

STUDENT SLANG AT IIT MADRAS: A LINGUISTIC FIELD STUDY

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1 INTRODUCTION

Every student who starts university faces the same problems. He has to arrange his timetable, find his way around on campus, get accustomed to the hostel life and find new friends. Yet, all these tasks can prove enormously difficult even to the smartest and most communicative fresher because he might not be able to understand the language used on campus. It is everywhere around him: on signboards, in department and hostel notices, and especially in the answers his senior students are giving to his questions.

Students at a university often develop their own in-group vocabulary which only insiders will understand. The quantity of such *student slang* expressions and the degree of their use varies from university to university and maybe even within the campus of one university. At the Chemnitz University of Technology (CUT), for example, the in-group vocabulary is mainly limited to place name references. The blending *StraNa*, for instance, stands for (*Universitätsteil*) *Straße der Nationen*, a street name in Chemnitz and the location of one part of the university.

However, at the Indian Institute of Technology Madras (IITM) the quantity of slang expressions is much higher. This is why several web pages with long lists of slang terms exist¹ and a student even wrote an article related to this topic in the IITM student magazine *The Fourth Estate*. In November 2002, Arjun Chennu, at that time a fresher, described the difficulties a new student encounters at IITM in his article “What's this ES funda?”. He dedicated an entire paragraph to the student slang:

Mind you, *ES* is NOT a coward. He just isn't acclimatized to this new environment, and especially, the *lingo*. He *bulbs* whenever *shady junta put jod-level fundaes* about *poonding a slysha fufa RGer, buster*. He feels like *deeshing* when such *haiffunda level things* are *put* to him. He prefers *cupping* a quiz to deciphering such *cuppax level lingo type things*. *Peace? Hazaar peace*. It's not very *ob-like*, but better believe it, *Vokay*. You can't expect *ES* to stoop to such derogatory levels. He DOES NOT like *pondy-type-things* as he 'comes from a long line of decent and honorable ancestors'. Period. The truth? Well it is yet "apocryphal", and what little is speculatively known is rather unprintable. (Chennu 2002: 8-9, italics added)

¹ Shukla, Amit. “The B.Tech batch of '94: Some IITM Slang.” *IITM – ug90 Home Page*. Last modified: March 23, 1995. Last accessed: September 08, 2005
<<http://www.cs.wisc.edu/~samit/iitm.html>>.

“Ganga Hostel IIT Madras: Lingo.....and all that ‘fart’.” *Lingo*. Last accessed: September 08, 2005
<<http://hostel.iitm.ernet.in/ganga/iitlingo.html>>.

“IIT M Slang.” *Saras 97 – IIT Madras*. Last accessed: September 08, 2005
<<http://www.geocities.com/saraswathi 1997/iitMSlang/iitMSlang.html>>.

The use of slang in the above paragraph is, of course, exaggerated. Hardly any student would use so much slang in his speech or writing. Yet this paragraph became the starting point of my research on student slang at IIT Madras.

This MA thesis will initially attempt to define the linguistic term *slang* and describe the sociolinguistic background of the speech community at IIT Madras. Afterwards an account of my research will be given, including the methodology, an evaluation of the research results and a lexicographical word list. Finally, I will classify the slang expressions according to their origin and their situational context.

2 DEFINITIONS AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE SPEECH COMMUNITY

2.1 Defining Slang

Many linguists and lexicographers have been trying to define the term *slang*. Most of them made similar remarks to e.g. Eric Partridge, namely that slang might not be beyond definition, but that it is “incapable of precise definition” (1988: 69). In the following paragraphs different definitions of slang shall be cited and examined critically.

An early definition can be found in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* from 1926, in which slang is defined as

[...] in what is now the usual sense, a general name for the class of words, more or less artificial or affected in origin or use, which are not recognized as belonging to the standard vocabulary of the language into which they have been introduced, but have an extensive currency in some section of society either as a means of concealing secrets or as intentionally undignified substitutes for those modes of expression that are employed by persons who value themselves on propriety of speech. (1926: 207)

The above definition names four major points. Firstly, it says that slang is in the “words” or the “vocabulary”. A linguist may describe this as belonging to the lexicon (as opposed to the grammar). Secondly, it states that the slang “words” do not belong to the standard variety of language spoken in the larger society. Later on in the same page it is claimed that “... slang is a conscious offence against some conventional standard of propriety.” This statement clearly shows a generally prescriptive view towards language which was common at the beginning of the 20th century, but this part of the definition also expresses that a speaker who uses slang does so

intentionally. Thirdly, the quote refers to “some section of society” – a speech community which, fourthly, has something to conceal or wants to be secretive. The notion of secretiveness is a function of slang that all researchers agree upon.

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* also mentions another feature of slang that is not included in any of the later definitions, namely “that [slang] is neither a part of ordinary language, nor an attempt to supply its deficiencies.” (1926: 207) Productivity is a well-known feature of language. However, the coinage of new expressions is usually only *needed* when there is a lack of words for a certain concept or invention or otherwise only lengthy descriptions for the concepts exist. In contrast to that, slang is not *absolutely necessary*. Nevertheless, slang continuously produces and uses new words.

An eminent authority in the field of slang and the author of *A dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* is Eric Partridge, who dedicated many years of his life to the collection of slang expressions. However, when he wrote the entry for the term *slang* in *Collier’s Encyclopedia*, he did not attempt to write his own definition for it. He refers to and seems to favour the definition in *Webster’s Third [New] International Dictionary* which describes slang as

...a non-standard vocabulary composed of words and senses characterized primarily by connotations of extreme informality [...] composed typically of coinages or arbitrarily changed words, clipped or shortened forms, extravagant, forced or facetious figures of speech, or verbal novelties, usu. experiencing quick popularity and relatively rapid decline into disuse. (Gove 1986: 2137)

This definition raises the notion of informality as a feature of slang. Slang is not used in formal speech or writing. In fact, in his list of functions of slang, Partridge even goes as far as claiming that slang is intentionally used to decrease the formality of spoken as well as written discourse (1988: 70).

The Webster definition also hints at two points that are related to each other: the creativity of slang and its rapid change. Some slang expressions which were frequently used by IITM students five years ago are only known to a few students today or sometimes to nobody at all anymore (see section 4.1.2). Normally, language change is a very slow process, but – maybe due to its restriction to a relatively small speech community or to its creativity – slang alters more quickly. The creativity of slang can have many reasons, for example the fact that slang is often used to be secretive or to portray wit. There are more reasons or rather functions of slang enumerated by Partridge and later referred to by Andersson and Trudgill (1990: 87)

and Crystal (1997: 53). These functions will be discussed in more detail in section 3.2.4 because they played a significant role in the establishment of one of my questionnaires.

In 1990, Lars-Gunnar Andersson and the dialectologist Peter Trudgill published their book *Bad Language*, in which they dedicate an entire chapter to slang. To put their definition¹ in a nutshell, only the subheadings from Chapter 4 in their book shall be enumerated here:

- Slang is language use below the neutral stylistic level
 - Slang is typical for informal situations
 - Slang is typical of spoken language
 - Slang is found in words, not in grammar
 - Slang is not dialect
 - Slang is not swearing
 - Slang is not register²
 - Slang is not cant, argot or jargon
 - Slang is creative
 - Slang is often short-lived
 - Slang is often conscious
 - Slang is group-related
 - Slang is ancient
- (Andersson 1990: 69-81)

Andersson and Trudgill's definition refers to a number of points that have already been mentioned in the two definitions above, for instance, the fact that slang is found in the lexicon, that it is ephemeral and used consciously. But they also introduce new dimensions to the concept of slang. Instead of arguing, as prescriptivists would, that slang is non-standard language, they are rather cautious and try not to bring in linguistic prejudice, but they introduce the notion of informality and the point that slang is mainly used in spoken language which is related to the former. Spoken language is often more informal than written language. Of course, nowadays in the age of electronic communication, the borderline between written and spoken language is sometimes rather blurred. That is why text types like chat conversations or emails, which often show more features of spoken discourse than written text, shall be counted towards spoken language here, too.

Apart from its length, another problem with Andersson and Trudgill's definition is that they seem to equate slang and colloquialisms, vogue words and vulgarity.

¹ Their definition extends over more than 10 pages.

² Andersson and Trudgill do not see the different stylistic levels of language (formal, informal, poetic, etc.) as *register*. They define register as the "specialized vocabulary" that "every occupation and activity" draws along (Andersson 1990: 76).

However, not all slang is vulgar, and colloquialisms and vogue words are not group-specific. Furthermore, vogue words do not have to be informal as can be seen in a recent vogue term in Germany, namely *Hartz IV*¹. This vogue term is used by all social classes, in formal political speeches as well as in informal pub conversations.

The last definition of slang which shall be discussed in this thesis is the one Connie Eble² provides in her book *Slang & Sociability: In-Group Language among College Students*. Hers is the most extensive definition among all mentioned here.

At the very beginning of Chapter 1, Eble argues that

Slang is an ever changing set of colloquial words and phrases that speakers use to establish or reinforce social identity or cohesiveness within a group or with a trend or fashion in society at large. The existence of vocabulary of this sort within a language is possibly as old as language itself, for slang seems to be part of any language used in ordinary interaction by a community large enough and diverse enough to have identifiable subgroups. (1996: 11)

In a footnote to this, she adds that “[its] presence will markedly lower, at least for the moment, the dignity of formal or serious speech or writing.”

Like Andersson and Trudgill, this definition also refers to the notion of informality and to the fact that slang is “ancient” (Andersson 1990: 80), and that it seems to be a natural development in human society at all times. Later on in Chapter 1 of her book, she describes various other characteristics of slang. She says for example that “slang is ephemeral” (1996: 12) and that “Slang is also not ‘improper’ grammatical construction” (1996: 21), as has been stated by Andersson and Trudgill earlier. Furthermore, she argues that “Slang is not geographically restricted vocabulary” (1996: 19)³. She clearly points out that “Slang is largely colloquial. But not all colloquial expressions are slang.” (1996: 20)

Additionally, in the definition cited above, she argues that slang is strongly connected to social or group identity. When she discusses the “group-identifying function” of slang, she emphasizes that “It is well documented that social groups are fertile breeding grounds for an idiosyncratic vocabulary to enhance their solidarity.”

¹ Spoken: /hɑ:rts fi:r/, referring to governmental reforms on the German labour market, for further information see <<http://www.bundesregierung.de/en/dokumente/-,10001.429647/Artikel/dokument.htm>> or <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hartz_concept>.

² Connie Eble is a Professor of English at the University of North Carolina and presently the editor of the journal *American Speech*. She collected slang expressions and published papers related to the topic for fifteen years, before she published her book *Slang & Sociability: In-Group Language among College Students* in 1996. (see <<http://english.unc.edu/faculty/eblec.html>>)

³ A part of the definition of slang in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* which Partridge left out in the quotation in *Collier's Encyclopedia* also hints at this characteristic. The part concerned reads: “[usually] a currency not limited to a particular region” (Gove 1986: 2137).

(1996: 18) This is a very important characteristic of slang which has been neglected in the definitions mentioned earlier. She is also the first one to clearly state that subgroups can exist within the speech community which uses a certain slang. Both the connection between slang and identity and the existence of subgroups will play a role in chapter 3 and 4 of this thesis.

Eble, like all the linguists and lexicographers before, noticed that a clear demarcation from other vernacular forms is necessary. She writes “Slang must be distinguished from other subsets of the lexicon such as regionalisms or dialect words, jargon, profanity and obscenity, colloquialism, and cant or argot – although slang shares some characteristics with each of these and can overlap.” (1996: 19) What Eble calls overlapping here is probably what Partridge meant when he said that cant, argot and jargon can be sources of slang (Partridge 1988: 69).

When all the above definitions are compared with one another, an increase in the complexity and yet a better understanding of the concept *slang* is perceptible. Nevertheless, a short and clear definition has still not been found. This is why I tried to summarize all the different notions related to slang and decided to bring in the term *sociolect*¹ into my definition.

Often also including smaller sub-varieties, *slang* is a sociolect providing group identity and clearly excluding "outsiders". Its vocabulary is continuously subject to change and often only has a short life-span. Its use increases the informality of the situation and is usually restricted to spoken language or written text types whose style is close to that of spoken discourse.

¹ According to my understanding, a sociolect is a variety of language spoken by a certain speech community. The term *speech community* itself needs a clear definition and Hudson (1991: 25-30) shows that, much like slang, it is a term which is difficult to define. Here *speech community* shall be seen as a group of people connected to each other by the variety of language they speak which demarcates them linguistically from the larger society surrounding them.

2.2 English in India

2.2.1 *The language situation in India*

Apart from the need of a definition of slang, the topic of this thesis has another dimension of great importance: the *speech community*. IIT Madras, as the name already suggests, is located in Chennai (formerly Madras), India. The language situation in India is, of course, very different from the language situation in Great Britain or the USA, where English is the native language.

Raja Ram Mehrotra writes in his book *Indian English: Texts and Interpretation* that “India is a baffling mosaic of multilingualism.” (1998: 1) The Indian Constitution names eighteen official languages: Assamese (1.56%), Bengali (8.30%), Gujarati (4.85%), Hindi (40.22%), Kannada (3.91%), Kashmiri (0.01%), Konkani (0.21%), Malayalam (3.62%), Manipuri (0.15%), Marathi (7.45%), Nepali (0.25%), Oriya (3.35%), Punjabi (2.79%), Sanskrit (0.01%), Sindhi (0.25%), Tamil (6.32%), Telugu (7.87%) and Urdu (5.18%).¹ Apart from these official languages, there are more than 1600 different languages or dialects spoken in India.

2.2.2 *The status of English in India*

Despite the fact that “With the dawn of freedom in India in 1947 the climate changed in favour of the use of vernaculars as the natural media of instruction”, Mehrotra emphasizes that “English continued to dominate particularly in the fields of higher education and administration.” (1998: 5) This statement makes clear that when the British colonialists left India, the English language remained as an important, widely spoken L2.

Until the present English continues to be used as a *lingua franca* in various fields of life. Mehrotra enumerates trade and commerce, administration, education, family, recreation, hotel and restaurant, sports, politics, religion (1998: 11-12). He also says that “English even today is considered all over the country as the language of privileges and opportunities, of upward mobility and social advancement, of innovations and modernization.” (1998: 2) Although English is not an official language in India and spoken as a mother tongue by only a very small proportion of

¹ The figures in brackets give the percentage of Indian citizens speaking the respective language as a mother tongue according to 1991 census data (excluding the states of Jammu and Kashmir). The list of languages and the figures are taken from: *India at a Glance: Languages spoken*. Last accessed: Sept 15, 2005 <<http://www.censusindia.net/language.html>>.

the population, a citizen's performance in English is usually decisive in India's highly competitive society.

However, exposure to English depends on geographical, socio-economic and (often related to the former) educational factors, and the enormous differences in this exposure result in a wide range of levels of performance in English. Auto rickshaw drivers, for instance, may be able to understand and speak a pidginized English or sometimes merely a few words like greetings and numbers. In contrast to that, telephonists in call centres are trained to speak an English identical to that of an American speaker of English. K.S. Yadurajan described the situation in *Current English: A Guide for the User of English in India* as follows:

Indian English (or English as it is used in India) is fairly complex and heterogeneous. At one end you have the broken English represented (at an earlier age) by what came to be known as 'Butler English'. At the other end you have the English of a man like Pandit Nehru which is practically indistinguishable from Standard British English. In between them is a staggering range of 'Englishes' further differentiated along regional lines. (2001:x)

2.2.3 *Some properties of Indian English*

Mehrotra says that "Indian English (IndE) may broadly be defined as a non-native variety of English used in India." (1998: 15) Shreesh Chandra Chaudhary even goes a step further in his dissertation on *Some Aspects of the Phonology of Indian English* and claims that "like British or American English, or Hindi or Tamil or any other natural language, [Indian English] is also an autonomous language variety with its own systems, structures, lexicon and rules." (1989: 5-6)¹

Of course, IndE differs from British or American English (BE and AE respectively) in many aspects for various reasons. The most important reason is mentioned in the above quote from Mehrotra, namely that the English spoken in India is a non-native variety of English. Since it is an L2 for most Indians, the speakers' English is inevitably influenced by their L1 and by the way it is taught to them. This can be seen in the properties of IndE. In the book *English in India*, Harry Spitzbardt

¹ A extensive sociolinguistic discussion about what can be defined as a language and what is only a dialect shall be avoided here. The same discussion goes on about all the *World Englishes* and no satisfying answer has been found yet.

enumerates four major sources of differences between IndE and BE: (1) style, (2) pronunciation, (3) word usage and (4) grammar. (1976: 25-44)¹

When Spitzbardt refers to style in Indian English, he claims that

we may perhaps say that there is a general tendency toward a reckless use of genteelisms, pomposities, and oddities. On the whole, written Indian English – be it in private letters or published newspapers, magazines and books – looks bookish, archaic and poetic. [...] This linguostylistic feature of Indian English has two main roots:

The influence of classical English literature [...]

The cultural setting of Hindu life as the social background for picturesqueness in language. (1976: 28)

Consequently, Spitzbardt decides to refer to IndE as “Lotus Flower English”. Even Raja Rao comments on this topic in his novel *The Cat and Shakespeare* and even extends the use of this style to spoken IndE when he writes

Just at that moment Govindan Nair looks up from between the leaves and says: „Hey there, be you at home?“ That is his style, if one may say so, of talking. It is a mixture of *The Vicar of Wakefield* and Shakespeare. The words are choice, the choice of the situation clumsy. He never says come and go. He will always say: „Gentleman, may I invite myself there? Will I be permitted into your presence?“ That's ever the way with him, in English or in Malayalam. (1971: 11)

The most important reason for an archaic or poetic style might be the Indian languages themselves. The Hindi greeting *Namaste* (नमस्ते), for instance, literally means “salutation to you” or “I bow to thee”.² If somebody used such a greeting in English, it would, of course, sound rather awkward or old-fashioned to a native speaker of English, but it may seem perfectly acceptable to a non-native speaker of English whose mother tongue is Hindi, especially if his knowledge of English is rather limited.

The second source of distinctive properties of IndE is its pronunciation. In the introductory part of his dissertation, Chaudhary names one of the reasons for pronunciation features based on the phonology of Indian languages. He writes:

¹ Only some general remarks about either of these shall be made here. More detailed reference to a various properties of IndE will be made in later chapters whenever it is needed.

² Source of quotes and image of Hindi script: *Word AnyWhere: Hindi English and Other Indian Languages Dictionary*. Last accessed: Sept 16, 2005 <<http://www.wordanywhere.com>>.

But when an Indian starts learning English, he uses English orthography, which does not seem to have one to one correspondence with pronunciation, like the orthographies of Indian languages which generally have greater correspondence between symbols and sounds. Such a recognition of the orthographic symbols is also reinforced by the teacher who is usually the learner's model and who may insist upon a 'correct' pronunciation. (1989: 8-9)

Webster already saw the problematic aspects of the lack of correspondence between orthography and pronunciation in the English language. This is partly why he tried to initiate a spelling reform in the United States. George Bernhard Shaw pointed out the same problem when he 'suggested' to write *ghoti* instead of *fish* because both can be pronounced /fɪʃ/ according to English orthography. While native speakers of English might be able to master this problem as they learn the pronunciation from their parents who are also native speakers of English, the learner of English in India faces two further obstacles: firstly, his mother tongue has a phonetic orthography whereas English does not, and secondly, he learns English from a non-native speaker of English who also uses IndE pronunciation.

Another important factor with regard to pronunciation is the fact that not all English phonemes are found in Indian languages. For example, Spitzbardt mentions a trend towards *cerebralization (retroflexion)* especially in South India because the English phonemes /θ/ or /ð/ do not exist in the Dravidian language family. They are therefore replaced by /t/ or /d/ respectively. (1976: 29, 31)

Concerning word usage, Spitzbardt mentions for instance the use of borrowings from Indian languages. (1976: 34) Mehrotra comments that "hybridized forms of English often labelled as Hinglish, Tamlish or Indish have now become an integral part of educated Indian's speech, particularly in informal situations." (1998: 14) As I will show in section 5.1.1, this phenomenon also enriches IITM slang exceedingly.

Although slang is mainly found in the lexicon, one grammatical feature of IndE which Spitzbardt discusses is also of importance for this thesis. He speaks about the dropping of prepositions and gives the example

- (1) IndE: "I'm going Bombay."
- (2) BE: "I'm going to Bombay." (see 1976: 41)

The influence of this feature of IndE on the student slang will be explained in detail in section 5.1.8.

2.3 The speech community

2.3.1 *The Indian Institute of Technology Madras*

There are seven Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) in India. They are situated in Bombay, Delhi, Guwahati, Kanpur, Kharagpur, Madras and Roorkee. IITs are the most acknowledged technical universities in India. They are elite universities comparable to MIT, for example.

The idea of having elite engineering schools came up in the 1940s. In his book *The IITians: The Story of a Remarkable Indian Institution and How Its Alumni Are Reshaping the World*, Sandipan Deb writes about the beginnings of the IITs,

Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, was the facilitator of the IIT dream, and he deserves great credit for recognizing a good idea and backing it to the hilt. But the IITs were not dreamed up by Nehru. They were the brainchild of Sir Ardeshir Dalal, an aristocratic Parsi technocrat of extraordinary dynamism. [...] Sir Ardeshir recognized that technology would have a critical role to play in building a free India. His strategy for raising India up the technology ladder was three-pronged: produce world-class engineers, set up a robust research infrastructure, and create a system of scholarships so that deserving students could avail of the best post-graduate education in the world. The IITs represented the first prong of that plan. (2004: 27)

Every year approximately 150,000 school graduates¹ from all over India attempt to get into one of the IITs by writing the Joint Entrance Examination (JEE) which is probably one of the toughest exams in the world. Only about 4200 of them² will eventually be accepted, most of them not in the field of studies they wanted to enrol in. These 4200 are less than three percent of the students attempting to take the test at all.

The Indian Institute of Technology Madras (IITM) was founded in 1959 with German assistance. On the IITM web page it is described as “a residential institute” which has “a self-contained campus located in a beautiful wooded land of about 250 hectares.”³ According to statistics made for the Times Higher Education supplement in August 2005, IITM has 344 academic staff and a total number of 4,816 students.

¹ The number is taken from: Pathfinder – Selection Process. Last accessed: Oct 01, 2005
<<http://www.ptindia.com/courses/pathfinder/selection.htm>>.

² see footnote 1.

³ Source: “The Institute”. *Indian Institute of Technology Madras*. Last accessed: Sept 16, 2005
<<http://www.iitm.ac.in/The%20Institute/>>.

Since its foundation in 1959, a total number of 27,189 students graduated from IIT Madras.¹

2.3.2 *The student community at IIT Madras*

For characterizing the IITM student community and therefore the speech community which uses IITM slang, sociolinguistic factors like age, gender, socio-economic status and origin have to be taken into account, apart from the overall size of the group and the location.

Among the 4,816 students, whose age ranges from 17 to ca. 30 years, 2,014 (42%) are enrolled as undergraduate students and 2,802 (58%) as postgraduate students.² (Table 1 gives a more detailed distribution of the students according to the degree they are enrolled for.) Due to the young age of the members of the speech community, they will aspire to be different from the older generation. I expected that undergraduate students will be more eager to differentiate themselves from the generation of their parents than the postgraduates who may have overcome this “phase” already. Undergraduates are also more exposed to the student slang than postgraduates, because the latter will not take as many courses and not stay in the institute for as long as the former.

	Students	Absolute No.	Percentage
Degree	B.Tech	1,537	32.8%
	Dual Degree	575	12.3%
	M.B.A	82	1.7%
	M.Sc.	163	3.5%
	M.Tech.	904	19.3%
	M.S.	480	10.2%
	Ph.D.	946	20.2%
Total		4,687	100.0%

Table 1: IIT Madras students 2004/2005 according to degree³

¹ Figures taken from statistical reports of IIT Madras from Sept 13, 2005 for the Statistical Hand Book and Annual Statistical Abstract of Tamil Nadu as well as statistics for the Times Higher Education Supplement from Sept 02, 2005.

² *Ibid.*

³ Statistics taken from statistical reports of IIT Madras from Sept 13, 2005 for the Statistical Hand Book and Annual Statistical Abstract of Tamil Nadu as well as statistics for the Times Higher Education Supplement from Sept 02, 2005.

	Students	Absolute No.	Percentage
Gender	male	4,129	88.1%
	female	558	11.9%
Total		4,687	100.0%

Table 2: IIT Madras students 2004/2005 according to gender¹

As shown in Table 2, 88.1% of all students are men, only 11.9% are women. This gender ratio of 7:1 is an important factor for the use and development of IITM slang because male speakers tend to use more informal speech than female speakers. Furthermore, there is relatively little interaction between male and female students outside the classroom. Female students will usually spend their leisure time with females and male students will usually be in the company of other males. One of the male students once remarked to me that “in the four years at IITM you can forget that girls exist.” This may sound exaggerated, but it clearly shows that the interaction with students of the same sex is much higher than with students of the opposite sex. That is why I expected that female students are not be exposed to slang as much as male students are and hence will possibly not understand or use slang very often. Furthermore, the origin of the students is essential. According to statistics from the academic year 2004/2005, 13 international students were enrolled at IIT Madras. Unfortunately, there were no statistics on which states the Indian students came from. This is why only estimated figures can be given here. More than 50% of all students at IIT Madras seem to come from the state of Andhra Pradesh. Ca. 30% are from the northern part of India. The rest of approximately 10% come from the southern part of India, namely Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Karnataka. Most of the students speak one of the local Indian languages as a mother tongue. Of course, Telugu or Hindi are the mother tongue of a vast majority of students. English is mainly spoken as an L2 with a wide range of levels of performance. Some students have only had English as a subject in school because a local Indian language was the medium of instruction for their entire school education. Some have been to English medium schools since the age of 4. For some, English has even become the primary language, although it is not their mother tongue.

¹ Statistics taken from statistical reports of IIT Madras from Sept 13, 2005 for the Statistical Hand Book and Annual Statistical Abstract of Tamil Nadu as well as statistics for the Times Higher Education Supplement from Sept 02, 2005.

As has been mentioned earlier, IIT Madras is an elite technical university. Only the best of the best are admitted at IITM. So all the students' educational status is very high. A good school education and strong support or even pressure from the parents is the basis for reaching such a high level of knowledge. That is why I assume that IITM students mainly come from the middle to upper classes and only a very small number of students comes from lower classes because their parents will not be able to afford good schooling and children with less well off parents have to work in their free-time to support the family financially. This will not give them enough time to concentrate on studying at school.

Statistical data could provide an insight into the social or socio-economic background of the students, but I was unable to find detailed figures, except some about scheduled castes and tribes. In the previous year, 12.1% of all the students came from scheduled castes/tribes or were disabled.¹ This number seems very high, but it mainly is due to government policy of reserving a certain percentage of seats to scheduled castes and tribes. A full survey would be needed to give exact information about the socio-economic background of the students.

¹ Figures taken from statistical reports of IIT Madras from Sept 13, 2005 for the Statistical Hand Book and Annual Statistical Abstract of Tamil Nadu as well as statistics for the Times Higher Education Supplement from Sept 02, 2005.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Collecting Expressions

As mentioned in the introduction, the paragraph about the student slang by Arjun Chennu became the starting point of my research. At first, information about the origin and the meaning of the slang expressions used were needed and more slang expressions had to be collected. I asked the author of the paragraph as well as four of his friends to translate his paragraph into “neutral” English (see Appendix 9.1). Additionally, I read and annotated four English chat conversations between two IITM students (see Appendix 0) and asked for explanations about the slang terms that I found in these conversations. Further expressions were taken from the November 2002 issue of *The Fourth Estate*¹, in which the paragraph about the student *lingo* had been published, and from continuous correspondence with Arjun Chennu and Manogna Navin in IIT Madras, both B.Tech. students in Engineering Physics and Aerospace Engineering respectively who started their studies in IIT Madras in August 2002.

Collecting these expressions was, of course, limited to information from a few individual students, whom I knew personally or who were friends of the people I knew, and to written material. Information of half a dozen individuals is problematic because they speak their own idiolect and cannot be fully representative of the entire speech community. Alternatively, written material is also problematic because slang is mostly used in spoken language which is usually more informal than written language. Considering these two problematic factors, it is clear that the collection of slang expressions from outside the speech community was very restricted, so I decided to do an internship at IIT Madras to have a chance to mix with the student community and thereby acquire a better understanding of the slang expressions I had already found and collect more slang expressions on the campus itself.

1 [ed.] Narayanan, Ajit/Rahul Pratap M./Vipluv Aga (2002). *The Fourth Estate*. November 2002 (Vol. 3 No. 1). Chennai: Campus Press IIT Madras, <<http://www.iitmadras.org/news/pubs/2002/fourth/nov/estate0301.pdf>>.

3.2 Questionnaires

3.2.1 *Personal information*

Before going to IIT Madras, I set up two questionnaires (see Appendix 9.3 and Appendix 9.4). The first part of both questionnaires concentrated on personal information about the informants. The students were asked for their gender, age, year of study, aspired degree, the languages they speak as well as the level of fluency in these languages, and the medium of instruction in their school education. The importance of these factors has been discussed in detail in section 2.3.2. Furthermore, I decided to enquire whether they had been to another university before, as well as whether they have been abroad before and for how long. Both factors might have an influence on the English they speak and on the knowledge of slang expressions from other places outside IIT Madras.

Unfortunately, I underestimated the importance of the place of residence on campus and the possible existence of subgroups within the speech community before going to IIT Madras. This is why no question about the informants' hostel was included in the personal questions. In the third questionnaire, I included the place of residence in the personal information part, but it would have been much more relevant in Questionnaire I and II, if I had been able to relate certain vocabulary to a certain hostel.

3.2.2 *Questionnaire I*

The first questionnaire (see Appendix 9.3) concentrated on proper names and their associations. Proper names are not directly part of the slang, but they are definitely part of the in-group language on IITM campus and may be the source for new slang expressions. This is why I included regional names, words related to the hostel names, IITM specific acronyms and clippings in Questionnaire I. Special emphasis was put on the associations with or connotations of certain names or, in fact, certain groups of people.

Questionnaire I was hand out to 15 students of various subjects, degrees and years of study and returned by 9 of them. The evaluation will follow in section 4.1.1.

3.2.3 Questionnaire II

The second questionnaire focussed on the meaning and use of a list of 93 possible slang expressions in alphabetical order. This list was compiled from:

- a list of slang expressions published on the internet by Amit Shukla in 1995¹
- terms taken from the November 2002 issue of *The Fourth Estate*²
- four chat conversations (see Appendix 9.2) and
- personal email and chat correspondence with IITM students.

The informants were asked to give the meaning of the slang expressions on the list as well as one or more example sentences containing the terms. Furthermore, they were asked whether the term comes from an Indian language and if yes from which one. For those expressions they had not come across at all, they were supposed to tick that they had never heard the term.

Questionnaire II was handed out to 25 students and returned by 18 of them. Again I tried to ensure that students from a range of different degrees and years of study filled it in. The decision to keep the sample size small was mainly based on the length of the list and the amount of data that would have to be managed. The evaluation of Questionnaire II can be found in section 4.1.2.

Of course, I found many slang expressions only during my stay at IIT Madras. To receive information about these expressions as well as about terms on web pages which I found only after returning from IIT Madras, I compiled another list which I sent to some contacts in IIT Madras in an informal email. 4 students replied and provided information about some of the terms. A few of these expressions for which I had a reasonable amount of data were included in the full word list in Appendix 9.6.

¹ Shukla, Amit. "The B.Tech batch of '94: Some IITM Slang." *IITM – ug90 Home Page*. Last modified: March 23, 1995. Last accessed: September 08, 2005
<<http://www.cs.wisc.edu/~samit/iitm.html>>.

² [ed.] Narayanan, Ajit/Rahul Pratap M./Vipluv Aga (2002). *The Fourth Estate*. November 2002 (Vol. 3 No. 1). Chennai: Campus Press IIT Madras,
<<http://www.iitmadr.org/news/pubs/2002/fourth/nov/estate0301.pdf>>.

3.2.4 Questionnaire III

While the first two questionnaires concentrated on the slang expressions themselves, the third questionnaire (see Appendix 9.5) focussed on when and why slang is used and whether the students think that there is a relation between the slang they speak and a possible group-specific identity among the students at IIT Madras. Dr. Devaki Reddy, an assistant professor at the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences at IIT Madras, suggested to me when I was in Chennai that it would be interesting not only to investigate the slang terms themselves, but also to find out why the students use the slang. Furthermore, various professors expressed to me that they have repeatedly experienced use of slang in class room presentations, papers and even exams. This is why the dimension of when the slang terms are used and with whom became the second subject of enquiry in Questionnaire III. Lastly, I wanted to find out whether the students themselves feel – as I did when I was in IIT Madras – that there is a strong student identity in IITM and that this identity is connected to the slang in some way.

After a personal information part similar to the ones in the other questionnaires, the second part of the questionnaire contained questions about when the slang is used. Firstly, I wanted to find out whether the informants use slang at all and in which languages and how often they use slang. Since personal perception is sometimes highly subjective and potentially wrong, I decided to include a friend's opinion about the frequency of slang use in the informants, too. Moreover, they were asked with whom they use slang and in which text types they do so or have seen others do so and which register of language slang belongs to in their opinion.

The third part of the questionnaire concentrated on the reasons why slang is used and whether there is an IITM student identity and, if so, how important IITM slang is for providing and supporting this identity. Regarding the list of reasons for slang use, I decided to use David Crystal's list of functions of slang as a basis. In his *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, Crystal enumerates the following 15 functions of slang:

- for the fun of it
 - as an exercise in wit or ingenuity
 - to be different
 - to be picturesque
 - to be arresting
 - to escape from clichés
 - to enrich the language
 - to add concreteness to speech
 - to reduce seriousness
 - to be colloquial
 - for ease of interaction
 - to induce intimacy
 - to show that one belongs
 - to exclude others
 - to be secret
- (1997: 53)

This list is taken from Partridge, partly directly and partly as paraphrases. However, this list possesses one major flaw: some of the functions overlap. This is why it was difficult to use the list as it was for my questionnaire because it might confuse the informants and a reasonable evaluation of the data would be impossible. Consequently, I used a shortened list of functions which I sorted into four main categories and in which I tried to avoid overlaps.

Finally, I included the opinion of the students on a controversial issue in the questionnaire. This I did mainly due to the problems in my tape-recorded interviews which I will describe in paragraph 3.3.

Questionnaire III was designed after I returned from IIT Madras. I sent it to a number of friends in IIT Madras from various degrees and asked them to send it on to some of their friends in turn. Furthermore, I published a message in the IIT Madras community in *orkut*¹ with a link to the questionnaire which I made available on the internet. Due to the small amount of initial responses, I also published it in the communities for the different IITM hostel in *orkut*. Eventually, I received 34 filled-in questionnaires, out of which I used 33 in my evaluation. One had to be taken out because the personal information part was not filled in at all and I was unable to find out who had sent it to me. The evaluation of Questionnaire III can be found in section 4.1.3.

¹ Orkut is an online community which has further sub-communities, e.g. the IIT Madras community. This sub-community has 2040 members (figure from Sept 30, 2005). Source: *orkut*. Last accessed: Sept 30, 2005 <<http://www.orkut.com>>.

3.3 Interviews

When I was in IITM, I also decided to conduct and tape-record two interviews to obtain some spoken data of the student slang which I could use to support and enhance the example data which I received from Questionnaire I and II. I wanted to investigate the use of slang expressions in the context of an entire conversation, because the brief example sentences from the questionnaires were entirely out of context and therefore it was sometimes difficult to deduce the correct meaning of a slang expressions from the examples.

The interview questions focussed on the student life in IIT Madras: academics, the student community, everyday life at IITM, the mess food and free-time activities. These topics were chosen because in many conversations with various students, these topics often triggered the use of IITM slang.

The two interviewees I chose had a good knowledge in English and had been at IIT Madras at least two years. Furthermore, I chose students who had communicated with me at a casual level and also used slang with me before. I knew they were at ease when talking to me and never spoke to me as they would to a teacher, which I was for most of my friends in IIT Madras. They were informed that I would interview them briefly about student life at IIT Madras, but they also knew about my research about IIT Madras slang.

Unfortunately, the interviewees' language was strongly influenced by the interview situation. Chambers and Trudgill write in their book *Dialectology* that

One plausible explanation focuses on the fact that whenever there is class differentiation in a linguistic variable, it is the variant used by the higher classes that is ascribed more status or prestige than the other variants. As a result, in situations in which attention is directed towards speech, speakers of all classes will tend to increase their use of the higher status variants. Stylistic variation, by this explanation, is a direct result of social class variation. Differences in social class give rise to the assigning of value judgements to particular linguistic variants, and formal situations lead to a greater use of the highly valued pronunciations. (Chambers 1993: 82)

Since both of the interviewees spoke English fluently, they could easily switch to a more formal register which they found more appropriate for a tape-recorded interview. It was a matter of *overt prestige*¹ which influenced their use or rather caused the lack of use of slang expressions in the interview. William Labov

¹ The influence and importance of *prestige* will be taken up in section 4.1.3 again.

introduces this problem in data collection as *observer's paradox*, which he described as the problem of observing how people speak when they are not being observed (1977: 256). In his book *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*, Labov writes:

Here is the paradox which we sensed: the formal interview itself defines a speech context in which only one speaking style normally occurs, what we may call *careful speech*. The bulk of informant's speech production at other times may be quite different. He may use careful speech in many others contexts, but on most occasions he will be paying much less attention to his own speech, and employ a more relaxed style which we may call *casual speech*. (1982: 60-61)

Partly for this reason and partly because the tape-recording of the first interview was almost fully unintelligible, transcriptions and full evaluation of the interviews is not done in this thesis. However, a few example sentences in the full word list and in chapter 5 have been taken from one of the interviews.

3.4 Restriction to the IITM student community

One very essential dimension has been left out so far, namely whether the use of the investigated expressions used frequently at IIT Madras is restricted to the IITM speech community or whether they are well-known among young people all over Chennai, in all the IITs or maybe even all over India.

This thesis cannot cover this dimension completely, as it requires detailed and thorough research outside IIT Madras. However, I decided to research all the slang expressions in a selection of texts from the International Corpus of English India (ICE India)¹. The texts were selected according to age. All files from informants between the age of 10 to 30 were included. These 106 texts contained 98 spoken texts (most of them direct conversations or phone calls) and 8 written texts. There were no results for any of the terms with the meanings as they are used in IIT Madras, except a high frequency of the phrase “are there” instead of the reverse word order “there are” which will play a role in section 5.1.8. However, from correspondence with students from IIT Bombay² and IIT Kanpur, it became evident to me that some of the slang expressions used in IITM are also used in other IITs.

¹ The ICE India is a collection of 500 written and spoken English texts from speakers of all major Indian languages.

² There is also a web page with an extensive list of slang expressions from IIT Bombay: Mahajan, Uday. *IITB Slang*. Last updated: Nov 15, 2003. Last accessed: Sept 17, 2005 <<http://members.tripod.com/uday-m/slang.html>>.

This shows that there might be a partially common in-group language across all the IITs and that the slang in IIT Madras might itself be the slang of only a subgroup within the bigger group of IITians all over India. Nevertheless, further research would be needed to prove this hypothesis.

3.5 My personal influence as researcher

In section 3.3, my influence as a researcher has been described in some detail already. I was a teacher for most of the students I met in IIT Madras. This is one of the reasons which influenced the tape-recorded interviews as well as the data that I received from the questionnaires, especially from Questionnaire I and II. I was part of their age group but I was a person they would normally address with “Mam”. Furthermore, I was female and a foreigner. For all these reasons I was only a very peripheral member of the student community. Of course, I tried to mingle with the students at an informal level as much as possible, but the above factors certainly influenced the questionnaire data, mostly with respect to highly delicate slang expressions.

A look at one of the acronyms, for instance, from Questionnaire I will give some insight. The acronym *KLPD* stands for the Hindi phrase *Khade land pe danda* which in English translates as “being hit on an erected penis”, a metaphorical expression which means that ‘a girl turns a guy down’¹. Only three of the 9 informants filled in an explanation for that acronym. However, from personal conversation with some of the informants, it became clear to me that probably all the students knew this acronym and its meaning, but they did not want to give such delicate information to their female teacher.

¹ The German equivalent would be “jemandem einen Korb geben”.

4 EVALUATION OF RESULTS

4.1 Evaluation of the questionnaires

4.1.1 *Evaluation of Questionnaire I*

Questionnaire I was filled in by 9 male students between 20 to 24 years of age. 3 of them were B.Tech. students, 4 of them M.S. students, there was also 1 M.Tech. student and 1 Ph.D. student. One 22 year old B.Tech. student had lived in Zambia for 20 years of his life, but contrary to the expectation that he might not be too familiar with the expressions, he proved the exact opposite. He even filled in terms which none of the other students knew. Only one of the students did not attend an English medium school and said that he only spoke English satisfactorily. He was the one who could provide the smallest amount of data. Yet, another reason for that might be the fact that he was a M.S. student. As will be shown in section 4.1.2, M.S. students seem to know a smaller amount of slang in general.

Regarding the abbreviations of the hostel names, the informants mostly seemed to agree on one abbreviated form or none at all. For example, Cauvery, Ganga and Krishna hostel do not have shortened names. The reason for this is simple, these names only have two or three syllables. The shortened forms of the other hostels will be dealt with in detail in section 5.1.3, in which the words for the residents of the hostels will be explained, too. The answers for the latter were usually limited to 1 to 3 responses out of 9. A possible reason for this may be the lack of interaction with people from (certain) other hostels. Since the personal information part underestimated the relevance of the hostel the informant lives in, it is impossible to make a clear statement about that. Hardly any example sentences or associations with the residents were given by the informants.

The responses in the section about regional names were more fruitful, although there were again hardly any answers regarding connotations. The names for people from certain regions will be explained in detail in section 5.2.3. There is no agreement on whether the names are positive, neutral, negative or even derogatory. A bigger sample size would be needed to statistically analyse the responses and make a valid statement. Especially the term *Gult* for a person from Andhra Pradesh seems to be very controversial, as 2 students claimed that it is positive, 3 students said it is

neutral (two of them definitely from Andhra Pradesh themselves), 1 called it negative and 1 even found it derogatory. A closer look at this term will be taken in paragraph 5.1.1.

The name-related acronyms and clippings were mostly well-known to the students. The most common acronyms and clippings on the list were

<i>CAT:</i>	Common Aptitude Test
<i>CGPA:</i>	Cumulative Grade Point Average
<i>DD:</i>	Demand Draft
<i>GD:</i>	Group Discussion
<i>HSB:</i>	Humanities and Sciences Block
<i>OAT:</i>	Open Air Theatre
<i>RG:</i>	Relative Grading
<i>SAC:</i>	Students Activity Centre
<i>TT:</i>	Table Tennis
<i>Coord:</i>	Coordinator
<i>Lit Sec:</i>	Literary Secretary.

Some of the acronyms will be explained further in section 5.1.3. The responses about the frequency of use of the acronyms and clippings varied greatly. For example the term *Moon Lab*, which stands for an internet café closed in 2004, should have gone out of use entirely after being closed, but only 1 informant – out of 4 who knew the term – said it is never used. The other 3 replied that it is used sometimes, often and even very often. Again this problem of agreement on the frequency of use can be blamed on the limitation of the sample size.

4.1.2 *Evaluation of Questionnaire II*

Since Questionnaire II mainly served the purpose of specifying the meaning of a list of 93 possible slang expressions and finding examples for how these expressions are used in full sentences, I will avoid going into detail about all the single expressions on the list. Explanations about all the slang expressions I have found and had enough data on can be found in Appendix 9.6, which contains a full word list and lexicographic entries about the terms. Furthermore, chapter 5 classifies the slang terms in two different ways and gives numerous example sentences for expressions widely used in IIT Madras. For exact details about the answers of single informants, I have included an Excel file called *Questionnaire02.xls* in the folder “Questionnaire Results” on the CDROM which accompanies this thesis. Some expressions from the list on the questionnaire have been taken out because only one or two, sometimes none the informants, provided explanations about them or the

informants agreed that these expressions are not part of IITM slang. However, the Excel file mentioned contains the data for all the expressions originally on the list. Although a full evaluation of all the single terms cannot be done here, the number of answers given by the informants and parts of the personal information sections shall be compared with one another.

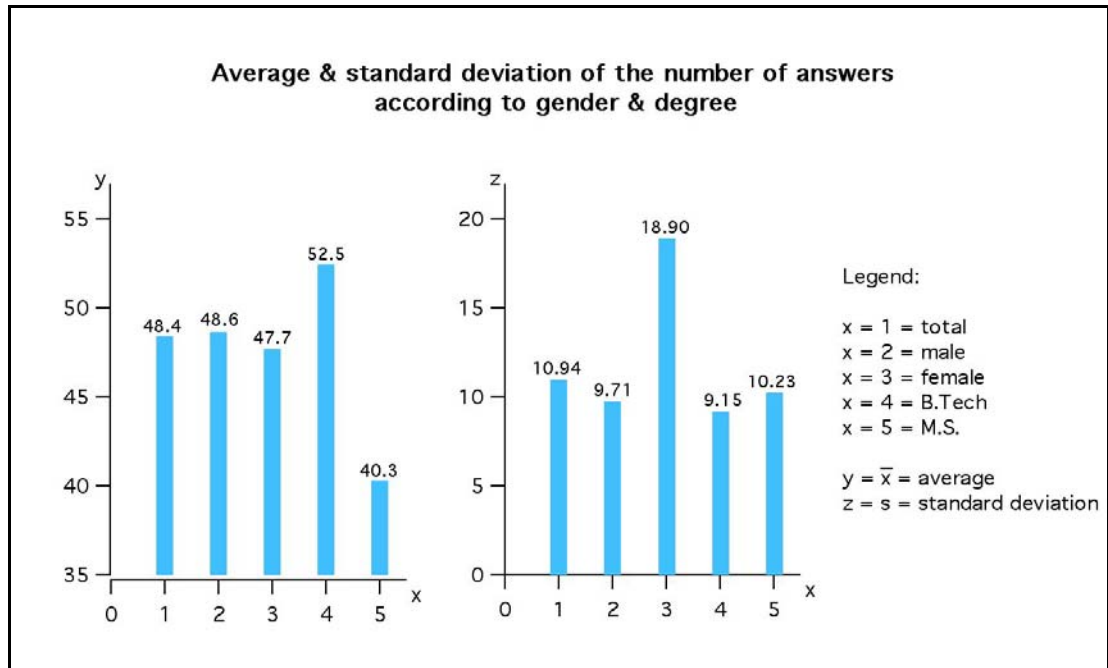


Figure 3: Average & standard deviation of the number of answers in Questionnaire II according to gender & degree

The graph above shows the average number of answers (y-axis) and the standard deviation of the number of answers (z-axis) in relation to the gender of the informants and their aspired degree (x-axes). The arithmetic mean is calculated using

the formula $\bar{x} = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n x_i$ and the standard deviation using the formula

$$s = \sqrt{\frac{1}{n-1} \sum_{i=1}^n (x_i - \bar{x})^2} .$$

The average number of answers of the 18 informants was 48.4 answers out of 93 possible answers¹. The minimum amount of answers of only 24 was given by a male informant aspiring to an M.S. degree. The highest number of answers of 69 was

¹ The number of answers was counted disregarding the content of the answers. So some answers may have been counted although they were wild guesses rather than helpful for finding the meaning of the words.

provided by a female B.Tech. student. The standard deviation of the number of answers of all the informants was 10.94.

Language and gender plays a big role in sociolinguistics and it is commonly accepted that women tend to use more standardized language than men. Therefore, it was expected that the female informants would know fewer slang expressions than the male informants. A look at the arithmetic average of the number of answers shows two very close values. Male informants gave 48.6 answers on average, female informants 47.7. However, the standard deviation of the number of answers of the female informants (18.90) is much higher than the one of the male informants (9.71). This shows that the arithmetic mean for the number of answers of the female informants is not reliable. Due to the fact that there were only 3 female informants and 15 male ones, one particularly high value among the female informants has a much higher impact on the standard deviation on the female side. For making a clear statement on whether the female students really know less slang than the male students, a bigger sample size would be necessary. In the evaluation of Questionnaire III, this issue will be picked up again briefly.

Despite the fact that there are more graduate students than undergraduate students, it was expected that graduate students know fewer slang expressions because they neither attend as many courses as undergraduates or get involved in the planning of the two big campus festivals nor do they stay in IITM for as long as B.Tech. students do, and they are older, which might be a factor implying more maturity and a smaller desire to impress fellow students by their language use. 6 out of the 18 informants who filled in Questionnaire II were M.S. students. All the other informants were B.Tech. students. While the averages for the male and female students showed fairly close values, the difference between undergraduate and graduate students is very clear. The average number of answers given the B.Tech. students was 52.5 out of 93 and the average for the M.S. students was 40.3. Since the standard deviations for both values are 9.15 and 10.23 respectively, the averages are directly comparable, although the size of the sample is still too small to be fully reliable. Yet, these two averages show an expected trend. Furthermore, personal communication with Ph.D. students proved that they seem to know even less slang than M.S. students.

Questionnaire II proved the short life-span of slang expressions. Some of the terms found on Amit Shukla's web page were no longer known to any of the informants, although they must have been common in 1995 when the web page was last updated. For instance the term *Sambar* was only described as the typical South Indian dish by

the informants, but not as a resident of Tamil Nadu as on Shukla's web page. This term has either died out or is not used frequently anymore. To give another example, only one informant knew the verb *to goodal* for doing something illegal. These examples clearly prove the ephemerality of slang expressions.

4.1.3 Evaluation of Questionnaire III

As has been mentioned in section 3.2.4, Questionnaire III concentrated on when and why slang is used in IIT Madras. 33 filled-in questionnaires have been included in this evaluation. 4 of the informants were female (12.1%) and 29 of them were male (87.9%). The youngest informant was 18, the oldest one 31. The average age (excluding the highest and lowest value) was 21.9 years. 12 of the informants (36.4%) had already passed out of IITM at the time when they filled in the questionnaire. Since the questionnaire was not about the slang terms and their use, but about when and why the students use – or used – the slang, I decided to include also the responses of those informants who had already graduated from IIT Madras because they all graduated in the past four years and I assumed that they are still able to remember their time in IIT Madras well. Out of the other 21 informants who were still students at IIT Madras when filling in the questionnaire (63.6%), the average year at IITM was 3.6 years. 23 of the informants aspire(d) to a B.Tech. (69.7%), 7 a Dual Degree (21.2%), 2 an M.S. (6.1%) and 1 a Ph.D. (3%). The informants came from 11 different hostels¹; only one informant did not stay in the student hostels, but in the (staff) quarters on campus. The mother tongues of the informants were Hindi (9), Kannada (4), Konkani (1), Malayalam (2), Marathi (1), Tamil (7) and Telugu (9). On average, the informants spoke 2.7 other languages besides their mother tongue. 10 of the informants (30.3%) have been abroad, but 2 of them definitely after passing out of IIT Madras. Some did not specify a year, so it is not possible to reconstruct whether they went abroad only after their graduation or not.

When asked about whether they use slang at all, 32 out of 33 informants said that they do. 1 person said that she uses slang only “sometimes”. This shows that either slang is spoken by almost everybody in IITM or that only those who use slang or associate with the slang have filled in the questionnaire. I know of one person who said that he is “tryin to be through with these lingos”, so he thought he could not help my research at all. Email and messenger communication with that person has,

¹ Cauvery & Tapti: 1 each, Alakananda & Sarayu: 2, Ganga, Jamuna, Narmada, Saraswati & Sharavati: 3 each, Godavari: 4, Mandakini: 8.

however, proven that even he is using IITM slang sporadically which would support the first theory that almost every student speaks slang at IITM.

The diagram below shows in which languages slang is used. All of those who use slang, definitely use it in English. 19 informants use it in Hindi and 11 in Tamil although their mother tongue is not Hindi or Tamil respectively.

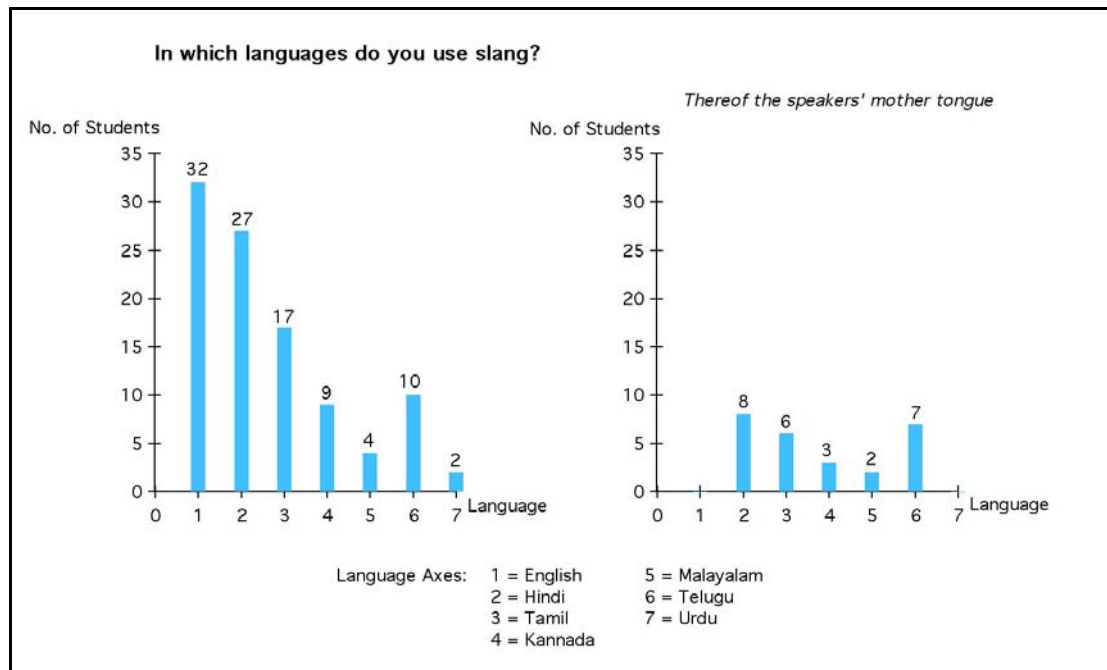


Figure 4: Slang use according to languages

The figure above does not show that 2 of the 9 native speakers of Telugu do not use slang in their mother tongue. Possible reasons for this phenomenon will be given in section 5.1.2.

Figure 5 shows the frequency of the informants' slang use according to their own opinion and according to their best friend's opinion. In their own opinion, 6 of the informants admitted to use slang in almost every sentence. However, 9 friends of informants said that the informant uses slang in every sentence. This shows that a person himself or herself is not necessarily aware of how he or she speaks. However, different people also have different views about what is frequent and what is very frequent. But since I gave a relatively clear scale by not just saying frequent, sometimes, rarely or never, but explaining what I as the researcher understand as frequent, etc., subjectivity in this respect can be ruled out to a great extent.

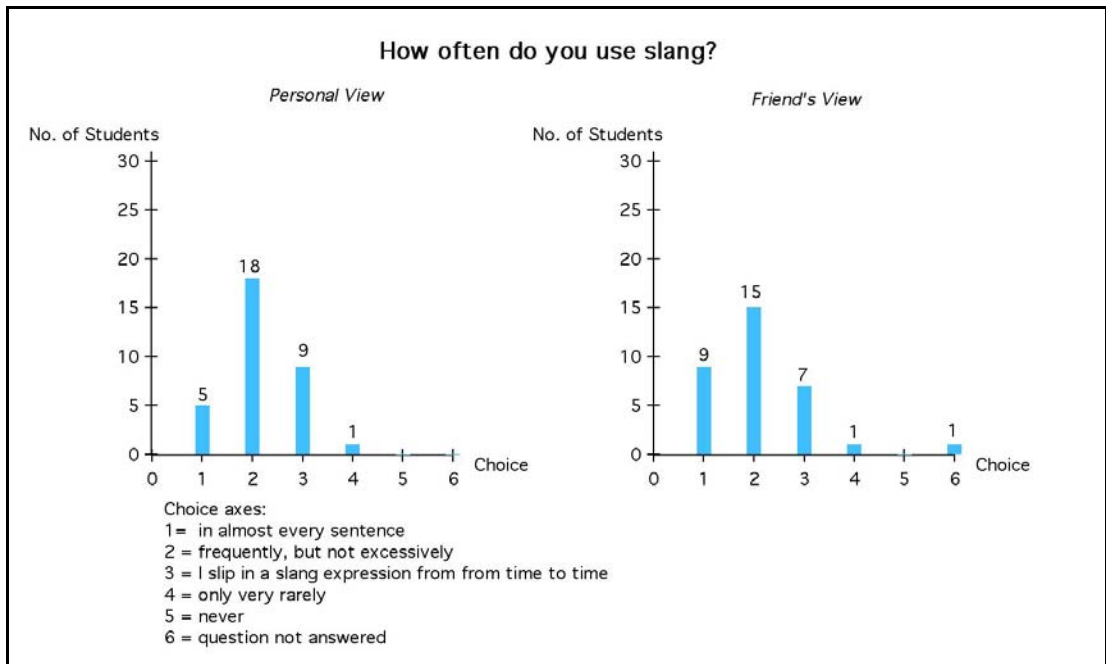


Figure 5: Frequency of the use of slang

All the answers are almost normally distributed around the maximum of the choice “frequently, but not excessively”. This maximum can be interpreted as a statement that slang is used frequently among IITM students and that it maybe goes so far as to become a general part of the students vocabulary, which is difficult to avoid in formal situations. Maybe this will become clearer later in the evaluation of this questionnaire.

As shown in Figure 6, a majority of students use slang either with all their friends both inside and outside IIT Madras, with everybody inside IITM except professors and teachers, or with IITM students only. A possible problem with these data is that some informants might not have seen the difference between point 3 and 4 when responding to the questionnaire quickly, because they maybe misunderstood that point 3 includes non-academic staff. However, this difference is probably not very significant for the students as only academic staff seem to be considered as superior, while non-academic staff are often overlooked entirely.

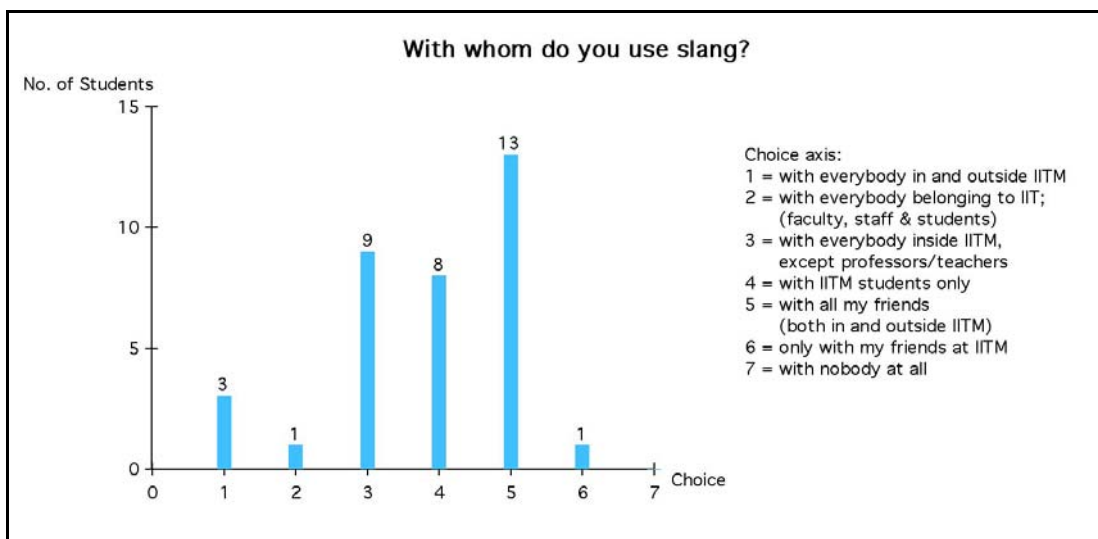


Figure 6: With whom the students use slang

It is interesting that altogether 16 out of 33 informants said that they use slang also with people outside IIT Madras. They might be referring to colloquial language in general here, but it is more probable that they use the slang outside IIT Madras to show that they are students from IIT Madras, which will earn the respect or even envy from people outside. This will be considered again when discussing why the students use slang.

The next two questions in the questionnaire dealt with the different text types in which slang is used. As has been mentioned in section 3.2.4, IITM professors have expressed that the students use slang not only amongst themselves but also in classroom situations. According to almost all the informants use slang in spoken language, in chat and messenger and in emails to friends, some of them in any email, and some also in private letters. The number of people who use it in private letters might be so small because hardly anybody writes letters anymore in the age of email and messenger. As shown in Figure 7, only 1 informant admitted that he also uses slang in presentations in class. In contrast to this, when asked in which types of communication they have heard or seen their fellow students use slang, 16 informants stated that fellow students use slang in presentations in class. Some even read it in papers (2) and exams (3).

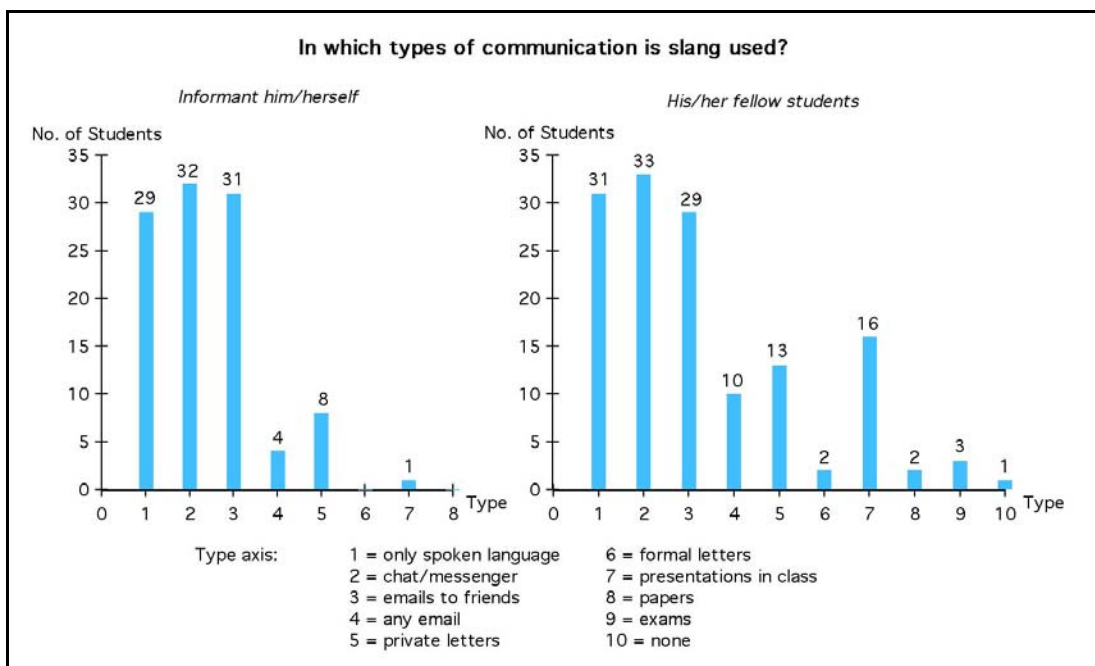


Figure 7: Use of slang according to text types

This clearly proves that the professors I spoke to experienced not only a few exceptional cases, but a general tendency. This tendency can be explained by the fact that English is the medium of instruction at IIT Madras but the mother tongue or primary language of only a very small minority of the students and not all students have been educated at English medium schools before entering IITM. The English they hear on campus every day from their friends is full of slang expressions and this is probably the only English they are able to use at all. This will be addressed again later in this evaluation.

The informants seem to agree that slang belongs to the informal or colloquial register of language. According to the data in Figure 8, 25 informants said it is informal, 13 stated it is colloquial. Out of these, 6 informants could not decide between informal and colloquial and simply ticked both answers. A possible problem here was that the informants did not see any difference between informal and colloquial, although in my opinion the possible answers were – if literary and poetic are taken out – a continuum from very formal to very derogatory and none of them overlapped. Talking to a professor at a party might be an informal conversation, but still the students would not use colloquial expressions in the conversation, as they regard them as inappropriate for discourse with their professor. However, I should have made the difference between the two clearer to the informants.

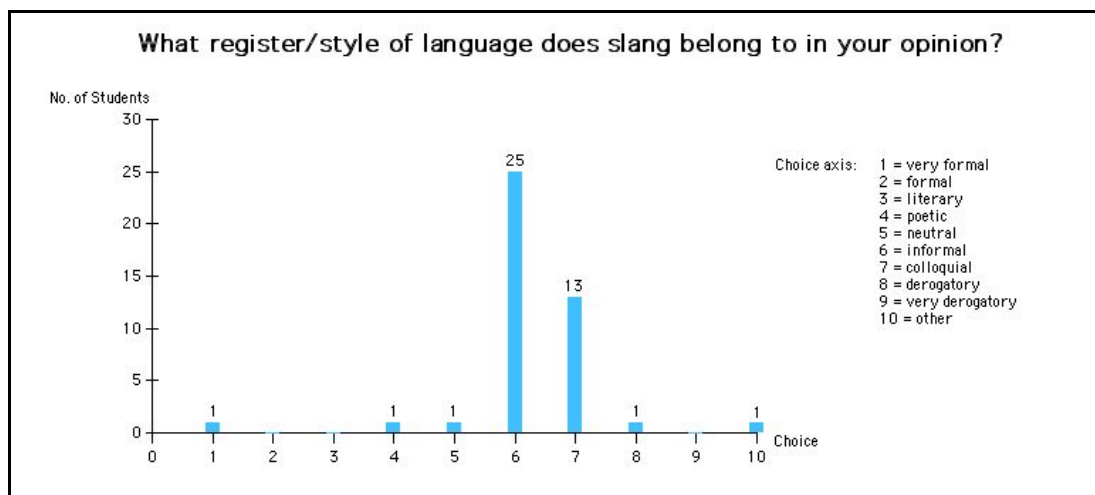


Figure 8: The register of slang

The figure above also shows that some informants classified slang as literary or poetic. This becomes reasonable when the functions of slang according to Crystal and Partridge are taken into account (see below). One student even considered slang derogatory.

Figure 9 displays the answers for why the informants use slang and why they think their fellow students use slang. The chart shows that to some extent slang is used for all the functions listed in my answer options. Nevertheless, some choices were given priority over others. These shall be discussed here in further detail.

The first choice, saying that slang is used for the fun of it, received the highest quantum of agreement. 21 out of 33 informants said that they and others are using slang because it is fun. From what I have experienced myself when I came to IITM and started learning how to use the slang myself, it soon became a habit of mine to use the slang with my friends there and even with my friends in Germany for mere enjoyment.

The main point “to change the situation towards informality” and its sub-point “to be informal/colloquial” were the choices with the second highest agreement. When a person uses slang, the entire situation becomes informal or even colloquial depending on the quantity and quality of slang use. Of course, among fellow students slang use is almost necessary or unavoidable if the person does not want to be ridiculed for speaking too formally. The choice “to reduce seriousness” was also seen as sub-point to changing the situation towards informality and it was regarded as important by 15 students when asked about their own reasons why they use slang and by 13 with regards to other people’s reasons for slang use.

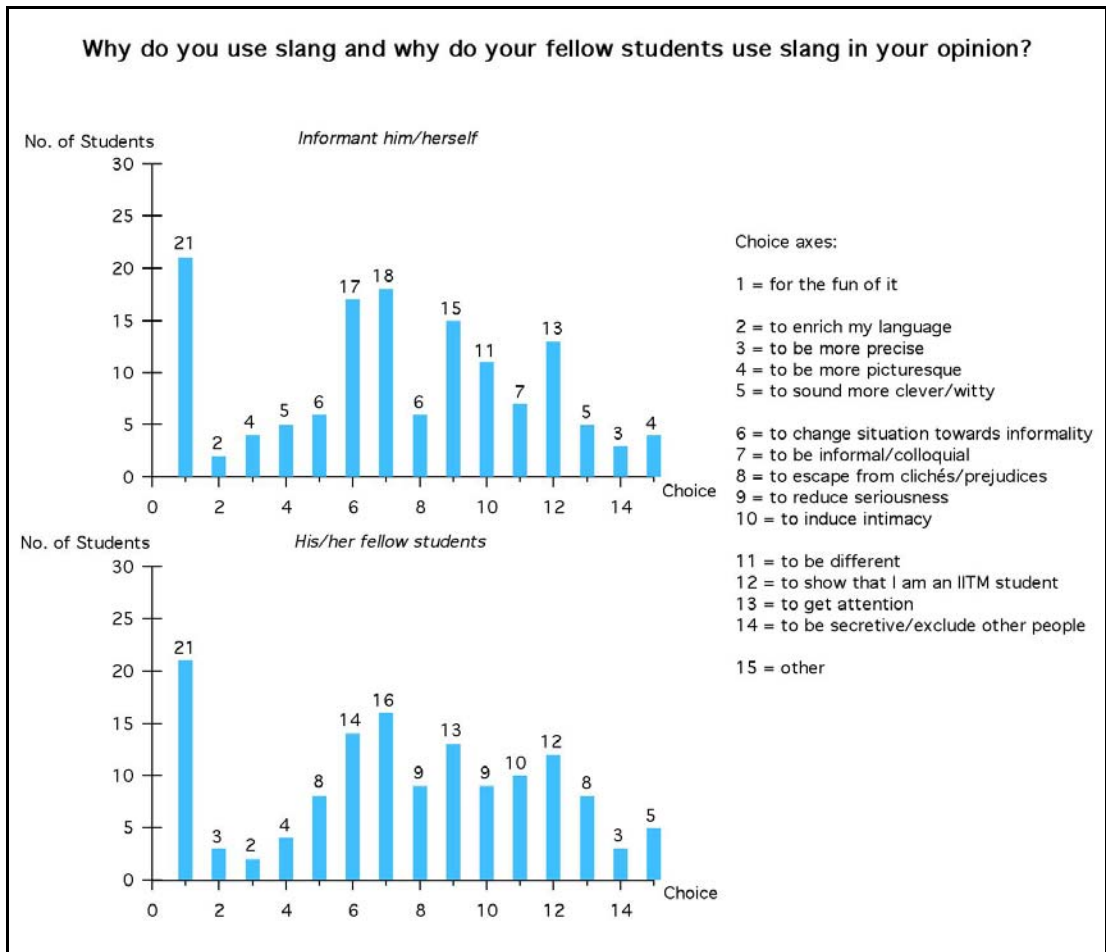


Figure 9: Reasons for the use of slang

Furthermore, it is interesting that more than one third of the informants replied that they and/or their fellow students use slang to show that they are IITM students. On the one hand, this shows that the students feel proud of studying at IITM. This pride is understandable due to the fact that only very few students from all over India are accepted into IITs. On the other hand, it shows that there must be something like an IITM specific identity which the students feel and want to be part of.

Figure 10 shows the distribution of responses for the questions whether there is an IITM specific identity among the students and if yes, how important the slang is in providing and supporting this IITM specific student identity. 30 out of 33 informants (90,9%) agreed that there is an IITM specific student identity. Only 1 student answered that there is no such identity, and 2 said that they do not know whether such an identity exists. Out of these 30 informants with positive responses, 8 said that the slang is very important in providing and supporting this IITM specific student identity. 14 said slang is fairly important for this, 7 considered it not very important, and 1 stated that it is not important at all. If the first two points are added

up, two thirds of the informants agreed that IITM slang plays an important or even very important role for this IITM specific identity among the students. This clearly proves that the language the students use is a marker of their social identity or group identity.

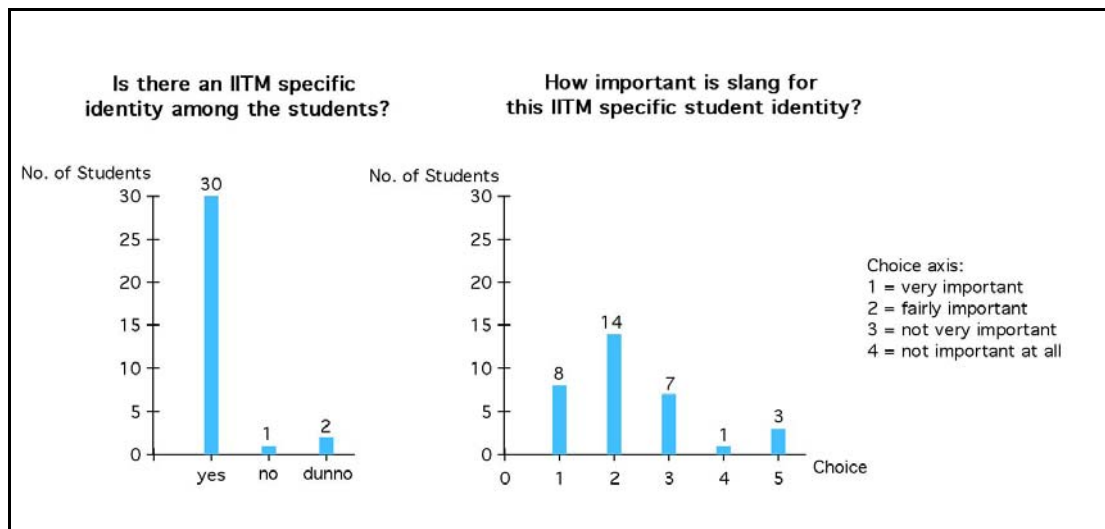


Figure 10: The importance of slang for IITM student identity

This leads to another – possibly very important – point which has been neglected in the questionnaire. One informant ticked “other” for the question why people use slang in IIT Madras and as an explanation he added that it is the “poor vocabulary” of some of the students that makes them use the slang. This has already been hinted at earlier in this section and Ankit Singhvi, a 3rd year student of Mechanical Engineering at IIT Madras, combined the matter of poor vocabulary with the issue of group identity in a personal email to me saying

Now we all came to IIT from ALL OVER INDIA writing an exam in english. Now we must talk in english ,if i wish to befriend someone with different mother tounge,something we never did before.So the freshie tries to talk in english and finds his fellow students making fun of his accent and grammer.Regional groups are formed who talk in their own mother tounge. But one needs to interact in mess , in classes and playground. so why not speak something friends wont make fun of ,since everyone will be speaking it.So life becomes lot more easier and a person gives more priority to lingo over english. First he speaks english with lingos embeded in them.With time the lingos find eminent place in their mothertounge too. Even the person with good english starts using them as he is in the group and needs the lingo to communicate in "common language".

conclusion : a person with bad english and grammer but good lingo usage is respected in the college . He cant raise doubts in the class as people will laugh at his improper accent ,grammer ,vocabulary(as profs have nothing to do with lingos and he must ask his questions in pure english) .believe me i have friends

who are very very confident , but cant say a line on a leaf of tree ,their confidence fades away when they meet an outsider .Though in the campus they are GOD's. (email correspondence from August 30, 2005)

This quotation makes clear that every student wants to belong to the student community and one way to show that they belong to the group is by speaking like the rest of the group. Due to their “poor” English some of the students are not able to change their register of language according to the level of formality of the situation, and therefore they use slang in classroom situations, presentations, paper and even exams; they simply cannot speak a more standardized or more neutral English.

The final question in Questionnaire III was misunderstood by a high proportion of the informants. Instead of writing their own opinion on the *orkut* posting from July 14, 2005 concerning a new *DD* (Demand Draft), the informants analysed the posting linguistically and most of them rightly stated that there is hardly any slang used in it. However, it was highly informal and as responses to this posting in *orkut* show it can trigger a high amount of slang in a response to it. For those who understood the question correctly and gave their opinion about the new *DD*, the *observer's paradox* seems to play a role again because they hardly used any slang expressions in their answer sentences. All the questions before must have sensitized the informants and increased their language awareness so much that they avoided slang use consciously or unconsciously.

5 FINDING PATTERNS

The slang terms can be classified with respect to two major criteria. On the one hand, a classification according to the etymological origin of the term or the applied word formation process can be carried out. On the other hand, a taxonomic classification is possible which provides information about the situational context of the use of the slang expressions. The classification I will provide in the following sections is partly based on ideas brought up in the article “Student Slang from Benin, Nigeria” written by V.U. Longe. In this article, Longe enumerates four possible origins of slang:

- words derived from standard words but giving new meanings to these [...]
 - words which are new formal creations [...]
 - words derived from local languages [...]
 - words of obscure linguistic background but with a local linguistic sound [...]
- (1999: 246)

Longe also refers to Willis and Brooks¹ when he enumerates certain situations which foster slang production like sex, drugs, and drunkenness for instance (1999: 248). Bearing these ideas in mind, I analysed the slang expressions which I had found, and tried to categorize them according to the two types of classification below.

5.1 Classification according to etymological origin and applied word formation patterns

5.1.1 Borrowings

Borrowings are words taken from other languages, often to express a concept that cannot be expressed by the standard vocabulary of the language it is absorbed into. For example, the word *bungalow* has been borrowed from Gujarati because such a type of house did not exist in Britain, hence no word existed for it. In the context of IITM slang, however, the reasons for borrowings might not be the need for a new expression. The multilingual context, frequent code mixing and secretiveness can be seen as factors which promote the use of borrowings in the slang.

¹ Willis, Hulon. *Introduction to Language Study*. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1970.; Brook, George L. *Varieties of English*. London: Macmillan, 1973.

There are two general kinds of borrowings in IITM slang. On the one hand, there are borrowings from Indian languages. On the other hand, there are borrowings from other *slangs*.

The word *junta* is an example for borrowings from Indian languages. The mass noun *junta* is borrowed from the feminine plural noun meaning “people” in Hindi. In IITM slang, it is often used as a form of address to the students. Sentences like “Junta, pls assemble in mess.” or “Junta plz put enthu.” are common on hostel notice boards or other written or spoken announcements. However, the use of the word *junta* is not restricted to direct forms of address as the example sentences “I dont have enough chances of meeting senior junta.” and “Can’t talk now, lab junta around.” show. Although the term is frequently used to refer only to students, not professors, it does not necessarily mean “students”. The sentence “The junta at cafeteria are chatting.” makes this clear. The cafeteria is called Nandhinee and is not only visited by students. On the contrary teachers and professors, especially those who do not live on campus, often have lunch there.

Another borrowing from Hindi is the word *hajjar* (or Urdu *hazaar*). In Hindi, this word is a numeral and it means exactly “one thousand”. In IITM slang, however, the borrowing has undergone a semantic change. In the sentence “There were hazaar mosquitoes.”, *hazaar* might refer to exactly one thousand of those little insects, but since nobody would make the effort and really count them, the most suitable English translation for the meaning of the word in this context would be “thousands of”. This translation can be applied to countable nouns in English. However, the word *hajjar* is also used with uncountable collocates, for example in the sentences “I put hazzar enthu.”, “I had hajjaar fun.” and “I had hazzar time.” In these sentences, the equivalent English adjective would be “a lot of” or “much”. Furthermore, *hajjar* is also used as an adverb of frequency, for instance in “He cribbed hajjar after [he] lost his watch.”

Of course, there are not only borrowings from Hindi, but also from the local language Tamil, for example the words *chumma*¹ and *da*. *Chumma* is an adverb meaning “generally”, “simply”, “just like that” in Tamil as well as in the slang. In fact, in both varieties of language it can even be inserted as a filler without carrying any meaning. In the slang, *chumma* is used syntactically like an English adverb as can be seen in the examples “Chumma, we are going out.”, “I was going for a walk,

¹ The word *chumma* also exists as a noun in Hindi meaning “kiss”, but the slang expression is clearly taken from Tamil.

chumma.” and “He chumma pains people.” However, the sentence initial position is most frequently used. The meaning of “just like that” becomes especially clear in the short conversation which one student wrote in Questionnaire II

A: He did not attend classes.

B: Why?

A: Chumma.

The word *da* means “friend” or “buddy” in IITM slang and is usually used at the end of the sentence, for instance in the sentences “I have to go now da.”, “Come here, da.” or “Can you do me a favour da?”. In Tamil *da* seems to be a lexical, bound morpheme which is used as a suffix at the end of the verb. This suffix, for instance in the request “Vaada!” (in English “Come here!”), is a highly informal form of address towards a male person and shows a lack of respect for the addressee. Although the use in the sentence “Come here, da.” suggests that this lack of respect is also prevalent in the IITM slang, examples like “How are you da?” and “What are you doing da?” show that it may still be a very informal form of address, but not necessarily disrespectful because these questions imply a certain care or interest in the addressee. The sentence final position in the slang may be taken from Tamil syntax in which the verb is put at the end of the sentence.

An interesting issue concerning borrowings is that although 60% of all IITM students come from Andhra Pradesh and hence speak Telugu as their mother tongue, there are hardly any slang terms borrowed from Telugu. According to email correspondence with Hemanth Kumar, a 4th year B.Tech student from Andhra Pradesh, this might have the following reasons:

- There is a certain resentment against *Andhraites* and hence against the Telugu language among the rest of the students.
- Students from Andhra Pradesh mainly mingle with other students from their home state. Therefore, they speak their own slang in Telugu in their own speech community.
- The percentage of students from Andhra Pradesh has risen to such a high amount only in recent years and therefore there was no time to bring in much Telugu slang.

The first point is reinforced by an article in the March 2005 issue of the IITM campus magazine *Reflections: looking within*. The article headed “Regionalism in IIT Madras” written by Mihir Mysore not only accuses part of the student community of a certain resentment towards *Andhraines* who are widely referred to as *Gults*¹ but even speaks of racism towards students from Andhra Pradesh. (2005: 7-10)

There are also borrowings from other *slangs*. The term *slangs* is admittedly vague here as a proper definition is missing for what is frequently referred to as e.g. *British slang* or *American slang*. However, since a range of dictionaries seem to agree that these varieties exist, they shall be seen as their own sociolects or varieties of language from which vocabulary can be borrowed.

The borrowings from other slangs have probably entered IITM slang via the mass media, for instance American or British films, books or song lyrics. The word *bog* or most often used in the plural *bogs* comes from British slang and means toilet(s)². In IITM, the students use it to refer to the common bathrooms in the hostels. Moreover, it has possibly acquired an additional meaning or connotation, namely as an acronym standing for “Bathroom of Graduate Students”. This shows that stereotypes are connected with graduate students. Maybe they are seen as outsiders because they do not mingle much with the rest of the students in the hostel.

Another example for borrowings from other slangs is the verb *to crash*. According to *The Oxford Dictionary of Modern Slang*, it means “To sleep, esp. for a single night in an improvised bed; often with *out*” (Ayto 1992: 44) in American slang. In IITM slang, it also means “to sleep” but usually in one’s own bed or on the desk in class and often due to extreme tiredness after a *nightout* (a night spent awake to study or write a paper). The preposition *out* was only used after the verb *to crash* in one example sentence out of 16. The omission of prepositions after the verb has been mentioned as a general feature of Indian English in section 2.2.3 and will be the subject of discussion in section 5.1.8 again.

¹ The term *Gult* seems to be derived from the reverse spelling and pronunciation of the word “Telugu”. *Gult* is used as a noun to refer to a person speaking Telugu or to the language Telugu itself. It is also used as an adjective meaning “relating to Telugu, Andhra Pradesh, its citizens and culture”.

² “privy” (Beale 1989: 47), “Lavatory” (Ayto 1992: 22), “Toilet” (Longman 1998: 131)

5.1.2 Derivations

In IITM slang, numerous expressions can be found which originated from Standard English words and have undergone a common word formation process. New forms are derived from already existing English words, often by zero-derivation in the case of IITM slang.

An example for a zero-derivation is the verb *to bulb* which is derived from the English noun “bulb”, a colloquial way of referring to a light bulb. *To bulb* means “to be in a state of confusion”, although, normally, a light bulb is the symbol for having an idea or understanding something. However, several students have claimed the origin of the meaning of the verb *to bulb* is a problem with analogue starters of tube lights which are frequently used in India. When such a tube light is switched on, the lamp flickers for some time before it will stay on. This flickering can be compared to a state of confusion metaphorically. There is also the noun *bulb* used for a person who *bulbs*. It is not entirely clear whether the noun underwent a semantic change first and then became a verb through zero-derivation or whether the noun *bulb* in the IITM slang meaning was derived from the verb and is hence another zero-derivation. Nevertheless, irrespective from which of the two meanings of the noun *bulb* (the Standard English one or the one in IITM slang) was derived, the verb is a zero-derivation.

Two further examples of a derivation are the verb *to cup* and the related adjective *cuppax*. In IITM slang, *to cup* means “to fail (often: in an exam or a course)”. The origin of the word is the U grade, the lowest grade in the IITM grading system which the student get when they fail. The letter U is shaped like a cup, a vessel that is used for drinking. So *to cup* is a zero-derivation from the English noun “cup”.

There is a superlative of the verb *to cup* which is expressed in the phrase *to cup to the max* (*max* is a clipping of the word “maximum”). This phrase was shortened to form the adjective *cuppax*. This adjective might be seen as a blending which includes an assimilation of the bilabial voiceless plosive /p/ and the bilabial nasal /m/ to a /p/ sound only. However, the suffix *-ax* seems to be a productive derivational morpheme in IITM slang turning a verb into an adjective or forming the superlative of an already existing adjective because besides *cuppax*, there are also the adjectives *painax*, *peacax*, *rodax*¹ and *studdax*.

¹ The verb *to rod* is used synonymously to the verb *to pain* and is according to the euphemistic description of a student possibly derived from “putting a rod in the back part of the abdomen”.

Another derivation in IITM slang replaces an already existing word. Female students are often referred to with the noun *nonmales* by male students. While the conceptual meaning is very clear from the prefix *non-* and the lexeme *male* and the connotative meaning is clearly disrespectful, the reason for the coinage is not entirely clear. From personal communication and posts in forums a dissatisfaction of the male students with the female students can be deduced. This can partly be blamed on the fact that there are so few female students at IIT Madras and partly on problems in socialising with the “fairer sex”. These problems lead to a communication gap and are, in my opinion, caused to a great extent by the way adolescents grow up in India. The youngsters are protected very much by their parents and hardly experience any interaction with the opposite sex in their teenage years.

5.1.3 Shortenings

Of course, derivation is not the only word formation process applied to form new slang expressions. Acronyms, for instance, constitute a high proportion of the IITM slang. Often acronyms are formed to shorten proper names. *OAT* (Open Air Theatre¹), *CLT* (Central Lecture Theatre²), *GC* (Gajendra Circle³, see Figure 11) and *SAC* (Students Activities Centre⁴) are examples for place names shortened to acronyms. These acronyms are found in spoken language, departmental or hostel notices, road signs inside the campus and even on the official IIT Madras homepage. They do not necessarily induce informality. They are mainly for reasons of simplicity or laziness in speaking and writing.

¹ *OAT* is used for screening movies and for Saarang and Shastra events like concerts. Saarang and Shastra are big festivals organized by the students every year in January and October respectively. Saarang is a cultural festival while Shastra is a technical festival. Further information can be found on <<http://www.iitm.ac.in/Student%20Life/Saarang%20%26%20Shastra.html>>.

² The entire complex is referred to as *HSB* (Humanities and Sciences Block) and houses *CLT* as well as several departments, among them the *HSS* Department (Department of Humanities and Social Sciences) and a lot of class rooms of various sizes.

³ *Gaj* is Sanskrit and means “elephant”. *GC* is the landmark of IIT Madras.

⁴ *SAC* can also refer to the Student Affairs Council or the Student Amenities Centres in the hostels.



Figure 11: Gajendra Circle (GC)

An interesting acronym known to both professors and students is *RG*. It stands for “Relative Grading”, the grading system used in IIT Madras. This grading system is often blamed to be unfair by the students. That is probably the reason why the students have derived the verb *to RG* and the noun *RGer* from this acronym. *To RG* means “to get ahead of someone in a mean way”, for example by hiding books in the library or not sharing lecture notes with fellow students. Consequently, an *RGer* is a person who *RGs*. *RGing* is common among IIT Madras students, especially because there is a very high level of competition among students in India and Indian society at large.

There is also a very high number of clippings in IITM slang. The English adjective “arbitrary”, for instance, is shortened to *arbit* as can be seen in the examples “Take an arbit group.”, “That was a very arbit question.” and “The class was totally arbit.” Usually it is used in the Standard English meaning “random”, but sometimes the meaning is rather “vague”. *Arbit* is interesting as it is sometimes shortened even further to *arb*, for example in the sentence “He could not understand the arb question.” *Arbit* and *arb* are used interchangeably.

Especially the long hostel names attract the formation of clippings. All the hostels are named after Indian rivers and these river names are usually polysyllabic words. That is why the hostels Alaknanda, Brahmaputra, Godavari, Jamuna, Mandakini,

Narmada, Saraswati and Sharavati are commonly referred to by their shortened forms *Alak*, *Brahms*, *Godav*, *Jam*, *Mandak*, *Narmad*, *Saras* and *Sharav*. These clippings are then often the basis for names given to the residents of those hostels. The derivational suffix *-ites* is added to form the words *Alakite*, *Brahmite*, *Godavite*, *Mandakite*, *Narmadite*, *Sarasite* and *Sharavite*.

5.1.4 *Semantic changes of English words*

While the above section dealt with English words which have undergone a change in form, this section deals with English words which changed in meaning in the IITM slang. According to the *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*, the verb *to rape*, for instance, means “(especially of a man) to have sex with (someone, especially a woman) against their will.” (1998: 1103) In IITM slang, this verb has adopted another conceptual meaning. In the example sentences “The Prof just raped us.” and “OMG, tomorrow Prof is going to rape me.”, the verb *to rape* stands for “to ask very difficult questions to someone (usually the students)”. This meaning is derived from the Standard English meaning and might at first have been used metaphorically only. The verb itself was also the basis for new word formations like the compound noun *rape session* widely used for quizzes, oral or written exams or the question part following a presentation.

Another verb which has acquired a new denotative meaning is *to cash*. It means “to do extremely well (often in an exam)”. Some examples sentences are “Maccha, he cashed in Networking exam.”, “You are going to cash in Maths.” and “I cashed in Microsoft’s interview and got a job.” In Standard English, *to cash* normally means “to exchange (a cheque or other order to pay) for cash” (Longman 1998: 191). There is also a phrasal verb *to cash in* with the meaning “To obtain a profit or other advantage by timely exploitation”¹. It is possible that the verb in IITM slang is actually derived from the phrasal verb instead of the transitive verb, because a feature of Indian English is that prepositions of phrasal verbs are often left out. Even if the dropping of the preposition was the case, there has been a change in the meaning because the notion of “timely exploitation” is entirely lost.

¹ *Dictionary.com*. Last accessed: Sept 22, 2005 <<http://dictionary.reference.com>>.

5.1.5 *Scientific variables*

In a speech community consisting almost exclusively of students of technical subjects whose mind is filled daily with new mathematical formulae or programming languages, it is understandable that their minds begin to work in similar patterns, that they try to relate the world around them to the concepts and variables they learn and deal with every day.

One of these variables is *n* which is used in mathematical formulae for an indefinite number. In IITM slang, it is used as a numeral standing for any number bigger than 1. It is often used in collocation with the word “number” as in the sentences “I have *n* number of things to do.” or “*N* number of junta are watching me.”, but not always as can be seen in the examples “I saw this product which has some *n* features.”, “I have to wash *n* clothes today.” or “There are *n* people in the course.” Sometimes it is also used with the meaning “a lot of”, for instance in the sentence “It was *n*-fun.”

Another word possibly related to a scientific concept is the noun *type*. The meaning of the word itself is the same as in Standard English, namely “group or class of people or things that share certain qualities” (Longman 1998: 1452). In contrast to Standard English, however, it is usually not followed by the prepositions “of” in IITM slang which can be seen in the examples “This is analog type radio.” and “even if I have a punch and kick type fight with him”. This could be interpreted as another occurrence of the omission of prepositions in Indian English. If this was the case, a question arises. “Type of” is synonymous in English to “kind of”. Why do the students not use the word “kind” instead of *type* in the same way and with the same frequency? A possible explanation might be the fact that *type* is used in the compound “data type” in computer science, for instance. So the students will hear the word *type* often in lectures and it is not followed by a preposition then. This fact might make them give preference to *type* over its synonym and it would also explain the omission of the preposition “of”.

5.1.6 Pronunciation changes

As has been mentioned in paragraph 2.2.3, the English spoken in India is influenced by the phonology of Indian languages. Of course, this also has an influence on IITM slang. In all the Dravidian languages, for instance, the consonant /v/ is pronounced before the vowel /o/ or the diphthong /əʊ/ in word initial position. The Tamil word for the ordinal number “one” is “onne”, but it would be pronounced /vonə/. The same happens to the English word “okay” in IITM slang and probably all over the southern part of India. It is pronounced /vəʊkeɪ/ or sometimes even /vəʊgeɪ/.

Another change in pronunciation occurs for the English adverb “majorly” which is pronounced /mɑ:dʒɑ:li:/ in IITM slang. The diphthong /eɪ/ becomes an /ɑ:/. This can be explained by the problem already mentioned in section 2.2.3. Indian languages are written as they are spoken. So if the grapheme in Hindi is an <a>, it would be pronounced as an /ɑ:/¹. For this same reason, the word is written *maajarly* in the slang, not “majorly”.

5.1.7 Overuse of words or phrases

There are some words in IITM slang which did not undergo a change in form, meaning or pronunciation, but they are used so frequently that they are typical for the language an IITM student speaks. For example, the adverb *generally* is used very often. Sentences like “Generally, I was watching a movie.”, “He generally puts fart.” or “Generally junta don’t study here.” can be heard on campus every day. The original meaning of *generally* is sometimes extended to “just like that” and “simply”. For example, the probable answer to the question “Why did you do that?” would be “Generally.” The word *chumma* which also means “just like that” or “simply” (see 5.1.1) is also used frequently.

Two other words heard all over campus in almost every sentence are the verb *to put* and the noun *funda*. Both will be explained in detail in 5.1.8 as they show grammatical peculiarities.

¹ A short /ɑ/ sound would not be written in Hindi script at all as it is part of the consonant letters anyway. When writing Hindi in English script a long /ɑ:/ sound is usually written as <aa>.

5.1.8 Grammatical peculiarities

As has been mentioned several times before, the omission of prepositions after Standard English phrasal verbs is a general feature of IndE. The examples dealt with earlier already show that this feature seems to have a big impact on the use of some verbs in IITM slang.

The most prominent example is the use of the verb *to put* because it is used so frequently. A look at common collocates of *to put* and its translation in these contexts provide some insight:

Example from IITM Slang	Meaning in Standard English
Junta pls put enthu.	Students please <i>put forth</i> some enthusiasm.
Put fundaes.	<i>Put forth</i> some explanations.
Freshies put intro to the seniors.	New students <i>put forth</i> an introduction to the older students.
I had to put fight.	I had to <i>put forth</i> some effort.
I put S in all the courses.	I <i>put forth</i> an S grade in all the courses.

Figure 12: Collocates of *to put*

In all of these examples *to put* is exchangeable by the Standard English phrasal verb “to put forth” which can mean “To grow”, “To bring to bear; exert” or “To offer for consideration”.¹ The second meaning is the one that *to put* possesses in IITM slang. The omission of the preposition can have several reasons. Either a lack of knowledge in English, the inability to pronounce the word /fɔːtθ/ (since the /θ/ phoneme does not exist in some Indian languages, for instance Tamil), a certain resistance against antique-sounding vocabulary or simply laziness in speech.

Another grammatical peculiarity is the plural form of the clipping *funda* which is the shortening of the adjective “fundamental” or rather the entire phrase “fundamental idea/concept”. Its meaning has widened from “(basic) idea” or “(important) concept” to “problem”, “explanation” or even the colloquial noun “thing” which can basically mean or substitute anything. This can be seen in the sentence “The funda is that I never get his fundaes.” The first use of the word *funda* means “problem” or “thing” and the second use means “explanations” and shows one of the plural forms of *funda*, namely *fundaes*.² This is a double plural because it has the masculine Hindi plural

¹ Source: *Dictionary.com*. Last accessed: Sept 22, 2005 <<http://dictionary.reference.com>>.

² Some students also use the plural form *fundas*.

allomorph /æ/ and the English plural allomorph /z/. A possible explanation for this double plural is the lack of grammatical knowledge in Hindi among the speech community since the majority of the students does not speak Hindi as their mother tongue. The native speakers of Hindi might treat the English clipping *funda* like a masculine Hindi noun (e.g. *ladka*, plural: *ladke*). They add the Hindi plural to the English word to form the word *fundae*. A non-native speaker of Hindi might not recognize the /æ/ as a plural allomorph and additionally use the English plural afterwards forming the word *fundaes*.

This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the word *funda* was the basis for another derivation which was formed by adding the Hindi derivational suffix *-u* to *funda*. *Fundu* is usually used in the slang as an adjective meaning “intelligent”, “brilliant” or “excellent”. Example sentences are “She is a fundu person.”, “He is a fundu scientist.” or “You are a fundu teacher mam.” However, the Hindi suffix *-u* normally means “one who”, like the English derivational suffix *-er*, and it forms a noun, not an adjective when added to another word. Again a lack of grammatical knowledge in Hindi may be blamed or the adjective *fundu* could be seen as a zero-derivation from the noun *fundu*.

One more grammatical peculiarity shall be mentioned here. In IITM slang, the use of *are there* is very common. “Grub Rthere in my room.”¹, “Hazaar treat are there.” and “A: Is cam there in almirah? B: Yaa r there.” are three examples of its use. These examples show that *are there* seems to be a fixed expression while it can only be used as a question tag in some sentence constructions in Standard English. In the slang, it is used for “There is/are” disregarding the number of the noun which precedes it and which, according to Standard English grammar, should actually follow the expression. The ICE India files mentioned in section 3.4 showed that the word order “object + are there” seems to be commonly used among young people in India.

¹ Source: “IIT M Slang.” *Saras 97 – IIT Madras*. Last accessed: September 08, 2005
<http://www.geocities.com/saraswathi_1997/iitMSlang/iitMSlang.html>.

5.2 Classification according to context

After classifying the slang expressions according to the word formation patterns or their etymological origin, a second classification shall be attempted, a classification according to the situational context in which the slang terms are used or with which they are associated. This classification is relevant, since each of the following four sections plays a big role in the life of an IITM student and the slang expressions can be taxonomically related to each other. The slang vocabulary can be distinguished into four main categories or contexts. There are expression related to academics, to the everyday life on IITM campus, to the fellow students and to taboo topics. These categories partly overlap and the classification can probably be refined or generalised further, especially with regards to other *slangs*. However, for this MA thesis the classification into four categories shall suffice.

5.2.1 Academics

Of course, most of the time in a student's life is – or rather should be – dedicated to his or her studies. There are lectures and laboratory practicals to attend, papers and laboratory reports to hand in, presentations to hold, quizzes and exams to study for. All these activities are “necessary evils” on the road to an academic degree. As the idiom “necessary evils” already suggests, most students see these activities as something rather negative. The blame for those negative things has to go to someone, namely the professors. Of course, the professors are the source for a series of expressions used in IITM slang. The professors – usually referred to as *profs* – *pain*, *rape* or *rod* their students by asking very difficult questions in lectures, after presentations and in exams. The latter two can be referred to as *rape sessions*. Example sentences are “Profs are rodding the students like anything.” or “OMG, tomorrow Prof is going to rape me.” There are *cuppax*, *painax* or *rodax profs*, but on the contrary there are also *fundu*, *hifunda* or *stud-level profs* as for instance in the sentences “He is a roddax prof.”, “Our prof is a fundu prof.” and “He is a stud level prof.”

Closely related to the professors are the quizzes during the semester and the exams at the end of the semester, the *end sems*, which are set up by the professors and are usually rather difficult at an elite university like IIT Madras. Hence the students *crib* (complain) about their tests often and the adjectives used to describe the exams are

accordingly negative, e.g. “It was a cuppax exam.”, “Rodax quiz” or “The quiz was rod level.” Only rarely exams are described as *froot*, *froot level* or *frooty* meaning “very easy”, for instance in “The question paper was froot; everyone cashed.”, “froot level prelims da” or “frooty quiz”. The first of these three examples already contains a verb related to the exams. When students *cash* in an exam, they have done really well. Of course, the exact opposite can also happen. They might fail, receive a U grade and therefore *cup* the exam. No matter what the result may be, before the exam a reasonable amount of *mugging* (AE slang = cramming) is on the agenda the night before, *night outs* may be *put* and *crashing* will be postponed till the afternoon after the exam. The origin of the verb *to mug* is not entirely clear. It might be related to the noun for the drinking vessel “mug” figuratively meaning “to drink in knowledge”. A relation to the British slang term “mug” meaning “to steal” cannot be seen.

5.2.2 *Everyday life on campus*

The daily life of an IITM student does not only consist of studies, of course. Every day starts with breakfast in the hostel *mess*. In Standard English a mess can be “a room in which members of the armed forces eat together” (Longman 1998: 853). In IITM it refers to a student cafeteria, in German it would be called “Mensa”. The hostel *messes* serve breakfast, lunch, afternoon tea, dinner and sometimes tea, coffee and snacks around 11 pm. The mess food is referred to as *grub*¹ and is subject to constant complaints from the students as the examples “Hostel residents crib for mess-food.”, “Food in ‘mega mess’ is cuppax.” and “The grub was give-up da.” clearly show. However, there are also some students who feel that “The grub in hostels is not bad.” Furthermore, the noun *grub* seems to be used for food in general by some students, e.g. “I had grub in Dhabba² last night.” When the students want to eat something else than *mess grub* or the drinks served in *mess*, they can go to *spot* (a Nescafé kiosk), *Gurunath* (the Students’ Facility Centre, *SFC*³) or *Quark* (Dhabba Express, an “open air” restaurant).

¹ A borrowing from AE and BE slang meaning “food”.

² Originally, *Dhabbas* were Punjabi road side restaurants. Inside campus there is a dhabba-like restaurant which is also called “Dhabba Express” and referred to by the student as *Quark* or *Dhabba*.

³ *SFC* comprises – among other things – a departmental store called *Gurunath* (that is where its name is derived from) and a juice bar referred to as *Pats*.

IIT Madras offers a huge variety of leisure time activities. These activities also attract the formation of slang vocabulary. *SAC* (Students' Activities Centre) has already been mentioned in section 5.1.3. In *SAC* the students can do sports, for instance, play *TT* (table tennis) or *basket* (basketball). *SAC* is also used for big events like *Convo* (the Annual Convocation).

5.2.3 *Fellow students*

An important part of student life at IIT Madras is the interaction with fellow students. They live together in hostels, they share bathrooms, they eat together in mess, they attend classes together, do sports together, among many other activities. They identify themselves with fellow students and sometimes also try to demarcate themselves from others. This happens on various levels: (1) the regional or geographical level, (2) the hostel level, (3) the gender level, which is partly included in the hostel level already, (4) the academic level and (5) the level of newness to the IITM campus.

Students from Chennai itself are called *Chennaiites*, *Madrasi* or *localites*, sometimes also *Tams* or *Tam junta* although the latter two refer to *Tamilians*, people from Tamil Nadu, in general. *Keralites*, people from Kerala, are often called *Mallus*. This term is derived from the language they speak, namely Malayalam. A person from Karnataka is a *Kannadiga* because he or she speaks Kannada. In IITM slang, the word *Kannadiga* is shortened to *Dig*. The terms *Tam*, *Mallu* and *Dig* were all classified as neutral or sometimes even positive terms by the informants in Questionnaire I. In contrast to that the term *Gult* for a person from Andhra Pradesh (already explained in section 5.1.1) and the expression *Northie* for a person from the northern part of India have been described as neutral or rather negative by the informants. Another regional label with a negative connotation is the Hindi term *Phirangi* for (white) foreigners. This term was mostly used during India's struggle for independence. Although this term was mentioned by informants in Questionnaire I, it is possible to say how often foreigners are really called by this very derogatory name.

The hostel labels have been discussed partly in section 5.1.3 already. There is a very strong identification with the hostel a student stays in and there is also strong inter-hostel competition, for example in campus sports tournaments. Examples sentences are "I am proud of being a Sarayuite." and "Godav junta put hajaar fight in Schroeter this time." This competition between the hostels is partly the reason why certain stereotypes about residents of a certain hostel arise as can be seen in the comments of

one informant who, when asked about associations with certain hostel residents, wrote that “Cauverians are totally enthless junta.” and “Well, Krishnites are even worst than Cauverians.” The connection between hostels and gender becomes clear in the statement “Almost every non-male student in IIT is a Sharavite.” Sharavati used to be the only girls’ hostel until Sarayu was made one recently (in August 2005). The substitute adjective for female, *non-male*, has already been mentioned in section 5.1.2.

On the academic level, competition is even higher. There are people who study every day. These people are called *muggu* people or *mugpots*, e.g. in the sentences “Some of them are the muggu people [...] they’ll sit again and revise whatever has been done in the class.”, “She is a maajar mugpot.” and “I hate mugpots.” The suffix *-u* in *muggu* again comes from Hindi meaning “one who does something”. The compound *mugpot* might have been formed following the example of the English compound noun “crackpot” which means a crazy person.

There are also *RGers*, people who try to get ahead of other students in a mean way. *RGer* is a derivation from the verb *to RG* which has been explained in section 5.1.3. Example sentences are “He is an extreme RGer.” and “That RGer [...] is mugging again.” The students who seem to suffer most from *RGing* are the *day skis*, the day scholars, who do not live on campus but in their parents’ home in Chennai. People from the same course and same year, hence from the same *batch*, are usually referred to as *batchmates*.

The relation between *seniors* and *freshies* or any student who is a *junior* to an older student is comparable to that of a superior towards an inferior. Although “Ragging is officially banned in IIT.” and “There is not much ragging in IIT.”, some example sentences suggest that it is sometimes practised anyway, e.g. “He rags freshies.”, “Don’t rag him.” or “There was ragging in the hostel.” *Freshies* are sometimes also referred to as *first-yearites*.

Another way to address a fellow student, most often a good friend, is by nickname. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* argues that “nicknames, as a general rule, may be accurately described as a kind of slang.” (1926: 207) Although this quote is from 1926, it is reasonable with regard to the definition of slang given in this thesis in section 2.1, since nicknames are known to only insiders of a speech community or an even smaller subgroup, they are used in informal situations and they can change rapidly.

In IITM almost every (male) student has a nickname. The example *Fufa* shall be given here, since one of the informants wrote in Questionnaire II that *Fufa* is the nickname of a person from his hostel and it is related to the following section since the use of swearwords is a taboo in decent language. The blending *fufa* is a shortening of the swearword “fuckface”. The blending clearly disguises its actual meaning from outsiders and is thereby not an offence to decency. This is also why Arjun Chennu used the blending in his article “What’s this ES funda?” in the Fourth Estate when he wrote “about poonding a slysha fufa RGer” (2002: 8). Informal language may be acceptable in a student magazine, but swearwords are not in a campus publication.

5.2.4 *Taboo topics*

In a predominantly male student community, it is understandable that taboo topics such as sex and drugs, for example, will produce slang expressions to disguise the subject of conversation from the female students as well as from the professors. Even amongst themselves, male students might want to mitigate words like “pornography” or even the clipping “porn” which is known as *pondy* in IITM slang. The word *pondy* is used as an adjective as well as a noun and does not necessarily mean “pornography” as such. It can refer to anything related to sex. Even though according to one example sentence “Pondy is banned in IIT.”, another example suggests that “There’s too much pondy over the LAN at the IIT.” and that it sometimes goes to such extends that “He [a student] has pondy for breakfast, lunch and dinner.”¹

The origin of the word *pondy* is not entirely clear. The most probable theory is that the /rn/ in porn or the British slang terms “pornie” (noun) or “porny” (adjective) is assimilated to /n/ and the ending *-d(y)* is added because there are many English adjectives ending in *-ndy*, e.g. handy, trendy or windy, and even some nouns, e.g. candy or dandy. The homophony with the shortened, frequently used word for the nearby city of Pondicherry might be intentional, but is probably only a coincidence which makes the disguise work even better. Two of the three female informants who filled in Questionnaire II understood the term *pondy* as the clipping of the place name and gave the example sentences “Pondy is a good place.” and “I am going to pondy.” despite the fact that the word was not capitalized in the questionnaire.

¹ Of course, this is not meant to be a description of the real situation, but only an enumeration of example sentences which the students wrote in my second questionnaire.

A slang word related to drugs is *ganja*. It is borrowed from Hindi (गंज) and means “marihuana” or “the hemp plant (*Cannabis sativa*)”¹. According to the informants it has the same meaning in other Indian languages, for instance Tamil and Telugu. However, its pronunciation is very similar to the Hindi word for “baldness” (गंज) which seems to disguise the intended meaning because some informants gave example sentences like “You have become ganja.” or “He is ganja.” Nevertheless, the real meaning seems to be known widely as examples like “He did ganja on the terrace.”, “That guy in Alak has started taking ganja now-a-days.” or “Some guys take ganja in hostels.” show.

¹ Quote and Hindi images from *Word AnyWhere: Hindi English and Other Indian Languages Dictionary*. Last accessed: Sept 24, 2005<<http://www.wordanywhere.com/>>.

6 CONCLUSION & OUTLOOK

This thesis has shown that the student slang at IIT Madras is a rich in-group language. The slang expressions have been classified according to their etymological origin and according to the situational context in which they are used. A lexicographic word list of slang terms has been created and the data acquired in the questionnaires has been evaluated and inserted in the form of example sentences or quotes in the thesis as well as the word list whenever applicable.

In my opinion, IITM slang is clearly influenced by the linguistic situation in India, not only with respect to English but also with respect to Indian languages. It is also influenced by characteristics of Indian society at large. Explanations implying both statements have been given in this thesis, especially in chapter 5.

As mentioned in section 3.4, the research carried out in this thesis has been restricted to the student community at IIT Madras. Furthermore, the established word list only contains a part of the entire vocabulary of IITM slang.

Future research projects could concentrate on a more extensive data collection within IIT Madras with the help of tape-recordings of situations in which the students do not feel observed as has been done at the University of Benin (Longe 1999: 237-49). Moreover, a Ph.D. thesis could aspire a comparison between the IITM slang and the in-group language of different IITs or other Indian universities to find out which slang expressions are typical for IIT Madras, which ones are used in all IITs or many Indian universities.

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9 APPENDICES

9.1 Appendix: Translations of the Lingo paragraph

9.1.1 *The original paragraph*

Mind you, ES is NOT a coward. He just isn't acclimatized to this new environment, and especially, the lingo. He bulbs whenever shady junta put jod-level fundaes about poonding a slysha fufa RG er, buster. He feels like deeshing when such haiffunda level things are put to him. He prefers cupping a quiz to deciphering such cuppax level lingo type things. Peace? Hazaar peace. It's not very ob-like, but better believe it, Vokay. You can't expect ES to stoop to such derogatory levels. He DOES NOT like pody-type-things as he 'comes from a long line of decent and honorable ancestors'. Period. The truth? Well it is yet "apocryphal", and what little is speculatively known is rather unprintable.

Source: Chennu, Arjun N. "What's this ES Funda?" *The Fourth Estate*, November 2002, Chennai: pp. 9-10.

9.1.2 *Translations of the paragraph*

Translation 1:

Mind you, The Sarauite is nota coward. He just isn't used to the new environment, especially the slang. He gets quite confused when people discuss methods to ouwit the guy who is selfishly trying to get ahead by indulging in sly techniques like hiding books in libraries. He feels like getting away from such talk when such weird ideas are put into his head. He would prefer to fail in a quiz rather than try to translate trivial slang into common English. This thought relaxes him , it is not very obvious ; but just accept it. One cannot expect ES to use expletives in daily use as he comes from a respectable family with a long history; but that is an apocryphal statement. The reality is not very well known , what ever little we know is not printable in a family magazine like this.

(by Abhinav Singh)

Translation 2:

But, Es is not a coward. He just isn't acclimatized to this new environment, and especially the lingo. He doesn't understand anything whenever vague people tell him about get ahead of (inappropriately) a little dumb RG er*. He feels like leaving the place when such complicated things are told to him. He prefers failing a quiz to deciphering such demented lingo type things.^ Fine? Absolutely fine. Its not very obvious but better believe it , okay?.You can't expect ES to stoop to such derogatory levels. He does not like anything sexual as he 'comes from a long line of decent and honorable ancestors'. Period. The truth? Well it is yet "apocryphal", and what little is speculatively known is rather unprintable.

RG – is to get ahead of an iitian in anything (absolutely anything) by not letting him do as well as you. RG = relative grading. So there are two ways of performing better, one is to actually perform better and the other is to not let others perform better than you. RG is the latter.

^ lingo type things cuppax lingo type things. Cup is usually failing in any thing , 'ax' is added to any term to exaggerate it (FOR EG CUPPAX IS CUPPING TO THE MAXXX). Lingo 'Type' could be used to specify the genre of anything.

(by Balaji T.K.)

Translation 3:

Mind you, the Sarayu hostel resident isn't a coward. He just isn't adjusted to the new environment, especially the slang. He doesn't understand the techniques of cheating or getting ahead of a guy, who adopts ways to get to the top by misleading others. He feels like leaving when such complicated ways are explained to him. He prefers to fail in a course rather than spend time analyzing worthless slang implications. Such a thought relaxes him to a great extent; though it is not very obvious better accept it. You can't expect him to stoop to such derogatory levels. He doesn't like discussing things influenced by pornography as he comes from a respectable family.....

(by Srujitha Linga)

Translation 4:

Mind you, ES is NOT a coward. He just isn't acclimatized to this new environment, and especially the language. He is doubtful whenever weird people talk really high flying (or hi-tech) ideas or ways to getting ahead of a slightly *fufa* (stands for fuckface) RG (too much of an explanation) guy. (buster has been used as a subtle form of bastard, to avoid bad words). He feels like leaving when such seemingly hi-flying concepts are told to him. He prefers to fail a quiz rather than deciphering such "cuppax level lingo type things" (will explain below). Understood? Very good. Its not very obvious, but you'd better believe it ok? You don't expect ES to stoop to such derogatory levels. He DOES NOT like this porno-type things as he 'comes from a long line.... (the rest is already proper)

Cuppax level lingo type things.

This is a play of the words to highlight the usage of some words. Cuppax means "cup to the max". This means "failure to the maximum" (literally) but you know what cup means. This form can be used for other words like "peacax" or "rodax" which mean "Peaceful to the max" and "rod to the max" (or very tough.) Rod btw is a word which is a translation from hindi, which means more or less a stick up ones ass which I must imagine is rather painful.

Level means just approximately. But it is usually used to signify a certain standard of things. Like I could say He is Gandhi-level truthful or Einstein-level.

Lingo is just language.

Type is again another operator word. Like in C programming you have the 'indirection' operator or a pointer. What it essentially does is to give 'indirection' (rather than direction.) So you know something (A) which is like something else (B). Then u can say A is B-type. This of course requires some cunning and rapport on part of the speakers. For example, once somebody said "those balloon type buildings da" and I guessed it at the first time to be "mosques". How did we do it? I haven't a clue, but it happens more often than one might want to concede.

So cuppax level lingo type things here could be translated to "bad language forms"

☺

RG stands for relative grading. Innocuous as this sounds, it is is pregnant with meaning. The system of relative grading is used in many US universities where the

students are marked and their marks fitted to a bell curve (a Gaussian) and then their grades are given accordingly. This means that if ONE person does very well and the majority does well, then MORE people will have a lower grade than if that ONE person had underperformed. So it is rather sensitive to either extremely good performance or bad ones too.

Now RG is many things: an adjective, a verb and sometimes a noun. To explain this, if I am RGing somebody, what I'm essentially doing is to get ahead of him in the grading system. Suppose I get some special notes and don't share them, or I don't let him study (say by sabotaging his alarm clock) or study secretly, etc. But given the laziness of students it has come down to the level that even just earnest studying is called RG sometimes. So RG guy is somebody who has these characteristics and he is RGing. RG of course usually has an unethical connotation to it. Has a lot of subtleties to it but usually very context sensitive.

(by Arjun Chennu)

Translation 5:

Translation (or thereabouts):

Firstly you need to know this that this paragraph is deliberately over-contaminated with lingo. The usual conversation that you would come across would not be this corrupted. Chennu has probably done that to emphasize the lingo, this being the first article that he wrote after coming to IIT.

ES = El Sarayuite. Nothing to do with the lingo. El as you probably know is Spanish for 'the' and Sarayuite is from the Sarayu hostel where we were housed in our first year. We just thought it would be sood (to be read as cool) to have that in the name.

Bulb = to be puzzled. Possible origin is the tubelight or fluorescent lamp. The ones that we have in India have analog starters as opposed to digital that you proly have in Germany, so they take a while to start. Flicker on and off for a few secs before being able to sustain their brightness. This leads to ppl who for eg, don't get a joke the first time they are told about it being called tubelight. This eventually must have become bulb. Most of the words can be used as nouns and verbs and m sure you can think of more forms that I don't remember. Eg; that chap is a bulb: noun. Don't bulb : verb.

Junta = hoi polloi / people. This comes from the Hindi word Junta meaning people. I remember seeing this elsewhere so I guess this is used in normal English as well.

Jod – is a corruption of god. God-level would mean something that is great in whatever way. Level is used for comparison. Say, when I am at the breakfast table and want someone to pass me the extremely synthetic jam that we get in our mess I would ask him to pass the jam-level stuff.

Poonding – that's jumping a queue. I think its origins are in tamil but I'm not sure of this at all. I'll ask someone and get back to you.

Slysha – means a little. Prolly a corruption of slightly. Not sure of the origins again.

Fufa – stands for FUck FAce. Meaning is ob (obvious)

RG – stands for relative grading. That's the system according to which we are graded in IIT. Complicated process almost never followed 😊 but not important here. Word is used when someone is trying to get one up over someone else. Used almost synonymously with poonding.

Deeshing – means to scoot, or get lost.

Haiffunda is a corruption of high funda. That's how its pronounced with several stresses on the f s

Cupping – that's to fail a subject. We are awarded a U grade in the grade sheet when we fail a subject and that's the origin for cupping. This extends to beyond academics. A bad movie could be cuppax. Ax is just a syllable that s added at the end of stuff when it sounds better 😊

Hazaar means one thousand in hindi. In lingo its used to describe something that s in an excess quantity whether countable or uncountable.

Vokay is just a vernacularization of Okay. A lot of words are vernacularized. If you don't know, vernacularize means to pronounce with a deliberate regional accent.

Pondy = is a corruption of porn. Is used to describe anything connected to sex. Not necessarily porn.

(by Manogna Navin)

9.2 Appendix: Annotated chat conversations

Abbreviations used for annotation:

ABB	abbreviation
NN	not known
SL	slang

9.2.1 Chat Conversation I

B (8:58:27 PM): hi
A (8:58:53 PM): need my office xp cd
B (8:59:49 PM): oh yeah
B (8:59:58 PM): i ll get it to you in half an hour
B (9:00:00 PM): is that ok?
A (9:00:23 PM): ok..
B (9:00:32 PM): you know someone with a scanner
B (9:00:33 PM): ?
A (9:00:47 PM): if i'm not there, just give i to my room neighbor
A (9:00:47 PM): 350
A (9:00:47 PM): studboy_NN..
A (9:00:47 PM): or let me know which room u give it to
B (9:01:04 PM): i ll put it in your room only
B (9:01:09 PM): i have your key remem_ABB
A (9:01:21 PM): what needs to be scanned?
A (9:01:29 PM): oh u have my key right?
A (9:01:35 PM): ok good
B (9:01:51 PM): i have some assignment level stuff that requires scanning da_SL
B (9:02:12 PM): if i dont find one i ll come to your room and take a photo of what i want
B (9:02:24 PM): but do you know someone with a scanner
B (9:02:26 PM): ?
A (9:02:31 PM): increase size da_SL... eye strain are there
B (9:02:44 PM): better?
A (9:03:01 PM): i have an idea
A (9:03:07 PM): am goin to the ccw office now.. there is a scanner there.
A (9:03:07 PM): use that
B (9:03:26 PM): is it_NN
B (9:03:29 PM): ok i can come_NN there
B (9:03:36 PM): i ll give you the cd like that only
B (9:03:44 PM): when exactly are you going?
A (9:03:56 PM): yeah... i will be goin there... will msg_ABB u when i get there ok?
A (9:04:14 PM): dunno.. am waiting.. linga_NN [a name?] is gettin the keys
B (9:04:14 PM): ok
A (9:05:08 PM): how pr media going?
B (9:05:13 PM): ok
B (9:05:17 PM): i dont have much to do
B (9:05:26 PM): i contacted axn have to send mai l now
A (9:05:35 PM): actually packthat...
A (9:05:35 PM): hows app_ABB goine?
B (9:05:43 PM): and once the brochure comes i have to make some mail and send to ghatani
B (9:05:50 PM): app.....dunni

A (9:06:10 PM): ??????????
B (9:06:13 PM): the profs who showed [enthu_ABB](#) first hasnt replied to my second mail yet
B (9:06:21 PM): dunni=dunno
B (9:06:35 PM): and i have nt apped in a week
B (9:06:38 PM): so i am doing now
A (9:07:06 PM): ?????????? = [\[put fundaes da\]_SL](#) :p
A (9:07:24 PM): which continent now?
A (9:07:24 PM): :)
B (9:07:29 PM): us of a
B (9:07:31 PM): :)
B (9:07:42 PM): havent finished europe yet actually
A (9:07:51 PM): app to us and see no
A (9:07:51 PM): probably more chance for aero there!
B (9:07:59 PM): but judi recieved slysha + respons frm uncle sam himself
B (9:08:05 PM): so i thot i ll [\[give it a shot\]_SL](#) too
B (9:08:18 PM): since most of space [engg_ABB](#) happens there only
A (9:09:07 PM): yeah try [puts_SL](#).. ob llike they know the iits
A (9:09:13 PM): just that u should have the [enthu_ABB](#) fo rit... and [puts_SL](#) the visa
B (9:09:16 PM): yeah i am hoping that
B (9:09:23 PM): yeha that no [probs_ABB](#)
B (9:09:30 PM): but i want in space [engg_ABB](#)
B (9:09:36 PM): that itself is difficult
A (9:10:58 PM): hmm yeah
A (9:11:04 PM): was just wondering if anything had developed thats all
B (9:11:11 PM): nothing much
B (9:11:17 PM): i didnt do anything much actually
A (9:11:32 PM): can u access my comp?
A (9:11:32 PM): 10.134.9.1
B (9:11:34 PM): had been doing an assignment so
B (9:11:42 PM): m trying
A (9:11:56 PM): hmm ok
B (9:12:08 PM): yeah i can
A (9:12:17 PM): why is cluedo on the lan?
B (9:12:34 PM): [gen_NN](#)
B (9:12:38 PM): shouldnt it be?
A (9:13:50 PM): prefer not to be
B (9:13:59 PM): the videos arent there [da_SL](#)
B (9:14:02 PM): or are they?
A (9:14:10 PM): was hoping to use the video for saarang this tiem
A (9:14:10 PM): as publicity
B (9:15:01 PM): only the animations are up [da_SL](#)
B (9:15:04 PM): nothing else
A (9:15:15 PM): dunno.. but why yo've put it up gen?
B (9:15:15 PM): you want me to take them off as well?
B (9:15:23 PM): why not
B (9:15:30 PM): nothing else is there on my comp
A (9:15:45 PM): well upto u...
A (9:15:56 PM): i thought whether to put it.. and i just thought NO
A (9:15:56 PM): so i didn't
B (9:16:08 PM): dont put the videos up
A (9:16:17 PM): well ok :) but the stuff we want to use in saarang next don't put
B (9:16:19 PM): junta will get hold of it and do [shady_NN](#) stuff to it
A (9:16:28 PM): u have music folder right?
B (9:16:32 PM): but rest is okay right? why did you think NO?
A (9:16:54 PM): no movies?

A (9:17:05 PM): thats what.. junta will do shady stuff thats all
B (9:18:07 PM): the written stuff is okay right
B (9:18:09 PM): only those
B (9:18:12 PM): not the videos
B (9:18:19 PM): i havent put up any videos
B (9:18:27 PM): tell me if i have
A (9:19:04 PM): ok linga is on the way to ccw office
A (9:19:04 PM): so in some 15 you could come
B (9:19:13 PM): ok peace
B (9:19:18 PM): see you there
A (9:19:25 PM): fine da_SL.. i don't have any major problem on it
B (9:20:03 PM): ok peace
A (9:20:16 PM): just it feels nice to have it like some
'copyrighted' matieral for a little while
A (9:20:16 PM): :P
A (9:20:16 PM): before unleashin iy
A (9:20:16 PM): it
B (9:20:25 PM): you have any minor ones?
A (9:21:00 PM): wait
A (9:21:35 PM): she is still in her hostel
A (9:21:35 PM): so we have some half an hour really ;)
B (9:21:52 PM): :)
B (9:21:58 PM): she s a pain when she does that
A (9:23:16 PM): who isn't..
A (9:23:16 PM): all of them are
A (9:23:16 PM): i don't know what it is with females about "getting
ready"

A (9:27:42 PM): ok i'm leaving
B (9:27:47 PM): ok da_SL
B (9:27:51 PM): see you in a bit

A (9:28:04 PM): seeya in the ccw office!
A (9:28:04 PM): you have to sign-in in the book etc
B (9:28:13 PM): no probs
A (9:28:30 PM): which is upstairs
B (9:29:19 PM): ok

9.2.2 Chat Conversation II

B (3:49:10 PM): you want something
B (3:49:12 PM): ?

B (5:42:26 PM): m here
A (5:43:01 PM): hey
B (5:43:04 PM): hi
A (5:43:15 PM): one *sec_ABB*
B (5:43:21 PM): make it fast *da_SL*
B (5:43:24 PM): m in ahurry
A (5:43:42 PM): hi *da_SL*
A (5:43:42 PM): goin cyclin eh?
B (5:43:45 PM): yeah
B (5:43:54 PM): i have to go to the travel *ag_ABB* as well
B (5:43:59 PM): and i dont have much time
A (5:44:10 PM): ok *da_SL*
A (5:44:25 PM): why travel *agen_ABB*?
B (5:44:38 PM): m goig to uk in the *hols_ABB* for a few daysa
A (5:44:40 PM): i just wanted to ask if you wanna come on a 2.5 day trip this long 4 day weekend?
B (5:44:49 PM): no *da_SL* not coming
B (5:44:52 PM): haveto *mug_SL*
A (5:45:32 PM): 2 days is not ok?
B (5:45:43 PM): no i am studying all the time
B (5:45:52 PM): i have an assignment that i want to go into detail
B (5:45:59 PM): and there is no other tiem for it
A (5:46:08 PM): ok.. fine...
A (5:46:15 PM): thats all i wanted to ask
B (5:46:20 PM): ok
B (5:46:21 PM): seeya
A (5:46:37 PM): seeya
B (5:46:42 PM): yeah
A (5:46:43 PM): when u goin to uk btw?
B (5:46:47 PM): 8th
B (5:46:53 PM): and coming back on 20
B (5:46:59 PM): direct to bomby
A (5:47:07 PM): and returnin on?
A (5:47:41 PM): oh plans are there :P
B (5:47:46 PM): yeah
B (5:47:51 PM): anything else
B (5:47:54 PM): i am late *da_SL*
A (5:48:13 PM): ok *da_SL* goo.. u were in ahurry
A (5:48:20 PM): for what?
B (5:48:28 PM): cycling
B (5:48:30 PM): bye

A (5:48:55 PM): bye

9.2.3 Chat Conversation III

A (5:08:32 PM): did you registre?
B (5:08:52 PM): no my facad wasnt there
A (5:10:07 PM): ah ok

A (5:11:09 PM): btw do we have rehtoric course as a part of our minor?
A (5:11:09 PM): coming out? say..
A (5:11:09 PM): um.m....
B (5:11:42 PM): right now m chatting
B (5:11:45 PM): maybe later
A (5:11:56 PM): ok i gues you're busy.. bye
B (5:12:15 PM): yeah
B (5:12:16 PM): bye

B (7:00:33 PM): you therete?

A (7:11:01 PM): yeah
B (7:11:12 PM): so we ll go out
B (7:11:13 PM): ?\
A (7:11:52 PM): i just had grub_SL
B (7:11:58 PM): not for grub_SL
A (7:12:07 PM): maybe some other ime
A (7:12:07 PM): time
B (7:12:08 PM): what da_SL all outing is for grub is it?:)
B (7:12:12 PM): we ll just go cycling
B (7:12:16 PM): will be nice now
A (7:12:23 PM): bye
A (7:12:29 PM): well in that case: i had just been to the beach yesterday night
A (7:12:35 PM): ;)
A (7:12:47 PM): anyway... i just figured out a work plan da_SL
B (7:12:51 PM): ok
B (7:12:56 PM): what is it?
B (7:13:00 PM): you mean a time table?
A (7:13:15 PM): would be willing to go later tonight
A (7:13:15 PM): actualyl one of these days we should go in a group and go swimmin at the beach
B (7:13:15 PM): so you are making them too these days is it?
A (7:14:13 PM): not TIME table.. i said WORK plan
A (7:14:19 PM): :p
B (7:14:21 PM): what s that
A (7:14:35 PM): means what needs to be done
B (7:14:49 PM): so whats the diff
A (7:15:02 PM): no times involved
B (7:15:08 PM): ah
B (7:16:40 PM): hey you ahve a brief history of time as an audio book?
B (7:16:46 PM): or you know where to gt it
A (7:16:54 PM): so how about beach swim morro_ABB?
A (7:16:54 PM): nope
A (7:17:00 PM): nope
B (7:17:00 PM): or do you know a site that gives free audi books for download
A (7:17:21 PM): nope

A (7:20:03 PM): wanna go?
B (7:20:12 PM): what changed your mind?:)

B (7:20:26 PM): i meant what, changed your mind?
B (7:20:36 PM): anyway yeah we ll go
A (7:21:14 PM): no i'm actually thinking of something funn.. haven't done before
B (7:21:30 PM): what
B (7:21:33 PM): golden beach?
A (7:22:00 PM): how about it?
B (7:22:08 PM): ok
B (7:22:14 PM): but what are we going to do?
B (7:22:20 PM): you mean right now or later?
A (7:22:44 PM): come to [conf_ABB](#)
A (7:32:59 PM): wait
B (7:33:09 PM): what
A (7:33:36 PM): so cycling to beach at four right?
B (7:33:42 PM): yeah
A (7:33:43 PM): just confirming
B (7:33:48 PM): you might want to go alil ater
B (7:33:54 PM): the sun rises like at 545
A (7:34:11 PM): why?
A (7:34:17 PM): from what i saw its at 5
A (7:34:35 PM): i like the darkness anyway
B (7:34:53 PM): its too early
B (7:35:00 PM): what do you want to do for so long
B (7:35:12 PM): why do nt we go to golden beach on cycle instead
A (7:35:34 PM): how long [da_SL](#)?
A (7:35:34 PM): its just three hours!
A (7:35:55 PM): how far is it?
B (7:36:02 PM): i dont know
B (7:36:09 PM): alex said 15 mins by [scooter_NN](#)
A (7:36:27 PM): no [da_SL](#)
A (7:37:24 PM): rather swim than cycle
B (7:37:46 PM): yeah spend a lil more time on cycle and we get rewarded
B (7:37:53 PM): by not having to see ppl shit in the morn
A (7:38:20 PM): so thats the plan ok?
A (7:38:20 PM): and if frisby asks you for bike
A (7:38:20 PM): say no.. "cycles only" :)
A (7:38:59 PM): don't think that will happen
A (7:38:59 PM): lets just go
B (7:39:03 PM): i already told ok
A (7:39:19 PM): ok for what?
A (7:40:02 PM): bike..??
A (7:40:02 PM): tell her [pack_SL?](#).. tell her also to come in cycle da!! :)
B (7:40:07 PM): yeah i did
B (7:40:15 PM): so we are going to golden beach right
A (7:40:30 PM): good...
B (7:40:30 PM): i dont want to watch that horrible group shitting sight again
A (7:41:27 PM): what some [gen_NN](#) "don't want to cycle" [sood_NN](#) she's [putting_SL?](#)
A (7:41:27 PM): no [da_SL](#)... let go to [bessy_NN](#) itself
A (7:41:27 PM): i think golden is far.. adn nobody knows the route
A (7:41:27 PM): we will find our own 'location' ;)
B (7:41:42 PM): no [da_SL](#) its all horrible
B (7:41:46 PM): whats wrong with golden
B (7:41:55 PM): we ll be there in lil time at that time in the morn
B (7:42:02 PM): and the beach is damn good i heard
B (7:42:08 PM): have never seen it too
A (7:42:20 PM): its far off
A (7:42:20 PM): and don't know the route

A (7:42:20 PM): and in no mood for searching.. am in mood for swim fun
A (7:42:20 PM): yeah i hear its good
B (7:42:31 PM): yeah so put [slysha_NN](#) effort
B (7:42:34 PM): ask alex
B (7:42:40 PM): if the route is too tough we wont go
A (7:43:07 PM): ok i'll try to find the coordinates ok?
A (7:43:07 PM): if we do.. lets go there
B (7:43:19 PM): yeah
A (7:43:47 PM): ok fine.. i thin i know somebody who went ther recently
A (7:43:47 PM): yup
A (7:43:47 PM): convinience is the first principle :)
B (7:43:59 PM): ok
B (7:44:01 PM): peace
B (7:44:07 PM): i hopw you can find the route [da_SL](#)
A (7:44:46 PM): ok.. so will contact you later if i find the route
B (7:45:04 PM): yeah peace
A (7:46:25 PM): bye
B (7:47:06 PM): bye

9.2.4 Chat Conversation IV

B (3:32:52 PM): ylu there?

A (3:33:17 PM): looks like it

B (3:33:29 PM): send me all the codec installations that you have

B (3:33:35 PM): i am unable to play a movie

A (3:33:49 PM): ok

B (3:34:09 PM): or just share that folder of your comp for a while

A (3:34:22 PM): which movie

B (3:34:36 PM): analyse this

A (3:35:54 PM): analyze this? thats the firstp art isn't it?

B (3:36:11 PM): there s more than one part?

B (3:36:38 PM): hey how do i disable the check for virus optin in word?

A (3:36:39 PM): the sequel is analyze that

B (3:36:46 PM): oh i didnt know

A (3:36:56 PM): anyway.. i have shared the folder

A (3:36:57 PM): tell me if u can see its

B (3:37:05 PM): ok

B (3:37:11 PM): puts_SL ip

A (3:37:29 PM): the option is there in nav to disable 'office plugin'

A (3:37:35 PM): man i'm pissed... skype doesn't work anymore!!!

A (3:37:40 PM): 10.134.9.1

B (3:38:16 PM): the comps there

B (3:38:25 PM): but its not showing any tree

B (3:38:33 PM): disable your firewall if you have one

A (3:38:52 PM): ???

A (3:38:52 PM): no firewall

B (3:39:04 PM): are you sure you shared it

B (3:39:09 PM): its not showing a tree

B (3:39:19 PM): if it doesnt theres no way i can access your stuff

A (3:39:54 PM): just type out my ip number

B (3:39:58 PM): ok

A (3:40:06 PM): what more 'tree' u want?

B (3:40:16 PM): not working

A (3:40:28 PM): uh.. u have to put

A (3:40:40 PM): \\10.134.9.1

A (3:41:09 PM): ok i will send u the file

B (3:41:11 PM): no use

B (3:43:46 PM): no use da_SL, youe codecs not working

B (3:43:51 PM): you have any others

B (3:43:53 PM): ?

A (3:45:01 PM): aren't u using mplayer?

A (3:45:07 PM): that opens every file

B (3:45:13 PM): no my mplayer is screwed_SL

B (3:45:27 PM): each time i use it it only shows the splash screen and nothing happens

B (3:45:32 PM): send me that install also

B (3:46:21 PM): ok i realise what the prob_ABB is

B (3:46:38 PM): the file isnt downloaded fully:"> the movie file i mean

A (3:55:04 PM): 8-|

B (4:13:05 PM): hi

B (4:13:13 PM): i had gone down to get some snacks

B (4:13:21 PM): i have the file you are sending me

B (4:13:29 PM): open it and we can chat

A (4:14:05 PM): ok

B (4:14:41 PM): getting the call?
A (4:14:54 PM): try again
B (4:15:01 PM): ok i am
B (4:15:32 PM): i can hear you
B (4:15:34 PM): cant you
A (4:15:41 PM): can u hear me
A (4:15:41 PM): i can't hear u
B (4:15:51 PM): i can hear you clear
B (4:16:26 PM): seems to be a **prob_ABB** with my **mike_ABB**
B (4:16:32 PM): its not picking up the sound
B (4:16:34 PM): one **min_ABB**
A (4:16:46 PM): hello
A (4:16:46 PM): no i can't hear u
A (4:16:46 PM): now u ca't hear me right?
A (4:16:46 PM): i reduced the **mic_ABB vol_ABB**
B (4:17:24 PM): some prob with **mike_ABB da_SL**
B (4:17:26 PM): i dont kow what
A (4:17:38 PM): ok **pack_SL**
A (4:17:44 PM): i'm really painned...
A (4:17:55 PM): after installing windows now skype doesn't connect anymore!
B (4:18:00 PM): yeah ok
B (4:18:09 PM): you were using skype peacefully is it
B (4:18:10 PM): ?
B (4:18:13 PM): yeah **pack_SL**
B (4:18:18 PM): i want to watch analyse this
A (4:18:26 PM): yup
B (4:18:28 PM): i have been **putting_SL?** movie spree all weekend
A (4:18:35 PM): bye
B (4:18:38 PM): havent watching so many movies since 1st year
B (4:18:43 PM): bye

A (4:18:59 PM): i wanna break something though... >:P
B (4:19:16 PM): so why dont you
A (4:19:46 PM): none of these cds are mine
B (4:20:11 PM): ther are klot of other things around that are yours:)
A (4:20:29 PM): don't mess with me now.. go watch your fuckin movie
B (4:20:41 PM): wow you seem to be in a foul mood
B (4:20:53 PM): wanna go cycling to the beach after this movie
B (4:20:58 PM): we ll get into water and all
B (4:21:08 PM): havent done that in a loong time
A (4:21:20 PM): you bet i am :)
A (4:21:20 PM): trying to **[vent off]_SL?** the irrateness so that i can **mug_SL** for **morrow's_ABB** exam
A (4:21:21 PM): no we'll do that next weekend
A (4:21:26 PM): or in the next week
A (4:21:26 PM): already plan are there
B (4:21:39 PM): ok
B (4:21:41 PM): bye then

9.3 Appendix: Questionnaire I

MA Thesis Research

Evelyn Richter

Student at Chemnitz University of Technology

Questionnaire I

Conducted at Indian Institute of Technology Madras

March/April 2005

Part I – Personal Information about Informant

Are you male or female?	<input type="checkbox"/> male	<input type="checkbox"/> female	Age: —	Year of study?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1st	<input type="checkbox"/> 2 nd	<input type="checkbox"/> 3 rd	<input type="checkbox"/> 4 th	<input type="checkbox"/> M.Sc./MA	<input type="checkbox"/> PhD
Did you study at another university previously? If yes, which university and for how long?			<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	1. _____ 2. _____						
Which languages do you know? How well do you speak them? (Please put them in the order in which you learned them.)			1. _____ <input type="checkbox"/> fluently <input type="checkbox"/> satisfactorily <input type="checkbox"/> greetings only 2. _____ <input type="checkbox"/> fluently <input type="checkbox"/> satisfactorily <input type="checkbox"/> greetings only 3. _____ <input type="checkbox"/> fluently <input type="checkbox"/> satisfactorily <input type="checkbox"/> greetings only 4. _____ <input type="checkbox"/> fluently <input type="checkbox"/> satisfactorily <input type="checkbox"/> greetings only 5. _____ <input type="checkbox"/> fluently <input type="checkbox"/> satisfactorily <input type="checkbox"/> greetings only							
Which languages were medium of instruction at schools you went to and for how many years?			1. _____ number of years: ____ 2. _____ number of years: ____ 3. _____ number of years: ____						At what age did you start learning English? ____	
Have you been abroad? If yes, where have you been, when and for how long?			<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	1. _____ 2. _____						

Part II – Proper Names

a) Hostels

Hostel name	Abbreviation	Word for resident	1 or more uses of the word for resident (example sentences)	Connotation/associations with hostel or resident
Alaknanda				
Brahmaputra				
Cauvery				
Ganga				
Godavari				
Jamuna				
Krishna				
Mandakini				
Narmada				
Saraswati				
Sarayu				
Sharavati				
Tapti				

b) Regional classification of people

City/Region /Country	Official name for a person from there	Colloquial name for a person from there	Colloquial term is:	Connotations/ associations with this group of people
Chennai			<input type="checkbox"/> positive <input type="checkbox"/> neutral <input type="checkbox"/> negative <input type="checkbox"/> derogatory	
Andhra Pradesh			<input type="checkbox"/> positive <input type="checkbox"/> neutral <input type="checkbox"/> negative <input type="checkbox"/> derogatory	
Karnataka			<input type="checkbox"/> positive <input type="checkbox"/> neutral <input type="checkbox"/> negative <input type="checkbox"/> derogatory	
Kerala			<input type="checkbox"/> positive <input type="checkbox"/> neutral <input type="checkbox"/> negative <input type="checkbox"/> derogatory	
Tamil Nadu			<input type="checkbox"/> positive <input type="checkbox"/> neutral <input type="checkbox"/> negative <input type="checkbox"/> derogatory	
Northern part of India			<input type="checkbox"/> positive <input type="checkbox"/> neutral <input type="checkbox"/> negative <input type="checkbox"/> derogatory	
Europe			<input type="checkbox"/> positive <input type="checkbox"/> neutral <input type="checkbox"/> negative <input type="checkbox"/> derogatory	
USA			<input type="checkbox"/> positive <input type="checkbox"/> neutral <input type="checkbox"/> negative <input type="checkbox"/> derogatory	
Other countries/ regions			<input type="checkbox"/> positive <input type="checkbox"/> neutral <input type="checkbox"/> negative <input type="checkbox"/> derogatory	

Part III – Acronyms

Acronym	Stands for:	Pronounced as:	How often is the acronym used in spoken language?	Connotations/ associations with the term
CAT		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
CGPA		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
DD		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
DDT		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
EML		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
ES		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
GA (coord)		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
GBM		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
GD		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
HSB		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
KLPD		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
NSO		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
OAT		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
PA (coord)		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
RG		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	

Acronym	Stands for:	Pronounced as:	How often is the acronym used in spoken language?	Connotations/associations with the term
SAC		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
SAC IP		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
SFC		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
TT		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
TVS		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
VPL		<input type="checkbox"/> single letters <input type="checkbox"/> a word	<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	

Part IV – Clippings

Term	Stands for:	How often is the clipping used in spoken language?	Connotations/associations with the term
Cog sheet		<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
Con artist		<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
Coord		<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
Lit Sec		<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
Lit Soc		<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
Moon lab		<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	
Soc Sec		<input type="checkbox"/> very often <input type="checkbox"/> often <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> rarely <input type="checkbox"/> never	

9.4 Appendix: Questionnaire II

MA Thesis Research

Evelyn Richter

Student at Chemnitz University of Technology

Questionnaire II

Conducted at Indian Institute of Technology Madras

March/April 2005

This questionnaire is for trying to find out the meaning of expressions collected from (former) students at IIT Madras and an issue of “The Fourth Estate”. In Part II you will find a long list of expressions. When you are defining the words’ meanings, please keep in mind that the meaning of them at IITM might differ from the meaning they have outside IITM. If you have never heard the term at all, please make a tick in the last column of the table and simply move on to the next word.

Part I – Personal Information about Informant

Are you male or female?	<input type="checkbox"/> male	<input type="checkbox"/> female	Age: —	Year of study?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1st	<input type="checkbox"/> 2 nd	<input type="checkbox"/> 3 rd	<input type="checkbox"/> 4 th	<input type="checkbox"/> M.Sc./MA	<input type="checkbox"/> PhD
Did you study at another university previously? If yes, which university and for how long?			<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	1. _____ 2. _____						
Which languages do you know? How well do you speak them? (Please put them in the order in which you learned them.)			1. _____	<input type="checkbox"/> fluently	<input type="checkbox"/> satisfactorily	<input type="checkbox"/> greetings only				
			2. _____	<input type="checkbox"/> fluently	<input type="checkbox"/> satisfactorily	<input type="checkbox"/> greetings only				
			3. _____	<input type="checkbox"/> fluently	<input type="checkbox"/> satisfactorily	<input type="checkbox"/> greetings only				
			4. _____	<input type="checkbox"/> fluently	<input type="checkbox"/> satisfactorily	<input type="checkbox"/> greetings only				
			5. _____	<input type="checkbox"/> fluently	<input type="checkbox"/> satisfactorily	<input type="checkbox"/> greetings only				
Which languages were medium of instruction at schools you went to and for how many years?			1. _____	number of years: _____	At what age did you start learning English? _____					
			2. _____	number of years: _____						
			3. _____	number of years: _____						
Have you been abroad? If yes, where have you been, when and for how long?			<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	1. _____ 2. _____						

Part II – Meaning and Use of Words at IIT Madras

Expression	Meaning	1 or more example sentences	Derived from an Indian language?		Which one?	Never heard
arb			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
arbit			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
basic			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
bog			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
(to) bound into			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
brute brawn			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
bugger			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
(to) bulb			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
bulb (N)			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
buster			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
(to) cash			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
(to) cat			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
cat (NM)			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
chap			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
chumma			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
(be) clubbed			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
(to) crash			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
crib (N)			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
(to) cup			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
cuppax			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
da			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
(to) deesh			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>

Expression	Meaning	1 or more example sentences	Derived from an Indian language?		Which one?	Never heard
despo			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
Dig			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
ditchax			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
froot			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
frootiness			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
froot level			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
frooty			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
fufa			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
funda			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
fundu			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
gab (N)			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandhi-level			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
ganja			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
gee			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
generally			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
(to) goodal			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
grub			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
Gult			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
haiffunda			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
hazaar			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
(to) jeer at			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
(to) jive			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>

Expression	Meaning	1 or more example sentences	Derived from an Indian language?		Which one?	Never heard
jod-level			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
junta			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
kult			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
kurra			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
(to) lech			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
leprous			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
level			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
lingo			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
madding			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
make s.o. into doing sth.			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
Mao			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
(be) mired in			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
(to) mug			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
mugpot			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
n			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
ob-like			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
pack			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
Paddy			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
parry			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
peacax			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
peace			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
podal			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>

Expression	Meaning	1 or more example sentences	Derived from an Indian language?		Which one?	Never heard
pondy			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
poond			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
put			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
putax			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
ragging			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
(to) RG			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
RGer			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
rod			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
rodax			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
Sambar			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
Sassy!			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
scene			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
shady			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
Shaktimaan			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
slysha			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
sood			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
stoop			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
stud			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
stud level			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
thing(s)			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
Thorn			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
tote			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>

Expression	Meaning	1 or more example sentences	Derived from an Indian language?		Which one?	Never heard
treat			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
type			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
use-it(s)			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
vandi			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>
vokay			<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/>

Thank you very much for your participation.

9.5 Appendix: Questionnaire III

MA Thesis

Evelyn Richter

Student at Chemnitz University of Technology

Questionnaire III – Student Slang at IIT Madras

Dear junta,

To put intro: I am a student of English & American Studies and Print & Media Technology at the Chemnitz University of Technology, Germany. I am presently writing my MA thesis about the *Student Slang* at IIT Madras.

To put fundaes: This questionnaire will try to find out when and why slang is used by IIT Madras students. It will take you about 15 minutes to fill it in. When you find several answers given with a question, please underline the most appropriate answer or put it in *italics* or mark it in a different **colour**. Sometimes more than one answer is possible. Some questions are open questions and will require that you write your own answer after the colon.

Please put enthu: try to answer the questionnaire fully and honestly. Please answer according to your own views and knowledge, except in question No. 4 in which you are asked to enquire from a friend.

All the information will be kept absolutely confidential. Your names or email addresses will not be given to any 3rd parties.

Part I: Personal Information about the Informant

Gender:	Age:	Year at IITM:	Degree:
Resident of which hostel?:			
Mother tongue:			
Other languages do you speak & level of fluency: 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.			
Have you been abroad for more than 2 weeks? Yes / No			
If yes, where, when and for how long? 1. 2.			

Part II: When is slang used?

1. Do you use slang at all? Yes / No
2. In which languages do you use slang? (More than one answer possible)
 - a) English
 - b) Hindi
 - c) Tamil
 - d) Assamese
 - e) Bengali
 - f) Bodo
 - g) Dogri
 - h) Gujarati
 - i) Kannada
 - j) Kashmiri
 - k) Konkani
 - l) Ladacki
 - m) Maithili
 - n) Malayalam
 - o) Manipuri
 - p) Marathi
 - q) Nepali
 - r) Oriya
 - s) Punjabi
 - t) Telugu
 - u) Urdu
 - v) other (please specify):
3. How often do you use slang?
 - a) in almost every sentence
 - b) frequently, but not excessively
 - c) I slip in a slang expression from time to time
 - d) only very rarely
 - e) never
4. Please ask your best friend in IITM what he/she thinks how often **YOU** use slang.
 - a) in almost every sentence
 - b) frequently, but not excessively
 - c) I slip in a slang expression from time to time
 - d) only very rarely
 - e) never
5. With whom to you use slang?
 - a) with everybody in and outside IITM
 - b) with everybody belonging to IITM (faculty, staff & students)
 - c) with everybody inside IITM, except professors/teachers
 - d) with IITM students only
 - e) with all my friends (both in and outside IITM)
 - f) only with my friends at IITM
 - g) with nobody at all

6. In which types of communication do you use slang? (More than one answer possible)

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a) only spoken language | g) presentations in classes |
| b) chat/messenger | h) papers |
| c) emails to my friends | i) exams |
| d) any email | j) none |
| e) private letters | k) other (please specify): |
| f) formal letters | |

7. In which types of language have you heard your fellow students use the slang? (More than one answer possible)

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a) only spoken language | g) presentations in classes |
| b) chat/messenger | h) papers |
| c) emails to my friends | i) exams |
| d) any email | j) none |
| e) private letters | k) other (please specify): |
| f) formal letters | |

8. What register/style of language does slang belong to in your opinion?

- a) very formal
- b) formal
- c) literary
- d) poetic
- e) neutral
- f) informal
- g) colloquial
- h) derogatory
- i) very derogatory
- j) other (please specify):

Part III: Why is slang used?

9. Why do you use slang? (More than one answer possible)

- a) for the fun of it

- b) to enrich my language:
 - a. to be more precise
 - b. to be more picturesque
 - c. to sound more clever and witty

- c) to change the situation towards informality:
 - a. to be informal/colloquial
 - b. to escape from clichés and prejudices that might hinder the conversation
 - c. to reduce seriousness
 - d. to induce intimacy

- d) to be different:
 - a. to show that I am an IITM student
 - b. to get attention
 - c. to be secretive and exclude other junta who may be listening

- e) other (please specify):

10. In your opinion, why do your fellow students use slang? (More than one answer possible)

- a) for the fun of it

- b) to enrich my language:
 - d. to be more precise
 - e. to be more picturesque
 - f. to sound more clever and witty

c) to change the situation towards informality:

- e. to be informal/colloquial
- f. to escape from clichés and prejudices that might hinder the conversation
- g. to reduce seriousness
- h. to induce intimacy

d) to be different:

- d. to show that I am an IITM student
- e. to get attention
- f. to be secretive and exclude other junta who may be listening

e) other (please specify):

11. Do you think there is an IITM specific identity among the students?

Yes / No / Dunno

12. If yes, how important do you think is slang in providing and supporting this IITM specific student identity?

- a) very important
- b) fairly important
- c) not very important
- d) not important at all

13. For those who don't use slang at all: Why do you not use slang?

- a) I have never heard slang at IITM.
- b) I don't use derogatory language. It is below my standards.
- c) I don't know how to use the slang terms properly.
- d) other (please specify):

14. Briefly state your opinion on the following issue:

AN additional DD REQURED THIS SEM!

A notice has been put up on the notice board of all the hostels sayin that we r requried to get an addition DD of Rs.11,128/ drawn in the favor of cew office (plz confirm as im posting based on the info i got)..

8000 for mess fees, 2500 for est A charges, 528 for hospital insurance and 100 for hostel admission or some thing..

(Orkut posting in IIT Madras community on 7/14/2005, 8:04 AM)

Your opinion:

15. Please send the filled-out questionnaire in .doc (MS Word) or .sxw (Open Office) format as an attachment to iitmslang.mathesis@gmail.com.

If you have any questions about this questionnaire or the research that has been done so far in the first two questionnaires, feel free to contact me at evelyn.richter@gmail.com.

If you wish to receive a copy of my MA thesis after it has been finished, please let me know in your email. The thesis will be finished approximately at the end of September 2005.

Thanks hajjar for your participation.

9.6 Appendix: Word list of IITM slang terms

This word list is not a complete word list of all slang expressions used in IIT Madras. It would require further data collection to compile a more extensive word list and it is probably impossible to compile a complete list.

The lexical entries on this list are sorted alphabetically and follow the pattern shown below:

Word /phonemic transcription/ *word class*. meaning(s) [classification according to context of use]:
Example sentence. (possible) origin(s): [classification according to origin; derived from LANGUAGE]
etymology. (*alternative spellings*: worrd, wordd, werd).

Retroflexion and diacritics have not been taken into the phonemic transcriptions of the slang terms because I wanted to keep the transcriptions simple. For exact transcriptions very good tape-recordings would be needed.

A

Alak /ɑlək/ *noun*. Alakananda hostel [everyday life; clipping].

Alakite /ɑləkɪt/ *noun*. Resident of Alakananda hostel [fellow students; derivation; from IITM SLANG].

app /æp/ *verb*. To apply [academics]: *Example sentence*. origin: [clipping; from ENGLISH].

arb /ɑrb/ *see* ARBIT.

arbit /ɑrbɪt/ *adjective*. Arbitrary, random. [academics, fellow students]: *That was a very arbit question*. origin: [clipping; from ENGLISH]. (*alternative forms*: arb).

are there /ɑ:r ðeə/ *fixed expression*. There is/are [all contexts]: *Hazaar treat are there*. origin: [grammatical peculiarity; from (INDIAN) ENGLISH]. (*alternative spellings*: r there, R there).

argee /ɑrdʒi:/ *see* RG.

B

bog /bɔ:g/ *noun*. Toilet, bathroom (in the hostels) [everyday life]: *He went to the bog*. origin: [borrowing; from BRITISH SLANG] toilet. (*connotation*: negative, dirty).

Brahms /brɑ:mz/ *noun*. Brahmaputra hostel [everyday life; clipping + borrowing; NAME OF COMPOSER]. (*alternative form*: Brahma).

Brahmite /brɑ:mɪt/ *noun*. Resident of Brahmaputra hostel [fellow students; clipping + derivation; from IITM SLANG].

bulb /bʌlb/ *verb*. To be in a state of confusion [academics, fellow students]: *Why were you bulbing in the German class?* origin: [zero-derivation; from ENGLISH] Possibly comparison with the flickering of tube lights with analogue starters.

bulb /bʌlb/ *noun*. A person who bulbs/is confused often [academics, fellow students]: *He is such a bulb that he doesn't know where Marina [Beach] is*. origin: [zero-derivation; from IITM SLANG] *see verb* BULB.

C

calci /kælki:/ *noun*. calculator [academics]: *Giveup daa, I forgot to bring my calci in Fluid Mechanics exam*. origin: [clipping + suffix change; from ENGLISH] calculator.

cash /kæʃ/ *verb*. To do very well [academics]: *He cashed in the quiz*. origin: [semantic change; from ENGLISH] to cash.

cat /kæt/ *verb*. To write the C.A.T. [academics]: *Many of the final year students cat and join IIMs*. origin: [zero-derivation; from ENGLISH] C.A.T. = Common Aptitude Test.

Cauverian /kɔ:vəriən/ *noun*. Resident of Cauvery hostel [fellow students; derivation].

CGPA /si: dʒi: pi: eɪ/ *noun*. Cumulative Grade Point Average [academics; acronym; from ENGLISH].

chumma /tʃʊmə/ *adverb*. 1. Generally [all contexts]: *You cannot chumma assume it to be so*. 2. Simply, just like that: *Chumma don't waste my time ya!* origin: [borrowing; from TAMIL] Generally, simply, just like that.

cog sheet /kɔ:g ʃi:t/ *noun*. Copy sheet [academics]. origin: unclear [from ENGLISH]. (*also*: TUT SHEET).

coord /kəʊɔ:rd/ *noun*. coordinator [everyday life]: *Whats a bye between a couple of cluedo-ex-coord dominator-thulping coupla bums like us*. origin: [clipping; from LANGUAGE] coordinator.

crash /kræʃ/ *verb*. To sleep, usually after a long night of studying [everyday life]: *I crashed at 2 yesterday*. origin(s): [borrowing; from AMERICAN SLANG] To sleep.

crib /krɪb/ *verb*. To complain [all contexts]: *He was cribbing about the exam*. origin: unclear [possibly borrowing; from AMERICAN SLANG].

crib /krɪb/ *noun*. Somebody who cribs/complains [all contexts]: *I have some n cribs about our hostel*. origin: [zero-derivation; from IITM SLANG] *see verb* CRIB.

cup /kʌp/ *verb*. To fail, usually in an exam [academics]: *I cupped in today's quiz*. origin: [derivation; from ENGLISH] The fail grade in IITM is U, the letter <U> is shaped like a cup.

cuppax /kʌpæks/ *adjective*. Extremely bad [all contexts]: *The movie was cuppax*. origin: [derivation; from IITM SLANG] To cup to the max(imum).

D

da /dɑː/ *noun*. Friend, dude [fellow students]: *Can you do me a favour da?* origin: [borrowing; from TAMIL] *verb* suffix for addressing someone in a disrespectful way. (*alternative spellings*: daa).

day schi /deɪ skiː/ *noun*. day scholar, student who does not live inside the campus grounds [fellow students]: *Most of the top rankers are day schis*. origin: [clipping + suffix change; from ENGLISH] day scholar. (*alternative spellings*: day ski).

DD /diː diː/ *noun*. Demand Draft [everyday life; acronym; from ENGLISH].

deesh /diːʃ/ *verb*. To leave (quickly) [all contexts]: *I am going to deesh from my room now*. origin: unclear [possibly onomatopoeia or borrowing].

despo /despɔː/ *adjective*. Desperate [all contexts]: *He is despo about dosas*. origin: [clipping + suffix change; from ENGLISH] desperate. (*possible connotation*: sexual).

despo /despɔː/ *noun*. A person who is desperate [all contexts]: *That despo thinks about nothing but girls*. origin: [zero-derivation; from IITM SLANG] *see adjective* DESPO. (*possible connotations*: sexual).

dig /dɪg/ *noun*. 1. Kannadiga, a person who is from the state of Karnataka or whose mother tongue is Kannada [fellow students]: *He is a dig*. 2. the language Kannada: *You speak dig?* origin: [clipping; from KANNADA] Kannadiga. (*alternative spellings*: Dig).

E

EML /iː em el/ *noun*. Extra Mural Lecture [academics; acronym; from ENGLISH].

enthu /ɪnθu/ or /ɪntʰu/ *noun*. enthusiasm [academics]: *He lost all enthu in last semester when profs rodded him to the max*. origin: [clipping; from ENGLISH] Enthusiasm.

F

fart /fɑːrt/ *verb*. To talk nonsense [all contexts]: *What is he farting?* origin: [borrowing; from BRITISH/AMERICAN SLANG] "To fool about or around; to waste time." (Ayto 1992: 67).

fart /fɑːrt/ *noun*. nonsense [all contexts]: *N-junta were putting fart at gurunath yesterday*. origin: [zero-derivation; from IITM SLANG] *see verb* FART.

first-yearites /fɜːrst jɪːraɪts/ *noun*. First year students, freshers [fellow students]: *Only final year students may poond, not first-yearites*. origin: [derivation; from ENGLISH].

freshie /frefʃiː/ *noun*. First year student, fresher [fellow students]: *The freshies are expected to respect senior students*. origin: [derivation; from ENGLISH].

froot /fru:t/ *noun*. An ignorant, stupid person [fellow students]: *Most freshies are froots*. origin: [borrowing; from BRITISH SLANG] “A person easily deceived” (Ayto 1992: 75). (*alternative spelling*: fruit).

froot /fru:t/ *adjective*. (Very) easy [academics]: *The question was froot*. origin: [zero-derivation; from IITM SLANG] *see noun* FROOT. (*alternative spelling*: fruit).

froot level /fru:t levəl/ *adjective*. (Very) easy [academics]: *The paper was froot level*. origin: [compounding; from IITM SLANG]. (*alternative spelling*: fruit level).

funda /fʌnda:/ *noun*. 1. fundamental idea/concept/principle [all contexts]: *The funda is simple*. 2. problem: *The funda is I never get his fundaes*. origin: [clipping; from ENGLISH]. (*plural forms*: fundas, fundaes).

fundu /fʌnda:/ *noun*. An intelligent person, a person who has a lot of fundaes [academics, fellow students]: *He is a fundu in computer science*. origin: [derivation; from IITM SLANG].

fundu /fʌndu:/ *adjective*. Excellent, great, cool [all contexts]: *That was a real fundu place*. origin: [zero-derivation; from IITM SLANG].

G

Gangite /gʌŋgɑ:t/ *noun*. Resident of Ganga hostel [fellow students; derivation]. (*alternative forms*: Gangaster, Gangster, G spot).

ganja /gʌndʒɑ/ *noun*. Marihuana [everyday life]: *Some guys take ganja in hostels*. origin: [borrowing; from HINDI].

GBM /dʒi: bi: em/ *noun*. General Body Meeting [everyday life; acronym; from ENGLISH].

GC /dʒi: si:/ *noun*. Gajendra Circle [everyday life; acronym; from SANSKRIT + ENGLISH].

GD /dʒi: di:/ *noun*. Group Discussion [academics; acronym; from ENGLISH].

generally /dʒenərəli:/ *adverb*. 1. In general [all contexts]: *He generally comes late*. 2. simply, just like that: *He generally puts fart*. origin: [overuse; from ENGLISH].

Gen Sec /ʒen sek/ *noun*. General Secretary [everyday life; clipping; from ENGLISH].

give-up /gɪvʌp/ *adjective*. Very bad, without enthusiasm [all contexts]: *He is a give up guy*. origin: [zero-derivation; from ENGLISH] *verb* to give up.

give-up level /gɪvʌp levəl/ *adjective*. Very bad, without enthusiasm [all contexts]: *Machha, she is such a give-up level girl*. origin: [compounding; from IITM SLANG].

Godav /gɒdɑ:v/ *noun*. Godavari hostel [everyday life; clipping].

Godavite /gɒdɑ:vɑ:t/ *noun*. Resident of Godavari hostel [fellow students; derivation; from IITM SLANG].

God level /gɒd levəl/ *adjective*. Intelligent, excellent [academics]: *I am not as god-level as you da*. origin: [compounding; from ENGLISH]. (*alternative spelling*: jod-level)

grub /grʌb/ *noun*. (Mess) food [everyday life]: *Let's go for grub, we are getting late for class*. origin: [borrowing; from BRITISH/AMERICAN SLANG].

Gult /gʌlt/ *noun*. A person who is from the state of Andhra Pradesh or whose mother tongue is Telugu [fellow students]: *Majority of IITians are Gults*. origin: [borrowing; from TELUGU] Telugu => Ugulet => Gult. (*connotation*: negative, sometimes even derogatory).

Gult /gult/ *adjective*. Pertaining to a person who is from the state of Andhra Pradesh or whose mother tongue is Telugu [fellow students]: *I am a Gult guy*. origin: [borrowing; from TELUGU] *see noun* GULT.

gumbal /gumbal/ *noun*. Group of people, especially group of friends [fellow students]: *See there, MIT gumbal is coming*. origin: [borrowing; from TAMIL].

Gurunath /gurund^h/ *see noun* SFC.

H

haiffunda /haɪfʌndə:/ *adjective*. Great, excellent [all contexts]: *He is a hi-funda stud*. origin: [compounding; from IITM SLANG] high + funda. (*alternative spellings*: haifunda, hiffunda, hifunda, hi funda, highfunda).

hajjar /hadʒɑ:r/ *adjective*. 1. Thousands of [all contexts]: *There were hazaar mosquitoes*. 2. A lot, much: *I put hazzar enthu*. origin: [borrowing; from HINDI] one thousand. (*alternative spellings*: hazaar, hazaar, hazzar).

hajjar /hadʒɑ:r/ *adverb*. A lot, (very) much [all contexts]: *He cribbed hajjar after [he] lost his watch*. origin: [zero-derivation; from IITM SLANG] *see adjective* HAJJAR.

HSB /ɛrtʃ es bi:/ *noun*. Humanities and Sciences Block [academics; acronym; from ENGLISH].

J

Jam /dʒæm/ *noun*. Jamuna hostel [everyday life; clipping]. (*alternative forms*: Jams, Jamuns).

Jamunite /dʒɑmunɑt/ *noun*. Resident of Jamuna hostel [fellow students; derivation].

jobless /dʒɔːbləs/ *adjective*. Having too much free-time, being without urgent work [academics, everyday life]: *I am jobless now*. origin: [semantic change; from ENGLISH] being unemployed.

junta /dʒɑntɑ:/ *mass noun*. **1** People, usually students [fellow students]: *Junta are coming to CLT*. **2** Often used as direct address of a group of people: *Junta pls put enthu*. origin: [borrowing; from HINDI] people (*feminine mass noun*). (*alternative spellings*: janta, jantaa, juntaa).

K

KLPD /keɪ el piː di:/ *noun*. Act of a girl turning a guy down [fellow students]: *As with most good looking girls she gave more KLPD's than most people could count*. origin: [acronym; from HINDI] KLPD = *Khade Lund Pe Danda* = "being hit on an erected penis".

Krishnite /krɪʃnɑt/ *noun*. Resident of Krishna hostel [everyday life; derivation].

kult /kult/ *verb*. To steal [fellow students]: *He kulted my pen*. origin: unclear, possibly related to TAMIL.

kurra /kura:/ *adjective*. Bad, dirty [everyday life, fellow students]: *Removes those kurra dresses*. origin: [borrowing; from MALAYALAM]. Kurra = cockroach, figuratively used for bad or dirty.

kutti /kuti:/ *adjective*. small [all contexts]: *I'll write a kutti perl script to start the server*. origin: [borrowing; from TAMIL].

L

lingo /lɪŋɡo/ *noun*. 1. (IITM) language, usually referring to the slang [all contexts]: *IIT lingo is really difficult*. 2. a single slang expression: *This lingo is cool da*. origin: [borrowing; from BRITISH/AMERICAN SLANG] “a language, usually foreign” (Longman 1998: 767).

Lit Sec /lɪt sek/ *noun*. Literary Secretary [everyday life; clipping; from ENGLISH].

Lit-Soc /lɪt sɒk/ *noun*. Literary-Social [everyday life; clipping; from ENGLISH].

Localite /ləʊkələɪt/ *noun*. A person, usually a student, from Chennai [fellow students; derivation; from ENGLISH]. (*alternative forms*: Chennaite, Mad, Madrasi, Tam).

M

maajar /mɑːdʒɑː/ *adjective*. major [all contexts]: *He is a maajar person there*. origin: [pronunciation change; from ENGLISH].

maajarly /mɑːdʒɑːli/ *adverb*. majorly [all contexts]: *We thulped maajarly in Sangeetha yesterday*. origin: [pronunciation change; from ENGLISH].

macchaa /mɑtʃɑː/ *noun*. Friend, dude [fellow students]: *Maccha, help me out*. origin: [borrowing; from TAMIL] wife’s brother. (*alternative spellings*: macchan, machan, machhan).

Mallu /mɒluː/ *noun*. A person who is from the state of Kerala or whose mother tongue is Malayalam [fellow students; clipping + derivation] Malayalam => Mal(l) + -u. (*connotation*: neutral; *alternative form*: Keralite).

Mallu /mɒluː/ *adjective*. Pertaining to a person who is from the state of Kerala or whose mother tongue is Malayalam [fellow students; derivation] *see noun* MALLU.

Mandak /mɑndɑk/ *noun*. Mandakini hostel [everyday life; clipping].

Mandakite /mɑndɑkɪt/ *noun*. Resident of Mandakini hostel [fellow students; derivation; from IITM SLANG].

mug /mʌɡ/ *verb*. To study very hard, to cram [academics]: *Junta are mugging too hard*. origin: unclear [possibly semantic change; from ENGLISH].

muggu /mʌɡuː/ *adjective*. Very/too studious [academics]: *Some of them are the muggu people [...] they’ll sit again and revise whatever has been done in the class*. origin: [derivation; from IITM SLANG]. (There is possibly a *noun* MUGGU because the suffix –u meaning “one who” is actually used for forming a noun in HINDI but an example sentence is missing.)

mugpot /mʌɡpɒt/ *noun*. A person who mugs all the time [academics]: *Don’t be such a mugpot. Come out and play*. origin: [compounding; from IITM SLANG].

N

n /en/ *adjective*. (Indefinitely) many [all contexts]: *I have to wash n clothes today*. origin: [scientific variable; from MATHEMATICS]. (*frequent collocation*: n number).

Narmad /nɑrmɑd/ *noun*. Narmada hostel [everyday life; clipping]. (*alternative form*: Narm).

Narmadite /nɑrmɑdɪt/ *noun*. Resident of Narmada hostel [fellow students; derivation; from IITM SLANG].

nice try /naɪz traɪ/ *fixed expression*. Ironic comment to denote that a suggestion of another person is ridiculous or impossible [all contexts]: *Nice try! I am going to ask her for a date*. origin: [overuse; from ENGLISH].

Northie /nɔ:rθi:/ *noun*. A person who is from the northern part of India [fellow students; derivation; from ENGLISH]. (*connotation*: possibly negative).

O

ob /ɒb/ *adverb*. obviously [all contexts]: *Ob, I'll go for MIT if offered.* origin: [clipping; from ENGLISH]. (*alternative form*: *adverb* ob-like; There is possibly an *adjective* OB but an example sentence is missing.)

ob-like /ɒb laɪk/ *adjective*. obvious [all contexts]: *It is ob-like that you will come tomorrow.* origin: [clipping + compounding (or grammatical peculiarity; from ENGLISH)]. (also used as an *adverb*; see OB).

OAT /əʊ eɪ ti:/ or /əʊt/ *noun*. Open Air Theatre [everyday life; acronym; from ENGLISH].

P

pack /pæk/ *verb*. **1** To leave [all contexts]: *He packed early.* **2** (*exclamation*) Let it be: *I cannot learn it. Pack da.* origin: [grammatical peculiarity; from ENGLISH] *phrasal verb* To pack up.

pain /peɪn/ *verb*. **1** To give a lot of work to someone [academics]: *He chumma pains people.* **2** To get on somebody's nerves to trouble someone: *Why are you paining me?* origin: [semantic change; from ENGLISH].

painax /peɪnæks/ *adjective*. Being extremely painful in a figurative sense [all contexts]: *It's [a] really painax thing.* origin: [derivation; from IITM SLANG] painful to the max(imum).

painful /peɪnfəl/ *adjective*. Causing pain in a figurative sense [all contexts]: *We always need to bring out certain things that sometimes r painful if kept inside.* origin: [overuse; from ENGLISH].

PDND /pi: di: en di:/ *fixed expression*. Please do not disturb [everyday life]: (a notice put outside the door) *PDND - Crashin.* origin: [acronym; from ENGLISH].

peaceax /pi:sæks/ *adjective*. Very easy, very peaceful in a figurative sense [academics]: *The discussion was peaceax.* origin: [derivation; from IITM SLANG] peaceful to the max(imum). (*alternative spelling*: peacax).

peace /pi:s/ *interjection*. (Everything is) alright [all contexts]: *Peace! We have a holiday tomorrow.* origin: [borrowing; from AMERICAN SLANG].

peaceful /pi:sfəl/ *adjective*. Easy, peaceful in a figurative sense [academics]: *The quiz was peaceful.* origin: [semantic change; from ENGLISH].

phirangi /fɪrɑŋgi:/ *noun*. A (white) foreigner [fellow students; borrowing; from HINDI]. (*connotation*: negative, even derogatory).

pondy /pɒndi:/ *noun*. Pornography, pornographic movie(s) [everyday life]: *He was watching ponda last night.* origin: [(clipping +) assimilation + derivation; from ENGLISH] porn(ography) or pornie (British slang).

pondy /pɒndi:/ *adjective*. Pertaining to pornography or anything related to sex, indecent [everyday life]: *He watches ponda movies.* origin: [(clipping +) assimilation + derivation; from ENGLISH] pornographic or pornie (British slang).

poond /pu:nd/ *verb*. To jump the queue [everyday life]: *Only final year students may poond, not first-yearites.* origin: unclear [possibly borrowing; from TAMIL] *noun* garlic.

pseud /su:d/ *see adjective* SOOD.

put /pʊt/ *verb*. To put forth [all contexts]: *He puts his ideas to the teacher.* origin: [grammatical peculiarity; from ENGLISH].

put-its /put its/ *noun*. sex [everyday life]: *Bill was involved in put-its with Monica and some more junta in Whitehouse.* origin: [compounding; from ENGLISH] during sex “it” is being “put” somewhere. (*alternative spelling*: put-eetz).

put fight /put fart/ *fixed expression*. To put forth fight, to try/work hard [all contexts]: *He is putting hajjar fight to woo that girl.* origin: [grammatical peculiarity; from ENGLISH/IITM SLANG] *see verb* PUT.

R

ra /rɑ:/ *noun*. Friend, dude [fellow students]. origin: [borrowing; from TELUGU].

rag /ræg/ *verb*. To harass, usually freshers [fellow students]: *He rags freshies.* origin: [from BRITISH ENGLISH]. “to play rough tricks on” (old fashioned; Longman 1998: 1098)

rape /reɪp/ *verb*. To ask (usually) the students very difficult questions [academics]: *OMG, tomorrow Prof is going to rape me.* origin: [semantic change; from ENGLISH] “(especially of a man) to have sex with (someone, especially a woman) against their will.” (Longman 1998: 1103).

RG /ɑ:r dʒi:/ *noun*. Relative Grading [academics; acronym; from ENGLISH].

RG /ɑ:r dʒi:/ *verb*. To get ahead of someone in a mean way [fellow students]: *We'll all RG him da.* origin: [zero-derivation; from IITM SLANG] *see noun* RG.

RGer /ɑ:r dʒi:jər/ *noun*. A person who RGs [fellow students]: *He is an extreme RGer.* origin: [derivation; from IITM SLANG] *see verb* RG.

rod /rɒd/ *verb*. To screw someone [academics]: *Profs are rodding the students like anything.* origin: [zero-derivation; from ENGLISH] possibly derived from putting a rod in the back part of someone's abdomen.

rodax /rɒdæks/ *adjective*. Extremely tough [academics]: *The paper was rodax.* origin: [derivation; from IITM SLANG] rod to the max(imum). (*alternative spelling*: roddax).

r there /ɑ:r ðeər/ *see fixed expression* ARE THERE.

S

SAC /sæk/ *noun*. **1** Student Activity Centre **2** Student Amenities Centre **3** Student Affairs Council [everyday life; acronym; from ENGLISH].

Saras /sɑrɑs/ *noun*. Saraswati hostel [everyday life; clipping].

Sarasite /sɑrɑsɪt/ *noun*. Resident of Saraswati hostel [everyday life; derivation; from IITM SLANG].

Sarayuite /sɑ:rɑjɑt/ *noun*. Resident of Sarayu hostel [fellow students; derivation].

SFC /es ef si:/ *noun*. Students' Facility Centre [everyday life; acronym; from ENGLISH] also referred to as GURUNATH.

shady /ʃeɪdi:/ *adjective*. **1** Doubtful, dubious, vague [everyday life]: *He is a shady guy.* **2** Referring to something sexual: *This movie is shady.* origin: [; from ENGLISH] “*infml derog* probably dishonest” (Longman 1998: 1234).

Sharav /ʃɑrɑ:v/ *noun*. Sharavati hostel [everyday life; clipping].

Sharavite /ʃɔrɑ:vɪt/ *noun*. Resident of Sharavati hostel [fellow students; derivation; from IITM SLANG].

slysha /slɑ:ʃɑ:/ *adverb*. slightly [all contexts]: *That subject is slysha tough.* origin: [grammatical peculiarity; from ENGLISH].

Soc Sec /sɒk sek/ *noun*. Social Secretary [everyday life; acronym; from ENGLISH].

sood /su:d/ *adjective*. Cool, excellent, great [all contexts]: *That game has sood graphics*. origin: [zero-derivation + change of spelling; from BRITISH ENGLISH] possibly from *noun* pseud = “someone who pretends to have especially great knowledge” (Longman 1998: 1077). (*alternative spelling*: pseud).

stud /stʌd/ *noun*. A very intelligent person [academics]: *He is a maajar stud in basket*. origin: [borrowing; from AMERICAN SLANG] “A man, a fellow, esp. who is well informed” (Ayto 1992: 249).

stud level /stʌd levəl/ *adjective*. Very intelligent, excellent [academics]: *He is a stud level prof*. origin: [compounding; from IITM SLANG] *see noun* STUD.

T

Taptian /təptiən/ *noun*. Resident of Tapti hostel [fellow students; derivation].

Tam /tæm/ *noun*. A person who is from the state of Tamil Nadu or whose mother tongue is Tamil [fellow students; clipping]. (*connotation*: neutral; *alternative form*: Tamilian).

Tam /tæm/ *adjective*. Pertaining to a person who is from the state of Tamil Nadu or whose mother tongue is Tamil [fellow students; clipping] *see noun* TAM.

thulp /θʌlp/ *verb*. **1** To eat a lot [everyday life]: *How can you ever thulp food in Mega mess?* **2** to do well [academics]: *He thulped in Algo exam after putting thadal fight*. origin: [pronunciation change; from ENGLISH] To gulp (down).

treat /tri:t/ *noun*. A dinner out sponsored by a friend on a special occasion (e.g. birthday) [everyday life]: *Example sentence*. origin: [; from LANGUAGE].

TT /ti: ti:/ *noun*. Table tennis [everyday life; acronym; from ENGLISH].

type /taɪp/ *noun*. Type of [all contexts]: *This analog type radio*. origin: [grammatical peculiarity/scientific variable; from ENGLISH].

V

vandi /vəndi:/ *noun*. A vehicle, usually a motorcycle [everyday life]: *Day-schis can use vandis in the campus*. origin: [borrowing; from TAMIL].

vokay /vəʊkeɪ/ *adjective, adverb, interjection*. Okay [all contexts]: *Vokay then, we'll pack*. origin: [pronunciation change; from ENGLISH].