# The Chutnification of English: An examination of the lexis of Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*

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#### Abstract

Midnight's Children has been variously described as a Postmodern novel, Post colonial novel, and a novel which uses techniques of magic realism, metafiction and historiography. Having won the Booker Prize, the novel has attracted the attention of many critics for its remarkable use of language and the blending of history and story, fact and fiction and, reality and sur-reality. While the novel has been acclaimed as one of the most ingenious and fascinating piece of writing in the modern age and Rushdie has been described as a "juggler of words" (Narasimhaiah: 1995), not many critics have focused on the use of lexical items in the novel. It is my argument that an examination of the lexis of Midnight's Children within the ambit of Stylistics, will yield a rich dividend, and an analysis and a study of this kind will add new insights not just to the novel but also to the field of lexicology.

Lexicologists are mainly concerned with word-formation and multi word expressions in natural language processing. While the analysis and application of lexicology studies tend to revolve around teaching and transfer of culture, an analysis of the kind suggested above would not only extend the field of Stylistics, but also lexicology as well.

Salman Rushdie's use of the expression "chutnification" epitomizes his use of language in the novel. "Chutney" is an Indian dish, which is a side dish and tangy, adding flavour to the main course of any meal. "Chutney" is a noun form and is understood as such in English. By adding "-fication", Rushdie changes an Indian word into an English one to stand for transformation. Therefore "Chutnification" in the novel means transformation of English having an additional connotation of making the language used in the novel tangy and more flavoursome and exciting. An examination of the lexis of *Midnight's Children* will, therefore, be a useful exercise in comprehending Rushdie's inimitable style, as well as understanding the ways by which a language grows. The study, in other words, will contribute to, in particular, a critique of *Midnight's Children*, and also to the fields of lexicology and morphology.

**Keywords:** Chutnification, word-formation, derivation, , inflections, neologisms.

#### 1. Introduction

The concept of foregrounding as defined in Stylistics is particularly useful in the analysis of lexis and lexicalization in Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's children*. Foregrounding is germane to the field of Stylistics and can be described as "a form of textual patterning which is motivated for literary aesthetic purpose."(Simpson: 2007:50). Simpson further explicates that foregrounding works in two ways: firstly, by distortion against a norm and secondly, by imposing regularity in grammatical patterns over and above those designated by the language, which can be called repetition or parallelism. Distortion can be studied under deviation which are of many kinds; lexical, grammatical, phonological, historical, graphological, semantic and others (Leech:1981).

Simpson (2007) has drawn attention to the fact that foregrounding devolves around the concept of a norm which is difficult to define. However, with the advent of computational linguistics, it is now possible to establish a norm. Corpus linguistics and

Corpus Stylistics are able to overcome the problem of establishing a norm because of the availability of different corpus against which foregrounded elements can be measured. While Stanley Fish (1981) has objected to Corpus Stylistics saying that quantitative analysis is "circular" and "arbitrary", given to selecting data which analysts have already identified as significant in the literary text, Michael Stubbs(2008) defends Stylistics in general and Corpus Stylistics in particular, to say that selective analysis is found in all criticism. Foregrounding, therefore, will form the core element in the analysis of lexis in Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*.

## 2. Midnight's Children- A Literature Review

*Midnight's Children* burst upon the literary scene in 1981 with a Booker prize astonishing every reader with its broad sweep of history of the Indian sub continent together with a hitherto unseen style of narration and language. Even today, nearly 28 years after its publication, *Midnight's Children* attracts the attention of scholars from different parts of the world. It has been described variously as a fantasy, a history, an autobiography, a political novel, metafiction and also a novel that depicts a quest for identity.

Analyses of the language of the novel has been undertaken as well; one critic, Marc C. Conner (1997:1) describes *Midnight's Children* as one of "confrontation of languages, literary forms, nations and ultimately history". He believes that Rushdie plays out the confrontation at multiple levels which include characters, plot, theme, and even narrative form. For Gillian Gane (2006) the main difficulty in the novel lies in the impossibility of determining what languages the characters in the novel are actually speaking. She claims that "the English language itself is the magic radio by means of which meaning becomes accessible in *Midnight's Children* "(p:3).

According to Gane(ibid), Sternberg(1976) explicates the difficulty of representing vernacular languages in a novel written in English, adding that writers conventionally use a standard uniform language eliding linguistic diversity within literary texts which he calls "the homogenizing convention"(p:221). But if novelists choose to depict polylingualism of the characters, they use four different strategies, which are:

- **2.1 Selective reproduction** which is "intermittent quotation" of the original heterolingual discourse as uttered by the speaker, such as a minimal unit which may be called a "mimetic cliché" ("Parbleu" French, "Damn" English, or "Donnerweiter" German) (p:225).
- **2.2 Stylised mimesis** which is an imitation of verbal transposition which is a superimposition of the grammatical patterns of the source language unacceptable in the target language operating at any level.
- **2.3 Conceptual reflection** which retains the "semantic mapping of reality." And finally,

**2.4 Explicit attribution** where the character is explicitly stated to speak in a vernacular, such as, "Mr. X said in Hindi...." but the words are in English. (p. 230-231).

Gane (ibid) uses Sternberg's model to evaluate the use of language in *Midnight's Children*. Her analysis is exhaustive. Even though she points out the use of certain expressions in the novel, she does not focus on the lexical elements of the text.

Rustom Barcucha (1994: 160) claims that Rushdie has created a language of his own that "transcends any English that has been spiced with Indian words and expressions". Clark Blaise (1981) similarly asserts the irreverence of Rushdie's dialogue which she says, "reads like hip vulgarity - yaar -of the Hindi film magazine". For Agnes Scott Langeland (1996:16), Rushdie's has created a magical and humorous Indian blend of English. Michael Gorra (1997:133) praises Rushdie for making an English prose an "omnium gatherum of whatever seems to work, sprinkled with bits of Hindi, eclectic enough to accommodate cliche, unbound by any grammatical strait jacket". For Feroza Jussawallah (1985:118-119) the "dialect in the novel is 'cliched', stereotypical speech of the Eurasian, niggerised class" and she states that Rushdie is merely recreating a style already created for the specific purposes of a parody. Robert Fraser (2000:47) states that it is English as a "unitary language binding the novel together".

As is evident from the remarks given above, while a lot of critics of the novel have pointed out Rushdie's remarkable extension of the English language, their comments have fallen short when it comes to the analysis of lexis and lexicalization in *Midnight's Children*. This article does not merely profess to study lexis in the novel, but does so within the framework of Stylistic analysis in order to throw light on peculiar nature of language use in Rushdie's fiction, as well as, indicate how the use of foregrounding and deviance provides for a richer understanding of and a greater insight into Rushdie's novel.

# 3. Framework of Analysis

The framework of analysis includes the study of lexis, word-formation, borrowings and neologism.

## 3.1 Lexical analysis

Lexis will be analysed in three different ways:

Firstly, lexical deviation in the novel will be studied. It must be noted that lexical deviation leads to the formation of neologism which Leech and Short(1970.42) define as the invention of new words where "an existing rule (of word-formation) is applied with greater generality than is customary". Alain Rey (2005) points out that sentences, even if they are new, cannot be counted under neologism, just as a combination of phonemes cannot be called neologism. Neologism lies between a word and phrase, a domain which he calls "the specific domain of lexicology" (p:313). He suggests that lexical units consist of morpheme words, complex words and certain "lexicalized" phrasal units. He states that neology can be explained in terms of the linguistic unit and the novelty of use.

Secondly, lexis from the vernacular will be identified. And

Thirdly, certain nominalizations in the novel will be focused upon.

All three are identified for the precise reason that they get foregrounded in the novel.

The methodology followed will be both qualitative and quantitative making use of Corpus Stylistics. However, it must be stated at the very outset that this methodology will not use frequency distribution of lexical items to gain understanding of the novel. Rather, Corpus Stylistics will reinforce the hermeneutic understanding of the text, as well as, draw attention to lexical field to which several lexical items belong.

#### 3.2 Word-formation

First, briefly, a word about word formations and morphemes and how they are used in this study. According to Stockwell and Minkova (2001) morphemes are defined as minimal units of words carrying meaning. There are two kinds of morphemes which are root morphemes and bound morphemes. Roots are at the centre of word derivational processes. They carry the basic meaning from which the rest of the sense of the word can be derived, such as: 'chair', 'green', ballet', 'father' etc. They are roots, as well as, free forms. But more often roots are like 'gen' in 'general', and 'seg' in 'segment'. They cannot stand alone and they are called bound morphemes. To be complete, morphemes require another morpheme to be attached to them. The other morpheme may be either another root or an affix. If it is another root, the word is called a compound word, such as, 'flagship', 'birdcage', 'bookmark', 'polymath', 'telephone', etc. If a bound root is not attached to another root, it is called an affix, such as 'brevity', 'capable', or 'cardiac'. Affixes do not carry meaning but slightly modify the meaning of the root or stem. It must be noted that affixes cannot stand alone, they have to be attached to a stem; their meanings are not sometimes clear nor as specific as the root. Compared to roots, they are limited in number; and finally, they are either suffixes or prefixes for example:

Prefix: co-occur un-stable

peri-meter mistreat act-ion child-ish act-or child-hood

act-ing child-less (ibid, p:63)

Affixes have two functions. They are either derivational or inflectional. Derivational affixes lead to formation of new words such as un-wise un-couth, dis-prefer, unkind, disregard, but not \*ungod, nor \*unbad. Inflectional affixes on the other hand, do not take part in words formation, but are grammatical in nature, for example: boy (s), play (s).

## 3.3 Borrowings

Suffix:

Where words from the vernacular are concerned, the novel abounds with such borrowings. They are from different languages: Hindi primarily, Urdu in a large measure, but also Gujarathi and Punjabi as well. The words will be categorized under several lexical fields, such as names of food items, names of Gods, other Hindi and Urdu words, Indianisms, Indian words and expressions and translations of Indian expressions.

#### 3.4 Nominalization

Lastly, nominalization in the novel is studied. What is significant in *Midnight's Children* is the use of unusual collocations as well as compound word formations, for example 'clock hands', 'birianis of determination'. Furthermore, it will be noted that Rushdie cojoins several words thus creating neologisms as well as strings words together where they should be substituted, for example, 'whatsitsname' and 'top-drawer classified information'. In the first case, whatsitsname is 'what is its name' joined together. But in the second example, 'top-drawer' and 'classified' are paradigmatically related to 'information'.

Bauer(1996:63) makes a distinction between "productivity" and "creativity" in language. Productivity is attributed to the native speaker's ability to produce an infinite number of sentences which have never been produced before. Productivity always falls under the purview of grammar and therefore the sentences that are created are grammatically correct sentences. Whereas creativity is the native speaker's ability to "extend the language in a motivated, but unpredictable(non-rule governed) way". Bauer(ibid) states that it is impossible to make any "worthwhile generalizations about creativity because of its unpredictability". It is found that Salman Rushdie, in fact, creates a lot of new words thereby extending the lexicon of the language. It is also found that it is possible to generalize word formation in the novel. As a result of analysis, this study attempts to develop a theory of lexicalization which is drawn from Stylistics and lexicology.

## 4. Findings

The following section is a brief summary of the findings of the study. It must be noted that for every instance of lexis mentioned in the study, three to six examples are given as illustration. There are, however, several examples of each and they have been included in the appendix.

#### 4.1 Neologisms

The most significant feature of Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* is the use of neologisms. In *Midnight's Children* new words are formed in different ways, which can be categorized into a) forms that fall within the area of morphology which, by their semantic structure, reveal a deep syntactic structure and, b) those that fall under the area of borrowings and other forms which are unpredictable and unstable. The novelty arises from the combination of the root and suffix/prefix forms which result in complex words that can enter into the lexicon of language. While all combinations are authorized by grammar, for them to become acceptable in the language they have to gain socio-cultural

currency. In case of a literary piece of work, this requirement is waived, since novels, by their very nature, are emblematic of experimentation. The neologisms in the novel have been identified as a) Morphological and b)Borrowings.

# 4.2 Morphological

- **4.2.1** Where Indian words are given an English affixation such as
  - 1. Pajama <u>s</u>
  - 2. Goonda s
  - 3. Phirangi s

All three words given above are Indian: 'pajama' is an attire; 'goonda' can be roughly translated to 'ruffian'; 'phirangi' is an interesting word because it echoes 'foreigner' and is an opposite of the word 'rang' which means colour in Hindi, thus standing for the white race. Phirangi is in common parlance in India and is used derogatively to refer to white people. All three Indian words are inflected to indicate the plural as it happens in English.

4. What happened next <u>ism</u> which stands for 'curiosity' the nominalization of 'what happened next'.

While 'ism' as a suffix is quite common, (cannibalism, magnetism, hoologanism etc, (Bauer: 1996:120), this is the only instance of the use of the suffix, 'ism' in the novel.

- **4.2.2** The second type of neologism is when English words are given an Indian suffix, such as:
  - 5. Cousin <u>ji</u>
  - 6. Sister ji

The suffix "ji" in Hindi/Urdu is attached to any noun, be it a proper noun or a common noun as an honorific or a mark of respect.

- **4.2.3** The third type of neologism is when a root morpheme in Hindi/Urdu is attached to a root/bound morpheme in English to form a compound word, such as:
  - 7. Paan shop
  - 8. Green medicine wallah
  - 9. Chapathilike
  - 10. Channa vendors
  - 11. Hot-channa
  - 12. Indian fauj

With the first three examples, the first morpheme is a Hindi free morpheme and the second is an English free morpheme. 'Paan' is betel leaf. In India, small shops do business selling only betel leaves. The betel leaves are smeared with different pastes and filled with betel nut and other forms of candy and folded artistically to entice betel

chewers. 'Wallah' stands for man and is a suffix commonly used with a lot of Hindi words. In the Parsi community the name of the profession has given rise to family names such as 'Batliwallah', which means 'one who makes bottles'. Chapathi is an Indian bread which is round and flat. Channa is lentils. In examples 11, and 12, it is the other way around, with the first morpheme being in English and second in Hindi/Urdu. Fauj is 'soldier', but can also mean 'the army'.

- **4.2.4** In some cases the compound word is formed as a compound of an Indian word and an English word where the English word is a translation of the Indian word such as
  - 13. dia lamp
  - 14. Lathi stick

Where both lamp and stick are the English equivalents or translations of 'dia' and 'lathi'(Hindi words).

- **4.2.5** The suffix "y" is added to several words for example:
  - 15. Vinegar vinegary
  - 16. Shiver shivery
  - 17 Glass cloud glass cloudy
  - 18 Squash belly squashy belly
  - 19 House wife house wifery
  - 20 Down to earth down to earthery

Bauer(1996: 88) explicates that there are certain restrictions that are imposed on word formation depending on the phonological shape of the word. Therefore with examples 15, 16 and 17, 'y' is added to the stem, but in example 18, the 'y' is added to the first word because belly already ends in a 'y'.. Further, 19 and 20 are examples of "infixation" (p: 90) where the morpheme 'er' is added to the root which are compound words, before the 'y' is joined to it.

- **4.2.6** The use of 'ed' another affixation used to create numerous neologisms, is of particular interest in this study. Bauer(1996) states that it is mainly adjectives that take the suffix 'ed', on the condition that a head noun is clearly present. Giving examples like 'blue-eyed', 'three legged' and 'red-roofed' are possible because "the base in question is inalienably possessed by the head noun that the adjective modifies"(p:93). But Rushdie creates many adjectival forms through the addition of 'ed' to the stem. For example:
  - 21. Frost hardened
  - 22. Many headed
  - 23. One eyebrowed
  - 24. Stethoscoped
  - 25. Lapis lazuli encrusted

All the above examples and numerous others that are found in the novel are examples of nominalization. While 'ed' as a suffix is added to a word to form a non-finite form is quite common in English, the same with an adjectival function are rare. The lexical items in *Midnight's Children* are neologisms because they are formed for the first time.

- 4.2.7 The last affixation is the 'ing' leading to the formation of compound nouns:
  - 26. Lip jutting
  - 27. Sister sleeping
  - 28. Hand flapping
  - 29. Mother sleeping
  - 30. Crazy sounding

Bauer(ibid) points that sometimes, some complex forms are very unique and therefore it is not possible to categorise them. He suggests that in such cases, it is better to evaluate the forms against those that exist in the language and he calls this method "analogy" (p:97). The gerundial form is common in English and is used mainly as nominalizations. However, in all the examples given above(and many more included in the appendix), the gerundial forms are actually performing the function of an adjective. What is noteworthy with Rushdie is, that all the examples given above (and many more) are used for the first time in *Midnight's Children* and they extend the resources of the English language.

# 4.3 Compound words

The second possibility of lexical items that are foregrounded in the novel are compound words which according to Bauer(1996) is defined as "a lexeme with two or more potential stems which has not subsequently been subjected to a derivational process"(p:29).In Rushdie's novel, compound words form in different ways:

- 4.3.1 **Unusual collocation**: These collocations occur in *Midnight's children* for the first time. For example:
  - 31 Clock-hands
  - 32 Biriyanis of determination
  - 33 Carrot and stick affair

One can easily understand the meanings of some collocations that have been given above. 'Clock hands' is simply the reversal of hands of the clock, whereas 'Biriyanis of determination' may prove to be more difficult if one does not know the meaning of Biriyani. Biriyani is an Indian rice dish made with meat which is exclusive to Muslims. 'Carrot and stick affair' depends upon the conventional meaning of the use of carrot or stick in order to get someone to do one's bidding; but to tag it with 'affair', makes it an unusual collocation.

- 4.3.2 **Co-joined words**: In this case phrases that consist of several lexical items are joined together to form a new word, for example:
  - whatsitsname what is its name
  - 35 Godknowswhat God knows what
  - 36 Talldarkhandsome tall dark handsome

All the examples given above and many others which occur in the book are symptomatic of the way Indians speak. When words are spoken so fast together that they seem like one word.

- 4.3.3 **Word clusters**: This is peculiar to *Midnight's Children* and for want of a better name, called, word clusters, which is what they really are. Here words which should occur in the paradigmatic axis, are projected on to the syntagmatic axis. Some of the examples are:
  - 37 they we should
  - 38 patience wait
  - 39 top drawer classified information

In all the examples given above the words occur together instead of substituting each other. The first example should read 'they should' or 'we should'. In example 38, 'patience' and 'wait" are synonyms and can be used instead of each other. In example 39. 'top drawer' can be replaced with 'classified'. Both 'classified' and 'top drawer' itself are noun phrases.

- 4.3.4 **Noun phrases**: These are formed in the novel to give rise to compound words which are not only unusual, but also quite long. For example:
  - 40. two day long procession
  - 41. losing national dice game
  - 42. going to pot

Example 40 is straight forward and direct. But example 41 can be puzzling to someone who does not know the Indian subcontinent and its culture. The expression derives from the famous dice game in the Mahabharatha (A Hindu religious text) in which Yudhishtira, the Prince of the Pandavas loses his lands, his brothers and his wife to the Kauravas when he stakes them in a game of dice. With example 42, 'going to pot' is to be taken literally to indicate 'going to shit' and not, as one would assume, going mad. It is interesting to note that when checked, the Brown, British National Corpus and written and spoken corpus of 3 million words gave 25 instances of 'potty' and many hits for 'pot', but none at all for 'going to pot' which is not found in the corpus at all.

001. fall! Bye! Bye! Oops! ! Sorry? Pee. No it's not a POTTY. There's your potty under there. But Mummy's

002. for somebody who likes horses Gemma Yeah Gemma's POTTY on horses Mary, Mary quite contrary, how doe

- 003. a brain tumour, you know, maybe it's er I'm going POTTY, maybe it's all sorts of things, and fortuna
- 004. or Jan cos she's sitting there thinking I'm going POTTY or, you know, can't stand properly or you kn
- 005. h! put on with it. Oh well she must be sat on her POTTY! Oh just She wants changing first. Oh oh oh

## 4.4 Borrowings

The last category consists of words drawn from Indian language other than English which the novel is replete with. They can be divided into the following sub-categories.

- 4.4.1 Hindi/Urdu words
- 4.4.2 Names of Hindu gods
- 4.4.3 Names of dishes
- 4.4.4 Name of Indian clothing
- 4.4.5 Indianisms
- 4.4.6 Indian expressions,
- 4.4.7 Other languages:Punjabi, Gujerathi, American English

## 4.4.1 Hindi/Urdu words

- 43. Chaand ka tukda
- 44. Khansama
- 45. Maulyisaab

Example 43 translates to 'piece of the moon', which is used for a person, to display affection to that person, an Urdu /Hindi equivalent of 'apple of one's eye'. Example 44, Khansama, is a cook and example 45, Maulvisaab, is an Urdu religious teacher.

## 4.4.2 Names of Hindu gods

- 46. Ganesh
- 47. Hanuman
- 48. Shiva lingam

It is significant that a novel which is about a Muslim family, has got more than 25 examples of names Hindu gods and references to Hindu religion. As has been said earlier, 25 instances may not be considered very significant in a novel of 22, 194 words. But when corpus analysis throws up only a single reference to a Muslim festival, 'Eid ul Fitir', then, the 25 references to Hinduism mentioned above assume an important function in the novel.

#### 4.4.3 Names of Indian dishes

- 49. Lassi
- 50. Khichri
- 51. Laddoo (Gane: 2006)

There are many Indian dishes that find mention in the novel.

# 4.4.4 Names of Indian clothing

- 52. Dupatta
- 53. Kurtha
- 54. Pajama (Gane: 2006)

#### 4.4.5 Indianisms

The Indianisms used in the novel are typical and not found in the Brown, British national corpus and the written and spoken corpus of 3 million words mentioned earlier. Some of them are:

- 55. Filmi
- 56. Funtabulous
- 57. No fair

'Filmi is a very common usage in India to indicate very dramatic. 'Funtabulous is a portmanteau word joining 'fun' and 'fabulous'. The addition of a 't' in the middle is an example of infixation. 'No fair' is actually 'not fair'.

# 4.4.6 Indian expressions

- (a) Some of the Indian expressions are those which are used in the streets and do not carry any meaning. These examples are mainly non verbal.
- 58. Arre baap (expressing disappointment or shock)
- 59. Wah wah (expressing appreciation)
- 60. Joonoo-moono (expressing love and affection)
- (b) Another kind of Indian expression which is typically Punjabi(one region of India) is the repetition of a word with a new root, for example:
- 61. Writing shiting
- 62. Club shab
- 63. Pagal Zagal

This style of speaking evokes a lot of fun in the subcontinent and is largely imitated to poke fun at Punjabis.

# 4.4.7 Other languages: Punjabi, Gujerathi, American English

- 64. Yaara
- 65. Soo che, saaru che
- 66. Gotcha, whaddya, innit.

As is evident from the analysis given above many lexical items get foregrounded in the novel. These are significant because they are lexical deviations and therefore in lexicology, form neologisms. Further, in the novel, they assume an important role because they contribute to the Indianness of the novel which is seen not just in the use of Indian words and expressions, but also in the creations of new words and expressions. In a lot of instances these words are deviant, but they can be understood easily because of the way they have been formed. It is, therefore, possible to construct a grammar of lexis of a novel through identification of their use in the novel as has been illustrated. Salman Rushdie extends the English language to create a new idiom which holds tremendous possibilities for the future.

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# APPENDIX-WORD LISTS

| Indian + English | Urdu word           | Food           | Name of Gods/Religion | Indian expressions | Other Indian<br>Language |
|------------------|---------------------|----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
|                  |                     |                |                       | •                  | Yara                     |
| Paan Shop        | Shikara             | Nargisi        | Shankara              |                    | (Punjabi)                |
|                  |                     |                |                       |                    | Suche                    |
| Chapathi like    | Hookah              | Pasanda        | Acharya               | Writing - s        | (Gujarathi)              |
|                  |                     |                |                       |                    | Saaru                    |
| Doctori Attache  | Nakkoo              | Gue            | Hanuman               | Taaaka-shoo        | Che(Gujarathi)           |
| Green Medicine   |                     |                |                       |                    | Maru che                 |
| Wallah           | Pwelah              | Dahi           | Rawana                | Dees Kaap          | (Gujarathi)              |
|                  |                     | 1.0            |                       | <b>T</b>           |                          |
| Joner anna       | Khansama            | Korma          | Ganesh                | Theen bathi        |                          |
| Cobra Wallah     | Maulvi Sahib        | Samosa         | Ganapathi<br>Baba     | Mah wah            | American                 |
|                  |                     |                |                       | Wah, wah           |                          |
| Dia Camps        | Talaaq              | Laddoo<br>Nibu | Ganesh                | Shoo               | Wassamatter              |
| Laddoo Dollo     | Funcacah            |                | Chathurthi            | Dotal abours       | Shoopid                  |
| Laddoo Balls     | Funcoosh<br>Chandka | pani           | Chathurthi            | Betel chewers      | ommls                    |
| Channa vendors   | Zukda               | Lassi          | shwalingam            | Roop to boop       | Lookit                   |
| Channa vendors   | Zukua               | Lassi          | Dhauma                | Baap re baap       | LOOKIL                   |
| Lathi Stick      | Dubaash             | Khechen        | chakra                | Soo soo            | I'll show ya             |
| Latin Otlok      | Dubuusii            | Tariconon      | oriania               | Joonoo             | Thi onow ya              |
| Ganesh nosed     | Eid ul Fitr         | Biriani        | Varuna                | moonoo             | Inna                     |
|                  | Shahbag             | 2              |                       |                    | Lessen                   |
| Silas Perfeel    | aalandu             | Namaal         |                       | Putch Putch        | whatchou'se              |
|                  |                     | Shikh          |                       |                    |                          |
| Shenai player    |                     | kabab          | Yaksha                | Cho-chweet         | Gotcha                   |
|                  |                     | Channa         |                       |                    | Will ya get              |
| Indian Fauj      |                     | Pakoras        | Gully                 | Zala bala          | outa                     |
| Jail khana       |                     | Bhelpuri       | Ganga                 | Whump              | For petesake             |
|                  |                     |                |                       | Gib the car        |                          |
| Hot-channa       |                     | Paratha        | Yamuna                | poliss             |                          |
|                  |                     |                | Saraswathi            | Leelas hunli       |                          |
|                  |                     | Chilli         |                       |                    |                          |
| Indianism        | Repetition          | Pakoras        | Narada                | Pepper water       |                          |
|                  |                     |                |                       | Sweeper            |                          |
|                  | Club shub           | Nargisi        | Markandaya            | woman              |                          |
| Fllmi            | Writing Shiling     | Pasanda        | Rama                  | Queen of the       |                          |

|             |                |          | night     |
|-------------|----------------|----------|-----------|
|             |                | Biriyani |           |
| Funtabulus  | Soon soon      | and      | Arjuna    |
|             |                | Pista ke |           |
| Hillock top | Close as close | Lemz     | Bhima     |
|             | Such and       | Garam    |           |
| no fair     | such           | masala   | Brahma    |
|             | Down down      |          |           |
| Thums down  | down           |          | Maya      |
|             | Pagal zagal    |          | Rakshasas |
|             |                |          | Bhagawan  |
|             |                |          |           |
|             |                |          |           |

| Nominalization                 | Nominalization                                       | Indian              | Nominalization            | Unusual                                  |
|--------------------------------|--|---------------------|---------------------------|--|
| 'ed'                           | 'ed'   | words               | 'ing'                     | collocations                             |
| Indianized                     | Frost hardened                                       | Pyar                | Sister sleeping           |  |
| five toed                      | Beaked   | Dharam              | dream-invading            | Clock hands                              |
| defenistrated                  | haemorrahged   | Chakra              | Lip jutting               |  |
| many headed                    | crime-realised                                       | Koli dhow(s)        | Hand holding sheet        | India-like<br>radium                     |
| many mouthed                   | Splint toed  | Chittie(s)          | Hand flapping             | finger rol                               |
| one eye browed                 | blind eyed   | Bhai                | Centre-parting            | fish salans of stubbornness biriyanis of |
| One fleshed                    | horn templed   | Sachivalaya         | Sand bagging down         | determination                            |
| lapis lazuli<br>encrusted      | cucumber nosed                                       | Tubriwallah         | Gambling                  | cloud and stick affair                   |
| stomach churned                | black shoved (kitchen)                               | Sadhu under the tap | pulling noses             | down at heels suede                      |
| mirror worked                  | stone- doomed,<br>never before<br>glimpsed (motions) | Aap                 | stationing salt cellars   | free transistor sterilization            |
| slicked up                     | thick fingered,<br>heavy jointed<br>anglepoised      | Ye akashvani        | crime concealing          |  |
| Much complied (existence)      | scrubbed, glass<br>inflicted (ants)<br>cribbed       | tu                  | hand walloping            |  |
| Map shaped white shirted       | ill imagined   | phaelwan            | prophet aping             |  |
| gleam toothed, pearl testicled | calico-skirted                                       | Chutney(s)          | witching house            |  |
| wide eyed, fuller voiced       | water balded   | Kabaddi             | beggaring                 |  |
| freckled (noun)                | broken toothed                                       | Kali-yuga           | bicycling                 |  |
| metalled head                  | boot rumpled   | Sundari             | Eye rolling, high waiting |  |
| much gnashed                   | well oiled   | Naddi phaean        | mammary thumping          |  |
| newly partitioned              | verucca hobbled                                      | Goondas             | water divining (youth)    |  |

| badly propositioned            | half unwanted            | Shaitan         | mother sleeping       |                 |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
|                                | unpolished,<br>unwatched | Yaar            | lips flicking         |                 |
| sharp tongued                  | rat faced                | maam            | dustily sagging       |                 |
| prematurely                    | Chrolophyll              |                 |                       |                 |
| testicled                      | stripped                 |                 | crazy sounding        |                 |
| many headed                    | long trousered           |                 | flag warming mocors   |                 |
| buckled                        | sugared                  |                 | election rigging      |                 |
| ocean sea fed                  | planet headed            |                 |                       |                 |
| - COCAIT COCA TOCA             | black smoked             |                 |                       |                 |
| gold shaded                    | windowed                 |                 |                       |                 |
| 9                              | sharp ended (nail        |                 |                       |                 |
| fame deluged                   | file)                    |                 |                       |                 |
| partition created              | code-named (leg          |                 |                       |                 |
| frontiers                      | hem)                     |                 |                       |                 |
|                                |                          | Affixation-     |                       |                 |
| Nominalization                 | Compound                 | less, loss,     |                       | Cojoined        |
| 'isms'                         | words                    | er(s), omni     | Cojoined words        | words           |
| what happened                  | Words                    | 01(3), 011111   | Cojonica words        | a long ago      |
| nextism                        | patience wait            | rhymeless poet  | ring mistress         | vulture         |
| Nominalization                 | pationoo wait            | Injinologo poot | ing menees            | Valtaro         |
| y' suffix                      | blue-green yellow        | padmaless       | up language           | whatsitsname    |
| y Sullix                       | blue-green yellow        | paumaiess       | up language           | god knows       |
| Rosey                          | they we should           | finger loss     | far off drums         | what else       |
| vinegary                       | teeth tongue             | bedevil         | outside noise         | don't you think |
| viriegary                      | roof of mouth            | Dedevii         | Outside Hoise         | Thumb and       |
| down to earthery               | gums                     |                 | inside noise          | forefinger      |
| down to cartifory              | game                     |                 | tourism in a clock    | tall dark       |
| grotesquery                    | wet head                 | omnicompetent   | towers                | handsome        |
| , ,                            |                          | '               |                       | god knows       |
| eaky                           | hit the spittoon         | chain reactive  | queen of the night    | what            |
| housewifery                    | light in the sky         | street sleepers | crazy paving overlaps | Straggle beard  |
| •                              | puppies march            | high-board      |                       |                 |
| ditchy                         | devil top                | divers          | mouth metal           | ant trail       |
|                                | top quality front        |                 |                       |                 |
|                                | page jumbo sized         |                 |                       |                 |
| packety                        | by snaps                 | faredodgers     | forcep-hollows        | nose wet        |
|                                | embarrassment            |                 |                       |                 |
| P 1 2 0                        | even guilt               |                 |                       |                 |
| palindromically                | response                 |                 | home-telling tales    | bus queue       |
| shivery                        |                          | off handedness  | sad dog injury        | lane and lack   |
|                                |                          |                 |                       | me against the  |
| glass-cloudy                   |                          | looker after    | street sleepers       | world           |
| Control Corn                   |                          | admittedly      | Palation of the same  |                 |
| foolish wintery                |                          | lesser          | light board drivers   | ghost haze      |
| mustice attack                 |                          | whore-          | biovolina alarte      | duct form       |
| rutputty                       |                          | murderers       | bicycling clerks      | dust form       |
| <u> </u>                       |                          | breast stroker  | bicycle arts          | swagger sticks  |
| glass kissery<br>squashy belly |                          | Dicast stroker  | · ·                   | shoulder pips   |

| Compound words   |
|--|
| two day long procession                                    |
| losing national dice game.                                 |
| hairs of my mothers head                                   |
| going to the bathroom all over (peeing all over the place) |
| Going to pot (actually to mean 'shit')                     |
| top drawer classified information                          |
| breathing in of rubbery boot                               |
| air through jolted teeth                                   |
| rat faced youth  |
| filed down teeth   |
| sister sleeping world                                      |
| mother sleeping wind                                       |
| what chews at bones beneath the skin                       |
| more than five hundred                                     |
| putty like potter's clay                                   |
| four legged mine delech                                    |