their parents never lived in British India. Their imagery of the British and European societies has been strengthened through secondary sources (e.g., community members who visited England or have friendship/family networks in England and other western countries, and grandparents or other older community members in their life). Perhaps, these social ways of life gave them an insight to British lifestyles (Wright, 2000, p. 24), including their naming styles.

Other factors that would have contributed to the British imagery are the English and western media, western movies and television serials. Through this we understand that the community lives in a social milieu that constantly gives explicit visual ‘reference images’ of the British and the west. Despite the fact that India became Independent of British rule, many Anglo-Indians, who are Indian nationals, continue to see the British as their reference group (also attested through qualitative interviews). The community adopts a British lifestyle, which is now their lifestyle,[16] maintaining features that are more English than Indian. In general, people who identify themselves as Anglo-Indians do not accept cultural symbols that are perceived as Indian but adopt those behaviours and forms that are identified as British and/or western. This contributes to their cultural marginality in modern India (Wright, 2000, pp. 24-25, 28-

29). It can be argued that personal naming would also constitute a pattern of behaviour that is British and/or western in style.

In this study, I have argued that Hyderabad Anglo-Indians have followed the fashions and styles of Europeans (fashionable affixes, repertoire of personal names), affiliating with the ethnic group they identify with. It can be argued that the personal names of the community indicate their ethnicity as it places them in a specific geographical and social milieu as well as indicating their ancestry.

Smita Joseph *is an Assistant Professor of Sociolinguistics at The English and Foreign Languages University, Hyderabad. Her research interests are Anglo-Indian English and socio-onomastics. She can be reached at joseph.smita@gmail.com.*

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NOTES

[1] This article is a modified version of a part of my Ph.D. thesis, published as *The Anglo-Indians in Hyderabad: Sociolinguistic, Historical, and Anthropological Perspectives,* by Primus Books in 2020.

[2] Judgment sampling is employed when researchers pre-decide the social variables to be correlated with language, whereas random sampling is a method of data collection in which every community member has an equal chance of being selected for study.

[3] Secunderabad and Hyderabad are referred to as the twin cities in the vernacular. The former was developed by the British during the eighteenth century as a British cantonment. On the other hand, Hyderabad was the capital of the Nizams ("Portal:Hyderabad/Secunderabad," 2020). The placename, Secunderabad, is derived from Nizam Sikander Jah, the sixth Nizam of Hyderabad, who under a treaty with the British developed the north of Hussain Sagar Lake into a cantonment during the late eighteenth century (Secunderabad Cantonment Board, n.d.). Although the two cities are divided by Hussain Sagar Lake, Secunderabad is a part of Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation and the twin cities are commonly referred to as Hyderabad ("Secunderabad," 2024).

[4] The crises were witnessed in the form of unemployment especially among the younger generations. As a result, many of them took up low-paid jobs. The loss of jobs or stable employment meant that the

community could not afford school education. This factor also affected the future of the community (Sengupta, 2016, p. 5).

[5] In tables 1 and 2, we can see that the data of names of the 1980s and the 2000s have very few Sanskrit-derived Indian names.

[6] A creole is an outcome of language contact situation. The initial stages of creole languages are pidgins. The latter is a makeshift language which is developed by groups of speakers who do not share a common language. It is nobody's first language. When a pidgin is adopted as the first language of a community, it is referred to as a creole.

[7] There are various factors that are involved in name choices. For instance, if immigrant parents decide to give foreign names to their children, whether they can be translated into the ethnic language (i.e., whether to make a choice between José, Joseph or Ryan for a Spanish parent in America). Translatable names can be understood as names which are from mainstream culture but they also show a link to the ethnic community (Sue & Telles, 2007, pp. 1392, 1410). Joseph will be a translatable name for a Hispanic parent in America over José and Ryan.

[8] As cited in Sue and Telles (2007).

[9] As cited in Sue and Telles (2007).

[10] Tarnaka is a residential and industrial area located in Secunderabad.

[11] This is also followed by Hyderabad Anglo-Indians and this aspect of their names will be discussed further along.

[12] The Welsh name Glenys is created by combining glân 'pure, holy' + -ys (Hanks & Hodges, 2003). Names associated with moral qualities are perceived as positive and are favoured among Christians. For example, the name Mary is seen as 'humble and devoted' (Wilson, 2004, pp. 197-198). Similarly, Glenys evokes the virtue of purity, a moral quality favoured among Christians.

[13] Conservative would mean the old stock of names, names that were native to the Europeans and the English (e.g., biblical saint names).

[14] Ethnic names were the old stock of names that had assumed 'a nationalist' flavour in the modern period (Wilson, 2004). The name Harold, for instance, is an Old English name that was reintroduced in the nineteenth century in England (Hanks & Hodges, 2003).

[15] The original name of the participants has been changed to maintain confidentiality.

[16] I thank Dr. Robyn Andrews for this insight.