Urban vocabulary in Northern India

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I – THE WORDS OF THE CITY IN NORTHERN INDIA: A PROBLEMATIC

1. Limits of the area of study

This study concerns itself mainly with the geographical zone in Northern India where Hindi is predominantly spoken. The core of this zone is made up of four northern Indian states (Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan) and includes Delhi, the capital city of India. According to the classification used in the 1981 census, this zone constitutes at least one third of India's cities and towns (1116 out of 3245).

In India, as in every other multilingual society, language plays a determining part in the making of regional identities. Thus, for instance, the language criterion has played a decisive role in the long-drawn-out historical process which has unfolded in India since Independence and which led to the geographical and administrative reorganization of the states inside the Indian union. But, beyond every classification, it is important to observe that this whole zone (the Hindi belt) is frequently given a common identity in a great number of studies about the very diverse aspects of Indian society.

2. Linguistic heterogeneity of the urban vocabulary

The criterion of the dominant language allows one to define a relevant geographical area for our research. But, paradoxically, the same criterion loses all its validity as soon as the concentration is on its very object. The urban vocabulary of northern India cannot in any way be restricted to Hindi only.

The first characteristic of the urban lexicon is indeed to be found at the junction between a variety of languages (Hindi, Urdu, English, regional languages,...) which sustain more or less distant ties between them and whose respective vocabularies overlap in some measure. This is specifically the case with the urban vocabulary.

Before Independence, the "common language" in the northern Indian towns and cities was Hindustani – a kind of synthesis between various languages, dialects and means of expression that gave all its richness to the linguistic universe of this region. Hindustani vocabulary was heterogeneous; it included in different proportions terms borrowed from the many regional languages of northern India, from Arabic, from Persian and, in certain specific domains (pertinently to our study), from English and from Sanskrit (and its direct derivatives). After Independence, however, the linguistic policy of the Indian government – which was not seen through to completion – was to promote Hindi not only as one of the Indian union official languages, but also more specifically as what was to become the only national language of the country. The terms borrowed from Arabic or from Persian were more or less officially bowdlerized and replaced – when necessary – by Sanskrit ones, or by terms constructed from a Sanskrit base. The same policy was carried out, to a lesser degree, for English terms that had been incorporated into the common language. Indeed, it had been initially planned in the Indian constitution that English would cease to be used as one of the official languages of the country ten years after Independence.

Had such a policy seen radical results, our research would have been simplified: the contemporary urban vocabulary would then have been exclusively constituted by sanskritized terms, or terms still in use in regional languages of Northern India. But this was not to be the case, and even less in the domain of urban vocabulary than in any other. That is why we can find today in the urban glossary terms that derive from Persian and Arabic as well as English and the different regional languages of Northern India.

Many reasons explain the particularly syncretic nature of the urban vocabulary. Here are some of them:
– the importance of the role played in the "handling" of the urban issue by the successive administrations of Northern India, especially when they imposed the use of a foreign language (Persian, English) in official transactions. This influence has crystallized in some of the terms that have outlived the political and administrative powers which introduced their use.
– the very diversity of the towns that make up the urban landscape and that illustrate, in various degrees, the styles and influences combining with each other in the region. Therefore, be it in Benares (Varanasi) or Jaipur, where urbanism is closely associated with hinduism and the power of Hindu monarchs; in Ahmadabad, testament of a pre-Moghul islamic architecture; in Agra and Delhi (ancient capitals of the Moghul empire, and later of British India and the Indian republic in the case of Delhi); or in Lucknow (a first-hand account of the ruling Nawab) and Chandigarh (deliberately chosen as an architectural symbol of the newly independent India): each of these cities bears witness, in its own way, to the periods and styles characteristic of Northern India urban history.
– the coexistence in these cities of clearly distinct neighborhoods which have preserved not only the morphological features of the cultural influence and historical period of their conception, but also part of the vocabulary that was traditionally attached to them. In Delhi, for example, the contrast is striking between the Indo-islamic inspired Old City (Shahjahanabad), the parts of towns that are legacies of colonial urbanism (Civil Lines and New Dehli) and all the neighborhoods that have grown since Independence. And this contrast is reflected in the way the urban terminologies are used: distinct terms are used, for instance,

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to refer to notions such as "street", "lane", "block" or "neighborhood", depending on the part of town.
– the great social, regional, cultural and linguistic diversity of the populations who live together in the northern Indian cities. Not only do these populations express themselves in languages that may more or less vary from one another (Hindi, Urdu, English, Punjabi, Marwari, etc), but above all, the different groups of the population put a varying emphasis on distinct terms of the urban vocabulary. The term "lane" (*gali*), for example, still has an extremely powerful sociological connotation in Old Delhi, whereas in the other parts of town, social identity is defined rather at the level of the neighborhood.
– lastly, the diversity of registers and contexts in which the urban vocabularies are made and the way in which some terms pass – sometimes in a surprising manner – from one register to another, as shown in various examples in the glossary.

Consequently, every study of northern Indian urban lexicon is compelled to take into account, on the one hand the effects brought about by the diversity of languages and idioms from which this vocabulary is made up, and on the other hand the variability of the vocabulary used according to the backgrounds and contexts.

In this perspective, it becomes particularly important to make the distinction between:
– the considerable potential of available lexicographic resources, given the multiplicity of the languages that might be or have been brought together to constitute the urban vocabulary
– the actual selection that took place in this vocabulary according to its uses and the backgrounds.

It is only by crosschecking these two dimensions that one may specify the range and content of the northern Indian urban glossary, and also the status of the terms included in it.

3. Sanskrit, Urdu, Persian, Hindi, English: legacies and uses

In India, there is an important Sanskrit vocabulary for architecture and ancient urbanism available, thanks to a corpus of ancient classical treatises – often very normative ones. Notwithstanding some terms still in use to date, the interest in studying this corpus lies mainly in history and should not, in theory, be included in our research. There are however contemporary uses of this corpus that must be considered:
– a deliberate policy from the administrative authorities to impose the use of terms coming from Sanskrit (rather than their English equivalents) to name all sorts of contemporary elements of urbanism
– the re-use of terms and concepts stemming from such a corpus by some Indian architects and urbanists to redefine a style of architecture and urban plannification inspired more directly from their own tradition.

There is, as well, a whole urban lexicon that we know about, thanks to the works of historians, on the rich corpus of manuscripts and documents written in Persian and Urdu. There again, the bulk of this corpus has no real place in our glossary, though one has to consider:
– the terms still widely used by Urdu speakers
– those used in Hindi as well, but that remain associated with an urban environment marked by the muslim presence
– the terms whose use is now undifferentiated and that have virtually lost the more specific connotations they might have had in relation with Urdu or islamic culture.

Quite similar distinctions might be made when it comes to the use of English:
– some terms are almost exclusively used by urban planners and administrators
– other terms are preferred in certain milieux, owing to connotations related to their use (social status, modernism,...)
– other terms, finally, have imposed themselves upon all the speakers and are now completely indigenous.

4. Putting this all into perspective

Because of the particular urban history of this part of the world, the urban lexicon of northern India is, as we have seen earlier, the result of a complex process of synthesis in which operate conceptions of urban space and a terminology borrowing several elements from Sanskrit and Prakrit, as well as Indo-persian and Anglo-saxon vocabularies. There is therefore a striking contrast between the vast lexicographic resources generated by such a situation and the relatively restricted number of terms whose use has spread beyond their original language or cultural, social and professionnal background.

So, most of the issues with which we have been confronted in establishing an urban glossary of Northern India seem to be more generally an echo of the issues that face the whole "the words of the cities" project. Such as:
– how do equivalences operate between terms that are distinct from one language to another or from one level of speech to another ?
– how do terms happen to shift from one language, or one level of speech, to another ?
– to what extent do the terms that have shifted keep the meaning and the connotations that might have been associated with them in the original language or in their initial use ?
– what is the status of urban vocabulary thus constituted and to what extent does it transcend the social, cultural or linguistic boundaries existing inside urban milieux in Northern India ?

It seems that, from this perspective, one has to pay a particular attention to:
– the progressive indigenization of terms that slowly lose their classifying meaning, to end up being used as mere toponyms (in Delhi for example: India Gate, Lodhi Garden, Khari Baoli, etc.)
– the effects of the stabilization of the urban lexicon in environments where there is a well attested concordance between the urban context and the vocabulary used to designate it (ex: *mohalla/basti* = small area of habitations and neighborhood, or *gali* = lane remain spontaneously used by everyone in Old Delhi, whereas the English terms are more spontaneously used for the same reasons in New Delhi)
– the impact of the categories and terminology used by the administrators and the urbanists, and above all the way in which this impact is actualized through mechanisms of transfer that seem often to be identical to those used for terms borrowed from foreign languages (progressive loss of classifying meaning, banalization of the terms and their frequent transformation into toponyms).

II – CASE STUDY

India is a large country with many languages. In the vast region incorporating North India and Pakistan, the language is Hindi/Urdu. Both these have derived their vocabulary from other languages. Hindi was initially called Hindawi (derived from Hind, the name for the plains, east of the river Sindhu/Indus). Hindi had elements of classical Sanskrit, later Prakrit, as well as elements of popular languages (what is called *khari boli*). Urdu developed to fill a need, i.e. to devise a common language, a kind of esperanto for soldiers serving in North India who spoke the languages of Central Asia, West Asia and India. This was called Zuban-e-Hindawi (Hindawi tongue/language) or Urdu (derived from the Turkish *orda* = military camp; whence *horde* is English/ French). Urdu became an increasingly literary language at the same time as Hindi, from the 15th century, reaching a high point in the 18th and early 19th century. It is interesting to note that the well-known 'urdu' poet, Ghalib (1796-1869) used the term 'hindavi' interchangeably with 'urdu'. When the British in Calcutta began to study Indian languages at the end of the 18th century, the scholar J.B. Gilchrist, coined the word 'Hindustani' (the language of Hindustan i.e. North India) to include Hindi and Urdu, although the first was written in the Devanagari script and the second in the Persian script.

From the 19th century, some European terms were incorporated into Hindi and Urdu. After 1947, Urdu, in Persian script, was made the official language of Pakistan, and Hindi in Devanagari script, the official language of India. Urdu is also taught in schools and colleges in India. When spoken, the two languages are alike in grammar though some of the vocabulary is distinct. Many words of Hindi/Urdu have also been carried over into other Indian languages, in some cases with modifications in the nuances or in the pronunciation.

Words related to towns are found in Sanskrit from the 1st millennium B.C. From the 11th century A.D., terms of Arabic, Persian and Turkish origin also came into use, and were sometimes combined with Sanskrit suffixes to make new words. From the 19th century European terms came into use, and from the mid-20th century, American sociological and planning terms were indigenized. After India became independent one of the elements in the creation of an 'Indian' identity was the use of Sanskrit terms in urban nomenclature.

Abbreviations used in the following nomenclature

- S : Sanskrit (from 6th century B.C.)
- Pk : Prakrit (3rd century B.C. until 18th century A.D.)
- A : Arabic (9th century A.D. onwards, in India)
- P : Persian (12th century A.D. onwards, in India)
- H : Hindi (10th century A.D. onwards)
- U : Urdu (15th century A.D. onwards)
- E : English (late 18th century A.D. onwards, in India)
- Am : American (mid-20th century A.D. onwards, in India)
- nS : neo-Sanskrit (late 19th century A.D. onwards, in India)
- nP : neo-Persian (late 19th century A.D. onwards)
- I : India
- Pn : Pakistan
- B : Bangladesh

Dates for the beginning of any language are obviously not definite, and should be taken as tentative.

1. Nomenclature for towns

1.1. The town is defined as an area which has been settled, where the number of inhabitants has increased, which has become prosperous. The Sanskrit verb *vasa* (to live) became colloquialized into *basa* and gave rise to the term *basti* (small town). It has a sense of an urban area small enough to generate a sense of belonging, and not of alienation (cf. Intezar Husain's novel: *Basti*). The Persian *abad karna* (to cultivate, to settle) is the origin of *abadi* (small settlement, population) and of the suffix – *abad* – attached to the name of the town's founder.

terms	*translation*	*examples*
– *basa* (S)	to live	
cf. *basa* (Bengali)	house	
– *basti* (H/U)	small town	Nizamuddin Basti (now a part of Delhi)
– *abad* (P)	to settle	Firozabad (Uttar Pradesh, I)
cf. *abad* (Bengali)	cultivation	Jacobabad (Sind, P)
cf. *abadi* (H/U)	settlement	

1.2. *Gram* in Sanskrit originally connoted 'community', hence the word *sangram* (inter-communal conflicts). As the community got fixed in place, the word came to mean 'village'. The suffix *gram/gaon* suggests that the towns have grown from small rural settlements. A *wada* is a house/abode.

– *gram* (S)	village	Chattagram, Chittagong (B) Bhithargaon (Uttar Pradesh, I)
– *wada* (H)	house	Bhilwada (Rajasthan, I)

1.3. The act of leveling or clearing an area to establish a town is expressed by *prastha* (level ground). The longest surviving suffix meaning 'town' is the Sanskrit *pura* (variants: *pur, puri, puram*). The Puranas (9th century A.D.) refer to the divine architect Vishvakarma, who built Alakapuri, the city of the Gods (and who is the patron-saint of masons and builders). Sanskrit texts have lyrical descriptions of towns. Another Sanskrit term is *nagar/nagari/ nagaram*, a term which is often used for a town founded by merchants. A later term is the Arabic *qasba* (market-town). *Nagar* and *pur* are supplemented by *shahar*, the Persian term for 'city', which connotes size and grandeur. Interestingly, its root is *kshatra* (field), *kshetra* in Sanskrit. Thus, the suffix in Bulandshahar has the same root as the suffix in Ranikhet since *shahar* is derived from *kshatra* and *khet* from *kshetra*. The destruction/ decline of a great city is conveyed by the genre of poetry in Urdu called *shahar-ashoob* (lament for the city). For the sense of a metropolitan city, *nagar* is prefixed with *maha* (= great, first mentioned in 6th century B.C.)

– *prastha* (S)	leveled place	Indraprastha (early India)
– *pur* (S)	town	Jaipur (Rajasthan, I), Puri (Orissa, I), Thiruvananthapura (Kerala, I): mix. Tamil and Sanskrit
– *nagar* (S)	town	Chandernagore (West Bengal, I)
– *qasba* (A)	market town	Kasba (a locality in Calcutta (I)
– *shahar* (P)	city	Bulandshahar (Uttar Pradesh, I)

1.4. Many urban places originated as religious centers which, in turn, had been built on sites given rent-free to Hindu Brahmins (*agraharam / devadanam / brahmadeya*) or to Muslim men of religion (*madad-i-maash*).

1.5. Urban places/Centers with religious connotations because of specific landscape features (mountains, confluences) are called *tirtha* (S) (= ford, crossing, used literally and symbolically). A town associated with a Sufi saint often has the prefix *hazrat* (P) (= excellence, a term also used for individuals and invariably for the prophet).

Specific functions e.g. market, defence, government, give specific suffixes to towns, though later those functions may not have been unduly important/relevant.

1.6. Terms for markets and centers of trade are the most numerous:

a: *Hatta* (S), *hat* (H) = periodic village fair — Rampurhat (I), Sylhet (B)

b: *Ganj* (P), *mandi* (H/eastern languages), *katra* (S), *bazaars* (P), refer to market-towns, the first two usually founded, the third suggesting an enclosed space, the last evoking a market-place which has a liveliness which goes beyond simply buying and selling. A *serai* (P) was an inn with provision for storing goods and stabling animals

– *ganj* (P)	Daltonganj (Bihar, I)
– *mandi* (H)	Mandi (Himachal Pradesh, I)
– *katra* (S)	Katra (Jammu, I)
– *bazaar* (P)	Cox's Bazaar (B)
– *serai* (P)	Mughalserai (Uttar Pradesh, I)

c: *Bandar* (P) = port, supplemented the older Sanskrit pattanam (= emporium) which was used for inland towns as well as ports. This word has many variations: *patan*, *pattana*, *patna*, *patta*, *pet*.

– *bandar* (P)	Porbandar (Gujarat, I)
– *pattanam* (S)	Masulipattanam (Andhra Pradesh, I),
	Patna (Bihar, I)
	Patan (Gujarat, I)
	Royapetta (a locality in Madras, I)
	Chingleput (Tamil Nadu, I) (put = English writing)

1.7. Defence was one of the major rationales for founding towns. This could be walled settlements: *kot/kotla*(S) or *garh* (H/Marathi). An army camp (*katak*) was derived from the word for an army in Sanskrit (*katak*). *Sadr* (A) also connoted a cantonment.

– *Kot* (S)	Rajkot (Gujarat, I)
– *Kotla* (S)	Kotla (Delhi, I)
– *Garh* (H)	Aligarh (Uttar Pradesh, I)
	Kotgarh (Himachal Pradesh, I)
– *Katak* (S)	Cuttack (Orissa, I)
– *Sadr* (A)	Sadar Bazar (Delhi, I)
– *Qila* (A)	Purana Qila (Delhi, I)

Chhaoni (H), the word for cantonment, referred to the act of thatching (equivalent of pitching camp).

1.8. Capital cities were called *Raj dhani* (S), *Sadr Mukam Zila* (A), *Dar-ul-Khilafat* (P), *Dar-Ul-Hukumat* (P) (= site of government).

2. Administration of urban areas

Before the 19th century, Indian towns were compact areas, usually walled, with administrative agencies distinct from those for adjacent rural areas.

2.1. Walls and embankments were essential for the security of towns - the *divar* (P)/*fasil* (A) (= wall) was also referred to as *shahar-panah* (P) = the protector of the city. The wall was broken up by *dwars* (S), *darwazas* (P) and *phataks* (Pk) or *khidkis* (Pk) = gates, wicket-gates/ backdoor). Apart from defining tax-frontiers and legal boundaries, the gateways connoted the idea of threshold, or frontier. Examples: Dwarka (Gujarat, I) = the many-gated city; Shahdara = city of the royal gateway (Delhi, I); Darbhanga= gateway to Bengal (Bihar, I).

2.2. In official records, the area within the walls was referred to literally as that – as *anderun-fasil* (P/A). In the last fifty years, planners and journalists have used the term 'walled city' (E) pejoratively to describe areas where in many cases, the walls have been destroyed.

The intra-mural area was divided into *thanas* (from *sthana* (S) = wards). These were atomized into *mahallas* (A) = neighborhoods (later on written as *mohulla* in North India. 18th-century Delhi had 18 *thanas* and 600 *mohullas*, which are still identifiable though their legal identities are gone. Before the Indo-British government established municipalities (1860s) the intramural town was under the *kotwal* (S-P) (town-magistrate), with *thanadars* supervising *mohulladars* (*-wal,-wala,-dar*, all Persian, indicate functionaries) and *darogas* (P) = policemen/prefects. The major towns of North India in the medieval centuries were ruled by families of West/Central Asian descent, hence the Persianised terminology. These are also to be found in South Indian towns like Bijapur and Hyderabad, the governments of which, in the medieval centuries, welcomed many Persian scholars and soldiers.

2.3. Extra-mural settlements grew/were established either to serve as wholesale markets or to accommodate an increasing population. These had usually suffixes listed above in 1 (*wada, pur, mandi, ganj, bazaar, pet*).

- Examples: – in Delhi: Teliwara, Trevelyanpur, Sabzi Mandi, Paharganj, Sadr Bazaar
  – in Pune (Maharashtra, I): Budhwarpet

2.4. Land ownership in towns, as in rural areas, was by the State (*nuzul*) or religious trusts (*waqf*). Inalienable personal ownership was instituted by Indo-British rulers.

2.5. In European settlements in India, and later in Indian towns ruled by the Indo-British, distinct areas of jurisdiction were defined. The *factory* (E) was where the factor, the trading company's representative, had his office (usually a walled enclosure). Later, the *cantonment, military lines, civil lines*, and *notified areas* were designated. In some towns, *white town* and *black town* were used to indicate predominantly European and Indian areas respectively.

2.6. In the jargon of planners in Independent India, 'slums' i.e. areas of dense habitation became an administrative category, often overlapping with 'walled cities'. Urban villages (*shahari gaon* = P+H) was an awkward term used to designate the territory of a village, the land-use of which had changed from rural to urban. *Resettlement colonies* were groups of houses for the poor displaced by urban improvement/'development'. Translation into Hindi was de rigueur in all official documents. Neo-Sanskritic/Persianized phrases have come into use in the past 30 years: 'urban land' is *nagar avas bhoomi* (nS) or *shahari rihayashi zameen* (nP). An urban area is *nagar kshetra* (nS) and small urban settlement *shahari basti* (P+H). A metropolis is *mahanagar* (nS).

3. Units within each urban area, particularly in the last 200 years

3.1. British Indian towns were different from older ones in respect of their area and population. Many units became enclaved in larger settlements (Daryaganj, Yusuf Sarai or Taimur Nagar in Delhi; Agraharam Road in Madras; Gariahat in Calcutta) – all parts of larger towns. Some words undergo a change of sense: *bastis* (spelt *bustees*) were used to mean the shanty towns that spread in open areas around big mansions in Calcutta.

3.2. Neighborhoods were laid out in the British period, not always contiguously, since space was freely available in their open cities. Terms like *town, park, gardens*, were imported from the English
• examples in Delhi: Model Town, Green Park, Mayfair Gardens

3.3. These English terms were translated in independent India's names for neigborhoods: *puri* (S) = town; *bagh* (P) / *Udyaan* (S) = garden; *Kunj* (S) = woods and *Viharas* (S) = sanctuary are also terms used frequently, if inappropriately, for housing estates.
• examples in Delhi: Inderpuri, Motibagh, Vasant Kunj, Vasant Vihar.

3.4. As towns expanded by accretion, different terms were used to distinguish one section from another:
– *Scheme, Colony* indicate the units
  • example in Delhi: Safdarjang Development Scheme, Defence Colony
– 'type quarters', *HIG/MIG/LIG/janata* flats indicated quality (High, Middle or Low Income Groups)
  • example in Delhi: Masjid Moth M.I.G. flats
– 'phase' indicate the chronology of building programs.
  • example in Delhi: Sheik Serai, Phase I

From 1957, the superimposition of American zoning ideology on the Indo-British hierarchical cantonment-like planning has made recent Indian urban development very different from the organic towns of earlier centuries.

4. Buildings and enclosed structures

In towns previous to or not touched by British rule, there was no great variety in building structure. The home and the place of prayer were distinct, but secular public functions did not necessarily need the appendage of many and distinct buildings. During the British period and subsequently, there was a great expansion in public buildings. This will be obvious from

the following lists. The (E) sign makes it clear that most public buildings originated with British rule.

4.1. ADMINISTRATION

term	*literal meaning*	*popular meaning*
– *daftar* (A)	office	office
– *secretariat* (E)	Secretary's office	block of office buildings
– *bhavan* (nS)	abode	public buildings

4.2. EDUCATION

– *madarsa/maktab* (A)	place of education	school
– *pathshala* (S)	room for lessons	school
– *school* (E)		
– *college* (E)		
– *university* (E)		
– *vidyapeeth* (nS)	place of wisdom	university
– *viswavidyalaya* (nS)	world-school	university
– *akhara* (S)	place of assembly	gymnasium
– *library* (E)		
– *reading-room* (E)		
– *museum* (E)		
– *stadium* (E)		
– *auditorium* (E)		
– *cinema* (E)		

4.3. HOSPITALITY

– *dharamsala* (S)	room of piety	inn
– *sarai/musafirkhana* (P/A)	inn	inn
– *hotel* (E)		restaurant/hotel
– *guest-house* (E)		small hotel
– *lodge* (E)		small hotel
– *baraatghar* (H)		wedding-hall

n.b. The word *khana* (P) = room is appended to define spaces: *gym-khana* = an equestrian event; in India, a place for stabling horses; *baithak-khana* = sitting-room; *kahwa-kana* = tea-house; *karkhana* = workshop, etc.

4.4. COMMERCIAL

– *hatta/hatti* (S)	small market	shop
– *dhaba* (H)	broad eaves on outer walls	small shop/eatery
– *dukaan* (A/P)	shop	shop
– *katra* (S)	enclosed piece of land	enclosed shops
– *chhatta* (S)	covered passage way	covered shopping alley
– *mandi* (H)	wholesale market	wholesale market

– *ganj* (P)	small market town	cluster of shops
– *bazaar* (P)	shops	shopping precinct
– *sadar bazaar* (P)	army commissariat	wholesale market
– *market* (E)		
– *stores* (E)		small provisions shops
– *place* (E)		formal shopping precincts
– *Commercial Center* (Am)		
– *District Center* (Am)		

4.5. RELIGION, CULT-CENTRES

– *masjid* (A)	place where one bows one's head	Islamic place of worship
– *mandir* (H,S)	place, temple	Hindu place of worship (also used for shops)
– *Idgah* (A/P)	place for Id festival	used for Id
– *Imambara* (A)	house of Imans (Shia divines)	buildings used to house tazias (used in Shia processsions)
– *dargah* (P)	threshold	shrine of a saint
– *gurudwara* (P)	guru's house, entrance	Sikh place of worship

4.6. RESIDENCE

– *haveli* (A)	house of brick or stone	large house
– *jhuggi/jhompri* (H)	thatched hut	hut
– *makaan* (A)	place/building/house	house
– *quarter* (E)		house provided by employers

5. OPEN AREAS

In the north Indian climate, streets, open areas and gardens play an important role as places for relaxation and conviviality. More time (and much unstructured time) is spent here than in formal interior areas.

5.1. PASSAGES, OPEN AREAS

gali (H), *kucha* (P) *lane* (E)	lane	
marg, veethi, sarak (S,nS)	street/avenue	
rasta (P)		road, way
chowk (S)		place
place (E)		
square (E)		
circus (E)		
maidan (P)	open area used for military display, nowadays simply an open area	

n.b. *gali* and *chowk* figure prominently in Urdu/Hindi poetry and stories.

5.2. GARDENS

vatika, upvan, udyaan (S,nS)	garden
bagh (P)	large garden
bageecha (P)	small garden
garden (E)	
park (E)	

5.3 WATER BODIES

diggi (S)	oblong tank
talab (S-A), *hauz* (A), *tank* (E)	tank
nahar (A)	canal
nalah (P), *canal* (E)	ditch
ghat (S), *embankment* (E)	embankment

Hindi/Urdu words have not only used derivations from different languages but have quite unconsciously combined terms from different languages to make 'portmanteau' words. This was done even with English words. It is too early to say whether these terms will be edged out by more 'pure' Sanskritic terms in India and 'pure' Persian words in Pakistan. If so, this will be as a result of the periodic waves of enthusiasm for renaming places in order to erase the memory of foreign rule. This is a meaningless exercise, because such gestures do not promote patriotism certainly do not erase history. In any plan for urban conservation (which in the last fifteen years has begun to appeal both to policy makers and to citizens), respect for nomenclature and for older forms of civic organisation will or should have high priority. Their value for historians, architects and town-planners is self-evident.

III – A LARGER GLOSSARY - UN PLUS LARGE GLOSSAIRE

To the examples given above one can add a longer, more thematic list of 'words of the town' with their equivalents in French and English: though not, of course with all their nuances therein. The terms which we consider particularly significant are shown in bold.
Aux exemples donnés ci-dessus, on peut ajoindre en annnexe une liste plus large, et thématique, de 'mots de la ville' avec leur sens approximatif le plus commun en français et anglais: toutes les nuances ne peuvent évidemment être données ici, et il serait très réducteur de considérer les vocables français et anglais donnés ici comme de réelles traductions. Certains termes dont l'usage nous semble être particulièrement significatif apparaissent en caractère gras.

URBAN AREAS AND TYPES OF DOMICILE - SECTIONS URBAINES ET TYPES D'HABITAT

– *abadi* (abad) (P)	quartier	neighborhood
– *agraharam* (S)	quartier brahmane	Brahmin neighborhood
– *ahata* (A)	petit quartier	small neighborhood
– *bandar* (P)	port	port
– ***basti*** (H-U)	quartier	neighborhood
– *block* (E)	bloc, îlot	block
– *brahmadeya* (S)	quartier brahmane	Brahmin neighborhood

– *cantonment* (E)	quartier militaire colonial	colonial military neighborhood
– *chatta* (H)	lieu couvert	sheltered place
– ***civil line*** (E)	quartier civil colonial	colonial civil neighborhood
– ***colony*** (E)	lotissement	housing estate
– *complex* (E)	complexe commercial	set of commercial buildings
– *gaon* (H)	village	village
– *garh* (H)	fort	fort
– *ilaqa* (A)	aire administrative	administrative area
– ***jompri*** (H)	bidonville	slum
– ***jhuggi*** (H)	bidonville	slum
– ***katra*** (H)	cour fermée (résidentiel et commerciale)	closed yard, residential and commercial
– *kot* (S)	fort	fort
- *kunj* (S)	bois (suffixe)	wood (suffix)
- *lines* (E)	quartier (suffixe)	neighborhood (suffix)
- *links* (E)	quartier (suffixe)	neighborhood (suffix)
– *mall* (E)	avenue	avenue
– ***mahalla*** (A), ***mohulla***	quartier	neighborhood
– *nagar* (S)	cité, ville	city, town
– *pattana* (S)	ville de marché	market town
- *pur, puri, puram* (S)	cité, ville (suffixe)	city, town
– *qasbah* (A)	ville de marché	market town
– *resettlement colony* (E)	lotissement au profit de personnes déplacées	housing estate for displaced people
– *sector* (E)	quartier	neighborhood
– ***shahr*** (P)	cité, ville	city, town
– *slum* (E)	bidonville	slum
– *town* (E)	ville petite ou moyenne	small or medium town
– *urban village* (E)	village urbain	urban village
– *vihar* (S)	quartier	neighborhood
– *wada* (H)	quartier	neighborhood

URBAN ROADS / THOROUGHFARES - VOIES URBAINES

– *avenue* (E)	avenue	avenue
– *bridge* (E)	pont	bridge
– *fly-over* (E)	passage surélevé	fly-over
– ***gali*** (H)	ruelle	lane
– *kucha* (P)	ruelle	lane
– *lane* (E)	ruelle	lane
– *marg* (S)	voie	way
– *naal* (H)	passage adjacent d'une haveli (Rajasthan)	passage bordering a haveli in Rajasthan
– *phatak* (P)	porte (au sens de rue)	gate
– *street* (E)	rue	street
– *rasta* (P)	chemin	path
– *sarak* (H)	voie	way
– *vithi* (S)	avenue	avenue

Gates / Entrances - Enceintes, portes

– *darvaza* (P)	porte	gate
– *divar* (P)	porte et enceinte	wall and gate
– *gate* (E)	porte	gate
– *khirki* (H)	issue	exit, way out
– *phatak* (P)	porte	gate

Marketplace terms - Termes liés au marché

– ***bazaar*** (P)	bazar	bazaar
– *ganj* (P)	marché	market
– *godown* (E)	entrepôt	warehouse
– *hat* (S)	marché hebdomadaire	weekly market
– *mandi* (H)	marché	market
– *market* (E)	marché	market

Buildings - Édifices

– *akhara* (S/H)	gymnase	gymnasium
– *asrama* (S)	refuge ou demeure à vocation religieuse : ashram	religious refuge or residence: ashram
– *attalika* (S)	gratte-ciel (édifice en hauteur)	sky scraper, high building
– *baradari* (P)	grande demeure (litt : douze portes)	mansion (litt: with twelve doors)
– *baratghar* (S)	salle de mariage	wedding hall
– *bhavan* (S)	édifice	building
– *chhatri* (H)	coupole	dome
– *community centre* (E)	centre communautaire	communautary center
– *daftar* (A)	bureau	office
– *dargah* (P)	tombe de saint musulman	Muslim holy man tomb
– ***dhaba*** (H)	'café-resto'	cheap restaurant
– *dharamsala* (S)	auberge	inn
– *district centre* (E)	chef-lieu de district	district headquarters
– ***five star hotel*** (E)	hôtel cinq étoiles	five star hotel
– *goshala* (S)	étable pour recueillir les animaux abandonnés ou malades	stable/cowshed for abandoned or sick cattle
– *hammam* (A)	bains publics	public bath
– *haspatal* (E)	hôpital	hospital
– ***haveli*** (A)	grande demeure	mansion
– *hotel* (E)	restaurant	restaurant
– *idgah* (A/P)	lieu de célébration de l'Id	place of celebration of Id
– *imambara* (A/H)	bâtiment construit par les Chiites pour la célébration de Moharram	building constructed by Shias for the celebration of Moharram
– *imarat* (P)	édifice	building
– *karkhana* (P)	fabrique, atelier	factory, workshop
– *kotha* (H)	hutte (sens spéc.)	hut
– *kothi* (H)	fort	fort

– *madrasa* (P)	école musulmane	Muslim school
– *mahal* (A)	palais	palace
– ***mandir*** (S)	temple	temple
– ***masjid*** (A)	mosquée	mosque
– *palace* (E)	palais	palace
– ***pandal*** (H)	tente, structure provisoire à fins cérémonielles	tent or provisional shed, for ceremonial purpose
– *prasada* (S)	palais	palace
– ***qila*** (A)	fort	fort
– *sarai* (P)	auberge (pour marchands de passage)	inn for travelling traders
– *thana* (S/H)	poste de police	police station
– *waqf* (A)	propriété d'une collectivité musulmane	property of a Muslim community

Types of Housing - Demeures et lieux d'habitation

– *apartments* (E)	immeuble rédisentiel	block of flats
– *bungalow* (E) *(bangla)*	maison de style colonial	colonial styled house
– *flats* (E)	appartements	flats
– ***jhuggi*** (H)	taudis	slum
– ***jompri*** (H)	taudis	slum
– *ghar* (H)	maison, foyer	home
– *house* (E)	maison	house
– *kachha* (H)	matériaux temporaires	lightly built up
– *khokha* (H)	hutte	hut
– *makan* (A)	maison	house
– ***pucka*** (H)	en dur	strongly built

Open areas - Lieux ouverts

– ***angana*** (S)	cour intérieure	inner yard
– *bagicha* (P)	jardin	garden
– *bagh* (P)	jardin	garden
– *chahar bagh* (P)	jardin (litt. = à 4 côtés)	garden (litt.= four sides)
– *chowk* (S)	rond-point	roundabout
– *garden* (E)	jardin	garden
– *krida staal* (RS)	aire de jeu	playground
– *maidan* (P)	vaste place (ouverte)	large open area
– *place* (E)	place	place
– *udyan* (S)	jardin	garden

Water - Eau

– ***baoli*** (P) *(bowri)*	puits (auquel on accède par des marches)	well (with steps for access)
– *bridge* (E)	pont	bridge
– *canal* (E)	canal	canal
– ***ghat*** (S)	marches sur une berge pour accéder à l'eau	steps on a bank for reaching water
– *hauz* (A)	réservoir	tank, reservoir

– *johara* (marwari ?)	réservoir pour recueillir les pluies de mousson	reservoir for collecting monsoon rains
– *kuan* (S)	puits	well
– *nali, nallah* (P)	ruisseau (petit canal)	rivulet, small canal
– *pul* (P)	pont	bridge

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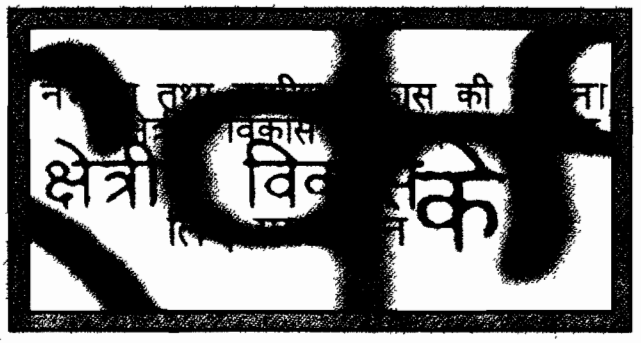
LES MOTS DE LA VILLE
CITY WORDS
LAS PALABRAS DE LA CIUDAD



Les mots de la ville

City words

Las Palabras de la ciudad

Cahier / Working paper / Cuaderno n° 4

Décembre 1999

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Déjà paru :
Cahier n° 1 – *Registros de lengua y prácticas lingüísticas. Perspectivas de investigation sobre las palabras de la ciudad en América Latina*, Susana Peñelva, février 1997, 167 pages
Cahier n° 2 – *Barrios, colonias y fraccionamientos*, octobre 1997, 44 pages.
Cahier n° 3 – *Nommer la ville et ses territoires*, 1999, 215 pages.

Le programme "Les mots de la ville", initié en 1995 par le PIR-Villes, bénéficie du soutien de l'UNESCO (MOST), qui est son partenaire principal, du ministère français de l'Éducation, de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche, ainsi que de l'appui de la fondation de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, Paris. Depuis 1997 il constitue un groupement de recherche (GDR 1554) du CNRS.

Le programme a pour objet les systèmes lexicaux qui sont en usage dans divers registres de langue pour nommer la ville et ses territoires. Il étudie différentes aires linguistiques et prend en compte la longue durée. Il veut susciter non seulement des monographies rigoureuses, mais aussi une réflexion comparative.

À cause de son angle d'approche – la ville à travers ses mots – diverses disciplines sont mobilisées : celles qui s'intéressent spécifiquement à la ville, dans ses multiples dimensions, mais également des sciences du langage.

Les Cahiers des mots de la ville sont conçus comme un instrument de réflexion et d'échange dans le cadre de ce programme.

The "City words" programme, initiated in 1995 by the CNRS (PIR-Villes), benefits from the support of UNESCO (MOST), its main partner, as well as the French Ministry of Research and the MSH Foundation.

The subject of this programme is to study the lexical systems used in various language registers to denominate the city and its territories. It tackles different linguistic areas and takes into account a long period of time. It wishes to elicit not only rigourous monographies, but also a comparative reflection.

Because of its angle of approach – the city through its words – various disciplines are mobilized : those which specifically deal with the city, in its multiple dimensions, but also language sciences.

The *City words working papers* are conceived as an instrument of reflection and exchange within the framework of this programme.

El programa "Las palabras de la ciudad", iniciado en 1995 por el CNRS (PIR-Villes), cuenta con el patrocinio de la UNESCO (MOST), que es su principal contraparte institucional, y del Ministerio Francés de Educación, Enseñanza Superior e Investigación, como así también con el auspicio de la Fundación de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (MSH), París.

El programa tiene por objeto los sistemas léxicos que se hallan en uso en diversos registros de lengua para denominar la ciudad y sus territorios. La actividad que así se desarrolla estudia diferentes áreas lingüísticas y toma en cuenta la larga duración. La misma procura suscitar no sólo monografías rigurosas, sino también una reflexión comparativa.

En razón de la óptica de análisis del programa – la ciudad a través de sus palabras – diversas disciplinas resultan convocadas : aquellas que se interesan específicamente en la ciudad, en sus múltiples dimensiones, pero asimismo las ciencias del lenguaje.

Los Cuadernos de las palabras de la ciudad son concebidos como un instrumento de reflexión y de intercambio en el marco del programa.