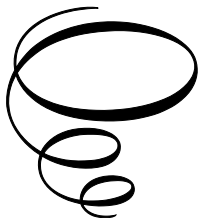# Shifting Toponymies

Shifting Toponymies:

(Re)naming Places, (Re)shaping Identities

Edited by

Luisa Caiazzo and I.M. Nick

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Shifting Toponymies: (Re)naming Places, (Re)shaping Identities

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CHAPTER ONE

CONSTRUCTING LINES, CONSTRUCTING PLACE-NAMES: THE CASE OF THE DELHI METRO

ESTERINO ADAMI

1. Introduction

In cultural, and symbolic terms, the image of the railway in India—the contemporary, urban version of which is represented by the Delhi Metro— covers a plurality of meanings including: the power of mobility, the sense of modernity, and the social and economic connections between communities (Adami 2018; Aguair 2011; Azad, Kumar, and Paramjit 2014; Baber 2010; Butcher 2011). Many of these issues are also culturally and linguistically reproduced by the Delhi Metro. It is not a coincidence that the grandiloquent slogan of the Indian Railways, "Lifeline of the Nation," was adopted and adapted by the Delhi Metro in the calque-form "Lifeline to the City" to indicate sentiments of pride, efficiency, and strength. In Butcher's words (2011, 237): "it became a point of social interaction as well as reflecting boundaries of difference and exclusion." From this perspective, the Delhi Metro is not only an example of modern India's expanding infrastructures which, thanks to an innovative underground service, have helped to improve public transport and tackle air pollution and street congestion. The Delhi Metro is also a cultural site of representation in which identities and ideologies are linguistically realized.

Typically, the imagery of the railway (and metro) lends itself to processes of metaphorization in which the complexity and articulation of a vast transport system are mirrored in a network of correspondences that have great cultural significance (Adami 2018). These organic links effectively trigger a host of metaphors. As Gupta explains (2014, 180):

> If one thinks of the city of Delhi as a social text, then we citizens are the individual units that make it up. 'Delhi' exists because we continually reproduce ideas of Delhi in our minds. The metro trains act as the veins of this system which facilitate our movement to different parts of the geographical Delhi where we go and engage in a plethora of actions and relations with other 'Delhites' like us.

This type of embodied mapping conceptualizes the metro as a biological system. A part of the Delhi Metro's representational power involves naming. Of particular interest here are the criteria used for regulating the naming and re-naming of the metro stations. Such choices are not neutrally descriptive. Rather, they often encode specific references that deliberately contribute to the construction or affirmation of certain ideologies, which, in turn, are naturalized through the very nature of naming.

Superficially, the selection of names for metro stations may appear to be unbiased and "because of the relatively greater space between stops and the regional scale of most rapid transit systems, neighbourhoods and landmarks can be just as effective reference points" (Douglas 2010, 182). However, its rhetorical structure may actually hide different layers of meaning. Hence, I argue that the Delhi Metro's naming procedures reflect specific ideological visions within the complex and sometimes contradictory background of the transformation of India, the effects of globalization, the upholding of tradition, the role of English, and the influence of Hindu nationalistic movements. Indeed, the names of metro stations are not merely referential. They also trigger schemas and suggestions in travelers' minds through allusive elements (Carter 2004; Jeffries 2010; Stockwell 2002) and thus partake in ideological discourse.

The present study[1] draws from several texts—newspaper articles, tourist guidebooks, and websites—and adopts an interdisciplinary approach that combines the tools of postcolonial critique, linguistics, cognitive stylistics, anthropology, and tourism studies (Ashcroft 2009; Augé 2008; Butcher 2011; Douglas 2010; Jeffries 2010; Stockwell 2002). The purpose of the study is to investigate the construction of the city's multiple identities as expressed by the underground station names. The analysis of metro naming and re-naming can uncover subtle operations of nationalistic, sociocultural, and economic promotion meant to enhance certain viewpoints.

As has been argued, naming represents a site for negotiation between language, power, and ideology. It therefore frequently plays a key role in the colonial and postcolonial experience (Ashcroft 2009). In a broader sense, according to Jeffries (2010), naming functions as a textual practice

that can package a series of connotations that may introduce or strengthen certain worldviews, with the ultimate end of persuading or manipulating. The potential of naming for metro systems has been further highlighted by Douglas (2010, 177), who points out that:

> […] something as simple as the name of a station could have important effects on the identity (both locally and externally) of the community area in which it is located, for the benefit of community members and other transit users alike.

As metro station names are significant indicators of social and cultural apparatuses at work, the task of choosing names for the Delhi Metro stations is a complex one. On the one hand, it is aimed at helping travellers find their way. On the other hand, it can revive the cultural associations of an area.

Talking about the collective imagination of the train in India, Aguiar holds that "as a permeable and mobile space, the railway enables challenges and alternations to communities even as it helps foster them" (2011, 173). This assertion can be applied to the perception of the metro in the Delhi area. It is also particularly valid with regard to station naming, since the Delhi Metro and local communities are connected in a complex, reciprocal relationship of contact and transformation, which is reflected in the linguistic material of station names.

It may also be observed that several naming strategies function through pragmatic mechanisms in that they link locations to commercial or industrial references. In this way, they may challenge the boundary between the private and the public. As a result, private companies can sometimes purchase names for stations and, in so doing, expand their visibility, role, and influence. The case of the *Noida City Centre* station in southeast Delhi, now renamed *Wave City Centre Noida* ("The Hindu" 2016; "Hindustantimes" 2016) exemplifies the contemporary transformations, or rather the "commodification," of station names that may be used to advertise brands and businesses. The new name incorporates a direct reference to the Wave Group, an important Indian business conglomerate whose diverse investments include manufacturing, real estate, and entertainment.

2. Delhi Metro: The Context

To provide the necessary contextualization for this investigation, it is important to first briefly describe the public transport underground system that serves Delhi and the peripheral towns of Faribadad, Gurgaon, Noida,

and Ghaziabad in the National Capital Region of India. Through its seven colour-coded lines, the Delhi Metro currently comprises 160 stations and is considered the world's twelfth largest metro system. Opened in 2002, Delhi Metro is operated by the state-owned company, Delhi Metro Rail Corporation Limited (DMRC); the Government of India; and the Government of Delhi. It offers connections with Indian Railways, Delhi Ring Railways, Noida Metro, and the privately financed Rapid Metro in the southern suburb of Gurgaon.

While there are plans for future extensions, at the moment, Delhi Metro is composed of the following lines:

> Line 1/Red Line, from Rithala to Shaheed Sthal Metro Station
> Line 2/Yellow Line, from Samayapur Badli to HUDA City Centre
> Line 3/Blue Line, from Dwarka Sector 21 to Noida Electronic City
> Line 4/Blue Line, from Yamuna Bank to Mohan Nagar via Laxmi Nagar
> Line 5/Green Line, from Brigadier Hoshiyar Singh to Inderlok, and its minor branch from Ashok Park Main to Kirti Nagar
> Line 6/Violet Line, from Kashmere Gate to Raja Nahar Singh (Ballabhgarh)
> Line 7/Orange Line (Airport Metro Express Line), from New Delhi railway station to Dwarka Sector 21 via Indira Gandhi International airport

The progressive construction and implementation of the Metro has reduced traffic congestion (Baber 2010, 478) and affected other social aspects as well:

> […] the shifting dynamics of land use associated with large transportation structure implies the need to concentrate on the interaction of people with transportation as there is an intricate relationship between population who survive and function close to the conveyance system. (Azad, Kumar and Paramjit 2014, 1)

With this thought in mind, critically examining the Metro as material culture allows us to investigate the social and linguistic work that is done via naming and thereby bring to light hidden views and beliefs. Thus, besides facilitating the transportation system, the names of the Metro stations convey a plethora of meanings in which tangible and intangible issues overlap in the construction of discourse and its worlds. From this interdisciplinary perspective, the Metro is a significant context which is well-worth investigating because it "plays a role in replicating the city's normative social obligations of space-use to manage this diversity, situating it into the cultural framework of a highly stratified city" (Butcher 2011, 243).[2] Yet, the imaginative power of the metro is also signalled by

the names given to its stations via specific naming procedures that I will take into account in the next section.

3. What's in a (Metro Station) Name?

This segment will examine the linguistic construction of Delhi Metro station names within the Indian cultural framework and imagination. The evocative nature of naming affects both the collective and the individual spheres. The connotations of names chosen for the station may be perceived as either opaque or transparent depending on the Metro user's stored knowledge, cognitive schemas, and experiences. As Marc Augé (1997, 270) points out, "we all bring to the metro our own preoccupations of the moment, and sometimes a few of our memories, a bit of our personal history that is awakened by the name of a particular station." This cognitive configuration considers language production and reception as the interaction between participants engaged in the communicative act. From this perspective, station names may not only be variously interpreted, they may also contribute to the affirmation of persistent "naturalized" ideologies.

A starting point for considering the naming patterns adopted by transportation authorities lies in their linguistic and semiotic capacity to create sense in that "signs are explicitly intended to increase neighbourhood identity while simultaneously promoting a common civic pride" (Douglas 2010, 181). In much the same way that station names are chosen in other cities around the world, those of the Delhi Metro may range in reference from streets, parks, and monuments to important historical and mythical figures. The pattern "proper name + locative reference" is especially productive and has various subtypes such as "name of a political, cultural, or historical figure + locative expression." Examples include *Nerhu Place* (Violet Line), *Tagore Garden* (Blue Line), and *Mandi House* (at the intersection of Blue Line and Violet Line). This last example is particularly interesting in that it incorporates an onomastic layer that designates "a building named Mandi House, once owned by the raja of Mandi" (Bhanot and Banerjee 2014, 131). Another naming pattern is "geographical reference + locative reference." This pattern is typically realized by a noun phrase whose head is a generic locative item (e.g. market) premodified by a geographical term. An intriguing example here is *Kashmere Gate* on the Yellow Line, which utilizes the now antiquated spelling of the place name *Kashmir*. The Gate itself is a historical monument that was constructed by military engineer Robert Smiths in 1835. Another station name that follows this pattern is *Yamuna Bank*. The stop shares the name of the city's river as well as an ancient river goddess

who is believed to be the daughter of the sun in traditional Hinduism (Piano 2001, 247).

Yet another recurrent onomastic prototype features general lexical items. Illustrative examples are *Botanical Garden* (Blue Line), *Golf Course* (Blue Line), *Race Course* (Yellow Line), and *Green Park* (Yellow Line). Each of these station names makes reference to a specific location in Delhi. However, through their generic elements, they also create associations in the minds of Metro users. These associations are then interpreted in relation to the position of other referents found within the situational context.

An interesting aspect of the Delhi Metro station names is related to the continuing existence of English lexical items that date back to the colonial period. Although now obsolete in British English, the presence of these lexemes in the station names of Delhis modern Metro demonstrates how such terms can reflect linguistic, cultural, and social history. This point is illustrated by names such as *Kailash Colony* (Violet Line) and *Civil Lines* (Yellow Line). Both of these station names contain fossilized elements of Victorian English that are still commonly used in Indian English. Whereas the lexeme "colony" in Indian English is "synonymous with 'locality' or 'place'" in standard British English "colony" no longer has this meaning and has long since been replaced by "estate" (Nihalani, Tongue and Hosali 1979, 51). Likewise, the name *Civil Lines* is said to originate from an expression referring to the "British residential enclave" (John 2013, 3)—a residential settlement built for senior officers during the British Empire in various colonial territories similar to another archaic locative form such as "white town." In spite of the processes of re-naming pre-colonial names that has taken place across many ex-colonial parts of Asia and Africa (see the case of *Mumbai/Bombay*), this spatial reference with its anachronistic lexical element and suggestive colonist overtones has not been altered.

A further feature of Indian English that is manifest in many of the Delhi Metro station names is the great variety of acronyms and abbreviations (Sailaja 2009, 82-3). Examples on the Yellow Line include the stations of *INA* and *AIIMS Chowk*, which respectively stand for Indian National Airways, a private airline that was eventually merged with others to constitute Indian Airlines in 1953; and the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. On the Orange Line, the station *ITC Maurya* takes its name from a prestigious hotel "named after the Mauryan dynasty associated with the 'Golden Age' of art, culture and architecture in India" (Bhanot and Banerjee 2014, 148). Thanks to the combination of various referential layers, names such as these may foster the mythical construction of the past and implicitly project a vision of the country's unity and rootedness.

In some station names, it is also possible to identify Hindi spatial references (McGregor 1997) such as *nagar*, a term meaning "town." This lexeme can be found premodified by either proper names or toponomastic references. It is found in examples like *Uttam Nagar West*, *Uttam Nagar East*, *Moti Nagar*, *Laxmi Nagar*, *New Ashok Nagar* and *Kirti Nagar*—all along the Blue Line. On the Yellow Line, another station name with a complex network of religious and historical references can be found. The *GTB Nagar* station takes its name from the Sri Guru Tegh Bahadar Ji, the ninth of the Ten Gurus of Sikhism. The place featuring this station name also has strong colonial ties. Previously called *Kingsway*, this area was originally part of the architectural transformation the city underwent when it became the new capital of colonial India in 1911. This was also the time when *Coronation Park* was inaugurated. That was then. Now, as Bhanot and Banerjee (2004, 24) explain, the park is:

> […] something of a forlorn mausoleum of imperial statuary, since statues of several Raj viceroys and officials were removed from different public places in Delhi and placed here after India became independent.

In an early effort to mark this historical independence, a new name was officially given to the locality in 1970. This name was subsequently adopted by the metro station in an effort to reinforce the sense of a neighborhood identity. Colonial history is not the only motivator of station naming for the Delhi Metro. Religious allusions also can be identified. The station name *Kalkaji Mandir* (Violet Line) designates a temple (*mandir* in Hindi). The station name commemorates the temple dedicated to the cult of the Hindu Goddess Kali, built around the end of the eighteenth century.

Another similar example incorporates the Hindi word *chowk* that commonly denotes a "marketplace" or less frequently a "courtyard," "road junction," or "roundabout." This word is used in various station names. *Rajiv Chowk*, at the juncture between the Blue Line and the Yellow Line, is, for example, named after Rajiv Gandhi. *Chadni Chowk* (part of the Yellow Line) is located in a very busy area of Old Delhi; and *Patel Chowk* (Yellow Line) harkens to the name of a previous group of village leaders. The same lexeme is sometimes combined with an acronym, as in the case of *IFFCO Chowk* (Yellow Line). This station name refers to the Indian Farmers Fertilisers Cooperative Limited, the largest fertilizer cooperative federation based in the country.

As these and other examples demonstrate, station names across the Delhi Metro display a remarkable degree of linguistic creativity. In many names, this creativity is exhibited through novel affixation (Sailaja 2009, 80-82). Take, for instance, the suffix *–pur* (or *–pura*), which indicates a

"city" or "settlement." This suffix is extensively used across the Indian subcontinent. Derived from *pura,* the Sanskrit term for "city," this suffix is found in station names like *Sultanpur* and *Chhattarpur* (both on the Yellow Line).

In these and the above-mentioned cases, the station names come from Delhi Metro officials. In other cases, metro station names have come from travelers. A case in point is *Central Secretariat*, a station on the Yellow Line that serves the capital's seat of power, namely the Parliament Building and the President of India's official residence, Rashtrapati Bhavan. The official name of this station is sometimes shortened to the *Secretariat* or *Central*, as well as *Parliament Station* or *Kendriya Terminal*, after a local bus stop. Such manipulation of names exhibits conversational creativity (Carter 2004). Here as elsewhere, alongside the official system of naming prescribed by the establishment, there are also alternative unofficial names that result from "other forms of power, embedded in subjective understandings of social order and identity" (Butcher 2011, 244).

4. Station Names and Ideology

From a cognitive point of view, language is a tool to construct, mediate, and convey human experience. As such, it has a representational role in the attempt to understand, conceptualize, and reproduce reality through a range of stylistic means (Stockwell 2002). Moreover, re-naming may be viewed as a form of perceptual modality that gives rise to conceptual shifts in meaning and frames the point of view of the text's producer. With suitable adaptations, such an approach may be extended to the investigation of the evocative power of Delhi Metro station names in their projection of meaning and construction of values. It is from this standpoint that I will now deal with some specific cases, starting with the debate that took place around the name of a new station on the expanding Blue Line in 2009. The controversy involved two naming options: *Commonwealth Games Village* and *Akshardham*. The former made reference to a sports facility built for the 2010 Commonwealth Games to be hosted by Delhi. The latter made reference to the name of a large local temple that was "inaugurated in 2005 after five years of construction, carving and landscaping" (Bhanot and Banerjee 2014, 138).

The ensuing clash of the choice between a secular or religious reference has to be framed within the Indian cultural context. On the one hand, there is the drive to promote traditional, indigenous, and sacred values, which in this case were associated with an ideological affirmation

of Hinduism. On the other hand, there was the desire to promote the Commonwealth Games (a name that may still trigger painful colonial memories and thereby generate social tensions). In the end, the final decision was made to use the name that favoured the connection with the Hindu temple, with the official explanation that the site was a place of public worship. At the same time, the name also conveyed a subtle message of patriotic self-celebration within the broader context of contemporary Hindu renaissance and *Hindutva*. Critics of this choice contended that the name not only related to Hindu identity (Piano 2001, 83); it may also have served a broader nationalistic agenda.

Religious associations often surface in the thorny discussions about the choice of station names. A further example is the *Satguru Ram Singh Marg* station (Green Line). The station was originally to be called *Patel Nagar West*, but was eventually named to commemorate the pioneer of the Swadeshi non-violent, non-co-operation movement (Lahiri 2012), following the suggestion of the Namdhari sect of Sikhs. However, as some critics of this name choice contend, rather than emphasizing Indian religious pluralism, this name connotes visions of supremacy.

Whichever position one takes in this debate, it is evident that giving a station a particular name is an affirmative act of power and an identity-building project that can be rhetorically exploited by political parties, religious associations, or commercial bodies to legitimize a specific view or ideology. Lahiri (2012) reports on another remarkable case dealing with the Yellow Line connecting Delhi with the satellite town of Gurgaon in the southeast. Because of the proximity of the *Garden Estate Housing Complex* to a new station, the Metro authorities opted for the near-homonymous name *Garden Estate*. However, in March 2008, the Haryana government officially requested the station to be named *Guru Dronacharya*. The request was granted and the station was renamed. Although this case appears on the surface to be straightforward, there were many underlying factors at play. The social entanglements of the new name arise from a literary source: the Hindu epic *Mahabharata*, in which the figure of Dronacharya is depicted as an archery teacher of the Pandava and Kaurava princes (Piano 2001, 65). The character is quite complex. According to journalist Tripti Lahiri: "he's a figure who is both revered as an exemplary teacher and seen as a symbol of the mistreatment of low-caste Hindus by higher castes" ("The Wall Street Journal" 2012). A short time after the re-naming of the station, perhaps due to the sensitivities connected to the name, the Metro authorities decided to restore the original name of *Garden Estate*. However, this action also resulted in several

complaints from the Haryana government. Eventually, the name *Guru Dronacharya* was officially agreed upon.[3]

The opinions of religious groups, sects, and communities over station naming decisions is often persuasive. For example, Lahiri ("The Wall Street Journal" 2012) recounted the request made by the Brahma Kumaris, a monastic order for women. The members of the order asked that a station be named after Saraswati, the river goddess of wisdom, poetry, and music (Piano 2001, 190). A similar proposal was issued by the Lal Dwara Mandir [the temple of the red door]. This group asked that the name of the *Jhandewalan* station (the Blue Line) be modified because it was close to the above-mentioned temple. They requested that Metro authorities change the station name to *Jhandewalan Lal Dwara*. This petition was, however, rejected.

Nevertheless, this and the other examples demonstrate that debates about station naming are crucial to questions of identity. Decision-makers must therefore consider both the obvious and subtle influences that originate from various powers and sectors of the establishment. It was with this goal in mind that a special committee was created in 2010 to regulate and process the many name requests for new stations. As this committee no doubt discovered, such petitions are very sensitive and may engender exacerbating discussions. The depth of the emotions connected with these often protracted discussions was illustrated by Lahiri ("The Wall Street Journal" 2012) with the following comment made by an exasperated resident. Authored by a person who called him/herself "Angry India," the provocative comment read: "why don't we just call all the stations across India Rajiv/Sonia/Rahul/Priyanka Gandhi station?" Such frustration testifies to the tensions behind the naming operation specifically for Delhi's underground network, but also for public facilities in general. Moreover, it signals the linguistic verve and provocative humor commonly apparent in online protest campaigns over public names (Nayar 2011).

As Douglas (2010, 177) affirms: "urban planning and design decisions have been used to promote both local identity and civic cohesion." This statement holds true for Delhi station naming as well. However, naming and re-naming are not only driven by communal identity issues. They may also reflect a commercial identity. Such is the case with many of the station names used for the Delhi Metro. As many companies have found, these names can function as forms of powerful advertising, especially when used to label lines with high numbers of passengers (e.g. the Blue and Yellow lines). Since 2013, Delhi Metro Rail Corporation authorities have increasingly capitalized on this opportunity to secure a portion of the urban market and have turned the naming process into a new pay-for-use

service to generate new and consistent revenues. As a result, new names are chosen and crafted not for cultural, historical, or religious reasons, but rather as vehicles for publicity, visibility, and business. In an article published in "The Times of India" (2015), Keelor documents the practice of semi-renaming. Particularly in the growing Noida area, a constellation of fast-developing firms has been exploiting the opportunity to pay to have their business icon and brand name advertised in station names. An example in the Noida area comes from the Wave Group. Active in manufacturing, beverages, and entertainment, this company has managed to secure the naming rights for stations like *Noida Sector 18*, which was rebranded as *Wave Sector 18 Noida* ("The Hindu" 2016; "Hindustantimes" 2016).

To a certain extent, some of these (re)named or semi-(re)named stations are akin to the idea of "language in unexpected places" mentioned by Pennycook (2012). There are also traces of stories and histories at play in their material and imaginary format. However, the commodification and marketization of station naming via corporate auctions also involves an added dimension of the metro onomasticon—one based on financial and capitalist principles. These new sociocultural factors help to propagate a new form of ideology alongside the routine economic forms and fluxes of power that may negatively affect the identity of local communities. Despite this potential danger, thanks to the profitability of place-naming, one can expect that this route for naming stations will soon extend to transport rail systems other than Delhi Metro, like the private Rapid Metro in Gurgaon and the Noida Metro currently under construction. This development may mean that (re)naming may eventually become a principally commercial endeavor used to sponsor business and the private sector as a whole. The new names will gradually transform into linguistic items that have a promotional function and will be interpreted in juxtaposition with advertising slogans: their textual nature will therefore move closer to genres associated more with advertising than with toponymy.

Economics drives not only the incidence but also the extent of (re)naming. From a financial point of view, there is a difference between "(re)naming" and "semi-(re)naming," because the former requires the metro authorities to "change the name from everywhere—signages, server systems for tokens and cards, maps, pamphlets and inside the train" ("Hindustantimes" 2016): an undertaking that costs millions of rupees. Semi-(re)naming, by comparison, simply involves adding to the previous name rather than complete substitution. Although both operations have been applied to the Delhi Metro network, semi-(re)naming seems to be

currently particularly popular and has progressively altered the names of various stations. Examples of semi-(re)named stations, based on data reported by journalists Goswami (2016a; 2016b) and Joshi (2016), are presented in the following table:

Line	Original Station Name	New station name
Blue Line	*Dwarka Sector 10*	*Punjab National Bank (PNB) / PNB Dwarka Sector 10*
Violet Line	*ITO*	*JK Tyre ITO*
Violet Line	*Jasola*	*Jasola Apollo*
Yellow Line	*MG Road*	*Syska LED MG Road*
Blue Line	*Noida Sector 18*	*Wave Sector 18 Noida*

Table 1-1. Examples of Delhi Metro naming and (re)renaming.

Despite the popularity of this type of advertising among businesses, the reactions from regular passengers are not always positive, as in the case of the semi-(re)naming of *Vishwavidyalaya*. The station serving the Delhi University district is now also called *Honda 2 Wheelers Vishwavidyalaya*. As journalist Mallica Joshi reports (2016): "angry posts on social media have been dominating students' timelines […] with many questioning the 'takeover' of public spaces." This type of response is indicative of how public place-names may be perceived. The economic exploitation via re-naming in this case clashed with the collective idea of public services and places. In spite of such potential negative social reactions, the bid to win the naming rights for a Metro station has become a popular form of advertising for powerful brands and trademarks. However, as yet, the resulting proliferation of new names has not affected the central Delhi districts and has been limited to the peripheral or suburban zones since "Delhi's policy does not allow DMRC to change names of stations for branding or simply put, revenue generation" (Goswami 2016). Thanks to this policy, the naming landscape of the city has been partially safeguarded, as protecting this area and the names attached to it is implicitly considered to be crucial to the Delhi sense of identity, the cohesion of society, and their collective culture.

5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analyzed the intertwined themes of naming and (re)naming metro stations in the greater Delhi area to discuss the ideological potential of such operations and how they may affect

passengers and inhabitants. This form of transportation is critical to Delhi society in that it improves both mobility and the environment. Thus, it has emerged as a symbol of economic progress and social welfare. It has become a contemporary symbol of the new "shining India" since "on entering the Metro, one is literally transported to a quite different world" (Baber 2010, 479). This collective importance helps to explain why the naming (and (re)naming) of metro stations is far from being a neutral exercise as "line and station names provide unique identities" (Douglas 2010, 181).

However, the acts of naming and (re)naming do not simply constitute sociocultural practices. They can also deliberately function as linguistic resources for constructing, projecting, and manipulating meanings and discourses. In other words, they are tools of power that can be used to make a material impact on society and thereby favor certain cultural, political, and economic orientations. Because names are either linked to or evocative of specific cultural formations, by investigating how a particular Metro station name is given or altered, it is possible to study how complex processes of power construction, mediation, and transformation operate. As has been shown here, names can contribute to broader campaigns that reinforce nationalism and propaganda. By the same token, station (re)naming as a strategy of rebranding can advertise and promote the interests of private bodies by foregrounding specific brands. Thus, these two functional modalities disclose a set of ideological meanings and messages related to the naming phenomenon in the Indian urban context.

Although the examples that I have discussed here are limited, they are nevertheless indicative of the negotiations of power between metro authorities, local communities, and other social actors in the construction and management of geographical and symbolic space, and ultimately of identity itself. The introduction (and in some cases, the imposition) of certain station names is in fact one of the many linguistic manifestations of power which has terrific potential for rhetorical manipulation. In this respect, Metro station naming may be compared with other domains pertaining to power, such as politics and education, in which the linguistic level plays a crucial role. Just like in these other arenas, as the linguistic transformations of station names become entrenched in public discourse, new ideological effects may be achieved in the developing variegated society.

In conclusion, this preliminary study has demonstrated that the sociolinguistic and sociocultural case of the Delhi Metro station (re)naming should be considered along with other:

interacting fields of power, between those in control of the Metro (who set the 'rules') and passengers (who follow or ignore them), and between passengers themselves (gendered and social hierarchies for example) (Butcher 2011, 251).

Hence, this investigation has helped to provide a better understanding of the components and workings of the current social, cultural, political, and economic forces operating in Delhi. Without doubt, the complexity and significance of this area warrants further interdisciplinary explorations, bearing in mind that "the text of reality and the interpreter are porous categories which constantly pour into and mould each other" (Gupta 2014, 177). In this sense, as this chapter reminds, the linguistic domain of naming and (re)naming both shapes and is shaped by culture in a dynamic process.

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NOTES TO CHAPTERS

Chapter One

[1] Given the complexity of the theme under scrutiny here and the heterogeneity of the sources I take into consideration, a double word of warning is necessary: this project was mainly conducted between 2017 and 2018, and therefore some further changes to the Delhi Metro system might have taken place since then, e.g. new station renaming or new line extensions.

[2] The key role of the Metro is foregrounded in a wide range of texts and genres from guidebooks and narrative fiction to advertising, the news media, and the linguistic landscape. In an attempt to promote the attractiveness of landmarks for potential sightseers, the Metro is frequently featured in texts used to highlight tourist routes. Examples include such publications as *Mind the Gap: Walking Delhi with the Metro* (2013) and *Delhi by Metro* (2014). These texts offer tourists suggestions about how to visit the capital by riding the metro. An example of this use in narrative fiction is provided by Vandana Singh's 2004 short story "Delhi," where the underground is a constant element of the many imaginary worlds the narrator explores while traveling through the past and future.

[3] Further complicating this conflict was the fact that, according to a folk etymology, the name of the area, Gurgaon, derives from a combination of the title *guru* with the word *gaon* [village] because, according to the mythical narration, the archery guru received a village as a gift from his students ("The Indian Express" 2010).

Chapter Two

[1]"This is an edited transcript of a three-hour interview conducted in Canberra, Australia, on August 17, 1986. The participants were John Hutnyk, Scott McQuire, Nikos Papastergiadis, and Gayatri Spivak. First published in Melbourne *Journal of Politics*, 18, 1986/87" (Harasym 1990, 35).

[2] "The Ministry of Home Affairs has informed that Writ Petition (C) No.924 of 2014 was filed by Niranjan Bhatwal in the Supreme Court of India for using the name 'Bharat' for all official and unofficial purposes. The said Writ Petition was disposed of by the Supreme Court on 10.11.2014 [November 11, 2014] as withdrawn with liberty to make appropriate representation before the authorities. Thereafter, the petitioner, through its counsel, sent a notice along with copy of the Writ Petition to the Prime Minister of India for appropriate action. The said